

**THE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN PEACE BUILDING EFFORTS
ARISING FROM CONFLICTS IN KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP, KENYA,
1991-2016**

**By
LILLIAN W. KANTAI**

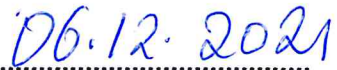
**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN ARMED
CONFLICT AND PEACE STUDIES, DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY AND
ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

2021

DECLARATION

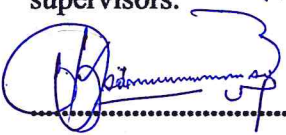
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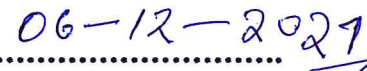

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LILLIAN W. KANTAI



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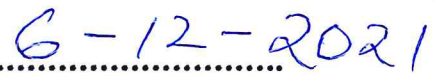
Supervisors' Approval

This research project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the University supervisors.


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DR. KENNETH OMBONGI


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DATE


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DR. GEORGE GONA


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DATE

DEDICATION

All the women and girls who have greatly suffered the effects of armed conflict and violence, my heart goes to you;

Those women and girls who rise above the pain and dedicated their lives to be peacemakers, I respect you;

My sons Roimen and Rosha because of you, I completed this journey so that you know that anything is possible as long as you put your faith in God and eyes on the prize!

My husband Oliver - for your encouragement, understanding and patience.

My Mum Ruth and dad PN (RIP), your commitment to education will forever remain one of the greatest legacies you left for me. I am truly blessed to have you as my parents.

My sister and all time mentor Maria, for pushing me to achieve the highest level of education and life.

Shalom.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All honour and glory to God Almighty, for indeed I look up to the hills, where does my help come from? My help comes from the Lord, the creator of heaven and earth who was, is and always will be my strength.

Deep appreciation to the Kenya Human Rights Commission (KHRC) for affording me the time and resources, including financial, to pursue this course.

I remain indebted to my supervisors, Dr Gona and Dr Ombongi whose constant encouragement and belief in me, even when I was at the verge of giving up, kept me stayed on course. Dr George Gona, your wealth of knowledge and experience on the topic of Refugees and your constant constructive critique, helped shape my project. I salute you! Dr Kenneth Ombongi, the “so what are you saying” question remains etched in my mind as a guide, not only in academics but also in life generally. Thank you for promoting peer review spirit amongst the members of the “MA Platform”, that added great value to this paper. Much respect!

Heartfelt gratitude to the lecturers, History and Archaeology Department, who expanded my knowledge base and viewpoint on various topics related to Peace and Armed Conflict and provided the necessary critique that greatly enriched this study. A special mention to Mr Masika for your guidance and support throughout this journey.

To Gladys the Departmental Secretary, always kind, always supportive. Asante sana.

This work was made easy by the support I got from the research team, Vitalis, Monica and Collins as well as the all the women and men who shared insights and experience as respondents during the field survey exercise. May God continually bless you, always.

Finally, this journey was made easy through the support I got from my family, friends and colleagues who accompanied me in this academic journey. To you all I say thank you and may God richly reward you.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

These following definitions provide a common understanding of the terms throughout the study.

Refugee: A person who, “owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion,” and who “is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country.” These, according to the African Union (AU), includes those people who have been compelled to flee their country of nationality due to aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin.

Refugee camp: There is no clear definition of exactly what constitutes a 'refugee camp'. The term is used to describe human settlements that vary greatly in size and character. In general, refugee camps are enclosed areas, restricted to refugees and those assisting them, where protection and assistance is provided until it is safe for the refugees to return¹

Social Emasculation: The concept of emasculation is firmly entrenched in traditional interpretations of masculinity. Men lead; men protect; men provide. A perception of inability to execute these defined gender roles results in a sense of emasculation or men disempowerment

Peace building: Defined by the former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali in the Agenda for Peace published in 1992, as action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict²

¹ Martha Tureti, “Impact of refugees on host communities: the case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Northwestern Kenya, 1992-2002”, (Master’s Dissertation, University of Nairobi, 2003), p.6

² Michael Barnett and others, "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance* 13, 35–58 (2007): p.37.

ACRONYMS

AU:	African Union
CPPT:	Community Peace and Protection Team
CSO:	Civil Society Organisation
FBO:	Faith Based Organisation
FGDs:	Focus Group Discussions
GoK:	Government of Kenya
INGOs:	International Non-Governmental Organisations
JKML:	Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library
KRC:	Kakuma Refugee Camp
KWC:	Kakuma Women Consortium
KYYP:	Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament
OAU:	Organisation of African Union
UNHCR:	United Nations High Commission on Refugees
UNSCR:	United Nations Security Council Resolution

ABSTRACT

Refugee women's contribution towards the realization of peace is undeniably critical and visible, yet they continue to face obstacles that inhibit their full participation in the existing peacebuilding structures and initiatives in Kakuma Refugee Camp. While numerous studies examine various factors preventing women from participating in peace processes in refugee camp set-up, foundational patriarchal structure and norms remains an important element to this study. The feminization and masculinization discourse that defines men as soldiers and protectors and women as victims needing protection, significantly influences the conceptualization of this study. Kakuma Refugee Camp represents a post conflict context where changes in gender roles are exhibited. Such changes compel women to assume more roles including those considered masculine and a preserve of men, such as protectors and heads of households. This, compounded with the fact that organizations working in the Camp develop empowerment programs focused on women to support them execute their new found roles, causes the men to feel left out, disempowered, even emasculated. Therefore, in a bid to reclaim and retain their domain of power and control over women, men employ strategies that inhibit women's involvement in the peacebuilding system and initiative in Kakuma. Employing the hegemonic masculinity theories, this study reveals that indeed men employ various direct and indirect strategies aimed at curtailing women's participation in peace building structures and initiatives in the camp. This study employed a qualitative survey methodology. Literature reviews and interviews with members of camp leadership and community peacebuilding structures as well as key peace actors, use of case studies and participatory observation, confirmed that indeed women make valuable contributions to the peacebuilding system and activities in Kakuma Camp. Yet, they continue to face substantive impediments that cause some of them to disengage from peace building platforms. Those women who proceed to participate in the peace processes are excluded from the critical stages of peace negotiation and settlement. Whereas knowledge concerning the multifaceted factors that cause the exclusion of women in peace building processes remains anecdotal, these findings forms a critical addition to the evolving literature on women, patriarchy and peacebuilding discourse aimed at increasing their meaningful engagement.

The Map of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Northern Kenya

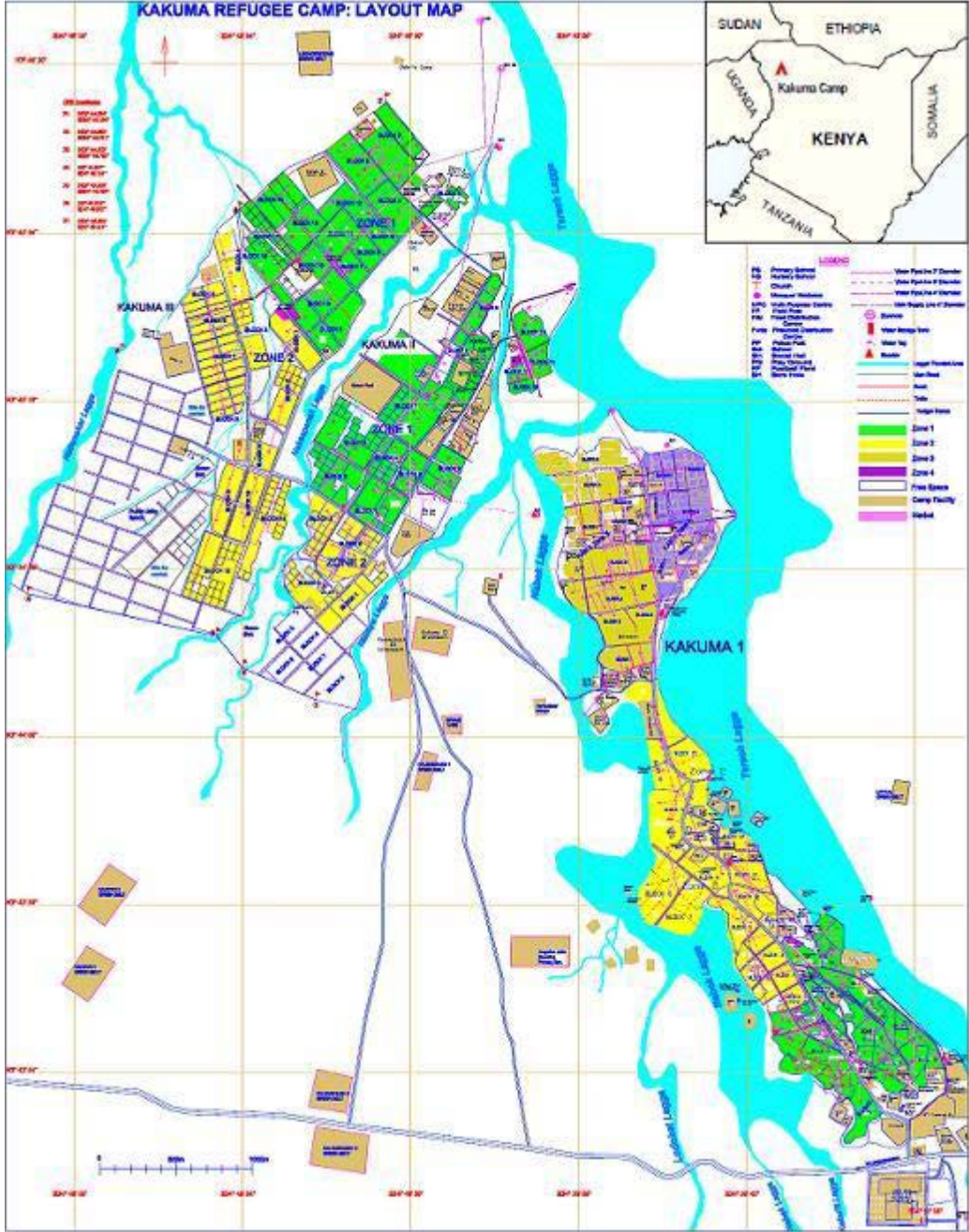


Figure 1: Source: Kakuma Refugee Camp Master Plan (2011:16)

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

Peace building has, increasingly, become an important approach for forestalling unending hostilities among conflicting communities. The Horn and Lake Regions of Africa, in particular, continues to experience protracted conflicts leading to prolonged refugee problem. Refugee camps are considered as "transitory safe spaces"³ that people flee to for safety and protection until they return to their countries of origin. However, scholars such as Rithi reveal that there is wide spread conflict in refugee camps, as is the case in Kakuma camp in the Northern part of Kenya, resulting from among other factors, "inherent deep-rooted structural animosity".⁴

In situations of conflict and peace, women play diverse roles during conflict and peace. Contrary to the extant literature, women are not always the victims of war but participate as combatants or wage conflict non-violently. Women assume roles such as cooking and cleaning for soldiers as well as messengers or conduits for gathering and sharing information. Furthermore, they employ non-violent methods to foster violence by encouraging men to participate in combat as well as use songs and comments that "shame the men in their communities"⁵ who do not take part in war and conflict.

It is equally true that women suffer excessively during conflict. Donini, studying the Bhutanese refugee women, points out that during (ethnic) conflicts, women represent a 'symbolic site of nationalism'⁶ and act as the custodians of cultural values and development. In this regard, women and girls bear severe burdens as they experience sexual and gender based violence, early marriages, physical and psychological torture and even death. Notably, women constitute at least fifty percent of the conflict-induced displaced population globally and as Nilson points out, there are more women and children than men, in refugee camps.⁷ Yet, rather than find solace and safety in these

³ Asha, Hans, "Gender, Camps and International Norms", *Refugee Watch Vol 32* (2008): pp 64-73.

⁴ Alex Mati Rithi, "Conflict Amongst Refugees: The Case Of Kakuma Refugee Camp, 1992-2014", (Masters' Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2015), p43

⁵ Kemi Ogunsanya, "Women Transforming Conflicts in Africa: Descriptive Studies from Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Sudan" *Occasional Paper Series: Volume 2, Number 3*, (2007): p15

⁶ Simona Donini, "Bhutanese Refugee Women in Nepal: A Continuum of Gender-based Violence", (Master's Dissertation, University of London, 2008): p21

⁷ Helena Nilsson, "Sudanese and South Sudanese Refugee Women's Sense of Security in Kakuma Refugee Camp", (Masters' Thesis, Uppsala Universality, 2013), p15

camps, women continue to experience continued victimization both within the community and amongst their family.⁸

Refugee camps and settlements represent a post-conflict context in which alterations in gender relations are particularly manifested.⁹ Women tend to take on more responsibility of the family even becoming the head of the household.¹⁰ In response to the "extreme circumstances in which they are placed",¹¹ women tend to assume practical coping mechanism in order to provide for their families. They become resilient and demonstrate a notable ability to cope in diversity"¹² by forming grassroots socio-economic coalitions that transcend their ethnic, religious, and cultural differences. These coalitions are aimed at restoring the political, economic and socio-cultural construction of their societies as well as focusing on a common agenda of diffusing potential areas of adversarial aggression a principal element in peace-building.

Yet, in spite of this, refugee women, persistently experience considerable structural, cultural, and institutional, hindrances to effective participation in official and formal peacebuilding process and when they do, they only play marginal roles. Ogunsanya, for instance, notes that while women are considered as the "pillar" of the family, in the patriarchal society that is dominant in Africa, they are not recognised at the decision-making levels and mostly are relegated to the domestic responsibilities.¹³ It is such contradictions that leads Sanam to suggest that when it comes to women in peace building, "invisibility and activity, victimhood and agency run parallel".¹⁴

⁸ Theresa Michelle Wigget, "The Forgotten Voices of Female Refugees: An Analysis of Gender Roles in the Refugee Society" (Masters' Thesis North-eastern University Boston, Massachusetts, 2013), p6

⁹ Ulrike Krause "Analysis Of Empowerment Of Refugee Women In Camps And Settlements" *Journal Of Internal Displacement* 4 , (2014): p31

¹⁰ Helena Nilsson, Sudanese and South Sudanese Refugee Women's Sense of Security in Kakuma Refugee Camp" (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, 2013), p15

¹¹ Anderlini Sanam N, "Women Building Peace: What they Do, Why It Matters", (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), p29.

¹² Patricia Daley, "Gender, Displacement and Social Reproduction: Settling Burundian Refugees in Western Tanzania", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 8 (1995):p1.

¹³ Kemi Ogunsanya, "Women Transforming Conflicts in Africa: Descriptive Studies from Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Sudan" *Occasional Paper Series, 2, (2007):* p11

¹⁴ Anderlini, Sanam Naraghi "Women Building Peace: What They Do, why it Matters", reviewed by Porter Elizabeth (Lynne Rienner Publishers,) *International Studies Review*, (2008): p632.

This study is an attempt at examining the co-relation between the changing roles of women in Kakuma refugee camp and how these changes pose obstacles to women's meaningful participation in peace building in refugee camp set up.

1.1 Background to the Study

1.1.1 Peace Building

The former United Nations (UN) Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his Agenda for Peace, defined peace building as interventions that "identify and support structures"¹⁵ aimed at bolstering lasting peace. Primarily, these systems and activities are set in place to address the root causes of and examine possible solutions to violent conflicts. Peacebuilding is a method used to forestall and minimize effects of conflict while helping those affected to recover from the violence in all its manifestation. This, therefore, suggests that peacebuilding is a process that spans across the period before, during and after conflict.

A critical consequence of conflict is the refugee problem observed globally. The 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees (Article 1.a) defines a refugee as;

A person, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

The Organisation African Union (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa in recognition of the complexity of refugee-ism in the African continent, further describe refugees as;

Every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

¹⁵ Michael Barnett, et al "Peacebuilding: What is in a Name?" *Global Governance* 13, (2007): p37

1.1.2 Women and Peace Building

Women constitute a significant percent of the forcibly displaced populations globally. According to United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), at least fifty percent of refugees are women and children. Evidently, women experience conflict differently, both as victims as well as perpetrators of conflict. Scholars such as Donini and Krause are among the scholars who present women as victims who suffer excessively during conflicts, even "targeted as a strategy of war".¹⁶ In her study of the Bhutanese refugee women, Donini reveals that women are victimized during ethnic conflicts, given that they embody a "symbolic site of nationalism"¹⁷ and in view of their reproduction function, guardians of the cultural ideals and development of their community.

Krause equally posits that the end of conflict situations does not necessarily portend an end to violence. He reckons that owing to the changing gender roles experienced in the refugee camps where women gain more responsibilities tending for the families even becoming head of household, the men begin to lose their "traditional hegemonic status".¹⁸ As a result, they project their loss in form of acts of violence against the women. Moreover, during conflict, the discourse of feminisation and masculinization intensifies, as women are viewed as vulnerable and helpless people needing protection from their protector male counterparts.

Yet, even though they are undoubtedly victims, women play special and distinct roles in peace-making processes in the society. Pankhurst, quoting the International Alert Code of Conduct, posits that women and women organisations are reservoirs of important local capacities requisite in peace-building processes.¹⁹ Beside, women demonstrate a great ability to forge coalitions that transcend beyond their ethnic, religious, and cultural differences. Networks such as the Mano River Women Peace Network, (MARWOPNET) in Liberia, Man Maquin a Guatemalan refugee women group in Mexico as well as other women initiatives such as in Uganda's Nakivile Refugee Camp were formed with a common agenda; to diffuse potential areas of hostilities in their

¹⁶Lisa Sherwood, "Women, Peace and Security: A Gender Perspective on Conflict Prevention and Peace Building", *Trends Working Paper 06* (2016): p6

¹⁷Simona Donini, "Bhutanese Refugee Women in Nepal: A Continuum of Gender-based Violence", (Master's Dissertation, University of London, 2008), p21

¹⁸Ulrike Krause, "A Continuum of Violence? Linking Sexual and Gender-based Violence during Conflict, Flight and Encampment" *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 34, (2015): p4

¹⁹Donna Pankhurst, "The 'Sex War' and other Wars: Towards a Feminist Approach to Peacebuilding, Development in Practice", (2003), p.11

communities by sharing vital information aimed at protecting their families and communities. Kemal and Berna, studying women in post conflict situation in Afghanistan, Liberia, Nepal, Pakistan and Sierra Leone, divulged that these networks were also formed to amplify the voices of the women to address the unfair treatment, "seek justice for female survivors of violence and sexual abuse"²⁰ and promote the involvement of women in decision making platforms as well as.

While the role of refugee women as transformative agents in advocating for peace is variously documented, making a case for their inclusion in peace process is very vital to achieve effective peace,²¹ yet, they continue to experience great impediments to their participation in social, political and economic decision making spheres in the society. In her study of the Sudanese and South Sudanese refugee women, Nilsson reveals a society that is founded on very stringent patriarchal structure and as a result these women's freedom of movement and choice to marry is very restricted.²² Similarly, Anderline proposes that when it comes to women in peace building, "invisibility and activity, victimhood and agency run parallel".²³ Hansen further notes that refugee women face double exclusion "first as refugees and as women."²⁴ She further reveals that even policy frameworks like the UNSCR 1325, barely recognizes these women as "actors in matters of peace."²⁵ Instead, refugee women are regarded more in the context of vulnerability rather than an agency in peace building. This therefore begs the question why women, who are so active in the promotion of peace and peaceful coexistence in their community, become invisible in formal and official peace processes.

1.1.3 Kakuma Refugee Camp

Kakuma Refugee Camp is one of the two refugee camps in Kenya and is located in north western part of Kenya in Turkana County. It borders South Sudan, Uganda and Ethiopia. It is one of the

²⁰ Kemal Erzurum, Berna Eren, "Women in Peacebuilding: A Criticism of Gendered Solutions in Post-Conflict Situations", *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 9 (2014): 247

²¹ Mwangi L, "Role of women in conflict management: Case study of Tana River region of Kenya", (Master's Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2012), p.24

²² Helena Nilsson, "Sudanese And South Sudanese Refugee Women's Sense of Security in Kakuma Refugee Camp", (MA Thesis, Uppsala University, 2013), 15

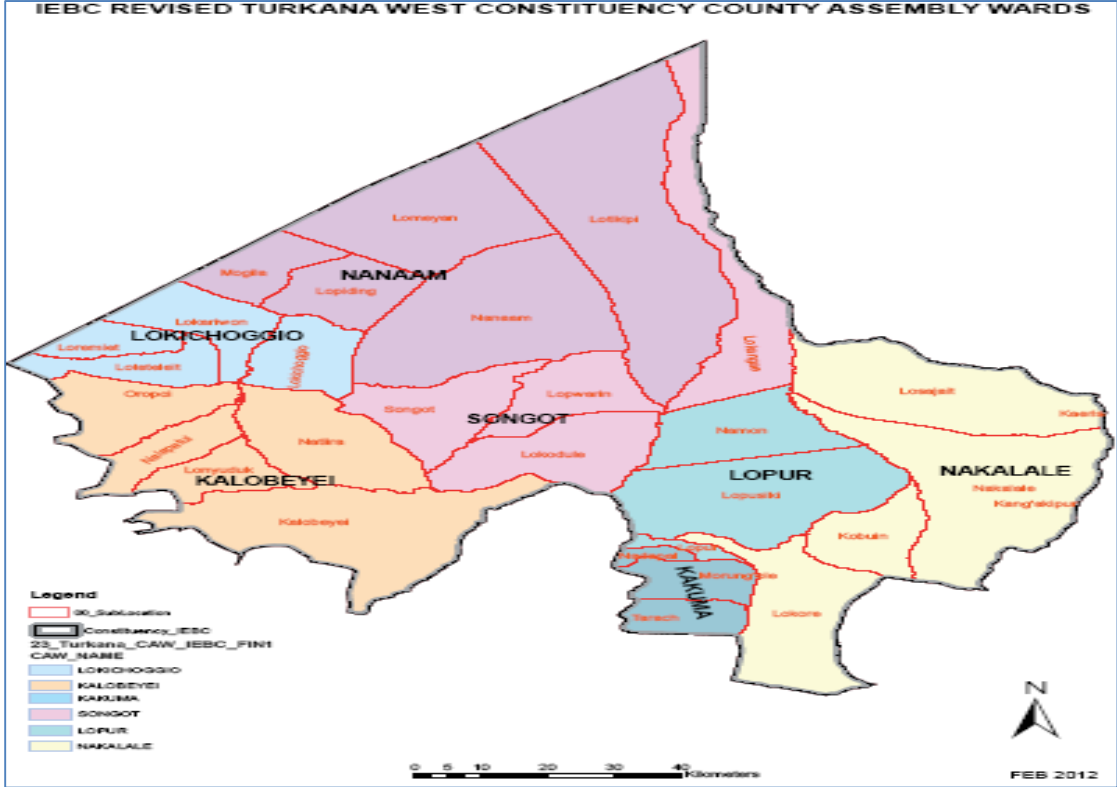
²³ Elisabeth Porter, "Why Women's Contribution to Peacebuilding Matters" *International Studies Review*, 10 (2008): p.632

²⁴ Julie Marie, Hansen, "Women in Peace and Displacement: The Transnational Peace-building Potential in Myanmar Women in Norway", (Masters' Thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2015), p.17

²⁵ Ibid, p.17

long lasting camp globally having come to existence since 1992 to respond to the sustained conflict in the then Republic of Sudan. Kakuma was established in response to the humanitarian need of a group of young men, known as the lost boys of South Sudan who were seeking refuge.

Figure 2: The IEBC Revised Turkana West Constituency County Assembly map 2012



As at 2016, the was home to over 159,000 refugees, from over 20 countries including from South Sudan, Somali, Sudan, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Yemen, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. South Sudan and Somali account for the highest refugee population in Kakuma. Women constituted over 46% of the refugee population in Kakuma Camp.

Figure 3: ²⁶ Kakuma Refugee Camp Population by Country of Origin, Sex and Age Group.

CoO		0 - 4			5 - 11			12 - 17			18 - 59			60+			Grand Total				%	
		F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Total	F	M	Unk.	Total		
ANG		0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	3	(0.0%)	
BDI		517	554	1,071	618	607	1,225	347	371	718	1,129	1,645	2,774	35	20	55	2,646	3,197	0	5,843	(3.6%)	
BKF		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	(0.0%)
CAR		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	(0.0%)	
COB		2	0	2	5	3	8	2	2	4	5	13	18	0	0	0	14	18	0	32	(0.0%)	
COD		931	900	1,831	1,118	1,071	2,189	628	773	1,401	1,791	2,341	4,132	39	14	53	4,507	5,099	0	9,606	(5.9%)	
ERT		1	2	3	4	6	10	2	4	6	16	39	55	0	0	0	23	51	0	74	(0.0%)	
ETH		440	495	935	502	529	1,031	354	426	780	1,209	1,782	2,991	28	20	48	2,533	3,252	0	5,785	(3.6%)	
GUI		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	(0.0%)		
NIS		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	(0.0%)	
RWA		30	44	74	58	50	108	31	38	69	131	138	269	3	3	6	253	273	0	526	(0.3%)	
SAU		0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	(0.0%)	
SOM		3,385	3,364	6,749	4,585	4,770	9,355	3,292	3,661	6,953	8,803	8,529	17,332	399	321	720	20,464	20,645	0	41,109	(25.3%)	
SSD		6,525	6,845	13,370	11,381	13,232	24,613	7,646	12,408	20,054	14,797	14,517	29,314	858	307	1,165	41,207	47,309	0	88,516	(54.5%)	
SUD		353	418	771	665	983	1,648	666	1,533	2,199	1,283	3,684	4,967	23	9	32	2,990	6,627	0	9,617	(5.9%)	
TAN		1	1	2	2	2	4	1	3	4	5	5	10	0	1	1	9	12	0	21	(0.0%)	
UGA		78	82	160	104	96	200	101	117	218	283	326	609	4	7	11	570	628	0	1,198	(0.7%)	
YEM		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	(0.0%)	
ZIM		0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	(0.0%)	
Grand Total		12,263	12,706	24,969	19,044	21,349	40,393	13,070	19,336	32,406	29,454	33,026	62,480	1,389	702	2,091	75,220	87,119		162,339		
		49.1%	50.9%		47.1%	52.9%		40.3%	59.7%		47.1%	52.9%		66.4%	33.6%		46.3%	53.7%				

This section provides background information related to the subject of study, the statement of the problem, the research questions, hypothesis, theoretical framework and study objectives. A section on research design and methodology is provided for which articulates how, through qualitative study design, data collection will be conducted using various tools.

²⁶ UNHCR Camp Population Statistics by Country of Origin, Sex and Group, 13.08.2016. Accessed on 25.09.2018 at <https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/49976> 13-Aug 2016.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Scholars have variously attributed the limited participation of women in peace processes to various structural, social-cultural, and economic obstacles. Under the social cultural factor lies the inherent and longstanding discourse of patriarchal norms and attitudes. Patriarchy serves as a system that facilitates supremacy and hierarchical system that perpetuates exclusion and exploitation by setting the power regime between women and men. Specifically, during conflict and in displacement, the discourse of masculinity and femininity which defines men as soldiers and protectors, and women as victims and nurturers of families and whole nations, needing protection from men, is emphasised. Yet, owing to the changing context in refugee camps, where alteration in gender roles occur, women tend to assume additional responsibilities including those perceived as more masculine and a preserve of the refugee male, including that of protection and head of household.

This study seeks to examine how the changing gender roles in a Kakuma Refugee camp setting, that propel women to take up the more masculine responsibilities, led to a sense of refugee male social emasculation and disempowerment. As consequence, and in an effort to (re)claim and retain their domain of power and control, refugee men created barriers that perpetuated female exclusion from meaningful peacebuilding in a refugee camp set up. Most of the available literature focus on the aspects around gender roles, illiteracy, lack of economic, social and political empowerment and barely interrogated the indirect and direct strategies employed by some men with the aim to inhibit women's involvement in women in peace building processes this Refugee Camp.

This study therefore provides a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the factors limiting women from meaningfully engaging in peace building processes with an aim to contribute to a larger body of literature on this subject. This increased understanding will, perhaps, enable women to gain more visibility and entry into the formal and official peacebuilding arena. In the case where women get involved in the said peace processes, the extent of their participation is marginal and limited excluding the most important aspects of peacebuilding that is, negotiation and peace agreement decisions

1.3. Research Questions

1. What kind of peace building structures/initiatives exist in Kakuma refugee camp?
2. How are women either engaged or not engaged in these peace initiatives?
3. What are the main factors hindering women from participating meaningfully in peace building?

1.4. Research Objectives

- i. To determine the peace building initiatives/structure in Kakuma refugee camp
- ii. To examine the role of women in the existing peacebuilding structures/initiatives in the refugee camp.
- iii. To establish the social and cultural barriers to women's meaningful participation in peacebuilding structures/initiatives in Kakuma refugee camp.

1.5. Justification of Study

This study examines the interaction between obstacles that limit women's participation in peacebuilding and the changing gender roles in the Kakuma Refugee Camp that pose a threat to the bedrock patriarchal norms. These alterations challenge the discourse of feminization and masculinization that is often intensified during. was challenged. The camp context propels women to take up the more masculine responsibilities, leading to a sense of refugee male social emasculation and disempowerment. As consequence, and in an effort to (re)claim and retain their domain of power and control, refugee men create barriers that perpetuate female exclusion from meaningful peacebuilding in a refugee camp set up.

The existing literature reviewed majorly focusses on the aspects around gender roles, illiteracy, lack of economic, social and political empowerment. This literature barely interrogate the indirect strategies employed by men to keep women away from engagement in the peace building efforts arising from conflict in the Refugee Camp. This study will be valuable at both academic as well as policy discourses and humanitarian programming. The study identifies the value of women's involvement; the specific roles they can play while presenting the obstacles they face within the peace building arena in a Refugee Camp set-up.

This study therefore provides a deeper and more nuanced understanding of the factors limiting women from meaningfully engaging in peace building processes with an aim to contribute to a larger body of literature on this subject. This increased understanding will, perhaps, enable women to gain more visibility and entry into the formal and official peacebuilding arena.

1.6 Scope and Limitation

This study was conducted in Kakuma Refugee Camp, in Turkana County, North-western of Kenya, focusing on the period of 1991-2016. The year 1991 is significant since that was the year the camp was set up. The focus on peacebuilding in the camps was informed by the fact that, contrary to beliefs that refugees are a peaceful people, escaping from violence and conflict in their country of nationality, inter and intra communal conflict are rife in Kakuma. Rithi revealed that since its establishment in 1991, Kakuma community has experienced tensions, hostilities and violence resulting from the "deep-rooted structural animosity inherent"²⁷ among some of the communities in the camp.

While the research endeavoured to understand the conflict typologies and the peace-building mechanisms present in Kakuma refugee camp, its primary focus was to understand obstacles facing women in peace-building that arise from the changing gender roles in the camp. In this regard, the primary target population for this research were adult refugee women of the age between the 35-59 years. The study included a broad range of respondents in terms of their age category in order to elicit diverse experiences of women. The expectation was for the older women, in particular, to share comparative experiences from both their countries of origin and as refugees, related to peacebuilding and leadership roles. The study also targeted men leaders as a critical group as well as other strategic state and non-state stakeholders engaged in peacebuilding processes within the camp.

A key limitation to this study was the language of communication especially while interviewing the women from the refugee community. Most of the women participants were unable to express themselves in English which was the primary language of data collection for this study. A

²⁷ Alex Mati Rithi, "Conflict Amongst Refugees: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, 1992-2014", (Master's Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2015), p.43.

significant number of the women participants could only speak their language of origin. This thus required the researcher to engage the services of a translator who doubled up as a research assistance. In such situation, there is a minute possibility of distortion of responses. To address this, the researcher employed the strategy of.

In addition, the topic of study required discussion related to security, or lack of it thereof. Security conversations are considered sensitive as they often touch on governance, cultural and even political issues. This required the researcher to employ strategies to earn the respondent's confidence as well as getting access to respondents that are marginalized in the community, such as those from the minority (less populous) nationalities. This was done primarily by ensuring the meeting venues are those considered safe by the respondents while assuring the participants of utmost confidentiality.

To address the limitations, the researcher employed the services of research assistants from the refugee communities who also served as translators and mobilizers. The researcher also worked closely with the organisations working on peace and safety programs in the camp, who helped identify the most marginalized community together with research assistants to ensure meaningful and productive participation by all targeted respondents.

Notably, during the field exercise, the researcher encountered an unpredictable limitation relating to the low numbers of women key informants. This, nonetheless, confirmed the interaction between hegemonic masculinities theory as a framework of women's exclusion from the stereotypical gender roles that proffers roles seemingly more masculine such as those concerning security and peacebuilding, to men than women. Such an observation is indicative of the deeply engrained patriarchal norms, perhaps even among the external peace actors in Kakuma.

1.7 Literature Review

This literature review focussed on the themes about peace building, the role of women in peacebuilding and the factors limiting women from effectively participating in peace processes. As defined by the former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, peacebuilding is the "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in

order to avoid relapse into conflict".²⁸ This is a definition that this study will adopt, as it recognizes the continuum of conflict even within refugee settings.

The role of women, particularly refugees, in peace building is critical as they account for at least half of the displaced populations living in refugee camps. The ability of women to forge coalitions that transcends ethnic, cultural, social, ethnic or political affiliations, have enabled them to engage in peace-building activities. As Porter suggests, women are "conspicuously active in informal, grassroots peace building activities".²⁹ Such activities include participation as members of security and peace community committees in Nakivale camp in Uganda as narrated by Lawson,³⁰ or as members of the Mama Maquin established by Guatemalan women refugees, in Mexico,³¹ In studying the experiences of refugee women and local integration in Nairobi, Bigsas illustrates how the Sudanese Women Action Networks (SWAN) and Peace-building, Healing and Reconciliation Program (PHRP), play a key role in peace building and peace education. Bigsas enumerates the network's objective and abilities to provide critical information with one another on impending security threats and possible avenues of safety, "when life and death is concerned".³² These studies illustrate impact of conflict on women on one hand while on the other, showcasing their ability to rise above their differences and engage in activities aimed at diffusing tensions and reduce hostilities in their communities, as well as rebuilding the social and economic fabric in their society. These are critical elements of peacebuilding which supports this research hypothesis.

A broad body of literature submits various factors that hinder women, including refugees, from fully participating in decision-making peace building initiatives. As elaborated in the subsequent sections, these includes the demanding changing gender roles, the patriarchal society make up that emphasises masculinity and femininity as well as the victimhood of women, in effect undervaluing

²⁸ Michael Barnett, et al. "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance* 13, (2007): p.37

²⁹ Elisabeth Porter, "Women, Political Decision-Making and Peace-Building", *Global Change, Peace and Security*, 15, (2003):p.246

³⁰ Jane Elizabeth Lawson, "What Happens after War? How Refugee Camp Programmes Contribute to Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Strategies" *New Issues in Refugee Research Paper* 245, (2012):p.3.

³¹ Maroussia, Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Nazilla Khanlou, Helene Moussa, "The 1990s and After---From Empowerment to Claiming Power" in *Not Born a Refugee Woman: Contesting Identities, Rethinking Practices* (Berghahn Books, 2009), 9. Available from internet, <https://books.google.co.ke/books?> Accessed 23.January 2017.

³² Stephanie Anne Johnson "Women, Shared Leadership, and Policy: The Mano River Women's Peace Network Case Study", *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 4 (December 2011): p.63

their role in the peacebuilding architecture. Moreover, factors such as resource constraints, empowerment (or lack of) as well as sexual and gender-based violence and other forms of insecurity remain critical mechanism of exclusion. As Mbae points out, peace building initiatives require working significantly longer hours and as such the gender roles changes experienced in the refugee set up, put a strain on women who have to choose between "familial obligations and participation in societal...processes".³³

According to Nilsson, life in a refugee camp tends to be "straining, traumatic and uncertain".³⁴ Women, in particular, experience significant changes in their gender roles, since they tend to take on extra burden of taking care of their families even becoming "head of households".³⁵ This is in addition to executing the traditional domestic roles that are identifiable with the female gender. Widad suggests that the breakdown of societal safety fabric, occasioned by the male members family members being killed or held hostage, have forced women to take up "multiple jobs" to be able to "provide for their families"³⁶ which leaves them with no time to engage in social activities.

Traditional patriarchal society, a universal social construction that pre-supposes the inherent "superiority of men over women"³⁷ is, according to Sultana, a "prime obstacle to women's advancement and development".³⁸ It is recorded that at least eighty one percent (81%) of all refugees are comprised of persons from developing countries that are primarily patriarchal in construction. This social construction produces the perception that women are weaker and victims who need protection from men. Furthermore, as pointed out by Krause, in such traditional make-up, women "possess fewer rights"³⁹ and are regarded as property of the men, "initially by their fathers then later by their husbands".⁴⁰ In this regard, men are socialized to be dominant over the

³³ Anne Nkirote Mbae, "Analyzing the Dimensions of Women's Participation in Conflict Resolution in South Sudan", (Master's Thesis, United States International University-Africa, 2017), p.55

³⁴ Helena Nilsson, "Sudanese And South Sudanese Refugee Women's Sense Of Security in Kakuma Refugee Camp", (Master's Thesis, Uppsala University, June 2013), p.15

³⁵ Ibid, p.15

³⁶ Hassan Widad, "Beyond Vulnerability: Refugee Women's Leadership in Jordan" (Master's Thesis, The City University of New York, 2017), p.28

³⁷ Abeda Sultana, "Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis", *The Arts Faculty Journal*, July 2010- June 2011): p.6

³⁸ Ibid, p.1

³⁹Ulrike Krause, "Analysis of Empowerment of Refugee Women in Camps and Settlements". *Journal of Internal Displacement*, 4 (2014): p.47

⁴⁰ Ibid: p.35

women. In the case of Nigeria for instance, women are regarded as "mere infidels...second class citizen" whose place is in the "kitchen".⁴¹ In the few instances where women are allowed to take part in and speak in any public meeting, they reportedly face criticism of 'trying to challenge traditional gender role'.⁴² As a consequence, women grow up to "socially accept their unequal position"⁴³ as evidenced by Wiggett in her study of refugees in Zaatari Refugee camp.

Additionally, in countries that uphold a patriarchal social construct, Wiggett poses, peace and security is regarded as a male agenda and hence they (men) occupy the political, security and diplomatic positions in the society. Men are believed to possess the ability to talk and strategize. In other words, men are perceived to be the ones who "do war"⁴⁴ and therefore most fit as agents of peace building. This perception "intimidates many women who wish to venture in the sector".⁴⁵ While this literature generally presents the role of patriarchy in suppressing women's engagement in peace-building, the proposed study intends to interrogate what specific strategies are employed by men to keep them off from active engagement in peace-building.

Scholars like Hamilton observed that in a majority of countries women are unable to participate in the "economy and public life".⁴⁶ Women in refugee camps, experience low literacy levels, unequal access to employment and financial resources. This poses a major hindrance to women participating in peace processes given that peacebuilding processes involves several actions including civic education, campaigns, lobbying, information gathering and sharing, networking among other and all this requires some financial, time and technical resources.

Conversely, Krause affirms that due to the changing context, they find themselves in refugee camps, women experience a degree of positive development even empowerment. This, Krause

⁴¹ Godiya Allanana Makama, "Patriarchy And Gender Inequality In Nigeria: The Way Forward", *European Scientific Journal*, 9, (2013): p.11

⁴² Hassan Widad, "Beyond Vulnerability: Refugee Women's Leadership in Jordan" (Master's Thesis, The City University of New York, 2017), p.33

⁴³ Theresa Michelle Wiggett, "The Forgotten Voices of Female Refugees: An Analysis of Gender roles in the Refugee Society", (Master's Thesis, North-eastern University Boston, Massachusetts, 2013), p.22

⁴⁴ Ibid, p.12

⁴⁵ Anne Nkirote Mbae, " Analyzing the Dimension of Women's Participation in Conflict Resolution in South Sudan", (Masters' Thesis United States International University – Africa, 2017), p.56

⁴⁶ Heather B. Hamilton " Rwanda's Women: The Key to Reconstruction", *The Journal of Humanitarian Assistance*, (May 2000): 6, available on internet in <http://www.jha.ac/greatlakes/b001.htm> accessed on July 30, 2018

points out, originates from the "recommendation by the Executive Committee in 1985 and 1990"⁴⁷ that provides a framework aimed at empowering refugee women. Organisations that operate in the refugee camps, such as UNHCR and its implementing partners, develop programs that intentionally target girls and women. This focus on women causes men to "feel left out and degraded"⁴⁸. Lukunka further suggests that in the context of refugee women, empowerment "usually meant enlightenment" and the ability "not to rely on men..to survive"⁴⁹ and this causes the men to "feel emasculated"⁵⁰. In response, in a bid to regain their power and control over women, some men resort to violence against women.

Sexual and gender-based violence and other forms of insecurity, have variously been documented as factors restraining women from actively participating in peace-building processes. In the case of South Sudan, Mbae suggests that women experience antagonism while engaging in peacebuilding actions. As a result, some women chose not to take up any responsibilities that would expose them to any physical or psychological threats. Additionally, Widad argues that increased violence on women, limits "women's mobility and access to information"⁵¹ hence impacting on their economic capability. The incidences of rape targeted at women peace builders, is aimed at creating fear in order to suppress any form of agitation for political, social and economic entitlements. While an array of literature provides critical information how men use threats as well as actual violence on women, in order to push them back from engaging in peace-building processes, such studies barely touch on other possible ways with which stifle women's involvement in peacebuilding actions.

But why is it important to involve women in peace building? Scholars such as Hentschel propose that situating female voice in decision making platforms in peacebuilding is vital because, the

⁴⁷Ulrike, K, "Analysis of Empowerment of Refugee Women in Camps and Settlements", *Journal of Internal Displacement*, 4 (2014): p.38

⁴⁸ Ulrike Krause, "Analysis of Empowerment of Refugee Women in Camps and Settlements" *Journal of Internal Displacement*, 4, (201): p.47

⁴⁹ Barbra Lukunka, "UNHCR is my Husband: Interpreting the Nature of Militarized Refugee Women's Lives in Kanembwa Refugee Camp", (Master Thesis, America University, 2007), p.156

⁵⁰ Ibid, p.169

⁵¹ Hassan Widad, "Beyond Vulnerability: Refugee Women's Leadership in Jordan", (Master Thesis, The City University of New York, 2017), p.26

"feminine voice is viewed as supporting those tenets of sustainable peace".⁵² Another scholar, Lawson states that, "peacebuilding will be sustainable⁵³" only if the process involves all concerned people. Hansen and Kemal postulate that women present an added value to peace process given their demonstrable ability to diffuse "deeply engrained division"⁵⁴ and tensions and "build up trust"⁵⁵ among warring factions, a requisite component to sustainable peace.

Evidently, extensive literature exist that presents the important role women play in peacebuilding while elucidating some critical factors that limit their meaningful participation in the full peacebuilding process. Majorly overt in nature, these visible and tangible factors do indeed pose a barrier to women's involvement in leadership structures in the society. This study, however, proposes to interrogate other underlying factors that undermine women's involvement in, particularly, the official peace building process. The researcher sought out to examine the concepts of masculinity and femininity as well as women emancipation and male emasculation and how they collectively contribute to the exclusion of women in the decision making platforms in peacebuilding processes.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study was framed within the hegemonic masculinity theory. This theory provided a framework of analysing the study by understanding the role and interplay of hegemonic masculinity in the exclusion of women in peace building processes. Specifically, how refugee males' attempt at holding on to power, undermines women's meaningful participation on processes such as peace building.

Hegemonic masculinity, a theory of interest to this study, is premised around the paradigm of power construction that emphasises on a dominant group. High school students in Australia, who were examining social inequalities, first proposed hegemonic masculinity as a critical theoretical

⁵²Margit Hentschel, "The Experiences of Women Leaders Advancing International Peacebuilding: A Cross-case Study of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates" (PhD Dissertation, Colorado State University, 2015), p. 9

⁵³Jane Elizabeth Lawson, "What Happens After the War? How Refugee Camp Peace Programmes Contribute to Post-conflict Peacebuilding Strategies", *New Issues in Refugee Research Paper 245*, (2012): p.26

⁵⁴ Julie Marie Hansen, "Women Building Peace in Displacement: the Transnational Peace-Building Potential of Myanmar Women in Norway" (Master's Thesis, Norwegian University of Life Sciences, 2015), p.16

⁵⁵ Kemal Erzurum , "Women in Peacebuilding: A Criticism of Gendered Solutions in Post-conflict Situations", *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 9, (2014): p.243

framework. According to Connell the theory has provoked latest thinking and knowledge related to "men, gender, and social hierarchy"⁵⁶ It is understood to propagate the dominant social position of men and the inferior position of women. Traditional patriarchal society largely perpetuated this idea as it defines gender roles, according the men power and authority over women.

This concept entails patterns of actions by men to obtain and maintain their dominance status in society, particularly over women. For instance, the refugee camp presents a context where women assume roles considered masculine, even becoming heads of households. This in effect threatens the position and status of men in the family and society leading to a sense of male emasculation. In response to this, some men perpetrate violence on women as a "valid form of expression"⁵⁷ of their lost control and status in the family and in society as a whole. A culturally idealized form, it is both a personal and a collective project, and is the common sense about breadwinning and manhood. Historically anchored on the philosophy of exclusionism, hegemonic masculinity theory is a useful tool of analysis for this study. This theory explains and identifies the behaviour, attitudes and patterns of practices among men that propagate women's exclusion from participation in social, political, economic and cultural arena in society, including in peacebuilding processes.

Social exclusion and hegemonic theories

1.9 Research Hypothesis

1. Peacebuilding structures and initiatives exist in Kakuma refugee camp
2. Women play a role in peacebuilding initiatives and organised structures in Kakuma refugee camp.
3. There are obstacles to women's meaningful participation in peace building initiatives and organised structures in Kakuma refugee camp

⁵⁶ R.W Connell, and James W. Messerschmidt, "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept" *Gender & Society* 19, (2016): p.829

⁵⁷ Marjolein Lucy A Quist, "Traumatic Masculinities: The Disconnect Between the Feminized Policies and Practices of Humanitarian Aid and the Gendered Reality of Syrian Refugee Life in Settlements in Lebanon" (Master's Thesis, Utrecht University, 2016), p.66

1.10 Research Design and Methods

The study employed a qualitative research methodology. The research provided for diverse variables on views, motives and reasons that helped in developing the study ideas. This was the preferred methodology because it was able to elicit detailed information that maintained the participants' perspective. The method provided the researcher with the ability to get a realistic perspective of lived experiences as well as create a descriptive capability based on primary and unstructured data. This methodology afforded the researcher direct interactions with the participants in their own environment/space and language.

Findings for the study as generated from data gathered from secondary and primary sources. Secondary sources included the review of literature around the primary themes of women, refugees, conflicts and peacebuilding as well as those of secondary nature such as on patriarchal mores. Reviewed literature included books, journal articles, internet sources, theses/dissertations, magazines and media reports/clips sourced from mainly from online academic sites as well as from NGO/CSOs/FBOS, UN agency reports. This desktop review informed the formulation of the field data collections tools in particular in cross checking the gaps that the field interviews intended to fill. Equally, the literature provided significant reference particularly as relates to the final reporting writing process.

Primary data was obtained following an intensive two weeks' fieldwork in Kakuma refugee camp where face to face interviews were conducted using semi-structured interview guides on select key community leaders as well as the representatives of various Non-governmental and United Nations organisations as well as participants in the focus group discussions (FGDs). The open-ended question guides allowed the participants to share their lived experiences and what they perceived as imperative for the study.

The researcher interviewed seven key informants, two of them female; three of them representing the INGO- Lutheran World Federation, Norwegian Refugee Council, Peace Winds Japan and Lotus Kenya Action for Development Organisation- LOKADO. Others interviewed were two representatives from RAS, one from UNHCR and one from the County Commissioners office. A total of thirty-one community members participated in focus group discussion (FGDs). In total

five focus group discussions (FGD) namely the Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament (KYPP), Women Consortium, Peace and Safety Committee, Community Peace and Protection Team and Teenage girls (also members of the KYPP) were conducted. Fifteen of the FGD participants were men while sixteen were women. At least thirty percent of the participants were below the ages of thirty-five years out of which 6 girls were teenagers. The FGDs comprised of community members from diverse nationalities living in the camp including the Somalis, Ugandans, Ethiopians, Burundians, Congolese and South Sudanese nationals.

The research further used a case study to highlight the role of women and the level of their engagement in peacebuilding Kakuma refugee camp. In developing the case study, the researcher reviewed reports by the Lutheran World Federation, an organisation mandated by the UNHRC to deal with peace and safety programming in the camp as well as interviewed the peacebuilding staff. Further, the researcher made critical observation while participating in a peace and safety monthly meeting convened by the Lutheran World Federation Peace and Safety Unit, drawing representation from refugees and host community leaders, representatives from the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS), National Police Service, Area Chiefs as well as a few NGOs representatives. This participatory observation method provided the researcher with first-hand information on the participation of women in peacebuilding meetings.

In determining the respondents, purposive sampling was utilized ensuring adequate representation of the people from different socio economic backgrounds. The participants were selected from predetermined categories and a minimum number in each category specified. However, in the process of data collection, the researcher to some extent employed the snowballing technique in situations where a respondent proposed a strategic respondent. Two research assistants supported with mapping out and organising the key informant interviews as well as community mobilization. The two played a critical role in translation, recording and general logistical organisation.

Data was analysed on content basis, showing the emerging trends of responses and synthesized information gathered from the semi structured interviews, FGD's and case studies. The research questions, objectives, the hypothesis as well as the study theoretical frameworks formed the basis analysis for this qualitative research. Continuous data review was conducted to ensure accuracy.

The amalgamation of research, observations, and relevant literature inform the interpretation of the data collected via qualitative research methods.

The researcher took the responsibility of the ethical, legal and procedural aspects of the research. The data collection process was preceded by seeking consent from the respondents especially given the fact that the data recording was done both manually as well as using an audio recorder. All the interviews, except one that was conducted via phone call, were done face to face. All the recordings from the interviews were securely stored and the responses and respondent's names coded to ensure confidentiality. The researcher assured all participants to this research anonymity and confidentiality regarding the information they shared.

CHAPTER TWO

REFUGEES AND CONFLICTS: THE CASE OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the origin of the refugee problem and the evolving definition, foundational in situating refugees in the spheres of conflict and peacebuilding. Specifically, this chapter exposes the dichotomy between the refugee as a victim of violence and conflict on one hand and on the other, as a perpetrator of the same violence they purport to flee from. The chapter presents the typologies of conflict prevalent in Kakuma camp that forms a basis for exploring the peacebuilding initiatives in the next chapter.

2.1. The Evolving Refugee Definition: From the World to Kenya.

Refugee-hood has long shaped the global political, economic and social configuration as human beings, cross borders because of war, political persecution and deprivation. Indeed, refugees have existed as long as history⁵⁸ with humanity credited of providing sanctuary to the weary and needy strangers often referred to as exile(s)” or “outsider(s)”.⁵⁹ They are perceived as involuntary migrants, victims of circumstances who seek sanctuary in foreign nations⁶⁰. Accounts of people fleeing their habitual residences in search of safety and protection from danger are widely documented. There exist biblical accounts illustrating mass movement of the Israelites from Egypt to the promised land of Canaan owing to the oppression they underwent in the hands of the Egyptians. In fact, during that time, communities preserved sections of land bequeathed “as cities of refuge...so that anyone who kills a person accidentally and unintentionally may flee there and find protection from the avenger of blood”.⁶¹ Similarly, records of migrations recorded at the beginning of Islam present Moses fleeing from Egypt to Median as well as Prophet Mohammed and his followers, fleeing persecution from Mecca, to Medina and Abyssinia, modern-day

⁵⁸ Erika Feller, The Evolution of the International Refugee Protection Regime, *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy* Vol 5 (January 2001); p.130

⁵⁹ Bobby T C, “Reflections on Refugee Studies and the Study of Refugees: Implications for Policy Analysts”, *Journal of Management & Public Policy* Vol. 6, No. 1, (December 2014): p.6

⁶⁰ Hathaway, James C. "The Evolution of Refugee Status in International Law: 1920-1950" *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1984): p.348. Accessed August 31, 2020, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/759064>

⁶¹ The Bible, New International Version (NIV), Joshua 20: 2-3

Ethiopia.⁶² Clearly, even then, refugees were considered as people needing protection from danger or persecution, perpetuating a victimhood and dependency characteristics of refugees.

In 1685, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes that tolerated religious minorities under Catholic rule by King Louis XIV, began the movement of refugees into Europe. Considered as the modern day refugee-ism, over 200,000 Huguenots French Protestants fled into Netherlands, Switzerland, England, Germany, Denmark, and the United States.⁶³ More displacements occurred during the 1789 French Revolution, which witnessed the persecution of those who stood against the egalitarian ideal.⁶⁴ Yet, it is in the 1920s in particular, that the word gained global traction and recognition by the international community seeking to provide protection and find solutions for refugees.⁶⁵ Prior to this, groups of displaced populations were numerically negligible and tended to migrate to the Americas and other newly found lands and hence there drew little concern to delimit the scope of the refugee definition.⁶⁶ At the time, most European powers, subscribed to liberalization and respect for self-determination, consequently allowing free movement across borders. This unrestricted movement within international borders came to a stop with the advent of the World Wars. The Wars coincided with the rise of political and economic nationalism throughout the Western World.⁶⁷

The World Wars resulted in the uprooting of huge numbers of civilians and military personnel from their states of origin.⁶⁸ The magnitude of the wartime refugee crisis is difficult to establish with precision⁶⁹ mainly because the massive flows of human beings who were displaced.

⁶² Saritoprak, Zeki. "An Islamic Approach to Migration and Refugees." *Cross Currents*, vol. 67, no. 3, (Sept. 2017): p.522.

⁶³ Barnett, Laura, "Global governance and the evolution of the international refugee regime" *New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 54* (February 2002): p.1

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p.1

⁶⁵ Erika Feller, The Evolution of the International Refugee Protection Regime, *Washington University Journal of Law and Policy Vol 5* (January 2001); p.130

⁶⁶ Hathaway, James C. "The Evolution of Refugee Status in International Law: 1920-1950." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1984): p.348. Accessed August 31, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/759064>.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p.348

⁶⁸ Gatrel, Peter, "Refugee history and refugees in Russia during and after the First World War", *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History*, Vol. 62, Issue 3, (2017): p.500.

⁶⁹ Gatrel, Peter, Refugees, in: *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopaedia of the First World War*, ed. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrel, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson, (Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin, 08, October 2014), p.3

Nevertheless, indications are that during World War 1 of 1914-1918, at least 400,000 refugees⁷⁰ fled from Belgium to Holland. The 2nd World War posed an even greater refugee crisis with at least 60 million⁷¹ Europeans forcefully uprooted from their countries of nationality. This created a critical mass of German refugees that caused an economic, financial and social problem.⁷² Resultantly, the (European) governments adopted more guarded approaches⁷³ and policies to the rising refugee populations. Towards this, there arose the need to formulate legal definition. The definitions adopted henceforth shed light into the evolving nature of refugee-hood⁷⁴, accentuating the victimhood characteristics as victims of contextual circumstances. Hathaway suggests three distinct trends in refugees definition discourse namely, the juridical, social and finally to individualistic conceptualization.⁷⁵

The juridical refugee definition trends experienced in 1920 -1935, framed refugees (migrants) as members of a group outside their states of origin, denied formal protection from their governments. These emigrants found themselves in an environment where no nation was willing to take responsibility for them, caused the world community to adopt the first instrument of international scope that attempted to give some form of protection for the emigrants. This followed the appeal, in 1921, by the International Red Cross Committee to the Council of the League of Nations to respond to the situations Russian refugees.⁷⁶ As a result, the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees was established and which later oversaw the issuance of international travel documents known as the Nansen passport.⁷⁷ Later, at the instigation of Nansen, the Armenian refugees who were victims of Turkish mass deportation and indiscriminate killing, were afforded a similar document as the Russian refugees.⁷⁸

⁷⁰ Ibid, p.2

⁷¹ Frank, M, Jessica R, "Introduction: Refugees and the Nation-State in Europe, 1919-59." *Journal of Contemporary History* 49, no. 3 (2014): p.478. Accessed on 20.10.2018, at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/43697321/>

⁷² Hathaway, James C. "The Evolution of Refugee Status in International Law: 1920-1950." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1984): p.363. Accessed July 26, 2020. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/759064>,

⁷³ Ibid p.348

⁷⁴ Ibid p.349

⁷⁵ Ibid, p.349

⁷⁶ Ibid, p.351

⁷⁷ Paul Weis, "The Development of Refugee Law", *Michigan Journal of International Law*, Vol 3 Issue 1 (1982): p.28, Accessed 01.07.2020, at: <https://repository.law.umich.edu/mjil/vol3/iss1/2/>.

⁷⁸ Hathaway, James C. "The Evolution of Refugee Status in International Law: 1920-1950." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1984): p.352. Accessed 26.07.2020, at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/759064/>

The social conceptualization of refugees observed in the mid to end of 1930s, built on the juridical viewpoint that was concerned with the loss of state protection of a group of refugees, to encompass helpless casualties or victims of broad-based social and political upheavals⁷⁹ irrespective of their international legal status. During this definition trend, refugees remained classified as a member of a group victimized by events in his society that deprived him of state protection.⁸⁰ Even then, the interpretation of refugees provided by the League of Nations fell into the trap of ‘nationalizing’ the displaced persons with a concentration to provide international assistance to ensure the safety of the refugees.⁸¹

The individualist approach to refugee definition witnessed in 1938-1950, abandoned the procedure of determining a refugee by virtue of political or social categorization or a group, instead electing to examine the merits of each applicants based on perceived injustice or fundamental incompatibility with the home state.⁸² The individualist conceptualization of refugees fell within the events of the 2nd World War and significantly informed the drafting of the 1951 United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and later the related Protocol in 1967. Nevertheless, the underlying element in these three trends of refugee definitions remained the recognition of refugees as passive, helpless victims of circumstances beyond their control.

The formulation of the 1951 Refugee Convention and its related 1967 Protocol, primarily aimed at addressing needs and circumstances of European refugees.⁸³ This Convention constitutes the primary legal authority on the protection of refugees, expressly stipulates that its provisions application be devoid of distinction on the basis of race, religion, and country of origin (article 3).⁸⁴ This Convention defines a refugee as person who;

owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to

⁷⁹ Ibid, p 361

⁸⁰ ⁸⁰ Hathaway, James C. "The Evolution of Refugee Status in International Law: 1920-1950." *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (1984): p.370. Accessed July 26, 2020 at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/759064>.

⁸¹ Haddad, E. "Who is (not) a refugee?" *Europe University Institute Working Paper SPS No 2004/9*, (2004): p.11.

⁸² Ibid, p11

⁸³ Roarty Jane, "Refuge in a Place Without Refugees" Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection -3059, (2019), p.6

⁸⁴ Cristiano D'ORSI, *Specific Characteristics and Challenges of Refugee and AsylumSeeker Protection in Sub-Saharan Africa: Lessons Learnt in Search of a Better Future* (PHD Thèse, Université De Genève Institut De Hautes Études Internationales Et Du Développement 2013), p.18

avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it

Whereas the global refugee problem is largely attributed to civil war and armed conflicts; ecological disasters (man or nature caused), competition for real or perceived scarce resources, economic hardships, foreign invasion, domination, and internal disorder are factors that exert the refugee problem in the African region. The impact of forced migration is more visible in the Sub-Saharan region of Africa that harbours among the largest proportion of refugees in the world.

Massive displacement of human population, especially of Africans from West, Central and East Africa occurred during the precolonial era that witnessed the rise and fall of empires and states.⁸⁵ These conflicts resulted in deaths as well as forced movement of people and populations from their habitual residence and homelands in search of refuge. In particular, the slave trade era spurred fights within the African continent hence aggravating the displacement situation. According to Elijah, this forced migration was a consequence of raids and kidnappings before captivity, economic disruption, social dislocation and political instability in the regions ravaged by the slave trade.⁸⁶ Those fleeing during this period sought refuge within Africa while some moved into other continents.

The colonization event in Africa, that took place between the 1870s and 1900s, ended with most African countries under European authority. According to Bulhan, was “systemic violence—organized, continuous, methodic, and willful”⁸⁷ and mainly stimulated by an intent to exploit resources as well as dominate the colonized population, economically, politically as well as psychologically. The Post-Cold War period that coincided with the end of the “classical colonialism”⁸⁸ in the late 1950s, witnessed a proliferation of intra and interstate ethnic conflict, particularly in the continent of Africa. This post-colonial independence events that occurred among many African nations in the 1950s and 1960s, played contrary to the high expectation triggered

⁸⁵ Elijah D M, “Politics and the Refugee Experience: The Case of Banyarwanda Refugees in Uganda 1959-1994, (PHD Thesis, Makerere University, March 2002), p.1

⁸⁶ Elijah Ibid, p.1

⁸⁷ Bulha Hussein A, “Stages of Colonialism in Africa: From Occupation of Land to Occupation of Being”, *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, Vol. 3(1), 239–256 (2015); p.242

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.243

for democratic societies governed by the rule of law and social justice, equality and respect of human rights and dignity.

Instead, by mid-1960s, armed violence that resulted in loss of human lives and massive displacements characterized Africa. Several countries who had been involved in struggles for independence (liberation wars) in the 1960s and 1970s were now embroiled in mostly ethnic violence and armed conflict. Some scholars argue that ethnicity alone was not the ultimate reasons for these conflicts. For instance, Mulenga posits that the failure of the process of nation-state formation, extreme underdevelopment and poverty coupled with the introduction of liberation and democracy⁸⁹, contributed heavily to the proliferation of conflict in Africa. Likewise, Zeleza contends that beyond the need for state formation and nation building, efforts to establish modern societies that are politically, economically and technologically viable in a highly competitive, unequal and exploitative world⁹⁰ caused discontent and conflict in the region. Similarly, the imposition of the colonial political and economic practices, Cold War alliances, and attempts by outsiders to influence African political and economic systems during the decolonization and post-independence periods⁹¹, cannot be discounted as causal factors of conflict in the region.

Zeleka further argues that the intensified and nuanced political struggle for democracy manifested in the entrenched identities, idioms and institutions of ethnic solidarity⁹² remained a key factor of violence in a number of African countries, post-independence. A classical ethnic based violence was the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, which was a culmination of long-standing ethnic tensions, between the numerically majority Hutus and the minority Tutsi. Systemic discrimination, divisionism, and an ideology of hatred, encouraged the Hutu ruling regimes to consider the Tutsi

⁸⁹ Mulenga Nkula, "The Failure of the Postcolonial State and the Generation of Ethnic Conflict in Africa: The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo", in: *Conflict and Displacement: International Politics in the Developing World* ed. Bolesta, Andrzej, (Libra, January 1, 2004), p. 63 accessed June 2017 at <https://ssrn.com/abstract=894298..doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.894298>.

⁹⁰ Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Introduction: The Causes & Costs of War in Africa: From Liberation Struggles to the 'War on Terror'". *The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs*, 1-35 (2008); p.6

⁹¹ Elizabeth Schmidt, *Conflict in Africa: The Historical Roots of Current Problems*, accessed November 19, 2019 at <https://www.historians.org/publications-and-directories/perspectives-on-history/summer-2016/conflict-in-africa-the-historical-roots-of-current-problems>

⁹² Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Introduction: The Causes & Costs of War in Africa: From Liberation Struggles to the 'War on Terror'". "The Roots of African Conflicts: The Causes and Costs", 1-35 (2008); p.8

as invasive foreigners.⁹³ This violence caused the deaths and displacement of hundreds of thousands of Rwandese, within and outside the border of Rwanda. Likewise, competition for political power and differing ideologies among local leaders, creating a scenario where communities regroup within their ethnic cocoons to advance their cause, seems to largely fuel and instigate violent conflicts among South Sudanese communities.⁹⁴ The SPLM/A that was predominantly the independence vehicle from the North, was comprised largely of the Nuer and Dinka communities. This rivalry remains evident among the South Sudanese community even in their spaces of exile in Kenya's Kakuma refugee camp as will be illustrated in the subsequent sections. causing massive internal and external displacement even into Kenya.

Somalis, who constitute the largest refugee population in Kenya, have for over three decades, sought refuge in various parts of the world, due to civil war, breakdown of law and order, difficult economic conditions as well as drought and famine. Although contestations along clan lines are largely blamed for the crisis in Somali, some scholars argue that the conflict is not just a product of a senseless tribal war over state-control⁹⁵ defined along clan segmentation. Rather, they attribute the crisis to multiple and complex socio, ecological, geopolitical factors. Hassan illustrates how the crisis is a combination of impacts of colonial and Cold War legacy, the influence of foreign governance upon the socio-cultural and education system. The partition of the Somali nation and territory during colonialization, created divisions that thwarted aspiration of a united Somali state, as was observed in other colonized countries. In an attempt to salvage the disintegration of the Somali community, the Ogaden war erupted pitting Ethiopia against Somali supported by Russia and US respectively. It is assumed that when this unification attempt failed, the conflict once directed at an external enemy, turned inward. Armed with weaponry dumped by the Cold War antagonist, the community frustration leveled against the ruling party hence the emergence of the contestations along clan-lines in Somalia

⁹³ Nikuze, Donatien, "The Genocide against the Tutsi in Rwanda: Origins, causes, implementation, consequences, and the post-genocide era", *International Journal of Development and Sustainability*, Vol. 3 No. 5, 1086-1098 (2014), p.1088

⁹⁴ Nyadera, Israel N., South Sudan Conflict between 2013 and 2018: Rethinking the causes, situation, and solutions, *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, 18 (2) 59-87 (2018): p.69

⁹⁵ Hassan A. Mohamed, "Refugee Exodus from Somalia: Revisiting the Causes", *Refuge Vol. 14, No. 1* (April 1994): p.6

These heightened inter and intra state conflicts in the East and Horn of Africa region generated millions of refugees mostly Somalis, South Sudanese and Ethiopians, into neighboring countries such as Kenya, which, owing to its proximity to the top three refugee producing countries, represented a safe destination for those fleeing unpleasant conditions in their countries. As at 2016 August, Kenya was host to over 500,000.⁹⁶ Over 80% of refugee population in Kenya, reside in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps while the rest live in urban centers across the nation.

The unique character of the refugee problem in the African region prompted a rethink in refugee definition. The 1951 Convention and the 1967 Related Protocol, from which most regional and national refugee regimes in other parts of the world derived their definition, proved inadequate in capturing the exceptional characteristics of refugee-hood in Africa. Owing to the nuanced and complex factors causing refugee-hood in Africa, the drafters of the Organization of African Unity 1969 Refugee Convention (OAU Refugee Convention) sought to expand definition of refugees to include;

Every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality.

This expanded definition provides for additional causes of flight, recognizing factors such as environmental catastrophes including famine and drought as significant contributors of mass movements in Africa. Moreover, the geographical frame of reference is redefined to include not only the country of nationality but also the place of habitual residence.

Whereas, the OAU Refugee Convention recognizes other factors causing flight in Africa, ethnic and clan conflicts remain significant the migratory dynamics in the East and Horn of Africa. The intensity of the such conflicts, compels people to flee en-masse from their country, from situation of war, clashes, invasion by outside forces or other events that seriously disturb the order of a country⁹⁷. As such the Kenya Refugee Act 2006, while largely adopting the 1951 UN Convention

⁹⁶ UNHCR, August 2016 Operation Factsheet, <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/09/August-2016-Kenya-Operation-Factsheet.pdf>

⁹⁷ Derived from Refugee Consortium of Kenya Website, accessed on 20.10.2017, at <https://www.rckkenya.org/refugees-asylum-seekers-and-returnees/> ,

and the 1969 OAU Convention, further defines refugees within legal framework of either Statutory or Prima Farcie and adds 'sex' as a ground for persecution.

In the section, refugees are presented largely as by-products of conflict and instability, with some scholars suggesting that refugees are harmless victim(s) of geo-political conflict in need of protection. Indeed, they are presumed to neither engage or to be causes of violence. Moreover, an attempt is made by the humanitarian sector to showcase refugees as homogenous, desperately poor and dependent on the intervention of others; a multitude of passive indistinguishable individuals. This narrative is further accentuated by the international, regional and national legal frameworks discussed above, that refer to refugees as involuntary migrants, victims of circumstance who are compelled to abandon their state of origin or residence owing to political troubles and well-founded fear of persecution, in search of safety and security. This victimhood discourse intensifies in relations to refugee women. Women during conflict suffer multiple vulnerabilities, as men use violence on them as to defend their hegemonic status.

Conversely, while appreciating the victim nature of refugees, other scholars content that by virtue of being human, refugees are potentially instigators of the same violence and conflict they often flee. Bauer argues that the tendency of depicting displaced persons such as refugees simply as mute, helpless victims rather than specific persons, aims at depriving them of political agency and their humanness. Moreover, clustering refugees into one single undifferentiated mass deprives them of their biographical specificity as historical beings, conceiving them as suffering object”.

But, are refugee really just mere victims of circumstances, a homogenous undifferentiated mass, devoid of a historical context and detached from any form of conflict?

Conflicts, as Bar-tal contends, are a natural part of human interaction, where the antagonists often perceive a contradiction of their goals and interests. Refugees are a part of social entities, only located in a different environment. In fact, Milner argues that the mass movement of refugees has a potential to regionalize conflict. Kilakoi proffers that the East Africa region form a conflict system whereby a conflict in one country, affects the neighboring country. Indeed, the refugee influx in the countries within the region are a by-product of armed conflict and war in the source

countries in the Sub-Saharan regions. As such, refugee communities reflect post conflict context where some of the issues of conflict prevalent in the countries of origin are at play. Loescher and Troeller claim that refugee populated locations in Kenya often become an extended dynamic of the conflict in the country of origin.

2.2. A Continuum of Violence: Typologies of Conflict in Kakuma Refugee Camp

According to the UNHCR Kenya August 2016 Operation Fact-sheet, Kenya hosted over 500,000⁹⁸ refugees and asylum seekers, with 80% of them living in Kakuma and Dadaab refugee camps in the Turkana and Garissa Counties respectively. Kakuma hosts over 161,000 refugees from over 21 countries, with the South Sudanese and Somalis representing 54% and 26% of the population respectively. Women accounted for over 46% of the population out of which 44,277 were girls 17 years and below.

As illustrated in the previous section, refugees are a by-product of conflict and hence Kakuma Refugee Camps represents, as Rithi and Crisp suggest, a context that experiences a continuum of tensions and violent conflicts experienced in the countries of the refugees' origin. For instance, Aukot points out that Hutus and Tutsis of Rwanda and the Oromos and the Amhara of Ethiopia, always suspect each other of espionage escalating their old hatred⁹⁹ thus causing conflicts amongst themselves. Also, clashes between Dinka and the Nuer communities of South Sudan as well as between Dinka Barhal Gazal and the Dinka Bor clans of South Sudanese origin are rife while clan tensions among the Somali nationals is prevalent.¹⁰⁰ Omondi, for instance, considers Kakuma refugee camp as a bedrock of protracted conflicts as it is a multicultural society¹⁰¹ that, is rife with inherent deep-rooted structural animosity,¹⁰² often resulting in clashes between exiles of the same

⁹⁸ UNHCR, August 2016 Operation Factsheet, <https://www.unhcr.org/ke/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/09/August-2016-Kenya-Operation-Factsheet.pdf>

⁹⁹ Aukot, Ekuru. "It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma": Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees* Vol 21. 73-83. (2003): p.76

¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p.76.

¹⁰¹ Peter E, Omondi, Peace Education as Peace Building Initiative in Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya, 1994-2014. (Masters' Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2017), p.61

¹⁰² Alex M, Rithi, "Conflict Amongst Refugees: The Case Of Kakuma Refugee Camp, 1992-2014", (Masters' Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2015), p.43

nationalities.¹⁰³ Indeed, community responses during this study, illustrates the widespread conflict scenarios experienced in Kakuma Refugee Camp. During an FGD comprising of members of the Peace and Safety Teams, a male respondent confirmed the continuity of hostilities at play in Kakuma camp.

“Now there is common intra- conflicts caused by political differences such as in South Sudan where those who support the rebels or the ruling party.... When people came (sic) from various areas, and when they come together and meeting here there is fighting especially because some politicians come around here and motivated (sic) conflict”.¹⁰⁴

Various scholars categorize the conflict in Kakuma as structural violence, political, resource-based, ethnicity and identify-based, gender-based violence among others forms of conflict.¹⁰⁵ As suggested by Bar-Tal, intergroup conflicts often occur in the domains of territories, resources, trade, self-determination, religion rights, cultural values and so on.¹⁰⁶ Just like Bar-Tal, Wright argues that radical differences of religion, ideology, or institutions have tended to induce conflict,¹⁰⁷ a fact confirmed by a respondent during the peace and safety FGD who posits;

“When people came (come) from various areas, and when they come together and meeting here there is fighting because people who did not know each other and also some politicians around here motivated conflict”.¹⁰⁸

Poverty, ethnicity, discrimination, unemployment, environmental insecurity and availability of illicit small and light weapons’,¹⁰⁹ are other major push factors of conflict in Kakuma refugee camp as affirmed by the refugee communities members interviewed. Yet, various scholars identify ethnicity as a primary instigator of these events in Kakuma. Omondi posits that “ethnic loyalty”¹¹⁰ is prevalent among the various nationalities in Kakuma. He argues that the sharing of a language

¹⁰³Crisp, J. “A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee-Populated areas in Kenya” *New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 16* (2000): p.9. Accessed on 20 December 2018, at <https://www.refworld.org/docid/4ff58a7012.html>.

¹⁰⁴ Oral interview, Kakuma, Peace and Safety Teams FGD male respondent

¹⁰⁵ Alex M, Rithi, "Conflict Amongst Refugees: The Case Of Kakuma Refugee Camp, 1992-2014", (Masters' Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2015), p.42

¹⁰⁶ Bar-tal D, “From Intractable Conflicts Through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis”, *Political Psychology, Vol 21, No 2*(Jun 2000), p.351

¹⁰⁷ Quincy Wright, “The Nature of Conflict”, *The Western Political Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 2*, 193-209 (1951), p.196, Accessed on 28th October 2009, at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44310>.

¹⁰⁸ A male FGD participant, Peace and Safety Committee Kakuma 1.

¹⁰⁹ Alex M, Rithi, "Conflict Amongst Refugees: The Case Of Kakuma Refugee Camp, 1992-2014", (Masters' Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2015), p.43

¹¹⁰ Peter Erick, Omondi, Peace Education as Peace Building Initiative in Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya, 1994-2014. (Masters' Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2017), p.55

and religions often contribute to ethnic formation and affiliation. In this regard, it is not easy to distinguish between conflicts that are of an ethnic, religious or cultural disposition. Meanwhile, among the Somali community, superiority complexes within some clans is a source of violence. This in turn is often a source of clashes between the Somali Bantu and the Somali Somali.

A female respondent shared an incidence involving eight people who lost their lives following a violent conflict incidence in 2012, that erupted when a Dinka youth was accused of raping a Nuer girl. Other ethnic groups joined in the conflict that aggravated the crisis. Similarly, in 2014, eight refugees of the Burundian, Congolese and South Sudanese nationalities were killed in sporadic violence that lasted at least a week. According to an UNHRC report, the attempted rape of a refugee girl child sparked fighting among rival groups of South Sudanese youths. The violence also resulted in forced migration (forced displacement) of some members of the refugee community from one camp to another for fear of retribution.

In the same length, a male zonal leader insinuated that while most refugees are “tribe first and nationality later”, a redefinition of loyalties occur, albeit infrequently, during the situation of internationalities conflicts. Often there is a tendency, in such situations, for traditionally opposing ethnic factions from the same nationality, to mobilize together against members of a different nationality. Aukot also concedes that political affiliations characterize refugee conflict in Kakuma, suggesting that there is a tendency of traditionally antagonistic clans, say from the Dinka ethnic community, to gang up against the Nuer. One of the respondents quoted an incidence that took place around 1998 and 1999 when the Somali got into a fight with South Sudanese. The CPPT member indicated that during this fight several Somalis and South Sudanese lost their lives and business property worth thousands of shillings. Another FGD participant presented this as one of the conflicts he witnessed where traditional antagonists, Nuers and Dinkas from South Sudan, united to fight the Somali.

Sports rivalry emerged as a new source of conflict in Kakuma that often turned ethnic. According to the UNHCR, the warehousing of refugees has significant economic and human rights implications.¹¹¹ Most of the refugees, particularly the youth and adult men, in camps are idle, desperate and consequently exhibit violent tendencies. Hence sporting events are organized as a strategy; first of keeping, particularly the male youth constructively engaged and; secondly, to promote peaceful coexistence among refugees and the host communities. Notably, these sports teams mostly constitute of members of the same ethnicity or nationality, who enjoy the support and loyalty of their fellow community members. This kind of team formation heightens ethnic or nationalized tensions and easily erupt into violent altercations in cases such as perceived unfair referee. For instance, in 2017 a number of community members were victims of violence when a group of fans of one of the teams playing, considered a call by the referee as unfair. An account by a vice-zonal chairperson seems to suggest that such conflicts took a communal angle even clannist dimension as well.

“One time what I have seen in my zone it happened in 2018 there was some problem in the field.. there is always Kakuma Football League (KFL). Every block has like 5 different teams- mixed nationalities- but mostly SSD, Congolese, Somalian, Burundian and Rwandans... in my block as team called Wimpy (predominantly drawn from the Lotuko community) were beaten by Lapon (mostly comprising of Equatorians). So, when the Wimpy (team) was beaten, the young boys (fans) from Kakuma 1 Zone 1, wanted to beat the referee and linesman. When the elder from Nuer went to cool them down, the Nuer community got (suspected to be) involved in the fight... now it moved from two people to a group. So actually now we realized there is conflict between Lotuko and Nuers. I tries (tried) to separate them outside the field - kumbe (however) they ran and continued fighting at the lager. I called the police but the police came only after 1 hour. I boy from Lotuko was injured and a Nuer beaten badly almost death. The police took statements about the conflict.....”¹¹²

Conflict over resources is common source of conflict in Kakuma, and also largely blamed for the refugee problem in the East and Horn of Africa. Water, in particularly is considered a scarce commodity Kakuma with the most prevalent conflicts occurring at the water points. As presented by a zonal leader;

“The conflict (in Kakuma) is particularly in the water sources, the taps in our community, the water is very scarce and therefore there's a way that people should

¹¹¹ Protracted refugee situations: the search for practical solutions”, in: The State of the World’s Refugees - Human displacement in the new millennium, (2006), p.115

¹¹² Oral interview with a female Zonal leader

fetch water, some today and others tomorrow and alternative like that and so you'll find women fight mostly at the water taps and mostly it's with women..”¹¹³

Interestingly, disputes over water, which assumedly affect women the most, triggers ethnic and nationalized tensions which then erupt into full blown conflict that negatively affect women and men, as presented by Crisp;

“On 6 September 1998, at around 5.00 p.m., the UNHCR field team was leaving the compound for a meeting with the Burundi community to try to resolve a water dispute, when we were informed that a fight has started between the Somali and Sudanese communities in Kakuma... Upon arrival at the scene, they faced a very angry crowd with fierce traditional weapons, rushing towards the burning houses and shops... The damage was serious as one Somali died by gunshot at the scene and a Sudanese died later during the night... The Social Services assessment reported 54 shelters and business premises burnt down and others looted in the Somali community... Several theories were advanced on the cause, but one which appears most plausible is that five Sudanese boys went to fetch water ... and lined their jerry cans across the footpath. Two Somali riders, together on one bicycle, knocked down the jerry cans by riding along the path. Obviously the Sudanese boys got annoyed and held the bicycle to enquire the reasons why they behaved that way. Instinctively, one of the Somali boys walked to the nearest shop and came back, threatening with a knife. He stabbed the Sudanese boy and the fight opened. Three of the wounded were referred to Lopiding, while one of them died the same night. 24 injured were treated and discharged while four were admitted to the Kakuma mission hospital.”¹¹⁴

Refugee and host community hostilities and conflicts arise primary over resources. The host community perceive refugees as the more privileged “out-group”,¹¹⁵ who receive assistance from the international community and the hosting State, Kenya¹¹⁶ at their (host community) expense. Owing to this, conflict between refugees and the host community have been rampant. Further, locating the refugees in marginal areas of the country such as in Turkana County, places them on a collision path with the host community who are evidently underprivileged as regards development by the state. According to Ekuru, the Turkana community have suffered historical

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Crisp, J. “A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee-Populated areas in Kenya” *New Issues in Refugee Research*, Working Paper No. 16 (2000): p.9. Accessed on 20.10.2017 at <https://www.unhcr.org/research/working/3ae6a0c44/state-insecurity-political-economy-violence-refugee-populated-areas-kenya>.

¹¹⁵ Milner James, “Refugee and dynamics of peace building”, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2009): p.14

¹¹⁶ Oral interview with a representative from LOKADO Non-governmental Organisation.

marginalization, political under representation with limited resources.¹¹⁷ They have also experienced displacement through conflicts with their neighbors majorly due to cattle raids. In view of this, the host community consider the refugees as people who are competing and causing a strain in the already constrained resources.

In 1999, tensions between refugees in Kakuma camp in northwestern Kenya and the local population escalated after four people were been killed.¹¹⁸ Within the same period several violent incidences, strained the relations between the refugees and members of the Turkana ethnic group. One such case involved the fatal shooting of a Somali refugees and later a Sudanese refugee, by people suspected to be (Turkana) bandits from outside the camp. This resulted in an attack by relatives of the Sudanese man, on two Turkana men in retaliation, killing one and seriously wounding the other.¹¹⁹

During episodes of conflict, sexual and gender-based violence, particularly rape, is prevalent in Kakuma camp, portraying the continuum of violence traversing the conflict – flight- encampment spectrum. Various women respondents confirmed the prevalence of sexualized gender and domestic violence occurring in Kakuma. This violence manifests both as a precursor to, as well as a consequence of violent conflict in Kakuma Refugee Camp. This form of violence is often used as a strategy in violent conflict to spread fear, to diminish the morale among the adversaries as well as to extinguish the probability of women to recreate, hence reducing the chances for a community to self-sustain and ensure social and physical continuity.¹²⁰ Refugee women further to experience victimization both within the community and amongst their family.¹²¹ Stephanie Beswick posits that while considered as safe havens, refugee camps expose women to further victimization as a result of changes in the core relations between men and women and consequently

¹¹⁷ Aukot, Ekuru. "It Is Better to Be a Refugee Than a Turkana in Kakuma": Revisiting the Relationship between Hosts and Refugees in Kenya. *Refuge: Canada's Journal on Refugees Vol 21*. 73-83. (2003): p.21.

¹¹⁸ UNHCR security report, Kakuma refugee camp, 12 August 1999

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Moodley A, Review "Stories of African Women in War", *Agenda, No. 43, Women and the Aftermath (2000)*, p.95, Accessed on 24.09.2009, at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4066120>.

¹²¹ Theresa Michelle Wigget, "The Forgotten Voices of Female Refugees: An Analysis of Gender Roles in the Refugee Society" (Masters' Thesis North-eastern University Boston, Massachusetts, 2013), p.6

a breakdown in the legal and societal rules and laws extant in their home countries.¹²² It is no wonder that Sarah Smith points out to the fact that it is possible to see a continuum of gendered violence that does not reflect neat and distinct categories of peace.¹²³ While many communities are assumed to be peaceful and stable, high level of violence against certain portions of the society prevail.

The exportation of culture and traditional practices of violence against girls and women is observed at Kakuma refugee camp. Girls, particularly from some communities of South Sudan, face an extension of gender violence into refugee camps as victims of a traditional practice considered as a remedy for homicide,¹²⁴ referred to as ‘blood compensation’¹²⁵ (or otherwise “blood money”). This practice is defined under customary law by which the family or relations of a person accused of committing homicide pay compensation, often in cattle and occasionally in girl children, to the family of the deceased.¹²⁶ An NGO key informant indicated that such cases, although not often documented, exist and are a cause of conflict in the community. This is further affirmed by a female key informant and a community leader who alluded that some conflicts in Kakuma result from girls who flee from the camps to avoid being given out as blood compensation.

“I know like some girls who run away because the parents have no money to pay for cattle they stole back at home (South Sudan). Now because the parents have no money to pay back the blood because maybe a man died when the raid was happening, then they now have to give out their girl to that family. So the girls run away and that causes conflict in the family and even goes to the communities.”¹²⁷

¹²² Stephanie Beswick, "If You Leave Your Country You Have No Life!" Rape, Suicide, and Violence: The Voices of Ethiopian, Somali, and Sudanese Female Refugees in Kenyan Refugee Camps." *Northeast African Studies, New Series*, 8, no. 3 (2001): p.69. Accessed on 22.09.2020 at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41931271>.

¹²³ Sarah Smith, *Introducing Feminism in International Relations Theory*, E-International Relations, (2018); p.1

¹²⁴ David K., Deng, *Challenges of Accountability; An Assessment of Dispute Resolution Processes in Rural South Sudan*, South Sudan Law Society (SSLS) Assessment Report, (March 2013): p. 26

¹²⁵ Dina Disan Olweny, Executive Director of the Non-governmental Coalition of State Women’s and Youth Organisations, accessed at <http://www.ipsnews.net/2015/07/south-sudanese-girls-given-away-as-blood-money/.:~:text=According%20to%20child%20protection%20specialist,family%20and%20community%20in%20peace.%E2%80%9D>

¹²⁶ David K., Deng, *Challenges of Accountability; An Assessment of Dispute Resolution Processes in Rural South Sudan*, South Sudan Law Society (SSLS) Assessment Report, (March 2013), p.114

¹²⁷ Oral interview with a Female Leader in Kakuma Refugee camp.

Table 2.1: Select chronological accounts of conflict as relayed by the Kakuma research respondents.¹²⁸

Year (this is mostly an estimate)	Type of conflict	Parties to the conflict	Effects
1997	Ethnic	Dinka and Nuer- SSD	Deaths and over 100 injuries
1997	Sub Clan	Dinak Barhal Gaza and Dinka Bor	140 casualties
1998	Sub clans	Dinak Barhal Gaza and Dinka Bor	155 injuries
1998	Inter-nationalities	Nuer, Ethiopians and Somali	2 deaths, 30 injured
1999	Clans	Dinak and Didinga	6 deaths, over 300 injuries and 6,500 women and children forcefully migrated
2014	Inter-nationalities	Burundians, Congolese and SSDs	Deaths and forced migration
2018	Sports rivalry turned ethnic	Lotuko, Equatorians and Nuers	Physical injuries and police arrests

2.3. Conclusion

“We are human being- we have brain apart from the (spirit) of us being refugees...refugee is just a name. It can happen to anyone....we are refugee due to circumstance- we are not refugees because we have called for it...refugee is just a name.. Even Jesus was a refugee...”¹²⁹

The above quote attributed to a female refugee key informant in Kakuma, presents the dichotomist character of refugees; on the one hand as victims of circumstances and on the other as human beings which presupposes agency, humanness of the refugee persons. The victimization pointed out in the initial section of this chapter, focuses on the plight of refugees and asylum seekers and portrays them as in need of help because of circumstances that lie beyond their own responsibilities and actions.¹³⁰ The victimhood discourse easily propagates the social exclusion theory as it

¹²⁸ Field interviews in Kakuma with various FGDs and Key Interview Informants

¹²⁹ Oral interview with a female block leader respondent.

¹³⁰ Esther Greussing & Hajo G. Boomgaarden, “Shifting the refugee narrative? An automated frame analysis of Europe’s 2015 refugee crisis” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43:11, (2017): p.1751

presupposes refugees, and more so women, to be helpless, passive survivors of unpleasant circumstances.

Contrarily, this chapter also presents Refugee camps as a space where post-conflict events play out, exposing the trans-border instigated motives for conflicts manifested in Kakuma. It is the considered opinion of the researcher that while refugee camps aim at providing safety for those seeking asylum, some of the inherent political, cultural, ethnic and religious differences observed in their country of origin instigate tensions and eventual violent conflict in the refugee camps. As a result, those considered as peaceful victims of war and aggression, turn into villains and aggressors of the same violence and conflict, they purportedly fled. This thus forms a critical rationale for the need of post-conflict peacebuilding efforts discussed in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

HYBRIDITY IN PEACEBUILDING: THE CASE OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP

3.0. Introduction

As illustrated chapter 2, the inevitability, desirability and importance of peacebuilding is undisputed, particularly in the context such as Kakuma that evidences widespread conflict. This chapter seeks to establish if indeed there exists peacebuilding initiatives and structures in Kakuma Refugee Camp. Further, the study set out to determine the peacebuilding models employed in the post-conflict context such as in Kakuma Camp by first elucidating the variety of interpretation of peacebuilding and peacebuilding models present at global and regional level.

3.1. What is in a name? The terminological Diversity of Peacebuilding

Confusion and disagreements over the meaning of the term ‘peacebuilding’ continues to play out among the variety of actors who use it.¹³¹ Michael Barnett et al in particular argue that there exists no standard interpretation of peacebuilding, instead, the term is, generically, understood as external interventions intended to reduce the risk that a state (community) will erupt into or return to war.¹³² However, before we delve into the definition of peacebuilding, let us examine what peace entails. Peace has always been among humanity's highest values - for some, supreme.¹³³ A fact confirmed by various respondents in Kakuma including a woman leader who argued that “without peace, there is no life”¹³⁴ while another defined peace as “the state where people live together in harmony and love.”¹³⁵ The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) defines peace broadly as “freedom from unrest, disorder quarrel, dissention, anxiety, disturbances, inner conflict, and hostilities.”¹³⁶ In essence, OED infers peace to mean tranquillity, stillness, absence of or cessation of violence or war between nations or communities. In addition, Cambridge English Dictionary (CED) espouses

¹³¹ Beth Speake, “A Gendered Approach to Peacebuilding and Conflict Resolution”, *E-International Relations*, (2014), p.1. Accessed on 21.09.2017 on <https://www.e-ir.info/pdf/33296>.

¹³² Michael Barnett, et al "Peacebuilding: What is in a Name?" *Global Governance* 13, (2007): p37

¹³³ Rudolf J. Rummel, “Understanding Conflict and War: The Just Peace, Vol 5, “Alternative Concepts of Peace”, Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publication, (1981). Accessed on 20.07.2020 at <https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP2.HTM>.

¹³⁴ Oral interview with a zonal chairlady, Kakuma Refugee Camp

¹³⁵ Oral interview with a Female zonal leader, Kakuma Refugee Camp

¹³⁶ Oxford English Dictionary. Accessed on 03.05.2018 at <https://www.oed.com/viewdictionaryentry/Entry/39215?sessionid=D017E48688505CF2C9410EFA7C92A332#:~:text=Thesaurus%20%C2%BB-a,inner%20conflict%3B%20calm%2C%20tranquillity>.

peace to mean “a period of freedom from” war and violence especially when people live and work together happily without disagreement as well as the state of not being interrupted or worried by problems or unwanted actions.¹³⁷ The Dictionary of Word Origins considers peace as a word derived from Latin that means a pact of an agreement reached at the end of war, or a dispute between two or more people, groups or even states.¹³⁸ This definitions views peace as premised on the absence of violence or war. Webster further describes peace to mean mental or spiritual condition marked by freedom from disquieting or oppressive thoughts or emotions, such peace connotes and inner or personal calm and serenity.¹³⁹

Meanwhile, scholars such as Corretta submit that peace is not only a state of the absence of war, but also including the presence of justice, law and order.¹⁴⁰ Galtung yet posits that peace is double sided; on the one side negative peace, which is the absence of personal violence, and on the other hand positive the absence of structural violence and social justice.¹⁴¹ Galtung further suggests that peace refers to the state of a person being at peace with oneself. He argues that this definition assumes a predictable social order even though it is by means of force or the threat of peace¹⁴². According to Galtung, peace is the absence of collective violence witnessed mainly between nations as well as within distinct groups defined racially, ethnically or otherwise. He contends that peace means cooperation and integration between human groups, even though this type of peace tolerates occasional violence. Peacebuilding therefore occurs in a state or environment experiencing a lack of peace and hence as an attempt at restoration of that elusive peace.

Essentially, there exists a terminological dilemma in defining peace, hence the existence of cocktail of variables in its interpretation. According to Rummel this is so because peace derives meaning and qualities within a theory or cognitive framework, hence meaning different things to

¹³⁷ Cambridge Dictionary. Accessed on 03.05.2018 at <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/peace/>

¹³⁸ Bloomsbury, Dictionary of Words Origins, quoted in Buddhism and Peace by Ven B. Khemanado, (Calcutta: Lazo Print, (1995): p.387

¹³⁹ James L, Ray, “Understanding Rummel”. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol 26, No.1, 161-187, (1982); Accessed on 7.11.2020 at JSTOR, www.jstor.org/stable/173676.

¹⁴⁰ Coretta Scott Kin, “The Words of Martin Luther King, Jr., Newmarket Press, (2008); p. 83

¹⁴¹ John Galtung, “Theories of Peace: A Synthetic Approach to Peace Thinking”, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway (1967): p.12

¹⁴² Ibid, p12

different people, groups or communities.¹⁴³ He further proposes levels and dimensions within which peace is conceptualized. One is internationally, the level of where the peace discourse is central. Then there is the central government of ruling power of state, primarily witnessed between dominant political leaders. Another level involves group relations within states such as among ethnic, religious groups, nationalities, classes, clans, families etc, this is the level mostly witnessed in Kakuma. The last level involves the interpersonal relationship among individuals¹⁴⁴. Interestingly, Rummel contends that peace can also cut across various social levels. For instance, there are situations where there is peace at international level yet discord and civil strife rends a state. Equally, and very applicable to the Kakuma context that observes a post conflict- conflict scenario, a state may be at peace while some group are locked in violence. Notably therefore, peace is complex and multi-layered¹⁴⁵ that clearly requires an array of activities and actors at different levels.

3.2 Peacebuilding Approaches: From Global to Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya

This section presents the existing peacebuilding models at global level which shall be used to determine the peacebuilding approaches employed in Kakuma Refugee Camp. In this section, I shall attempt to submit three concepts of peacebuilding, the liberal, indigenous (interchangeably with local or traditional) and the hybrid and their associated application. And while there exists a substantial body of literature concerning the first two concepts, there is barely much discussion around the hybrid concept.

3.2.1 The Liberal concept and frame of Peacebuilding

Galtung, whose works fundamentally informed the global- especially the UN peacebuilding agenda, considers peacebuilding as a process of constructing mechanisms within the states that demonstrate an absence of direct and structural violence.¹⁴⁶ It is important to understand from the

¹⁴³ Rudolf J. Rummel, "Understanding Conflict and War: The Just Peace, Vol 5, "Alternative Concepts of Peace", Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publication, (1981). Accessed on 20.07.2020 at <https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJP.CHAP2.HTM>.

¹⁴⁴ Rudolf J. Rummel, "Understanding Conflict and War: The Just Peace, Vol 5, "Alternative Concepts of Peace", Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publication, (1981). Accessed on 20.07.2020 at <https://www.hawaii.edu/powerkills/TJJP.Chap2.HTM>.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ Johan Galtung, "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3 167-191 (1969): p.183

onset that, while peacebuilding is defined generally as actions aimed at achieving a peaceful state and stable society, the word was predominantly coined as an international community response to international level armed conflict and wars. Indeed, the agenda gained global prominence when the former United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in the Agenda for Peace published in 1992, defined it as “. efforts to identify and support structures to consolidate peace and advance some sense of confidence and well-being among people.”¹⁴⁷

Richmond contends that liberal peacebuilding is a “discourse, framework and structure” whose conceptualization is informed by a primarily western viewpoint and experience around armed conflict and peace.¹⁴⁸ A critical assumption that underpins the liberal peacebuilding model, as Maliga quoting Rajagopal indicates, is the fact that political and economic liberalization are the antidotes to violent conflict.¹⁴⁹ Indeed, the proponents of liberal peacebuilding illustrate an intersection between the democratic practices such as rule of law and transparency and realisation of true peace and security and political stability.¹⁵⁰ Interventions and approaches within this frame involve support for democracy, human rights, direct and indirect security sector reforms and national reconciliation and poverty eradication initiatives.¹⁵¹ This model relies heavily on external actors, including the United Nations, international community organisations, donor countries and humanitarian agencies,¹⁵² to provide what is often a universalistic solution to the conflict situations, with total disregard for the specific political, social or economic context.

Critics of the liberal peacebuilding model such as Newmann, et al declare that the viewpoint propagated by the liberals that “universal vision of conflicted or post-conflict situations is

¹⁴⁷ Boutros Boutros-Ghali, United Nations, “An Agenda for Peace, Preventive Diplomacy, Peace-making and Peacekeeping” (1992)

¹⁴⁸ Fernando Cavalcante, “The Influence of the Liberal Peace Framework on the United Nations Approach to Peacebuilding in Guinea Bissau”, *RCCS Annual Review*, 6, (2014) p.143. Accessed on 03.05.2017 at <https://journals.openedition.org/rccsar/564>.

¹⁴⁹Patrick I., Maliga, “A Critical Analysis of Post-Conflict Peace Building in Africa: A Case Study of Rwanda After 1994, (Master’s Thesis, University of Nairobi, (undated), p. 13

¹⁵⁰ Fernando Cavalcante, “The Influence of the Liberal Peace Framework on the United Nations Approach to Peacebuilding in Guinea Bissau”, *RCCS Annual Review*, 6, (2014) p.145. Accessed on 03.05.2017 at <https://journals.openedition.org/rccsar/564>.

¹⁵¹ Ibid, p.146

¹⁵² Juichiro Tanabe, Beyond Liberal Peacebuilding: A Critique of Liberal Peacebuilding and Exploring a Postmodern Post-liberal Hybrid Model of Peacebuilding, *International Relations and Diplomacy*, Vol 5, No. 8, 447-459, (August 2017), p.450. Accessed on 20.09.2019 at <https://www.davidpublisher.com/Public/uploads/Contribute/59cf397027d35.pdf>.

possible”, raises questions to its effectiveness.¹⁵³ In fact, the challengers of the approach posit that this frame failed to address the structural inequalities in countries it was applied instead it continued to create tensions and eruption and recurrence of conflicts. Paris equally argues that process of political and economic liberalization is inherently tumultuous and can exacerbate social tensions and undermine the process of stable peace,¹⁵⁴ Scholars such as Joakim consider the liberal approach as top-down approach in character, state focused, programmatic and technocratic biases model¹⁵⁵, lacking in appreciating the local realities such as those prevalent in Kakuma refugee camp. Other scholars including Hudson, argue that liberal peace building is Eurocentric, racialized and patriarchal in character¹⁵⁶ and as Juichiro contends, ignores local engagement and lacks consultation of local actors¹⁵⁷ a factor, I contend, is critical in the efforts to realise peace in a refugee camp set up such as Kakuma, that experiences localised and more grassroots type conflict.

3.2.2 The Local concept and frame of Peacebuilding

Local, also referred to as indigenous, peacebuilding refers to efforts that transcends strengthening of institutions to emphasising response mechanisms that address the root causes of conflict, prevention, management and transformation of conflict. Notably, Lederach considers social relations and reconciliation as critical in attaining sustainable peace. Similarly, Schirch contends that peacebuilding is a method of forestalling and minimizing effects of conflict while helping the affected people to recover from violence in all forms".¹⁵⁸

According to Joanne Willis, quoting Boege et al, ‘local’ is taken to refer to;

Customary law and indigenous knowledge, as well as traditional societal structures—extended families, clans, tribes, religious brotherhoods, village communities—and traditional authorities such as village elders, clan chiefs, healers, big men, and religious leaders’ that determine ‘the everyday social reality

¹⁵³ New perspectives on liberal peacebuilding, Newman, Paris and Richmond (eds), United Nations University Press, (2009), ISBN 978-92-808-1174-2, p. 23

¹⁵⁴ Roland Paris, *At War’s End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.ix

¹⁵⁵ Joakim Ojendal, Hanna L, Martin L, *Local Peacebuilding – Challenges and Opportunities*, (2017), p.11.

¹⁵⁶ Hudson, “Decolonizing Gender”, Social Science Research Council, Working Paper, p.6

¹⁵⁷ Juichiro Tanabe, *Beyond Liberal Peacebuilding: A Critique of Liberal Peacebuilding and Exploring a Postmodern Polt-liberal Hyrbid Model of Peacebuilding*, *International Relations and Diplomacy*, Vol 5, No. 8, 447-459, (August 2017), p.450. Accessed on 20.09.2019 at

<https://www.davidpublisher.com/Public/uploads/Contribute/59cf397027d35.pdf>

¹⁵⁸ Lisa S., “West Africa Network for Peacebuilding and Conflict Transformation Program” (Master’s Thesis, Eastern Monnenite University, 2004), pp15-16’

of large parts of the population ... particularly in rural and remote peripheral areas.¹⁵⁹

Indeed, indigenous peacebuilding plays a distinct role in enabling people and communities to resolve disputes and conflicts, particularly in Africa. Scholars such as Karari posit that many African communities used this approach, founded on relationships and values that act as a point of reference for human behaviour.¹⁶⁰ The proponents of this locally and culturally oriented peacebuilding discourse, appreciate that through their unique cultural socialization, the meaning of peace and conflict, causes of conflict and approaches to conflict resolution, is comprehended differently by different people. This is dependent on their cultural values and normative construction.¹⁶¹ This school of thought suggests that bottom-up community actions and commitment to local structures, customs and norms, which promote freedom of expression of local voices and needs, is central to the realization of long-lasting and stable peace.

Many African communities, and indeed those residing in Kakuma, possess distinctive norms and practises that define human relationships, which form the bedrock to the indigenous approach to peace building. This form of peacebuilding comprises of social, economic, cultural and religious-spiritual dimensions. Considering the multicultural nature of the Kakuma refugee community, local peacebuilding appears to fit snugly as an option for building peace. Boege points out that traditional approaches draw its strength from the fact that they are not state centric, but provide for comprehensive inclusion and participation as well as focus on psychosocial and spiritual dimension of conflict transformation.¹⁶² While Herath posits that this model attempts to promote tolerance and understanding between and/or among groups, to promote non-violent conflict

¹⁵⁹ Hybridity on the Ground in Peacebuilding and Development: Critical Conversations, Joanne Wallis, et al (eds.), ANU Press, 2018, ISBN, 176046849; p.86

¹⁶⁰ Peter Karari, "Ethno-political Violence, Transitional Justice and Peacebuilding in Kenya: Nurturing a Tripartite Hybridity" (PHD Thesis, University of Manitoba, 2014), p.94.

¹⁶¹ Juichiro Tanabe, Beyond Liberal Peacebuilding: A Critique of Liberal Peacebuilding and Exploring a Postmodern Post-liberal Hybrid Model of Peacebuilding, International Relations and Diplomacy, Vol 5, No. 8, 447-459, (August 2017), p.451. Accessed on 20.09.2019 at <https://www.davidpublisher.com/Public/uploads/Contribute/59cf397027d35.pdf>.

¹⁶² Volker Boege, Potential and Limits of Traditional Approaches in Peacebuilding", in: B Austin, M. Fisher, H.J., Giessmann (eds.) 2011. Advancing Conflict Transformation The Berghof Handbook, Barbara Budrich Publishers. (2011), p..444

resolution, and finally to heal the wounds of violence in the long term¹⁶³ - a factor at the heart of the refugee community in Kakuma as offered by a female participants in the peace and safety committee focus group that;

“Back in our homelands, there was shamba (farmland) and so men had something to do...Here they are dependent on rations (by humanitarian agencies). Men are stressed and there is too much alcohol and drugs and so they commit violence on women.”¹⁶⁴

Likewise, a male community leader further posed that;

“When displaced from the country (of origin) people are really down, they feel really hopeless and so they need to be lifted up- they need to be told that they are human and they should know their suffering matters...men are exploited, women are exploited.”¹⁶⁵

Several communities in Africa, who have experienced particular intra-conflicts, employ indigenous mechanisms as part of their post-conflict peacebuilding processes.¹⁶⁶ Such mechanism are anchored upon some broadly accepted traditional philosophies such as Ubuntu. This is word, derived from the Bantu language commonly used in East, Central, North and Southern Africa, is an African philosophy that implies love, peace....positive or negative peacebuilding...showing remorse and repentance.¹⁶⁷ Its principles underscore the interconnectedness, common humanity and responsibility of individuals to each other.¹⁶⁸ The philosophy bears a significant socio-cultural framework integrated in all aspects of the African context aimed at promoting a culture of peace, tolerance and social coexistence. Ubuntu values group solidarity and relationships that is an essential norm for indigenous peacebuilding. While interviewing the community members in Kakuma, it was apparent that according to them, peacebuilding was a method of rekindling broken relations.¹⁶⁹ One of the strategies that illustrate restoration of relations in the African culture involves symbolic gestures including exchanging of gifts, praying, slaughtering animals are a

¹⁶³ Herath, Dhammika, *Wounded Society: Social Wounds of the War and the Breakup of Community Social Structures in Northern Sri Lanka.*, in: Herath, D. (ed.) *Healing the Wounds: Rebuilding Sri Lanka after the War.* Colombo: ICES, pp. 49–80.

¹⁶⁴ Oral interview with Female Peace and safety leader.

¹⁶⁵ Oral interview Male Zonal leader, Kakuma 1

¹⁶⁶ Abdul Karim Issifu “Exploring Indigenous Approaches to Peacebuilding: The Case of Ubuntu in South Africa”, *Peace Studies Journal, Volume 8, Issue 2*, (December 2015), p. 60

¹⁶⁷ Jude Chinweuba, “The Philosophical Concept of “Ubuntu” as a Dialogic Ethic and the Transformation of Political Community in Africa”, p.7

¹⁶⁸ James K Khomba, Ella C Kangude, “The Indigenisation of Corporate Strategies in Africa: Lesson from the African Ubuntu Philosophy, *China-USA Business Review*, Vol. 12, No. 7, 672-689, (July 2013); p.673

¹⁶⁹ A male FGD participant in a peace and safety group Kakuma 1.

common practise signifying the end of conflict and reconciliation. Such is the case in Kakuma where a cow was slaughtered to signify the end of a conflict and a celebration of a peace settlement following a violent conflict in Kakuma 4 in 2017.¹⁷⁰

Nevertheless, the local or indigenous peacebuilding is not without critics. The fluidity of cultural practices resulting from external influences among others, pose a challenge in its application. More so, in a heterogeneous society such as Kakuma, traditional approaches to conflict resolution (peacebuilding) differ from community to the other and thus in a case where the protagonists are drawn from two different cultures, it is difficult to reach a determination. As Boege points out, there is no one single general concept of traditional conflict transformation, hence the over-homogenizing of the traditional model,¹⁷¹ especially in a heterogeneous society like the Kakuma refugee camp context, pose a danger in its effectiveness.

Local approaches to peacebuilding may include possible contradictions to universal human rights standards and are potential to abuse by the guardians of traditions for their own benefit.¹⁷² In Kakuma for instance, some decision result in oppressing, particularly women and girls. Some of these approaches often geared to preserving the “good old order”, puts the implementers in a collision path with young women and men – ‘infected’ by ideas from the outside world”.¹⁷³ Such contradictions leads some community members to desire the liberal peacebuilding model as a response to the inequality, exclusions and injustices that can occur under local practices and institutions.¹⁷⁴ The respondents in Kakuma, while appreciating the role of the traditional and religious leaders in building peace in the camps, emphasised the need for vigilance since according to them, occasionally these same leaders make decisions that are subjective depending on their ethnic, political or religious alignment as well as gender, as detailed in a latter section. It is obvious that there is need to be cautious not to embellish indigenous approaches to conflict resolution and

¹⁷⁰ Oral Interview with LWF Peace and Safety Unit Staff.

¹⁷¹ Volker Boege, *Potential and Limits of Traditional Approaches in Peacebuilding*, in: B Austin, M. Fisher, H.J., Giessmann (eds.) 2011. *Advancing Conflict Transformation the Berghof Handbook*, Barbara Budrich Publishers. (2011), p.437

¹⁷² *Ibid*, p. 451.

¹⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 451.

¹⁷⁴ Richmond, Oliver. “The Dilemmas of a Hybrid Peace: Negative or Positive?” *Cooperation and Conflict*. 50. 50-68, (2014) p.14

peacebuilding especially given the patriarchal construction of the African society that tends to be socially exclusionary based on, particularly, gender a critical theoretical frame in this study.

3.2.3 The Hybrid concept and frame of Peacebuilding

The word Hybrid has its origins in the biological sciences to describe the product of a process of mixing and combining various elements. Nonetheless, the word has gained traction among social scientists in particular colonial studies when used to refer to the development of transcultural outcomes that occurred during the post-colonial era.

As an emerging discourse, there seems to be varying theories explaining hybridity. Matthew et al propose a binary construction of the hybrid model claiming it entails “‘local’, indigenous or place-specific socio-legal, political, or economic orders on the one hand, with global, transnational, or foreign orders on the other.”¹⁷⁵ Similarly, Richmond poses that hybrid forms of peace represent a juxtaposition between international norms and interests and local forms of agency and identity.¹⁷⁶ This type of peace partly emerge from local agency and its attempts to mitigate conflict in everyday life.¹⁷⁷

Syaiful Anam offers that hybrid model entails the accommodation of the various peacebuilding structures and actors that promotes local values and interests as well as “universal human values”¹⁷⁸ favoured by the liberal framework all for the sake of long-lasting peace. Correspondingly, Issifu quoting Porter, describes peacebuilding as a process that incorporates elements of the liberal model including promotion of equality, democracy, security and respect for the rule of law and justice on one hand, and indigenous model that emphasises relationship building, trauma and emotional healing, inclusivity reconciliation and empowerment of moral agency on the other.¹⁷⁹ In the same vein, peace psychologists define peacebuilding within the

¹⁷⁵ Matthew G. Allen & Sinclair Dinnen: Is The ‘Hybrid Turn’ a ‘Spatial Turn’? A Geographical Perspective On Hybridity and State-Formation in the Western Pacific, *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal*, (2017) ,p.2

¹⁷⁶ Richmond, Oliver, “The Dilemmas of a Hybrid Peace: Negative or Positive?” *Cooperation and Conflict*. 1-9(2014), p.1.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p.3

¹⁷⁸ Anam, Syaiful. “Peacebuilding: The Shift Towards a Hybrid Peace Approach, *Journal Global & Strategies*, 37-48, (2018), p.42

¹⁷⁹ Abdul Karim Issifu, The Role of African Women in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: The Case of Rwanda, *The Journal of Pan African Studies*, vol.8, no.9, (2015), p.66

spectrum of prevention, proactivity, problem solving, meeting human needs, and ending oppression and inequality.¹⁸⁰

Meanwhile, Belloni, asserts that hybridity is the state of affairs in which liberal and illiberal norms, institutions, and actors coexist.¹⁸¹ A notion supported by Albrecht and Moe, who observes that, hybrid forms are never simply a mix of two otherwise pure forms, but are perennially ongoing processes of amalgamation and dissolution.”¹⁸² Proponents of hybrid peacebuilding model such suggest that hybrid peacebuilding is critical in building more sustainable and locally-owned peace that included reconciliation.¹⁸³ Richmond prepositions that hybrid model captures elements of liberal peace in a local context embedded in a culture of “accommodation, reconciliation, emancipation, autonomy, social justice and a sense of liberation”.¹⁸⁴ Whereas Shahar and Jones argue that this form of peacebuilding create legitimacy and potentially emancipatory¹⁸⁵ of the local communities.

Similar to any evolving theory, the hybridity discourse is not devoid of associated weakness and criticism. Firstly, some scholars argue that there often lacks clarity between local peacebuilding initiatives that emerge organically against those stimulated by external actors, hence within the liberal model paradigm. Observably as will be illustrated in the section on the perspective of peacebuilding in Kakuma, there exists two ‘local’ community structures. On one hand are the cultural/traditional and religious leaders, while on another the leaders elected and supported by the external actors including the Government, UNHCR and humanitarian agencies. Secondly, there is often the danger of the hybrid model creating a conflict between the cultural values Vis a Vis the universal value standards. This includes for instance, gender exclusionism where women are limited to participate in decision-making platforms that affect them. Likewise, the punishment for a wrongdoing could either be too lenient as in the case of sexual and gender based violence or

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Belloni, Roberto, “Hybrid Peace Governance: Its Emergence And Significance”, *Global Governance*, 18 (1); 21-38 (2012), p.22

¹⁸² Peter Albrecht & Louise Wiuff Moe, “The Simultaneity of Authority in Hybrid Orders” *Peacebuilding*, 3:1, 1-16, (2015), p.5

¹⁸³ Richmond, Oliver. “The Dilemmas of a Hybrid Peace: Negative or Positive?” *Cooperation and Conflict*. 50. 50-68, (2014) p. 14

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p.11

¹⁸⁵ Hameiri, S., Lee C. Jones. “Against Hybridity in the Study of Peacebuilding and State-building.” (2018), p.6.

excessive and yet owing to respect or fear of repercussion some of these cases would go unreported thus denying due justice to the victims. Miranda Et al propose that instead of focusing on the definition of the term it rather "...gain insight into what it can do".¹⁸⁶

3.3 Conceptualization of Peacebuilding in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Refugees in Kakuma consider peacebuilding initiatives as mechanisms that build their self-esteem and enable them to live peacefully with their neighbours and even learn to forgive. According to a woman leader "without peace, there is no life".¹⁸⁷ Moreover, Lawson illustrates a reverse continuum of peace from the camp to the countries of origin as it is "hoped that societal healing will begin within the camp and spread to an individual's country of origin upon returning home".¹⁸⁸ Another Kakuma respondent affirmed that notion inferring that peacebuilding is "a natural part of life just like conflict".¹⁸⁹

Kakuma refugee camp context, as opined by Lawson and various key respondents interviewed during the field visit, is a reflection of micro-level conflict dynamics and a continuum of macro-level violence resulting from ancient hatreds experienced in their countries of origin. Lawson's study reveals that refugees suffered psychological, emotional, physical and mental trauma and hence some of them resort to conflicts ranging from family, tribal to inter-tribal in nature, a fact conceded by various respondents. Hence, peacebuilding programs and initiatives in Kakuma are critical in alleviating trauma, support development, assist reintegration and promote self-reliance.¹⁹⁰ These peace programmes, interchangeably referred to as peacebuilding initiatives, become an essential strategy in equipping the community with requisite skills to mitigate conflict while promoting a culture of peace. One community respondent opined that the skills learnt through the peacebuilding programs, equip them with what he referred to as "tools that would enable us to make peace, wherever we live", since he argues that as long as conflict is present,

¹⁸⁶ Miranda Forsyth, Lia Kent, et al, *Hybridity in Peacebuilding and Development: A Critical Approach*, Third World Thematics, *TWQ Journal*, 2:4, 407-421, (2017), p.410

¹⁸⁷ Oral interview with a zonal chairlady, Kakuma Refugee Camp,

¹⁸⁸ Jane, L.E, "What happens after the war? how refugee camp peace programmes contribute to post-conflict Peacebuilding Strategies", *New Issues in Refugee Research Paper No. 245*, (2012), p.1

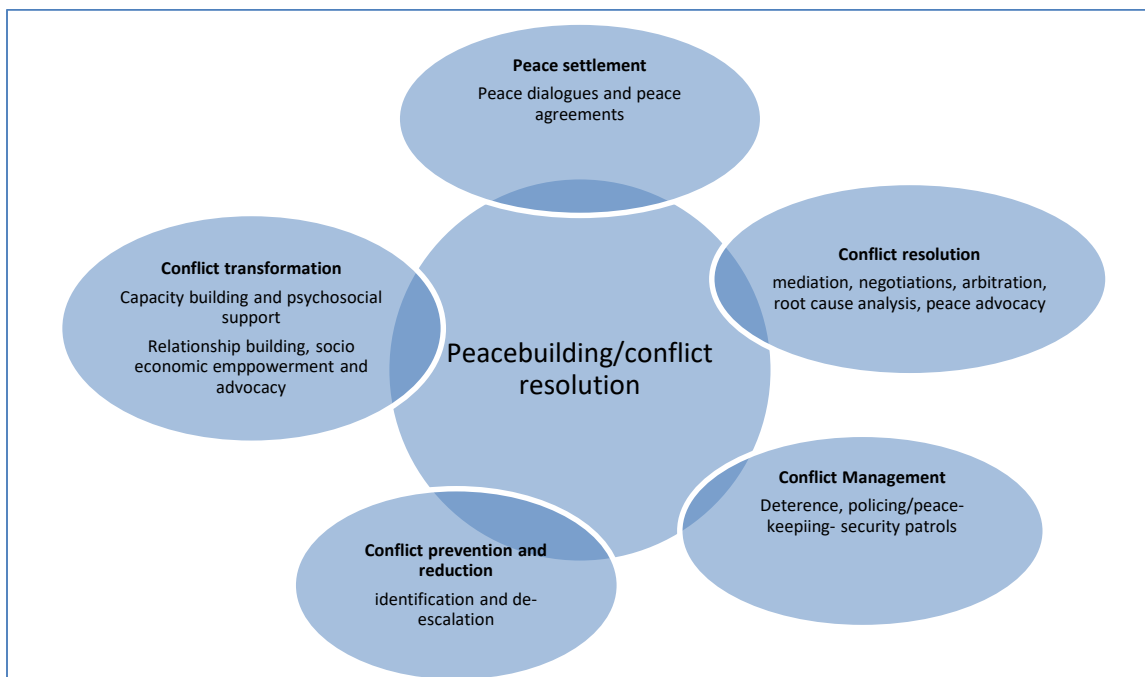
¹⁸⁹ Oral interview with a youth zonal leader, Kakuma Refugee Camp.

¹⁹⁰ Jane, L.E, "What happens after the war? how refugee camp peace programmes contribute to post-conflict Peacebuilding Strategies", *New Issues in Refugee Research Paper No. 245*, (2012), p8

therefore peacebuilding as well.¹⁹¹ Peacebuilding is thus perceived as the way of dealing with conflicts in the community and activities that enable peace to reign in the camp.

In Kakuma, the words peacebuilding and conflict resolution were interchangeable used to mean actions that endeavour to create a stable and peaceful environment and society. Broadly, the respondents define peacebuilding within the spectrum of conflict prevention, conflict reduction and management, peace settlement, conflict resolution and conflict transformation, as illustrated in the chart below. Interestingly, most of the respondents emphasised psychosocial support and trauma healing as key elements of peacebuilding. Similar to proponents of the traditional model of peacebuilding, the respondents preferred a grassroots based, bottom-up and all-inclusive principles as critical foundational considerations in peace processes. One responded seemed to question the role of external actors in peacebuilding as observed the liberal model, emphasising that Peacebuilding should be all inclusive, bottom up...not agencies (read the UN and humanitarian agencies/organisations) thinking they are the saviours.¹⁹²

Figure 4: Kakuma’s commonly used words to refer to peacebuilding¹⁹³



¹⁹¹ A respondent during the Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament FGD.

¹⁹² Oral interview with a male zonal leader, Kakuma Refugee Camp

¹⁹³ Researchers’ presentation of the elements that constitute peacebuilding according to interviews with key informants and community study participants.

A critical element in understanding how peacebuilding is conceptualised in Kakuma, is by examining the existant peacebuilding architecture, particularly to interrogate the peace actors and their peacebuilding actions. The subsequent section presents the three primary peacebuilding actors and their involvement in the peace-making efforts in Kakuma refugee camp and how each action, relates to the peacebuilding models discussed in the previous section.

3.4 Peacebuilding Architecture in Kakuma refugee camp: Actors and Actions

“Peace cannot be brought by an individual but you must accept that peace is a collective responsibility, it is not an individual making.”¹⁹⁴

The above quote attributed to a CSO key working in the refugee camp, pointed out that effective peacebuilding needs to be inclusive, sentiments echoed by various research respondents and peacebuilding scholars. A male respondent further asserted that “for there to be successful peace, everyone, even the women, should be involved”.¹⁹⁵ The respondents interviewed seemed to underscore the role played by the community in peacebuilding in Kakuma. They argued that some grassroot-based, bottom-up and all-inclusive principles is critical foundational considerations in peace processes.

Similarly, a number of scholars affirm the importance of various actors’ involvement in peacebuilding. Lawson for instance, postulates that, it is the only way peace can be sustained, once the majority of the population is involved, peacebuilding will be sustainable.¹⁹⁶ Correspondingly, as cited by Alger, Galtung suggests that there are “tasks for everybody”¹⁹⁷ in the pursuit of peace either positive peace (overcoming structural violence) or negative peace (overcoming direct violence). Meanwhile, Lederach argues that mapping of peacebuilding actors is essential to the success of a peace processes. In the context of this study, this mapping is fundamental, as earlier mentioned in defining the peacebuilding model prevalent in the camp. Lederach provides for a generic illustration of the distinct and in some cases complementary functions, different actors play within the peacebuilding process.

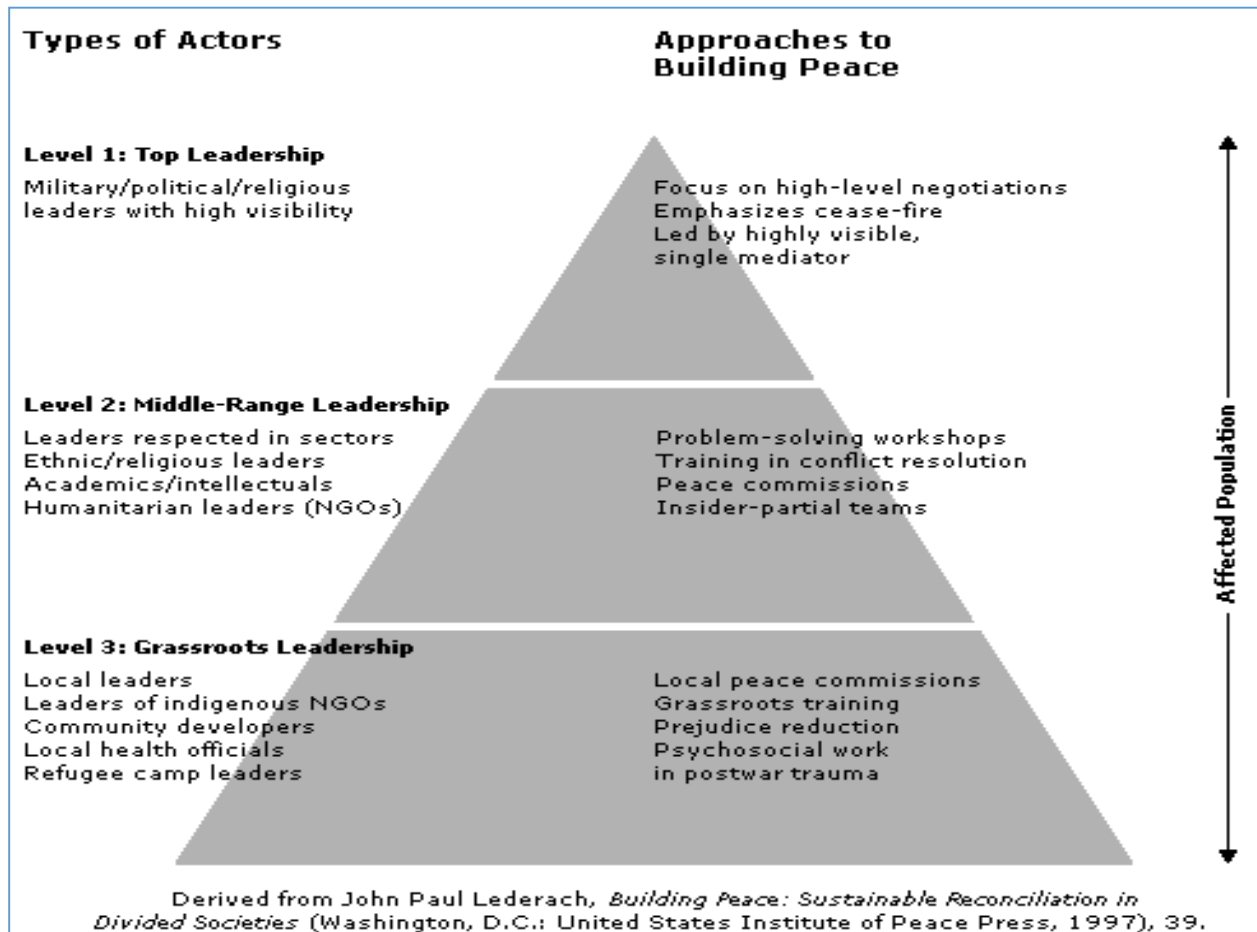
¹⁹⁴ Oral interview with Francis Loititipo, Peace Officer, LOKADO.

¹⁹⁵ Oral Interview with a male Zonal leader, Kakuma Refugee Camp

¹⁹⁶ Jane, L.E, "What happens after the war? how refugee camp peace programmes contribute to post-conflict Peacebuilding Strategies", *New Issues in Refugee Research Paper No. 245*, (2012), p.26

¹⁹⁷ Alger, C. F. "There Are Peacebuilding Tasks for Everybody", *International Studies Quarterly* 9:534-554, Mershon Centre and Department of Political Science, Ohio State University (2007) p.534

Figure 5: John Paul Lederach Peacebuilding Pyramid).¹⁹⁸



In this pyramidal illustration, Lederach seems to propagate the value of a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding echoed by several respondents in Kakuma. The three levels are composed of, a); the top leadership consisting of a few high-profile military, political religious leaders who are nonetheless highly visible in peacebuilding actions particularly in international peacebuilding contexts. These level of actors are involved in high-level negotiations with an emphasis mostly on cease-fires. The equivalent in Kakuma refugee camp would be the National Security Agents and the Refugees Affairs Secretariat Kakuma Camp management. Yet, this category of actors, who do not appear as visible in Kakuma in comparison to the context of an international conflict context, play a limited role in supporting peace negotiations, and ensuring peace is sustained through law enforcement.

¹⁹⁸ Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, Washington D.C.: United States Institution of Peace Press, (1997), p.3

The middle-range leadership according to Lederach consist of influential community personalities such as religious leaders, ethnic leaders, academician, civil society, non-government/humanitarian organisations. He identifies such leaders as strategic in sustainable peacebuilding initiatives since they are connected to, and often have the trust of, both top-level and grassroots actors”.¹⁹⁹ They have capacity building roles as well as linking the community to the top leadership since they are what Lederach refers to as ‘insider-partial’. Some of them belong to the community although they have the ability to rise above community affiliation. In the traditional peacebuilding frame, these leaders are significantly more in number but less visible than the top leadership. In micro-level peacebuilding contexts such as Kakuma, these leaders comprise mainly of the leadership or critical staff of the humanitarian and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and other prominent religious or traditional leadership.

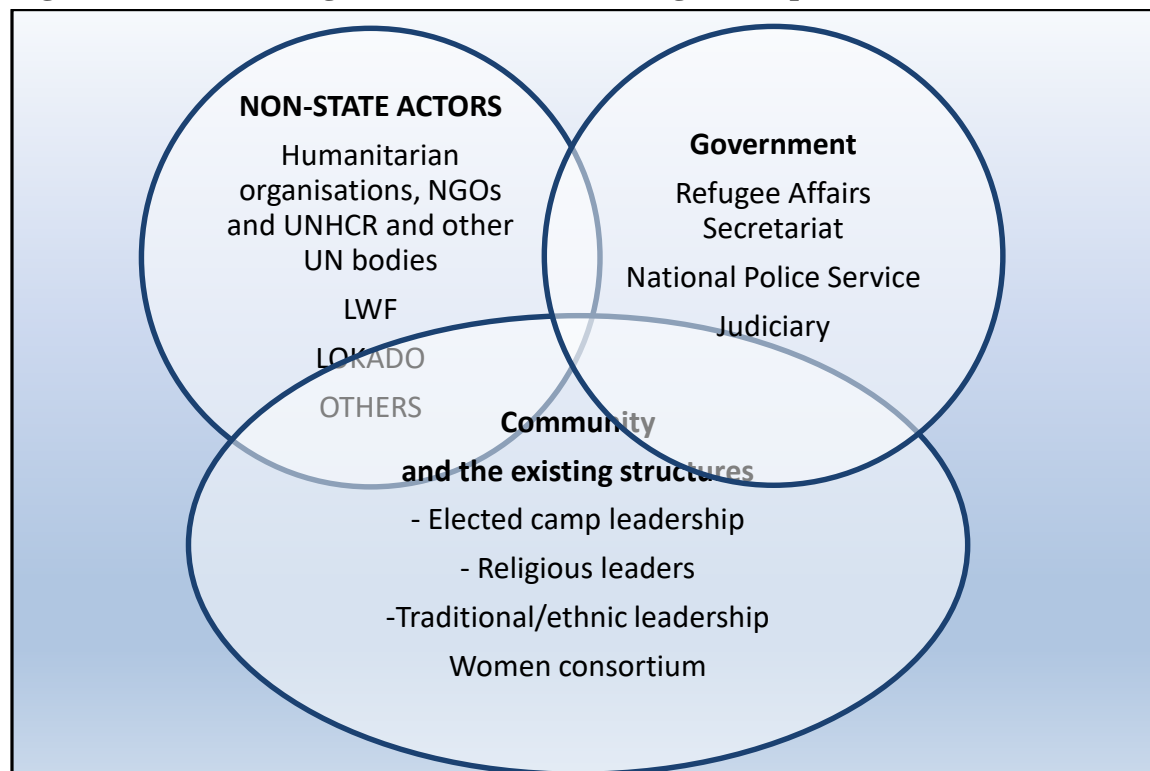
The third level and significantly numerically large comprises of grassroots leadership of the affected communities, local NGOs, refugee camp leaders and other local leaders who play a substantial role in the process. This category represents the community members but often have no ties with the top leadership. These actors engage in preventive, reactive and response initiatives including conflict reduction, de-escalation of tensions, post war trauma healing, intercommunity reconciliation and trust building, advocacy among others as discussed in details in the subsequent section. In Kakuma, this level consists majorly of the member of the refugee peacebuilding structures as well as host community peace committees.

In this section, I content that in a localised post-conflict situation; the community members play a substantive role in the whole peacebuilding spectrum, and that they are more visible and actively engaged in the process. Nevertheless, the study observes a level of interconnectedness, as illustrated in the chart below, between the various actors in the way they respond to conflict a fact consistent with a micro-level peacebuilding context such as Kakuma. As presented in the chart below, the intersections represent the interactivity between the various actors while maintaining individual group mandates. This is indicative of a hybridised model of peacebuilding that supports

¹⁹⁹ Maiese, Michelle, “Peacebuilding.” Beyond Intractability. Eds. Guy Burgess and Heidi Burgess. Conflict Information Consortium, University of Colorado, Boulder: 2003. Accessed on 03.05.2017 at <http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/peacebuilding>.

such interfaces between the grassroots and the elite, unlike the top-down liberal approach that is, according to Joakim “state focused, programmatic and technocratic biases model²⁰⁰. The Kakuma actors chart appreciates the local realities critical in a sustainable and meaningful peacebuilding process.

Figure 6: Peacebuilding Actors in Kakuma Refugee Camp²⁰¹



3.4.1 Community leadership structures and Peacebuilding in Kakuma

Community structures or otherwise termed as committees or organs in Kakuma comprises solely of the refugees. As pointed out, unlike in the case of international level peacebuilding model, Kakuma, presents a localised post-conflict setup that witnesses a shift in the level of peace actors’ engagement. The community, represented by the community committees play a visibly crucial role in all spheres of the peacebuilding architecture except in the areas related to security and humanitarian aid where they play marginal roles. In essence, their engagement transcends the peacebuilding spectrum as defined by the community- from peace prevention, peace management, conflict resolution, peace settlement and conflict transformation. At least ten community organs

²⁰⁰ Joakim Ojendal, Hanna L, Martin L, Local Peacebuilding – Challenges and Opportunities, (2017), p.11.

²⁰¹ Researcher representation of the Peacebuilding Actors in Kakuma Refugee Camp.

that play either distinct or interrelated roles in exist in Kakuma. However, for the purposes of this study, we will discuss four of them for the reason that they participated in the field interviews.

Zonal and block leaders

Camp leaders, elected in a democratic process, are broadly mandated to oversee the with all camp governance issues. As a link between the community, government and the agencies working in Kakuma particularly in implementing programs and decisions in the camp, they have authority to speak and make decisions concerning the community. The elected leaders consist of a chairlady, chairman, who both possess equal rights and responsibilities as well as a secretary. In the peacebuilding architecture, these members consider themselves as “macho hapa kwa ground”²⁰² (loosely translated “the eyes on the ground”). In this case, they serve as a critical early warning mechanism, which is a fundamental to conflict prevention.

According to Saferworld, early warning systems played a critical tool in conflict prevention during the violence and atrocities experienced in the 1990 affecting parts of Africa, Latin America, Europe and Asia.²⁰³ These are tools/mechanism used to identify potential for conflict and imminent violence. Saferworld adduces that a number of early warning systems have long-recognised that local groups have access to the best and most nuanced information and understanding of local conflict dynamics.²⁰⁴ Indeed, the zonal and block leaders interviewed submitted that since they live in the community, they understand what they refer to as, the “moves of our members.”²⁰⁵ This in turn gives them a vantage point to detect any unusual event or possible emerging hostilities that would potentially result in conflict, and where necessary, report it to the relevant authorities. A respondent from RAS insinuated that without the support of the refugee community in sharing relevant and adequate information it would be difficult for the government to fulfil their obligation in provision of security and hence the realisation of the right security and peace.

²⁰² Oral interview with female Zonal vice chair, Kakuma Refugee Camp.

²⁰³ Saferworld, “Effective Local Actions: From early warning to peacebuilding”, *Conciliatory Resources*, (February 2016), p1

²⁰⁴ Ibid, p. 2

²⁰⁵ A female FGD participants, Community Peace and Protection Team (CPPT).

The community leaders, equipped with skills by organisation such as Lutheran World Federation, pointed out the critical role they play in de-escalating and diffusing potential violence, even conflict. Such cases involve water, domestic, shelter as well as boundary disputes. As claimed by a female block respondent, in so doing, they prevent cases from reaching the law enforcement since they are able to resolve most of the cases.

“Sisi kama kwa block, kazi yetu ni, watu wakikosana, tunaenda kukaa katikati. LWF wameshatunfunza, so mara nyingi ni mambo ya shelter au hii mambo ya mabati ya choo..tunakaa katikati ndio watu wasipeleke huko mbele kwa polisi. Watu wakigombana tunakaa na tunasolve hiyo kesi...tunaleta amani wasiende mbele ..wakienda mbele watu wanaumia. Kazi yetu nyingi ni hiyo, watu wakigombana kwa maji, wamama, wazee kwa boma...wanaita sisi, wasiende mahali ingine tunasolve tu hapa...na wakienda mbele (kwa polisi) bila kupitia sisi, tunawafuata ili turudishiwe hiyo kesi..na tunasolve....”²⁰⁶

(Our role as block leaders is to intervene in conflict situations. LWF has equipped us with knowledge. Most times we intervene on conflict matters related to shelter, particularly roofing iron sheets for pit latrines. We respond in order to prevent such cases to reach the Police Stations. When people conflict, we sit them down and resolve the case, we bring peace amongst them because if they take the case (ahead) to the police, they end up suffering. That is our work. When people quarrel at the water points, or domestic quarrels between men and women, they do not go elsewhere, we are called immediately to resolve the conflicts...and when they go directly to the police without informing us, we go and request the case to be brought back to us and we resolve)

According to a male respondent, community leaders, especially the block leaders are the “1st responders...they are the first line of defence”,²⁰⁷ who perform a critical role of de-escalating tensions that would potentially result in violent/open conflict. This was echoed by a female respondent who attributed their success to the fact that they understand “the fear and pain and desperation”²⁰⁸ experienced by their fellow community members since they too have a lived experience of the camp life. The leaders contend that life in refugee camp is highly characterised by a survival instinct, which the leaders are alive to as well. In this regard, these leaders often provide counselling to the community and attribute this to their success in reduction of tensions and conflicts in the camp. A female leader shared that;

²⁰⁶ Oral Interview with a female Block leader.

²⁰⁷ Oral interview, with a male Zonal Leader

²⁰⁸ Oral interview, with a Woman Consortium representative.

“When we are out to fetch water and then we witness two women arguing about their turn to fetch water, we talk to them and make them understand that it is good to live in peace, and they agree.”²⁰⁹

Noteworthy, these leaders command authority by virtue of their elective positions and hence have the capacity to establish basic operational rules for self-governance within the units under their charge. For example, together with the community especially the women, some of the block leaders submitted that they developed a schedule for fetching water, adhered to by the community, hence reducing water related conflicts.

“Mostly water fetching is a problem... the time of water has been reduced and even the amount- (there may be) a person who does not want anyone to go before her and she wants to fetch everyday- but with the way the schedule are it is important for people to skip a day so that to allow your neighbour to also fetch water. But this person is always there and she is looking for a fight - and she has resources- so I stand in between and say – today you will not get water- especially if the person is doing that daily- the end of the day she will be angry but at the end of the day we are friends.”²¹⁰

Critically, these leaders possess extensive knowledge of the social, political and cultural dynamics at play in the camp and are thus able to respond appropriately. In my interviews and participatory observation, it seemed clear that women played a critical role in handling interpersonal disputes especially those related to water, children’s differences and domestic disputes while the men responded to boundary disputes. There seemed to be clarity, by these leaders, on their mandate and referral mechanism in cases of cases outside their domain. According to them, in case of an incident escalating to violence, they reported to the community protection and peace teams (CPPT) housed under the Lutheran World Federation, the organisation mandated with peace and safety roles in the community.

Community Protection and Peace Teams (CPPT)

The CPPT is primarily a community structure set up and managed by the Lutheran World Federation jointly with the Refugee Affairs Secretariat camp leadership. Membership to this team is by appointment drawing their mandated as stipulated within a framework agreement. Its role is to receive, document and address cases referred to them by the community and other peacebuilding

²⁰⁹ Oral interview with a female zonal chairlady, Kakuma 3

²¹⁰ Oral interview with a female zonal leader, Kakuma 2

community structures. Mediation and arbitration aimed at conflict prevention or resolution constitute some of their attendant roles. As shared by an FGD participant from the Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament (KYPP);

“These are the one receiving some cases and do follow ups and make sure that those people who have been fighting....they come together and stay in peace”.²¹¹

Equally, as and when required, this Team conduct joint patrols with the National Police Service officials, during periods of heightened tensions in the community. Security awareness forums fall within their mandate too in collaboration with relevant state and non-state agencies.

Religious and Traditional leaders/Council of elders

Religious and traditional leaders in Kakuma, play a diverse and significant role within the peacebuilding spectrum including; conflict prevention, peace-making and conflict resolution and conflict transformation using strategies including peace messaging, arbitration, negotiation reconciliation, mediation, humanitarian response and psychosocial counselling. Since religion is a dominant factor in the lives of the community, these leaders have the ability to use the platform availed to them to propagate the message of peace, promotion of social cohesion and respecting diversity. They have, as noted within the UN Plan of Action for religious leaders, a strong potential to influence the lives and behaviour of those who follow their faith and share their beliefs. When they speak out, their messages can have a strong and wide-ranging impact.²¹²

Oshadhi further intimates that the moral principles and values enclosed in the knowledge of great religious teachers are critical to eliminate the root cause of conflict.²¹³ Kakuma, a multi- ethnic, nationality and cultural community as pointed out by responds, provides religious leaders the space to preach the message of reconciliation, forgiveness and love and that restrains from engaging in

²¹¹ A respondent during the FGD with the Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament (KYPP), Kakuma 3

²¹² United Nations Office on Genocide Prevention and Responsibility to Protect, “Plan of Action for Religious Leaders and Actors to Prevent Incitement to Violence that could Lead to Violence,” (2017)), p. 4. Accessed on 03.05.2017 at [Plan of Action Advanced Copy.pdf \(un.org\)](https://www.un.org/press/en/2017/03/170303-plan-of-action-advanced-copy.pdf)

²¹³ Herath, Oshadhi. “Role of Religious Leaders in Post War Peacebuilding (An Analysis of John Pol Lederach’s Peace building Pyramid).” South Asia Culture, History and Heritage, International Association for Asian Heritage (IAAH) and Center for Asian Studies, University of Kelaniya, Sri Lanka, p. 79-82, (2015); p.79

violence.²¹⁴ As pointed out by a male FGD participant in Kakuma 3, religious leaders are conveyers of messages to the community since they command a substantial following.

“I am one of them (of religious leader). Our role is to go ...to the people to the churches. As religious leaders, share out the information to the people of the community in the churches because as a religious leader we find out that when is any information needed to be passed out it can be passed very easily in the church. Because when a *fastor* (pastor) stands preaching, he gives out some information about peacebuilding, how it can be done about security and how you can live with your family peacefully. This one can help a lot that is why the role of religious leaders like in 2014 conflict, the religious leaders were involved because, what they do in the church is like counselling, it is a good place for counselling.”²¹⁵

Marital disputes and in particular intermarriages between persons of different culture, religion, ethnicity or nationality, constitute one of the causes of tensions often resulting into open conflicts, as illustrated in chapter 2. A zonal leader respondent emphasised the interconnected nature of peacebuilding among the various actors in Kakuma camp;

“Most cases no body solves case in isolation, in a vacuum, you can’t do it alone, so most times we must involve the religious leaders to solve cases that they have the skills to do.”²¹⁶

Another respondent contended that religious leaders play a valuable role particularly in interpersonal disputed through conflict resolutions and peace advocacy.

“We have issues like intermarriage and here we involve religious leaders. The Somali community (for instance) disallows intermarriage. Muslims are very strict that both must be Muslims....in this case such cases we have to involve religious leaders. We make them understand that people who are grown up should be allowed to live with who they want...when they understand this they can settle cases and stop conflict.”²¹⁷

Equally, traditional leaders play an instrumental in providing information and guidance that leads communities to a place of conflict resolution. These leaders employ traditional methods, even invoking blessings and curses, as appropriate. One key informant pointed out that during violent

²¹⁴ Erick Peter Omondi, “Peace Education as Peacebuilding initiatives in Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya 1994-2014”. (Master’s Thesis, Kenyatta University, 2017), p. 82

²¹⁵ A male respondent in the FGD with the Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament FGD at Liz Ahua, Kakuma Refugee Camp 2

²¹⁶ Oral interview with a male Zonal leader, Kakuma 1

²¹⁷ Ibid.

an altercation between antagonistic youths in the late 1990s (maybe early 2000), some elders threatened to pronounce a curse on the youth if they did not cease the violence. This threat resulted in cessation of tensions.

Similar to the religious leaders, the elders hold a significant position as arbitrators and mediators as well as peace monitoring. A female peace and safety committee FGD participant qualified the function of elders saying that she often called them in to arbitrate, in particular, boundary disputes while a male FGD Peace and safety committee participant in Kakuma reiterated that;

“The role of elders, if there's a case and there is needs (sic) for arbitration then we call the elders in the community because they're the ones to know the case in detail. Then they can come and solve the case. The elders also do more follow up after the resolution of the conflict...they're the ones who live with this people so they have to follow up with their case and knowing how this people are now going on with our lives. In fact, in every community there is a council of elders.”²¹⁸

Further, the traditional elders, form part of the peace negotiators, representing their communities as signatories to any peace pact/agreement. Such was the case during the peace settlement reached in the conflict in Kakuma 3. As articulated in the agreement, the traditional/council of elders, were given clear instructions on their responsibility to monitor and sustain peace. Equally, the religious leaders were required to pass reconciliatory messages to their congregation. And whereas the traditional and religious leaders are often applauded for their role in building peace, it is important to be alive to the fact that occasionally, the same leaders make subjective decisions depending on their ethnic, political or religious affiliation or leaning. As explained in the quote below, in instances of intermarriages between persons of different cultures, creed or nationalities, culture overrides the best interest of the couples. The respondent recounted how the traditional elders used crude methods to keep the couple apart;

“There is the issue of ladies. Lotuko if I take a lady and I don't have money- they will capture the man, lock (him) indoors in the girls family home- they want your parent to respond- so if the family has something then they pay the ladies parents and then you will be let free but will be monitored until you keep paying. A mediator (read: elder) will be go to negotiate and get into giving what the boy has. If you do not have money at all- here or in SSD- this will bring conflict – the girls parents will beat you and then the boys parents will revenge and it turns violent conflict.Also if the girls or boy goes for the different nationality- and when it

²¹⁸ A male FGD participants, Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament FGD at Liz Ahua, Kakuma Refugee Camp 2

differs with religion then there causes a conflict but otherwise except for religion others get married.”²¹⁹

Likewise, some of the women interviewed, viewed some of the decisions made by the traditional leaders in resolving disputes discriminatory against the women. In her studies traditional justice systems in Refugee camps such as the South Sudanese Bench courts in Kakuma as well as the Maslaxad that existed in the predominantly Somali community in Dadaab, Ilse Griek observed the discriminatory patterns meted on the women. According to Griek, the Lutheran World Federation supported Bench Court in Kakuma, an alternative dispute resolution mechanism, failed to protect the rights of, particularly women and girls. These courts determined criminal cases including rape, defilement, and even murder,²²⁰ contrary to the laws of Kenya. One of the incidences witnessed by Griek was the release of a Dinka man who had killed a woman, after the man’s family offered the family of the deceased (woman), fifty (50) cows.²²¹

The Peace and safety committee respondents also recounted about a South Sudanese girl who was in a relationship with a Somali young man, was moved out of the community following the decision of the community leaders, in an effort to reduce tensions and divert potential violence that was rising among the families of the young couple. The traditional leaders made the decision to move this girl to an unknown location in total disregard for her right of association, a clear conflict of principles within the traditional and liberal peacebuilding model.

Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament (KYPP),

A broad body of literature portrays the youth as instigators and perpetrators of disputes and conflicts and less as promoters or active participants in peacebuilding. Observably in Kakuma youth remain generally disengaged in peacebuilding activities, only playing marginal roles in areas of peace transformation initiatives including peace awareness creation and peace dialogues. They were also involved to a small degree in actions aimed as conflict prevention.

²¹⁹ Oral interview with a male Zonal leader in Kakuma Refugee Camp 1, Zone 2

²²⁰ Ilse Griek, “Traditional Systems of Justice in Refugee Camps”, *The Need for Alternatives, Volume 27, Number 2 Summer/Autumn Refugee Reports* (2006), p.3

²²¹ Ibid, p.3

As illustrated in chapter 2, there seems to be a rising trend in sporting related conflicts albeit the objective of sports as a strategy for reducing conflicts. Youths interviewed revealed that these sporting events served as platforms to promote trust building, peace awareness creation forums as well as acting as early warning and reporting response mechanism. Notably though, just like in liberal peacebuilding model, these activities are heavily reliant on external organisations support, majorly by humanitarian organisation hence the begging the question whether they are community driven and owned.

Similarly, from the interviews with the community, the study found out that the Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament (KYPP), mirrored against the National Assembly with representatives from each camp and zones in the camp, mostly engaged the youth in peace dialogue and sharing of what they considered relevant information related to emerging issues in the camp, including peace and safety issues. However, it was not evident from the interviews on the level of engagement of the members in actual peacebuilding activities.

In an effort to prevent potential conflict, a participant in the KYPP FGD recounted how, during the sports conflict that happened in 2018 following what was termed as bad referring, some youth (fans) recognised the tensions and alerted the elders in the community with the aim of de-escalating the tensions. Nonetheless, the tensions in the end resulted in active conflict.

Accordingly, the study reveals that, as a collective, the youth are more of recipients to the peacebuilding programmes than active participants in peacebuilding efforts, yet it was clear that they were a major source or cause of most, if not all, conflicts in the camp. Of great import, the study revealed that the youth programmes rely heavily on external support hence not allowing the youth agency to be exposed. Nevertheless, there were a few youths involved in some level of peacebuilding as members of the camp community committees, CPPT as well as the Women Consortium. Whereas an NGO credited the youth for the peace settlement following the conflict in HongKong, Kakuma 1, it was clear that the youth were not the initiators of the peace negotiations, women were. The peace settlement process targeted because of their role as party to the conflict. This study identifies a gap in the study of the role of youth in peacebuilding in Kakuma that needs further interrogation.

3.4.2 Civil Society Organisation (CSO) and Peacebuilding: Role of Non-governmental organisations (National, International and United Nations Agencies)

The Civil Society Organisations in Kakuma engages in the peacebuilding architecture by way of technical and financial support to the community structures and refugees broadly to live in peace. This support majorly targets conflict prevention and transformation and entails equipping them with requisite peacebuilding knowledge and skills, humanitarian aid as well as post conflict reconstruction support. While a number of humanitarian organisations engage in an element of peacebuilding, the research observed that they mostly regarded the Lutheran World Federation as the primary peace and safety organisation. One respondent referred to it as the main conflict resolution organisation, sentiments echoed across all the survey participants. This further confirms the existence of conceptual dilemma in relations to peacebuilding entails, further endorsing Michael et al argument that most peace actors confine their interpretation of peacebuilding to the traditionally espoused concept of the actions that prevent conflict from breaking out or from recurring, without viewing it from the broader scope. For this reason, most of the representatives were unable to situate their organisations within the peacebuilding actor map.

Nonetheless, the study observed that various organisations engaged in activities toward peacebuilding. The Lutheran World Federation, UNHCR and Norwegian Refugee Council equipped the refugee community and particularly the community structures with knowledge and skills requisite in executing their mandate. According to one zonal male participant, “LWF has supported us to come up with local mechanisms to solve minor issues such as water - we as leaders we are trained but defilement cases etc we refer to police”²²². Such training

The zonal leader further confirmed that NGOs such as LWF, IRC, NRC train the community leadership structures on;

“First aid, how to respond, de-escalate and make things to calm down... training for community leaders on arbitration- mediation and how to do peaceful co-existence.... when there is something that happens in the block, they are trained on disaster management. All this is aimed at building the capacity of refugees to resolve their own issues instead of calling on police-
..”

²²² Oral interview with a male Zonal leader in Kakuma Refugee Camp 3

Arbitration and mediations skills constitute some of the prerequisite skills for community peace structures in forestalling conflict. Some leaders perceive the essentiality of acquiring skills in enabling them to “see each other as brothers and sisters and do not catch (grab) one another’s throats”.²²³ Members of the Kakuma Refugee Camp Community Peace and Protection Team (CPPT) attribute their ability to respond to tough tension situation to conflict resolution training including the cultural methods, which empower them to solve problems “that are still ripe and when we are not able to intervene then we forward to zonal leaders.”²²⁴ Clarity of mandates and roles as well as the existing referral pathway systems is critical in any peacebuilding initiative for effective conflict prevention, management and transformation. In this regard, LWF play a crucial role in convening community leaders to meetings where a common understanding on these aspects of peacebuilding is created. Resultantly, as posed by a zonal male vice chair;

“My role is to present what is going on in my area (zone) to the peacebuilding teams. and I also respond together with the block leaders and security and council of elders, they sit down to resolve and issue and when it is difficult (resolving the problem), Peacebuilding (referring to the LWF Peace and Safety Unit staff) takes over.. There was a case of a South Sudanese girl made pregnant by a boy from the same nationality. then the boy was asked to pay 15 cattle...He ran away to South Sudan but they followed him there and they even got the 15 cattle but they said it was not enough...I got that information and then I called LWFs peacebuilding and they came and arbitration took place...and the girl also went away and got married to another man.”²²⁵

According to interviewed NGO representatives shelter is a causal factor for conflicts in Kakuma more so at interpersonal level. “Shelter is gold in Kakuma”²²⁶ and equally “a source of peace and security”.²²⁷ It is evident that, while the issue of shelter is rarely blamed for causing communal conflict, it is source of interpersonal conflict. The allotment process in particular, is a major contributor of hostilities and tensions in Kakuma. A community member confirmed this by indicating that houses or plots located near the market places or other social facilities attract high interest to occupy, hence heightened competition among the refugee communities.²²⁸ Organisations such as NRCs and Peace Winds Japan hence play a critical role in the prevention

²²³ A male respondent, Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament FGD, Kakuma Camp 3.

²²⁴ A male respondent, Peace and Safety Committee FGD, Kakuma 2

²²⁵ Oral interview with male Zonal leader, Kakuma 2

²²⁶ Oral interview with male NGO representative, Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC),

²²⁷ Oral interview with male NGO representative, Moses M, Peacewinds Japan.

²²⁸ Oral interview with male Zonal Leader, Kakuma 1

and reduction of conflicts related to shelter in the camp by developing clear shelter allocation guidelines and creating awareness on the same.

Intercommunal tensions, at times leading to violent altercations, tend to occur mostly among the refugees and host community as highlighted in chapter 2. These tensions often lead to loss of human lives and property. Organisations such as LOTUKO and LWF in collaboration with the government agencies regularly convene peace dialogues and peace conferences that serve as a platform for information sharing and response as well as conflict monitoring. Sports such as football in the cattle camps, according to Francis, is helpful in dispensing positive energy for the youth as well as nurturing talents that would provide alternative to cattle raiding or acts of thuggery in the camps. Engagement of girls and women as “peace crusade- especially in the craals”²²⁹ is particular important since, as discovered by LOTUKO, they too actively participate in conflict, albeit covertly.

Evidently, the community leadership in Kakuma actively engage in peacebuilding initiatives, though it was apparent that sustainability of these initiatives lay on a balance. The study revealed that the community leadership structures relied heavily on the humanitarian and UN agencies for financial support in particular as well as technical support. Likewise, to facilitate all these programs, the humanitarian organisations that the community depended on are donor dependent, hence posing a potential threat to sustainability of the peacebuilding community structures and initiatives.

Peacebuilding framework, especially the indigenous model that Kakuma largely favors, values mutual respect as well as a bottom up approach. Yet, as expressed by some community respondents, there exists a condescending and patronizing attitude and behaviour among some humanitarian actors, a factor detrimental to peacebuilding and leadership. A female community leader indicated that “just because we are refugees, yet we are human beings - we have brain apart from the spirit of us being refugees.”²³⁰, while another said;

“Someone has been here for 20 years, an agency comes you are employed- you have a contract- after 4 years you go back to where you came from. This is where

²²⁹ Oral interview with NGO representative Francis L, Peacebuilding Officer, LOKADO

²³⁰ A female FGD participant, Women Consortium.

I came from, I am not going anywhere...And I know the issues that are affecting me – so before you come and give me the help- ask me what help I want, consult with me.. how do I do this... what is the best solution, what do you see?...I am not a stupid person I have been here... do not come here as a saviour, you are not a prophet...sometimes many refugees who are educated, we lose the hope, because we say now what is the essence....what is the point- you are not empowered. You are not able to speak for yourself. Every day you are told, ‘do not do this, go here, go there, and no one is ever asking, what do you think should or needs to be done.....’²³¹

Evidently, NGOs role in peace efforts in the camps is significant particularly the “special role in sponsoring²³²” the community peacebuilding initiatives. 25% of the respondents in Ericks study credited the NGO for the peace efforts experienced in Kakuma. Nevertheless, it is evident that the UNHCR and other humanitarian organisation play a critical intermediary role, connecting the community to the state agencies particularly the Refugee Affairs Secretariat and the National Police Services.

3.4.3 The Government of Kenya and Peacebuilding: The Role of Refugee Affairs

Secretariat (RAS) and National Police Service (NPS)

Arguably, peacebuilding requires multidisciplinary and sectoral approaches and consequently the government agencies, play a significant role within the peacebuilding architecture in Kakuma. Primarily, these government agencies are tasked with the prevention of an outbreak of violence using the monopoly of power they possess, ensuring community’s adherence to the rule of law, containment of violent incidences and maintaining law and order as well as protecting human lives and property during active conflict.

In the event of an outbreak of violence, the police in particular, respond to maintain law and order. By creating a cordon between the warring factions, they ensure reduction of violence while protecting human lives and actions destructive to property. For instance, during open violence, one community respondent pointed out the critical role of the RAS in declaring curfew and the police in enforcement of the same. According to a RAS respondent, only the police have the legitimacy to exercise their monopoly of power, to repress criminal activities associated with a violent

²³¹ Oral interview with a male respondent, Zonal leader, Kakuma 1.

²³² Omondi, Erick Peter, Peace Education as Peacebuilding Initiative in Ethnic Conflicts: The Case of Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya, 1994-2014, (Master’s Thesis, Kenyatta University, 2017), p.79

conflict, “especially as marauding youth cause havoc in the community.”²³³ The police further offer protection for safe passage, when the victims of conflict need to migrate from the area of violence to a safe space. According to community respondents accounts, during a conflict in 2014, “houses were burnt, our women were being raped and many people were displaced...the police sometimes really helped to provide security for those who were moving”.

Not only are the police important in protection of community’s members during violence, a female leader pointed out that the police are essential in protecting peacebuilders as they execute their mandate; “I have been beaten 3 times I have 3 P3s - I have a man who has 2 wives and in different blocks and they were fighting and I came in between them to stop them, when I went to intervene in their troubles, I was hit on the hand then I was taken by police to hospital.”²³⁴. According to a community respondent, these state agents work in collaboration with the community leaders and the other non-state agencies. This respondent points out that when the community sends out an of potential or active conflict, the LWF peacebuilding Unit and then “the security and what I'm talking about the security is I'm talking about the police not our local security..”²³⁵, responds. As another responded pointed out “where tensions seem to rise, the community leaders or the Peacebuilding Unit team, reach out to the police to take action against any of the people who want to cause chaos...sometimes they will even be arrested and taken to the cells”²³⁶.

Equally, the security agencies assume the role of maintaining peace and ensuring the implementation of peace pacts by the parties to a conflict. these security organs monitor and oversee post-conflict peace agreements implementation to ensure the parties to the peace agreement/pact signed adhere to the provisions. The Kakuma RAS respondent confirmed that they serve as counter signatories and custodians of a copy of the peace agreements. In essence, as per SIPRI’s discussion paper, the police involvement in peace building serve to defuse tensions or avert the outbreak, escalation or recurrence of violence²³⁷. The function of the state security agencies, which included RAS, is illustrated in the chart below as developed by the researcher.

²³³ Oral interview with Refugee Affairs Secretariat Official

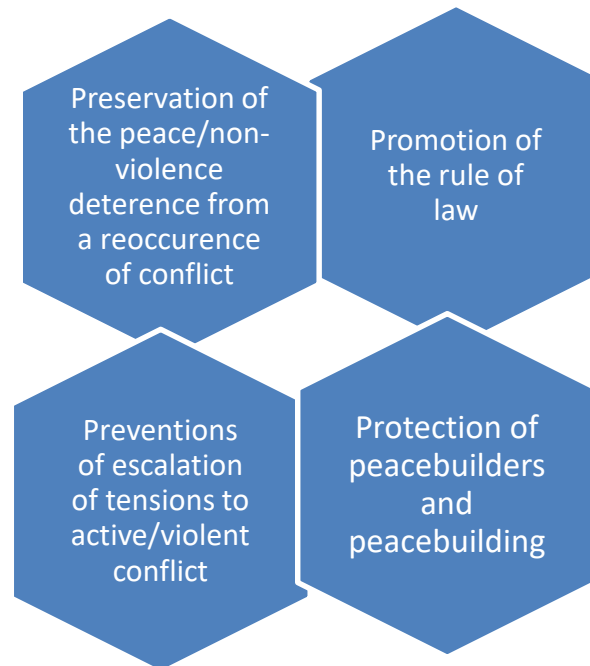
²³⁴ Oral interview with female zonal leader

²³⁵ A male FGD participant, KYPP

²³⁶ Oral interview male zonal leader

²³⁷ Marini Caparani, “UN Police and Conflict Prevention”, SIPRI Discussion Paper, June 2018, p 5

Figure 7: The role of the National Police Service and RAS in Peacebuilding in Kakuma Refugee Camp²³⁸



Beyond their primary role in ensuring security and the rule of law, the RAS in particular play a special role in determining cases that require documentary evidence, given they are custodians of all the individual refugee details. A female block leader indicated that RAS were particularly critical in making final determination on potentially conflict cases especially those related to boundaries, as per the technical expertise they possess;

“Sisi pia kwa mambo ya mtu akisema ‘ninajenga nyumba yangu hapa..na mwingine anasema ni mahali yake, pia wanaita, tunaangalia na tukijua huyo amepita laini ya huyo mwingine..tunasolve.. na kama hatujui hiyo mpaka tunaita wazee (elders) wengine wale wanajua..lakini hiyo mambo ikishinda, siss tunapeleka kwa RAS na watu wa RAS wanakuja kutusaidia.....na RAS wanakuja wanaangalia na wanamaliza hiyo mambo”

(We are also called in case of shelter boundary disputes, we try to resolve the issue. We refer disputes that are beyond our ability to resolve to the elders and if they too are unable to address the boundary conflict we refer to RAS and the RAS officials come to help with the dispute. They come and conclude the issue)

²³⁸ Researcher representation of the role of National Police Service and Refugee Affairs Secretariat, 2019

Accounts by various respondents affirmed that the RAS and NPS were part of the conflict resolution/peace settlement process and post settlement. The reason for their involvement was primarily to maintain security during the peace making process and monitoring and promoting respect of the peace agreement resolution by all parties to the conflict, post conflict. In fact, RAS showed the researcher a copy of the peace agreement signed by the parties to the Hongkong conflict.

3.5. Conclusion

The study confirms the assumption that peacebuilding structures and initiatives exist in Kakuma. Consistent with a localized post-conflict peacebuilding context, the communities are visibly more engaged in the day to day peacebuilding initiatives in Kakuma than the external actors, considered by Lederach as the 1st and 2nd level peace actors. The value of localizing peace building is the effect it has of inculcating the culture of peace building in communities, recognizing it is a process that spans from before conflict to after active conflict, as per the illustration²³⁹. This dynamic portrays a bottom up approach to peacebuilding.

Secondly, the study reveals that just like is the trend globally, there is no common interpretation of the word peacebuilding. Instead, all of the respondents use the word interchangeable with conflict resolution. Conversely, the peacebuilding architecture in Kakuma adopts a flexible frame seeming to employ a hybrid peacebuilding model. Evidently, the peace actions undertaken by the peace actors in Kakuma transcend the liberal and indigenous models. Instead, it is a mix of engaging on one hand the “hard” security centric interventions while on the other hand the “soft” relational strategies.

Thirdly, whereas the community leadership and structures seem to be visibly active participant within the peacebuilding architecture in Kakuma, the sustainability of this initiative remain questionable by virtue of the fact that the peacebuilding initiative rely heavily on external funding. It is hence important that future studies interrogate the sustainability of such peace architectural arrangement.

²³⁹ Jörn Grävingholt Stefan Gänzle Sebastian Ziaja, “The Broadening Focus of Peace Building”, Policy Brief: Concepts of Peace building and State building - How Compatible Are They?” (March 2009,) p.5

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN BUILDING PEACE: THE CASE OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP, 1991-2016

4.0. Introduction

Women constitute 46% of the population in Kakuma Refugee Camp. As illustrated in chapter 2, women experience conflict as victims as well as perpetrators thus their participation in building peace in the Camp is critical. This chapter presents why women's involvement in peace processes matters and what roles they play in the peace building system and initiatives in Kakuma Refugee Camp. A case study presented, provides a clear illustration on how the women build peace.

4.1 Women building Peace in Kakuma Refugee Camp: Why they matter.

The subject of women's involvement in peacebuilding, particularly at grassroots level, continues to receive much scholastic attention. Undeniably, experience conflict and peace differently from men principally through sexual and gender based violence that continues to be used as a weapon of war even during exile. Such experience of violence forms part of a critical argument for women's meaningful involvement in the full spectrum of peacebuilding process for the achievement of sustainable peace.

The characterisation of refugee women as victims is mostly perpetuated through definitions that also presents the multi-layered vulnerabilities they are exposed to. Maroussia et al., present three identifiable traits, critical in defining a refugee woman²⁴⁰ and which is informative to this study. First, she is a "refugee" bearing the legal description of a people who have found themselves in the situation of displacement outside their countries of origin. Second, just like any other uprooted person, a refugee woman is a person who has multi-layered and multifaceted identities and experiences even before the conditions that created their present status²⁴¹. Third, refugee women are identified as a category of people who have experienced violent conflict disproportionately in relation to the men.

²⁴⁰ Maroussia Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Nazilla Khanlou and Helene Moussa "The 1990s and after--- From empowerment to claiming power" in *Not Born A Refugee Woman: Contesting Identities, Rethinking Practices*, (Berghahn Books, 2009), p.1. Accessed on 20.09.2016 at <https://books.google.co.ke/books>

²⁴¹ Ibid. p.1...

Indisputably, women and girls globally experience the effects of war differently from men particularly suffering sex and gender-based violence. This form of violence is used a strategy of war, to demoralize communities, break resistance and to discontinue the reproduction of a community. Further, women and girls represent a symbolic site of nationalism and act as the custodians of cultural values and development.²⁴² Moreover, refugee camps, considered as safe havens, present a continuum of engendered violence in Kakuma, where sexual and gender-based violence “constitutes daily reality for refugee women”²⁴³ as refugee women continue to experience victimization (and violence) both within the community and amongst their family.²⁴⁴ Most of the women interviewed confirmed the pervasive cases of domestic and SGBV meted on refugee women in Kakuma, by their husbands and relatives due to what one respondent argued as “idleness and drunkenness”.²⁴⁵ One of the male responded in fact suggested that men who come to Kakuma feel “broken” as they are no longer able to support their families like they used to do back in their countries of origin.²⁴⁶ As a result, in an attempt to assert their position in the families, they resort to violence against their spouses.

Gender and sexual violence contribute to trauma resulting from psychological and emotional injuries, which are the most enduring effects of war.²⁴⁷ Therefore, the historical failure to address this kind of violence, argues Gitau, may explain why peace is not sustainable in most of the post-conflict societies. The failure to address the deep-seated bitterness as well as engrained memories of the war and the perceived culprits of the war has a subtle but grievous effect on peacebuilding”.²⁴⁸ In fact a study reviewing 182 peace agreements signed between 1989 and

²⁴² Simona D, "Bhutanese Refugee Women in Nepal: A Continuum of Gender-based Violence", (Master's Dissertation, University of London, 2008): p.21

²⁴³ Crisp, J. "A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee-Populated areas in Kenya" New Issues in Refugee Research, Working Paper No. 16 (1999): p.6. Accessed on 20.10.2017 at <https://www.unhcr.org/research/working/3ae6a0c44/state-insecurity-political-economy-violence-refugee-populated-areas-kenya>.

²⁴⁴ Theresa M W, "The Forgotten Voices of Female Refugees: An Analysis of Gender Roles in the Refugee Society" Masters' Thesis North-eastern University Boston, Massachusetts, 2013),p. 6

²⁴⁵ A female Congolese FGD participant, Women Consortium, KRC

²⁴⁶ Oral interview with male zonal leader, Kakuma 1

²⁴⁷ Lydia Wanja Gitau, "An Exploration of Trauma Interventions and Building Peace: The Case of South Sudanese Refugees in Kakuma Refugee Camp, Kenya", PHD Thesis, University of Sydney , 2006), p. 15

²⁴⁸ Ibid, p.15

2011, revealed that 35 percent of these agreements are likely to last approximately 15 years when women are involved and participate in the process.²⁴⁹

Women, according to the UNHCR, account for at least 51.4% of the displaced population (refugees, IDPs, stateless persons)²⁵⁰ of the total refugee population residing in planned and managed camps²⁵¹. As Nilson points out, there are more women and children than are men, in refugee camps²⁵². In Kakuma, they account for over 46% of the refugee population. Hence, their voice is crucial in identifying the causes of violence and finding lasting solutions as part of the other half of the population. Schirch and Sewak, argue that a lack of involvement of refugee women in peace negotiations and peacebuilding leads to unsustainable conflict resolution mechanisms since they disregard the interests and positions of half of the affected population. A male respondent espoused similar sentiments saying “women cannot keep quiet leaving someone to spoil the peace when they know they suffer most.” Moreover, as argued by a male community participants of a focus group discussion, ‘Peace is a collective concern ... involves everyone - women are involved so that they contribute to resolving the issues’²⁵³.

It is undisputed that women view peace from a standpoint of addressing the causes and effects of conflict, beyond the traditional goal of silencing the guns and power sharing formulas. Accordingly, they prioritize the aspects of inclusivity and a focus on community gain. As a Kakuma key informant respondent stated, women are genuine in their quest for peace because they “feel the pain of motherhood”²⁵⁴ which is common across the various divides. A male FGD participant suggested that women are “kind and compassionate” and that given their maternal role “of carrying pregnancy, they tend to be less aggressive and often seek solutions more than position”²⁵⁵ unlike their male counterparts in the camp. According to most of the research participants, particularly the refugee community members, women are peaceful with a desire to unify the

²⁴⁹ Nancy Poni Elly, “The role of women in post conflict peace building in the republic of South Sudan: a case of Jubek State, (Masters Thesis, University of Nairobi, 2017), p.24

²⁵⁰ UNHCR, Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015. p 53.

²⁵¹ Ibid, p 2

²⁵² Helena N, "Sudanese and South Sudanese Refugee Women's Sense of Security in Kakuma Refugee Camp", (Masters' Thesis, Uppsala University, 2013), p.15

²⁵³ A male FGD participants, Peace and Safety Committee. Kakuma Refugee Camp

²⁵⁴ Oral interview with male respondent, Block leader, Kakuma 2.

²⁵⁵ A male FGD participant, Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament, Kakuma 1.

community hence regarded as “a source of peace and humanity”.²⁵⁶ A woman FGD participants described women as “vessels of peace”. In response to the "extreme circumstances in which they are placed,²⁵⁷ women tend to assume practical coping mechanism in order to provide for their families, demonstrating a notable ability to cope in diversity,"²⁵⁸ critical element in the peace-building processes.

Honesty and truthfulness seemed to be a key attribute for peacebuilding according to those interviewed. A male NGO respondent considered women as “sincere and honest than men...when there is a raid (livestock), the women reveal and say ‘it is the son of so and so’ who went to raid”. The Kakuma respondents and FGD participants severally termed women as honest and caring. In fact one male FGD participant submitted that “women are honest...they will speak 80% of truth but men will give 75% and hide 25% of the information so if you want 100% peace you must involve women.”²⁵⁹ Another male respondent argued that women are good listeners indicating that he “feel nice when a woman speaks to us because she is polite and you can feel she is a mother” while another insinuated that women are advocates for the community.

Another critical argument for women’s active involvement in peacebuilding is their nature as the “pillars of the society”,²⁶⁰ a notion shared by several respondents in Kakuma refugee camp. Majority of the respondents in Kakuma noted that owing to their maternal roles as nurtures, they possess the ability to inculcate values such as peaceful coexistence, to their children and families. One CPPT FGD participant submitted that “in the nations of the world, the woman is the source”²⁶¹ while another posited that “they (women) carry humanity in their pregnancy”²⁶² and due to this, they control the world.

²⁵⁶ Oral interview, male Somali, Zonal leader, KRC

²⁵⁷ Anderlin S.N, "Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why it Matter", (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007), p.29.

²⁵⁸ Patricia D, "Gender, Displacement and Social Reproduction: Settling Burundian Refugees in Western Tanzania", *Journal of Refugee Studies* 8 (1995):p.1.

²⁵⁹ A male FGD participants, KYPP.

²⁶⁰ Kemi Ogunsanya, "Women Transforming Conflicts in Africa: Descriptive Studies from Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Sudan" *Occasional Paper Series, 2, (2007):* p11

²⁶¹ A male FGD participant, Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament, Kakuma 3.

Equally, women possess intimate knowledge of the community's needs and priorities. This is mainly because of their close interaction with the daily communal activities such as fetching water, firewood or even food rations. One respondent suggested that women "know all about the community because she is the mother to her children and even her husband sometimes"²⁶³ Various interviewees were in agreement with this notion, indicating that women are able to get information either directly or indirectly from their sons and husbands even pertaining to what is going on in the community. This places them at vantage point of accessing crucial information. One male respondent indicated that, "a woman can easily get information from a man just like Delilah did with Samson in the bible."²⁶⁴

Women and women's organisations are often reservoirs of important local capacities that is applicable in peace-building activities²¹. Refugee women often organize themselves in camps for peace and return to their homeland²², and are conspicuously active in informal, grassroots peacebuilding activities (Sanam Naraghi Anderlini. Boulder, 2007)²³. These efforts are aimed at rebuilding the economic, political, social and cultural fabric of their societies. Likewise, in Kakuma, women have proven to be critical agents of peace efforts in the camp.

Refugee women often organize themselves in camps for peace and return to their homeland,²⁶⁵ and are conspicuously active in informal, grassroots peacebuilding activities. These efforts are aimed at rebuilding the economic, political, social and cultural fabric of their societies. Importantly, women's ability to forge coalitions in grassroots peacebuilding forms a critical political and socio-cultural base essential for peace processes. The Women Consortium in Kakuma refugee camp is such one coalitions that remarkably provides a space where information sharing constantly occurs. Numerous studies such as this one demonstrates the prominence of women in informal peace protests, inter-group dialogue, peace advocacy, the promotion of intercultural tolerance, and the empowerment of citizens. Study respondents argue that the Consortium serves as an avenue for broadening women's participation in peace efforts arising

²⁶³ Oral interview with KI, Female leader, Kakuma 2

²⁶⁴ Oral interview with a male camp leader, Kakuma 4

²⁶⁵ Maroussia Hajdukowski-Ahmed, Nazilla Khanlou and Helene Moussa "The 1990s and after--- From empowerment to claiming power" in *Not Born a Refugee Woman: Contesting Identities, Rethinking Practices*, (Berghahn Books, 2009), p9. Accessed on 20.09.2016 at <https://books.google.co.ke/books?>

from conflict experienced in Kakuma Camp. For this reason, women matter in the peacebuilding and decision-making platforms by virtue of the critical mass that they are able to canvass. Besides, women and women's organisations are reservoirs of important local capacities that is applicable in peace-building activities.²⁶⁶

The Women Consortium, is a community structure to serve as vehicle to amplify their voices and broaden their participation in, particularly, peacebuilding activities.²⁶⁷ Membership to the consortium is by way of elections and has a membership of sixty five women drawn from all sections of Kakuma, young and old, as evidenced during the field research. The Consortium was established recognition of the fact that whereas the camp leadership ascribes equal power for the camp duly elected chairmen and chairladies, the men continue to invoke culture and traditions in a bid to limit women's effective participation in camp affairs decisions. The Consortium forms part of the peacebuilding architecture in Kakuma and as a structure where the rights of all women are articulated and advocated. It is designed to promote the recognition of the needs of women in peace negotiation talks and accompanying agreements.

4.2. Women in Peacebuilding: The Roles they play in Kakuma Refugee Camp.

As illustrated in chapter 3, community structures such as the Kakuma Women's Consortium play a major role in building peace in Camp given the localised nature of the conflict and peace processes. These structures comprise of men and women, in particular the camp leaderships such as the Zonal and Block, requires the representation of both gender. What is more, the leadership structures accord equal rights for the elected chairman and chairwoman. Similarly, some of the traditional leadership structures comprise of women and men, however not necessary a requirement. According to Schirch, there are four categories, in what she terms as "map of peacebuilding", within which women can play active roles namely; "waging conflict non-violently, reducing violence, healing trauma and transforming conflict and doing justice and building capacities"²⁶⁸.

²⁶⁶ Pankhurst D "The 'Sex War' and Other Wars: Towards a Feminist Approach to Peacebuilding- Development in Practice", (2003), p. 11.

²⁶⁷ E-newsletter, Published by LWF, 2018

²⁶⁸ Lisa, Schirch, Women in Peacebuilding: Resource and Training Manual. Harrisonburg, VA: Eastern Mennonite University, (2004),p36. Accessed @ <https://emu.edu/cjp/star/docs/women-in-peacebuilding-pt1.pdf> on 23-11-2019.

This section specifies the roles women play in Kakuma within the framework of the Women's Consortium as presented further below through the case study titled "It is our turn to talk".

A case study - "It is our day to talk"

The Hongkong Conflict of 2018: A Report on Dinka Palek and Nyaruweng conflict in Kakuma 1 Zone 4²⁶⁹;

June 16th to 22nd 2018, members of Palek and Nyaruweng sub-clans of the Dinka Bor clan of the Dinka tribe of South Sudan were engaged in a violent conflict. According to an LWF report, the two clans do not have a history of conflict. In South Sudan, the two clans live far apart from each other and intermarriage between members of these clans is their only link.

Cause of the conflict

There exists varying accounts to the cause of the conflict. One account suggests that a misunderstanding between a girl and a boy at the water- fetching joint in Kakuma 1, zone 4, sparked the conflict. The proponents of this account claim that this altercation attracted the attention of a girl nearby, prompting her to join in the contestation in support of the female disputant. The two girls went on to assault the young man, physically. A young boy standing by, concerned on how the girls were beating up his friend, decided to join with the young man assaulted by the, now, two girls. In a bid to separate the fight, a young man from Agar community, canned the youngsters.

The two boys involved in the fight went on to inform their relatives about the incidences and reported the young Agar man for canning them. This send the said relative in an attack of the Agar man who will call Mabiol* (not his real name).

Subsequently, information reached the relatives of Mabiol* residing in Kakuma 1 zone 3 block 3, by some women who were at the water point. In an attempt to provoke quick response, the women claimed that if the men did not respond urgently, all the women from the community would be killed. The male members of the Agar community took up arms, and went to confront the other community members, alleged to have attacked the Agar community including the women. This subsequently resulted in an all-out violent confrontation.

The proponents of the second account of the conflict and which was identified as the real cause of the conflict during the peace talks, claimed that the conflict erupted after a group of youths from the Nyaruweng clan, pulled down a notice board advertisement pinned by youth from the Palek clan. The advert was a notification to the community of a planned football match between them (Palek) and the Ayual youths. Sensing potential tensions, community leaders, peace committee, community members, some youths and elders responded with an aim to de-escalate the tensions after the first and second flare up of violence resulted in physical injuries among a number of the warring teams. Those injured were taken to the hospital while

²⁶⁹ Informed by literature review of LWF reports and interviews with community leaders

the police summoned a few of the disputants to record statements regarding the conflict. The leaders then warned the youth against involvement in more violence. However, the youths did not heed to the elders warning and instead went on to cause more violence. This therefore compelled the leaders to call the police to quell the violence and restore order and. They also picked up 16 alleged perpetrators, to aid them in further investigation. The violence according to reports

Women mobilizing for the cessation of violence and peace

In response to the conflict, members of the Women Consortium living in the area took upon themselves to meet with youths and women in Kakuma 1 zone 3 and 4. Using their networks, these women established that some community women played a big role in spreading the rumours that propelled the intensity of the conflict. After a lengthy discussion with women and youths in the area affected by the conflicts, they prevailed upon them to keep peace in the community.

Beyond that, the women organised peaceful demonstrations calling for a cessation of the violence. They further convened a number of meetings to discuss the cause of the conflict. During such meetings, they vowed not to cook for their husbands unless the men took measures to end the violence that affected members of the warring groups negatively.

The peace discussion: Women advocating for conflict resolution.

Eventually, some community leaders convened a peace negotiation meeting chaired a male member of the peace committee from the Dinka community who were considered a neutral. The meeting drew participation of peace committees, community, and women consortium leaders, council of elders from the warring communities, Palek and Nyaruweng clan members, chief of the Dinka, Dinka community members representatives, non-Dinka communities. Also in attendance were RAS representative, representative from the county commissioners office, Hongkong police, LWF peacebuilding staff as well as pastors/religious leaders. Youth representatives from the warring clans were also engaged in the peace talks that resulted in a signed peace agreement. At least, according to LWF records, ninety percent of the community members present were men.

The meeting interrogated the possible root causes of the conflict and agreed on a raft of proposals towards achieving sustainable peace. These included a call to the cessation of violence, promotion of peace through religious platforms, prayers, convening of peace meetings between the two communities was agreed upon. Other proposals included restrictions in movement of the youth from one place to another, parents requested to control their children. The peace agreement further stipulated that any side found to dishonour the provisions of the agreement would be arrested without further arbitration or warning, and charged in court of law. A joint celebration was organized where a cow was slaughtered as a symbol of an end to conflict serving as the climax of the peace deal.

“It is our day to talk”: Women, the silent listeners to the peace conversation

Interestingly, during the peace talks, the women did not speak nor were they party to the peace agreement. The men argued that they (men leading the negotiation) had received women’s views, and that women had done their part, and now “it is our day to talk”. Another male leader referred to the women attending the meeting as “silent listeners to the conversation”.

This case study identifies the critical roles that women play in peace making in Kakuma Refugee camp as mobilizers and advocates for peace and conflict resolutions. Importantly, women from different backgrounds coalesced around a common goal and remained focused to it until their efforts led to a cessation of violence and eventually a peace pact signed. Yet, at the peace pact discussion stage, women were excluded since argued by the men argued that women had done their part and now “it is our turn to talk”²⁷⁰. This sections outlines more roles that women play in conflict and peacebuilding spectrum in Kakuma Refugee Camp. This study defines these roles within categories or advocates/activists, mediators, educators and peace brokers.

Beyond engaging in peacebuilding processes as members of the various groups aforementioned, through the Women Consortium that draws membership from across ethnic, nationality, age and other variables in the camp, is instrumental as a forum to “advance the rights of women while amplifying their voices and expanding their space in peace building and other decision-making platforms”.²⁷¹ In a recent conflict incidence, these women played a critical role in mobilizing for peace in Kakuma 1, Hongkong area. They held peaceful demonstrations, protesting against an active conflict in the camp. In an effort to push men into negotiation table, the women issued ultimatums that they would not cook for the husbands and the young men, if they (men and young men) did not stop fighting²⁷². This propelled the men to initiate peace negotiations that led to the signing of a peace agreement was initiated. Interestingly, as will be enumerated in chapter 4, the actual peace agreement-signing event observed the exclusion of women.²⁷³

4.2.1. Refugee Women as Peace advocates and Activist

Peace activism entails agitating for change in status quo where conflict and violence remains prevalent, mobilizing for peace processes, development of policies and guidelines that provide a

²⁷⁰ Ibid.

²⁷¹ Oral interview with NGO representative, Ms Mburu, Peace and safety Officer, LWF

²⁷² A female respondent, Women Consortium FGD, Kakuma 2.

²⁷³ Oral interview with NGO representative, Odindo Peace and safety Officer, LWF

framework of engagement as well as address issues affecting women and girls. Schirch posits that peace activism and advocacy aims at increasing community power to confront the root causes of conflict in order to transform relationships. Kakuma experienced intense spates of violence in 2003 resulting in deaths, injuries and displacement. It seemed clear, according to a participant in a peace and safety FGD, that no efforts were being made to arrest the situation. Hence women, mainly from the South Sudanese community, organised themselves in a group that transcended their ethnic, social or religious affiliation, and approached the UNHCR demanding for restoration of peace in the Camp. The existence of the current broad peacebuilding framework in Kakuma, is attributed to this singular act by women, as they agitated for protection their families against violence.

“Refugee said ‘why are we here (meaning in a refugee camp) and get killed’? So a group of women (mostly Sudanese women) were crying and went to UNHCR and we took our children and told them (UNHCR) if you are not able to protect us take us back to our countries. our husband are dead and we are taking care of the children.” That is when, International Rescue Committee, UNHCR and DRA came in to intervene- they started the peace and safety in the community programs.”²⁷⁴

Moreover, the study found out that women were more involved in addressing water related conflicts, not only by engaging in peace advocacy but also in developing water fetching policy guidelines in form of a rota. This role serves as conflict prevention mechanisms.

4.2.2. Refugee Women as Peace educators

Peace education falls under the category of capacity building, on map of peacebuilding activities proposed by Schirch²⁷⁵. Within this category, women play a critical role inculcating a culture of peace and non-violence within their families. The role of women as a life giver, caregiver, a nurturer positions her in a vantage position to teach children about peace and values that promote peaceful coexistence. Mothers are known to nurture values of peace, respect, and empathy for other children. Although the context in Kakuma refugee camp is often an emotionally volatile due to inherent differences between the various nationalities, the respondents said that often women

²⁷⁴ Female respondent, Peace and Safety Committee FGD, Kakuma 1.

²⁷⁵ Lisa, Schirch, *Women in Peacebuilding: Resource and Training Manual*. Harrisonburg, VA: Eastern Mennonite University, (2004),p36. Accessed @ <https://emu.edu/cjp/star/docs/women-in-peacebuilding-pt1.pdf> on 23-11-2019

serve as ‘each other child’s keeper’. That sometimes when they see a child going astray they reprimand the child on behalf of the parents

“Women are the source of humanity. They carry the world even it is them who carry the presidents for nine months. So they have the power to teach their children good morals. In fact, they say behind every successful man there is a woman. Women can make a man go to war or not to go for war”²⁷⁶

As members of the KWC, women, young and old, receive regular training by various agencies in the camp that equip them with skills requisite for peace building and peace prevention. In turn, these women organise community sessions where the same knowledge and skills is disseminated with a view of reinforcing and nurturing community values that sustain peace.

4.2.3 Refugee Women Peace mediators and arbitrators

Mediators facilitate dialogue between parties in a conflict often resulting in either de-escalation of tensions or cessation of violence. Observably, women in Kakuma play a significant role within the community structures such as the traditional leaders in mediating mostly in cases of domestic disputes. Some of the men interviewed inferred that the ability of women to listen and be empathetic made them “approachable and easy to talk to”²⁷⁷. Besides the domestic disputes, women were instrumental in facilitating the peace dialogues following the HongKong conflict as demonstrated by their efforts to dialoguing with the youth from the warring parties leading to cessation of violence.

As women, we were together, from the different communities who were fighting. We always know that if my son is hurt and the son of the other side he gets hurt, we the mothers will be the one to feel the pain the same. So we had to talk to the women and youth of the communities that are fighting and then they listened to us and they stopped the fighting

4.3 The dilemma of women in peacebuilding in Kakuma Refugee Camp

In Kakuma, as mentioned in the earlier chapter, women form part of the leadership in the peacebuilding committees/structure including in the council of elders. This promotes the democratic argument for women’s engagement in peace building. It is however worthwhile to pay special attention to the level of women meaningful participation in these structures. While

²⁷⁶ A male respondent in KYPP, FGD

²⁷⁷ Oral interview with a zonal Leader, Male respondent, Kakuma 1

examining the seeming “equal positioning” of women in the community based structures and committees, it is critical to ask why there arose a need to form the Women Consortium.

An interesting dimension to the roles of women in peace building in Kakuma, which does not receive much attention, is the tactics used by refugees, in this case women, to hoodwink the agencies operating in the camp. An interview with one male leader revealed that while women may not be actively engaged in peace building spaces in the community, they are hesitant to reveal that to agencies for fear of being removed from the position of ‘power’. In order to receive any form of support from agencies in the Camp, community structures need to illustrate conformity to gender parity. What is more, during meetings convened by the organisations operating in the Camp women give the impression of being empowered through their active participation, yet the same women remain quiet during meetings convened and conducted by the community leaderships.

These revelations seems to concur with Elena’s submission that refugees and their leaders have mastered the art of “embracing”²⁷⁸ gender mainstreaming discourse when relating with international audiences. The Union of Sahrawi Women is lauded by the UNHCR as a successful and “ideal” partner as regards gender mainstreaming and gender equality. However, Elena seems to argue that it is a possibility that such women ‘strategically mobilize such invocation to secure support of relevant state and non-state actors. Such invocation provides a false sense of empowerment and active participation in community leadership structures including peacebuilding. Indeed, during the field interviews, a CSO represented pointed out that because there is an emphasis of women empowerment and support by the agencies in the camp, some men ‘use’ their wives to access services and humanitarian assistance such as food rations and shelter building materials. This is a notion that was confirmed by a male leader who said that indeed women are favoured by the agencies and thence many of them receive empowerment programs. This in turn results in the men feeling left out and ignored, a phenomenon be discussed on the following chapter.

²⁷⁸Elena Fiddian-Qasmiyeh*, “ “Ideal” Refugee Women and Gender Equality Mainstreaming in the Sahrawi Refugee Camps: “Good Practice” For Whom?, page 64-65

4.4. Conclusion

It is evident that women participation in peacebuilding system and processes in the camp cannot be underscored. Involvement of women in whole spectrum of peace activities from conflict prevention to peace settlement and beyond, would ensure sustainable peace as the interests of half of the population would be addressed. Through, especially the Women Consortium platform women have displayed great ability to form coalitions that transcend their social, religious, ethnic and political inclinations, in pursuit of peace in the community. At times the women employed unconventional methods to push the community and especially the men to the peace negotiation table.

Notably, though women seem to be visible in their roles as peace activities, mediators, educators, mobilizers and in conflict prevention, they continue to be denied access to participation in the critical stage of peace negotiations and settlement. This potentially means that the specific interests of women are not recognised and hence a threat to long lasting peace. Further, it still remains unclear to what extent the participation of women in the community structures that are highly depended on external support is sustainable. This dynamic provides an opportunity for further investigation.

CHAPTER FIVE:

OBSTACLES TO WOMEN'S INVOLVMENT IN PEACE PROCESSES: THE CASE OF KAKUMA REFUGEE CAMP, 1992-2016

5.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, the case study titled “it is our day to talk” presented the critical roles played by women in peace making processes in Kakuma, even while beginning to reveal the limitation they face in this process. This chapter expounds on the factors that inhibit women’s involvement in peacebuilding. It confirms hegemonic masculinities as a framework within which women face exclusion from participating fully in the peace processes, particularly in decision making platforms.

5.1 Factors inhibiting women’s participation in peace building in Kakuma Refugee Camp

Unarguably, women are valuable in any peace-making process because "feminine voice is viewed as supporting those tenets of sustainable peace".²⁷⁹ And as Lawson postulates, "peacebuilding will be sustainable"²⁸⁰ only if the process involves all concerned people. Indeed, the drafters of the UN SCR 1325, recognised the essentiality of women in sustaining peace hence placing their “meaningful participation at the heart of peacebuilding, conflict prevention and recovery”²⁸¹

Yet, numerous studies confirm that it is never smooth sailing for women in their engagement in peace actions. This is essentially because peace building processes are considered to be masculine in nature, as “the work of ensuring there is peace and safety is the work of the man....that is how we have grown up knowing”.²⁸² Such a perception "intimidates many women who wish to venture in the sector".²⁸³ While this is indeed a critical factor in understanding the involvement (or lack

²⁷⁹Margit Hentschel, "The Experiences of Women Leaders Advancing International Peacebuilding: A Cross-case Study of Nobel Peace Prize Laureates" (PhD Dissertation, Colorado State University, 2015), p. 9

²⁸⁰Jane Elizabeth Lawson, "What Happens After the War? How Refugee Camp Peace Programmes Contribute to Post-conflict Peacebuilding Strategies", *New Issues in Refugee Research Paper 245*, (2012): p.26

²⁸¹ News Coverage: “Women’s meaningful participation in peace – where are the barriers and what can be done?” Accessed on 24.12.2018 at <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2018/10/news-coverage-womens-meaningful-participation-in-peace>

²⁸² A female teenage girl FGD participant, Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament.

²⁸³ Anne Nkirote Mbae, " Analyzing the Dimension of Women’s Participation in Conflict Resolution in South Sudan", (Masters' Thesis United States International University – Africa, 2017), p.56

of) women in the peace architecture, there exists various other factors inhibiting women from peace processes participation. These barriers can be summed up as social, economic and cultural with some of these manifesting in the public, private or both spheres.

5.2 Socio-Economic Obstacles

5.2.1. Social Factors: Inequalities in education

Women on refugee camps in Kenya form the highest percentage of illiterates in the camp²⁸⁴ a fact conceded by most of the respondents. Low literacy levels among women constitute one of the reasons for lack of adequate involvement of women in, particularly, formal peace making actions. The participants reckoned that most of the community or organisations convened meeting often require a level of literacy to allow meaningful engagement, thus locking out women. Lack of educational literacy causes a lack of self-esteem in most women, an attribute essential in²⁸⁵. A female key informant posed that, “women who are not educated are not confident and even if they are elected for leadership position, they will never talk especially in front of many people”. While another said that a person who is not educated “their mind is blocked”. This female respondent argued that most women in the camp shied away from taking up positions of leadership owing to their low educational literacy levels.

5.1.2 Social Factors: Gender Based Violence

Women in leadership or intending to participate in peacebuilding platforms in Kakuma Refugee Camp, experience physical, psychological/mental and emotional violence or trauma. Several women interviewed regarded physical violence as a common strategy used by men to target women peacebuilder with a view to discourage them from seeking leadership positions, strategic for peacebuilding. Such violence is perpetrated at both the community and family level. Two women leaders confirmed having experienced targeted physical assault. Men, who were either unrelated or related to these women caused bodily harm to them on the account of their role in

²⁸⁴ Anna P Obura, Peace education Programme in Dadaab and Kakuma, UNHCR Kenya Evaluation report, 2002, p 13, accessed on 20. 09.2017 at http://s3.amazonaws.com/inee-assets/resources/doc_1_63_peace_educaiton_review_obura.pdf

²⁸⁵ John Mutamba, “The Role of Women in Reconciliation and Peacebuilding in Rwanda: Ten Years after the Genocide, 1994-2004. Kigali, Rwanda: National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, (2005)

mobilizing and advocating for the rights of fellow women, relatives or community members especially as relates to peace, freedom from violence and insecurity.

“Mimi nimewahi pigwa mara mbili na wanaume pia wavulana, kitu kiliniokoa ni polisi. Kuna mwanamume, mdogo tu, aliniuliza kwa nini mungu ameweka wewe mama kwa uongozini, si uvae long’i..”²⁸⁶

(I have been beaten twice by men, even younger ones, what saved me was the police. There is a man, a young one at that, who asked my why God places me as a woman to be a leader, you should then put on a trouser)

5.1.3. Social Factors: Stereotyping that undermine role of women peacebuilders.

Culture influences thinking, language and human behaviour²⁸⁷ that socially assign roles based on gender is a consequence of cultural-religious interpretations and historical and environmental factors.²⁸⁸ Gender stereotypes confers such roles as security and safety to men since this work requires what a number of male respondent referred to as “muscles”. Proponents of this narrative argue that men have the primary responsibility to protect their family and community. Moreover, in the context of conflict, men are regarded as soldiers or active perpetrators or participants.

Women, on the other hand are viewed as passive victims, nurtures of the family and community, and therefore excluded or discouraged from participating in peace processes especially at the critical stages of negotiations and peace settlement owing to its apparent strong focus on the cessation of violence. Notably, while some stereotypes may be used as a means to claim power, most of the time they are used as a tool to oppress and devalue, majorly women. In peacebuilding, the presumption of women as peaceful and passive often provides women with an opportunity to influence peace processes. Yet, this very essence of presenting women as peaceful creatures seems to block women from participating in the full peace building peace processes, as was the case in the “It is or time to Talk” study, women were denied the chance to sit or even represent their specific interests. Enquiries as to why women were excluded from the Hong Kong incidence, peace negotiation table, a man responded was quoted saying that the women “have done their part, now it is our time to talk...they have told us what they want”²⁸⁹. While another man contented that

²⁸⁶ Oral interview with a female zonal leader and member of KWC

²⁸⁷ Angelica-Nicoleta, Neculaesei, Culture and Gender Role Differences, Cross-cultural Management Journal, Vol XVII, Issue 1(7) (2015); p.31

²⁸⁸ Ibid, p.33

²⁸⁹ Oral interview with an NGO representative, Vitalis O., Peace and Safety Officer, LWF, Kakuma.

among the Dinka “you cannot allow a woman to speak before you- the men first talk then ask the woman “what is your opinion.””²⁹⁰ To further this notion, a male respondents invoked the bible and geopolitical contexts, stating that;

“Also, since creation it was man who was created first- in every community men lead and women follow them- even in America- the super power- they never elected a woman- they must have known the weakness of a women- even women do not believe in themselves. Women are given vice president....even in Kenya women cannot be elected despite the fact that they are the majority.”²⁹¹

5.1.4. Social Factors: Character defamation

A woman’s reputation is often her most valuable asset²⁹² as such any such affront to, it causes even the strongest woman to recoil, keeping away from public activities lest their family and friends disassociate themselves from her leaving her vulnerable. In Kakuma, character defamation emerged as prominent strategy used by men to suppress and cause the women to stay away from public engagements. Women viewed as strong and vocal including those in leadership positions experience a different kind of violence that is not physical violence. Accounts of the community and other key informants confirmed that slander campaigns serve as a way of discrediting a person’s reputation causing them to shy away from taking up positions. Johanna et al described slander as a common technique serving to maintain informal exclusions²⁹³ where women who go into politics and other public positions are referred as ‘dirty’.²⁹⁴ Hassan reveals that where women are allowed to take part in and speak in any public meeting, they reportedly face criticism of ‘trying to challenge traditional gender role’.²⁹⁵ As a consequence, women grow up to “socially accept their unequal position.”²⁹⁶ Responses from the community interviews insinuated that women in leadership position or participating in public activities and conversations are regarded by men in Kakuma as “morally loose” or ‘outgoing’, someone who “sleeps around”, even “not a woman”. Other terms used to refer to these women include a “woman with no character or lacking decency”,

²⁹⁰ A male FGD participant, CPPT, KRC

²⁹¹ Ibid

²⁹² A male Zonal Leader, Kakuma 1.

²⁹³ Selimovic, J. Mannergre, Asa N., Brandt, Agneta S. Jacobson, “Equal Power – Lasting Peace: Obstacles for Women’s Participation in Peace Processes”. Stockholm. Kvinna till Kvinna, (2012), p.9

²⁹⁴ Ibid, p.9

²⁹⁵ Hassan Widad, "Beyond Vulnerability: Refugee Women's Leadership in Jordan" (Master's Thesis, The City University of New York, 2017), p.33

²⁹⁶ Theresa Michelle Wigget, "The Forgotten Voices of Female Refugees: An Analysis of Gender roles in the Refugee Society", (Master's Thesis, North-eastern University Boston, Massachusetts, 2013), p.22

“kichwa ngumu” (hard headed), ‘big mouthed”, “dangerous as a wife as they can subdue the man” and that “wana fitina” (problem makers or agitators). Another female block leader further claimed that when a woman makes a contribution in a public meeting some of the men present would “whisperingly enquire about the household she comes from questioning the “kind of children she was raising”.²⁹⁷

“Sasa huyu mama ako na mdomo sana- ni hatari na anaweza kalia mwanamume...huyu ni mtu was fitna”

(This woman has a (loud) mouth, she is dangerous and can “sit on” a man (meaning can control her man). Such a women is can cause discord)

According to a male leaders in Kakuma, morality is a cultural construct deposited in the hands of men, who then dictate what is right or wrong.²⁹⁸

“Some men, particular Somali, can’t just see a strong women, and not want to bring her down, and tear (verbally) her into pieces...this thing is engrained in their (particularly the Somali community) DNA. It is very abrasive....this men feel their position is being threatened. So a woman is seen as someone without/lacking character, without decency...without good morals.”²⁹⁹

While another responded argued that;

“This (morality) is something that is constructed by men. You know in Africa what is a norm, of what is right or what is wrong is dictated by men....I don’t think any women had a right to say what is wrong or right. And I think that morality when you put it in the hands of men, it becomes a weapon whereby you can (suppress) people”

Interestingly, some of the female and male respondents revealed the double standard in the application of the concept of morality, by men in Kakuma. According to them, this definition of immorality is only applicable to those women who are educated, literate, knowledgeable, and vocal women whose work requires them to work and participate in activities in the public domain. Specifically, this definition is made in reference to those women working in offices; those “who wear a badge.”³⁰⁰ Ironically, men do not seem to have an issue with women engaged in petty or small trade such as selling foodstuffs. This, a male zonal leader seemed to suggest, is because

²⁹⁷ A female FGD participants, Women Consortium,

²⁹⁸ Oral interview with a male Zonal leader, Kakuma 1.

²⁹⁹ Oral interview with male Zonal leader

³⁰⁰ A female FGD participant, KWC

women engaged in small trades are often considered illiterate and their work involved serving everyone and in particular men. Yet, the work of the woman “with a badge” involved her working alongside men and in some instances as their superior. In other words, this type of woman challenged typical stereotype of women as inferior and men as superior. That is to say, men verbally insult women in order to push them and force them to coil back into the culturally acceptable private sphere engagement, where they belong

5.1.5 Economics Factor: Income and Increased Household Responsibilities

Most of the women in the camp, as a female zonal leader pointed out, are single parents owing to the fact that their husbands were either killed in the war that ravaged their countries or remained behind (voluntarily or involuntarily) to fight in the war. Refugee women just like other refugees solely depend on the limited and inadequate humanitarian aid for livelihood. Changes in gender roles observed in refugee camps require that women take on additional socio-economic burden, even as heads of households. Therefore, women assume the additional role as head of household, becoming the sole breadwinners for the family. This compounded with the lack of assured livelihood opportunities, bars a number of women from involvement in peacebuilding activities. In fact, one key interviewee confided that she had to sacrifice a lot to participate in this interview. She argued that since most women in the camps are single women, their first priority was to fend for their children.

“You see...being a leader here you do not get any support from the agencies. When you attend a meeting, it means that day you will have lost and will have no food for your children...many women have to choose between attending meeting and getting food for their children. So you find women, they are elected but after some time they do not want the position again because it has no money. Now if she attends the meeting and then she gets home and all her children are just looking at her...”

5.1.6 Burden of Care and the Time Factor

Some women often seek to supplement what they received from the humanitarian organisation by engaging in other activities that expand their sources of livelihoods. Most of the women undertake small scale businesses that require much of their attention. The demands of the family and domestic responsibility and the livelihoods activity deny women

the time to participate in community peacebuilding structures which are primarily voluntary in nature.

5.2. Reinforcing Patriarchal Traditional Gender Roles: Male resistance

The alteration in gender roles observed in Kakuma Refugee Camp is a phenomenon that is at the core of this study. The study seeks to examine the interaction between the obstacles women face that inhibit their (full) participating in peacebuilding and the changing gender roles exhibited in Kakuma refugee camp system. Scholars such as Sultana describe patriarchy as a set of social relations between men and women, which have a material base that establishes or creates independence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women³⁰¹. This set up serves as a system that perpetuates female exclusion and exploitation, by setting the power regime between men and women. In particular, during conflict, the discourse of masculinity and femininity that defines men as soldiers and protectors, and women as victims and nurturers of families and whole nations, needing protection from men, is at play.

The ascribing of gender roles and expectations and the subsequent attitudes of how men and women should behave, becomes a major element of contention in Kakuma Refugee Camp that witness alterations in gender roles. Such alterations threaten the bedrock patriarchal institution since as refugee women appropriate roles the perceived masculine roles, traditionally a perceived as masculine such as protectors and head of households, men to begin to lose their traditional hegemonic status.³⁰² Furthermore, in a bid to support women whose caregiving burden increases in Kakuma camp, various humanitarian organisations support gender empowerment programs that intentionally target girls and women. Krause observes that this focus on women causes men in Kakuma to "feel left out and degraded."³⁰³ Likewise, in her study of refugees in a camp in Tanzania, Lukunka argues that these empowerment programs causes refugee women not to rely on men.....to survive,"³⁰⁴ leading a sense of male emasculation ³⁰⁵ One of the male respondent,

³⁰¹ Godiya A., Makama, Patriarchy and Gender Inequality in Nigeria: The Way Forward, European Scientific Journal, Vol 9, No. 17 (2013), p 118

³⁰² Ulrike K, "A Continuum of Violence? Linking Sexual and Gender-based Violence during Conflict, Flight and Encampment" *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, , 34, (2015): p.4

³⁰³ Ulrike Krause, "Analysis of Empowerment of Refugee Women in Camps and Settlements" *Journal of Internal Displacement*, 4, (201): p. 47

³⁰⁴ Barbra Lukunka, "UNHCR is my Husband: Interpreting the Nature of Militarized Refugee Women's Lives in Kanembwa Refugee Camp", (Master Thesis, America University, 2007), p.156

³⁰⁵ Ibid, p. 169

in fact said that men who come to Kakuma feel “broken” as they are no longer able to support their families the way they used to do back in their countries of origin.³⁰⁶ Hence, in a bid to regain their power and control over women, some men resort to indirect and direct strategies to deter women from participating in peace processes and other community leadership platforms.

5.2.1 Containment measures

Containment measures is means used by some men to reinforce traditional authority as the heads of household in the family. The study noted that some husbands impose restrictions, also referred to as curfews, on their wives deliberately, to keep them away from any public engagements. These men expect and require their wives to be home at certain hour to attend to their ‘womanly’ roles. Consequently, most married women chose not to attend meetings, especially those convened a long distance away from their homes. They also avoid forums or meetings that require them to spend the whole day or even days away from their homes. As one male respondent posed, women are “only good for cooking and making children”. Such statements are indicative of the fact that women’s potential to participate in leadership positions strategic to peacebuilding initiatives, is still circumscribed by virtue of the prevalent traditional and cultural norms and configurations that require them to focus on the their domestic obligations. In fact, most women and men concluded that the restrictive nature of husbands, largely contributed to a lack of women’s engagement in leadership positions critical for peacebuilding. To emphasise this point, a female leader asserted that;

“Some women wanted to be in leadership but the husband say that “my wife is young and when she speaks in front of people- sitting in between men - even if she is educated- form four- she might be snatched from me”- he even fears that he is not educated so it will profile the lady and give her prominence”³⁰⁷

A female block leader echoed this stating that;

“Wamama wanaruhusiwa- laking kuna mahali ingine kama Brurundi wamama wawezi sema wako chini sana, wanawadharau- wamama mabwana wao hawakubalii kuenda mikutako”

³⁰⁶ Oral interview with a male Zonal leader, Kakuma 1.

³⁰⁷ Oral interview with female Zonal leader and member of the Kakuma Women Consortium, Kakuma 1

(Women are allowed (to go for meetings) but in other places like among the Burundi, women do not have the right to speak, they are suppressed and looked down upon. Husbands disallow their wives to attend meetings)

Teenage girls interviewed also revealed that their male parents or guardians imposed restrictions and meted violence on them if they flouted the rules. These men did this in a bid to deny them the freedom to engage in public community activities including leadership and peacebuilding training workshops.

“When we want to go for a meeting, even if it is a training, our uncle tells us “you are not going anywhere. You are a girl and you need to stay at home and look after the family”. Now if you disobey, when he finds you in the house, you are beaten thoroughly”³⁰⁸

5.2.2. Restricted access to information

Active and meaningful participation in any meeting or event requires a level of good, comprehensive and timely communication and information. Female respondents decried the behaviour by their male counterparts to deny them access to information requisite for undertaking their roles in the various community leadership structures. A female zonal leader respondent indicated that many were the times she missed out on important community meetings such as arbitration meeting owing to lack of information by the fellow male leaders. Women argued that men seemed to have a “solidarity code” that they used to block women from engaging in public forums or other forms of meetings. A number female leaders seemed to suggest that sometimes “men agreed between themselves” to meet to resolve cases, especially those they considered “manly issues,”³⁰⁹ without informing them. This male solidarity was not confined to information sharing only. Rather, men were said to always support a fellow man during elections even when the woman was the most suitable for the position. When asked by the research who men would chose if given an option of a man and woman with similar qualifications, the men resoundingly stated they would choose the man, because he is “one of our own and he understands our issues”. Another leader insinuated that most of the men leaders had access to resources and therefore many of the community members preferred engaging with them.

³⁰⁸ A teen female FGD participant, KYYP

³⁰⁹ Oral interview with a female Zonal leader, Kakuma 2

5.2.3. Location and meeting etiquette

An interesting covert strategy employed by men in Kakuma relates to choice of meeting location and the meeting etiquettes. Several considerations usually inform the choice of a venue for official convening. Furthermore, the language as well as dress code play a significant role as either an incentive or deterrence for participation in official meetings such as for arbitration or conflict resolution. A male zonal leader recounted an incidence related to a meeting whose intention was to discourage women from participating in it.

“One time I observed a meeting where community elders (both men and women) were meeting for an arbitration of a case...the place they were meeting was held in a small room...it was in a location that most women especially from my community....would not go to or want to be seen in or around. The meeting room was located in a place mushroomed by bars and dingy houses..... and imagine the meeting was about arbitration. During the meeting, the men were chewing miraa (khat) and others were smoking...the men were inappropriately dressed...one man was wearing you know the cloth that Somali and even Ethiopians wear...they had those on but their thighs were uncovered (exposed)...the women (Somali) in the meeting were visibly uncomfortable from the way the men were dressed to the smoke from the cigarettes....”³¹⁰

The respondent considered this as an imperceptible tactic by men to divert the women’s concentration from the proceeding of the meeting, hence blocking them from making valuable contributions in the session. What is more, during the meetings, some leaders unexpectedly used unrelated local proverbs meant to slander women while some repeatedly asked the women in attendance where their husbands or sons were, possibly in an attempt to propagate a feeling of “outsider-ship”.³¹¹ This kind of set-up can be very intimidating for women and in turn cause them to avoid attending any public meetings.

5.3 Conclusion

The chapter presented the obstacles faced by women that inhibit their participation in peace processes in Kakuma Refugee Camp. Of import is the confirmation of the study hypothesis that there are obstacles to women’s meaningful participation in peace building initiatives and organised structures in the Camp. Further the study reveals that indeed in a bid to reclaim and

³¹⁰ Oral interview with a male Zonal leader, Kakuma 1

³¹¹ Ibid

retain their power and dominance over women in the context of alterations in gender roles in the camp, men employ directly and indirect strategies that deter women from participating in peace processes. All this happens amidst various programs in the camp aimed at empowering women to increase their involvement in all matters affecting them and the community and in leadership positions.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

This study primarily set out to examine women's participation in peace building processes in Kakuma refugee camp, paying special attention to the roles and most importantly, the obstacles they face that inhibit their participation in peace building system and processes in the camp.

Kakuma Refugee Camp is host to over 162,000 people from over twenty-one countries. Majority of the people fled their countries due to conflict and war seeking safety and peace in refugee camps, considered to be safe havens. However, various community and key informants confirmed that indeed, Kakuma presents an environment where violent post-conflicts events occur. Such violence, according to some community leaders, represent a continuum of violence resulting from inherent political, cultural, ethnic and religious differences observed in the refugees' countries of origin. Such dynamic cancels the common assumption that refugees are peaceful victims of war and aggression, instead presenting them as not only as victims but committers of conflict and violence.

The typologies of the conflicts experienced in this Camp, vary from interpersonal to intercommunal conflicts. Observably, some interpersonal conflicts in Kakuma potentially transform into intercommunal violence. Disputes over water for instance, which assumedly affect women the most, triggered ethnic and nationalized tensions that at times erupted into a fully blown conflict affecting the men and women. Crisp and a number of community leaders concurred that most of the intercommunity or inter-national conflicts had their roots in interpersonal contestations.

Women, who constitute of 46% of the Kakuma population, suffer disproportionately from the violence conflict experienced in Kakuma Refugee Camp. Beyond suffering the collective consequences of violence conflict including loss of property and sources of livelihoods, displacement, family separation, losing their loved ones, physical injuries, mental trauma and even loss of life, women also experience sexualized and gender based violence. The women leaders interviewed and a zonal male leaders consider this is one of the rationale for women's active and full participation in peacebuilding especially at the peace negotiation and settlement.

In this regard, all the community as well as external peace actors affirmed peacebuilding as an essential strategy to forestall violence and restore peace in Kakuma. This study established the existence of an elaborate peacebuilding architecture comprising majorly of refugee community based structures and committees with support by external peace actors including the state agencies and non- state organisations. It further revealed that in keeping with global trends that attested to a lack of common interpretation of the word peacebuilding, Kakuma defined the word broadly to mean activities that included conflict prevention, management, negotiations, resolution and transformation. In fact, all of the respondents used the word interchangeable with conflict resolution.

The camp adopts a localised peacebuilding architecture that borrows heavily from the indigenous/traditional model owing to its reliance on the traditional methods for responding to conflict, while receiving mostly technical and financial support from the external peace actors. The study deduced that the Kakuma peace structure employed a hybrid model, which a mix of the liberal and indigenous peacebuilding models. The peacebuilding structure comprises of the community and camp leadership structures who form the largest component of the peacebuilding pyramid. They include the camp leadership, traditional and religious leaders, Kakuma Women Consortium, Community Peace and Safety Teams and the Kakuma Youth Peace Parliament. These other peace actors within this system include the Civil Society Organisation including the United Nations Agencies, the Government Agencies- National Police Service and Refugee Affairs Secretariat. The roles of each actors was clear and there existed good coordination.

Whereas, the scope of this study did not include the youth, it observed that the role of the youth in peacebuilding, particularly female youth, was not evident. Yet, persons below the age of 17 years constitute over 60% of the Kakuma refugee camp population. This percentage does not reflect the youth below thirty-five years. Put together, it is safe to say that Kakuma is a youthful camp. Available literature as well as interviews with the research participants deduced that the youth, to a large extent, were the instigators and perpetrators of the conflicts experienced in Kakuma. Yet the available body of literature does not define the engagement of the youth as a collective in building peace in Kakuma, beyond being party to peace negotiations by virtue of their engagement in the conflict. In this sense the Women's Consortium provides platform where the older women

promote mentorship programs targeting the younger women as investment for continued women engagement in peace processes in Kakuma and beyond.

Further, in interrogating the study discovered that the peacebuilding initiatives in refugee camps are over reliant on donor funding. In fact, some of the study respondents suggest that women peacebuilding empowerment programs may be based on a false sense of women's emancipation. If true, this assertion would confirm the argument offered by Elena that refugees and their leaders have mastered the art of "embracing" the gender mainstreaming discourse when relating with international audiences, eliciting a possibility of what she describes as "the female aid centered industry."³¹² Such over-reliance threatens the longevity, viability and sustainability of such initiatives. There is a need to explore local resource mobilization to promote ownership and in effect, ensure long lasting community initiatives. Such approach ensures programming that is responsive to the distinctive as well as common community realities and experiences in peace prevention, management, resolution and settlement while broadening ownership of the community peacebuilding structures. An interrogation on this phenomenon of the female aid industry as well as the sustainability of the community structures whose over-reliance in external funding, would be essential.

It is evident that the involvement and contribution of women in all the existing community peacebuilding structures, is visible and critical including in taking actions to prevent conflicts, de-escalate tensions and resolving majorly, domestic violence. However, gender stereotypes continue to influence the allocation of peacebuilding roles between men and women, with women assigned those roles considered less masculine such as water point disputes or conflicts involving women or children. The men on the other hand were called to cases related with boundary issues, property ownership as well as active conflict situation to separate warring factions.

³¹² Elena F-Qasmiyeh, " "Ideal" Refugee Women and Gender Equality Mainstreaming in Sahrawi Refugee Camps: "Good Practice" for Whom?, *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, 29(2): 64-84, (2010), p.65

The Kakuma Women's Consortium, an organisation comprising of women from different socio demographics, provides platform where women engage in more prominent activities including agitating for the respect and protection of women and girl's rights, even for other community members. The older women in KWC particularly promote mentorship programs targeting the younger women as investment for continued women engagement in peace processes in Kakuma and beyond. In relation to peacebuilding actions, the case study titled "It is our turn to Talk" that detailed the conflict in Hong Kong, Kakuma 1 zone 4, illustrated how women's engagement through activities such as peace demonstrations, advocacy, mediation and peace dialogues prompted the commencement of peace negotiation and eventually peace agreement. Notably, male community leaders appropriated the leadership of the subsequent peace negotiation, excluding women from the peace negotiation and eventually participating in the peace agreement discussion. This clearly confirmed that hegemonic masculinity that underpinned this study.

Yet, while women played an instrumental role in initiating peace dialogues, the study discovered that they equally faced various obstacles that inhibited them from participating in peace initiatives and in cases where they participated, they were inhibited from engagement in the decision making platforms. The limitation of women from full involvement in the peacebuilding processes is not unique to Kakuma refugee camp. Extensive research indicates how, although women exhibit visible agency in agitating for peace at grass-root level and even to certain levels at international sphere, their efforts are barely recognised as they remain visibly invisible in the peace negotiation platforms. This fact, prompted the adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), in 2000. This resolution aims to locate women centrally within the full array of peacebuilding processes. Of import, the Resolutions mandates all state and non-state actors to adopt measures that support local women's' peace initiative and involving them in all peace agreement implementation mechanisms.

The study enumerated several factors limiting women's involvement in peace processes globally as well as in Kakuma, including economic, structural and social. Nonetheless, this study identified patriarchal configuration of the community as a factor contributing to the direct and indirect obstruction of women's participation in peace processes. During conflict, the masculinization and feminization narrative that defines men as soldiers and protectors, and women as victims and

nurturers of families and whole nations, needing protection from men, is emphasised. Yet, alteration in gender roles observed in Kakuma, necessitates the women to appropriate the more masculine roles, traditionally a preserve of the refugee male, including that of protection and head of household. Diverse respondents confirmed this change in context, where women found themselves alone since their husbands had either died in the conflict back home or joined one of the warring factions. Most of the men who fled and live in the refugee camp, suffer psychological trauma rendering them dysfunctional resulting from the trauma experienced during conflict and in flight. Moreover, the women empowerment programs regularly conducted by the humanitarian organisation, further lead to a sense of women's emancipation while men felt left out. Consequently, men experienced a sense of male social emasculation and disempowerment, unable to contend with the changing gender dynamics in the camp. In their bid to (re)claim and retain their dominance over the women, they devise direct and indirect strategies aimed at limiting and even prohibiting women from effectively participating in peacebuilding structures and processes.

Physical violence, emotional violence, movement restrictions, especially to attend meetings, defamation, denial access to critical information, gender stereotype constitute of some of tactics used to deter women from engaging in public peacebuilding processes. Among the indirect strategies men employed to block women from involvement in public affairs that was denial of information concerning critical community meetings causing women to miss out on important activities. Equally, some women and men argued that men seemed to have what one responded termed as a Solidarity code". In particular, some men convened formal meetings or sessions in environment that were clearly inappropriate for women to visit. In one case, as submitted by a male zonal leader, a male community leader convened an arbitration meeting in a conspicuously small room located between public entertainment premises. As if that was not enough, some of the men smoked and ate miraa (khat) while other (mostly of Somali origin) wore their "shukas" in a manner that exposed their legs inappropriately. The women attending this meeting were visibly intimidated and uncomfortable. Such a scenario posed a great threat to women's motivation to attend subsequent meeting.

Further, structural barriers such as low literacy level and academic qualification caused some women to shy away from taking on leadership positions critical for peacebuilding. Similarly, due to the increased caregiver burden requiring them to be breadwinners, a significant number of the women interviewed confided that due to the voluntary nature of leadership positions in Kakuma, most women avoided participating in meetings, opting most times to seek for alternative livelihood solutions to fend for their families. This study proposes the need to a holistic programming approach to be employed. Different respondents concurred on the need to include aspects such as basic literacy skills, economic empowerment, political negotiation and lobbying skills within the women empowerment programs. This, they argued would boost the sense of confidence among the women who are interested in peacebuilding but are deterred for lack of these essential tools. It is thus the considered opinion of this study that all humanitarian organisations working in Kakuma adopt a conflict and peace sensitive programming.

The literature reviewed, confirmed that the East and Horn of Africa region remains an area of great concern as relates to the protracted conflicts and subsequently prolonged refugee problem. Interestingly, several peacebuilding and security resolutions have been signed but inadequate legal framework limit their operationalization. Cross-border engagement in this regard become a critical component in particular as it relates to information sharing and response. This study points out the importance of the Government of Kenya recognize and establish legal, policy and institutional frameworks that promote the active participation of refugees and in particular refugee women in national and international peace process. This study further recognises the need for programming that responds to the prevailing conflict system extant in these regions with a counter peace program and initiatives. It is evident that any conflict in the camp and any resultant peacebuilding effort has an effect on the regional peace and stability. Hence, refugee women in particular should explore the possibilities of forming regional peacebuilding coalitions that would propel their active engagement and subsequently of refugees, in the larger peace negotiation and conflict settlement arena.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDES

QUESTION GUIDE FOR THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION AND KEY RESPONDENTS

Objective: To examine the level of women's participation in peace building initiatives in Kakuma refugee camp

To determine the existence and types of conflict in the refugee camp

1. How long has this camp been in existence?
2. How is the camp organised?
3. Which are the communities (nationalities) living in this camp?
4. Do all the communities live together? Are there locations specific to a particular nationality or community?
5. How is the relationships in the camp?
6. Do we have incidences of conflicts in the camps
7. If yes, what is the cause of the conflicts?
8. How do the conflicts present?
9. Which are community member most likely to cause conflict, women or men and why?
10. Who among the above are most likely to be actively involved in the conflict?
11. Who is most affected by the conflicts and how are they affected?

To examine role the existing peacebuilding initiatives in the refugee camp and the involvement of women in these structures.

1. What is your understanding of peace building?
2. Are there mechanisms in place for peace building in Kakuma RC? Identify them and explain how they are established.
3. Who is responsible for the peace building in the camp, is it NGO or government and what are their roles?
4. What is the role of refugee community in the peace building processes/structures in the camp?
5. How does a refugee become a member of this peace building structure?

6. Who (men and women) constitute the majority in the peace building structures and why? (Probe on the percentages to understand prevailing reasons if women are fewer than the men?)
7. What are the roles of women in peace building in general?
8. How are women involved in peace building in the camps? What activities are they involved in?
9. What positions do women occupy in the peacebuilding structures/initiatives (management or members?)
10. Which category of women are involved in peace building and why?
11. In your own thinking are women meaningfully involved in the peace building activities in the camp?

To establish social and cultural values that affect women participation in the peace building structures and initiatives.

1. What obstacles do women face when engaging in peace building activities?
2. (If cultural norms is not identified in (1) above: Which are some of the cultural values/norms that define the gender roles among the communities in the camp (specific for each community/nationality)?
3. How do you think men how does the cultural values hinder women participation in peace building activities/initiatives? probe especially on power relations and how they are manipulated
4. What is the society's perception of women involved in peace building activities in the camp?
5. Specifically, what are some examples of how women are excluded from actively participating in peace building?
6. What do you think are/may be vital contributions of women to peace building initiatives?
7. How can this be strengthened? recommendations can be made to enhance women meaningful involvement in peace building?