UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION: THE CASE OF KENYA'S POST ELECTION VIOLENCE

CHEBET GETRUDE

R50/68783/2011

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

2013

DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for a degree award in any other university.

_____   _____

Chebet Getrude   Date   Sign

This project has been submitted with my approval as university supervisor.

_____   _____

Professor Maria Nzomo   Date   Sign

DEDICATION

To the unsung heroines

who strive to create a peaceful attitude from which

systems of peace spring.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Amb. Professor Maria Nzomo, whose invaluable brilliance, guidance and attention to detail drove me to finally bring this project to completion.

My great appreciation goes to my parents; Milly Irongi and Daniel Nyolei, my siblings; Victor, Jacky, Maureen and Sandra for their tremendous love, support and encouragement throughout my research.

I would also like to acknowledge with much appreciation my aunt Lilian Irongi and her family for the love and encouragement they accorded me during my research.

Special thanks go to my classmates James Maina Macharia, who literally kept tabs on my progress page by page - I can't thank you enough, Jude Wetangula, Caroline Khalai, Pauline Chepkwony and Joyce Njuguna for their constant encouragement.

Last but not least my appreciation also goes to my colleagues at work; Alex Kayeli and Caroline Muthoni whose selfless care and support were at times all that kept me going.

LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYMS

GLR   **-** Great Lakes Region

DFID   **-** Department for International Development

DRC   **-** Democratic Republic of Congo

US   **-** United States

PEV   **-** Post Election Violence

SADC   **-** Southern Africa Development Community

UNSC   **-**United Nations Security Council

LRA   **-**Lords Resistance Army

WRI   **-**World Resource Institute

LRRRI   **-**Land Rights Research and Resource Institute

IGAD   **-**Inter-Governmental Agency for Development

LHRC   **-**Legal and Human Rights Center

WBGU   **-**German Advisory Council on Global Change

LEAT   **-**Lawyers Environmental Action Team

CCM   **-**Chama Cha Mapinduzi

CHADEMA **-**Chama Cha Demokrasia Na Maendeleo

UNDP   **-**United Nations Development Program

WB   **-**The World Bank

UN   **-**United Nations

NAP   **-**National Action Plan

ICGLR   **-**International Conference of the Great Lakes Region

CAR   **-**Central Africa Republic

GLCCR   **-**Great Lakes Center for Conflict Resolution

CIPEV   **-**Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence

GED   **-**Great Economic Depression

FECCLAHA **-**Fellowship of Christian Council of Churches in the Great Lakes Region and Horn of Africa.

GDP   **-**Gross Domestic Product

CUF   **-**Civil United Front

UNEP   **-**United Nations Environmental Program

UNFP   **-**United Nations Population Fund

CIDA   -Canadian International Development Agency

AMF   -American Mineral Fields

FAO   -Food and Agricultural Organization

EAC   -East Africa Community

UNICEF   -United Nations Children Education Fund

IDPs   -Internally Displaced Persons

KNCHR   -Kenya National Commission on Human Rights

ICRC   -International Committee of the Red Cross

CEDAW   -Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women

SCR   -Security Council Resolution

AU   -Africa Union

KADU   -Kenya Africa Development Union

KANU   -Kenya Africa National Union

KPU   -Kenya People's union

NARC   -National Rainbow Coalition

FORD-K   -Forum for Restoration of Democracy Kenya

LDP   -Liberal Democracy Party

DP   -Democratic Party

ICC   -International Criminal Court

MARWOPNET-Mano River Women's Peace Network

NGO   -Non Governmental Organization

WEL   -Women's Empowerment Link

WiWoG   -Winners Women Group

GBV   -Gender Based Violence

PNU   -Party of National Unity

ODM   -Orange Democratic Movement

CBO   -Community Based Organization

KWPF   -Kenya Women for Peace

RWPL   -Rural Women Peace Link

UNDPKO   -United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

In this study I investigated and evaluated the role of women in conflict management in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Particular focus of this study was the Kenya's Post Election Violence (2007/2008) and how it affected women, how women were involved in it and the subsequent role women played in managing and resolving it. The objective of the study was to establish to what extent women's participation in conflict management has been emancipated in the respective GLR countries' National Action Plans (NAPs) in accordance with the requirements of UNSCR 1325,whether women in Kenya played a significant role in the management of Post Election Violence which impacted the national healing and reconciliation and whether there is a positive correlation between national governments' commitment to the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and enhanced participation and involvement of women in conflict management.

The findings of this study established that women played a significant but underestimated role in the management of Kenya's PEV. Most of their activities took place through grassroots organizations due to their lack of access to formal participation. Drawing on shared values of security and women coming together around shared concerns in seeking peace that is rooted in social justice and freedom women engage in confidence-building programs across communities and play a key role in fostering reconciliation both during conflict and after.

The study also established that despite the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women Peace and Security more than a decade ago, not enough progress has been made to increase women's participation in conflict prevention, peace processes and post-conflict recovery. Women signatories to peace agreements account for less than 2.4% in 21 peace processes reviewed since 1992, and the United Nations has yet to appoint a woman as a lead mediator.

CHAPTER 1: STUDY BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Great Lakes Region (GLR) of Africa has progressed over the past few decades, although fundamental conflicts continue to be witnessed and the region remains highly volatile and vulnerable to armed conflict. War in the GLR of Africa has led to a dramatic increase in poverty in the region, which faces a deep and intricate humanitarian crisis. DFID (2005)[1] included both Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Burundi in the British Government "proxy" list of "fragile states", and DRC is ranked second in the "failed states index" compiled by the US Foreign Policy Magazine and the US-based Fund for Peace Think-Tank.

According to Save the Children (2005)[2], women and girls have been particularly hit and seriously affected by war in the GLR and the subsequent humanitarian crisis in far more fundamental ways. According to Save the Children's Report, women constitute 70% of the productive forces in the rural subsistence economy and are the main food producers in the region. However, war and insecurity and violence have driven many women away from their communities. The majority of refugees and internally displaced people in the GLR of Africa are women and their children.

In the present study, therefore, I will investigate and evaluate the role of women in conflict management in the Great Lakes Region of Africa. Particular focus of this study will be the Kenya's Post Election Violence (2007/2008) and how it affected women, how women were involved in it and the subsequent role women played in managing and resolving it.

---

1 DFID (2005) *Why we Need to Work More Effectively in Fragile States*, January 2005
2 Save the Children (2005*) Forgotten Casualties of War. Girls in Armed Conflict*, London 2005

1.2 BACKGROUND

The Great Lakes Region (GLR) of Africa constitutes Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Angola, Central Africa Republic, Burundi and Zambia. The region has been embroiled in national and trans-border violent and armed conflicts since independence in the 1960s. However, these conflicts significantly increased after the Cold War era of 1990s. For instance, in 1999, Rwanda and Uganda attempted to overthrow Laurent Kabila's (senior) government in DRC. However, this attempt was opposed and intercepted by some member and non- member states of Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), for instance, Zimbabwe, Angola and Namibia, Sudan and Chad that intervened to support DRC Government. Given the multiplicity of actors, this conflict has been described as Africa's world war.[3]

According to the United Nations Millennium Development Report (2005)[4], and Miller (2005)[5], Africa is the continent most threatened by internal wars, global change, pandemic diseases and disasters. From 1994 to 2003, about 9.2 million people died and 7.7 million people were internally displaced in sub Saharan Africa as a result of national and trans-border conflicts. In the Great Lakes Region, the ongoing conflicts in Northern Uganda, Burundi and DRC, for instance, continue to claim lives and cause suffering especially for children, women and youths, displacing hundreds and thousands and causing wanton destruction of properties.

---

[3] Bainomughisa & Isaaka, 2004
[4] United Nations. (2005). *Millennium Development Report*. Retrieved June 3, 2013
http://www.un.org/docs/summit2005/MDGBook.pdf
[5] Miller, K. (2005). *An Apology: It Was 9.2 Million Dead in Africa in the Last Ten Years*. Retrieved July 3, 2013
http://www.arcuk.org/pages/apology-9mdeaths.htm

Hackett (2009)[6] reports that the conflict between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in Northern Uganda displaced about 1.7 million people and 60,000 children have been abducted by the LRA. In another report, the World Resource Institute (2009) reported that from 1998-2010, violent conflict in Eastern DRC claimed the lives of about 5.4 million people, one million people were displaced and more than 200,000 women were sexually abused. Back home in Kenya, the 2007 electoral violence claimed lives of about 1333 people and up to 600,000 people were internally displaced and properties, such as, houses, supermarkets, shops, livestock, crops and churches were destroyed (Romero and Kimenyi, 2008).

A violent conflict has not even spared Tanzania, a country considered and regarded as Africa's oasis of peace. Tanzania has started to experience violent conflict. For instance, in 2000 and 2008, conflicts involving peasants and pastoralists erupted in Kilosa District, Morogoro Region, Tanzania. In this conflict, about 23 people were killed and many villagers took refuge in neighboring villages (LRRRI, LHRC, LEAT, 2008; Benjaminsen, Maganga & Abdallah, 2009). In yet another ordeal of terrorism, the Al-Qaeda Terrorist network bombed the USA embassies in Nairobi, Kenya and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania in 1998 killing about 213 people and leaving other hundreds of people maimed and wounded (Dagne, 2002)[7]. Still in Tanzania, an electoral campaign conflict involving member of the ruling party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) and those of the opposition party, Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) broke out on 20th October 2010. (Habari Leo, 2010[8]; Mwananchi, 2010).[9]

---

[6] Hackett, R. I. (2009). "The Art of Creative Conflict Resolution: A Critical Evaluation of Approaches to Post Conflict Reconstruction in Northern Uganda." *Journal of Undergraduate Research at the University of Tennessee*, vol. 1 (1), pp. 89-101.

[7] Dagne, T. (2002) *Africa and the War on Terrorism, Congressional Research Service Report*, January, 17, 2002.

[8] *Habari Leo.* (2010). *CHADEMA-CCM Clashes Cause Death and Injuries.* Retrieved July 1st 2013
http://www.habarileo.co.tz/

[9] *Mwananchi,* (2010). *One Person Dies as CHADEMA-CCM Followers Clash.* Retrieved June 27, 2013
http://www.mwananchi.co.tz/

In conclusion, therefore, Mengisteab, et. al, (2006)[10] recognized that the conflict in the GLR of Africa are very complex and dynamic as they emerge from multiple factors including cultural, economic, political and religious, signifying that there is no peace-keeping model that fits all societies equally, in fact, according to Murithi (2006)[11], culture constructs meanings that people attach to various aspects of conflicts. As such it is misnomer to disregard the role of culture in peace making and conflict resolution.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

In 2000, United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 [12]called on all member states and the United Nations (UN) system to protect the rights of women in the context of armed conflict and to ensure women's full participation in decision making on all conflict reconstruction processes. Member states were therefore tasked with the responsibility of developing National Action Plan (NAPs) to nationally implement UNSCR, 1325 and related resolutions 1820, 1888 and 1889 that promote women's protection, participation and leadership in the full spectrum of peace-building processes. NAP therefore was to be an official government document that includes plans to mainstream gender into peace and security operations within a country. NAPs were thus meant to provide the opportunity for government to initiate strategic actions, identify priorities and resources, and determine responsibilities among different actors.

---

[10] Mengisteab, K. et al. (2006). *Cultural Diversity in Peace and Conflict Making in Africa: Enhancing South Africa's Contribution to Conflict Resolution, Peace Making and Building in Africa*. Draft Proposal Submitted to the Universities of Pennsylvania State, Kinshasa and Khartoum

[11] Murithi, T. (2006). "Practical Peace Making Wisdom from Africa: Reflection on Ubuntu." *The Journal of Pan-African Studies*, vol. 1 (4), pp. 25-34.

[12] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, 2000

By 2010, only Rwanda (2010) and Uganda (2008) in the GLR had completed their NAPs. Burundi and the DRC had completed their NAPs but are awaiting final government approval. Despite a decade having passed since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, only a relative member states have launched their NAPs, suggesting that development of NAPs and by inference mainstreaming women participation and involvement of women in peace and security issues, has not been a priority for many United Nations Member States, GLR of Africa being the center of focus in this regard. Gaps in addressing women, peace and security issues in the GLR, therefore, remains a great issue of concern in the advent and persistence of national and trans-border conflicts.

Despite the formation of the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) in 2004 when the presidents of Angola, Burundi, the Central Africa Republic (CAR), the DRC, Kenya, Rwanda, Sudan (now Sudan and South Sudan), Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia signed the Dar es Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the GLR, and expressed their collective determination to transform the GLR into a space of sustainable peace and security, women have continued to remain a highly vulnerable group in situation of violence and armed conflict in the region, with many of them being victims and bearing the brunt of violence.[13]

The Great Lakes Center for Conflict Resolution's (GLCCR) Strategic Plan (2011 – 2015) reported that conflicts in Rwanda, DRC, Burundi, Uganda – especially Northern Uganda, Kenya, Central Africa Republic (CAR) and Sudan – Darfur and the Southern Sudan have killed more than 10 million civilians! These conflicts have destroyed decades of development efforts in these countries, hindered further development efforts and delivery of basic services, violated human rights – especially the rights of women and children, and consumed billions of dollars on humanitarian operations.

---

[13] Roselyn Musa, 2010

The GLCCR's Strategic Plan also noted that the GLR is also faced with widespread low-level conflicts with ability to escalate into large scale armed conflicts. These conflicts include land-instigated conflicts, natural resource-based conflicts, border disputes, gender-based violence; ethnic and inter-community clashes, election-related violence and atrocities, and state engineered and sponsored acts of violence especially against opposition parties and their members. Other forms of violence and conflict issues in the GLR include the challenge of small and light weapons proliferation, climate change, corruption, money laundering, drugs and human trafficking, drug abuses and poverty among others. Mal-democracy and bad governance is also cited in the Strategic Plan as a recipe for violence in the GLR.

Evidence available from the above studies and reports shows that armed conflicts and its aftermath affect women's lives in ways that differ from the impact on men. Men in communities under attack tend to abandon public spaces to avoid being conscripted, attacked, or taken hostage. This increases the burden placed on women to hold communities together in the absence of men at war. On the other hand, women as symbols of community and/or ethnic identity may become the targets of extensive sexual violence. Conflict in some places has highlighted the use of rape as a tool of warfare. In Rwanda, women were raped as a means of ethnic cleansing, serving not only to terrorize individual victims but also to inflict collective terror on an ethnic group.

Conflict brings with it terrible human rights consequences for all involved – children, women and men. The impact of conflict on the civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights of women, in particular, is often devastating. In spite of the fact that conflict has a high level of impact on the lives of women, it is disheartening to note that they are not fully involved in the peace building process because of its gendered nature. Women's interests have been neglected by the peace process, which has resulted in male-centered approaches to peace and security.

The intrinsic role of women in global peace and security has remained unrecognized since the creation of the United Nations. An intensive literature explores the interconnections between the roles of women and men in conflict situations and the politics of identity. Literature on Rwanda, Mozambique, Palestine, and Sri Lanka shows that women may be victims, but they also often participate actively as soldiers, informants, couriers, sympathizers, and supporters.

In the past ten years, many countries in the GLR have embarked upon the difficult transition from armed conflict towards resolution and peace building. The international community's role in this transition has shifted from narrow humanitarian and relief activities to more comprehensive efforts to foster sustainable peace. At the same time, the community has shifted from a stepped approach from relief to development to one that combines a broader package of concurrent steps. Development organizations have become increasingly engaged in activities during post-conflict, devoting time and resources to supporting this transition. Building a lasting peace that sustains post-war economic, political, and social development requires the full participation of all citizens. Yet it is increasingly recognized that the role of women in post-conflict settings has received inadequate policy attention.

According to Theo Ben Gurirab, Namibian Minister of Foreign Affairs (cited in Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2005), attempts to address the human rights consequences of conflict, including the particular impact on women, can only be comprehensive and long-lasting if women play active part in all the relevant processes and mechanisms given the gender-differentiated impact of war on women[14].

---

[14] Theo Ben Gurirab, Namibian Minister of Foreign Affairs .cited in Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, 2005

It is important to know that preventing a war is entirely different from resolving one once it has begun. In order to prevent conditions that give rise to violent conflict from coalescing, capable societies must be created. These societies are characterized by three components: security; well-being; and justice for all of its citizens, including its women.

According to Lute (2002)[15], women's roles in promoting these three causes provide examples of their activities towards preventing the emergence, spread, or renewal of mass violence. The belief that women should be at the center of peace building and resolution processes is not based on essentialist definitions of gender (Lisa & Manjrika, 2005[16]). The field of sociology makes a distinction between sex, and gender. Human beings are not born 'men' or 'women'. Masculinity and femininity is learned, rehearsed, and performed daily (Butler, 1999)[17]. In conclusion, Lisa & Manjrika (2005)[18] argued that it would be naive to assert that all women respond in a similar manner in a given situation or that women are 'natural peace builders'.

Gender identity is performed differently in different cultural contexts. Gender identity must always be viewed in relationship with an individual's other identities such as his or her ethnicity, class, age, nation, region, education, and religion. It is important to note that there are different expectations for men and women in various sector of the society and gender roles shift with social upheaval. In conflict situation, men and women face new roles and changing gender expectations. Their biological and sociological differences affect conflicts and peace building. In all, most societies value men and masculinity more than women and femininity.[19]

---

[15] Lute 2002

[16] Schirch, et al. (2005). *The Role of Women in Peace Building*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention. Available at:
http:www.gppac.net/uploads/File/Resources/GPPAC%20Issue%20papers/The%Role20%/of20%Women20%in20%Peacebuilding.pdf

[17] Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.

[18] op cit

[19] Ibid

Women play important roles in the process of peace building, first as activists and advocates for peace, women wage conflict nonviolently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Secondly, as peacekeepers and relief aid workers, women contribute to reducing direct violence. Thirdly, as mediators, trauma healing counselors, and policymakers, women work to 'transform relationships' and address the root of violence. Lastly, as educators and participants in the development process, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflict. This is made possible as a result of socialization processes and the historical experience of unequal relations and values that women bring to the process of peace building. [20]

Although literature concentrating on Kenya's Post Election Violence and the roles that women played in it are indeed scanty, some scholars have attempted to write about this topic in a number of ways but the fact remains that there is no detailed literature on the varying roles of women in the conflict that almost put Kenya to the brinks of collapse. In as much as there is a lot of literature on women as victims, there are insignificant records about the extent to which Kenyan women were involved before, during and after the PEV.

In conclusion therefore, the above synopsis of the problem creates a ground for investigating the role of women in conflict management in the Great Lakes Region with a particular focus to the Kenya's Post Election Violence. This study will contribute to knowledge creation that can benefit research organizations and scholars. The study is also envisaged to contribute to better interventions in conflict management.

---

[20] Schirch et al. (2005). *The Role of Women in Peacebuilding. European Centre for Conflict Prevention*. Available at:http:www.gppac.net/uploads/File/Resources/GPPAC%20Issue%20papers/The%Role20%/of20%Women20%in20%Peacebuilding.pdf

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1.4.1 BROAD OBJECTIVE

The broad objective of the study is to investigate the role women played in the management of Kenya's Post Election Violence and to demonstrate that there is substantial and effective women's positive role in moving the country forward.

1.4.2 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES

The study has the following specific objectives:

(a) To examine the extent to which women's participation in conflict management has been emancipated and promoted in the respective GLR countries in accordance with the requirement of SCR 1325 and National Action Plans

(b) To assess the role Kenyan women played in the management of Post Election Violence and determine how these roles impacted the national healing and reconciliation;

(c) To determine and establish the relationship between national governments' commitment to the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and enhanced participation and involvement of women in conflict management in the GLR.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

Africa is the continent most threatened by internal wars, global change, pandemic diseases and disasters. According to the United Nations Millennium Development Report (2005)[21] and Miller (2005)[22], from 1994 to 2003, Africa had lost 9.2 million people and 7.7 million people were already internally displaced as a result of either national or trans-border conflicts.

---

[21] United Nations. (2005). *Millennium Development Report*. Retrieved June 3, 2013
http://www.un.org/docs/summit2005/MDGBook.pdf

[22] Miller, K. (2005). *An Apology: It Was 9.2 Million Dead in Africa in the Last Ten Years*. Retrieved July 3, 2013
http://www.arcuk.org/pages/apology-9mdeaths.htm

Many countries in the Great Lakes Region (GLR), for instance Republic of Rwanda, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Uganda have not enjoyed long periods of peace and security since their independence in the 1960s. Of particular concern was the Rwanda genocide of 1994 which claimed the lives of slightly more than 800,000 people in less than three months and led millions of Rwandese into refuge in neighboring countries.[23] The civil war in Burundi claimed lives of more than 200,000 people and more than 700,000 people were displaced and properties of significant value destroyed.[24]

The ongoing conflicts in the Northern Uganda occasioned by the continued armed resistance by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the armed conflict in the DRC occasioned by rebels fighting the Government forces in the DRC together have displaced approximately 1,700,000 people and 300,000 people respectively. Hackett (2009)[25] reported that 60,000 children had been abducted in Northern Uganda by the LRA Forces.

World Resource Institute (2009)[26] reported that from 1998 to 2010, violent conflict in eastern DRC had claimed the lives of about 5.4 million people, one million people were already displaced and more than 200,000 women sexually abused.

---

[23] Wood, W. B. (2001). "Geographic Aspects of Genocides: Comparison of Bosnia and Rwanda". *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers, New Series,* vol. 26 (1), pp. 57-75.

[24] Teng'o, D. (2002). *Will the Burundi Cease Fire Hold?* World Press Reviews Correspondent, Nairobi, Kenya, Retrieved June 27, 2013. http://www.worldpress.org/Africa/868.cfm

[25] Hackett, R. I. (2009). "The Art of Creative Conflict Resolution: A Critical Evaluation of Approaches to Post Conflict Reconstruction in Northern Uganda." *Journal of Undergraduate Research at the University of Tennessee,* vol. 1 (1), pp. 89-101.

[26] World Resource Institute. (2009). *Stopping the Resource Wars in Africa*. Retrieved July 1, 2013 http://www.wri.org/stories/2009/08/stopping-resource-wars-africa

The 2007/2008 Post Elections Violence in Kenya claimed about 1,333 lives and displaced up to 600,000 people and properties such as houses, shops, supermarkets, motor vehicles, crops, livestock and other community resources and assets destroyed.[27]

High levels of poverty, which compromise people's capacity to access basic needs, is one of the causes of the daunting conflicts in the GLR. In Burundi, the number of people living below the poverty line grew from 35 percent in 1992 to 70 percent in 2005. In Rwanda, about 60 percent of the population continues to live under the poverty line. In DRC, around 80 percent of the population lives under one dollar per day.[28]

In North Kivu, DRC, more than 50 percent of the population survives on only a single meal daily. Even worse, one percent of the population living on one meal per day does not have access to safe, healthy, clean water.[29] Of course poverty in the GLR is partly attributed to long periods of conflicts. High levels of poverty tempt people, especially the youth to join rebel groups. Thus, peace building efforts in the GLR should be accompanied by the promotion of sustainable development to meet people's basic needs.

The historical divide created by slavery, the slave trade and colonialism polarized the relationship between Pemba and Unguja Islands in Zanzibar, Tanzania. The British colonial government capitalized on the division created by slavery and the slave trade by ruling Zanzibar through the

---

[27] Romero, R. G. & Kimenyi, M. S. (2008). *The 2007 Elections, Post-Conflict recovery and Coalition Government in Kenya.* Retrieved June 26, 2013 http://www.iig.ox.ac.uk/output/briefingpapers/pdfs/iiG-briefingpaper-01-kenyaelections-2007.pdf

[28] Sow, N. (2006). *Gender and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lake Region.* Retrieved July 9, 2013 http://www.glowboell.de/media/de/txt_rubrik_2/Ndeye_Sow_FGmai06.pdf

[29] *Great Lakes Policy Forum. (2005). The Link between Conflict Prevention and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Program (PRSP): The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo.* Retrieved July 3rd, 2013 http://www.sfcg.org/Documents/GLPF/glpfapril2005.pdf

Arabs (Talbot, 2000)[30]. After the adoption of multiparty democracy in Tanzania in 1992, identities in Zanzibar were transcended into a struggle for power. For instance, Unguja supported the ruling party, Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM), while Pemba supported the major opposition party, Civil United Front (CUF). The general elections in 1995, 2000 and 2005 were all followed by violent conflicts and CUF rejected the results.

In January 2001, identity polarization in Zanzibar claimed the lives of more than 30 followers of CUF who demonstrated to oppose the 2000 electoral results. CUF demonstrators clashed with the police forces Mpangala & Lwehabura, 2006[31]; Mwadini, 2010[32]. Another form of identity is religion, which in recent years appears to have paralyzed social cohesion in Tanzania.

The country's socio-economic problems have taken on religious expressions; for example, Moslems blaming the government for favoring Christians and for refusing to incorporate the Kadhi Courts (Moslem courts) into the constitution. In order to pursue their ends, on 12th February, 1998 Moslems of the Mwembechai Mosque in Dar es Salaam rioted by vandalizing properties (for example, cars and crates of beer) and beating up people. The police officers forcefully intervened to stop the riot. Two people were shot dead and 20 others were injured.[33]

Unlike primordialists, constructivists argue that identities are socially constructed and reproduced through social learning; thus, they can be reconstituted. Identity cannot in itself cause violence; however, it can trigger violence in authoritarian, exploitative and oppressive regimes. For this case, good governance, rule of law, promotion of human rights and equal distribution of resources and

---

[30] Talbot, 2000

[31] Mpangala, G. P. & Lwehabura, M. K. (2006). *Zanzibar: Conflict Resolution and Human Security in the 2005 Elections.* University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

[32] Mwadini, 2010

[33] Rubanza, 2001

wealth can resolve identity-related violence. Lack of rule of law is one of the driving forces that provoke the marginalized identity populations to redress their grievances through violence. In my view, identities do not in themselves create violent conflict; instead, they create violence when they are politicized by politicians seeking to ascend to power.

Politicization and manipulation of identities generated apartheid in South Africa and the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. As a result of the massive occurrence of culture-related conflicts Samuel Huntington (1998)[34] concluded that "destructive conflicts in the current era will be largely between civilizations". Anthropologists reject the materialist position that conflicts are caused by lack of material aspects; instead, they emphasize the non-material causes: language, religion, culture and history (Morgan-Conteh, 2004)[35].

Political economists link the conflicts in the GLR and the rest of the third world with imperial maneuvers. Imperial powers outsource their multinationals to plunder resources in the developing countries, which triggers conflict. According to Baregu[36], the DRC conflict is caused by an imperialist plunder of resources. Similarly, imperialist interest in the country spoils the peacemaking processes. For instance, in 1997, American Mineral Fields (AMF), a US-based mining company provided financial support to Laurent Kabila so as to boost his war against Mobutu's government. After overthrowing Mobutu, Kabila was required to pay back the loan by granting diamond, zinc and gold concessions to AMF.

---

[34] Samuel Huntington(1998)

[35] Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge

[36] Baregu (2002)

Reports have frequently accused AMF of receiving illegal mining concessions in DRC. In 2003, the United Nations Panel of Experts on Illegal Exploitation of Natural Resources and other Forms of Wealth in DRC concluded that the flow of arms, exploitation and the continuation of the conflict are inextricably linked. According to the Panel, violence in DRC is, to a large extent, financed by imperial companies eager to plunder and loot minerals, timber and oil.

Imperialist companies are accused of colluding with political elites in third world countries to plunder resources and repress local people's opposition, with potential for creating conflicts. For instance, in 1996, Tanzania`s government and Sutton Resources, a Canadian Mining Company, forcefully evicted small scale miners and peasants from the Bulyanhulu Gold Mine, Kahama District, Shinyanga Region. In the course of the eviction, about 54 small scale miners were allegedly buried alive. However, the government and Sutton Resources declined these allegations (LEAT, 2003[37]; Wanzala, 2007[38]; Lange, 2008[39]; John, 2010[40]).

In the last century, global warming affected about 300 million people. This number is expanding at the rate of 80 million people per decade (Mackey & Li, 2009)[41]. In Africa, about one quarter of the population (250,000 million people) is facing water stress. This number is anticipated to double by 2050. In Somalia, Eritrea and Ethiopia, about 160,000 people died in the last decade as a result of

---

[37].LEAT . (2003). Robbing the Poor to Give the Rich: Human Rights Abuses and Impoverishment at the MIGA Backed Bulyanhulu Gold Mine, Tanzania. Submission to the Extractive Industries Review of the World Bank, Maputo Mozambique, January 13-17, 2003.

[38] Wanzala, P. N. (2007). Whose Development Counts? Political and Ecological Displacement of Bulyanhulu Mining Community in Tanzania. MA. Thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway

[39] Lange, R. (2008). Land Tenure and Mining in Tanzania. Bergen, Norway: Michelsen Institute

[40] John, W. W. (2010). Foreign Direct Investment and Human Rights: The Case of Bulyanhulu and North Mara Gold Mines. Unpublished Master's Degree Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

[41] Marckey, B. & Lis. (2009) winning struggle against global warming. A report to the earth charter international council Stockholm Sweden.

water scarcity-related problems (Purvis & Busby, 2005[42]; Brown & Crawford, 2009[43]). The United Nations Environmental Program (UNEP) links the Darfur war in Sudan with water stress in the region. Long periods of drought tempted the pastoralists to move southward in search of water and pastures. This caused clashes with the pastoralists (FAO, 2010[44]; Carius, 2009[45]; Wallace, 2009[46]).

In Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), the Hema-Lendu conflict was caused by the surge to control diamond and gold reserves in Ituri province. Similarly, the Banyamulenge financed their war against the government of DRC by looting gold extracted in Kivu province.[47]

In Tanzania, environmental pollution, especially water and land pollution by Barrick Gold Corporation in North Mara, Mara region, created tension between the mining company and the local communities. According to local communities, more than 20 people and 1000 animals died as a result of mine-polluted water and land pollution. Local people, especially young men continue to invade the mine in order to steal gold rocks in order to meet their basic needs, which have been threatened by Barrick`s environmental pollution (John, 2010[48]; *Mwanahalisi*, 2010[49]).

---

[42] Purvis, N & busby, J. (2005). The security implications of climate change for the United Nations system. Retrieved on 28/06/2013 from: http//www.wilsoncenter.org/news/docs/Purvis_busby-pdf

[43] Brown & Crawford, 2009

[44] FAO. (2010). Climate Change Implications for Food Security and Natural Resources Management in Africa.
Proceedings of the 26th Regional Conference on 03-07, 2010, Luanda, Angola

[45] Carius, A. (2009). Climate Change and Security in Africa. Paper commissioned for by the United Nations Office of the Special   Advisor on Africa.
Retrieved June 30, 2013 from http://www.un.org/africa/osaa/reports/climate_change_security_2009.pdf

[46] Wallace, J. (2009). The Security Dimension of Climate Change: State of the World. Retrieved June 29th 2013 from http://www.worldwatch.org/files/pdf/SOW09_CC_security.pdf

[47] Mbote-Kameri, P. (2005). Environment and Conflict in the Great Lake Region. Retrieved June 28, 2013 from http://www.ielrc.org/content/w0506.pdf

[48] John, W. W. (2010). *Foreign Direct Investment and Human Rights: The Case of Bulyanhulu and North Mara Gold Mines.* Unpublished Master's Degree Dissertation, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

[49] *Mwanahalisi.* (2010). Barrick North Mara Blamed of Causing Death. A Weekly Newspaper in Tanzania, 7th April, 2010

In addition, Moodley, Lopez and Carey (2010)[50] associate the 1994 Rwanda genocide with resource degradation, which sparked a struggle for land between the Hutu and Tutsi. Land conflicts were manipulated by the Hutu extremists to create genocide. However, in my view, environmental degradation cannot in itself create insurgencies; instead, it can exacerbate or it can be accompanied by other factors, such as political, economic and social. In dual societies, for example, environmental degradation in Rwanda and Burundi is likely to be manipulated by extremist groups to instigate conflicts or rise to power.

Environmental degradation, especially land is also likely to trigger conflicts in the GLR and Africa in general because of a lack of clear legal and policy frameworks on land ownership. In Tanzania, the law deprives people the right to land ownership. Indeed, the state is empowered to order the people to vacate the land they are occupying in case it is deemed that land is needed for national interest, such as mining, for example.[51]Once evicted, local people are entitled to compensation for the investment they have made on the land (for example, crops and houses) and not for the land itself or its minerals.

Unclear laws on land ownership in Tanzania created conflicts because of the government and investors on one hand, and the local people on the other hand. For instance, on 2nd July, 2009, Tanzania`s armed police officers forcefully demolished eight villages of the Maasai communities in Loliondo, Manyara Region in order to give provide a hunting block for an investor from Dubai. Villagers' crops and houses were burnt, and as a result about 3000 villagers were rendered homeless.[52]

---

[50] Moodley, Lopez and Carey (2010)

[51] Republic of Tanzania, Land Act 1998

[52] Intercontinental Cry. (2009). Loliondo is Burning. Retrieved July 2, 2013 from http://intercontinentalcry.org/loliondo-is-burning/

According to LHRC, LEAT and LRRRI (2008)[53], the recurring land conflict between pastoralists and peasants in Kilosa district, Morogoro region in Tanzania, is caused by an unclear legal system governing land ownership in the country.

In the above context and background, this research project intends to investigate the conceptual and practical knowledge, skills, policy-based practices and approaches that women apply in managing, resolving and transforming conflicts in the Great Lakes Region, with particular reference to the women's role in the Kenya's Post Elections Violence.

1.6 ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA

In the recent past, countries in Africa have had numerous conflicts and presently the problem is far from being abated. This has caused untold suffering on the people and also taken a huge toll on the development of the continent. The horn of Africa, particularly the Great Lakes regions, have become locations for some of the deadliest and most protracted of these conflicts.

In 2006 alone, there were 17 conflicts in Africa, which were at varying degrees of forms and intensity. Of all the countries in the Greater Horn of Africa only two (Djibouti and Tanzania) can be said to be relatively stable, although each has its fair share of internal skirmishes.[54] Kenya was also stable until the post-election crisis erupted.

---

[53] LHRC (Legal and Human Rights Center). LEAT (Lawyers Environmental Action Team), LRRRI (Land Rights Research and Resource Institute). (2008). The Price of Malfunctioning Land Management in Tanzania: A Fact Finding Report on Dispute between Pastoralists and Peasants in Kilosa District on 2nd to 7th November, 2008.

[54] Mpangala, G. P. (2004). *Origin of Political Conflicts and Peace Building in the Great Lake Region*. Paper Presented at a Symposium Organized by the Command and Staff College, Arusha 23rd February 2004.

The ethnic conflict in Rwanda resulted in genocide in 1994 with the killing of over half a million persons from one ethnic group. Since 1960, Burundi has also faced internal conflict resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and also rendered as refugees over half a million persons.

The consequences of this conflict vary in scope, intensity, and nature. Conflict has taken immeasurable toll on human lives, leaving people dead, maimed, and displaced either internally or in other nations. In such calamitous situations, women and girls are often exposed to acts of violence which seriously undermine their human rights and deny them opportunities arising from gender inequality. Studies have shown that women are worst hit in situations of violent conflict and are also affected differently from men during these crises.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that women have unique opportunities for conflict resolution and peace building due to the unique role they play in society. During the past few years, there has been an increasing recognition by government, international organizations, and civil society of the importance of gender equality and empowerment of women in the continuing struggle for equality, democracy and human rights, as well as for poverty eradication and development.[55]

In nearly every country and region of the world, there has been progress on achieving gender equality and women's empowerment, although this progress has been uneven and the gains remain fragile. A great challenge facing the world today is the growing violence against women and girls in armed conflict. In today's conflict, they are not only the victims of hardship, displacement and warfare, they are directly targeted with rape, forced pregnancies, and assault as deliberate instruments of war. Women are deeply affected by conflicts, which they have had no role in creating.

---

[55] El-Bushra, J. (2000). "Transformation conflict: Some thoughts on a gendered understanding of conflict processes." In S. Jacobs et al.(Eds.), *States of Conflicts: Gender Violence and Resistance* (pp. 66-83). London: Zed.

Despite the existence of 'sexism' or 'patriarchy', there are some widely accepted reasons why women are important to all peace building processes. Women are important because they constitute half of every community, and the task of peace building, a task which is so great, must be done in partnership with both women and men. Secondly, women are the central caretakers of families in most cultures, and as such everyone is affected when women are oppressed and excluded from peace building. Therefore, it is essential that women be included in the peace building process.

Women play important roles in the process of peace building, first as activists and advocates for peace, women wage conflict nonviolently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Secondly, as peacekeepers and relief aid workers, women contribute to reducing direct violence. Thirdly, as mediators, trauma healing counselors, and policymakers, women work to 'transform relationships' and address the root of violence. Lastly, as educators and participants in the development process, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflict. This is made possible as a result of socialization processes and the historical experience of unequal relations and values that women bring to the process of peace building.[56]

1.9.7 PRE AND POST ELECTION VIOLENCE OF 1992 TO 1997

Before independence in 1963, Kenya was a British colony governed by an all-powerful colonial administrator. The vast majority of Kenyans was not allowed to vote and was not represented in the government. With independence, Kenya became a constitutional monarchy under the nominal sovereignty of the British monarch, with a prime minister serving as head of government.

In 1964 Kenya cut its ties with the British throne and became a republic with a president as head of state and government. From 1964 to 1966, and from 1969 to 1982, Kenya was, for all practical

---

[56] Ibid

purposes, a *de facto* one-party state. Between 1982 and 1991 it was a one-party state by law. In December 1991, the one-party regime of President Daniel Arap Moi capitulated to internal and international pressure to legalize a multi-party system. Having entered the multiparty era involuntarily, KANU leaders (Presidential ruling party) were firmly resolved on either getting the country back to one-party status or keeping genuine democracy in cold-storage through forcible maintain of a *de facto* one-party state.

President Moi claimed that Kenya' return to a multi-party system would threaten the State, polarize the country along tribal lines and plunge it into ethnic violence.[57] Cabinet ministers, members of Parliament and KANU officials from the Rift Valley province, most of them from President Moi's Kalenjin group, began to call for the forcible removal of other ethnic groups viewed as opposition adherents.[58]

They advocated "majimboism" (The policy of majimboism emerged in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Based on the notion of "group rights", especially the rights of ethnic minorities, as well as exclusive ethnic territory, the policy is akin to federalism) as a federal vehicle for the protection of their ethnic privileges. Starting one year before the December 1992 general elections, the government fuelled violence in many parts of the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western Provinces.
As a consequence of this violence, many displaced Kenyans as well as those in the clash-torn zones were unable to register as voters or were barred from voting by violence and intimidation.[59]

---

[57] Report of the United Nations Development Programme Report, Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Confl ict in Kenya.

[58] Report of the United Nations Development Programme Report, Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Confl ict in Kenya,

[59] Kenya Governance, Accountability and Human Rights Practice in the Post 1992 and 1997 Multi-Party Electoral Dispensation, UNHCR, Centre for Documentation and Research.

Although violence was suspended during the critical months of campaigning and balloting, it continued relentlessly in the post-election period until 1996.

According to the Kenya Human Rights Commission, from 1991 to 1996, over 15,000 people died and almost 300,000 were displaced in the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western Provinces.[60] In the run-up to the 1997 elections, new violence erupted on the Coast, killing over 100 people and displacing over 100,000, mostly pro-opposition up-country people.

Other incidences of the politically instigated clashes have been experienced between 1999-2007 mostly in the Rift Valley, Nyanza and the Western Kenya provinces. By April 2007, the Chebyuk clashes in Mt Elgon district, Western province, mark the latest incident of bloody violence in Kenya. This violence was aimed at creating animosity between communities to split their political inclinations, to frighten whole communities and induce them to vote for the ruling party as a guarantee for their security, or to drive out communities with divergent political views from specific electoral areas.[61]

Over the years it has become evident that these clashes were sponsored by the government using surrogate agents to deprive some Kenyans of their franchise while simultaneously avoiding direct responsibility. The politically motivated violence follows definite cyclical patterns following electoral periods with incidences of politically motivated violence and associated displacements increasing as the country moves towards elections and just after elections.[62]

---

[60] KHRC report

[61] Ibid

[62] Kenya Governance, Accountability and Human Rights Practice in the Post 1992 and 1997 Multi-Party Electoral Dispensation, UNHCR, Centre for Documentation and Research.

1.7 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

This study will contribute to knowledge creation that can benefit research organizations and scholars. The study is also envisaged to contribute to better interventions in conflict management.

1.8 STUDY HYPOTHESES

a. Women participation in conflict management has been emancipated in the respective GLR countries' National Action Plans (NAPs) in accordance with the requirements of UNSCR 1325.

b. Women in Kenya played a significant role in the management of Post Election Violence which impacted the national healing and reconciliation.

c. There is a positive correlation between national governments' commitment to the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and enhanced participation and involvement of women in conflict management.

1.9 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.9.1 INTRODUCTION

Theories are formulated to explain, predict, and understand phenomena and, in many cases, to challenge and extend existing knowledge, within the limits of the critical bounding assumptions. The conceptual framework is the structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study. The conceptual framework introduces and describes the theories which explain why the research problem under study exists.

Since conflicts are intricate as they are complex, several theoretical explanations have been postulated to try to explain the national and trans-border conflicts in the GLR. Specific case studies link these theories with national and trans-border conflicts in Zanzibar, Rwanda, Burundi, Uganda, DRC and Kenya.

Among specific theories postulated to explore regional conflicts in the GLR include human nature (Jeong, 2000[63]; Cheldelin, Druckman & Fast, 2003[64]; Barash, 2000[65]; Morgan- Conteh, 2004[66] and Mambo,2007[67]); Psychoanalytic perspectives- perception of self and fear (Jeong, 2000); Relative Deprivation – perceived discrepancy between human's value expectations and their value capabilities (Jeong, 2000[68]); Basic needs theory- people have certain fundamental, imperative and irresponsible needs that must be satisfied if destructive feelings and behavior are to be avoided (Maslow,1987[69] as cited in Cheldein et al., 2003,[70]). Cited as some of the basic needs that aggravate conflict in the GLR included unemployment, fear, and lack of respect, poverty, stereotypes, insecurity and marginalization. These are accountable for generating anger, frustration, coercion, and aggressive behaviours.[71]

Other basic needs issues cited as major factors for conflict in GLR include identity formation, that formation of group identities through family, kinship, community, nation, language shared history and religion.[72] Identities are either formed naturally (primordialism) or through socialization (social constructivism). Jeong (2000) argues that people's identities form their bonds, sense of belonging, beliefs, inclusion and exclusion, such that aggression and violence can erupt if one's identity is marginalized and threatened, demeaned, denied basic needs, exploited or oppressed.

---

[63] Jeong, H. W. (2000). Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction, Burlington, United States: Ash gate Publishing Ltd.

[64] Cheldelin, S. et al (2003). *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention.* London: Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn.

[65] Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge.

[67] Mambo, A. (2007). "Military Diversion in the 1978 Uganda-Tanzania War." Journal of Political, and Military Sociology, Winter 2007.vol. 35 Issue 2 pp299.

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

[69] Maslow,1987

[70] Cheldelin, S. et al. (2003). *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention*. London: Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn.

[71] UNDP, 1994

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

1.9.2 Human Nature and Violence

Several biologists and psychologists maintain that violence is intrinsic in human nature Jeong, 2000[73]; Cheldelin, Druckman & Fast, 2003[74]; Barash, 2000.[75] In this view, humans have inborn characters of hatred and destruction. They accumulate energy, and when this energy is accrued to the maximum, it is released in an aggressive form Konrad Lorenz 1966, as cited in Morgan-Conteh, 2004, p. 84[76]According to biologists, humans originated from animals; as such, the animal genes in individuals cause violence. Humans' aggressive nature is often promulgated into personal, family, community, society and national competition and conflicts Jeong' maintains that: The impulse of human aggression and destructiveness is generated by death instinct, when thwarted by life instinct, is placed into outward aggression. Thus a powerful desire for violence has to be reckoned with as part of a human drive towards aggression.

Human nature theorists profess that humans' violent and aggressive behavior is irreversible, since it is biological. Cheldelin et al., (2003) give a Biblical example of the conflict between Cain and Abel to justify that violence is inborn. Cain became angry when the gift of his brother (Abel) was accepted by God; thus, he killed Abel. As a result of the intrinsically violent human nature, Nicollo Machiavelli urges the prince to always be prepared for wars.[77]

Contrastingly, the social learning theory rejects the human nature assumption that violence is inborn. According to social learning theorists, aggression is socially learned and transferred through generations. Most often, human life is shaped by society's norms, ideologies and values that can be destructive or cooperative. In this perspective, humans are naturally cooperative, but are polluted by

---

73 Jeong, H. W. (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*. Burlington, United States: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
74 Cheldelin, S. et al. (2003). *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention.* London: Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn.
75 Barash, 2000
76 Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts*. New York: Routledge.
77 Jackson & Sorensen, 2005

their societies. Aggressive behavior can be changed through the provision of peace education and transformation of norms and values that demean people, families, communities, societies and nations.[78]

1.9.3 Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis

Frustration-Aggression theorists link violent behavior with frustration (Barash, 2000)[79]. Humans are goal-oriented; therefore, they become aggrieved when their goals are blocked. During economic crises, people can grow frustration and riot since their goals are blocked (Jeong, 2000[80]; Morgan-Conteh, 2004[81]; Jeong, 2000[82]). In effect, political elites often divert the attention of their frustrated populations by fighting the minorities or creating wars abroad. For instance, Adolf Hitler eliminated the Jews so as to calm and divert the attention of frustrated Germans following the 1930s Great Economic Depression (GED). He wanted to justify that Jews were the source of problems in Germany.[83]

Idi Amin Dada, the dictatorial President of Uganda in the 1970s expelled Asians and later invaded Tanzania in order to divert the attention of his frustrated population following the 1970s economic crisis.[84] However, perceiving aggression as solely caused by frustration is misleading. Non-material aspects, including cultural, religious and racial identities may also cause aggression when stereotyped or denied recognition.[85].

---

[78] Jeong, H. W. (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, Burlington, United States: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
[79] Barash, 2000.
[80] Jeong (2000), op cit
[81] Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge.
[82] Jeong (2000), op cit
[83] Ibid
[84] Mambo, A. (2007). "Military Diversion in the 1978 Uganda-Tanzania War." *Journal of Political, and Military Sociology, Winter 2007.* Vol 35 Issue 2, pp299.
[85] Ibid

The term aggression is ambiguous and culturally determined in the eyes of the beholder. In some societies, slapping a child is accepted socially. However, in the West, slapping a child is considered violence and abuse of children's rights.[86]

1.9.4 Psychoanalytic Perspectives

As part of their socialization, humans develop a psychoanalytic perception of threat; as such, some individuals, families, communities and nations are dehumanized and perceived as enemies. In-group solidarity and out-group hostility are formed based on a perceived fear or hatred. According to psychoanalysts, the perception of self and fear develop especially during childhood, in which children generate reward and punishment behavior against their perceived enemies.[87]

This behavior can be learned within family, community, society and/or the nation. (Barash, (2000, p. 50[88]) notes the " curative aspects of war, notably its potential function in reducing anxieties, especially fear that the enemy in some way threatens the worrier's love object." In families, children not favored by parents can hate those favored. Psychoanalysts would describe Cain's anger against Abel as resulting from God favoring Abel.[89] In certain respects, children are nurtured to hate and fear some group dynamics.[90]

Nevertheless, the argument that in-group solidarity and out-group hostility are based on human infanthood's psychoanalytic experience is unfounded. Childhood attitudes and behavior can change

[86]Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge

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

[88] Barash, 2000

[89] Cheldelin, S. et al.(2003). *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention*. London: Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

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

through learning and integration with other families, communities and nations.[91] In my view, psychoanalytic perceptions can cause violence if they are promoted by the prevailing social, political and cultural systems.

1.9.5 Relative Deprivation

"Relative deprivation" is defined as a perceived discrepancy between [humans'] value expectations and their value capabilities.[92] According to relative deprivation theory, violence results from the mismatch between people's anticipated and manifest expectations. Humans have value expectations that they think should be met. They can riot when the gap between the perceived and manifest expectations increases Barash, 2000[93]; Jeong, 2000. According to Jeong, riots and revolutions occur when governments fail to meet people's value expectations. For example, youth believe that they are entitled to employment and education; thus, they may rebel or riot against governments when their value expectations cannot be realized. Relative deprivation coupled with unequal distribution of national resources and wealth provides the potential for the occurrence of violence.

Morgan-Conteh [94] argues that humans have standards of comparing their successes against those of others; they can riot when their perceived expectations are in contrast with to their standards, or when they do not achieve success in comparison to their peers. Poor states are particularly vulnerable to insurgencies, since their governments are not strong enough to meet hpeople's value expectations. According to FECCLAHA (2007[95]), in Burundi and Rwanda, the majorities of Tutsi are well educated and control the government machinery, the army, the legal organs and land. On the

---

[91] Jeong, H. W. (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction.* Burlington, United States: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.
92 Barash, 2000
93 Ibid
94 Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge
[95] FECCLAHA. (2007). *Briefing Paper on Burundi for the Eminent Ecumenical Persons Solidarity Visit to Burundi.* Retrieved June 29th 2013 http://www.fecclaha.org/uploads/Briefing%20Paper%20on%20Burundi.pdf

other hand, the majority of Hutu are not well educated and they are not economically well off. This inequality sparked dissatisfaction among the Hutu, and therefore, civil wars broke out in Burundi and Rwanda.

The relatively deprived Hutu sought to redress the inequality by waging war. However, relative deprivation cannot be taken as a general rule to explain conflicts. There are cases in which people never rioted even though they were never able to realize their value expectations. Tanzania never experienced civil war nor coup d'état since independence in 1961 even though her level of poverty is just as high as other states in the GLR. In this case, it not always about relative deprivation; instead, other factors, such as government stability and ethnic and religious hostilities may also apply.

1.9.6 Basic Needs Theory

Basic needs theorists reject the human aggression theory, which views violence as inborn. According to basic needs theory, "people have certain fundamental, imperative, and irrepressible needs that must be satisfied if destructive feelings and behavior are to be avoided" (Maslow, 1987[96], as cited in Cheldelin et al., 2003, p. 58[97]). Unemployment, fear, lack of respect, poverty, stereotypes, insecurity and marginalization generate anger, frustration, coercion and aggressive behaviors. Human basic needs are universal; they cannot be negotiated, restrained or compromised. For instance, all humans desire love, security and social space; in effect, when these are not met they can riot.[98]

---

[96] Sow, N. (2006). *Gender and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lake Region.* Retrieved July 9, 2013 http://www.glowboell.de/media/de/txt_rubrik_2/Ndeye_Sow_FGmai06.pdf

[97] Cheldelin, S.et al.(2003). *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention*. London: Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

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

Cheldelin et al. 2003[99] argue that people can rebel when their identity (e.g. religion, culture and race) are denied or belittled. The same can happen when people lose their jobs. Jeong (2000[100]) urges for the promotion of good governance and reduction of poverty, injustices, marginalization and political violence as drivers to satisfy human basic needs and avoid violence.

Basic human needs theory is a departure from a military perception of human security. The 1994 United Nations Development Program (UNDP) definition of human security is often viewed as the hallmark, which increased global attention to the conflict nexus of basic human needs. Currently, development is not only viewed in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), but it also considers an equitable provision of basic needs, such as food and health care. It also includes states' ability to respect human rights, good governance and rule of law.

1.9.8 Identity Formation

According to primordialism and social constructivism, humans form group identities through family, kinship, community, nation, language, history and religion (Jeong, 2000)[101]. Every person possesses an identity formed naturally or through socialization. Individuals may possess multiple identities that can be transmitted through generations.[102] Identities form people's bonds, sense of belonging, beliefs, inclusion and exclusion such that aggression can erupt if one's identity is marginalized, demeaned, denied basic needs, exploited or oppressed.[103]As people grow in their identities, they can develop violent or nonviolent behavior. For instance, some identities formalize violence and revenge, whereas other identities perceive violence as immoral.[104]

---

[99] Cheldelin, S.et al.(2003). *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention.* London: Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

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

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

[102] Kriesberg, L. (2003). *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution,* (2nd edition). New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

[103] Ibid

[104] Fry, D. P. (2006). The Human Potential for Peace. New York: Oxford University Press.

Some identities discourage intermarriage. In some nations, color may disqualify a person from being granted citizenship or respect.[105] Identity conflicts involve critical social aspects, such as cultural and religious beliefs; as such, conflict resolution in these instances is always protracted. They are most likely to occur when political elites impose their identities on other ethnic or religious groups. For example, the conflict between Northern and Southern Sudan was largely caused by the imposition of Moslem values in the non-Moslem communities of the South. Likewise, Ethiopia's attempts to impose its culture and language in Eritrea caused violence that provoked the separation of Eritrea.[106]

1.9.10 Political Economy and Violence (Carl Marx Theory)

The current world system is characterized by inequality in distribution and share of wealth. Developed countries which comprise less than a quarter of the world's population consume more than three-quarters of global raw materials. In the 1960s, seventy percent of the global wealth was concentrated in the richest 20 percent of the world population. This increased to 85 percent in 1991. The percentage of people living in extreme poverty continues to increase. In Sub-Saharan Africa, about 20 percent of children under five years old die of diseases and malnutrition.[107]

According to the political economy approach, conflicts are inevitable in the capitalist system because of inequality, exploitation and the inherent contradiction between the ruling class and the proletariat (Ramsbotham, 2005, et. al.[108], Morgan-Conteh, 2004[109]). The ruling class makes exorbitant profits while the proletariat is paid low wages.[110] Cheldelin et al. (2003, p. 60)[111] writes:

---

[105] Kriesberg, L. (2003). *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution,* (2nd edition). New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers
[106] Ibid
[107]Ibid
[108] Ramsbotham, O., Mial, H. & Woodhouse, T. (2005). Contemporary Conflict Resolution, London: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts, London: Polity Press.

"The business class itself struggles to maintain its hegemony against the challenges posed by endemic economic crises, foreign competition, and workers' demands. Class conflicts multiply and intensify. Karl Marx professed that the outcome of these conflicts would be increased violence and political instability, culminating in a series of revolutionary explosions that would bring the working class to power."

Many poor nations are former colonies, and they continue to be victims of capitalism.[112]

The political economy approach criticizes the liberal economists who project that the free market economy can bring equality and consequently resolve conflicts. Jeong (2000, p. 89) writes:

"Social harmony is not provided by a market since its competitive game makes only a few get richer. The two adversarial classes are locked in a win-lose zero-sum relationship due to their opposing economic interests."

Ramsbotham et el. (2005, p. 9)[113] states:

"'Liberal conflict resolution is naive and theoretically uncritical, since it attempts to reconcile interests that should not be reconciled, fails to take sides in unequal and unjust struggles, and lacks an analysis within a properly global perspective of the forces of exploitation and oppression."

1.9.11 Environment and Conflicts

The environment is an input of human basic needs: food, shelter, clothes and love. In other words, human, plant and animal life is entirely dependent upon the environment, and any attempt to degrade

---

[109] Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge

[110] Ibid

[111] Cheldelin, S., Druckman, D. & Fast, L., (2003). Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention. London: Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn

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

[113] Ramsbotham, O., Mial, H. & Woodhouse, T. (2005). Contemporary Conflict Resolution, London: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts, London: Polity Press.

or pollute the environment equals destruction of human life. However, human influences through rapid industrialization, agriculture, deforestation and overfishing have altered the Earth's systems.

According to Jeong (2000)[114], just from the 1950s until today, about half of the tropical forests in the world have been cleared. This has been associated with a massive loss of biodiversity. The United States National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration alerted that the "last decade was 0.6 C warmer than the 1960s and 0.2 C warmer than the 1990s decade".[115]

The warming on the Earth may increase between 2 to 7% by 2100 if the prevailing pace of carbon dioxide emissions continues.[116] The rise of temperature can cause global warming, floods, droughts, storms, acid rain and desertification.[117]

1.9.9 Feminist Perception of Violence

Women and other marginalized groups are subjected to torture, marginalization, exploitation and oppression by the hierarchical and patriarchal capitalist world order Jeong, 2000[118]; Weber, 2006.[119]Violence against women, rape and attacks are widespread, and women and children form the largest majority of refugees. During the Second World War, the Japanese army forced girls from Korea, Philippines and the rest of Asia to stay in military camps so as to provide sexual comfort to soldiers.[120] Rape continues to be used as a weapon during violent conflicts and peacekeeping

---

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

[115] Neynolds, N. (2010). How Enough for You? Do what we Always Do: Adapt. The Global and Mail, Monday, August 9th, 2010.

[116] WBGU. (2008) Climate Change as a Security Risk. London: Earthscan.

[117] Steffen, W. & Tyson, P. (2001). Global Change and the Earth System: A Planet and Pressure, International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme. Retrieved June 27, 2013 from http://www.igbp.net/documents/resources/science-4.pdf

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

[119] Weber, A. (2006). Feminism Peace and Conflict Theory. Routledge Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Theory, Winter, 2006.

[120] Ibid

operations.[121] During the Rwanda genocide, radio broadcasts urged Hutu women to seduce the French soldiers so that they would become allies of the Hutu against the Tutsi. During the genocide, about 250,000 were raped by the Hutu militia.[122]

In South Kivu Province, Maniema Province, Goma and Kalemie, DRC, more than 40,000 women were raped from 1998 to 2003 (Platt & Werchick, 2004)[123]. From 2005 to 2007, more than 20,000 women were raped in South Kivu (Steiner, Benner, Sondorp, Schmitz, Mesmer & Rosenberger, 2009)[124]. According to the United Nations Population Fund (2010)[125], in (1998-2010) about 200,000 women have been sexually assaulted in DRC. Many sexual assaults in DRC are committed by rebels and military officials.

Gender roles are socially constructed, whereby men are expected to demonstrate masculine behavior, such as aggression, attacking, killing and coercion. Men serve armies, the most patriarchal and hierarchical institution in the world.[126]In majority of societies, fighting in wars is an activity reserved for men.[127]Certain jobs, like working as a nurse, for example, are reserved for women; as such, men doing these works are socially rejected. Women are socially expected to demonstrate feminine

---

[121] Byne, B. (1997). Towards Gender Understanding of Conflicts. Retrieved January 10, 2011 from Canadian International Development Agency (2002). Peace building initiative strategic framework. Retrieved August 22, 2009, from < http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca > downloaded on 26th June 2013.

[122] Gallimore, R. B. (2008). Feminism Africa 10: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism. Retrieved June 29th 2013 http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/File/Issue%2010/Feminist%20Africa%2010.pdf.

[123] Platt, M. & Werchick, D. J. (2004). Sexual Terrorism: Rape as a Weapon of War in Eastern Democratic Republic of Congo: An assessment of programmatic responses to sexual violence in North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, and Orientale Provinces. Retrieved June 29, 2013 from http://www.reformedelapnc.org/documents/Rape-in-DRC_Final-Report.pdf

[124] Steiner, B., Benner, M. T., Sondorp, E., Schmitz, K. P., Mesmer, U. & Rosenberger, S., (2009). Sexual Violence in the Protracted Conflict of Democratic Republic of Congo: Programming for Rape Survivors in South Kivu. Retrieved July 1, 2013 from http://www.conflictandhealth.com/content/3/1/3

[125] United Nations Population Fund (2010)

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

[127] Gallimore, R. B. (2008). Feminism Africa 10: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism. Retrieved June 29th 2013 http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/File/Issue%2010/Feminist%20Africa%2010.pdf.

behavior; for example, care love, comfort, compassion and mercy.[128] Feminists argue that male dominance in all spheres of life causes violence.[129]

Masculine and feminine values determine power, prestige, authority and hierarchy in families, corporations, churches, communities, societies, nations and global institutions. Masculinity is rewarded heroic values associated with leadership. As a result, women, children and other marginalized groups are subjected to environmental degradation, pollution and conflicts.

The formation of modern nations and States was accompanied with masculine values of aggression. States use welfare resources to sustain armies and wars. Even worse, women in politics acquired masculine values so much so that they want to demonstrate heroic and aggressive behavior. When she was the Prime Minister of Britain, Margaret Thatcher abandoned welfare services that helped women, children and other marginalized people.[130]

Feminists criticize the conventional definition of security that confines security matters to issues related to high politics. For feminists, national security defined in terms of high politics promulgates the existence of armies and the accumulation of weapons. Peace, according to feminists, should be defined in terms protection of people against violence.[131] Feminists posit that since women have been subjected to both violence and nurturing, they are more likely than men to appreciate peace and become peacemakers. The current hierarchal, patriarchal, exploitative oppressive world capitalist

---

[128] Ibid

[129]Byne, B. (1997). Towards Gender Understanding of Conflicts. Retrieved January 10, 2011 from Canadian International Development Agency (2002). Peace building initiative strategic framework. Retrieved August 22, 2009, from < http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca > downloaded on 26th June 2013.

[130] Ibid

[131] Ibid

order hinders the achievement of global peace, security and equality. In order to end violence, feminists place emphasis on social equality and justice.[132]

Feminist perception of violence is also identified as being responsible for some aspects of violence in the GLR of Africa. Jeong (2000) opines that women and other marginalized groups are subjected to sexual and gender- based violence, exploitation, torture, marginalization and oppression by the hierarchical and Weber (2006)[133] reports that violence against women, rape and attacks are widespread, and women and children form the largest majority of refugees.

1.10 CONCLUSION

This section explored the theories explaining conflicts. The section uncovered theoretical contradictions regarding the causes of conflict. The human nature theory argues that violence is inborn, whereas the social learning theory posits that conflicts are caused by social learning. According to relative deprivation, conflicts are caused by the mismatch between perceived and the manifest expectations. The basic needs theory argues that conflicts result from people's inability to achieve material and non-material basic human needs of love, respect, food, shelter, recognition and clothing, for example.

Feminist theorists argue that conflicts are caused by patriarchy and inequality in the world order. For Marxists, conflicts are triggered by inequality, competition, contradiction and expansion inherent in capitalism. Finally, ecologists argue that conflicts are caused by environmental degradation and

---

[132] Ibid

[133] Weber, A. (2006). *Feminism Peace and Conflict Theory*. Routledge Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Theory, Winter, 2006.

pollution. The environment supports human life; in effect, environmental destruction can trigger violence.

The contradiction of theories explaining conflicts suggests that conflicts are complex and cannot be solely explained by one theoretical perspective. For instance, environmental destruction may be manipulated for the political ends of ethnic, as well as religious identities. Likewise, economic difficulties can be manipulated in order to trigger violence against people with other ethnic or religious identities.

The present study is therefore informed and motivated by the feminist perception of violence, especially gender roles in violence and armed conflict in the GLR of Africa. The study will therefore draw lessons from Africa violence dynamics while trying to understand the trends and dynamics of violence in the GLR and the role that women play in the regional peace and security. A case for reference in this study will be the role of women in the 2007/2008 post election violence in Kenya

1.11 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher will use both quantitative and qualitative data collection methods and analysis. This research examines the role of women in conflict management, using the Kenya's Post Election Violence as a case study. It also includes conversations with residents, especially women and women's groups, who have been active in Kenya and the Great Lakes Region in peace and security issues. It is also based on my experience as a student of International Studies before, during and after the PEV.

A range of written materials and recorded interviews will be used to provide adequate understanding of the background of the conflict as well as to consider common concerns and criticisms of the

handling of events before, during and after the PEV in Kenya. In order to remain current with development issues and the concerns of women and women's organizations and groups, I will rely primarily and heavily upon articles, journals, books, news briefs, press releases posted on the websites of African newspapers and the official website of Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence in Kenya (CIPEV)[134], as well as other international websites such as UN Women, UNICEF, UN Habitat, IGAD and EAC among others.

Articles and government websites, along with statements released by NGO's, will critically be important to the understanding of the programs and practices that were implemented in efforts to reform the country and its economy and to reintegrate women IDPs into the community and the high levels of government involvement in national healing, integration and cohesion building. Many sources will be reviewed using the World Wide Web.

These include documents produced by the United Nations, the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions of Kenya, UN Women, Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organization and many other women's organizations, Human Rights Watch, Amnesty International, ICRC, Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) etc. All will be useful and helpful in achieving an understanding and reaching conclusions to be incorporated in this research.

Publications by the operating organizations, as well as reflections and inquiries prepared by observing groups such as CEDAW, UN WOMEN, UNDP will supply excellent information that will enable me to gain an enhanced understanding of the issues, and responses to them, that challenged

---

[134] CIPEV

the political and economic development of Kenya and emancipation of women participation in conflict management in Kenya and by extension the GLR.

Considering the objectives of this research, the justification of the research, the statement of the problems, and the scope and limitations of the study, this proposal will now focus on a historical review of the causes of the Post Election Violence in Kenya during the years 2007 – 2008. This study will also include a review of what local and international organizations, including women and women's organizations did to contribute to the solutions to the PEV and how they interacted with each other to achieve the positive results experienced in Kenya as the country grappled with formulation, development and implementation of Agenda IV activities and programs.

1.12 CHAPTER OUTLINE
The study is outlined as follows:

(a) **Chapter 1 –** This chapter is titled as Introduction to the Study and provides a skeletal foundation of the study project. The chapter contains an introduction and background statement to the study; statement of the research problem; objectives of the study; literature review; justification of the study; study hypotheses; conceptual framework of the study; research methodology; chapter outline and a bibliography.

(b) **Chapter 2 –** This chapter provides a historical overview of the research area and contextualization of the conceptual framework of the research area where the relevance of theories are applied to explain the research topic.

(c) **Chapter 3 –** This chapter covers the case study or the specific area of the study. It seeks to outline in detail the role of women in the management of Kenya's PEV before, during and after the violence.

(d) Chapter 4 – The chapter will critically analyze the findings from chapter 3 and present 3-5 key issues that emerged from the study and critically analyze these emerging issues.

(e) Chapter 5 – The chapter is divided into three sections: Summary; Key Findings and Recommendations including 1 or 2 areas for further research.

(f) Bibliography is provided showing all books, journals, newspaper cuttings and web-based references used in the course of the study.

(g) Abstract is written at the end to give a general overview of the entire research and covers objectives, conceptual framework, research methodology and findings of the study.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE RESEARCH TOPIC

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The consequences of conflict vary in scope, intensity and nature. Conflict has taken immeasurable toll on human lives, leaving people dead, maimed, and displaced either internally or in other nations. In such calamitous situations, women and girls are often exposed to acts of violence which seriously undermine their human rights and deny them opportunities arising from gender inequality. Studies have shown that women are worst hit in situations of violent conflict and are also affected differently from men during these crises.

It is becoming increasingly obvious that women have unique opportunities for conflict resolution and peace building due to the unique role they play in society. during the past few years, there has been an increasing recognition by governments, international organizations, and civil society of the importance of gender equality and empowerment of women in the continuing struggle for equality, democracy and human rights, as well as for poverty eradication and development.[135]

This chapter will, therefore, give a gender perspective on the historical overview of women and peace it will also focus on women and conflict management in the GLR legal then look at the policy frameworks available for integrating women and gender in conflict management. UNSCR 1325 will be given critical examination with regard to its meaning, implication and status of implementation in the GLR.

---

[135] El-Bushra. J. (2000). "Transformation conflict: Some thoughts on a gendered understanding of conflict processes." S. Jacobs, R. Jacobson, & J. Marchbank (Eds.), *States of Conflicts: Gender Violence and Resistance* (pp. 66-83). London: Zed.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 will be given critical examination with regard to its meaning, implication and status of implementation in the GLR, with particular focus to Kenya.

2.2 HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF WOMEN AND PEACE: A GENDER PERSPECTIVE

Gender refers to the culturally defined, socially sanctioned and usually separate roles in human affairs played by men and women and the characteristics attributed to each that have rationalized these roles. Gender here is construed as it has been defined by the United Nations in the Beijing Platform for Action, the Swedish report on patriarchal violence quoted below, and in such documents as those calling for gender mainstreaming – including a gender perspective in the consideration of all issues and in all programs addressed and conducted by the world body.

This concept of gender and the assumptions about the connections of gender violence and patriarchy were articulated by the government of Sweden in a 2005 report of a survey titled, "Patriarchal Violence – An Attack on Human Security", which identified it as a major global issue. The Report defined gender as: "The totality of ideas and actions that combine to create social gender identity in individuals. A cultural process that collectively attributes traditionally male/masculine or female/feminine qualities to individuals."[136]

The field of gender and peace has therefore evolved through various phases, each with a perspective based on the concerns of its time. All phases, however, found some roots in the problematic of patriarchy, a social and cultural construct that has not only privileged men over women, but can be seen as a paradigm for other forms of authoritarianism, hierarchy and inequality.

---

[136] Gerd, 2005

It is precisely the 'patriarchal privilege' as it is termed by Michael Kaufman (1999)[137], that is the common thread that runs through the development of the field as it does through women's and men's struggles for gender justice. The periods delineated below are not discrete, nor do the developments, even when viewed from global perspective, evolve simultaneously in all areas of the world.

Developmental phases of women involvement in conflict management can therefore chronologically be traced as follows:

The years 1900 – 1945 were decades of articulation of the problematic of women's subordinate social and political status, and in the years preceding both world wars of the articulation of institutions regarding women's lack of political power as an obstacle to regional peace initiatives. During this era, women's primary political activities were devoted to achieving suffrage:

From 1945 – 1970, attention was then focused on the ongoing subordination of women and the limitations on their legal rights that existed, in some cases, even where women had the vote. The United Nations then established a Commission on the Status of Women and later a more proactive agency, the Division for the Advancement of Women. A number of foundational works in modern feminism were published.

From 1970 – 1985, the activism of women directed toward the realization of equality in all spheres, both public and private, energized the United Nations to launch efforts to set standards and goals for women equality. These efforts were significantly advanced by the International Decade for Women (1975 – 1985) and the three international conferences held in 1975, 1980 and 1985, organized around the themes of 'Equality, Development and Peace'. A major landmark of the period was the adoption of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). These were also the years of the first academic inquiries into Women and Peace and the

---

[137] Michael Kaufman (1999)

emergence of what was to become a significant body of literature on the topic of Women and Peace and Security.

The final development phase of the century occurred from 1985 – 2000. There was intense interest and activity around the denial of the human rights of women, resulting in campaigns to implement and augment CEDAW, one result of which was the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence against Women. The 1995 Beijing Fourth World Conference on Women was also held and set a range of standards to assure that women's rights were recognized and implemented as universal human rights. Feminist theory on women and peace was further developed and was complemented in the 1990s by the initiation of masculinity studies, making an actual gender perspective on the peace problematic possible.

2.3 WOMEN AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE GREAT LAKES REGION

Africa's Great Lakes Region has in recent years experienced political strife, armed conflict and population displacements with severe humanitarian consequences. While these events have clearly revolved around political struggles for the control of the state, recent research has pointed to the significance of access to renewable natural resources as structural causes and sustaining factors in struggles for power in the region. Contested rights to land and natural resources are significant, particularly in light of land scarcity in many areas and the frequency of population movements.

The Great Lakes region has also been home to some of Africa's most intractable and turbulent conflicts. Over a 20-year period, this region has experienced genocide in Rwanda, civil war in Burundi and cross-border conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), exacerbated by internal and external illegal armed groups. Significant crosscutting themes that have dominated the conflicts in the region include the illegal exploitation and trafficking of natural resources,

proliferation of small arms and light weapons, illegal armed groups, sexual/gender-based violence and forceful population displacement.

Despite various efforts at resolution, the conflicts persist with profound effects on the human security of communities and the stability of the region. The regional dimensions of conflict in the Great Lakes and the emerging dynamics call for a continued collaborative analysis by regional stakeholders in order to inform the implementation of strategies towards sustainable peace in the region. This calls for a clear definition of the term "peace building" and defining and determining the role of women in the process of peace building.

The Beijing Platform for Action recognized that peace was inextricably linked to equality between women and men and development, and emphasized that women's full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and resolution of armed conflicts was essential for the promotion and maintenance of peace and security. [138]

The Platform for Action set out six strategic objectives. Increase the participation of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels and protect women living in situations of armed and other conflicts or under foreign occupation; Reduce excessive military expenditures and control the availability of armaments; Promote non-violent forms of conflict resolution and reduce the incidence of human rights abuse in conflict situations; Promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace; Provide protection, assistance and training to refugee women, other displaced women in need of international protection and internally displaced women; and Provide assistance to the women of the colonies and non-self-governing territories.

---

[138]http://www.un.org/womenwatch/Women%20and%20armed%20conflict, downloaded on 28th June 2013

Since the Fourth World Conference in 1995 there have been remarkable developments in terms of expansion of the international normative and policy framework on issues related to women and armed conflict, including in the United Nations Security Council. New issues, which were not specifically addressed in the Platform for Action, have expanded the discourse and global implementation efforts have become centered around a broader agenda on women, peace and security.

The Commission on the Status of Women has considered the theme of women and armed conflict on a number of occasions. In 1998, the Commission adopted agreed conclusions on women and armed conflict that called for action in a number of areas, including: ensuring gender-sensitive justice; meeting the specific needs of women affected by armed conflict; increasing the participation of women in peacekeeping, peace-building, pre- and post-conflict decision-making; and addressing disarmament, illicit arms trafficking, landmines and small arms.

In 2004, the Commission adopted agreed conclusions on women's equal participation in conflict prevention, management and conflict resolution and in post-conflict peace-building. These recognized that peace agreements provide a vehicle for the promotion of gender equality and that a gender-sensitive constitutional and legal framework was necessary to ensure that women fully participate in such processes.

In the 2005 World Summit Outcome, the world's leaders reaffirmed their commitment to the full and effective implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325.[139]They stressed the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building and underlined the importance of integrating a gender perspective and of women having the opportunity for equal

---

[139] UN Resolution 1325 (2000)

participation and full involvement in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security, as well as the need to increase their role in decision-making at all levels. Governments strongly condemned all violations of the human rights of women and girls in situations of armed conflict and the use of sexual exploitation, violence and abuse and committed themselves to elaborating and implementing strategies to report on, prevent and punish gender-based violence.

As an outcome of the World Summit, the Peace-building Commission was established in June 2006 as an advisory body of the General Assembly and the Security Council with the goal to marshal resources at the disposal of the international community, and to advise and propose integrated strategies for post-conflict recovery with a special focus on reconstruction, institution-building and sustainable development in countries emerging from conflict. The founding resolutions of the Peace-building Commission provide a mandate to mainstream a gender perspective in all aspects of its work. Eight Gender equality issues were identified as cross-cutting peace consolidation strategies in Burundi and Sierra Leone – the first two countries on the Commission's agenda – and in relation to new countries under consideration, Guinea-Bissau and the Central African Republic.

In June 2008, the Security Council held an open thematic debate on "Women, peace and security: sexual violence in situations of armed conflict" which culminated in the adoption of Resolution 1820.[140] In this resolution, the Security Council reaffirmed its resolve to eliminate all forms of violence against women, including by ending impunity. The Council recognized sexual violence as a security problem requiring a systematic security response. The resolution calls for a number of concrete actions and measures aimed at eliminating sexual violence and addressing its impacts by the Secretary-General, United Nations entities, Member States (including troop and police contributing countries), all parties to armed conflict, regional and sub-regional bodies, and financial

---

[140] UN security council resolution 1820 (2008)

institutions. It also calls on the Peace-building Commission to include strategies for addressing sexual violence in its work.

New commitments to end the culture of impunity for crimes committed against women were also made in international law. The International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda broke new ground in the area of jurisprudence on sexual violence under international law by convicting individuals of using rape as an instrument of genocide and a form of torture and by recognizing rape as a crime against humanity.

The 1998 Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court prohibits "rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization and other forms of sexual violence" and takes gender concerns into account in the definition of the crimes of genocide (article 6), crimes against humanity (article 7) and war crimes (article 8).[141] For the first time, victims have the possibility to present their views and observations before the Court. The Rome Statute also defines criteria for the election of the Court's judges, including the fair representation of women and men; equitable geographical representation; representation of different legal systems; and expertise in specific issues, including violence against women and children.

The statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, established in January 2002, includes rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy and any other form of sexual violence among the constituent elements of crimes against humanity. Article 5 gives the Special Court jurisdiction over crimes under Sierra Leonean law, including offences relating to the abuse of girls under the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act of 1926. The statute has provisions on gender-sensitive

---

[141] The Rome statute

proceedings and evidence before the Special Court (articles 14 and 16) and requires expertise in trauma related to crimes of sexual violence and violence against children.

In May 2004, for the first time in the history of international law, the Special Court decided that forced marriage would be prosecuted as an "inhumane act", that is, a crime against humanity. In 2009, the Court convicted three former leaders of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) on the charge of forced marriage, thereby recognizing the deep and long lasting suffering inflicted upon women through conscription as 'bush wives' during the Sierra Leone conflict. Since 1995, the awareness of the impact of armed conflict on women, including the role of sexual and gender-based violence, and women's contributions to peace processes, has increased significantly.

Gender equality issues in conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peace-building, humanitarian situations and post-conflict reconstruction have received more attention, which has led to improved efforts to build capacity of institutions, mechanisms and staff, including on the part of international organizations, supporting national level implementation.

Much of the progress achieved must be attributed to the effective mobilization and advocacy by civil society. Women in, for example, the Balkans, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, the Great Lakes region, the Middle East, Nepal, Somalia and Timor Leste, have worked collaboratively across conflict, ethnic and religious lines to make valuable contributions to peace processes, through promoting women's human rights, resisting militarization and ensuring that women's voices are included at all levels of decision-making processes.

Regional women's networks, such as the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) bringing together women from Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone, have played catalytic roles in

peace efforts. MARWOPNET has been active at both the grass-roots level and the highest levels of government. The Network helped bring the heads of State of the three countries back to the negotiating table in 2001 and served as a signatory to the Liberian peace talks in August 2003. MARWOPNET was awarded the United Nations Prize in the Field of Human Rights in 2003.

On the basis of Security Council resolution 1325, women have organized exchanges across conflict divides, lobbied for women's participation in formal peace negotiations and decision-making processes, conducted research, and built networks. They have used the resolution, which has been translated into over 90 languages, for training at the country level, advocacy and awareness raising. The *Peace Women* website, coordinated by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, provides an overview of initiatives throughout the globe.

The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, a coalition of NGOs, works closely with the United Nations Secretariat and Member States to advance the implementation of resolution 1325. Collaboration and interactions with governments and other actors have led to important outcomes. In Fiji, for example, a working partnership between the Ministry of Women and NGOs was established to promote implementation of resolution 1325.

2.4 LEGAL AND POLICY FRAMEWORK FOR INTEGRATING THE WOMEN AND GENDER IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Following the final phase of advocating for increased women participation in peace and security, the United Nations Security Council passed a Resolution(UNSCR 1325) on women, peace and security, which was unanimously adopted by United Nations Security Council on 31 October 2000. SCR1325 marked the first time the Security Council addressed the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women; recognized the under-valued and under-utilized contributions women

make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace-building. It also stressed the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.

SCR1325 is binding upon all UN Member States and the adoption of the Resolution marked an important international political recognition that women and gender are relevant to international peace and security.

While SCR 1325 is recognized as a historic and unprecedented document, it does not exist in a vacuum; many resolutions, treaties, conventions, statements and reports preceded it, and thus, form its foundation and an integral part of the women, peace and security policy framework.

The Security Council has marked the anniversary of this resolution annually to reaffirm its commitment to the spirit of the resolution and to highlight progress made in the area of women, peace and security. However, there remain major gaps in implementation and accountability for that implementation. The Security Council has itself not yet instituted a mechanism of accountability to further the implementation of the founding resolution, despite more than a decade of calls from Civil Society.

Key Provisions of SCR 1325 included Increased participation and representation of women at all levels of decision-making; Attention to specific protection needs of women and girls in conflict; Gender perspective in post-conflict processes; Gender perspective in UN programming, reporting and in SC missions; and Gender perspective & training in UN peace support operations.

Key Actors responsible for implementation of SCR 1325 include: the Security Council; Member States; UN entities; the Secretary General; and parties to conflict.

2.5 FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTIONS TO THE SCR 1325 – ADVANCING THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND MANAGEMENT

There are four follow-up Resolutions that provide support for Resolution 1325 and concrete areas for implementation. These three Resolutions are: Resolution 1820 (2008)[142], Resolution 1888 (2009)[143], Resolution 1889 (2009)[144], and Resolution 1960 (2010)[145]. These are described as follows:

(a) **Resolution 1820**: Passed in 2008, Resolution 1820 recognizes that conflict-related sexual violence is a tactic of warfare, and calls for the training of troops on preventing and responding to sexual violence, deployment of more women to peace operations, and enforcement of zero-tolerance policies for peacekeepers with regards to acts of sexual exploitation or abuse.

(b) **Resolution 1888:** Passed in 2009, Resolution 1888 strengthens the implementation of Resolution 1820 by calling for leadership to address conflict-related sexual violence, deployment of teams (military and gender experts) to critical conflict areas, and improved monitoring and reporting on conflict trends and perpetrators.

(c) **Resolution 1889:** Passed in 2009, Resolution 1889 addresses obstacles to women's participation in peace processes and calls for development of global indicators to track the implementation of Resolution 1325, and improvement of international and national responses to the needs of women in conflict and post-conflict settings.

(d) **Resolution 1960:** Passed in December 2010, Resolution 1960 calls for an end to sexual violence in armed conflict, particularly against women and girls, and provides measures aimed at ending impunity for perpetrators of sexual violence, including through sanctions and reporting measures.

---

[142] UN security council resolution 1820 (2008)
[143] UN security council resolution 1888 (2009
[144] UN security council resolution 1889 (2009)
[145] UN security council resolution 1960 (2010

Despite the explicit commitment of the United Nations on the role of women in violence and conflict management, a lot still needs to be done by member states towards entrenching the UN Resolutions as described in this section of the study. In the subsequent section, I will trace the status of implementation of SCR 1325 in Kenya and relate this to the Kenya's Post Elections Violence with the view to establish the state of preparedness on the part of the Kenya Government in so far as emancipating the role of women in conflict management is concerned.

2.6 CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW)

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination.

The Convention defines discrimination against women as "...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."

By accepting the Convention, States commit themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms, including:

- incorporating the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolishing all discriminatory laws and adopting appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women;

- establishing tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and

- ensuring elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organizations or enterprises.

The Convention provides the basis for realizing equality between women and men through ensuring women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life -- including the right to vote and to stand for election -- as well as education, health, employment and participation in decision making on all peace building and conflict resolution processes. States parties agree to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women can enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Countries that have ratified or acceded to the Convention are legally bound to put its provisions into practice. They are also committed to submit national reports, at least every four years, on measures they have taken to comply with their treaty obligations.[146]

Kenya being a signatory to CEDAW has taken practical steps to incorporate women in its highest level of decision making. For instance among the 18 cabinet secretaries appointed by President Uhuru Kenyatta, 6 of them are women. He defied the age-old gender discrimination in government appointments by nominating, for the first time in the Kenyan history, a woman to the powerful docket of defense. The status of women has advanced in some important aspects in the recent past but that progress has been uneven, inequalities between women and men continue to persist and major challenges abound, with serious consequences for the well-being of all people. The

---

[146] Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women 1979

implementation of this provision depends upon the good will of the government in power and since

the CEDAW committee has no power to enforce this provision.

2.7 BEIJING DECLARATION PLATFORM OF ACTION, 1995

The declaration states in part that:

'In a world of continuing instability and violence, the implementation of cooperative

approaches to peace and security is urgently needed. The equal access and full participation

of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and

resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security.

Although women have begun to play an important role in conflict resolution, peace keeping

and defence and foreign affairs mechanisms, they are still under-represented in decision-

making positions. If women have to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace,

they must be empowered politically and represented adequately at all levels of decision

making.'[147]

This declaration underscores the need to have women represented in the peace process so as to

include women's views and perception of peace, something that the government. The government of

Kenya seems to marginalize women peace builders by failing to recognize the role they play in

peace building thereby making them operate under the informal structures at the grassroots level

with no or little recognition.

2.8 THE PROTOCOL OF THE AFRICAN CHARTER ON HUMAN AND PEOPLES' RIGHTS ON THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN IN AFRICA (2003)

Article 10 of the protocol of the African charter on human and peoples' rights on the rights of

women in Africa (2003) states that women have the right to peaceful existence and the right to

---

[147] Beijing declaration 1995

55

participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace and requires that state parties take all appropriate measures to ensure the increased participation of women not only in programmes of education for peace and a culture of peace but also in the structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels.

2.9 AFRICAN UNION'S SOLEMN DECLARATION ON GENDER EQUALITY IN AFRICA

At the Third Ordinary Session of the African Union (AU) Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in July 2004, the Heads of State and Government adopted the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA). The Declaration is an important African instrument for promoting gender equality and women's empowerment as it strengthens African ownership of the gender equality agenda and keeps the issues alive at the highest political level in Africa.

They reaffirmed their commitment to the principle of gender equality as enshrined in Article 4 (l) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union, as well as other existing commitments, principles, goals and actions set out in the various regional, continental and international instruments on human and women's rights, including the Dakar Platform for Action (1994), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW - 1979), the African Plan of Action to Accelerate the Implementation of the Dakar and Beijing Platforms for Action for the Advancement of Women (1999); the Outcome Document of the Twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly Special Session on the Implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (2000); UN Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women,

Peace and Security; and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003).[148]

Through the Solemn Declaration, Heads of State and Government committed themselves to report annually on progress towards gender equality. In addition, the Chairperson of the AU Commission is expected to submit an annual report to the Assembly on progress made in the implementation of the Solemn Declaration as well as on the state of gender equality and gender mainstreaming at the national and regional levels. None of the GLR countries has submitted its report to date.

2.10 STATUS OF IMPLEMENTATION OF UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 1325, 1820, 1888 & 1889 IN AFRICA FOR WOMEN'S FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

In the 13 years since its adoption, much has been done to try to implement SCR 1325 (2000)[149]. The UN system, in particular, has developed policies, standards, guidelines and mechanisms to assist with its implementation at the national level, including through the work of peacekeeping missions. But challenges remain; both at the international and national levels. Women's representation in decision-making, whether at the UN, UN peacekeeping missions or the national level, remains rather low. Insufficient attention is paid to gender and women's human rights issues within the broad context of work on peace and security. In the Great Lakes Region, only Uganda and Rwanda have developed National Action Plans to implement the SCR 1325.

---

[148] Solemn Declaration On Gender Equality In Africa 2004
[149] UN Resolution 1325 (2000)

The challenge to locally implementing the SCR 1325 has been attributed to several factors. Chief among these has been lack of awareness of it and to a large extent, lack of or low levels of open conflicts in some countries.

Consequently, countries that do not experience open conflict, SCR 1325 (2000)[150] is not widely used. This is true of countries that contribute troops to peacekeeping missions such as Kenya, Ghana and Ethiopia. In both Kenya and Ghana, where progressive gender mainstreaming policies and initiatives exist, the focus on women's peace and security is predominantly domestic addressing issues like domestic violence. More attention is given to ensuring the implementation of CEDAW. Respondents stated that they were uncertain of how to use the resolution in a non-conflict context. However, Ethiopia has an inter-ministerial committee on defense, justice and women's affairs. Ethiopia also contributes female soldiers to peacekeeping missions, as do Namibia, Zambia and South Africa, which is the largest contributor of female soldiers to both UN and AU peacekeeping missions.

Additionally, Most countries in the Great Lakes Region are in the process of developing an action plan on the implementation of SCR 1325 (2000)[151] and has conducted some training on it. Only Uganda and Rwanda have so far developed and integrated NAPs in Peace and Security programming.

---

[150] UN Resolution 1325 (2000)
[151] UN Resolution 1325 (2000)

CHAPTER 3: WOMEN AND CONFLICT IN KENYA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Literature in this vital section of the study will be organized into the following sections: a review of Kenya's PEV will be given to lay a foundation to understanding the conflict and the role women played in the management of Kenya's PEV.

3.2 BACKGROUND OF KENYA'S POST ELECTION VIOLENCE

3.2.1 Historical And Political Dimensions Of Post Election Violence In Kenya

Recent political problems that threaten to tear Kenya apart require analysis that goes beyond ethnicity as portrayed in the media and current analyses that attempt to explain the situation with particular biases. More correctly, emphasis and focus should be placed on the interpenetration of historical and current political developments whose origins can be traced in the early stages of state formation in Kenya.

In 19th century, the area that became Kenya could be described as stateless, but was made up of various nationalities (currently considered sub-nationalities if seen from the eye of British Historians and ethnographers). Some commentators have claimed that peoples' civility and ethnicity was shaped by their subsistence farming or herding, or some mixture of both. However what ethnographers and Eurocentric commentators ignore is that there was clear territorial ownership of space by each "nation" even though at times there were conflicts over pasture and adventure expeditions into the regions occupied by other groups.

In the late 19th century most of the people of Kenya resisted British conquest, and land grabbing when white settlements began in the fertile highlands of Rift Valley and central province.

Administrative structures were designed and have to-date been effectively used as part of state machinery to impose illegitimate authority on the people. Besides land, there were conflicts over forced "labour" (basically Africans and later Indians). These conflicts led to the 1923 Devonshire White paper, which stated that 'Kenya is an African country and the interest of the natives must be paramount'. The Africans especially the Kikuyu in Central province, Masaai and Kalenjin in the Rift Valley, lost much of their best land to the white settlers and the growing population meant increasing land hunger and discontent. A new land redistribution scheme was introduced under Littleton constitution of 1954 followed by other constitutional changes however these schemes did not adequately address the land question.

The spirit of nationalism in Kenya began as early as in 1922 and violence and armed struggle was led by the Mau Mau and by 1955, 13,000 Africans had lost their lives (Anderson, 2007)[152]. In the early 1960s, Moi, Muliro and Ngala of KADU supported regionalism against Kenyatta, Odinga, Mboya and KANU's nationalism (associated with the centralized system).

By 1960, two national parties were formed (what could be described as the first multi party era in Kenya). These two parties were already divided over the type of system that would serve the African interests. Alliance by leading lights from various groups which made up KADU and KANU respectively, also played out in the struggles for release of those in detention and efforts to form the first government. The British were forced to retreat from Kenya and subsequently, release Jomo Kenyatta from detention at Kapenguria.

When Kenya gained "independence" from Britain in 1963, it inherited non-democratic institutions and cultures, which later fell into the hands of corrupt native politicians and government. This

---

[152] Anderson, (2007)

exemplifies the de-colonization programme that retained the colonial apparatuses of security forces and political repression in the post-colony (Anderson, 1998)[153] and compromise over the land question.

Post-colonial "officials" lavished themselves with political and economic favors in a pattern that has extended into the post-post-colonial era (Moi who was a member of KADU and later KANU, Kibaki who was technocrat in KANU from 1963, the Late John Michuki the then Internal Security Minister, The Late Njenga Karume, the then Defense Minister among others). This process has been captured by some analysts who have pointed out that these developments mirrors what was a distinctly colonial view of the rule of law, which saw the British leave behind legal systems that facilitated tyranny, oppression and poverty rather than open, accountable government.[154]

3.2.2 Ethnic Composition and Competitive Politics in Kenya

While national level political competition in Kenya is often misunderstood and shallowly interpreted in terms of a competition between the Kikuyu and the Luo, most commentators on Kenya's politics do ignore the position and role of the Kalenjin, Luhya, Kamba, Kisii, Coastal peoples (Mijikenda), Swahili, Arabs, Indians and Europeans who live in large farms/ranches and important urban areas in Kenya. Each of these groups subsumes a number of smaller ethnic units that become relevant bases of social identity in more localized settings. The groups hardly mentioned are the Ogieks, and the Jemps who are the original occupants of some parts of present Rift valley but have since been displaced or evicted to create room for current occupants. What is however neglected in the debate

---

[153] Anderson, (1998)

[154] Elkins, 2007/8

about Kenyan politics is the reality that all groups have a stake in the running of the Kenyan polity, but due to systematic exclusion of some groups from the national leadership, competitive politics in Kenya is bound to have an ethnic dimension.

When Kenya became a one-party state in 1969, the Late Mzee Jomo Kenyatta ruled the country with a clique around him mainly from his ethnic Kikuyu elites and business tycoons, who eventually alienated other groups in Kenya from the political and economic order for his entire reign (1963-1978). Although Kenyatta did not instigate ethnic clashes, he targeted eminent persons from ethnic groups that he felt were a threat to his leadership. Many people were assassinated including Pio Gama Pinto (Kenyan Indian), J.M. Kariuki (Kikuyu), Tom Mboya, D.O Makasembo, Arwgings Kodhek (all Luo from Nyanza), Ronald Ngala (Mijikenda of Coast), Seroney (Kalenjin) among others. This was a strategy that the Retired President, H. E. Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi also adopted at the height of his reign when prominent persons were assassinated or died in mysterious circumstances. They include, Hon. Robert Ouko, Owiti Ongili, Otieno Ambala, Hezekiah Oyugi (all Luo), Bishop Kipsang Muge, (Kalenjin), Tito Adungosi and Masinde Muliro (all Luhya,).

Many students, journalists, lecturers, and politicians like Raila Odinga, Charles Rubia, Keneth Matiba, Martin Shikuku, among others were also detained without trial and tortured. What is also missing in most analyses is the role of other communities during the struggle for independence, while the Mau Mau has been presented as the epicenter of everything around impendence struggle, but historical facts point to other contributions. But because this ignorance has been presented as the truth, coupled with arrogance and superiority complex, Kenyan liberation history has been constantly distorted.

The recent British Government's out of court settlement to award some 5,565 Mau Mau veterans a sum of Kshs. 2.9 billion attest to this fact. Other champions of the struggle for independence in Kenya were left out of the bargain and the whole issue painted as being a Kikuyu community affairs! The struggles for political ascendancy began immediately after the postcolonial government were formed. While the first cabinet was quite representative of the face of Kenya, soon ideological differences, impact of cold war and betrayal on key issues cropped in, thus dividing the original personalities in the independence struggle; the Mau Mau veterans were sidelined and politics of exclusion and elimination began in earnest, sometimes combined with assassinations. Electoral politics never took shape in a democratic sense since Kenyatta who ruled mainly through the provincial administration, outside the KANU framework, rendered the party system that could have rallied the people around issues and programmes meaningless.

Fears of ethnic ascendancies, power-hungry ethnic political elites, undemocratic processes and institutions which are all hallmarks of today's Kenya, began to play out; a confirmation of the undemocratic historical trajectory that Kenya has been moving along.

The 2007 election fiasco has exposed the deliberate stoking of ethnic tension by power-hungry elites, feeble democratic traditions and institutions in Kenya, one that threatens to consume it if not adequately addressed.

3.2.3 Electoral Politics In Kenya

Electoral politics in Kenya can also be understood best by looking at the role of the process and institutions charged with overseeing such a process. The electoral system in Kenya is based on constituencies whose boundaries are congruent with the boundaries of tribal areas. These boundaries have been used to manipulate democratic outcomes. The constituencies are represented by a member of parliament and a number of local authority representatives at ward, town and urban council levels

(today, county assemblies). Their election takes place at the same time as that of presidential and parliamentary ones. The boundaries are determined by the independent electoral and boundaries commission if there is evidence that populations have outgrown the current demarcations. The president with parliamentary approval appoints the Commission.

However, the problem with numbers in Kenyan politics is that they are never correct or close to truth. This originates from history of manipulation of constituency population numbers during the single party era, but also lack of regular census and update of births and deaths records. It is therefore not surprising to see "ghost names" in voter registers (not deleted even after a whole five year preparation and multibillion investment in the process) or to see number of registered voters increase during presidential vote tallying contrary to the actual number at constituency level or previous attempt to create extra constituencies in the incumbent friendly regions in order to meet the 25% constitutional requirement for presidential eligibility in 27 counties of 47.

The problem with the electoral process did not start in recent years; the political competition that followed immediately after independence gave birth to the mechanizations, manipulation of the institutions responsible for electoral process and the blatant rape of the constitution to suit those in power. This began with the erosion of the party system, when immediately after independence in 1963, the political alliances began to fall apart with KADU joining KANU and internal struggles within KANU leading to the formation of KPU.

Although the fall out between Kenyatta and Odinga has been described as ideological, the actual cause was the feeling that Kenyatta had betrayed his colleagues and the entire nation on three crucial promises at independence, namely eradication of poverty, illiteracy and disease. Kenyatta betrayed

this cause by allocating huge parcels of land left by white settlers to himself and political cronies, including large tracts in the present Rift Valley province.

Upon Kenyatta's death in 1978, Daniel arap Moi, a member of the Kalenjin, assumed power in 1978. During his 24 year reign, Moi exploited the Kenyan diversity and politicized ethnicity to levels where he could instigate clashes in districts and provinces with mixed groups, a practice he perfected in the 90's in order to discredit the onset of multiparty democracy in Kenya. Politically motivated ethnic clashes were used to disrupt and displace populations and groups that supported the opposition (mainly the Kikuyu in Rift Valley, Luo in the slums of Nairobi and Mombasa). He also used divide and rule tactics, pitting on group against another and at times bought politician through patronage in order to have more support in parliament. These tactics ensured that that the opposition lost the elections of 1992 and 1997.

It was not until 2002, when his constitutional term in office expired that he had no options, but also due to the unity of the opposition through NARC (National Rainbow Coalition of the Late Kijana Wamalwa FORD- Kenya, Rt. Hon. Eng. Raila Odinga of LDP, Hon. Charity Ngilu and H. E. Hon. Mwai Emilio Kibaki of NAK/DP) got together and managed to defeat Moi's preferred choice of successor, now H. E. Hon. Uhuru Muigai wa Kenyatta (the son of Jomo Kenyatta). Moi was voted out of office in 2002, and Kibaki became Kenya's Third president.

Anger against Kibaki's leadership is real and genuine and it stems from the fact that Kibaki was elected on a platform of reform, in the sphere of constitutional change, end to corruption, tribalism and establishment of an equitable system that could uplift the living conditions of all Kenyans regardless of their ethnicity and other background factors. Kibaki's failure to grasp these genuine concerns, self imprisonment from reasoning and lack of desire to leave a legacy in Kenya, caused a

great anger in the majority of Kenyans whose hopes had been dashed by Kibaki's conduct, deeply entrenched scandals and corruption and arrogance of people around him. For instance people's disgust with Kibaki's regime was expressed at the 2005 referendum in which the Wako Draft Constitution (a diluted version of the Boma's draft, which was a constitutional product of a people-led process) was resoundingly defeated. Seven provinces made up of diverse ethnic groups voted for "NO" while the Yes vote was only represented by central province! This outcome reflected the wishes of the majority and cannot be seen as a vote against the Kikuyu since the vote was for a devolved system or a unitary system. But then, one cannot lose sight to the ethnic dimension the vote took during the campaigns, when people of central province were told to vote for "Yes" because it meant protecting "their presidency".

It is this anger and frustration that was captured and exacerbated in the 2007 general elections in which Kibaki lost his close allies from his own backyard (central province) and high profile lieutenants from other regions who were rejected at grassroots level. The 2007 elections also saw a new trend of ethnic alliances, which were formed for political expediency, even though hidden behind critical issues. Some groups could however identify with each other in terms of political and economic marginalization than others, thus the divide that has been reflected in the post ethnic conflict even if some analysis attempt to reduce it to the work of political leaders as the ones behind the ethnic divide. In the current situation, old wounds have been revived but the degree of suffering under previous regimes differ from group to group, while frustration also exists within the groups themselves, whereby, Kalenjin rejected their own, in Moi and his sons, while the Kikuyu rejected the cabal that have surrounded Kibaki since 2002. The same was witnessed in Nyanza where Luo and Kisii Nyanza voted out MPs that they thought did not deserve another parliamentary mandate.[155]

---

[155]**Source:** Antony Otieno Ong'ayo, Transnational Institute, Amsterdam at
http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/letters/46094 retrieved on 28th June 2013

In Kenya, therefore, there have been unresolved conflicts in since colonial time and the situation has been getting worse overtime following the five years electoral cycle 1991/1992/1997/1998, all which culminated to the Post-Election Violence (PEV) in 2007-2008. These conflicts have been due to many reasons including: political repression to multiparty participation, impunity, ethnicity and polarization, the erosion of exiting mechanisms for conflict management, long standing land and identity disputes, administrative and boundary units related to resources and ineffective mechanisms for political and social dialogue.[156]

Generally, issues of ownership, access and use of land in relation to violence, poverty and economic instability are experienced in many regions of Kenya. There are also concerns over irregular and illegal acquisition of individual and public land, lack of title deeds and classification of land that originally belonged to communities.

Kenya being an agriculturally dependent country, economic strength squarely lies in land. Consequently, land is the chief means of generating income and accumulating wealth for majority of Kenyans. In most regions, the issues of land go back to pre-colonial days. During Kenya's colonial period, the British occupiers deprived communities of legal ownership and user rights to their customary lands leading to disenfranchisement and dispossession of communities.

Post-colonial arrangements facilitated taking over of land by the government. However, such arrangements introduced skewed patterns of land distribution in favor of a few elites leaving the majority landless. Land which belonged to communities was either sold to individuals or designated

---

[156] UWIANO PLATFORM FOR PEACE (2012a): Experiences and Lessons Learned, Nairobi
UWIANO PLATFORM FOR PEACE (2012b): UWIANO Strategic Leadership and Peace Agenda for 2012 and beyond, Nairobi

Trust-land implying that such land was held in trust by the government for the communities. Such land was politically distributed to reward politically correct individuals and/or communities. In Kenya politics of land have been a means of rewarding loyalists and punishing opponents. For instance, post-colonial government leaders set up resettlement schemes for members of their communities in foreign ancestries, as well as in public and trust land regardless of the original purpose for such lands. These dynamics have led to ethnic conflicts as native land owners attempt to evict the foreign occupants during and after every electioneering year as was the case in 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2008.[157]

3.3 ROLE OF WOMEN IN MANAGEMENT OF KENYA'S 2007/2008 PEV

Women play important roles in the process of peace building, first as activists and advocates for peace, women wage conflict nonviolently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Secondly, as peacekeepers and relief aid workers, women contribute to reducing direct violence. Thirdly, as mediators, trauma healing counselors and policymakers, women work to 'transform relationships' and address the root cause of violence. Lastly, as educators and participants in the development process, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflict. This is made possible as a result of socialization processes and the historical experience of unequal relations and values that women bring to the process of peace building[158].

3.3.1 The Kenya Dialogue and Reconciliation

The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation was officially launched on 29th January 2008. The objectives of the mediation were twofold: 1) to bring about a political resolution in order to end the violence; and 2) a dialogue to address the longer term structural problems in Kenya that had enabled

---

[157] http://www.fig.net/commission7/verona_am_2008/papers/13_sept/kalande_paper.pdf downloaded on 28th June 2013

[158] Schirch et al. 2005. *The Role of Women in Peacebuilding*. European Centre for Conflict Prevention. Available at: http://www.gppac.net/uploads/File/Resources/GPPAC%20Issue%20papers/The%Role20%/of20 %Women20%in20%Peacebuilding.pdf

this level of violence and lay the basis for the reforms needed to effect sustainable peace in the country.

The dialogue took the form of agenda four items. *Agenda four,* dealt with long term issues and solutions. The annotated agenda document signed by the parties was elaborated to include, inter alia, under Agenda Four:

- Undertaking constitutional, legal and institutional reforms

- Tackling poverty and inequity as well as combating regional development imbalances

- Tackling unemployment particularly among the youth

- Consolidating national cohesion and unity

- Undertaking a land reform

- Addressing transparency, accountability and impunity[159]

3.3.2 Women and the Kenya Dialogue and Reconciliation

In the highly politically charged and violent atmosphere, the involvement of women in the Kenyan process took many different forms. Women were engaged as members of the panel; as senior advisors to the mediator and in mediation support roles; as senior members of the political delegations and as civil society leaders.

While the formal process was taking shape, women were mobilizing in a range of ways at local and national level. At the national level, women organized through a range of different forums. A few notable national processes were organized by the vital voices women's group, who partnered with Burundian women to share experiences of conflict. The Kenyans for Peace, Truth and Justice (KPTJ) met every day to discuss how to deal with the crisis. The Kenya Women's Consultative Group also held a one day meeting with more than fifty women to discuss how women could

---

[159] Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation , Annotated Agenda and Timetable

pressure the two principles to meet and end the electoral conflict. This group later formed a twelve-member consultative group that presented a memorandum to the mediation team.[160]

The memorandum[161] to the panel called for the mediators to ensure that UNSCR 1325 was implemented and called for constitutional reforms among other demands. They also advised the mediation team to second a gender advisor to the Panel to ensure gender mainstreaming although this was not implemented.

At the local level, a number of women's organizations, as well as individuals initiated reconciliation in their communities while the national dialogue was ongoing. For instance, the Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness Women's initiative was formed to address the gender-based violence (GBV) that Kibera women were facing during the 2007 electoral crisis. Rural Women Peace link a local NGO based in Uasin Gichu in Rift Valley, is another example of a women's organization that initiated community dialogues for reconciliation during the height of the post-election violence.[162]

The presence of Mrs Graca Machel who was brought in due to her work in Kenya on the Africa Peer Review Mechanism has been cited to have promoted considerations of women's concerns during the dialogue process.[163] Her level of seniority and long history around women's issues meant that she possessed the skills necessary to identify specific issues of importance. Her seniority and stature also meant that she was able to push these issues in a way that few other women would

---

[160]Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland pp16-22

[161] Women's memorandum at <http://www.pambazuka.org>

[162] Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland pp. 16-22

[163] Interview with Graca Machel, South Africa, February 2010

be able to. Her work through the Africa Peer Review Mechanism also meant that she had a good understanding of the underlying dynamics and strong networks to civil society in the country. The other factor that served to promote consideration of women's concerns during the dialogue process was the capacity for civil society to mobilize and ensure that women's issues and priorities were presented to the mediation team.[164]

This was not without its challenges, nevertheless the capacity of women's organization within civil society to come together to articulate a position for women to be brought to the mediation team was important. However, it required the impetus of Graca Machel, calling the women together for them to overcome their own differences and divisions in order to work together to press for greater focus on women's issues in the process.

The role of Kenyan civil society and women in The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation was critically important in shaping agenda four, which called for reforms to address the route causes of the violence.

Kenyan civil society influenced agenda four through the memorandums they presented through a number of different coalitions including Kenyans for Peace Truth and Justice (KPTJ), Citizen's Coalition, Concerned Citizens for Peace and the Women's Caucus. This inputs included recommendations that the team address long-standing issues such as constitutional reforms, land distribution, historical inequities and security sector reform.[165]

---

[164]Wanyeki, L. , *For an elaboration on the importance of the capacity of civil society in Kenya - and importantly how unique this level of capacity is in a conflict-affected country*, pp. 1-14.

[165]Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland pp 16-22.

3.3.3 Women's Formal Participation in the Mediation Process

The formal structure of the process was established between the political parties to the crisis, with small delegations of four members each and a liaison officer to support them. As these teams were established Mrs Graca Machel suggested that each party ensure they had a female representative as part of their delegation.

Based on this request, but probably also as a result of the strong role these women played in their respective parties,   The Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) nominated Hon. Martha Karua and Hon. Sally Kosgei respectively. Both women were senior within their party structures and had been at the political forefront. At the time of the crisis, Hon. Karua held the ministerial post of Minister of Justice and was designated the team leader for the PNU coalition delegation.

Issues around the participation of women were raised by the female representatives at the table resulting in women being included in the composition of the Independent Electoral Review Commission and the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission.[166]

During the consultations with civil society in the early days of the mediation, Mrs Graca Machel called women's leaders to come together and meet her to discuss the position of women with regard to the crisis. She reached out to women she had previously worked with in order to encourage them to convene so they could engage the peace negotiations with one voice.[167]

---

[166] Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland pp. 16-22

[167] Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue Interview with Graca Machel

These actions drew on her understanding of the core issue of polarization in Kenya during elections. Women's leaders mobilized funds for a women's consultative meeting on the Kenyan crisis on 24th January 2008. During the meeting it became clear that party affiliation and ethnic tensions, which had been brought to the fore by the crisis, prevented any meaningful engagement among the women. Mrs Machel then advised the women to sit together and find a common ground. [168]

This resulted in what became known as the "spitting session" by the women involved. This was a session in which they raised all of the issues that were dividing them, allowed themselves to get angry and "spit at one another" in order to allow themselves to move forward and find a commonality in their position on the crisis.

This airing of differences and building of confidence subsequently enabled this group of women to constructively draft a women's memorandum which was presented to the mediation team on 25th January 2008. A committee of twelve women, representing diverse organizations, was nominated by the other by the other women involved to present the memorandum. The concerns highlighted in this memorandum helped to shape the longterm issues agreed within Agenda Four.

Most importantly, the memorandum called for a framing of the violence, the crisis and its resolution in the broader context of women peace and security, drawing on UNSCR1325 and the AU solemn declaration. The memorandum also sought to make visible the levels of violence and impact of the conflict on women at the time.

---

[168] Ibid

The women's memorandum called for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. It also drew on other important regional frameworks including the African Union Constitutive Act, The Solemn Declaration and the African Charter on the Rights of Women. The recommendations highlighted the importance of looking at the priorities of the women's movement which can be found in these agreements, as well as issues which would be overtly gendered- such as calling for the appointment of a gender advisor to the mediation team.

The memorandum categorized the various forms of violence during the conflict and, as such drew attention to the gender dimensions of the conflict. The memorandum also made recommendations to address the root causes of the violence such as constitutional reform, transitional justice mechanisms and strengthening of electoral bodies. The memorandum also highlighted gender dimension and humanitarian relief for internally displaced persons (IDPs). Women also recommended the representation at the table of women from civil society.[169]

Women in civil society used various other informal strategies to influence the mediation process. They engaged the male delegates at the table who were known to them through political networks. Women worked with female leaders in political parties who helped to link them to the leadership of their respective parties.

They also lobbied the wives of the party leaders, President Kibaki and Prime Minister Odinga and held early morning sessions with members of the mediation team to advocate on gender issues. When the women's leaders had difficulty getting access to the mediation team at certain points

---

[169] Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland pp. 16-22

during the negotiations they sometimes intercepted them in the lobby of the hotel where the talks were being held to make further inputs to the talks.[170]

The level of advocacy and the outreach of the women in Kenya was an important feature in their success in influencing the process. With strong regional and international networks, women and civil society were among the first to lobby at the African Union. They were also the first to testify at the US congress and pass messages to senior figures in the UN and other capitals.[171]

;The capacity is a feature that has been consistently noted as critically important for ensuring civil society messages got through to the highest level regionally and internationally. The strength helped to offset the challenge of not having a formalized channel for civil society generally and women specifically to influence the mediation process. This is something that may not be easily replicable in other post-conflict settings.

3.4 WOMEN CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANIZATIONS

3.4.1 Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness

Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness (KWPF) is a women's organization based in Kibera whose vision is to rise up against all odds in the fight divisions in order to promote peace in the community, embrace development and equal distribution of resources, co-ordinate the healing process, to ensure peaceful coexistence among different communities in Kibera and to maintain law and order in the community.[172]

---

[170]Ibid

[171] Ibid

[172] Johannes Michael Nebe (Ed.) (2012): *Peace Building and Conflict Management*; University of Trier, Faculty of Political Science pp. 144-149

Their mission is to bring women of Kibera together, no matter which political affiliations, tribes or religions they are belong to in order to promote peace and to celebrate cultural diversity and identity. Kibera, known for its diverse population of different tribes living next to each other, was one of the hot spots during the Post-Election Violence which erupted in Kenya in 2007/2008. At the peak of the conflicts in January 2008, Kibera women came together to protest against the killing of an innocent fifteen-year-old girl by a police officer who had shot several other people.

Due to the success of this initiative and the awareness of being able to have the power to end violence, the organization Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness was formed by Jane Anyango as a platform to bring women together and to empower them by giving space for exchanging their experiences during the Post- Election Violence as well as informing them about their rights.

In addition, KWPF cared for IDPs from Kibera. Furthermore, the organization aims to reunite Kibera women (who act as mediators for Kibera residents) regardless of their political affiliations, ethnic backgrounds `or religions to appreciate peaceful and harmonious coexistence.

The main fields of work are peace and conflict resolution, gender development / empowerment, and above all, to bring across peace messages through means such as songs, multicultural events, community peace forums and sports such as women football. These activities attract people to listen to the women and to spread out their messages.[173]

According to Jane Anyango, the organization is a grassroots organization with more than 800 members (women) so that all tribes are involved. In order to be more efficient in their work, every village has a representative who acts as a contact person. In addition, they cooperate with

---

[173] Johannes Michael Nebe (Ed.) 2012: *Peace Building and Conflict Management*; University of Trier, Faculty of Political Science pp. 144-149

international and local radio stations which support to inform the society about peace activities of Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness.

Finally, it is necessary to say that KWPF has a very good networking with national partners (e.g. Groots Kenya) as well as international partners (e.g. Heinrich-Böll Foundation) with whom they had organized "The Slum Women's Voice Day". However, they most benefit from their national partners.

Being respected in Kibera and having a powerful voice, Women of Kibera for Peace and Fairness decided to establish a choir in 2008 to dissimilate peace messages in Kibera through songs. They realized that they could cause a stir and people are listening to them if they act together as a group. They perform songs in Kiswahili and all the songs deal with violence, peace, the power of women and reconciliation. The songs are composed by the women themselves.

 The organization visited several political campaigns in the run-up to the March 4th elections to convince political candidates and the audience to promote peace. Hence, they sensitize the people to coexist again without violence. This year's slogan of the peace choir was NENDA, TENDA, AMANI which means Speak, Act, Peace. [174]The peace choir is a good example for peace building and conflict management.

Another good practice project which has to be mentioned is a campaign which KWPF has implemented together with Polycom (a partner organisation) which is essentially engaged in defending girls from defilement. By visiting schools around the villages of Kibera Polycom they

---

[174]Johannes Michael Nebe (Ed.) 2012: *Peace Building and Conflict Management*; University of Trier, Faculty of Political Science pp. 149-155

provided information on the girls' rights (e.g. sexual abuse). The aim of the campaign was to enable mainly the girls and women to speak out their problems etc. Especially for the girls they started the 'talking boxes' approach where they could write and drop anything they want into boxes.[175] This serves to speed up the healing and reconciliation process.

3.4.2 Miss Koch Kenya

Miss Koch is a NGO located in Korogocho – Nairobi. "Miss" refers to the Mission which is to provide a platform for the youth in Korogocho and its environs, in particular girls and women, to participate effectively in the socio-economic and political development processes. The vision of the NGO is to see a society that respects and promotes the development of its male and female members. Miss Koch was founded in 2001, starting off as a girl's emancipation and empowerment organization. In 2009 they reached the NGO-status. The organization is used as an intervention against the endemic socio-economic and political problems that were facing the residents of Korogocho, including rising insecurity and disempowerment of girls.

Over the years Miss Koch initiative has worked for a transformation of Korogocho and its reputation. It has particularly given hope to the youth, the girl child and other disadvantaged groups. This has been done through the mobilization and empowerment of local residents as agents of change within Korogocho and engagement with the media and other stakeholders.

Since the start, Miss Koch has been arranging girl's sports tournaments, talent and skills development training, funded secondary children's school fees, taught many residents on reproductive health, established a resource centre in the middle of the slum, among many other

---

[175] Ibid

things. As regards the Post-Election Violence, Miss Koch spotlighted topics of peace building and conflict prevention through its working structures and new units of events.

Today the initiative activities concentrate on four different programmes:

Daraja, means "bridge" and is Miss Koch's programme on human rights, governance and peace. Since creating a strong and healthy community is not only about actual activities on the grass-root level, but also about influencing general development policies and good governance. The programme's include forums on the new constitution, mobilization of political representatives from the slum, educating members of the community on human rights and peace-building activities.

Programme Goal*:* To promote peace, develop the culture of human rights and ensure good governance in the community and at other levels.

Badilika, means "*change*", in this case attitude change within the fields of HIV/AIDS, sexual reproductive health and child development.

Programme Goal*:* To ensure child development and have young people change their risk-taking behaviour.

Wadada is a Kiswahili word for "women/ladies" and it works for education and empowerment of women and girls. By arranging forums where women can meet, discuss and get taught on their rights, by arranging a beauty pageant, by girls sport tournament and a community show are empowerment taking place. Through this programme Miss Koch is a also evolving children who otherwise are not able to attend a secondary school education. The "Girls Education and Freedom Fund" is funding parts of the programme.

Programme Goal: To build a community where girls' rights are appreciated and enjoyed.

Burudika "enjoy or have fun" stands for the empowerment and development of the youth's talents and skills, e.g. dancing, football, drumming or drawing. For that the resource center has become a meeting place for the community particularly the youth.

Programme Goal: To ensure child development and have young people change their risk-taking behavior. The Miss Koch initiative was initially formed as a civil society organization but in 2009 transformed to a Non-Governmental organization. Miss Koch reports yearly to its partners e.g. UN Habitat.

The 4 presented and explained programmes are working on the ground and are close to the people of the area.

Koch FM is a good-practice example for the work of Miss Koch in Korogocho about the problematic theme of peace building. The radio station was founded in 2006 from Miss Koch and is placed next to the resource centre right in the centre of Korogocho. It covers an area of 2 kilometers and reaches multiple hundred thousands of people. The broadcasting starts at 6:00 am and ends at 10:00 pm.

In the morning they have a one hour morning programme which tackles issues to do with human rights, crime, health and peace. It is like a talk show with experts with the goal to inform and entertain the people in and around Korogocho.

The interviews are prepared one day before they are on air and made out in Kiswahili so that everyone in the slum understands it. Any member of the community can call Koch FM and tell about things which are going on in Korogocho. This goes hand in hand with further units about women empowerment, children care and life planning.

The supply of local and regional information aims to empower the people to take an active and participatory roles in the political dialogue. When Post-Election Violence broke out, Koch FM reacted immediately with de-escalation units to mediate between the different tribal conflicts in the quarter.

The morning show is important and has a good impact, because of the convenient broadcasting time the radio still remains most listened to medium in Korogocho. The people have more trust in media like the radio than in politicians. The combination of Entertainment and Education led to a new synonym called "Edutainment", which combines both requirements of Miss Koch's editorial team.[176]

3.4.3 Rural Women Peace Link (RWPL)

Their vision is to have a well informed gender sensitive society that values and practices peace, promote coexistence and a culture where women's contribution matter and make an impact. RWPL's mission is to mobilize, influence and promote the participation of local women in peace building, community governance and development through collaborative and network process.[177]

Rural Women Peace Link (RWPL, located in Eldoret) is a Non Governmental Organization that was established in 1992 by a group of women that felt the need for female participation in the process of peace building. Since then and still today it is governed by a female head which comprises 15 employees, ten female, five male and all of different tribal backgrounds (seven Kalenjins, one Kikuyu, three Luhyas, one Maasai, three Luos). RWPL has been working with a variety of local women organizations in fourteen districts. RWPL has Peace building and conflict mitigation, leadership and governance, women economic empowerment, women's Human rights and mentorship and Girl's Education support as its key values. Concerning its core business it is meant to contribute to the holistic development of women in conflict prone areas for peace, development

---

[176] Johannes Michael Nebe (Ed.) 2012: *Peace Building and Conflict Management;* University of Trier, Faculty of Political Science pp. 144-149
[177] Ibid

and their effective contribution to their communities. Through these activities, the organization is working towards attaining sustainable regional peace and security both in Western Kenya and along the Kenya-Uganda border around Mount Elgon.

The market had been in existence prior to the PEV but was destroyed completely during the tribal clashes from January to March 2008. RWPL in financial cooperation with USAID helped to rebuild the market including a market hall to give the stallholders shelter from bad weather conditions during the rainy season. The idea for the project originated out of the community and the market was supposed to be a meeting point of all ethnic groups and the economic center of the town.

There are several characteristics of the market that contribute to the peace building process within the area. First of all the female stallholders originate from the different tribes that were the main opponents during the PEV – Kikuyu and Kalenjin. Sharing a space and working together highly contributed to a necessary reconciliation process. Besides, regular peace talks between the different communities were held on a weekly basis and transmitted over the local radio station. RPWL in these dialogues functioned as a mediator between the different ethnic tribes, gender and age groups. Members pay regular rates for the stalls to the community thus improving the local economy. A small percentage of the rent is always saved in a side-pot so as to help out in case one of the market ladies runs into financial trouble. This is done in form of micro-credits.

Apart from economically boosting the women and their families this creates a "we"-attitude between the different tribes concerned. Therefore the project in terms of ownership can be considered to be of high value. To stallholders this provides a reprieve from the trauma hastening the healing and reconciliation process since they also get a platform to express their feelings.

3.4.4 Women's Empowerment Link/ Winners Women Group

The vision of both NGOs located in Naivasha is to contribute actively to a society that is gender sensitive where women and men have equal rights and opportunities. Their main aim is to empower women and girls to realize their potential, worth and strength politically, socially and economically through advocating for opportunities that explore their possibilities.

Their mission to empower women to realize, exercise their rights and freedoms, and access opportunities and privileges towards gender equality. The five key themes are: Women Economic Empowerment, Access to Education, Reproductive Health and Rights, Sexual & Gender Based Violence & HIV/AIDS and Transformative Leadership & Governance

The non-profit, non-partisan, non-governmental women rights organization - Women's Empowerment Link (WEL) - was formed in 2008. The headquarter is located in Nairobi it has 15 employees and two people are engaged in Naivasha. This branch in the Rift Valley was installed as a direct reaction to the Post-Election Violence 2007/2008. Their strategy is to link the diverse CSOs working at the grassroots-level on the same topic and to transfer the knowledge. Due to the huge number of NGOs dealing with Women's Empowerment, WEL has become also kind of an umbrella organization maintaining a wide network.

During the post-election clashes several market women in Naivasha decided to join their forces in resolving the conflict by talking to the people. Naivasha was one of the hot-spots during the crisis given the numerous ethnic groups residing in the area most of them working in flower-farms this spontaneous initiative –Winners Women Group (WiWoG) - led to a gradual resolution of the conflict by reaching about 20,000 people with their messages of peace. After this success the women

decided to carry on and founded an informal CBO which works closely amongst others with WEL. Because of the array of rapes they mainly were caring for the needs of young girls to strengthen them as equal and independent members of the society. At the moment they are running programs on health-care, reconciliation and civic education.

3.2.5 The Kenya Women's National Charta, 2010

In the effort to promote women political participation while ensuring that the women gains in the constitution are implemented, **WEL** is spearheading a process to develop the *Kenya Women's National Charta*. The Charta aims provide clarity and timeline demands on the realization of the women gains in the Constitution 2010. The Women Charter will further act as a demand tool for the women to those others seeking for political position.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The findings in this chapter established that women played a significant but underestimated role in the management of Kenya's PEV. Most of their activities took place through grassroots Organizations due to their lack of access to formal participation. Drawing on shared values of security and women coming together around shared concerns in seeking peace that is rooted in social justice and freedom women engage in confidence-building programs across communities and play a key role in fostering reconciliation both during conflict and after.

The discussions in this chapter have shown that, despite women's successes, particularly in grassroots mobilization and campaigning, women continue to be marginalized and ignored. The challenges they face are manifold. They seek peace for their communities and at the same time, they are struggling for gender equality against long-term structural factors, which reinforce social and

gender inequalities and inhibit women's leadership potential. Women are also poorly represented at higher levels of decision-making.

CHAPTER 4: CRITICAL ANALYSIS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the passage of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security more than a decade ago, not enough progress has been made to increase women's participation in conflict prevention, peace processes and post-conflict recovery. Women signatories to peace agreements account for less than 2.4% in 21 peace processes reviewed since 1992, and the United Nations has yet to appoint a woman as a lead mediator.[178]

This chapter will, therefore, give a critical analysis of the study by examining to what extent women's participation in conflict management has been emancipated in the respective GLR countries' National Action Plans (NAPs) in accordance with the requirements of UNSCR 1325,whether women in Kenya played a significant role in the management of Post Election Violence which impacted the national healing and reconciliation and whether there is a positive correlation between national governments' commitment to the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 and enhanced participation and involvement of women in conflict management.

The feminist perception of violence will inform the analysis of the findings of this chapter.

4.2 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN RESOLVING KENYA'S PEV

4.2. 1 The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation

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

---

[178] UNIFEM, (2009) *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence.* New York, UNIFEM.

Mrs. Graça Machel was one of the three eminent personalities on the Panel, and a number of the senior advisors from the United Nations and the AU in the Panel's mediation team were women. One of the two staff seconded to support the mediation by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue was also a woman, as was the advisor on Transitional Justice.[179] As such, the Kenya process represents a strong example of inclusion of women in mediation processes. However, feminists posit that the formation of modern nations and States was accompanied with masculine values of aggression. States use welfare resources to sustain armies and wars. Even worse, women in politics acquired masculine values so much so that they want to demonstrate heroic and aggressive behavior. The fact that the representation of women in the Kenyan process was high by previous standards, this focuses only on the numbers, rather than how representation of women's issues played out.

Recent discussion around women's participation in mediated peace processes has led to a more nuanced debate, which can be divided into two distinct areas: the participation of women in peace processes, and the inclusion of issues of importance to women in the substance of the talks. While these aspects are closely linked, increased participation of women does not immediately lead to addressing gender in the substance of mediation processes. Specific expertise and attention, in addition to participation, is required.

For instance in the Kenyan context the women in the mediation team were appointed based on their party loyalty, strength of character and negotiating abilities. Both women advocated strongly and consistently on behalf of their respective parties through the negotiations. This occasionally resulted in the deadlocking of specific issues and also created tension between these female negotiators and

---

[179]Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland

women's leaders in civil society who felt they should also have presented- and ideally prioritized- women's issues in the process. [180]

While the Kenyan process has been hailed as an example of good practice due to the high level and high profile of women involved, this does not tell the full story – of both the successes and the challenges of addressing gender issues in the mediation process.

Research shows that broader inclusivity in formal peace processes of women increases the credibility of the process and contributes to the sustainability of the agreements reached.[181] Peace processes characterized by heavy involvement of women have been found to be more legitimate and sustainable compared to those with little or no women's involvement.[182]

This, however, does not ring true with regards to the Kenyan case. It is important to note that the momentum which developed out of the "spitting session" and the development of the women's memorandum did not continue to build after the crisis into a unified women's voice around the implementation of the agreements. Many women leaders in Kenya have identified this as a weakness. Part of the reasons cited for this is the lack of an agreed institution dedicated to the broader women's agenda in Kenya to take these issues forward in the post-mediation period.

Many of the women involved in coming together during the crisis acted in their personal capacities. Consequently, a single driving institutional force with the purpose of continuing to advance these issues and continuing to foster unity among women in Kenya did not emerge from this period. In

---

[180] Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation*.114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland

[181] Wanis-St. John, 2008, and World Bank World Development Report 2011, forthcoming.

[182]Potter, Antonia, (2008). *Gender Sensitivity, Nicety or Necessity in Peace Process Management?* Geneva, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue 2008. pp. 55-65.

addition to this was the lack of an institution and the limited resources that were allocated to this specific goal.[183]

Despite this growing consensus on the importance of women's participation in conflict resolution, many challenges still remain. These vary from the fact that gender roles are socially constructed, whereby men are expected to demonstrate masculine behavior, such as aggression, attacking, killing and coercion. Men serve armies, the most patriarchal and hierarchical institution in the world.[184]In majority of societies, fighting in wars is an activity reserved for men.[185]Certain jobs, like working as a nurse, for example, are reserved for women; as such, men doing these works are socially rejected. Women are socially expected to demonstrate feminine behavior; for example, care love, comfort, compassion and mercy.[186]

The other challenges include cultural acceptability of having women participate; the focus on the participation of formal fighters and political decision-makers; to the perceived lack of capacity of women who could be effective representatives within a formal process. Interestingly, in the Kenya case, these traditional challenges were considerably less than in other cases studied.[187]

The women's memorandum called for the implementation of UNSCR 1325. It also drew on other important regional frameworks including the African Union Constitutive Act, The Solemn Declaration and the African Charter on the Rights of Women. The recommendations highlighted the importance of looking at the priorities of the women's movement which can be found in these

---

[183] Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue interviews with various women leaders in Nairobi 2009-2010

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

[185] Gallimore, R. B. (2008). Feminism Africa 10: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism. Retrieved June 29th 2013 http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/File/Issue%2010/Feminist%20Africa%2010.pdf.

[186] Ibid

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

agreements, as well as issues which would be overtly gendered- such as calling for the appointment of a gender advisor to the mediation team. As mentioned above, the latter recommendation was not taken up during the mediation process.

The several challenges faced by women in accessing the mediation team are related to the internal challenges of the women's movement, the structure of the mediation process and the political context at the time. The divisions that plagued the country during the crisis also created serious challenges within the women's movement. This was reflected in the polarization among women based on ethnicity, party affiliation and age. It resulted in divisions in terms of methods for engaging the mediation team. Though during the "spitting session" the women were able to set aside their differences and work more coherently, this remains a challenge during the implementation. Internally, women's movement lacked the capacity to engage the mediation process on many of the more technical aspects of the process. This manifested itself in greater focus on advocacy around humanitarian issues as opposed to political advocacy around the root causes of the violence.[188]

This may have been a manifestation of the ability of the women to come to consensus on the humanitarian needs while they remained divided over the political aspects of the situation.

In terms of getting messages across in such a highly charged atmosphere, the polarization also hampered engagement between many in civil society and the female representatives at the table.

Women in civil society faced dilemmas about whether to articulate women's concerns through their links with the different political parties and deal with the risks associated with possibly "politicizing" their interventions or to maintain links only through the formal mediation team. This

---

[188] Views expressed at the Kenya Women at the Roundtable organized by the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue March 2010

poses important dilemmas as the informal channels through the parties are important mechanisms for women's concerns to find their way onto mediation agendas but these approaches are not without risks especially in a politically charged atmosphere such Kenya at the time.

There arose challenges with regards to the implementation of the KNDR. For instance, within the agreement to establish the Commission of Inquiry into the Post Election Violence (CIPEV), there was no specific reference to gender issues or gender-based violence as a particular area of focus for the Commission. The agreement did not make any mention of or provisions for gendered perspectives in the activities, composition and methodology of CIPEV in three ways. CIPEV lacked women's representation in its leadership as its composition was three male jurists; mainstreaming of gender issues in the process was ad hoc as a gender advisor was hired after the commission hearings had begun; and ultimately an isolated approach was taken to the way women were represented in the report.[189]

The highly sensitive nature of the role of gender in the post election violence reinforces the need for this to have been addressed as a central part of the Commission's mandate. Many women (and men) who refused to come forward stated that they felt that, by giving evidence, they would contribute to the disintegration of their families and communities.[190]

In addition, while cases of gender-based violence towards women occurred during the violence, and some had been documented, most women were not willing to come forward to testify. [191]While not

[189] Meredith P. M, et al (2011), *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland

[190] Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue. (2010). *Kenya Women at the Table Roundtable, Summary Meeting Report.* Nairobi: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

[191] Ibid

all of these challenges could have been overcome by the Commission, a stronger gender mandate could have enabled the Commission to recommend follow-up mechanisms to reach out and support these victims -who are likely to remain hidden and therefore unassisted in the post-conflict recovery period. Such unresolved issues have an effect on the sustainability of peace.

4.3 WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT AND PUBLIC LIFE IN THE GLR

One of the significant developments for women has been their increased participation in political decision-making. Women are benefiting from the political transformations that are taking place in the region and are making significant gains in terms of political participation.

Rwanda is of course an exception in the region. The Rwanda government has developed a strong policy on gender equality. The country has 48% of women in Parliament, the highest percentage in the world. There is a significant number of women at all levels of decision making, in cabinet as well as in central and local administration.[192] The promotion of women in Rwanda reflects the pivotal role women played in the reconstruction of the country after genocide in 1994.

In Burundi, women were excluded from the Arusha peace negotiations, which led to the signing of a peace accord between the fighting factions in 2002. They constituted only 10% of delegates. They were also totally excluded from the Cease Fire talks which took place between the government of Burundi and the National Liberation Front (FNL), which was the only rebel movement which had not signed the Arusha accord and continued fighting on the ground.[193]

Despite their low representation at the table of negotiations in Arusha, women were able to successfully lobby for the inclusion of 30 provisions for women in the agreement. They include: an

---

[192] Ndeye Sow; 2006: *INTERNATIONAL ALERT: Gender and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lakes Region.*
Available at: http://www.glow-boell.de/media/de/txt_rubrik_2/Ndeye_Sow_FGmai06.pdf
[193] Ibid

end to impunity for Gender Based Violence, equal access to land and inheritance, right to education, inclusion of a Women's Charter in the constitution. The demand for a quota of 30% representation for women in the transitional and post-transition institutions which was initially rejected by the negotiating parties in Arusha, was later included in the draft constitution adopted by referendum in July 2005.[194]

The intense lobbying and awareness raising efforts of women's organizations, has resulted in a sharp increase in the number of women elected. They were given important positions at national and provincial levels, during the general elections of September 2005. Seven out of the twenty Ministers were women and they were allocated Ministries which traditionally are male bastions, such as the Ministry for Justice and Foreign Affairs, as well as the Vice-Presidency for Economic and Social Affairs. Women then accounted for 34% of the Senate and 31% in the National Assembly. A woman was appointed as Speaker of Parliament.[195]

The Democratic Republic of the Congo, is the country where women have been the most excluded from all areas of leadership and decision-making. Like their Burundian counterparts, Congolese women were very poorly represented in the national peace process. Only 36 women out of 300 delegates, took part in the Inter Congolese Dialogue (ICD) which led to the signing of a peace agreement in 2002. No woman participated in the Lusaka peace and cease fire talks in 1999. [196]However, the post transitional Constitution adopted by referendum in December 2005 is a major breakthrough for Congolese women, in that it guarantees parity between men and women in the State institutions. All these changes are very positive developments for women in the region.

---

[194] Ibid

[195] Ndeye Sow; 2006: *INTERNATIONAL ALERT: Gender and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lakes Region.*
Available at: http://www.glow-boell.de/media/de/txt_rubrik_2/Ndeye_Sow_FGmai06.pdf

[196] Ibid

But the challenges that lay ahead are enormous. The first one is how to translate these gains into changes in women status at all levels of society. This question is important because society is still highly patriarchal in the Great Lakes Region. Rwanda has a clear policy to include women at all level of decision-making, including at the communal level.

In Burundi however, the provision for a quota of 30% for women, refers to representation in national and provincial levels only and not in local decision-making bodies. This means that while women were able to achieve a representation of over 30% in most cases, at the higher levels of the power structure, their representation remains quite low at the lower end, where the bulk of the female population operate. They only got 12% and 14% of the seats in the communal and "collines" councils, respectively. Furthermore, women continue to be excluded from local structures such as the market and land committees which are less formal structures but nevertheless play an important role in rural communities.[197]

However, the key objective of the majority of women that engage in politics is not only to gain power but also to use the leadership position to advance and /or provide desired services or goods to the constituent group that they purport to represent.[198]

The preoccupation, according to Prof. Nzomo, with Access in the Kenyan case is understandable given the country's low political ranking regionally and globally in respect to female representation in Parliament, which stood at 9.9% of total MPs in the 2008-2012 10th Parliament. The 11th

---

[197] Ibid

[198] Amb. Prof. Maria Nzomo, (2011).*Women In Political Leadership In Kenya: Access, Agenda Setting & Accountability.* Available at; http://www.ke.boell.org/downloads/Women_in_Political_Leadership_in_Kenya-Access.Agenda_Setting.Accountability._PROF._MARIA_NZOMO.pdf

94

parliament has 9.8% women representation. This compares poorly with all of Kenya's Eastern African neighbors and partners in the East African Community, who have all attained and some even surpassed the magic threshold "critical mass" of 30% female presence in their respective Parliaments; e.g. Rwanda (56.3%), Tanzania (36.0%), Uganda (34.9%), Burundi(32.1%). Similarly, South Africa (44.5%); Mozambique (39.2 %); and Angola (38.6%)[199].

---

[199] Ibid

CHAPTER 5: RECOMMENDATIONS

Participation raises a conceptual question – of representation –that must be considered. It is a different thing to call for specific women's representatives to be part of a peace process, compared to pushing the parties to include women in their delegations mandated to represent the interests of the given political party or armed group. In many cases, women who are appointed by a political party or armed group as a representative may be bound by the policies of the party and therefore constrained in their focus on women's issues at the table.

It is also important to note that, in some cases, female representatives of political parties to a conflict will not necessarily view their primary role as being that of a representative of women. However, women in these political spheres play important roles themselves. They are often able to raise issues during internal party discussions in preparation for mediation, and deliver messages around women's issues that will best be heard from a political "insider".

It is, therefore, not only important to consider women's participation from both angles – civil society representation and representation of women within political/armed groups – but also to understand further how these two do, or do not, link. This is needed in order to understand women's participation, and representation in peace processes.

Improving participation and gender responsiveness requires fundamental structural shifts in mediation. The most important lesson which emerges from the Kenya example is the need for mediation structures to be more responsive to the needs of women and other stakeholders in the conflict.

This includes a shift in the thinking beyond crisis management to transformative mediation practice. It also requires a commitment, at the core of a mediation process, for the inclusion of voices beyond the traditional parties to a conflict. Kenya had strong representation of women in all areas, a high representation that is often needed to reflect the complexities of women's concerns in a conflict.

It important to engage the capacity of civil society to throughout a mediation process. A vibrant civil society is critical for a sustainable peace agreement. The high level of capacity within civil society, and women's leaders in Kenya was particularly important for their ability to engage at a technical level with the issues being discussed at the table. Similarly, strong networks, organization and outreach – particularly high-level advocacy internationally - was an important strength among the female, and civil society, leaders in Kenya. This is not always the case in other more protracted situations of conflict, and means that to support greater capacity in this regard it is important to enhance the effectiveness of civil society and women's engagement in a mediation process.

Grievance and reconciliation sessions gains cannot be underestimated. The role of the Women's Caucus, with the advice of Mrs. Machel, to build consensus on women's human rights during the crisis was of particular importance. Due to the polarization at the time and the challenges of building consensus, the women opted to start with the "spitting session". This session had a profound role in galvanizing the women's movement to advocate as one group for the mainstreaming of women's human rights in the mediation agenda. Particularly important for other processes is to understand the need for such sessions – that divisions among women as a result of conflict exists and may need to be directly addressed in order to support broader participation of women in a peace process. Early support and resources for such initiatives should be considered.

Mobilization of both financial resources and leadership are critically important to enable women to organize during a peace process. During the Kenyan crisis, Mrs. Graça Machel was critical in ensuring women's participation in the mediation process. Having led the African Peer Review Mechanism (APRM) for Kenya, she had an understanding of Kenya's ethnic and political polarization. She contacted women's leaders in Kenya and directed them to start organizing women to engage the mediation process with a common platform. The Urgent Action Fund was critical in making available financial resources to move this platform forward.

The sequencing of the reform commissions: In considering the design of post conflict commissions that arise out of a peace process, effective participation of victims should be a priority. The sequencing and timeframes of Commissions in the Kenya example has required some of these to operate simultaneously with huge mandates and limited time. For example, the Independent Review Commission on the elections IREC and the CIPEV worked simultaneously and this limited victims' from presenting their submissions due to resource and time constraints.[200]

This also meant that the outreach of these commissions was limited to hearings in provincial administrative capitals, reducing the ability of some categories of victims such as IDPs who stayed with their relatives and those in very remote rural areas to be reached. Greater consideration to these challenges and their implications particularly for women, both within mediation processes as well as by those supporting the implementation of such processes, is important.

The lack of an institution in Kenya to embody the gains made by the women's movement has meant a loss of momentum and some of the gains made during the KNDR.

---

[200] Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue interviews with various women leaders, Nairobi 2009–2010

The advances made by the women in agreeing a unified platform during the mediation process could have been developed further in the implementation period. Most of the women involved in advocating during the mediation were consultants and there was lack of follow-up by an institution after the process. Recent attempts to revive this momentum have led to the creation of the G10 Lobby Group, which is coalition of several women's organizations working on the reform agenda.[201]

The Post-Election Violence in 2008 proved that it is necessary to talk about problems and to share experiences in order to avoid violence and to promote peace. There is not enough commitment from inside, i.e. on the grassroots levels, does not always happen without problems even though it is the place where people can be addressed the best. By overcoming challenges like a lack of capacity training or a lack of management skills, the success of women groups at the grass roots such as Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness could be improved.

Women status will change only if linkages are developed between women at the highest level of decision-making and those at the grass-roots levels and if mechanisms are put in place to relay the needs and concerns of women at the highest levels of the power structures. The second challenge is how to sustain these gains. Many women were promoted through affirmative action and quota systems. In Rwanda, innovative mechanisms were put into place to ensure women's representation at all level of decision making. They include a triple balloting system to guarantee the election of women to a percentage of seats at the district level and a parallel system of women's councils and women's only elections guaranteeing a women's mandate for all electoral bodies. Both systems were successful in getting women into office.

---

[201] Meredith P. M, et al (2011). *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland

The inclusion of parity within the constitution in the DRC was not an easy task for women. So far, no mechanisms have been put into place by the State to implement parity and it is questionable if this will happen in a near future.

Political parties are male dominated and organized around male interests and women often find themselves at the lower ranks of the parties. Many women complain that political parties are not interested in developing an agenda for women. Women's organizations have campaigned for political parties to adopt measures to guarantee equitable representation of women in their electoral lists, as a way of ensuring the implementation of parity. They have lobbied first of all for the adoption of closed lists which are often more conducive to the election of women candidates than open lists, especially if women are placed high enough up on the list; and second to develop zebra policies where positions on lists are alternate – every other stripe is a woman.

Genuine policies for gender equality are sustainable only if they are developed and implemented in a broader context of democratic reforms. Despite the huge strides that Rwanda seems to have made in terms of developing a strong policy on gender equality, critics have argued that Rwanda is sitting on a time bomb waiting to explode.

It is argued that the strong commitment by the government to promote gender equality is in sharp contrast with the authoritarian style of governing of the State. The country is dominated by a single party the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) and increasingly by a Tutsi minority. Civil liberties are restricted and there is no real political opposition in the country. [202]

There has been a crackdown on high profile human rights organizations, whose leaders had to leave the country because they feared for their security. Civil society is not an independent force and there

---

[202] Ndeye Sow ;(2006): *INTERNATIONAL ALERT: Gender and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lakes Region.*
Available at: http://www.glow-boell.de/media/de/txt_rubrik_2/Ndeye_Sow_FGmai06.pdf

is a strong control by the State over civil society organizations, especially women's organizations. Critics of the Rwandan government have argued that promoting women at all level of society, was indeed a way for the party in power to widen its power base, especially in rural areas and tighten its political control over the country.[203]

Morgan-Conteh [204] argues that humans have standards of comparing their successes against those of others; they can riot when their perceived expectations are in contrast with to their standards, or when they do not achieve success in comparison to their peers. Poor states are particularly vulnerable to insurgencies, since their governments are not strong enough to meet people's value expectations. In Burundi and Rwanda, the minority of Tutsi is well educated and controls the government machinery, the army, the legal organs and land. [205]

On the other hand, the majority of Hutu are not well educated and they are not economically well off. This inequality could still spark dissatisfaction among the Hutu, and consequently, a break out of civil wars. This was the case during the Rwandan Genocide when the relatively deprived Hutu sought to redress the inequality by waging war.

There are three key steps to mainstream gender in peace-building and to ensure that genuine policies for gender equality are sustainable. Gender policies should be developed and implemented in a broader context of democratic reforms by including gender analysis in planning, implementation and evaluation of conflict prevention and peace-building programmes and integrating conflict analysis and gender analysis to sharpen our understanding of local context. Gender analysis is an extremely

---

[203] ibid

204 Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge

[205] FECCLAHA. (2007). *Briefing Paper on Burundi for the Eminent Ecumenical Persons Solidarity Visit to Burundi.* Retrieved June 29th 2013 from http://www.fecclaha.org/uploads/Briefing%20Paper%20on%20Burundi.pdf

useful tool to gather sex-disaggregated data on for example: how conflict and violence affect women and men differently; on gender roles and gender relations and how they affect women's and men access to power and resources; how men and women have differential access to peace negotiations that shape the future of countries.

There is a need to support the national gender policies developed by the countries in the region. All countries in the region are signatories to the main international conventions for the promotion of women, such as the CEDAW and have adhered to the Beijing Platform for Action. Burundi has developed a National Gender Policy in 2003.

However besides Rwanda, no other countries have really taken concrete action to promote gender equality. Burundi has not really started implementing its National Gender Policy, partly because of lack of resources and the heavy financial cost of the war. The part allocated to budget of the Ministry for Defense was nearly ten times higher than the one allocated to the Ministry for gender. However there is also a lack of political will and genuine commitment to gender issues and there are no plans to mainstream the National Gender policy into the other national policies. It is also important to build capacity for gender analysis and advocacy, for staff members in the different ministries, members of parliament.

Women and women's organizations need to be empowered. Women in the region need support to build their capacities in gender analysis, conflict analysis, advocacy, lobbying, networking and planning. Women's organizations should also be provided with financial support. Most women's organizations are run on a voluntary basis and with very limited resources. This limits the impact of their work on the ground.

Women's Regional Platforms also need to be supported. Regional women's networks are important structures for peace-building in the region. Women in the Great Lakes region are divided along ethnic and political lines and the fear and distrust among women poses a challenge for the promotion of gender equality in the region. Women share some cross-border issues, such as sexual violence, that can be resolved, only if women are united at the regional level. Regional women's networks are safe places where women can share experiences, understand and accept their differences and develop a common vision for peace in the region.

The need to link up women with regional instruments cannot be overemphasized. Women in the region need to take cognizance and link up with right-based frameworks which have been developed by African governments and regional institutions for the inclusion of women in peace-building and reconstruction. The most relevant are: The Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights Relating to the Rights of Women: adopted by the African Head of States in Maputo in 2003 and took effect in 2005. The Solemn Declaration on equality between men and women in Africa: adopted by the African Head of States in July 2004 AU/NEPAD post-conflict reconstruction policy: the NEPAD programme has developed an African Post-Conflict

Reconstruction Policy Framework, which emphasizes the link that exist between the peace, security, humanitarian and development dimensions of post-conflict reconstruction and peace-building. There is very little knowledge of Resolution 1325 in the region and women's organization do not use it in their work. The resolution is not taken seriously by civil society organizations and governments. There is a general view that the Resolution is of limited usefulness as it is not incorporated into

national legislations. Women's organizations find it more useful to work with CEDAW and the Beijing Platform, which have been adopted by all governments in the region.[206]

Women's rights organizations have also identified gaps in the Resolution, particularly the lack of a strong and clear position on the issue of impunity in the region. An assessment of the implementation of the Resolution in the Great Lakes region, carried out by Care Norway and the International Peace Research Institute (PRIO) in the Great Lakes region in 2005 concluded:

"Resolution 1325 does not function as a common reference for decision makers,

International actors and civil society organizations. There should be a debate among researchers, donors, policy makers internal organizations and national actors around the potential of Resolution 1325, and the aim of introducing another international instrument of women's rights."

CONCLUSION

The most important issue to consider is promoting gender equality as a core value for all peace-building intervention and as a cross cutting issue and finally promoting gender representation by including women and women's organizations in every stage and activity of peace-building, alongside men and male-dominated organizations, so that their views, needs and concerns can be taken into consideration.

---

[206] Stensrud et al.(2005) : Resolution 1325 : *From rhetoric to practice.* Care Norway and Prio, Oslo,

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alfredson, T. (2008). *Negotiation Theory and Practice: A Review of Literature, FAO Policy*

    Learning Program. Retrieved June 27th 2013 from

    http://www.fao.org/docs/up/easypol/550/4-5_Negotiation_background_paper_179EN.pdf

Amato, P. (2002). *Hobbes, Darwinism and Conception of Human Nature. Journal of Philosophy,*

    vol. 6.

Amb. Prof. Maria N. (2011). *Women in Political Leadership in Kenya: Access, Agenda Setting &*
Accountability. Available at;
    http://www.ke.boell.org/downloads/Women_in_Political_Leadership_in_Kenya-
     Access.Agenda_Setting.Accountability._PROF._MARIA_NZOMO.pdf

Anderlini, Naraghi Sanam; (2009); *Peace Negotiations and Agreements. Washington, D.C.: Institute*
for Inclusive Security.

Anderson, D. (2002): *Vigilantes, violence and the politics of public order in Kenya. African Affairs.*

    Volume 101, Number 405, 1 October 2002, pp. 531-555(25)

Anderson, C.A. (1997). *Effects of violent movies and trait hostility on hostile feelings and aggressive*

    thoughts. Aggressive Behavior, 23, 161-178.

Anderson, C.A., & Anderson, K.B. (1998). "Temperature and aggression: Paradox, controversy, and

    a (fairly) clear picture." Chapter in R. Geen & E. Donnerstein (Eds.) *Human aggression:*

    Theories, research and implications for policy. (pp. 247-298). San Diego, CA: Academic

    Press.

Anderson, C. A. (2012). "Climate Change and Violence." In D. Christie (Ed.), *The Encyclopedia of*

  Peace Psychology. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell.

  DOI: 10.1002/9780470672532.wbepp032

Andreassen, B.A. et al. (2006): *Of oranges and bananas: the 2005 Kenya referendum on the*

  constitution. Bergen: Christensen Michelsen Institute (CMI Working Paper)

Antony Otieno Ong'ayo, Transnational Institute, Amsterdam

at:http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/letters/46094 retrieved on 28th June 2013.

Bop, C. (2002). "Women in conflicts, their gains and their losses." In S. Meintjes, A. Pillay, & A.

  Tinshen (Eds.), *The aftermath: Women in post-conflict transformation* (pp. 19-34). London:

  Zed.

Bowling, D. & Hoffman, D. (2000). "Bringing Peace into the Room: The Personal Qualities of the

  Mediator and the Impact on the Mediation." *Negotiation Journal,* January, 2000, pp. 1-28.

Brown, S. (2009): "Donor responses to the 2008 Kenyan crisis: Finally getting it right?" In: *Journal*

  of Contemporary African Studies, Vol. 27, No. 3, July 2009, pp.1-15

Bunting, I., Mwansasu, B., & Bugoya, W. (1999). *Overview of the Burundi Peace Process.* Dar es

  Salaam, Tanzania: Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.

Byrne, B. (1996). "Towards Gender Understanding of Conflicts." *In Ids bulletin,*

   Wiley Online Library, pp. 1-14

"http://www.academia.edu/2103701/Towards_a_gendered_understanding_of_conflict"

Canadian International Development Agency (2002). *Peace building initiative strategic framework.*

   Retrieved August 22, 2009, from < http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca > downloaded on 26th June

   2013.

Carius, A. (2009). *Climate Change and Security in Africa. Paper commissioned for by the United*

   Nations Office of the Special Advisor on Africa. Retrieved June 30, 2013

   http://www.un.org/africa/osaa/reports/climate_change_security_2009.pdf

Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue,(2010). *Kenya Women at the Table Roundtable, Summary Meeting Report,* Nairobi: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Cheeseman, Nic (2008): "The Kenyan Elections of 2007." An Introduction. *In: Journal of Eastern*

   African Studies. Vol.2, No.2, p. 166-184

Cheldelin, S., Druckman, D. & Fast, L., (2003). *Conflict: From Analysis to Intervention.* London:

   Bibbles Ltd, Guildford and King's Lynn.

Chetail, V. (2009). *Post-Conflict Peacebuilding: A Lexicon.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chris H, et al. (2005) *Conflict In The Great Lakes Region – How Is It Linked With Land And*

   Migration? Natural Resource Perspectives Number 96, March 2005

Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (2008): *The Waki Report*. Nairobi

Dagne, T. (2002) *Africa and the War on Terrorism,* Congressional Research Service Report,

    January, 17, 2002.

El-Bushra, J. (2000). *Transformation conflict: Some thoughts on a gendered understanding of*

    conflict processes. In S. Jacobs, R. Jacobson, & J. Marchbank (Eds.), *States of Conflicts:*

    Gender Violence and Resistance (pp. 66-83). London: Zed.

Elizabeth Powley (2005). "*Rwanda: Women Hold Up Half the Parliament,*" in *Women in*

    Parliament: Beyond Numbers. Stockholm: IDEA. Available at:

    www.idea.int/publications/wip2/upload/Rwanda.pdf downloaded on 27th June 2013.

    pp 154-163

FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) (2010). *Climate Change Implications for Food Security*

    and Natural Resources Management in Africa. Proceedings of the 26th Regional Conference

    on 03-07, 2010, Luanda, Angola.

Fry, D. P. (2006). *The Human Potential for Peace*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gallimore, R. B. (2008). *Feminism Africa 10: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism.* Retrieved

    June 28th 2013

    http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/File/Issue%2010/Feminist%20Africa%2010.pdf

Goldberg, S. B. (2005). *The Secrets of Successful Mediators*. Negotiation Journal, vol. 21. 3

Negotiation Journal

Volume 21, Issue 3, pages 365–376, July 2005

Great Lakes Policy Forum. (2005). *The Link between Conflict Prevention and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Program (PRSP): The Case of the Democratic Republic of Congo.* Retrieved July 3rd, 2013 from http://www.sfcg.org/Documents/GLPF/glpfapril2005.pdf

Habari Leo. (2010). CHADEMA-CCM *Clashes Cause Death and Injuries.* Retrieved July 1st 2013 from http://www.habarileo.co.tz/

Hackett, R. I. (2009). "The Art of Creative Conflict Resolution: A Critical Evaluation of Approaches to Post Conflict Reconstruction in Northern Uganda." Journal of Undergraduate Research at the University of Tennessee, vol. 1 (1), pp. 89-101.

Hopmann, P. T. (2001). "Bargaining and Problem Solving: Two Perspectives on International Negotiation." In C. A. Crocker et al. (Eds.). *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict.* Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.

http://www.genderandpeacekeeping.com/resources/3_Towards_a_Gendered_Understanding retrieved on 28th June 2013

http://www.fig.net/commission7/verona_am_2008/papers/13_sept/kalande_paper.pdf downloaded on 28th June 2013

http://www.un.org/womenwatch/Women%20and%20armed%20conflict, downloaded on 28th June

    2013

International Women's Tribune Centre (2000).*UN Resolution 1325*. 777 United Nation's Plaza, New

    York, NY 10017. Retrieved June 27, 2013

    http://www.iwtc.org/1325_word.pdf.

Interview with Graca Machel, South Africa, February 2010

Isis-WICCE (2005) *Documenting the Violations of Women's Human Rights During Armed Conflict:*

    a tool for advocacy and sustainable peace. Kampala: Isis-WICCE.

Isis-WICCE. Pillars of Peace*: A handbook for Women Peace builders*. Kampala: Isis-WICCE.

Jeong, H. W. (2000). *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction.* Burlington, United States:

    Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Johannes Michael Nebe (Ed.) 2012: *Peace Building and Conflict Management;* University of Trier,

    Faculty of Political Science

Kagame P. (2002). *The Great Lakes conflict: Factors, actors and challenges.* Inaugural lecture at the

    Nigeria War College, Abuja, Nigeria. September 16, 2002. Geneva: University for Peace.

Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation, Annotated Agenda and Timetable

Kriesberg, L. (2003). *Constructive Conflicts: From Escalation to Resolution, (2nd edition).* New

    York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

Lange, R. (2008). *Land Tenure and Mining in Tanzania.* Bergen, Norway: Michelsen Institute.

LEAT. (2003). *Robbing the Poor to Give the Rich: Human Rights Abuses and Impoverishment at the MIGA Backed Bulyanhulu Gold Mine, Tanzania.* Submission to the Extractive Industries Review of the World Bank, Maputo Mozambique, January 13-17, 2003.

LHRC. LEAT. LRRRI. (2008). *The Price of Malfunctioning Land Management in Tanzania: A Fact Finding Report on Dispute between Pastoralists and Peasants in Kilosa District on 2nd to 7th November, 2008.*

Maendeleo Ya Wanawake Organisation (2011): *Women & Conflict. Strengthening the Agenda for Peacebuilding in Kenya.* Nairobi

Mambo, A. et al. (2007). "Military Diversion in the 1978 Uganda-Tanzania War." Journal of Political, and Military Sociology, winter 2007, vol.35 pp299

Mbote-Kameri, P. (2005). *Environment and Conflict in the Great Lake Region.* Retrieved June 28, 2013 from http://www.ielrc.org/content/w0506.pdf

Mengisteab et al.(2006). *Cultural Diversity in Peace and Conflict Making in Africa: Enhancing South Africa's Contribution to Conflict Resolution, Peace Making and Building in Africa.*

Meredith P. M, et al (2011). *Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation.*114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland pp16-22

Miller, K. (2005). *An Apology: It Was 9.2 Million Dead in Africa in the Last Ten Years.* Retrieved July 3, 2013 from http://www.arcuk.org/pages/apology-9mdeaths.htm

Morgan-Conteh, E. (2004). *Collective Political Violence: An Introduction to the Theories and Cases of Violent Conflicts.* New York: Routledge.

Mpangala, G.P. (2006). *Zanzibar: Conflict Resolution and Human Security in the 2005 Elections.* University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Mpangala, G. P. (2000). *Ethnic Conflicts in the Region of Great Lakes: Origins and Prospects for Chang.* Institute of Kiswahili Research, Dar es Salaam.

Mpangala, G. P. (2004). *Origin of Political Conflicts and Peace Building in the Great Lake Region.* Paper Presented at a Symposium Organized by the Command and Staff College, Arusha 23rd February 2004.

Murithi, T. (2006). "Practical Peace Making Wisdom from Africa: Reflection on Ubuntu." The Journal of Pan-African Studies, vol. 1 (4), pp. 25-34.

Mwanahalisi. (2010). *Barrick North Mara Blamed of Causing Death.* A Weekly Newspaper in Tanzania, 7th April, 2010.

Mwananchi, (2010). *One Person Dies as CHADEMA-CCM Followers Clash.* Retrieved June 27, 2013 from http://www.mwananchi.co.tz/

Ndeye Sow;2006: *INTERNATIONAL ALERT : Gender and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lakes Region.*
   Available at: http://www.glow-boell.de/media/de/txt_rubrik_2/Ndeye_Sow_FGmai06.pdf

NGOWG (2004*). Four Years On: an alternative report and progress check on the implementation of*

   Security Council Resolution 1325(2000). New York: NGOWG.

Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (2005). *Report from the expert seminar:*

   Women in conflict prevention and crisis management. Vienna: Permanent Delegation of

   Sweden to the OSCE in co-operation with Folke Bernadotte Academy.

Paris, P. (2004). *At War's End: Building Peace after Civil Conflict.* Cambridge: Cambridge

   University Press.

Paris, R. & Timothy, S. (2009). *The Dilemmas of State building: Confronting the Contradictions of*

   Postwar Peace Operations. New York: Routledge.

Platt, M. & Werchick, D. J. (2004). *Sexual Terrorism: Rape as a Weapon of War in Eastern*

   Democratic Republic of Congo: An assessment of programmatic responses to sexual violence

   in North Kivu, South Kivu, Maniema, and Orientale Provinces. Retrieved June 29, 2013 from

   http://www.reformedelapnc.org/documents/Rape-in-DRC_Final-Report.pdf

Potter, Antonia, (2008).Gender Sensitivity, Nicety or Necessity in Peace Process Management?

   Geneva, Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.

Ramsbotham,et al (2005). *Contemporary Conflict Resolution, London: The Prevention, Management and Transformation of Deadly Conflicts.* London: Polity Press.

Romero, R. G. & Kimenyi, M. S. (2008). *The 2007 Elections, Post-Conflict recovery and Coalition Government in Kenya.* Retrieved June 26, 2013 http://www.iig.ox.ac.uk/output/briefingpapers/pdfs/iiG-briefingpaper-01-kenyaelections-2007.pdf

Schirch et al. (2005). *The Role of Women in Peace building. European Centre for Conflict Prevention.* Available at: http://www.gppac.net/uploads/File/Resources/GPPAC%20Issue%20papers/The%Role20%/of20%Women20%in20%Peacebuilding.pdf

Sow, N. (2006). *Gender and Conflict Transformation in the Great Lake Region.* Retrieved July 9, 2013 from http://www.glowboell.de/media/de/txt_rubrik_2/Ndeye_Sow_FGmai06.pdf

Steffen, W. & Tyson, P. (2001). *Global Change and the Earth System: A Planet and Pressure, International Geosphere-Biosphere Programme*. Retrieved June 27, 2013 from http://www.igbp.net/documents/resources/science-4.pdf

Steiner, B. et al., (2009). *Sexual Violence in the Protracted Conflict of Democratic Republic of Congo: Programming for Rape Survivors in South Kivu.* Retrieved July 1, 2013 http://www.conflictandhealth.com/content/3/1/3

Swai, B. (1980). "Synthesis of the Modern History of Tanganyika: Review of J. Iliffe. Modern

    History of Tanganyika." Utafiti, vol. 5 (2), pp. 257-274.

Teng'o, D. (2002). *Will the Burundi Cease Fire Hold? World Press Reviews Correspondent,*

    Nairobi, Kenya. Retrieved June 27, 2013 from http://www.worldpress.org/Africa/868.cfm

United Nations Development Programme Report (2002). *Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace*

    Building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya. Nairobi, UNDP.

UNIFEM, (2009); *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence*

    and Influence. New York, UNIFEM

UNDPKO (2006) .*Gender mainstreaming in Peacekeeping Operations: progress report.* New York:

    United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO).

United Nations News Service (2007) *Security Council calls for boost to women's role in peace and*

    security. New York: United Nations News Service.

United Nations. (2005). *Millennium Development Report*. Retrieved June 3, 2013 from

    http://www.un.org/docs/summit2005/MDGBook.pdf

United Republic of Tanzania (1998). *The Land Local Land Registry Regulations*.

    2008http://www.tanzania.go.tz/mkurabita1/VOL%202/Annexes/Appendix%20%20D%20-

    %20The%20Local%20land%20registry%20regulations.pdf

Uwiano Platform For Peace (2012a): *Experiences and Lessons Learned*, Nairobi.

Uwiano Platform For Peace (2012b): *Uwiano Strategic Leadership And Peace Agenda For 2012 And Beyond,* Nairobi.

Wallace, J. (2009). *The Security Dimension of Climate Change: State of the World*. Retrieved June 29th 2013 from http://www.worldwatch.org/files/pdf/SOW09_CC_security.pdf

Wanyeki, L., *For an elaboration on the importance of the capacity of civil society in Kenya - and importantly how unique this level of capacity is in a conflict-affected country,* pp. 1-14.

Wanzala, P. N. (2007). *Whose Development Counts? Political and Ecological Displacement of Bulyanhulu Mining Community in Tanzania.* MA. Thesis, Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Norway

German Advisory Council on Global Change (2008). *Climate Change as a Security Risk.* London: Earthscan.

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

Kenyan Women's Consultation Group on the Current Crisis in Kenya (2008). *Women's Memorandum to the Mediation.*Serena Hotel, Nairobi, January 25, 2008-01-29, Issue 340 http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/45740

Wood, W. B. (2001). "Geographic Aspects of Genocides: Comparison of Bosnia and Rwanda.

Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers," New Series, vol. 26 (1), pp. 57-75.

World Resource Institute. (2009). *Stopping the Resource Wars in Africa.* Retrieved July 1, 2013

from http://www.wri.org/stories/2009/08/stopping-resource-wars-africa