

**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI, INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL
STUDIES**

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN POST VIOLENCE PEACE BUILDING IN KENYA
A CASE STUDY OF NAKURU COUNTY IN 2007-2008 POST ELECTION VIOLENCE**

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R50/68752/2011

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**A PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS, INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.**

NOVEMBER 2013

DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been submitted for any qualification of this or any other university.

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DEDICATION

Throughout my life there have been people who have always been there during those difficult and trying times. I would like to dedicate this thesis and everything I do to my mum and dad and my husband Joram Mbui. In addition to them I am surrounded by strong supportive women, my mother-in-law Jane Joram and my siblings. I would not be who I am today without the love and support of my immediate and extended family and friends. I would also like to dedicate this to my late brother Edwin, although our time together was brief, your encouragement is still highly appreciated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Throughout my academic years, my family members have been excellent mentors and teachers. They truly understand what hard work and dedication can bring to one's life. I would like to especially thank my husband Joram Mbui, this thesis would not have happened without his support. I would also like to express gratitude towards my mums (Bornes Rono and Jane Joram) who constantly prayed for me throughout my study and offered encouragement when things got tough I will always owe a great deal of gratitude toward the professors. Without the support and motivation provided by them, life in graduate school would have been mundane. Their presence, patience, and emotional support made my research manageable. Most important, I sincerely wish to acknowledge the support from my supervisor Prof. Maria Nzomo , without whom I could not have gone this far with my project work. I owe a great deal of gratitude to my family members for their unfailing moral support throughout my period of study and for understanding and appreciating the demand of the course in terms of time and resources I cannot forget my classmates who influenced positively in my life and were a source of inspiration throughout my study. To you all, God bless.

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ABSTRACT

During the 2007-2008 clashes the perception of women as the victims obscured their role as peacemakers in the reconstruction and peace-building processes. However, grassroots women and women's organizations initiated dialogue and reconciliation within their villages and communities. The objective of the study was to examine the extent to which women have contributed to the peace building and reconciliation process in Kenya, focusing on the 2007-2008 post election violence. Primary data obtained from peace volunteers affiliated to various NGOs in Nakuru County. These site visits were carried out as follows: meetings with key informant NGO leaders, peace volunteers and government representatives and analysis and validation of findings with research assistant. Instrumentation included use of interviews including key informant interviews, in-depth interviews and focused group discussions (FGD) with the intention of eliciting information and opinions. The data collected was analyzed mainly qualitatively. Discourse analysis was used to analyze written, spoken or sign language. The objects of discourse analysis are variously defined in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, speeches, intonations and repetitions. The findings demonstrate that women have played a central role in the peace building process in Nakuru County despite being marginalized from the structural design of peace building. Women responded to this marginalization by initiating unique peacebuilding mechanisms and making space for themselves during the process of reconstruction. In doing so, they contributed to the overall process of peace building in Nakuru County. In addition, women worked to make known their needs and concerns regarding security, governance, relief and development and reconciliation in Nakuru County. Also, women were active in each of the four peace building areas explored in this study, focusing their efforts on identifying, responding to, and fostering awareness of women's unique needs and concerns during the post-election violence. Governance and judicial reforms recommend increased gender-awareness, support for women's participation, and the inclusion of women in all levels of policy and decision-making. Reforms also call for changes that will affect women in particular, that will maximize women's individual and collective ability to contribute to relief delivery as well as social and economic development post-conflict. Individuals must feel that they can safely step forward to make known human rights infractions, and be protected from reprisal.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Background

Historically, women's participation in peace initiatives, social development and politics has been insignificant. This is despite the fact that research and writings on the place of womanhood in African traditional societies figure prominently in African literary and social science literature. Blazing the trail and dominating the field in this direction, are African female novelists such as Nwapa¹, Emecheta², whom, write from the African feminist perspective.

Emecheta's writings, for example, focus purely on the oppression of patriarchy in traditional African societies and therefore on the discourse of protest against the cultural injustice on the girl child in traditional societies³. Her writings, in other words, draw serious attention to the brutalities, subordination and other oppressive realities and manifestations of the trammels of tradition on women in Africa. And her aim is to use the avenue of fiction to counsel modern African men towards putting a halt to the negative experience of patriarchal exploitation of women in Africa. Nwapa's works and commitment, on the other hand, try to expose the woman's situation within traditional and contemporary African societies, especially her role as wife and mother. She highlights on the importance attached to having children and thereby stresses the unenviable lot of childless or barren women within the community. She examines the necessity for economic independence through determination

¹ Nwapa, F. (1981). *One is Enough*. Enugu: Tana Press Ltd.

² Emecheta, B. (1982). *Destination Biafra*. London: Allison & Busby Ltd.

³ Ibid

and hard work, a sine qua non for self-fulfillment and freedom of action for a woman in the African context. Her writings, as much as those of her colleagues earlier mentioned, indeed aim at showing that women have multiple capacities that go beyond mere relevance for domestic assignment. To validate this, her female creations are, in general, industrious, businesslike and economically independent, pursuing with seriousness of purpose and determination whatever they have set their minds upon. Her principal point of view is that modern African society must change its attitude towards the woman, marriage and motherhood, which, desirable as it is, constitutes only one option for woman being in contemporary Africa. And those women, when given the chance, can tower over men in mental and material achievements. Nwapa's works also constitute a testimony of the indispensability of the woman in the social and economic fabric of African community. They demonstrate the confidence she has in the ability of African women to lead a life of fulfillment within or outside marriage unfettered by men, provided they are economically independent⁴.

Research in Africa has sensitized the conscience of the men folk towards rectifying the inequality in girl child's education and welfare in African societies⁵. Through their discourse of protest, and their other works which show that whatever a man can do, a woman can do it even better, they call attention to the plights of women in Africa, to the injustices of patriarchal orientation of the traditional culture against the girl child, and to the need for African parents to take interest in giving adequate start in life to the girl child. The

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Steady, Filomina Chioma (2006). *Women and Collective Action in Africa: Development, Democratization, and Empowerment with Special Focus on Sierra Leone*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

sequel is the development, presently, of a new vision for a balanced education of the modern girl child in contemporary Africa⁶. Of course, notwithstanding the immense positive contributions of such writings as have just been highlighted, feminist studies in Africa have a number of limitations. One is their one-sided emphasis on the theme of woman subordination in Africa. By their omission to give account of the positive aspects of woman being in traditional Africa their writings overshadow and fail to draw out the immense contributions and the agentic role of women in peace building and conflict resolutions in traditional African societies. Such omission creates the unnecessary impression of African women as victims rather than givers and builders of culture within the society. And the result is the prevailing opposition that now exists between women and men in contemporary Africa. Were the positive contributions of women in traditional African societies to be seriously reviewed and noted, both groups would have seen the indispensability of the other in the arduous task of nation building and harmonious living in contemporary African societies⁷.

1.1.1 Women and Peace building through social capital transmission

In traditional African society's peace germinates and flourishes only on the manure provided by the presence of a number of key African cultural values. These values include: patience, tolerance, honesty, respect for elders, communality and mutuality, compassion, regard for due discretion, gentleness, modesty, self-control, moderation, flexibility, and

⁶ Nakaya, Sumie (2003). "Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes: From Women a Negotiating Table to Postwar Structural Reforms in Guatemala and Somalia." *Global Governance*, Vol.9, (. pp. 459-476.

⁷ Naidu, M.V. (1996). *Dimensions of Peace: Multidisciplinary Investigative and Teaching* Ontario Association Press.

open-mindedness. In line with the above, the Mohamed ⁸observed from his Somali study that: In order to strengthen peace, Somali customary law encourages people to uphold the principles listed below, which constitute the basic pillars underpinning the culture of peace.

The principles in question include: tolerance, respect, consideration for neighbours and inviolability, respect for human rights and equality⁹. To corroborate the importance given to the last two values is the Somali saying that, ‘everyone has a father.’ Now, in addition to the above values are the following three traditional Somali customary principles, which state that the under listed crowned heads cannot be killed: women and children. And, among the Somali, according to Mohamed there is a saying, “whoever commits this sin is considered to be a coward and is ostracized . Killing women and children breed perpetual conflicts.” The next group of crowned heads is the refugees. The others are the elderly and the sick. It was revealed too that the culture of peace underlying Somali customary law also covers non-combatants and civilians. The Burundian study showed that the education of children was the preserve of women and that it was they who played the greater part in transmitting important traditional Burundian values to future generations¹⁰.

Thus an important conclusion to draw from the trend of these studies in relation to the notion of values’ education and peace building in traditional African societies is that women play a dominant role in the transmission, propagation and consolidation of the critical values that generate peace and harmony in traditional African societies.

⁸ Mohamed A.M. (2003). *The Role of Somali Women in the Search for Peace. In UNESCO, War and Peace in Africa* (pp. 75-110). Paris: UNESCO Workshops.

⁹ Metoyer, C. (2000). *Women and the State in Post-Sandinista Nicaragua: Women and Change in the Developing World*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

¹⁰ Ibid

1.1.2 Historical Background to the 2007-2008 clashes

The country of Kenya was ruled by the iron hands of two men in succession from 1963 to 2002: Jomo Kenyatta (1963-1978) and Daniel Moi (1978-2002). In 2002, there was a change: the ruling political party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), that had ruled the country since independence, collapsed. It collapsed beneath a new political party comprised of an alliance that had formed between all of the major Kenyan tribes. This political stakeholder was named the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). The election victory was a landslide¹¹. Mwai Kibaki of the NARC won 62% of the vote on a platform of fighting corruption, forming a coalition government that shared power amongst the various tribes, and changing the constitution within 100 days of being elected to limit the executive power that had ballooned over the previous four decades. People across Kenya from all tribes felt hope that the country's government was finally on the verge of a system of governance that would have accountability through shared power¹².

Yet, within weeks of the election, the memorandum of understanding (MOU) that forged the tribal factions into the NARC alliance and that got Kibaki elected had effectively collapsed¹³. The agreement in the MOU to share power within the cabinet did not occur, as four key positions that were to be created, including that of a Prime Minister position, did not materialize forward. Kibaki, from the Kikuyu tribe, broke his election promise and filled many appointed positions with fellow tribesmen, thus following in the footsteps of his

¹¹ Mutua, M. (2008). *Kenya's quest for democracy: taming the leviathan*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

presidential predecessors by selecting people for appointed positions primarily through tribal bias (Mutua, 2008)¹⁴. This in turn led to discrimination of many people of other tribes who were more qualified.

Whether the decision to keep the massive executive power that Kibaki had campaigned to reform was premeditated, or whether he succumbed to certain pressures by his fellow tribesmen to hoard power within the tribe once in office may never be known. The result was the same: the disintegration of the NARC party and the broken promises of a shared government and new constitution. This left many citizens tasting what could have been and frustrated over what should have resulted from the new government coming to power in 2002. This frustration fueled the violence that took place after the election in 2007¹⁵.

The carnage was horrific: 1,500 dead, 3,000 innocent women raped, and 300,000 people left internally displaced. Most of these atrocities happened in the first 14 days after the 2007 Kenyan general election. The severity of this conflict unfolded in a span of 59 days between Election Day, December 27th, 2007 to February 28th, 2008, when a political compromise was reached. The magnitude of the trauma and structural violence that took place in Kenya after the fourth multi-party general election took both Kenyans and the international community, alike, by surprise¹⁶. In retrospect, the violence that occurred could not only have been predicted, it could most likely have been prevented.

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Calas, B. (2008). From rigging to violence. Lafargue, J. (Ed.). *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*. (pp. 165-185). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd.

¹⁶ Maupeu, H. (2008). Revisiting post-election violence. Lafargue, J. (Ed.). *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*. (pp. 187-223). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd.

One of the foundations of this conflict analysis is that what took place during the Kenyan 2007 elections had its roots in a weak national constitution. This constitution has progressively lacked a healthy check and balances system between the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government. Over the span of three decades, amendments to the constitution were made to systematically erode these balances in favor of strengthening presidential powers. The result of these broad powers effectively made the presidential office equivalent to a dictatorship, which gave the president the ability to use and abuse this power without restraint¹⁷ .

1.2 Statement of the problem

In a world marred by conflict and violence, peace building is becoming increasingly important as a means of preventing continuing hostilities. Peace building missions and efforts have focused on emphasizing such factors as security and governance to prevent these potentially volatile situations from erupting into full fledged conflicts. This approach, however, has neglected the gendered dimensions of peace building. That is, it does not recognize the particular needs of women during the peace building phase, nor does it acknowledge their role in contributing to effective peace building¹⁸.

There are thousands of women who are victims of rape, trauma, physical injuries, and above all social trust has dissolved. Abject poverty is still high and it is affecting mainly women from the rural areas. Increasing rates of HIV/Aids where more than 250,000 women are victims, 66% of women who were raped tested positive and other infectious diseases

¹⁷ Cussac, A. (2008). "Kibaki tena?" The challenges of a campaign Lafargue, J. (Ed.). *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*. (pp. 55-104). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd

¹⁸ Lacayo, General Joaquin Cuadra (2004). "Nicaragua: From War to Peace," *Military Review*,. pp.63-65

coupled with limited health facilities further deteriorate their situation. This situation has an impact not only on the mental health of women but also on their physical well-being. Most survivors of the conflicts, the majority of whom happen to be women, experience serious economic deprivation. The level of mistrust among the families of those who survive conflicts and those whose relatives are suspected to be involved in conflicts remains a big challenge to overcome¹⁹.

During the 2007-2008 clashes the perception of women as the victims obscured their role as peacemakers in the reconstruction and peace-building processes. However, grassroots women and women's organizations initiated dialogue and reconciliation within their villages and communities. But although women played important roles in forging for peace during the clashes in the family and the community, the government seemed to ignore the role they played as peace builders in the society and as a result very few resources were (and still are) allocated to their organizations. Also during the clashes, in peace talks between warring parties, women were (and still are) hardly involved, despite the fact that they were most affected by the conflict. Besides this, most of the state peace-building initiatives during the clashes took the top-down approach and since there are fewer women in the upper echelons of power, they were under-represented. This is in spite of the fact that women, as child bearers, seek conditions that enable people to live in peace by being counselors and custodians of human values which is as a result of socializing the young ones in the family²⁰.

¹⁹ Krause, K, and Oliver J. (2008). "Peace, Security and Development in Post-Conflict Environments." *Security Dialogue*, Vol.36, No.4., pp.447-462.

²⁰ Ibid

The current study examines the extent to which the contribution of women has been in the peace building and reconciliation processes in Kenya. This aspect was not fully examined by the previous research. Further, the study explores ways and means by which this contribution can be strengthened particularly through the interventions focused towards national unity. Furthermore, the study will identify elements that are lacking between the various players who contribute towards national unity. Knowing that women are a category that is contributing more towards this process yet their efforts are not recognized, the study will also propose how to establish sustainable linkages between policy makers and institutions such as the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission and other stakeholders like women's groups, associations, NGOs, civil society as well as the country leadership so that the role of women in peace building and reconciliation can be well accounted not only in the policy documents but in their well being.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The objective of the study was to examine the extent to which women have contributed to the peace building and reconciliation process in Kenya, focusing on the 2007-2008 post election violence.

1.3.1 Specific objectives

1. To analyze women's contribution to promotion of peace and security in Kenya prior to the 2007-2008 violence
2. To examine women's contribution towards governance and peace building in Kenya after 2007-2008 violence
3. To investigate women's contribution to Relief and Development in Kenya after 2007-2008 violence

4. To analyze women's contribution in reconciliation efforts in Kenya after 2007-2008 violence

1.4 Literature Review

International peace building operations have grown more important as a response to countries that have experienced civil wars. Such conflicts leave a legacy of social upheavals and violence which if not addressed can ultimately destroy the ability of the societies to progress post-conflict. Thus, peace building works to improve a population's security and quality of life and to ensure that it can and function in a sustainable manner after the conflict. International experience in the past has demonstrated that attempting to institute peace without rebuilding sustainable social, political, and economic institutions in a war-torn country will leave it highly susceptible to future violence²¹. This section serves to broaden the reader's understanding of the complexities of peace building by introducing and explaining how and why peace building missions target certain areas when attempting to build peaceful and sustainable societies.

1.4.1 History of Peace building

Few global efforts possess such significant promise for improving the quality of life in post-conflict areas as peace building. It has its roots in peacekeeping, the process whereby the international community, namely the United Nations, sought to keep warring parties at bay.

²¹ Giles, Wenona, and Jennifer Hyndman (2004) eds. *Sites of Violence: Gender and Conflict Zones*. California: University of California Press.

While peacekeeping initially involved only maintaining the peace between warring states, it evolved to also include civil conflicts²².

However, as the complexities and social repercussions of civil conflicts became apparent, peacekeeping took on a wider range of tasks. These more comprehensive missions to install peace and forestall a return to violence became commonly referred to as 'peace building'²³.

In the post-cold war period of the 1990s peace building missions gained prevalence as numerous civil wars raged around the globe accounting for 94 per cent of all armed conflicts during this period. Regarding the civilian loss of life during this period, Roland Paris notes "...an estimated 90 percent of those killed in armed conflicts were civilians. The peace building field experienced extensive growth and development with these early trial missions with the establishment of implementation frameworks, peace building centers, and the involvement of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Despite the fact that it has been almost two decades since peace building missions were first inaugurated current missions are still considered experimental because they are prone to breakdowns and seldom proceed as planned²⁴.

Paris offers a discussion of the origins of peace building in *At War's End: Building conditions changed with the end of the Cold War, the United Nations became more inclined to respond to the "'demand' for new multilateral peace operations."* While some operations still resembled traditional peacekeeping missions (with tasks that included verifying cease-

²² Keating, Tom, and Francis K. Abiew (2000). "Outside Agents and the Politics of Peacebuilding and Reconciliation." *International Journal*, Vol.55, Iss.1,

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Paris, R. (2004). *At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*. Colorado: Cambridge University Press,.

fires and troop movements), other missions were “more complex” and comprised of “less familiar tasks”²⁵ For example, the United Nations’ first post-conflict peace building mission in Namibia (1989) consisted of monitoring the conduct of local police, disarming former fighters, and preparing the country for its first democratic election – tasks not traditionally performed by the United Nations. New to the United Nations included supervising democratic elections, assisting in the preparation of new national constitutions, providing human rights training and in one case (Cambodia) temporarily taking over the administration of an entire country. Paris further notes that the complexities of these peace building missions required that the United Nations partner with other international actors to help countries rebuild post-conflict. These organizations include, but are not limited to, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the United Nations Development Program, the Organization of American States, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and various international non- governmental organizations²⁶.

Generally, the United Nation’s peace building missions to date were deployed after the signing of formal peace accords or agreements that have warring factions laying down their arms and agreeing to some form of a truce and a strategy for future power sharing, usually the formation of political parties and the contesting of elections. These peace agreements typically mark the formal end of an armed struggle and symbolize the participation of belligerents in a political process²⁷. However, Woodhouse warns that peace agreements do

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Woodhouse, Tom. and Oliver Ramsbotham (2000). *Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution*.

not always satisfy all parties, “peace agreements do not simply mark the end of an old conflict, and sometimes they contain the seeds of their own destruction.” Therefore, depending on the particular context, there have been occasions when peace building missions have been allowed to operate before and during peace accord processes.

In the following section, the various components of the peace building framework are examined in order to demonstrate the areas many theorists have highlighted as integral to the success of peace building missions.

1.4.2 Peace building Framework

Simply stated, peace building includes post-conflict initiatives to rebuild societies and forestall a return to violence and conflict situations. However, the process of peace building is rife with complexities and as a comprehensive concept it: encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships. It simultaneously seeks to enhance relationships between parties and to change the structural conditions that generate conflict. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords²⁸.

The complexities inherent in peace building are reflected in the various concerns which these missions must incorporate in their design. In general, peace building missions focus on four main interrelated areas: security, governance, relief and development, and

Oregon: Frank Cass Publishers,.

²⁸ Lederach, John Paul, and Janice Moomaw Jenner, (2002). *A Handbook of International Peacebuilding: Into the Eye of the Storm*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass,.

reconciliation²⁹. A discussion of the four central areas of concern will reveal the paramount of each interrelated process and the inherent challenges within the broader peace building framework.

1.4.3 Security

The first area of importance in the peace building framework is security. Security entails ending violence, protecting those affected by violence, and enforcing human rights. Violence is the single most dangerous spoiler that poses fundamental challenges for peace, therefore, it is essential to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate (DDR) warring factions into civil society. Thus, security measures and DDR initiatives are usually included within peace agreements in the form of military and police reforms. Demobilizing soldiers and reintegrating them into civilian life is one of the single most important goals of the larger project of peace implementation. As Guttal argue, “reconfiguration of military and police forces after civil wars is central to the stability of any negotiated settlement, as well as to the prospects for long- term consolidation of a democratic framework³⁰. Because ongoing violence will continue to devastate economies, exacerbate underdevelopment, and increase desperation and frustration among immiserated populations, ensuring that there is an effective police force that has the trust of the civilians and is accepted by former combatants is an early priority promoting security involves convincing competing armies to lay down

²⁹ Evans, Gareth (2006). “Peace building: Six Golden Rules for Policy Makers.” International Crisis Group: Working to Prevent Conflict Worldwide, www.crisisgroup.org/home/

³⁰ Guttal, Shalmali (2005). “The Politics of Post-war/post-Conflict Reconstruction.” *Development*, Vol.48, No.3. pp.73-81.3

their weapons, demobilize their soldiers, and reconstruct their lives in a more peaceful manner³¹.

Usually members of opposing factions are integrated to form a national military merger in an effort to establish a legitimate state monopoly over the use of force in society. This may require rewarding ex-combatants with economic and material benefits for abstaining from violence and their re-entry into society. Demobilization steps are important militarily and symbolically and should be accompanied by monitoring and verification mechanisms to ensure that these initial steps towards stabilization occur³². In addition to military reforms, a strong civilian police force is required to protect the institutions of democracy and act as a counterweight to military strength in areas where atrocities have previously occurred at the hands of the military. Such a force must be provided with appropriate training, educated about their mandate, and have the relevant mechanisms for internal oversight in order that it can operate in such a way that it respects the rule of law and individual rights, and selectively employ the use of force. Within peacekeeping missions, civilian police forces are often initially assisted by international civilian police and peacekeeping forces that monitor the peace and provide the necessary training³³.

1.4.4 Governance

Governance is another area that has to be addressed within peace building. Long- term security extends beyond reforming military and police forces and is also contingent upon the

³¹ Stedman, Stephen John., Donald Rothchild, and Elizabeth M. Cousens, , (2002) *Ending Civil Wars: The Implementation of Peace Agreements*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers

³² Ibid

³³ Benjamin, Medea, and Jodie Evans (2005). *Stop the Next War Now: Effective Responses to Violence and Terrorism*. Maui: Inner Ocean Publishers Inc.,

conversion of warring factions into political parties that can work to manage conflicts in a manner that is conducive of positive change. Peace building operations are susceptible to breakdown when societies have a poor governance framework that exacerbates social fault lines, aggravates divisions and tensions, entrenches conflict, or provides a basis to contest the government³⁴. Governance in peace building designs requires the development of institutional capacities such as the judiciary, the electoral system, and other agencies that work to advance policy reforms, enhance transparency, and increase representation and accountability. For example, in many peace building contexts, plans for elections are often outlined, agreed upon and signed into the peace agreements between opposing factions³⁵. Democratic electoral systems are favored by the international institutions that orchestrate peace building missions because they have the potential to affect positive changes in societies where political transitions have been fraught with military coups, revolutions and destructive patterns of violence. The role of an election during peace building is significant for numerous reasons. Non-violent and successful political transitions become a critical test to determine whether new relationships can develop among former adversaries – the party that loses needs tangible, symbolic and even material benefits from their participation in the new governance system in order for it to be embraced by those who do not gain full political power³⁶. Furthermore, successful elections can contribute to national unity and reconciliation by fortifying a renewed political process and reinforcing the termination of armed conflict. Elections become symbolic of the first steps toward establishing a

³⁴ Samuels, Kirsti (2005). “Sustainability and Peacebuilding: A Key Challenge.” *Development in Practice*, Vol.15, No.6, pp.728-736.

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Sieder, Rachel (2003).. “Renegotiating ‘Law and Order’: Judicial Reform and Citizen Responses in Post-war Guatemala.” *Democratization and the Judiciary*, Vol.10, No.4, Pp.137-160.

functioning political system and a multiparty democracy where power sharing models are negotiated among former adversaries³⁷.

Also critical to effective governance is the role of the judiciary. The literature repeatedly cites the importance of strengthening judicial systems as a necessity for developing democratic institutions. This includes incorporating honest courts with uncorrupted judges and promoting respect for the rule of law. Failure to respond to past and continued violence through a fair judicial system will only impede progress towards justice, accountability and reconciliation. The stability of these systems, however, cannot be achieved without the participation of former adversaries in the democratic political processes and socio-economic reforms. Strengthening the institutions of governance then is critical to ensuring the establishment of democracy which in turn is essential if future conflicts are to be avoided³⁸.

1.4.5 Relief and Development

Relief and development policies are considered an integral part of the broader peacebuilding process because where poverty and inequality endure after internal conflict they serve to undermine peace by breeding further discontent and anger civil war devastates livelihoods through the destruction of production capital and displacement of peoples and loss of skilled labour³⁹. The relief and development process can be viewed as two stages — the immediate (the relief component) and the longer term (the development aspect). Immediate

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Sternberg, P. (2000).. “Challenging Machismo: Promoting Sexual and Reproductive Health with Nicaraguan Men.” *Gender and Development*, Vol. 8, No.1, 23-36

³⁹ Jeong, Ho-Won. Peace building in Post conflict Societies: Strategy and Process. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc., 2005. , ed. *The New Agenda for Peace Research*. England: Ashgate Publishing Company.

humanitarian assistance during peace building is necessary to alleviate the human suffering that accompanies war and violent conflict. Significant portions of populations become uprooted and services that are otherwise used to tend to their suffering are either destroyed or did not previously exist. Staggering statistics verify the numbers of people killed, injured, displaced and affected by violent conflict in warring societies. The increased need of these populations is compounded by the reduced capacity of health services which further devastates those disproportionately affected, namely women and children. They frequently fall victim to preventable infections and diseases, develop HIV and AIDS, experience mental health problems, suffer from substance abuse or die in childbirth (Gomez, Mayra 2001). The longer term strategy involves promoting economic growth and development.

Reforming and redesigning economic programs and policies is paramount for bringing about stability and equity because social tension is often created by perceived and real imbalances in income and wealth ⁴⁰. Violent conflict during civil war effectively halts development by destroying infrastructure and institutions such as the systems of transport, education, agriculture, and communication. It also leaves societies with massive human resource deficits in terms of general education and professional skills as farmers, artisans, and skilled workers are among those conscripted into war and often die as soldiers or flee the country⁴¹. Although civil wars may come to an end, Stephan John Stedman warns that “if former combatants lack jobs and skills and if weapons are easily available, then violence and crime may increase and rob citizens of their security and their hopes for a robust peace

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Ibid

dividend⁴². Peace building efforts stress that effective development strategies must incorporate the participation of local communities taking into account local capacities and solutions. This will increase the likelihood of more satisfactory developmental outcomes and at the same time empowers communities.

1.4.6 Reconciliation

The final dimension of peace building discussed in this study is reconciliation. Where deep social inequalities are common and populations are divided, impoverished, and devastated by war, institutional and policy reforms aimed at repairing and rebuilding corrosive justice systems cannot alone bring about healing. Policies and programs aimed at reconciliation are vital. These generally involve policies which stress compassion, forgiveness, restitution, psychological and social healing, all of which are designed to help communities live and work together⁴³.

Mechanisms for pursuing reconciliation include dialogue between former adversaries, story sharing, compiling records of human rights violations and Truth Commissions. These actions also serve to deter former abusers and provide a lasting legacy and reminder of the atrocities that have occurred. In Sultan Barakat's *Seven Pillars of Post-War Reconstruction*, he states: "The healing of bitter memories and restoration of trust is a delicate, highly complex process that cannot be rushed and which may take generations to achieve."⁴⁴

⁴² Gomez, M. (2001). "The Role of International Intervention in facilitating Violence and Peace in El Salvador." *Human Rights Review*, pp.76-87.

⁴³ Stoll, D. (1999).. "Rigoberta Menchu and the Last-Resort Paradigm." *Latin American Perspectives*, Iss. 109, Vol. 26, No. 6, pp. 70-80.

⁴⁴ Barakat, S. (2005). *After the Conflict: Reconstructing and Development in the Aftermath of War*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

1.4.7 Women's involvement in peace

This section analyzes the main features of women's involvement in the peace cause, taking those experiences of dialogue promotion led by women in countries ravaged by war and violence. Although peace activism has gathered both women and men, it is not less true that the peace movement has been one of the most "feminized" social movements, with many women taking part in it⁴⁵. Women have been traditionally considered as passive victims of war. It was not until the 90's that some attention was brought into the fact that women played different roles within armed conflicts, challenging traditional views that portrayed men as active agents of violence and women as its passive victims. Furthermore, taking into account the reality on the ground of the armed conflicts that are taking place since the end of the Cold War, "the idea that (feminized) civilian and (masculinised) military spaces are distinct and separate no longer holds"⁴⁶. Women are victims of the consequences of wars, but as Lithander states, "the image of women as victims is paralyzing, and it does not do justice to the diversity, richness and drive of women's groups that oppose war and lean on mutual solidarity to offer alternative visions of reality. Listening to the victims is not equivalent to reduce them to that role"⁴⁷.

Women in many countries around the world have decided to organize themselves to demonstrate against war, reclaim the whereabouts of their beloved ones, report human rights violations committed during armed conflicts and demand that the parties to a conflict

⁴⁵ Cockburn, Cynthia (2007). *From where we stand: War, women's activism and feminist analysis*. London: Zed.

⁴⁶ Giles, W. and Jennifer H. (2004). *Sites of violence: Gender and conflict zones* University of California Press

⁴⁷ Lithander, A. (2000). *Engendering the peace process. A gender approach to Dayton and beyond*. Stockholm: Kvinna Till Kvinna.

conduct peace talks and work toward the end of violence. Many women have decided to organise in women-only groups, one of the most relevant and well-known being the Women in Black network. Many women choose to participate in these kinds of groups because “the autonomy of women’s thought and their freedom to choose methods and means of action could be guaranteed. It’s a political choice to be a women’s organization, it’s not exclusion⁴⁸”.

Armed conflicts leave behind them a legacy of destruction and violence that lasts for many years after the end of the confrontations and the signature of peace agreements. For many women, war implies impoverishment, the loss of relatives, the breaking of the social fabric, sexual violence or forced displacement. Nevertheless, armed conflicts are not the same reality for all women. For some of them, conflicts have also provided an opportunity for empowerment and for gaining access to social realms denied until then⁴⁹. Recognizing that although armed conflicts are basically a source of destruction and violence, it is also important to acknowledge that for some women they have meant an opportunity for deeper involvement and participation within their communities.

This idea serves to back the view that women are not merely passive victims of war and violence. For many women, armed conflicts represent the first opportunity to have an active social and political participation. There are many women’s movements against the war that are raised as a result of the impact that violence has on civilians, and consequently on women. Demands made on the parties to a conflict asking for an end to the violence, reports

⁴⁸ Ibid

⁴⁹ Lithander, A. (2000) . *Engendering the peace process. A gender approach to dayton-and beyond*. Stockholm: Kvinna Till Kvinna.

of human rights violations and support to deserters are some of the issues around which women have changed from being passive victims into been active agents in social transformations.

In fact, “more often than not, women are among the first to speak out collectively against war and try to prevent escalation⁵⁰. In some contexts, characterized by oppression and fundamentalism, such as Afghanistan, since the beginning of the Taliban regime, women have developed resistance strategies against patriarchal practices such as criminalizing access to health and education⁵¹. Nevertheless, the image of women in relation to armed conflict that prevails is that of passivity rather than agency in front of violence. Women are perceived or considered as objects and not subjects that can act for themselves and make their decisions to confront violence and conflicts. Analyzing armed conflicts and their consequences on women’s lives and bodies from a gender perspective, implies leaving behind the simplistic discourse that condemns women’s vital experience to that of victims.

1.4.8 Women’s experiences in Peace dialogue

As it will be analyzed in the following section, the absence of women in formal peace talks is notorious⁵². However, women have been involved in the cause of peace all over the world, and women’s movements have been critical in promoting a negotiated solution for many armed conflicts. Women in Sierra Leone, Colombia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Serbia, Northern Ireland, Uganda, Somalia, Cyprus and many other places have been advocating for

⁵⁰ Ibid

⁵² Anderlini, S.N. (2000). *Women at the peace table. Making a difference*. New York: UNIFEM.

the end of the conflicts that affected their countries and made contributions that were significant and valuable in those contexts that began the transition from war to peace⁵³.

Women frequently recognize unofficial peace processes as an occasion to become involved in the public and political arenas and to organize them, particularly in the nongovernmental sector⁵⁴. Acknowledging these contributions and experiences in the field of peace building provides a different perspective when approaching the issue of peace processes, especially at the community and grassroots level. How to transfer those contributions onto the negotiating table so that women directly impact peace agreements remains critical because the cross community dialogue at the grassroots level, women's peace initiatives and their first hand knowledge of the war impact and post-war social needs will provide crucial social intelligence necessary for resolving conflicts peacefully.

It is often argued that the absence of women in peace talks is due to their lack of experience in the conflict-resolution field. The reality seems to be quite different in that women all over the world are practicing dialogue on an everyday basis, perhaps not in a formal manner, but in a way that is closer to people's conditions on the ground. Nevertheless, this role must not be taken for granted or naturalized, because when women's peace work is naturalized then the risk to perpetuate inequality increases. As Bouta et. Al state, "when this work is taken for granted, it goes unrecognized, is stripped of its political meaning, and is rendered invisible"⁵⁵

⁵³ Ibid

⁵⁴ Bouta, T. (2005). *Gender, conflict, and development*, eds. Georg Frerks, Ian Bannon. Washington, D.C.: World Bank

⁵⁵ Ibid

Women have been capable of building bridges of dialogue and empathy in polarized societies that go beyond the reasons for the armed confrontation and the deep rooted hatred and division. They have sought positions in common from which to initiate a rapprochement and search for new ways of living together. These coalitions can be found in contexts such as the Balkans, Israel and Palestine, Cyprus or Northern Ireland⁵⁶.

These alliances established between women have empowered them to transcend core political, ethnic, or religious divisions⁵⁷. This constitutes a palpable demonstration that coexistence; reconciliation and dialogue are possible from recognizing the other as a legitimate interlocutor with whom common ground can be found. At times, however, women that have dared to cross the border and have dialogue with other women have been labeled as traitors to their community, homeland or identity. The most clear example of this can be perhaps found in the case of Serbian women that refused to take part in what Cockburn calls the 'bothering'⁵⁸: "the project of the women living in Yugoslav space has been to hold together in the face of a violent late-twentieth-century movement differentiating 'Serbs', 'Croats' and 'Muslims'."

Women have demonstrated that the building of emotional bonds and identification with women on the other side of the battle line is possible. Armed conflict contexts, especially those that have developed around social polarization and division, have been paradoxically particularly fertile scenarios for the upsurge of women groups that have worked and develop cross-community initiatives. It is well known that contemporary armed conflicts have an

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Giles, W. and J. (2004). *Sites of violence: Gender and conflict zones* University of California Press

⁵⁸ Ibid

overwhelming impact in the lives of women and that some strategies such as the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war are specially focused on harming women⁵⁹. It is therefore understandable that those that have suffered in a similar way the impact of violence are capable of identifying more easily with the suffering of other victims without taking into account their community, ethnic, religious or political affiliations.

Discourses on women, war and peace advance two schools of thoughts: essentialism and constructivism. Inger Skjelsbaek and Dan Smith's *Gender, Peace and Conflict* argue that when dealing with areas of gender roles, the two opposing views provide a starting point. The field of war, peace-making and conflict resolution from a gendered perspective requires us to think of core individual and social identities irrespective of behavioral stereotypes and generalizations about people by nationality, social class, ethnicity or gender. Smith in "The Problem of Essentialism" in *Gender, Peace and Conflict* argues that essentialists base their argument on the notion that some objects possess static characteristics and that the behaviors and values of men and women are different by nature.

Inger Skjelsbaek in *Gendered Battlefields: A Gender Analysis of Peace and Conflicts* argues that essentializing gender will mean that men are exclusively masculine and women are exclusively feminine. According to this thought, the relationship of women to war and peace can be looked at along gender lines. The perception that it is men who fight wars, and so it

⁵⁹ Rehn, E. and Ellen J.. (2002). *Women, war, peace: The independent experts' assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace-building*. UNIFEM.

is men who should make peace does not reflect the realities of war and peace, but rather reinforces gender stereotypes of women, as a weaker sex in need of a male's protection⁶⁰.

However, looking at peace building and conflict resolution from a critical gendered perspective, it is clear that women have been and are active participants in issues of peacemaking and conflict resolution. Apparently, geopolitical changes have altered wars and conflicts over time. Cynthia Enoe's explains these changes from the point of view of men's socialization in the military. She argues that men are persuaded to participate in conflict generally, as well as in the militarization of ethnic nationalism through the assertion that their manhood, that is the masculine ideal, can only be validated through military participation⁶¹.

Thus, the notion of militarized men or rather, masculinity, is termed positive while the feminine is understood as negative. This is reflected in traditional theories regarding gender and conflicts. Gender roles are dichotomized: men, viewed as soldiers or warriors, exercised power over women not only during wars and during conflicts but also in other times. Women, seen as civilians, contrary to men, were to stay at home. This explains the reason why men feminize the enemy and commit rape against women symbolically, and too often literally. They use gender psychologically to symbolize domination in order to assume a masculine and dominant position during wars and conflicts.

However, there have been men who perform duties that are socially constructed as belonging to females and vice versa. Thus, essentialism does not have room for change and

⁶⁰ Inger S. and Dan S. (2001) *Gender, Peace and Conflict* (London: SAGE Publication)

⁶¹ Cynthia E. (1998) *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* London: Pandora Press

relies on the idea that people remain essentially unchanged throughout their lives. The constructivists' theorists use this fact. Inger Skjelsbaek, in "Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful?" in *Gender, Peace and Conflict*, sees the world and individuals as constantly transforming and not fixed. Skjelsbaek argues that individual characters are products of social construction. In other words, individuals are shaped by certain historical and cultural phenomena. This denies women agency in matters of war, peacemaking and conflict resolution⁶².

A specific example of this is discussed by L. M. Handrahan, in "Gendering Ethnicity in Kyrgyzstan: Forgotten Element in Promoting Peace and Democracy." She confirms that during conflicts, despite their ethnic differences, women have been capable of bonding with others and relate well to each other. She writes, "Women are willing to cross ethnic boundaries and work together in situations of ethnic conflicts." Thus, the social constructivist's view gives room for change in our evolving world making it possible for women to assume male roles socially and politically⁶³.

In order to contextualize African women's role in peacemaking, it is important to understand the history of peace movements. According to Marlene Targ in *Women for Peace*, the history of women's involvement in war and peace as pioneered in the U.S and Europe can be traced back to 1915, to protests against the First World War by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP). According to Handrahan, women have had more sense of their gender identity than their ethnic identity. They understand ethnicity differently from men whose understanding is more inclined to the

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ L.M. Handrahan (2001) "Gendering Ethnicity in Kyrgyzstan: Forgotten Element in Promoting Peace and Democracy," *Humanitarian Work* 9, no.3 , 74.

concept of “citizenship” and political “representation.” Therefore, women are less attached to the concept of ethnicity than men. Perhaps, these two factors have made women better peacemakers.

Literature on African women and the issue of war and peace explores various other themes. Some provide depictions of the types of war-time human rights violations committed against women; for example Meredith Turshen, in *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflicts in Africa*⁶⁴. Others lay a groundbreaking narrative on the relationship between women and war in the context of World War II, for example, Jaclyn Cock’s *Colonels and Cadres: War and Gender in South Africa*. Some are activism oriented and deal with the experiences of African women in socio-economic and political situations; for instance, W.O. Maloba *African Women in Revolution*,⁶⁵ Chandra Talpade et. al., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*⁶⁶.

Johan Galtung, in *Specific Contribution of Peace Research to the Study of Violence*, defined peace as not only the mere absence of war or conflict but also the absence of structural violence. Meredith Turshen, in *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflicts in Africa*, contextualizes this. She explains that conflicts and wars destroy the very patriarchal structures of society that for a long time have confined and degraded women. Turshen suggests that wars and conflicts bring a new beginning for women by giving them voice in the midst of turmoil that destroys morals, traditions, customs, and community. Experiences

⁶⁴ Meredith Turshen and Clotilde Twagiramariya, (1998) *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflicts in Africa* London: Zed Books

⁶⁵ W.O. Maloba, (2007) *African Women in Revolution* Asmara: Africa World Press.

⁶⁶ Chandra T. Ann R. and Lourdes T., (1991), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

women go through during wars and conflicts have been positively converted by women into learning skills, and women have obtained social, economic, and political exposure and strength.

However, in war and conflict situations, the representation of women in decision-making is still problematic. A statement by the former United Nations Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, proves that at the decision-making level, women are still under represented. He described women's roles in Africa: "Women, knowing the price of conflict, often are better equipped than men to prevent or resolve it. They also have been "peace educators" over many generations, preserving social order when communities collapse under the pressure of conflict. He therefore regretted that women still are grossly underrepresented in decision-making, from conflict prevention to conflict resolution to post-conflict reconciliation."⁶⁷

In the Kenyan context, not only have women been absent from the histories of decision-making but also the existing work is insufficient both in scope and ethnographically. The voices of less privileged and illiterate women, in particular, have not been captured well, and call for historical inquiry. This study attempts to do so by using oral history interviews, supported by the work of historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists to explore a specific example of Kenyan women's agency in peace-making and conflict resolution.

Senge (2012) conducted a study on Women and peace building in Kenya's urban slums: a case study of Mathare slums in Nairobi 2007-2012. The study objective was to investigate if women were involved in peacebuilding in Mathare and to explore the challenges that could have hindered them from performing to their full potential. The target population was

⁶⁷ United Nations, Adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 2000. Accessed on May, 2013 http://www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

women and men actively involved in peacebuilding in Mathare. This study established that women have participated in peacebuilding processes in Mathare slums. The women peacebuilding approaches have been informal and not incorporated into the formal peace building initiatives spearheaded by the Provincial Administration and the external actors like the United Nations and Non-Governmental organizations. Due to the scope of this study, the researcher could not exhaustively investigate the role of inter-ethnic marriages in re-establishing social networks.

Guyo (2009) conducted a study on historical perspectives on the role of women in peace-making and conflict resolution in Tana River District, Kenya, 1900 to present. Using the example of the Orma and the Pokomo women in the Tana River District, Kenya, the study explored the roles of women in peace-making and conflict resolution. The study revealed that women were significant social actors generally and in particular in peace-making. Although their stories were consistent with the theories on war and peace, it challenges feminist critique by painting a picture of how they were able to create a place for themselves in their community through their role in peace-making, a role not necessarily defined through men.

1.5 Justification of the study

There is strong justification why this study is significant:

As seen in our literature review, roles of women in peace building show both strengths and weaknesses depending on which perspective one looks at it. Some scholars feel that they play a very crucial role and others feel that their importance has been massively exaggerated, and that their impact on peace has been overstated. More so in the Kenyan

context, not only has there been low women representation in decision-making but also the existing research work is insufficient both in scope and ethnographically. The voices of less privileged and illiterate women, in particular, have not been captured well, and call for historical inquiry. As an academic justification, this study therefore aims at providing a source of information on genuine women's approaches to peace building.

In addition to the women marginalization from economic opportunities, certain legal policies in Kenya are discriminatory against women and others do not exist yet while some are known but not understood. However, discriminatory laws against women have been identified and elaboration of the new constitution has created an opportunity to remove them.

Gender based violence is still a serious problem in some parts of Kenyan. Cases of rape of girls and women, assault and defilement are on the increase with the age of the victim getting lower over the years. Most acts of violence against women take place in the home, which sometime makes it difficult for the law enforcement personnel to intervene. Although there has been research done, sexual harassment at work places can be a major tool of oppression and discrimination against women.

The war and conflicts have disproportionately strong impact on women, as rape and survivors, widows, and heads of households and care takers of orphans. That is the position of women as victims and participants in conflicts and their unique post conflict needs. Thus the study offers basis under which a review on women role especially in security, governance, relief and development can be implemented. This will ensure resolving disputes through the best means of ensuring that at least some of the concerns of all conflicting

parties are met – a win/win situation – a family model which seeks fairness and reconciliation rather than victory and retribution.

Since military conflicts and diplomacy, which have traditionally been exclusively orchestrated by men, have failed to be a reliable system to safeguard peace, the inclusion of women in all stages of the peace process becomes imperative.

1.6 Significance of the study

The Government is strongly committed to the promotion of gender equality in all aspects of national development including the critical area of peace

This assessment of women's contribution to peace and reconciliation is timely not only among the affected group but also at a national level. New direction and impetus on the functioning of the Truth Justice and Reconciliation commission should be equally important is the fact that the international community, countries in the sub region particularly where conflicts are rife or have come out of conflict, this study will provide best practices and models from which to draw lessons. Promoting gender equality in itself is part and parcel of encouraging men and women to have equal opportunities in life. This fairness promotes peaceful co-existence. Promotion of gender quality is as pre-condition for tolerance and mutual respect hence the study address this issue.

The findings from this study will inform policy formulation of the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission; so as to ensure strong focus interventions aimed at strengthening women's participation and contribution in peace building and reconciliation processes. The data from this study is expected to increase the visibility of women's role in peace building and reconciliation as well as highlighting the key issues affecting women that need stronger advocacy in the future.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This section seeks to explore the theme of peace and peace building theory. According to Lederach, peace building occurs after the slowing down of hostilities, and involves the restoration of faith amongst opponents, restoration of trust amongst opposing sides, restoring sources of livelihoods, rebuilding infrastructure, and restoring the dignity of those affected by the conflict.⁶⁸

Peace building interventions are conducted on the basis of both the nature of the conflict and the sustained peace. In line with this, Burton, in his work on conflict resolution calls for new attitudes and practices that are conflict sensitive, consultative, collaborative and flexible.⁶⁹ This implies that, for the approach to work it must be operating from a deep understanding of the root causes of the conflict, the approach must involve consultation with indigenous partners, local leaders and so on as they know better than anyone what is best for them. It must also facilitate dialogue – inter-ethnic, inter-faith – for trust building. Once the root causes of the conflict, emerging needs, positions, actors and interests are well understood, agreeable alternative to oppressive structures that contribute to insecurity, marginalisation, inequitable distribution of resources, insecurity and other injustices can be found. In a nutshell, the intended outcome in doing this is to bridge the gap in the varying attitudes so as to work in unity towards the same goal of lasting peace.

Peace building can take three main approaches; ‘Conflict Management’, ‘Conflict Resolution’ and ‘Conflict Transformation’. *Management* implies that conflicts are long term

⁶⁸ John P. L, (1997) *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* Washington, D.C, United States Institute of Peace p. 73-74.

⁶⁹ John, B. (1990) *Conflict: Human Needs Theory* New York: St. Martin's Press, pp. 36 – 47.

and hence quick fixes are out of the question. It also suggests that solutions may be imposed on the opposing parties so long as the long term goal of controlling violence rather than dealing with the underlying issues is achieved. *Resolution* on the other hand is quite the opposite in that it presumes that a conflict is a short term occurrence that can be dealt with in the shortest time possible, in which a permanent solution can be reached and life can move on. These two approaches however unfortunately go down the path of simply trying to eliminate or contain the conflict. *Transformation* goes beyond the resolution of concrete problems and gives an opportunity to rearrange the basic issues of the underlying dispute. In trying to understand a conflict, Lederach acknowledges that conflict is a natural occurrence among humans who are involved in relationships.⁷⁰ Once it occurs, it changes (transforms) the people, the relationships and the dynamics that initially led to the conflict. Hence, the *cause-and-effect* relationship alternates from the people and their relationships to the conflict and back to the people and their relationships once again. Thus, it is prudent to examine and understand deep rooted issues to any conflict as such conflicts have a synergy which can very easily spark off another conflict. Transformation is therefore seen to improve mutual understanding due to its focus on the actors in the conflict, the issues as well as the structures present. Actors are recognized and empowered, relationships of adversaries are transformed, and oppressive structures are overhauled so as to achieve durable change.

⁷⁰ John P. L, (1997)*Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* Washington, D.C, United States Institute of Peace, pp. 75-77.

Thus, peace building goes above and beyond offering relief to the affected. It digs deep into the root causes of the problem, addresses it and fosters reconciliation amongst those in conflict.

1.7.1 Conflict theory

Conflict theory emphasizes the role that a person or groups ability has to exercise influence and control over others in producing social order. It states that a society or organization functions so that each individual participant and its groups struggle to maximize their benefits, which inevitably contributes to social change such as changes in politics and revolutions. The Conflict theory explains the conflict between social classes, proletarian versus bourgeoisie; and in ideologies such as capitalism versus socialism. It is the theory that a continual struggle exists between all different aspects of a particular society. The struggle that occurs does not always involve physical violence; it can point to an underlying struggle for each group or individual within a society to maximize its own benefits.

The theory was founded by Karl Marx⁷¹, and later developed by theorists including Max Weber⁷². Variants of conflict theory can depend on basic a radical assumption, which is when society is in external conflict, which in some circumstances can explain social change or moderate ones that is a combination where conflict is always mixed/combined. The

⁷¹ Karl Marx (1956), *Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy*, ed. T.b. Bottomore and Maximilian Rubel;

⁷² Weber, Max (1922) 1946 Bureaucracy. Pages 196–244 in *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*. Translated and edited by H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

moderate version of the conflict theory allows Functionalism as an equally acceptable theory, since it would accept that even negative social institutions play a part in society's self-perpetuation.

The essence of conflict theory is best epitomized by the classic 'pyramid structure' in which an elite dictates terms to the larger masses. All major institutions, laws, and traditions in the society are created to support those who have traditionally been in power, or the groups that are perceived to be superior in the society according to this theory. In summary, conflict theory seeks to catalogue the ways in which those in power seek to stay in power. The conflict theory basically states that all problems are caused by different groups and their status and how they compete for the necessities in life.

1.7.2 Feminist approaches to peace and conflict

The issues of violence and peace have always been central to feminism (The advocacy of women's rights on the grounds of political, social, and economic equality to men). A feminist account of the world can hardly be imagined without considering the impact that violence has had in women's lives throughout history. As Ann Tickner states, "the key concern for feminist theory is to explain women's subordination" (2001: 11) and it is easy to see the role that violence has played in this subjugation. Maria Jesús Izquierdo remarks that "the foundation of patriarchy and sexism is violence, whose most visible expression are battered women" Other authors stress the extremely gendered nature of war. Joshua

Goldstein among others maintains that “war is among the most consistently gendered of human activities”⁷³.

The subject of violence against women has been analyzed from many different perspectives in line with the many bodies of literature and theory that conform to feminism⁷⁴. However the idea that “violence is deeply implicated in the construction and reproduction of gender relations” has always been a unifying line among all perspectives. Feminists, whether from an academic or activist position, have criticized traditional approaches to the issue of conflict and peace that have ignored the importance of gender in this issue. As Cockburn puts it “the accident of war’s academic location in international relations has had a negative effect from women’s point of view”⁷⁵. A central point in these criticisms has been the fact that armed conflicts have a quite differentiated impact on women and men that can only be explained from a gender perspective, taking into account gender structures⁷⁶.

Gender as a term was coined to point to the fact that inequalities between women and men are a social product rather than a result of nature. Gender explains the socially –and culturally– constructed differences between men and women, distinguishing them from the biological differences of the sexes. Gender refers to the social construction of the sexual differences and the sexual division of labour and power. Adopting the gender perspective involves making clear that the differences between men and women are a social construct resulting from the unequal power relationships that have historically been established.

⁷³ Izquierdo (1998): Women in war and peace-building: The roads traversed, the challenges ahead. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 3, (1): 2-25.

⁷⁴ Sheperd, Laura J. (2008). *Gender, Violence and Security*. London: Zed

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Ibid

Gender as a category of analysis is intended to demonstrate the historical and situated nature of sexual differences. One of the most important aspects of this concept is its relational dimension, as it allows the understanding of women's position in relation to that of men. Relational dimension deals with power issues, as the position of men cannot be understood without taking into account how men exercise power. Referring to the origins of the contemporary sex-gender social system, Mary Nash traces the nineteenth-century discourses that served to legitimize this particular social order and remarks that "biological essentialism functioned, in the gender discourse, to consolidate a message of feminine inferiority. It established in the sexual natural difference between men and women, the starting point of an unavoidable biological and social destiny for women maternity⁷⁷."

1.7.3 Application of Theories in peace building

Feminist and peace research have many commonalities, some of them related to the core issues of both fields. Catia Confortini observes that "both feminism and peace studies, unlike much of the rest of social science, have an explicitly value-laden, normative agenda: their ultimate goals are peace (for peace studies) and gender equality (for feminism)"⁷⁸. Feminism has made very important contributions to the development and broadening of peace studies. Most importantly, the very concept of peace has been reshaped in order to include the gender variable. The term "positive peace" coined by Johan Galtung was a first important contribution that served to expand the notion of peace from a mere "absence of direct violence" to filling it with notions of social justice, and democracy, among others.

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Confortini, Catia C. (2006). Galtung, violence, and gender: The case for a peace Studies/Feminism alliance. *Peace & Change* 31, (3): 333-367.

Nevertheless, Galtung did not give gender issues the relevance that feminists have attributed to it in the study of violence⁷⁹.

One of the first authors in approaching peace research from a feminist point of view was Birgit Brot-Uckne. She addressed peace researchers and their research by posing them a very specific and preliminary question: “what would this piece of research look like when viewed from a feminist perspective?” (1989: 68). Brot Uckne developed the positive peace category remarking to its importance from a feminist point of view, and pointing to different subcategories that conform to it. For some authors the central question lies in the fact that positive peace cannot exist without gender-based structural violence being eliminated a fact that was insufficiently acknowledged by Galtung when he coined this term⁸⁰.

Conflict theory on the hand, emphasizes the role that a person or groups ability has to exercise influence and control over others in producing social order. The struggle that occurs does not always involve physical violence; it can point to an underlying struggle for each group or individual within a society to maximize its own benefits. The moderate version of the conflict theory allows Functionalism as an equally acceptable theory, since it would accept that even negative social institutions play a part in society's self-perpetuation. Conflict theory and peace studies have made important contributions to feminist research providing it with a framework in which violence against women can be seen in the larger context of societal violence⁸¹. Gender relations are a pivotal aspect that needs to be highlighted when an analysis of armed conflicts is done, although they cannot explain the

⁷⁹ Galtung, Johan, (1996) *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and conflict, development and civilization*, Oslo.. London: Sage.

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Ibid

“whole story” by themselves and need to be taken into account alongside other factors. Gender intersects with many other issues such as economics, resources, politics, ethno national identities and religious beliefs, among others, and therefore must be integrated in the analysis in conjunction with all these aspects.

Conflict and feminist theories were expressed, symbolically, following principles of rational thought or logic. Data from the interview schedules were first analyzed by themes before they were coded. This analysis constitutes a form of content analysis, which according to Ngulube (2003) involves collecting and organizing information systematically in a standard format that allows analysts to draw conclusions about the characteristics and meaning of recorded material.

The first step in content analysis entailed the construction of categories that are described as a set of criteria which were integrated around a theme based on the objectives. In that light, data was analyzed according to themes such as, but not limited to, situations of need, source, services and strategies employed by women in post violence peace building in Kenya. The categories were examined using one of content analysis basic methods, namely, conceptual analysis or thematic analyses. The analysis involved quantifying and tallying the presence of a concept. Categories were coded and dominant themes and trends were identified. Theoretical application was determined through a set of sentences which consisted entirely of true statements about the subject matter under consideration. Therefore the same statement may be true with respect to one theory, and not true with respect to another.

1.8 Hypotheses

- Women involvement in security and governance process will enhance peace building in Kenya
- Women involvement in relief and development policies will facilitate peace building in Kenya

1.9 Methodology

This study evaluated the role that the role that women played in post violence peace building in Nakuru County in 2007-2008. The study drew largely from literature reviews and field interviews. Reviews of relevant literature on peace-building/conflict management and risk reduction were sourced from books, journals, articles, reports and government policy documents. The review of literature examined the nature of violent conflict, and the links between peace-building and risk reduction generally and those that focused particularly on Kenya.

Primary data obtained from peace volunteers affiliated to various NGOs in Nakuru County. These site visits were carried out as follows: meetings with key informant NGO leaders, peace volunteers and government representatives and analysis and validation of findings with research assistant.

Using purposive sampling procedure, all interviewees were asked if they know anyone with similar knowledge and interests in peace and conflict in the area. Interviewees were then subsequently contacted. The interviews were conducted using open ended questions with expert key informants from the government, NGOs, some IDP camps and community elders in the study area. In the IDP camps, focus group interviews with up to 5 people at a time were conducted. The interviewees were communities who bore the brunt of violence and

eviction. The assumption was that the impact of violence would be strongest and most direct among both these populations. Urban residents were included in the study in order to obtain a balanced understanding of the interventions to build peace. In all places representation in terms of ethnicity, gender and age was also considered.

By structuring the interviews chronologically, narratives were obtained which gave information on the perceptions and experiences of informants about issues related to violence, its causes and mitigation, peace interventions and their impact and suggestions on ways forward. Information was also sought concerning their livelihood activities, their views on changing political conditions, how they were affected and how they coped with and adapted to violent conflicts and evictions.

1.9.1 Research Design

A research design is a master plan specifying the methods and procedures for collecting and analysing the needed information, Zikmund. The research design used was a descriptive research. This is because the primary purpose of a descriptive research is determining frequency of occurrence of a phenomenon.

The research approach adopted was qualitative where the researcher took an active role as an observer and explores different settings, emotional reactions and attitudes of the informants. The design permitted the researchers to adopt a holistic approach in the study of the chosen social institutions in an attempt to use indigenous structures to resolve conflicts. Second, it was easy to apply research tools like interviews which were supplemented by focus group discussions, opinion censuses and observations where applicable. Field research

entails study of communities/societies by allowing the researcher to take an active role in the activities by assuming the role of participants' observer.⁸²

1.9.2 Population and Sampling Design

This study was conducted in Nakuru County and mainly paid close attention to the community in the area as well as the IDPs.

1.9.3 Sampling Design and Sample Size

1.9.3.1 Sampling Frame

The relevant population consisted of all the peace keepers affiliated to NGO's working towards peace building. The sampling frame included NGO's such as *LEAP II* (Mercy Corps), Save the children, The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) and GOAL Ireland just to name a few. The numbers of NGO officials interviewed from each NGO were average two per NGO. Local communities were also included in the sample.

1.9.3.2 Sampling Technique

The study utilized non-probability sampling technique because the researcher required maximum degree of insight into the problem under investigation and therefore purposively selected informants with relevant knowledge. There was no complete list of population but Religious Leaders, women, were interviewed. This technique was appropriate for heterogeneous population like in this study. This ensured that all the different segments in a population were represented in the sample.

⁸²Royce, A. S, Bruce, C. S, and Miller M. S, (1993) *Approaches to Social Research*, New York: Oxford,) pp. 50-54

1.9.4 Methods and tools of data collection

Instrumentation included use of interviews including key informant interviews, in-depth interviews and focused group discussions (FGD) with the intention of eliciting information and opinions. To compliment this, the researcher also played a keen role of observation to understand people's behaviour and institutional values, rituals, beliefs, symbols and emotions. Analysis of recorded information/documents was done in order to obtain information that informants gave thought to while compiling, and also information in their own words.

1.9.5 Data analysis

The data collected was analyzed mainly qualitatively. Discourse analysis was used to analyze written, spoken or sign language. The objects of discourse analysis are variously defined in terms of coherent sequences of sentences, speeches, intonations and repetitions. Trend analysis was used where the researcher analyzed patterns of behavior and sequence of events narrated and identify common or repeated occurrence. Case studies of women peace building activities facilitated by selected NGO's were covered in the report.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction to the study

Chapter 2: Background to Conflicts and Peace Building in Kenya

Chapter 3: The Role of women in Peace Building

Chapter 4: Discussions and Findings

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO CONFLICTS AND PEACE BUILDING IN KENYA

2.1 Introduction

Peace building is shaped by the nature of the conflicts and challenges confronting peace workers. As Anthony Richmond⁸³ observes, ethnic conflicts take various forms, sometimes combining different elements. He identifies six types of conflicts: conflicts that engage the state against a community. State-supported systems of domination and exploitation, usually of minorities, may even lead eventually to the extermination of a people or their relegation to the geographic and social margins of the society. Conflicts for emancipation by minority groups seeking to reclaim territory and reassert human rights, with or without the support of outside agencies. Conflicts in which questions of language, religion, and irredentism are involved. Conflict within states, stemming from inter-ethnic antagonisms, competition for scarce resources, political power struggles, and ideological disputes that fail to be resolved by other means⁸⁴.

Sectarian violence, communal conflict, civil wars, and independence movements may assert themselves under these conditions. Conflicts that arise because of past and present migrations some of the factors in Richmond's categories are relevant to Kenya. Policies pursued by the government have marginalized certain communities. Competition for scarce

⁸³ Richmond, A. (1994). *Global Apartheid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

⁸⁴ Ibid

resources, political struggles, ethnic nationalism, and migrations have all shaped conflicts in Kenya.

2.2 Classification of Conflicts in Kenya

The classification of conflicts in Kenya is based on the socio-economic characteristics of the communities at war. Four broad categories apply: conflicts within pastoral communities; Conflicts between pastoral and agricultural communities; conflicts linked to the presence of refugees and Ethnic clashes. Although this classification is far from absolute, it is a useful heuristic device for conceptual and analytical clarity⁸⁵.

2.2.1 Conflicts within Pastoral Communities

These conflicts manifest themselves as inter-clan or inter-community conflicts. Inter-clan conflicts are the oldest types of clashes, and many societies in Kenya have experienced them. However, as agricultural communities settled, and individual ownership became the basis for regulating resources, such conflicts have remained primarily in the domain of nomadic pastoralists⁸⁶. Their communities are still organized within the framework of communal ownership of the means of production. Pastoralists occupy ecologically fragile areas characterized by unreliable patterns of rainfall and high evaporation rates. Among these communities are the Somali, Boran, Turkana, and Pokot who live in a belt that stretches across the northern region of Kenya, and the Maasai in the southern Rift Valley. Sustaining their nomadic pastoralist way of life requires large tracks of land⁸⁷.

⁸⁵ Kayigamba, J. B. (1997). *Africa-Human Rights: Women Aim to Lead the way to Peace*. Interpress Service.

⁸⁶ Kiplagat, B. (1998). "Is Mediation Alien to Africa?" In *Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution*

⁸⁷ Ibid

Under these circumstances, conflicts over the ownership, control, and use rights of land and other natural resources such as grazing fields and water wells are commonplace. While conflicts are not new to these communities, a combination of factors has changed the dynamics of conflict. Cattle raiding and rustling have overwhelmed local mechanisms for dealing with long term problems and wreaked havoc in the affected communities. During the 1990s, pastoral life was transformed by environmental pressure from droughts and floods, commercialisation of cattle raiding, the influx of sophisticated arms, and changes in the political landscape. According to the *National Development Plan*, by 1997, the drought alone threatened the survival of more than 25 per cent of the population and more than 50 percent of livestock⁸⁸. Raiding of animals for social and cultural purposes is one of the characteristics of pastoral life. Herds, as indicators of wealth and status, are important in cultural rituals such as marriage and childbirth. When clans or communities suffer depletion of their livestock because of calamities or raids, counter raids are carried out against other clans or communities to restock⁸⁹.

Pastoralists have developed elaborate social mechanisms and norms that govern negotiations for compensation after raids. These mechanisms have recently been rendered ineffective for several reasons. Increasing environmental pressure has caused an imbalance in these social systems. Between 1972 and 2000, the Turkana experienced 14 years of drought and famine that have literally wiped out their entire stock⁹⁰. This depletion has increased pressure on

⁸⁸ GOK (1997). *The National Development Plan 1997-2002*. Nairobi: Government Printers

⁸⁹ Human Rights Watch. (1997). *Failing the Internally Displaced: The UNDP Displaced Persons Program in Kenya*. New York: HRW

⁹⁰ Ibid

them to raid other communities to restock. Such raids have resulted in conflicts with loss of life because Turkana are the least armed of the groups in a pastoral axis that includes north-eastern Uganda (Karamanjong), Northwest Kenya, southern Sudan (Toposa) and southern Ethiopia (Randile). Floods from the *El Niño* rains dealt another blow to pastoralists, particularly in north-eastern Kenya. Coming shortly after the 1997 famine and drought, these floods were accompanied by the Rift Valley fever that killed large herds of animals and thousands of people⁹¹.

Depletion of herds has been exacerbated by the expansion of a market economy and the commercialization of raiding. Historically, raided animals have remained within the same ecological region. This meant that stolen animals could be recovered. However, as meat export to regions beyond Africa expands, raiding has taken on another dimension. The introduction of cash for animals has created a network of businesses that offer a ready market for raided animals. Once raided, animals are driven across borders and sold to markets beyond the reach of pastoralists. In this situation, traditional rescue efforts and negotiation mechanisms are useless⁹². Raiding has become an income generating activity rather than a means for augmenting social status or fulfilling cultural roles. Knowing that raided cattle are valuable commercial assets in a money economy and that raided animals may never be recovered, pastoralists are forced to guard their remaining stock closely.

⁹¹ Kagwanja, P. (1998). *Killing the Vote: State-Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya Nairobi*: KHRC.

⁹² Crisp, J. (1999). *A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee-Populated Areas of Kenya*. Geneva: UNHCR

Attempts at raiding are met with strong resistance, often ending in massive destruction of property and loss of life⁹³.

An increasing influx of arms complicates the pressures from the environment and the expansion of animal export commerce. Following the concert of conflicts in the Horn of Africa, and north-eastern Uganda, all of northern Kenya has become an arms bazaar⁹⁴. Two developments have increased the quantity and quality of arms. First, the influx of asylum seekers from countries afflicted by conflict has overwhelmed the capacity of the Kenyan government to control the guns that come in with these populations. Combatants, including militias, mercenaries, and remnants of armies from countries at war, have come with these groups. These men bring the skills and knowledge of waging war along with their sophisticated weapons. The influx of all these armed groups means that the pastoralists have to contend with more than the traditional raiders.

2.2.2 Conflicts Between Pastoral and Agricultural Communities

Faced with expanding desertification from the north, ecological pressure within their zones, and encroachment on the fringes of their lands by farming communities, pastoralists have responded in ways that have escalated ethnic conflicts. Many pastoralists have moved out of their regions in search of pastures for their significantly reduced herds or alternative means of subsistence⁹⁵. This development has brought them into direct conflict with non-pastoral communities. Migrating groups come into conflict with agricultural communities living on

⁹³ Ibid

⁹⁴ Birchem. R. (1996). *Women and Peace in Africa*. International Peace Update 61(5).

⁹⁵ Crisp, J. (1999). *A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee-Populated Areas of Kenya*. Geneva: UNHCR.

the borderlands of semiarid and arable lands. For example, conflicts between the Somalis and the Akamba people of northern Mwingi District, or between communities in northern Meru, epitomise the clash of different ways of life and the failure of a harmonious interface between pastoral and agricultural modes of production⁹⁶.

For those without animals, the search for other means is affected by lack of education, skills, or training. The pastoral communities have the lowest levels of education and training. Therefore, those who seek jobs, enter the labour market at the lowest stratum. Some end up as farm hands in agricultural areas, often being paid as little as the food they need for survival. Others have moved to cities. In both cases, they join the inhabitants of sprawling slums in towns and peri-urban areas. Private security companies favour the Turkana and Maasai because of their reputation for fearlessness. They can obtain employment as watchmen, a job that is not only among the lowest paid, but also carries great risks. Just as their counterparts in the agricultural sector, they are exploited and abused⁹⁷.

Movement out of the northern pastoral zone ultimately destroys pastoral communities and their way of life. It has resulted in family breakdown as the mainly male population gravitates to urban centres and agricultural areas. Left without any other livelihood, the dependency on relief assistance has become the other “mode of subsistence” for those left behind. Most of these people are unprotected women and children who make easy targets

⁹⁶ Ibid

⁹⁷ Kitunyi, M. (1991). *Becoming Kenyan*. Nairobi: East African Publishers.

for raiders. In Turkana for example, it is women and children who have suffered most from attacks by the better armed Toposas, Rangiles and Karamojong communities⁹⁸.

2.2.3 Conflicts Linked to the Presence of Refugees

Kenya's northern belt is ecologically fragile, however, since 1990; it has received more than 500, 000 refugees in locations that support 10,000 people with difficulty. For example, the population of Kakuma division is more than 20,000 people; the Kakuma refugee camp covering an area of 12 square kilometres, hosts more than 100,000 refugees (UNHCR 2009). The effect of such large populations on such fragile environments is momentous. Yet, humanitarian assistance, administered chiefly by international agencies, is designated for refugees. It ignores the plight of the locals whose material condition is usually worse⁹⁹.

The presence of humanitarian assistance resources for refugees in Kakuma, and other displaced populations in the Southern Sudan, for instance, has created oases in the middle of deprived local populations in Turkana districts. This has caused conflicts between the locals and the refugees. As camps continue to attract substantial resources, they develop and expand into surrounding areas. This kind of encroachment also causes conflicts between the locals and refugees¹⁰⁰. Security in the camps and nearby is inadequate. Women are particularly vulnerable to physical attacks and rapes by locals who commit these negative acts to avenge perceived injustices. Human rights protests at the refugee camps in Dadaab are in response to unprecedented levels of violence, principally rape. Reports from that

⁹⁸ Mula, A. (1999). "Go to Famine Areas, Ndingi tells NGOs," *Daily Nation*, 27 November.

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ Crisp, J. (1999). *A State of Insecurity: The Political Economy of Violence in Refugee-Populated Areas of Kenya*. Geneva: UNHCR.

period disclose that most rapes are perpetrated by bandits, probably local Kenyan Somalis or Somalis from either Somalia or Ethiopia. Increased security measures such as fencing off the camps has reduced the number of reported rape cases to about 30 per month, of which more than half are perpetrated outside the camp¹⁰¹.

Insecurity for women and other refugees is also becoming a problem in Kakuma refugee camp, once perceived as a safe area. Crisp¹⁰² reports that by 1998, UNHCR was developing a policy agenda to handle the state of insecurity in and around Kakuma refugee camp. Locals argued that refugees are better cared for, while they destroy the environment and consume natural resources. The locals issued an ultimatum that refugees not use resources outside the camp. The numbers of women attacked outside the camp have been on the increase. While in 1997, only few cases were reported, by August 1999, three out of five women who attempted to harvest wild vegetables or gather firewood outside the camp were attacked or raped by local Turkanas. So high is the insecurity that UNHCR discourages refugees from buying and keeping animals within the camp because local Turkanas invade the camp and seize the animals by force¹⁰³.

2.2.4 Ethnic Clashes

The nature of conflicts in Kenya was transformed by multiparty politics in the 1990s. Across the country, conflicts broke out between or within ethnic groups. While this type of conflict is not new to Kenya, the clashes of the 1990s were noticeably different in scale,

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ UNHCR(1999). *Kakuma Camp: Population Statistics*. UNHCR Sub-Office, Kakuma.

complexity, and consequences. These conflicts presented unique challenges for peace activities. Beginning in 1991, in the euphoria of democratization and the anticipation of the historic 1992 elections, the ethnic clashes that erupted reflected political developments. The first conflict erupted at Mitei-tei Farm in Nandi district¹⁰⁴. Violence then swept through the Rift Valley to Western Province. After the election, clashes intensified and kept recurring on a small scale at different times, in various places through 1995. As the next elections approached, the country witnessed a resurgence of conflicts starting in 1996. In August 1997, Mombasa, unaffected by earlier conflicts, entered the circus of violence¹⁰⁵.

Some analysts attribute these ethnic clashes in Kenya to increased competition for shrinking resources, particularly land¹⁰⁶. However, this interpretation does not explain why the clashes erupted in 1991, why they followed a pattern of occurring in ethnically heterogeneous zones, and more significantly, why the state was reluctant to deal firmly with the perpetrators of violence. Commissioned by UNDP the Rogge report takes an institutional view and does not focus on communities or mention the role of women in the restoration of peace¹⁰⁷. Other analysts look to the role of the state in democratization and opening the political arena in the 1990s, particularly with the repeal of Section 2(a) of the old constitution which made Kenya *de jure* a one party state in 1982. Repeal allowed other parties and different political articulations that challenged the Kenya African National

¹⁰⁴ Kathina, M. and A. Masika. (1997). *Evaluation of the Resettlement Programme for Ethnic Clashes Victims in Kenya*. Nairobi: Department of Foreign and International Development (DFID).

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ Rogge, J. (1993). *The Internally Displaced Population in Kenya, Western and Rift Valley Provinces: A need Assessment and a programme proposal for Rehabilitation*. Nairobi: UNDP.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

Union (KANU), whose power was beginning to erode¹⁰⁸. The KANU ruling clique was uneasy over the prospect of losing the second multiparty election since independence. To ensure victory, they created zones of support that paralleled ethnic configurations. The ethnic zones were designed to isolate populations perceived as supportive of opposition parties. For the state, such communities, defined in ethnic terms, were perceived as enemy populations of doubtful allegiance, whose political actions would be difficult to control. The nexus between ethnicity and geographical space gave the 1990s clashes their unique character¹⁰⁹. The campaign against multiparty politics would have had a less violent impact, were it not for this association. These clashes were attempts to drive away populations seen as “alien” (non-indigenous) in a bid to create ethnic homogeneity, presumed to operate as bloc that could offer political support. As “enemy” communities were expunged, KANU strongmen urged vigilantes to create and protect KANU zones. For example, in early 1991, the controversial *majimbo*s rallies promulgated the theory that the Rift Valley was an exclusive Kalenjin KANU zone. Opposition party leaders were warned not to enter the Rift Valley. Meanwhile, their presumed supporters were being driven out of the Rift Valley¹¹⁰. It is this aspect of the clashes that Peter Kagwanja (1998) labels *state-sponsored violence*.

Ironically, the relationship between ethnicity and territory is rooted in colonial policies that created the enviable “white” highlands. During this period, Kenyans were evicted to create space for settler agriculture. With independence, the principle of “willing seller, willing

¹⁰⁸ Somjee, S. and M. Kathina. (1997). *Situational Analysis of Emergencies in Kenya*. Nairobi: Action-Aid.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Kathina, M. and A. Masika. (1997). *Evaluation of the Resettlement Programme for Ethnic Clashes Victims in Kenya*. Nairobi: Department of Foreign and International Development (DFID).

buyer” determined who could own these lands. People of different ethnic backgrounds, with the ability to purchase these farms, either individually or as members of co-operatives, became neighbours¹¹¹.

Meanwhile, large numbers of people who had been evicted earlier, but did not have money after independence, remained squatters. The areas that witnessed the most violent of inter-ethnic clashes were within the former “white” highlands. The principal areas of conflict included (1) the Rift Valley districts of Nakuru, Molo, Kericho, Nandi, Uasin Gishu, Trans-Mara, and Marakwet; (2) the districts that flank Mt. Elgon, namely, Trans-Nzoia, Bungoma and Mt. Elgon, and (3) Mombasa in the Coast region¹¹².

2.3 Stakeholders in 2007-2008 post election violence

2.3.1 Political Parties and Tribes

With the failure of the NARC party, many who were left out of power from the failed power-sharing MOU in 2002 formed the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). The ODM was largely comprised of a tribal alliance between the Kalenjin, Luhyas and Luos. Kibaki and the Kikuyu in power formed the Party of National Unity (PNU). The three main tribes involved in the 2007 post-election violence were the Kikuyus, Luos and Kalenjins. The Luhyas were a part of the ODM, however, not much is written about their involvement. As Mutua puts it: “The reality on the ground is that most African political parties are not

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Kagwanja, P. (1998). *Killing the Vote: State-Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya* Nairobi: KHRC.

communities of political ideology or philosophy rather they are vehicles of ethnic nativism¹¹³.

2.3.2 International Community

Attempts by the ODM to stage public, peaceful protests in Nairobi and other cities were squashed by the police after Kibaki made them illegal through an executive order. Kibaki, on the other hand, was legally certified as the president and had the legal right to ban the protests, especially if the protests could compromise the stability of the government. The first to step in to mediate a solution between the PNU and ODM was led by an African Union negotiator along with a combined team of the French, British, US diplomats¹¹⁴. After this mediation attempt failed, the former Secretary of the UN, Kofi Annan stepped in and negotiated a power sharing deal between Kibaki and Odinga where Odinga became Prime Minister and the ODM was given 10 cabinet positions. This deal was very similar to that which should have occurred in 2002 under the NARC's pre-election agreement.

2.3.3 Land & Government

The issue of land in Kenya is central in its history of conflict and is an example of structural violence. This is in part because of long and complex histories of land dealings among tribes. Often the members of the tribe in power were unethically given or allowed to use land, frequently at the expense of other tribes. This is also in part due to the complex legal structure surrounding land (there are at least 42 laws that apply to land, some of which

¹¹³ Mutua, M. (2008). *Kenya's quest for democracy: taming the leviathan*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

¹¹⁴ Lafargue, J. and M. Katumanga (2008). Post-election violence and precarious pacification. Lafargue, J. (Ed.). *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*. (pp. 13-34). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd.

contradict to the other) combined with the weak judicial branch to carry out these laws effectively¹¹⁵. During the 2007 post-election violence, the historic land issues between the Kikuyu and Kalenjins continued to be a major cause of conflict.

In 1939, under British colonization, the Kikuyu were forced to move from the Central Province by the British, making way for an exclusive community of white settlers known as the 'White Highlands'¹¹⁶. Many Kikuyus traveled north to settle in the Rift Valley. After Kenya became independent from Britain, even more people from the Kikuyu tribe settled in the Rift Valley, protected by Kenyatta's power¹¹⁷. Some would say Kenyatta "gave" this resource rich land to the Kikuyu. But from the Kikuyu point of view, they were unjustly made to leave their land in the Central Province by the British, and were expected to go elsewhere.¹¹⁸

Similar to what Kenyatta did with the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley during his tenure (1963-1978), Moi (1978-2002) did with the Mau Forest, the most lush part of the Rift Valley. Given that the forest is government trust land, Moi used his position to grant executive permission for his tribal community, the Kalenjins, to settle there. Kibaki, also using the same executive power, expelled the Kalenjins from the Mau Forest in 2003, with most returning, arguing that they had a right to the land that "Moi gave them"¹¹⁹. This expulsion, along with the promise of future expulsion attempts played a large part in the Kalenjin

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Cussac, A. (2008). "Kibaki tena?" *The challenges of a campaign* Lafargue, J. (Ed.). The general elections in Kenya, 2007. (pp. 55-104). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd.

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid

bands militantly evicting the Kikuyu from their homes, destroying their dwellings, and occasionally murdering those resisting these actions after the election results were announced (Cussac, 2008). In an example of the dynamic nature of conflict, Kibaki in 2008 once again called for the removal of the Kalenjins from the Mau Forest. This time, the Kalenjins lobbied Odinga as Prime Minister and part of the ODM Luo-Kalenjin alliance, to resist the executive order.

In 2003, Kibaki set up a commission to document the history of illegal land disbursements during the Kenyatta and Moi eras. This resulted in the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Illegal/Irregular Allocation of Public Land*, otherwise known as the Ndung'u report – a 244 page document with nearly 1800 pages of appendices intimately outlining the common practice by corrupt politicians of illegally awarding land for political gain.

Youth

Post-election violence resulting from the abnormalities seen in the 2007 election in Kenya involved many facets of society. Perhaps the most volatile of these were youth with little opportunity within the previous Kibaki government for jobs and had even less hope for the future. The ODM understood this and harnessed the youth vote by organizing them, for the first time in a Kenyan election, into voting blocks¹²⁰. This vehicle of organization combined with Kibaki making peaceful demonstrations illegal is thought to have been why the youth violently reacted after the announcement of the Kibaki victory¹²¹.

2.4 Responding to Conflict and Restoring Peace

Attempts to restore peace in Kenya have taken two distinct paths. One consisted of formal

¹²⁰ Mutua, M. (2008). *Kenya's quest for democracy: taming the leviathan*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

¹²¹ Ibid

peace negotiations conducted by political leaders and sometimes mediated by external parties. The second path contains an array of grass-roots initiatives. These attempts culminated in three types of peace building. The responses can be classified as the formal (government), semiformal (individuals in government positions) and informal (grass roots).

2.4.1 Formal Response - The Role of the Government

The conflicts that plagued Kenya in the 1990s were seen in political terms. Leaders in government, particularly KANU stalwarts, including the President, blamed the clashes on multiparty politics. At another level, clashes were seen as an attempt to ensure the survival of the state. According to this interpretation, the political agenda of the state took two forms. First, clashes became a vehicle to fulfill President Moi's prediction that Kenya's return to a multiparty system would plunge the country into tribal violence. The second agenda item was to influence the outcomes of the multiparty elections in 1992 and 1997¹²².

Emanating from these two positions, the search for peace needed to be conceived within the arena of high politics. Affected communities became recipients, rather than participants in these initiatives. This top-down perception of peace became the greatest weakness of the formal response. Activities within this framework remained ad-hoc; they lacked community support, and failed. Calls for peace by the government were met with suspicion and distrust. Government officials were viewed by most victims and analysts as partisan, unable to keep the conflict in check, and either unwilling or incapable of responding to its consequences. The people saw attempts to preach peace as pursuing state survival. The government argued

¹²² Ibid

that irresponsible utterances by opposition Members of Parliament (MPs) and their desire to wreak havoc before the elections had caused the clashes and perpetuated them¹²³.

After the 1992 clashes the President toured areas affected by clashes, ordered that violence stop, and appealed for calm. In the most insecure areas he invoked the Preservation of Public Security Act and declared the hardest hit areas of Elburgon, Molo, Londiani and Burnt Forest security operation zones. This act banned outlawed the possession of firearms, instituted curfews, and prohibited movement into these areas. As one young man explained, “When the President came to Mt. Elgon and told people the fighting should stop, it stopped.” While the President’s tour became a reference point for peace building activities, the declaration of security zones isolated these areas. The bans on entering or working in the zones interfered with the work of certain NGOs and prohibited certain individuals from visiting them. Among those obstructed were Aurelia Brazeal, the US Ambassador to Kenya and a team of MPs from the United Kingdom and Denmark¹²⁴.

More government administrators went to affected areas. Their first tasks were to increase security and oversee the return of displaced people. Molo, one of the hardest hit sites, received an additional 15 district and police officers. The presence of government officers, some of whom were eager to begin their assignments, stabilised populations and provided a basis for peace work. These efforts did not go far enough in punishing the perpetrators of violence, leaving this as an unresolved issue in most of the areas affected by clashes. These government-driven efforts encouraged little participation from affected communities. For

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁴ Human Rights Watch. (1997). *Failing the Internally Displaced: The UNDP Displaced Persons Program in Kenya*. New York: HRW.

the most part, these communities remained suspicious of the government and reluctant to seek meaningful involvement¹²⁵.

2.4.2 Informal Grassroots Peace Building Initiatives

Local peace-building activities emerged out of despair and exasperation with conflict. Initial responses were based on the relief model and dominated largely by international actors. In this model, food relief comes first, followed by returning displaced populations, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Peace and reconciliation are part of rehabilitation. However, persistent problems with displacement led to outside actors experiencing burnout. Furthermore, resources were diminishing because of donor fatigue, and frustration with the government was increasing¹²⁶.

Although the departure of foreign actors created a vacuum, it did leave local actors with the space to reassert their role and engage in a wide range of activities related to returning, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Peace building posed particular challenges for most local actors. It required specific skills and institutional support, both of which were scarce at the local and national levels. The withdrawal of foreign actors translated into reduced funds for local actors working with displaced populations. A set of challenges were generated at the ground level where most displaced persons began to show signs of weariness with assistance programmes and eagerness to return to their homes. This generated immense pressure for actors to look to issues beyond relief, a challenge that required big budgets and long term commitments. Constrained by limited expertise, resources, and government

¹²⁵ Barasa, L. (2000) "Government Set Up Army Camp in West Pokot," *Daily Nation*, 2 February.

¹²⁶ Nasong'o, SW (2007). *Negotiating new rules of the game: Social movements, civil society and the Kenyan transition*. G.R. Murunga, S.W. Nasong'o (Eds.). Kenya: the struggle for democracy. (pp. 19-57). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillian.

support, local actors were forced to turn to local resources. They sought skills, capacities, and available opportunities among members of communities with which they worked. Through intense interaction and working together, peace actions were initiated and the process of transforming conflict began. In short, local peace builders learned while working for peace.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACE BUILDING

3.1 Introduction

Peace building is a markedly complex undertaking, which involves a multitude of diverse actors—including women. Much of the existing literature on women’s involvement with attaining and maintaining peace discusses the possible roles of women in peace building, such as grassroots organizing or involvement in reconciliation. However, it does not explicitly present a casual explanation for how their participation keeps war from resuming in the long run. In the following section, an attempt to link the functions of women in peace building to a casual explanation of how that participation fosters sustainable peace by addressing the general issues encountered by peace-builders outlined above. Because peace building is a lengthy and complex process, only a limited claim can be made for the independent effect of women’s participation resulting in a successful peace outcome; however, there are several plausible ways in which the substantive participation of women might constructively contribute to the prospects for peace.

3.2 Women and Civil War:

As Haleh Afshar (2003) argues, historical constructions of nationhood and nationalism often rest on masculine foundations—particularly in post-colonial societies—and so these ideologies are not necessarily altered during conflict but “are simply suspended.”¹²⁷ These salient norms, formed over the course of historical processes, help to explain why women are often excluded from the peace process despite the impact of the conflict on their well-

¹²⁷ Haleh Afshar (2003) “*Women and Wars: Some Trajectories towards a Feminist Peace*” in *Development in Practice* 13, no. 2/3 p. 178-188.

being. Further, after conflict has decimated a population, women may be pressured to fulfill their role as mothers by helping to rebuild the nation through childbearing. Control over women in the domestic sphere can become regarded as necessary to “protect, revive and create the nation.”¹²⁸

In addition, many feminist critiques have demonstrated that the international community is patriarchal in its approach to post-conflict transition and peacebuilding, in both the composition of international organizations, including the United Nations, and in the community’s approach to negotiations and DDR proceedings. The narrow legal categories constructed by the United Nations in relation to violations during intrastate conflict often do not incorporate violence against women—as such, these violations are excluded from the narrative of the conflict to the detriment of the country’s women.¹²⁹

Thus, although international actors may not be explicitly patriarchal, they can still perpetuate detrimental norms and contribute to the construction of a narrative of the conflict that may marginalize the role played by women both during and after. To remedy this, the international community has undertaken a goal of gender mainstreaming, which is defined as:

“... the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political,

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹²⁹ Ibid

economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated”¹³⁰

Gender mainstreaming is particularly significant in its application to conflict transformation, as it is increasingly recognized at both the international and domestic level that women and men do not experience conflict in the same way and have different needs and priorities in the aftermath.¹³¹ Most notably, women are often excluded from the initial decision to engage in conflict, but are then disproportionately affected by its consequences. In contemporary civil wars, civilians—particularly women— have increasingly become the victims of violence.

Women are especially vulnerable to rape and sexual violence, which are used as strategic weapons to humiliate the other side and threaten the existence of ethnic groups.¹³² It is difficult to gather data for all conflicts regarding the extent of sexual violence against women, but—for example—during the 1994 Rwandan genocide, between 250,000 and 500,000 women are thought to have been raped.¹³³ The Organization of Africa Unity’s International Panel of Experts (OAU/IPEP) found that “practically every female over the age of 12 who survived the genocide was raped” during the course of conflict. Tutsi women

¹³⁰ Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI (2002), “Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview” New York: United Nations,).

¹³¹ Linda Etchart and Rawwida Baksh,(2005) “Applying a Gender Lens to Armed Conflict, Violence and Conflict Transformation,” in *Gender Mainstreaming in Conflict Transformation: Building Sustainable Peace*, London: Commonwealth Secretariat.

¹³² Joyce P. Kaufman and Kristen P. Williams, (2010) *Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict*, Sterling, VA: Kumarian Press, p. 38.

¹³³ Karen Brouneus (2008) “*Truth Telling as Talking Cure? Insecurity and Retraumatization in the Rwandan Gacaca Courts*” in *Security Dialogue* 39, no. 1: p. 55-76.

were particularly vulnerable, because rape was used as a deliberate weapon to target women in their procreative role and to destroy the purity of their ethnic group. As abortion is illegal in Rwanda, the National Population Office estimates that between 2000 and 2500 unwanted pregnancies occurred from these rapes—leaving women with the lifelong responsibility of bearing and caring for their rapists’ children. Not only did such widespread sexual violence result in profound physical and psychological trauma, but the HIV prevalence rate in Rwanda also dramatically increased from 1 percent prior to the conflict in 1994 to 11 percent by 1997, with higher rates still persisting among women (at 11.3 percent) rather than men (at 10.8 percent).¹³⁴

Beyond undermining the cultural identity of the women and their ethnic groups, collective rape functions as an assertion of masculinity and can strengthen the sense of loyalty within groups of male fighters.¹³⁵ Also, many women experience violence within the home during conflict, as incidences of domestic violence increase during civil war—with domination becoming the norm and displaced males compensating for feelings of impotence in the public sphere.¹³⁶ Women are also more likely than men during a civil war to be displaced, experience food insecurity and to lose traditional social networks.¹³⁷

While women are generally the victims during conflict, their condition should not be misconstrued as one of passivity. Because of the extreme circumstances in which they are

¹³⁴ Helen Hudson (2010) “*Peace Building through a Gender Lens*” in *Gender and International Security: Feminist Perspectives*, New York: Routledge, p. 264.

¹³⁵ Miranda Alison (2007) “Wartime Sexual Violence: Women’s Human Rights and Questions of Masculinity” in *Review of International Studies* 33, no. 1: p. 77.

¹³⁶ Jennifer Turpin (1998) “Many Faces: Women Confronting War” in *The Women and War Reader*, eds. Lois Ann Lorentzen and Jennifer Turpin, New York: New York University Press, p. 3-4.

¹³⁷ Ibid

placed, women often adopted proactive strategies to ensure their survival and to provide for their families. Further, women do not always retain their civilian status during these wars—they are increasingly likely to participate either as combatants or as women associated with fighting forces (WAFF), who provide logistical and economic support for the fighters. For example, it is estimated that between 25,000 and 30,000 women participated in the Liberian conflict in one of these capacities.¹³⁸ The motivations behind this participation: women and girls are sometimes abducted and forced to join in the conflict. In these cases, they are frequently responsible for finding food and water, preparing meals, cleaning the camp and other forms of logistical support.¹³⁹ Often, these women and girls become economically and socially dependent on the armed forces for their livelihood—making it important to consider their needs during the DDR process.

3.3 Women involvement in Peace building

Having explored the effects of civil war on women and some of the reasons why women are often not meaningfully included in the peace process, this next section will present a causal theory of how women's participation in peace building can contribute to sustainable peace. However, it must be quickly noted that, in addition to the potential for women to contribute to successful peace outcomes, their participation should also be encouraged on the basis of fairness and justice. In countries afflicted by civil war, women account for half the

¹³⁸ Abu Sherif (2008) “Reintegration of Female War-Affected and Ex-Combatants in Liberia” in African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes: Conflict Trends, p. 28

¹³⁹ Isis-WICCE, A Situational Analysis of the Women Survivors of the 1989-2003 Armed Conflict in Liberia, (Uganda: Isis-WICCE, November 2008), p. 112-123.

population and so should comprise half the decision-makers; further, women are greatly victimized during the conflict and thus deserve to be heard.¹⁴⁰

3.3.1 Addressing Fear and Mistrust

Following protracted conflict, the warring factions retain incentives for aggression and a relapse into violence is possible when the other side's intentions are unknown. Peacebuilding attempts to address this insecurity and prevent a return to violence through various avenues, as discussed above, and women can directly contribute to many of these efforts in a variety of ways. For instance, women's groups often run workshops that require members of opposing parties to work together, creating a forum for cooperation.¹⁴¹

Further, women's organizations and individual women are more suited to meeting with the enemy without arousing suspicion, helping to foster trust—which can be sustained even when tension arises or peace talks stall. Because women are less implicated during conflict, anecdotal evidence suggests that they are at least perceived to be more trustworthy in the aftermath by all parties. Women are thought to undertake peace initiatives on behalf of their communities, rather than for personal gain; this perception of neutrality and their willingness to engage with both sides allow women the opportunity to monitor warring factions on the ground and to engage them in meaningful dialogue, helping to reduce fears and uncertainty.

¹⁴⁰ Swanee Hunt, "Moving Beyond Silence: Women Waging Peace" in *Listening to the Silences: Women and War*, eds. Helen Durham and Tracy Gurd (The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill BV, 2005), 251.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*

While working towards a cessation in violence and even afterwards, the presence of women at negotiations may also facilitate more productive, less aggressive interactions. Unlike the competing sides, women have fewer reasons to view negotiations as a zero-sum game; their presence may therefore temper hostility and promote a focus on the opportunity to better society, rather than on amassing the maximum amount of power.¹⁴²

These observations are supported by psychologist Simon Baron-Cohen who has conducted years of empirical research on the differences in communication styles between males and females: he found that women are “more likely to express anger less directly and to propose compromises more often,” which can lead to less confrontational exchange.¹⁴³ Another key aspect of peacebuilding is the implementation of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), which lowers the probability of a security dilemma by removing weapons from both sides and prevents a relapse to violence by integrating both forces back into society. Women play an integral role in this long-term process, as they often take on the task of “support, reintegrating and rehabilitating former combatants,” because no other parties are able or interested.¹⁴⁴ Women do so by providing physical assistance and temporary housing, caring for child soldiers and offering counseling. Further, combatants are frequently more willing to surrender weapons to women—as a part of the informal community—rather than official organizations because they want to avoid accusations of hiding illegal weapons. Women are generally cognizant that, if peace fails, they will be unarmed and again vulnerable to extreme violence—thus, they are invested in successful DDR implementation.

¹⁴² Simon Baron-Cohen (2003) *The Essential Difference: The Truth About the Male and Female Brain*, New York: Basic Books, p 47.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*

In addition, women also have unique leverage in their roles as wives and mothers for fostering trust and creating new norms of acceptance and peace. Often women have loyalties to different kin groups due to local marriage customs, as in the case of Tutsi women married to Hutu men and vice versa in Rwanda; in the aftermath of conflict, this can increase their bargaining power and place them in a position to put pressure on their husbands or sons to seek more peaceful solutions to conflict.¹⁴⁵ Such pressure may convince men to turn in their weapons or simply to engage with the other side in a less contentious manner. Many women's organizations also promote peace education for women, to encourage awareness of the cultural values they convey to their children through everyday interactions—and how these “may contribute to discriminatory and violent behavior.”¹⁴⁶ Through this education, women can adopt alternative forms of socialization and so promote trust and non-violent ways of dealing with conflict which many women participated as fighters or provided community-based supports to the armed factions, their reintegration is equally important to ensuring peace. When these women are not incorporated into the program, they can continue to maintain groups by working at their camps, producing food and caring for the injured. Thus, without women and girls, the camps and fighters would not function effectively; their

¹⁴⁵ Laketch Dirasse (1995) “*Gender Issues and Displaced Populations*” in *A Commitment to the World's Women: Perspectives on Development for Beijing and Beyond*, eds. N. Heyzer et al., New York: UNIFEM, p. 214-224.

¹⁴⁶ Birgitte Sorensen (1998) “Women and Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources,” War-Torn Societies Project: *Occasional Paper No. 3*, (Geneva: UNRISD-PSIS,), p. 7

exclusion from the DDR process allows groups to remobilize more efficiently—keeping the potential security threat high.¹⁴⁷

Further, women themselves can act as spoilers: the commitment of women who voluntarily joined opposition movements cannot be underestimated.¹⁴⁸ Women can often be reluctant to surrender their weapons, particularly those coming from societies in which they are heavily discriminated against. For these women, a weapon can function as a “direct source of respect, empowerment and protection.”¹⁴⁹ Therefore, it is essential to ensure that their particular needs are addressed and that female combatants are also disarmed and reintegrated into the society—building trust on both sides. Overall, individual women, as well as women’s organizations, adopt a variety of strategies for reducing fear and uncertainty following conflict and fostering an environment of trust and collaboration. While not exhaustive, the above discussion indicates that there are many avenues through which these efforts—or women’s inclusion in the DDR process—can bolster peacebuilding initiatives and so contribute to a positive peace outcome.

3.3.2 Rebuilding Political and Economic Institutions

Peacebuilding also necessarily involves rebuilding or reconstituting political and economic institutions in an inclusive manner and promoting democratization, through mechanisms such as fair elections and increased popular participation. These long-term undertakings help to develop a stable society that is able to deal with competing interests in a non-violent manner. In this realm, the participation of women is particularly vital— not in the least

¹⁴⁷ Ibid

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

because women constitute half of every population, and so their full and fair participation is necessary for a functional democracy. In terms of political institutions, women play a multi-faceted role in both the formal and informal spheres. Informally, women's organizations frequently influence the political agenda; however, these initiatives are often undertaken in the realm of civil society and so will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Formally, women who adopt positions of political leadership provide a direct alternative to traditional political actors, adding to the post-conflict impetus of change. As mentioned above, women are generally less responsible for atrocities committed during war and so both their political colleagues and the public at large may trust them more in leadership positions. Women candidates are also perceived as more honest, as they have been found less likely to engage in corruption or questionable activities that could tarnish their credibility—this restraint is often credited to the greater degree of scrutiny on women in political positions and the harsher repercussions they would face after having been perceived as symbols of trust.¹⁵⁰

As political actors, women often use their gender identities and common social experiences to bridge divides, providing an example for other politicians to work across party lines. Particularly because women remain a minority in the political realm, they have greater incentives to work as a collective and also to reach out to male candidates regardless of affiliations.¹⁵¹ Women's propensity towards inclusion can also be explained as a result of

¹⁵⁰ Laura McGrew, Kate Frieson, and Sambath Chan, (2004) *Good Governance from the Ground Up: Women's Role in Post-Conflict Cambodia*, Washington DC: Hunt Alternatives Fund.

¹⁵¹ Ibid

their own experiences of discrimination or exclusion, which often motivate female candidates to seek office. As such, they are more inclined to collaborate and work towards consensus or compromise—contributing to peacebuilding’s paramount goal of eliminating political exclusion. The greater participation of women in politics also implicitly promotes moderation as it creates a political body more representative of the population, drawing in a previously marginalized group and broadening the agenda of issues to be discussed.¹⁵² More so than men, women politicians tend to exhibit a greater sense of responsibility to their constituents and so lobby for issues ranging from access to land and education to gender discrimination and sexual violence. Overall, women in the formal political sphere contribute to peace outcomes by promoting collaboration—and thus minimizing political exclusion as a motivation for returning to war—and by contributing to a more trustworthy, responsive government which bolsters the state’s legitimacy among the populace and provides a foundation for democratization.

Women can also participate in rebuilding the economic institutions of a post-war state. In doing so, they contribute to economic stability and growth, and so raise incentives for both sides to continue peaceable relations. Although in many countries women are excluded from the formal sector of the economy, they contribute significantly in terms of both agriculture and the informal sector. During conflict and afterwards, women often become responsible for men’s traditional roles, allowing them to learn new entrepreneurial skills and also to

¹⁵² Ibid

assert themselves in new economic realms.¹⁵³ After violence has ceased, women still remain primarily responsible for providing for dependants, as frequently their male relatives have either been killed or imprisoned during the fighting. Thus, the revitalization of the economy—particularly as the local level—falls to women who must support themselves and their families. To accomplish this, women have proven adept at establishing new networks based on kinship or locality to work collectively towards restoring their livelihoods.

By resuming agricultural production and contributing to informal sector activities, such as petty trade or work in small-scale businesses, women capitalize on income-generating opportunities that can lead to expansion in both these areas.¹⁵⁴ While often marginalized from employment in the formal sector due to a lack of education or domestic responsibility, women still constructively contribute to the reformation of the economy at the grassroots level. Further, by providing for their families and dependants—including former soldiers and returned refugees—women contribute the economic recovery of their families and the revitalization of the economy overall. These efforts increase post-war stability and decrease the likelihood that men will revert to life as a soldier due to an inability to support themselves economically.

Thus, women's participation in the political and economic realm can contribute to sustainable peace through multiple pathways, which often overlap and reinforce each other. Most noticeably, they increase the inclusivity of political institutions and also contribute to

¹⁵³ Mark F. Chingono (1996) "Women, War and Change: An Ambiguous Legacy" in *The State, Violence and Development: The Political Economy of War in Mozambique, 1975-1992*, ed. M.F. Chingono, Aldershot: Avebury Press p. 209-243.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*

economic stability and growth—both of which alter the incentives for returning to war and provide a solid foundation for continued democratization.

3.3.3 Reconciliation

In post-war societies there exists a psychological and social need for reconciliation through addressing the needs of victims and creating avenues of accountability and healing. Peacebuilding involves both formal reconciliation, such as seeking justice in the courts, and informal mechanisms of increasing social cohesion and tolerance. In this realm, women are key actors—as wives and mothers, they are often the backbone of society, while as victims, their experiences must also be voiced to facilitate forgiveness.

As Porter (2001) noted, women often exhibit the ability to “dialogue across differences”—which catalyzes reconciliation efforts and promotes the inclusion of all sides in these discussions.¹⁵⁵ In the aftermath of conflict, women are more likely to form inter-ethnic associations to deal with remaining difficulties; in doing so, they create a “shared space” for diverse women and also contribute to the healing process.¹⁵⁶ As so many women have experience traumatic sexual violence, they are particularly sensitive to such experiences—thus organizations and individual women often provide psycho-social counseling to victims in the aftermath. By listening to testimonies, women help to relieve victims of emotional burdens that would potential lead to sustained animosity.

¹⁵⁵ Elizabeth Porter (2001) “The *Challenge of Dialogue Across Difference*” in *Gender, Democracy and Inclusion* in Northern Ireland, eds. Carmel Roulston and Celia Davis New York: Palgrave.

¹⁵⁶ Kimberly A. Maynard (1997) “*Rebuilding Community: Psycho-Social Healing, Reintegration and Reconciliation at the Grassroots Level*” in *Rebuilding Societies after Civil War*, ed. K. Kumar, London: Lynne Rienner, p. 203-26.

Women's organizations also frequently promote an awareness of human rights and address issues of justice by assisting victims with their compensation claims; these activities are vital to creating a sense of trust by providing closure for victims rather than lingering uncertainty.¹⁵⁷ As witnesses, women are crucial to a variety of cases because they were not directly involved in the fighting; thus, women—more so than male soldiers—are better able to provide information about crimes perpetrated against civilians or their own relevant experiences.⁸⁶ In this way, women can help to bring more perpetrators to justice, publicly demonstrating the costs of committing war crimes and so deterring similar actions in the future. Further, because women are “less afraid of breaking down, crying in public or showing strong emotion,” they contribute to a more conducive atmosphere for genuine sharing and forgiveness.¹⁵⁸ Women are more likely than men to engage in symbolic acts of forgiveness or to display empathy also towards those who perpetrated violence against them, which can inspire others to follow such an example toward meaningful reconciliation. Because widespread sexual violence is common, women's participation in prosecuting those who violated them is also vital to their own psychological healing and to deterring such acts in the future. Thus, through both their participation and facilitation, women and women's organizations contribute to mending the social fabric post-conflict and fostering trust between different groups. In turn, this healing prevents previous hatreds from being co-opted to motivate a return to violence and also provides a necessary mechanism for dealing with the atrocities of war while working towards a more positive future—making peace increasingly more appealing than a repetition of the past.

¹⁵⁷ Bridget Byrne, *Gender, Conflict and Development*, Vol I: Overview: BRIDGE Report No. 34, (Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, 1996).

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*

3.3.4 Fostering Civil Society

Long-term peace is achieved by incorporating a variety of actors and working from both the top-down and the bottom-up. As discussed in relation to peacebuilding, the realm of civil society is separate from the personal, economic and political spheres; however, it can influence and bolster the efforts of each of the three peacebuilding objectives: reducing fear and mistrust, rebuilding political and economic institutions and promoting reconciliation. In civil society, women are often community leaders and central player in NGOs, and so are poised to significantly contribute to grassroots initiatives for sustaining peace. The discussions of women's roles above have all included contributions from the realm of civil society, such as women's organizations providing counseling services to victims of violence or networks of women working together to renew their economic livelihoods. Further, because of shared experiences during war and a common desire to eliminate violence, women are likely to form coalitions that address a variety of needs during the period of peacebuilding—particularly when the state is unable or unwilling to provide necessary social services. For example, women's grassroots organizations address issues such as children and adult education, build up primary healthcare services, help to reintegrate refugees and former combatants, offer micro-loans and provide counseling for psychological distress.¹⁵⁹ In doing so, women directly contribute to improving their communities and to overall development efforts; these initiatives promote peace by providing incentives for non-violence and by promoting cooperation across ethnic, religious and cultural lines.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

While women may be formally incorporated into politics, women's organizations also work through civil society to positively influence the political agenda and pressure leaders to maintain peace. Informally, women's organizations can undertake strategies such as "corridor lobbying," by literally waiting in hallways to talk to negotiators as they enter or exit rooms during breaks; women's groups provide these actors with proposals and receive updates on progress of negotiations.¹⁶⁰ Women are then able to take this information back to their communities, contributing to a more collaborative process than would otherwise occur based on the exclusivity of those involved in the post-conflict decision-making process. This is particularly true as, in comparison to international or governmental organizations, women's groups can more effectively disseminate information that resonates with the populace and are better able to reach marginalized or illiterate groups due to their existing community-based structures.¹⁶¹

Women's groups also often lobby politicians during the process of constitution making, ensuring that their rights are recognized and attempting to increase the scope of those rights.¹⁶² In the case of Rwanda, for example, women's groups were successful in changing property laws so that women could inherit land from male relatives—this expansion of rights contributed to stability of society as well as the economic viability of many women and their families in the post-conflict period. Because women's organizations are generally local, they are able to anticipate and evaluate the effects of top-down policies on their communities, allowing them to better identify barriers to peace or opportunities for positive

¹⁶⁰ Ruth Jacobson (1995) "Women's Political Participation: Mozambique's Democratic Transition" in *Gender and Development* 3, no. 2:, p. 29-35.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*

¹⁶² *Ibid*

development. Women's associations can also significantly shape public opinion through grassroots movements and public demonstrations, such as mass mobilizations for peace whenever there is a threat of a return to violence.¹⁶³

Thus, even when not in office, women's commitment to peace manifest itself within civil society and raises the costs of going a return to war for politicians—particularly as women often form the majority of electorate in the post-war period due to high mortality levels among male soldiers. Further, in terms of candidates, women have been found to be more likely to support candidates who demonstrate a commitment to “peace, moderation and reform.” In this way, individual women also hold politicians accountable for maintaining peace and contribute to the creation of a more moderate political body.¹⁶⁴

In general, women are the most prominent actors in civil society and contribute to its vibrancy and growth post-conflict through the proliferation of women's organizations committed to serving the needs of the population and promoting peace. By providing social and economic services, contributing to reconciliation efforts and pressuring political leaders to maintain peace and create a more responsive government, women in civil society combat the underlying causes of conflict and raise the costs of returning to war—reinforcing reconstruction efforts and the likelihood that peace will prevail.

¹⁶³ United Nations Economic and Security Council, *Peace: Women and the Peace Process*, Report of the Secretary-General, (E/CN.6/1993/4).

¹⁶⁴ Catalina Rojas, *In the Midst of War: Women's Contribution to Peace in Colombia* (Washington, DC: Hunt Alternate Fund, 2004).

In conclusion, individual women and women's organizations employ a variety of strategies to work towards peace and stability following conflict; however, as the above discussion has demonstrated, all of these pathways can increase the probability of sustainable peace through numerous, overlapping mechanisms. By initiating a dialogue between both sides and creating opportunities for collaboration—built on the exchange of information and growth of trust—women disrupt spirals of fear by reducing uncertainty about the other side's actions and intentions. In promoting inclusive political and economic institutions, women help to address the root causes of conflict and so remove previous motivations for violence. Women's organizations can further generate political pressure to raise the costs for leaders of returning to war. Women's dedication to reconciliation also helps to build trust and demonstrate the future costs of war—such as retributive justice for war crimes or social pressure to maintain peace. Working within civil society, women and women's organizations contribute to all of these initiatives while providing tangible benefits to their communities and incentives to move beyond a violent past towards a more peaceful future.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the key themes emanating from the findings in based on the theoretical framework. The key themes highlighted include: women as socializing agents; gender preference in the provision of education; religion as a social control (belief in everlasting life, Christian model and social solidarity); in Kenya a case study of Nakuru county in 2007-2008 post election violence. In addition, the chapter also presents the findings based on the objectives; women's contribution to promotion of security process; governance and peace building; Relief and Development policies as well as reconciliation in Kenya after 2007-2008 violence

4.2 Women as Socializing Agents

During 2007-2008 post election violence women in Nakuru County, as mothers, acted as peace builders by teaching their children and talking to their husbands about learning to live peacefully with their neighbors. They demonstrated this by helping children from the warring communities who needed refuge, food and clothing. This showed that their nurturing role is part of their natural duty and it makes them love peace so as to create an enabling environment to take care of their children well. Peace-making seems to be a traditional activity of women as evidenced by *Ruth Kimani*, the headmistress of Good Shepherd School who is the secretary of Gilgil Women Peace group who had this to say:

'We as women, used storytelling, traditional songs and riddles to teach our children to love one another and to live peacefully with their neighbours. As a teacher, I had

to devise a method so as to enable the pupils to enter into a relationship based on the real harmony of interest and understanding. I had to involve them in games however difficult it was. I had to make sure that the pupils used friendly language so as not to hurt children from other communities and I encouraged the idea of sharing stationery and group visits.'

Women being the social cement of every society are taught as young children, most often by their mothers, their peace-making skills and the roles which they will have to perform after marriage, within the family and with their neighbors¹⁶⁵. This confirms what a chairlady of Naivasha women group had to say:

'We are often original and clear in our creativity as peace builders because we have been trained by our mothers on how to bring peace right from childhood.'

This suggests that men and women have different styles of handling inter-personal conflicts. To some extent this is reflected in the differential socialization boys and girls are exposed to in the society. Girls are socialized to value relationships and maintain harmony while boys are socialized to value status and seek victory. The essence of conflict theory that is best epitomized by the classic 'pyramid structure' in which an elite dictates terms to the larger masses is very well depicted here. Women are expected to take a cooperative stance in conflict situations while men are more competitive¹⁶⁶ as all major institutions, laws, and

¹⁶⁵ Pearce, Jenny (2005). "The International Community and Peacebuilding." *Development*, Vol.48, No.3. pp.41-49.

¹⁶⁶ Randall, Margaret. (1992) *Gathering Rage: The Failure of Twentieth Century Revolutions to Develop a Feminist Agenda*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

traditions in the society are created to support those who have traditionally been in power, or the groups that are perceived to be superior in the society according to this theory.

At the household level, woman in Naivasha openly told her son that:

'If I could have known that the food I am preparing is only going to energize you to shed blood, I wouldn't have prepared it.'

This statement stopped her son from accompanying other warriors as they went to raid because, according to him, this was an open curse on him. Women encouraged their children to go to stay with their distant relatives and friends as a way of building good relationships. This practice enabled these children to learn to live peacefully with other children as brothers and sisters. The concern for liberal and equality feminists is based on the restriction of public space by war. Betty Reardon (1985) and Carol Pateman (1988) describe the conditioning of men towards aggression and women to submission as the patriarchal contract that the legitimisation of violence and war is based on.

From the findings, it came out very clearly from the respondents that women used reward and punishment as tools of instilling a culture of peace in their children. This is in support of theories that attempt to explain how socialization occurs like reinforcement and cognitive learning. As Kohlberg posits in his cognitive learning theory, children learn from their parents and reinforcement focuses on socialization that proceeds from reward and punishment rather than from observation alone¹⁶⁷ Patriarchal structures are of importance to FPCT. For essentialist feminists, male aggression is the main cause of war. Feminists, such

¹⁶⁷ Stockard, O. and M. M. Johnson (1980) *Sex roles, sex inequality and sex role development*, Prentice Hall, London,

as Mary Daly (1978) or activists in the Ecofeminist (Vandana Shiva, 1993) movement also argue along this chain of reasoning. However, unlike Annette Weber – Feminist Peace mainstream IR theory, essentialist feminists see a potential for change by stressing the non-violent potential of ‘feminine virtues’ in order to create a peaceful world. For structuralist feminists, the militarised masculinity, inscribed as the founding myth of nation states, needs as well as perpetuates the construction of a gender dichotomy

Table 4.1 Distribution of respondents based on age

Women under 18	Women aged 19 -25	Women aged 26 - 40	Women aged 40+	Total
3	5	50	12	70

Most women rural peace builders are aged between 26 and over 40, as evidenced from the table 4.1 above. Very few fall between ages 18 to 25. This is partly because most of the women falling in the 26–40 age brackets have become mothers and they feel the pain strongly when they or others lose their children and husbands in conflicts. Sara Ruddick (1989) coined the notion of maternal thinking by arguing that care and ‘relation based THINKING’ (Carol Gilligan, 1982; Nancy Chodorow, 1978) is the main pre-condition for a more peaceful society. Caretakers, they argue, do not have value in our societies and if men would take active roles in care taking, less abstract and aggression based decisions would be made.

Biologically, it is women who give birth and nurse babies. In most societies, women are the primary care givers responsible for the children and the family. The role of women in nurturing, building relationships and maintaining the family is central to their identity. As

Gnanadason observes, women play the role of peacemakers within their families and their communities¹⁶⁸

4.3 Gender preference in the provision of education

The study found out from the field that most of the grassroots rural women peace builders in Nakuru County were semi-literate. This puts them at a disadvantage because those who organize seminars or workshops target professionals, academics, authorities in the field of peace and security, and those who have written a lot in the area of peace building. This technically shuts the rural women out because of their low literacy levels since they were probably compromised by their parents in terms of who should go to school.

As Selina Korir, one of the key informants observed:

‘Those who organize peace seminars are only interested in those who have written a lot on peace and those who can speak English fluently, and their seminars are organized in towns where violence was not so intense. They knowingly ignore the voices of women who have the practical experience of the clashes and who participate in grassroots peace-building initiatives simply because they are little known and are semi-literate or illiterate.’

Boys were often given the chance to go to school while girls were advised to look after their siblings. Since peace building, as the findings reveals, is most effective if it begins from the grassroots level (bottom up approach), it is the rural women who do the groundwork but their work has rarely been recognized either nationally or internationally because there is nobody to expose their talent.

¹⁶⁸ Gnanadason, A., R., A. Kanyoro and L. A. McSpadden, (1996) *Women, violence, and nonviolent change*, Lutheran World Federation, and World Council of Churches,.

Table 4.2 Distribution of responses based on levels of education

Education	Frequency
Lower primary	15
Upper primary	27
Secondary	20
High school (A-Level)	5
College/university	3
Total	70

Most of the grassroots peace builders have low education standards as reflected in table 4.2 above. Very few attended high school and had university education but most of them had upper primary education. This was partly because of gender bias in deciding who should go to school between boys and girls. Simon de Beauvoir (1949) introduced a more constructed notion of gender. For Beauvoir, as an existentialist, existence preceded essence therefore gender was constructed. Women are fabricated as the ‘Other’. By attributing feminine to nature, women were caught in the cycle of life and nature and were denied access to public space and political decision making.

4.4 Role of religious bodies

With the negative impact of ethnicity persisting, the church had started to fight against tribalism within Nakuru County. Although the church is not supposed to get involved in politics directly, it will not sit back and watch humanity perish. The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) was really in the frontline in initiating peace during 2007-2008 post election violence.

Generally, the churches had done a lot to initiate peace, give hope and offer material assistance to the victims of ethnic clashes in Nakuru County. First, abundant prayers had been organized calling for peace in the country and more so in the ethnic clashes zones in the County. A lot of faithful who were mostly women fasted so that peace could be restored in the ethnic clashes zones. The church played a major role in giving support to the clash victims. An example is the Catholic Church in Nakuru, Christ the King Cathedral, and Lamdiac Catholic church in Njoro. The two churches offered accommodation to the victims during the violence. These churches, among others, have continued to resettle the victims of the ethnic clashes.

The churches not only resettled the victims but struggled to ensure that they were comfortable. Thus, they issued them with clothing, blankets, utensils (*sufurias* and plates) and food whenever it was available. All these were from Christian wellwishers. Clergy men and women always come out and comment on whatever affects their flock. Hence, the clergy's comments and fact-finding reports on the ethnic clashes were made out of that concern. Their involvement was to provide compassionate relief services to the victims.

4.5 Women's Involvement in Security Process

Violence is the single most dangerous threat to peace building. Therefore, it is important that any peace building efforts bring an end to violence and protect vulnerable populations¹⁶⁹. The purpose of this section is to explain the role played by the Women in Nakuru County in security improvement post-conflict, outline challenges associated with

¹⁶⁹ Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, (2007) *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.

security policies, and demonstrate women's responses to security concerns and the significance of their efforts.

4.5.1 Security improvement in Peace building

Current security improvement, usually included within peace agreements, require that previously warring factions be disarmed, demobilized, reintegrated (DDR) into civil society¹⁷⁰.

Recognizing that criminal acts have a potential of escalating into conflicts between the tribes, most Women Peace Groups in Nakuru County created permanent Rapid Response teams. As found in Nakuru Town, this team drew its members from women, youths, the district security committee and elders. Their mandate was to "listen continuously and act immediately" in potentially volatile situations. After an incident is reported to them, they visit the place where the crime has occurred, secure evidence, meet with all sides involved, and act appropriately.

Actions might include mediation, reporting to security forces, or facilitating the arrest of the perpetrator of a crime. The issue may also be referred to a subcommittee. For instance, the Rapid Response Team calls upon the Women for Peace subcommittee to deal with matters concerning women. In this way, the Rapid Response Team works like a fire-fighting engine. It puts out the fire and provides a space for dialogue and peace building¹⁷¹. In the similar framework, current feminist peace and conflict theorists argue that war is exclusion from decision-making; which particularly affects women. If women are not allowed in the

¹⁷⁰ Charles T. Call and William Stanley (2003), "Military and Police Reform after Civil Wars," in John Darby and Roger MacGinty, *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

¹⁷¹ Ibid

military they are implicitly barred from a primary institution which helps codify and constitute citizenship (Francine D'Amico, 1996). However both frameworks agree that women make a vital contribution to maintaining peace.

In one case, this approach solved a problem that could have been manipulated politically. A seven-year-old girl was raped within Nakuru Municipality. Unfortunately, the victim belonged to the tribe that purportedly lost in the previous general election while the culprit came from the winning side. After these facts were established, the case was referred to the subcommittee of women. All members then visited the elders and chiefs to which the girl belonged. They spoke to them, explaining that this was not just their problem and appealed to be given time to deal with the matter, with the government. During this visit, the elders confessed that a number of their young men were preparing to act. This meant engaging in a revenge orgy of killing, looting or raping members of the clan of the culprit. The visit by the women calmed the elders who talked their youths out of revenge. This incident shows how much trust the women have cultivated in the society including the elders who are primary opinion makers.

Education security campaigns targeting the various groups, particularly government officials were also organized within the major Towns within the area. This was mostly done by the NGOs such as the NCKK, LEAP II (Mercy Corps), save the children, World Vision and the Kenya Red Cross. Each workshop identified the next target group depending on whom the participant viewed as requiring exposure to civic education. Chiefs and sub-chiefs with leadership training were among the beneficiaries of these workshops. Their training focused particularly on the repealed Chief's Act and the exercise of authority within a multiparty framework. These helped them appreciate the changing political landscape and the need to

deal with the expanding political arena. Other groups of civil servants exposed to the civic and peace education include the police, military personnel and administrative officers, particularly the District Officers. In all these cases, government officers attained a better understanding of the challenges faced during the process.

4.5.2 Challenges with Security improvements in Peacebuilding

The difficulties of achieving general security cannot be overemphasized, but when it comes to women, the problems become even more complex as women have their own set of unique challenges related to security improvements. In general, women were less able to fully participate, due to family responsibilities and lack of child care support, to travel to areas where workshops were being held as well as security campaigns and thus did not fully attain the benefits. Consequently, they missed-out on valuable training opportunities and benefits as they sacrificed their own ambitions and stepped back into traditional roles.

In essence, women reintegrated themselves back into civil society post-conflict. The return to these traditional patriarchal roles, however, did not mean that women were safe from violence post-conflict. They also had to deal with violence stemming from the psychological and social impacts of the violence itself. The reason for this may be related to the experimental nature of the peace building NGOs and the government which may have failed to recognize the significance of providing psycho-social and trauma support during reintegration, or it may be linked to a lack of resources (both human and financial), or both.

While the formal security improvement have been weak in terms of addressing the security needs specific to women, women themselves have been finding ways to address their concerns and promote their efforts. Many NGOs were active in response to women's unmet

security concerns in the County especially in the IDPs camps. They publicly made known women's security concerns by drawing attention to their constant experience of victimization post-election violence.

The steps taken by women have been significant in addressing violence against women in the country. Their efforts to demystify gender-specific violence highlight the prevalence of domestic and sexualized violence post-conflict despite security reform initiatives during peacebuilding. While these actions have been met with backlash at times, women persistently challenge the government to protect women from violence and impunity post-conflict and are continuing to work to bring about societal change in attitude when it comes to gender specific violence. Peace educator Betty Reardon, a pioneer feminist critic of the concept of security and peace, asserted that feminists view of human security stresses human relationships and meeting human needs, whereas a masculine view tends to emphasize institutions and organizations. According to Reardon, two key overall factors feminists identified as critical in improving human security are protection from attack and fulfillment of fundamental needs; however, security agendas typically favor the former. Reardon visualized a feminist global agenda for human security as follows: A feminist world security system would attempt to include all peoples and all nations based on a notion of extended kinship including the entire human family...[that] any system to be effective must be fully global, that no nation can fully assure its own security, as the security of each is best assured by the security of all.

4.6 Women and Governance

Governance improvement outlined in traditional peace building contain measures to implement democratic institutions, free and fair elections and functioning judicial systems

with the goal of increasing transparency, representation and accountability. The purpose of this section is to explain what traditional peace building prescribes with respect to governance improvement, outline problems associated with governance reform policies, demonstrate women's response to their governance concerns as well as the significance of their efforts in governance improvement in Nakuru County.

4.6.1 Governance improvement in Peace building

The traditional peace building framework includes policy and institutional reforms that are intended to promote democratic institutions by increasing participation, representation and accountability in governance. For example, the holding of regular elections is considered the primary method of advancing participatory democracy during peacebuilding. Proponents claim that the stability of governing systems cannot be achieved without the participation of former adversaries in democratic political processes post-conflict. Elections are also used to promote open and fair competition post-conflict because they present the opportunity to resolve conflict non-violently. With the help of international assistance and monitoring, fora for rational debates are encouraged throughout this election process¹⁷².

Building a legitimate government post-conflict also requires that judicial system reform occurs in tandem with efforts to reinforce participatory decision-making. The literature repeatedly cites the importance of strengthening judicial systems by removing corrupt officials and (re)building institutions intended to protect the public¹⁷³. Failure to respond to

¹⁷² Ricigliano, Robert (2003). "Networks of Effective Action: Implementing an Integrated Approach to Peacebuilding." *Security Dialogue*, Vol. 34, No. 4., pp. 445- 462.

¹⁷³ Rigby, Andrew (2001). *Justice and Reconciliation: After the Violence*. Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.

past and continued violence through a fair judicial system will only impede progress towards justice, accountability, and reconciliation and will jeopardize the entire peacebuilding process. Establishing a working court system and having officials of the system (judges, lawyers and police) who uphold the rule of law is all essential for a functioning judiciary. Judicial improvement efforts must also include protecting and enforcing a constitutional structure that defends human rights and provides accountability¹⁷⁴.

Representative form *Daima Initiatives for Peace and Development (DIPAD)* a non-profit organization that empowers and build the capacity of communities to be able to proactively respond to social change; indicated that the organization was in the front line in enhancing governance in the County. During the 2007-2008 post election violence, they were involved in empowering Women and Youth with skills on leadership and nonviolence so that they could be agents of change in their communities in Nakuru County. This project engaged Women and Youth in cooperative learning and problem solving experiences designed to empower them to inquire what needs and conditions were necessary for assuring a sense of security individually and socially. In addition, their programs provided capacity building for individuals and other organizations who participated in governance, advocacy and peace building initiatives or enhance existing efforts in Kenya. The organization also focused on raising citizens' awareness and participation on the devolved system of governance under the county structure, coaching, designing and developing strategic plans for communities to customize and implement after 2013 general election.

¹⁷⁴ Benjamin, Medea, and Jodie Evans (2005). *Stop the Next War Now: Effective Responses to Violence and Terrorism*. Maui: Inner Ocean Publishers Inc.

Women actions were noted to be centered on three areas: shaping policy direction and parties' election platforms, encouraging participatory democratic systems, and exploring the culture of impunity within governance and judicial systems. While their efforts have had differing levels of success, women have had a significant impact on governance efforts during post-conflict peacebuilding. Reflecting on women's achievements, a woman's group representative stated;

'The evidence in female candidates' election in 2013 general election was not an accident but evidence of the female counterpart's hard work to persuade their male counterparts to accept gender equality within the parties... It was evident that women have been most successful in mobilizing their forces at the national level and for high-profile parliamentary elections'

Women have also been active in the judicial systems of governance. In Nakuru County, there are several incidences of domestic and sexualized violence to women and rarely are the physical or legal supports to challenge and punish offenders. Through public campaigns, women challenged the government's lack of justice and accountability as well as the ignorance of women's concerns post-conflict. The significance of women's ability to shape policy platforms was demonstrated by their ability to collectively organize and make known their demands. Organizing in spite of language barriers, party divisions, ideological differences and events of the past has allowed women to exercise their influence in the political arena.

Mazurana and McKay's feminist definition of peace-building was shaped by women's explanations of, and actions for, peace-building: "Peace-building includes gender-aware and women-empowering political, social, economic and human rights. It involves personal and group accountability and reconciliation processes which contribute to the reduction or prevention of violence. It fosters the ability of women, men, girls and boys in their own cultures to promote conditions of nonviolence, equality, justice, and human rights of all people, to build democratic institutions, and to sustain the environment". Women's peace-building, therefore, is centrally concerned with the presence and prevention of direct and indirect violence.

Women's efforts in support of participatory democracy have been significant, centering on encouraging political participation and increasing voter turnout through education and promoting activism and leadership. Through their own political activism, training and education initiatives, they have sought to influence the general population, other women and youth by stressing the importance of democratic participation in the County. Broadly speaking, the promotion of democracy among women's groups has contributed to the development of a new political culture that values the mechanisms of participatory decision-making and conflict resolution rather than influence by violent means. The implications of these efforts have the potential to effect long-term changes that will benefit women of future generations.

4.6.2 Challenges with Governance

Promoting good governance in post-conflict societies, that is encouraging increased participation, representation and accountability, is an immensely difficult and complex task. One of the most significant challenges noted was the integration of marginalized populations, in this case woman, into the decision-making processes. The women involved in peace building in the County noted limited access by women to political decision-making positions at the national level in Kenya, meant that during the periods of the clashes, little opportunity existed for them to influence the processes which determined the kind of peace that was negotiated and what impact this may have had on the lives of the survivors and victims of the clashes.

Overcoming this challenge is important because when women groups are excluded from participation in governance, the resulting decisions do not reflect the concerns of the entire population. While this study deals specifically with the issue of women, this problem of group marginalization is not unique to them but is also experienced by others such as the indigenous and rural populations. Despite the value of women's actual contributions during the peace building process in Nakuru County, the study noted that they remain under-represented in decision-making and rebuilding efforts post-conflict.

4.7 Relief and Development

While security and the stability of governing systems is of utmost importance, relief and development policies are also an integral part of the broader peacebuilding process. These policies are aimed at mitigating the influence of 'spoilers', such as poverty, inequality and

discontent post-conflict¹⁷⁵. The purpose of this section is to explain what traditional peacebuilding says about implementing relief and development policies, outline problems associated with current initiatives, demonstrate women's response to their relief and development concerns as well as the significance of their efforts in relief and development in Nakuru County.

Traditional peacebuilding efforts include relief and development initiatives intended to address poverty and inequality as these conditions have the potential to undermine peace and breed discontent and anger. Relief policies serve to address the needs of populations suffering from the physical, social and psychological effects of war, mental health problems, preventable infections and diseases, maternal mortality and morbidity, and HIV and AIDS¹⁷⁶.

Meanwhile, development policies (both social and economic) are implemented to assist populations in overcoming poverty, unemployment, educational decline and inequality. This often includes steps to stimulate economic growth and development through investment in human resources and infrastructures. Traditional peace building theorists recognize relief and development policies as necessary first steps towards transforming deep-rooted conflicts and overcoming development challenges.

¹⁷⁵ Biggar, Nigel, (2001) *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*. Washington: Georgetown University Press,.

¹⁷⁶ Clulow, Michael (2007),. "Women's Organizations and Local Democracy: Promoting Effective Participation of Women in Central America." *Development*, Vol.50, No.1, pp.86-89.

While traditional relief policies recognize the many problems societies confront post-conflict, the effectiveness of the policies are generally limited because the aid provided to deal with the problems is inadequate. In addition, there is the very high likelihood that aid may not even reach some of the most vulnerable populations. Importantly, when it comes to women, traditional relief and development policies are unable to ease the suffering that women experience. These problems are often closely related to deficiencies in other areas of peacebuilding, including the inability to ensure that women are safe from violence and health-related suffering post-conflict¹⁷⁷.

4.7.1 Responses of Women to Relief and Development

In response to the weaknesses of the traditional peacebuilding design when it comes to women and relief and development, many organizations Nakuru County responded by developing programs of their own. The NCKK, Save the Children, The World Vision, Kenya Red cross among others were active in health services, skills development, education promotion, and in consciousness raising about women's concerns in Naivasha, Gilgil, Nakuru Municipality and Molo which were heavily affected in the County .

In this County, women and children were especially vulnerable when health services were unavailable and faced several health risks related to reproduction, including cervical cancer.

Many maternal deaths during the 2007-2008 post election violence were attributed to the incidence of illicit abortions. Relief and development strategies made explicit accommodations for women in these situations. These organizations did their work by collaborating directly with various levels of government, national and local, and in so doing

¹⁷⁷ Dosh, Paul. (2002). "Peace After Terror: Reconciling Justice and the Rule of Law in Argentina, El Salvador, and Guatemala." *Latin American Perspectives*, pp.98-104.

raised awareness of women's health concerns. They have also helped to provide a vision of a viable alternative model for women's health care (as well as the care of disadvantaged populations generally). These efforts have laid necessary groundwork for continued improvements to relief efforts during peacebuilding in general.

The actions of women's organizations also simultaneously relieved suffering and supported development in the major Towns of the County. For instance in Women Community Based Organizations in Nakuru, would make frequent visits to IDP camps to attend to old displaced women as a way of emergency response effort as well as providing regular in the camp. These women would also lobby the Government regarding their relief and development concerns.

Through the help of other NGOs, women have also directed their attention towards bettering the lives of women through development initiatives. For example, *Tushirikishe Jamii* in Nakuru Town has been promoting women's development. The Center's main goal has been to encourage broad citizen participation in local development and is also focused on women's empowerment. The Center specifically aims to "develop [in women] what already exists within them." It tries to achieve this by encouraging women's empowerment and participation through workshops intended to enhance their skill sets. Training is offered in areas of construction, finance, production, administration, clinical services, livestock and veterinary care, sewing, citizen participation, and adult and youth education. Other initiatives inform women about obtaining credit, acquiring land and managing a small business.

The development efforts of the women's organizations in Nakuru County have been significant. They have helped many women to understand their rights through education, training, and workshops and have also contributed to the overall socio-economic development of their entire communities by increasing women's capabilities in general. The knowledge women have gained has empowered many of them to actively contribute to community development post-conflict. By publicly demonstrating the importance of women's labour rights and working to make these rights widely known to women, the actions of these organizations have encouraged women to exercise a more informed and active role in helping develop their communities after the clashes. In the nineties the women's movement and women's organizations were also working on the international level for the participation of women in conflict situations, peace negotiations and post-war systems under reference to the women's right concept. Of special importance is the former "Coalition on Women and International Peace and Security", that was formed after the Beijing Women's Conference 1995 by numerous well known peace and women's organizations and that is meanwhile working as the "NGO Working Group on Women and International Peace and Security" acknowledged by the UN.

4.8 Reconciliation

Closely intertwined with security, governance, and relief and development, post conflict reconciliation is fundamental to the broader goals of peacebuilding. Preventing the recurrence of violent conflict through reconciliatory efforts is the most desirable means for resolving past wrongs among divided populations. The purpose of this section is to explain what traditional peacebuilding says about reconciliation reforms, outline challenges associated with current reconciliation policies, and demonstrate women's response to their

reconciliation concerns as well as the significance of their efforts in reconciliation frameworks in Nakuru County.

Reconciliation efforts under current peacebuilding initiatives are carried out through a variety of means, including the use of high-profile truth commissions that document the crimes of the conflict and/or assign responsibility for them, governmental apologies, local peace commissions, and grassroots workshops. Traditional reconciliation efforts also encompass the reintegration of displaced persons and refugees, peace education, and trauma support for communities. The goal is to provide mechanisms for conflict resolution and, of course, to deter future abuses¹⁷⁸.

While the goal of reconciliation to date has been to help restore moral order through psychosocial healing, for many victims reconciliation is also strongly associated with the pursuit of truth and justice. Truth, mercy, and justice are all important aspects of the reconciliation processes because reconciliation often requires confronting the violence of the past as well as the perpetrators of that violence, and addressing the needs of victims. Reconciliation involves the participation of perpetrators and victims in a process of truth telling, apology, and forgiveness. It is not just a process of addressing problems in the government, or weaknesses in the judicial system. Rather the process of reconciliation must involve the construction of a new moral order that incorporates political, cultural, psychological, and spiritual strategies.

¹⁷⁸ Francis, Diana (2002) *People, Peace and Power: Conflict Transformation in Action*. Virginia: Pluto Press.

Reconciliation efforts, like security, governance and relief and development, are also rife with challenges. For instance, women's participation during the formal mechanisms of reconciliation during peacebuilding has been minimal to date. Government and nongovernmental perspectives on how to address the problem of past violations of human rights have often conflicted: while most transitional regimes have broadly endorsed the view that some kind of truth telling constitutes a valuable contribution to national reconciliation, they have rejected putting those responsible for human rights violations on trial, claiming that this would prejudice the democratic transition¹⁷⁹.

Seider argues that the traditional commissions of inquiry into past violations of human rights (otherwise known as Truth Commissions), are limited in their ability to provide justice as many of these commissions offer offenders immunity from prosecution in exchange for the truth. While uncovering the truth constitutes an important form of sanction in itself, investigations without at least some measure of legal accountability and punishment of those responsible effectively institutionalizes impunity and impedes efforts to strengthen the rule of law. In addition, current reconciliation efforts lack long-term processes for bridging the divide between warring-factions¹⁸⁰.

4.8.1 Responses of Women to Reconciliation in Nakuru County

When it comes to the reconciliation concerns of women, many organizations were active in pursuing truth, justice and reconciliation Nakuru County during and after 2007-2008 post

¹⁷⁹ Jeong, Ho-Won (2005). *Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies: Strategy and Process*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc.

¹⁸⁰ Sieder, Rachel (2003).. "Renegotiating 'Law and Order': Judicial Reform and Citizen Responses in Post-war." *Democratization and the Judiciary*, Vol.10, No.4, Pp.137-160.

election violence. Their actions centered on two areas. First, women have worked to bridge the divide with former adversaries and fostered long-term social transformation.

Second, they supported the implementation of truth and reconciliation commission as well as the investigations into past events. While their efforts have had differing levels of success, the impact of their actions has been significant during peacebuilding. Women from the sides of the conflict managed to come together to share their common experience of suffering and to foster healing and reconciliation in the County. For example, *Rural Women Peace Link* (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) began education all women on peace issues regardless of their tribal background. Through this organization, women realized that each side experienced similar suffering and this consciousness of their shared pain helped them to develop an understanding of each other. This greatly helped advance reconciliation within the IDP camps as well as within the resettled regions.

One mother described the process as allowing her to “discover that pain can turn into sickness. And many mothers or widows suffered the same as us”. Another woman described the experience of reconciliation, stating:

‘We began to see how many of women were in pain. It is true that my husband went to war and died, but other women’s’ husbands had died in this way too. It was the same pain, and so we agreed we had to diminish this hatred, and we began to work in the organization’

Essentially, women's helped them to re-humanize those who were previously viewed as enemies. Through dialogue and open communication women were able to overcome past acts of violence and draw upon their common experience of loss and suffering. This experience motivated them to reconcile and take steps towards social transformation. Women identified and made use of their socially significant position as parents – capitalizing on their ability to influence the events of the future by encouraging interaction among their children within the camps. As Porter (2001) noted, women often exhibit the ability to “dialogue across differences”—which catalyzes reconciliation efforts and promotes the inclusion of all sides in these discussions. In the aftermath of conflict, women are more likely to form inter-ethnic associations to deal with remaining difficulties; in doing so, they create a “shared space” for diverse women and also contribute to the healing process.¹⁸¹ As so many women have experience traumatic sexual violence, they are particularly sensitive to such experiences—thus organizations and individual women often provide psycho-social counseling to victims in the aftermath. By listening to testimonies, women help to relieve victims of emotional burdens that would potential lead to sustained animosity.

¹⁸¹ Kimberly A. Maynard, (1997) “Rebuilding Community: Psycho-Social Healing, Reintegration and Reconciliation at the Grassroots Level” in *Rebuilding Societies after Civil War*, ed. K. Kumar, (London: Lynne Rienner,.) p. 203-26.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusions

Traditional peace building focuses on four main areas: security, governance, relief and development and reconciliation. However, developments in these need to make room for women, as demonstrated drawing from the Nakuru case study. Women worked to make known their needs and concerns regarding security, governance, relief and development and reconciliation in Nakuru County. They also responded to their own needs during times of conflict, peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction, and in many instances worked to ensure the needs of other communities were addressed as well. Specifically, women's groups and organizations worked to demystify gender-specific violence, challenged impunity, demanded justice, organized collectively to make their demands and concerns known in the political arena, played a pivotal role in health delivery and relief efforts, spearheaded reconstruction and development initiatives, and both supported and contributed to post-violence reconciliation.

Women were active in each of the four peacebuilding areas explored in this study, focusing their efforts on identifying, responding to, and fostering awareness of women's unique needs and concerns during the post-election violence. While they experienced differing levels of success within each of these four areas, the challenges they faced and successes they made were, and continue to be, contingent upon the specific cultural, social, political and economic dynamics not only in Nakuru County but also in Kenya as a Country. In Nakuru County case study women responded to their security concerns by identifying ongoing violence (specifically domestic and/or sexual violence) as a gender specific

concern. While women had mobilized to denounce domestic and sexual violence, issues related to gender-specific violence and impunity prevail today. From the findings, the study supports the hypotheses that women involvement in security and process will enhance peace building in Kenya

With regard to governance, women in the County somehow faced challenges related to the prevalence of a traditionally patriarchal culture that resulted in their exclusion from political parties, governance structures and decision-making processes. While this led to an ignorance of women's needs and concerns, women's organizations mobilized to make their demands known. By identifying their needs and concerns, establishing organizations, developing political platforms and lobbying for increased representation, women were able to achieve relative successes and laid the foundation for continued action that may encourage women's efforts and participation in the future especially with the inclusion of women representatives in the National Assembly. Thus, there is significant relationship between women involvement governance process and peace building in Kenya.

From the findings, there is significant relationship between women involvement in relief and development and peace building in Kenya. Women in the Nakuru case study identified and responded to their relief and development concerns. With a focus on the delivery of emergency and reproductive health service, women provided assistance to many communities in the IDP camps, including those rural and remote areas where traditional relief efforts have been limited. In addition, women mobilized to foster development where peacebuilding efforts yielded unequal benefits or were otherwise absent. The broad range of

activities included providing education and training in the areas of human rights, women's rights, literacy, technical skills, gender awareness, women's empowerment, public speaking, leadership and political action.

Lastly, women actively and publicly supported truth and reconciliation commission. They encouraged the reconciliation of past events with women aligned with opposing factions during the conflict and begun to recognize the important role in socializing their children in a manner that is conducive to peace rather than hostility. Thus, there is significant relationship between women involvement in relief and development and peace building in Kenya.

Despite the significance of their actions, there remain areas where women could improve on their peacebuilding efforts. First, women could expand their local experience and knowledge to neighbouring communities where other women have yet to respond to their own needs and concerns. Initiatives may include sharing their experiences and speaking about the women-led programs and projects they have been involved in. These efforts could offer much needed insight and advice to those women that do not know how or where to respond to their own unique situations post-conflict.

Broadly speaking, participating in such knowledge exchanges may encourage women in other communities to form collectives, lobby political parties and government institutions, or implement training and assistance programs. Efforts such as these can be mutually

beneficial too because they have the potential to result in the development of new or alternative methods for addressing women's needs and/or concerns.

Also, women's groups should continuously work to expand the scope of women's networks post-conflict. Increasing the effectiveness of women's movements post-conflict requires that local level alliances align and form regional and national women's networks so that women can address issues collectively. Interaction among various women's groups is essential if women intend on meeting the challenges of marginalization during peacebuilding.

Although this study has presented numerous recommendations for reform, the barriers that hamper the implementation of these reforms deserve mention. The first barrier lies within the inherent complexity and limited timeframe of peacebuilding operations. Given the monumental task of rebuilding war-torn regions and the nascent nature of peacebuilding operations, these complexities have resulted in numerous problems and oversights within peacebuilding. It is precisely for this reason that current peacebuilding missions are still considered experimental.

The second barrier to implementing peacebuilding reforms is the context-specific nature of each peacebuilding mission or scenario. In any region where peacebuilding initiatives are implemented, there exist numerous context-specific variables that require the development unique policies in response. For this reason, how women are incorporated into peacebuilding on a case-by-case basis will vary depending upon the local context.

Other barriers include a lack of focus on women's education, the prevalence of violence, and insufficient funding. For example, in order to fully participate in decision-making, politics and positions of leadership, girls and women require access to secondary and post-secondary education as well as access to training and capacity-building activities. Without education and training, women will continue to face systematic discrimination and the daunting task of entering the male-dominated political arena will continue to be extremely difficult. Moreover, where violence and impunity continues unabated, women will likely be hesitant to participate in peacebuilding efforts. Lastly, insufficient funding and international support will place continued barriers on implementing recommendations and reforms. The lack of funding and resources available after internationally-supported missions or operations leave a region puts a significant strain on the ability to groups and organizations to maintain the momentum of peacebuilding initiatives. The ability to sustain the momentum of these peacebuilding initiatives is of utmost importance.

5.2 Recommendations

Recommendations for Enhancing Security

Several recommendations have been put forth to improve the traditional approach to security outlined within peace building. Security reform recommendations advocate the inclusion of a gendered perspective during security reform discussions and decision-making, and defining and addressing security in light of women's specific concerns.

Generally speaking, recommendations suggest that security should not be determined by military agents alone. Many groups are peripheral to traditional or militarized security concerns and are neglected during military considerations. These groups are

disproportionately comprised of women. Women must be explicitly included in security initiatives as they have a vested interest in ending the cycle of violence and building a safer society for their families. For these reasons, programs and pilot projects that provide further evidence of the value of women's contribution to security reform should be encouraged, supported, and documented. Moreover, to support women's participation in training initiatives, practical supports for women are necessary during the delivery of benefits. For example, providing childcare assistance would enable women to access benefits and attend training and workshops despite familial responsibilities.

Lastly, women's voluntary re-entry into civil society must be recognized and rewarded because of the value of their reintegration to the greater reintegration of all society members. Ensuring that benefits packages reach these women demonstrates recognition and appreciation for their reintegration. While all efforts should be made to support and document the value of women's contribution to security reform, determining what constitutes 'security' should also be examined. Women's security concerns are often belittled or ignored. Although women have publicly demonstrated their security concerns, greater efforts must be taken to support public education campaigns that seek to demystify sexualized and domestic violence as well as human rights abuses in general.

Recommendations for Enhancing Governance Reforms

Several recommendations have been put forth to improve the traditional governance approaches outlined within peacebuilding. Generally speaking, recommendations suggest that post-violence reforms must go beyond implementing 'free and fair' elections to include efforts that increase the level of political participation among even the most marginalized

populations. Governance and judicial reforms recommend increased gender-awareness, support for women's participation, and the inclusion of women in all levels of policy and decision-making. Increasing support for women's political participation will result in heightened awareness of women's concerns among governing institutions.

The recommendations also stress that these governance reforms be emphasized at the onset of peace building efforts. Women's participation in governance is necessary so that all involved in governance reform can be made aware of the gender-specific concerns that limit women's participation in the public sphere. In this case, women's organizing efforts should be supported and funded so that women's participation in the peace process, in new governments, and in rebuilding judicial and civil infrastructure is enabled.

It is necessary to promote, encourage and assist women's committees and groups in forming partnerships so that they may address their policy concerns through participatory democracy. And, in order to help create space for women in politics, women's participation be enhanced by providing them with space for women-only gatherings.

Supporting women's abilities to improve and advance their leadership capabilities is necessary if women are to become more active leaders in politics. The learned skills will not only benefit women in the short-term, but will be passed on to other women and generations. Assistance and training can include improving gender consciousness, critical thinking, and information about lobbying and policy platform development. These skills are necessary to ensure that policy considerations and decisions that may have a negative

impact on women are put into words and presented to political parties for consideration and action.

Lastly, because impunity can jeopardize the peacebuilding process, actual and perceived injustice must be addressed and mitigated during governance reform. Impunity diminishes the public's perception of government accountability and can foster suspicion and distrust towards newly forming systems of democracy. Thus the problem needs to be addressed so that, the society that was affected by the conflict can invest in peace.

Recommendations for Enhancing Relief and Development Reforms

When it comes to relief and development, several recommendations are suggested to improve the design of this component of traditional peacebuilding. Post-conflict relief and development policies must address the suffering of all marginalized populations and encourage development in general. Reforms also call for changes that will affect women in particular, that will maximize women's individual and collective ability to contribute to relief delivery as well as social and economic development post-conflict.

Secondly, it is essential that those populations in need of relief are identified during the earliest stages of the peacebuilding. Early identification can help ensure that marginalized, rural and remote populations are not neglected during relief efforts. Moreover, because women are highly represented among these groups, these efforts will help ensure that women are provided with much-needed services specific to their reproductive needs. Women in these areas may also be helpful in identifying other groups in need, as they are often left to care for those injured or ill post-conflict.

Thirdly, because many governments lack the human resources necessary to identify these populations and provide relief and health services, it is important that innovative health-delivery models and pilot projects be supported during the peacebuilding process. Supporting travelling health services and workshops may help provide services to marginalized, remote and rural populations. Moreover, supporting community-based initiatives, such as those led by women, may also require that these organizations be provided with the necessary resources, supplies, tools and medicines to allow them to continue to provide much needed relief services whether related to health delivery or infrastructure repair so that health services can be delivered to communities in need.

Finally, while there are many ways in which women's development can be encouraged and improved, practical supports, such as the provision of childcare, must be in place to allow them to participate in programs that increase their capabilities. The benefits of encouraging women's capabilities should also be promoted publicly as having greater benefits for the entire community. This will allow for more women to attend workshops and develop the necessary skills to increase their quality of life. Implementing programs that specifically encourage women's capabilities can serve to foster socioeconomic change and development that has the potential to benefit society as a whole.

Recommendations for Enhancing Reconciliation Reforms

When it comes to reconciliation reforms, many recommendations are presented for improvement. Recommendations focus on the necessity of including all parties to the conflict in the peace process and in the development of initiatives to unravel the truth about crimes committed during the conflict. The recommendations also speak of the need to address issues of amnesty and impunity.

First, divided factions should be encouraged to participate in peacebuilding and reconciliation efforts through increased communication and interaction. These groups include persons of different ethnicities, languages, religions, geographical areas, genders, age categories, and socio-economic levels. Gender-specific reconciliatory efforts may help open discussions between rival groups.

Identifying women leaders on either side of the divide and training them to play a lead role in local, regional and national reconciliatory efforts can be beneficial in moving divided factions towards more peaceful relationships. Encouraging discussions at the local level and providing safe spaces for women's interaction is also vital for advancing cross-divide participation. The International Truth and Reconciliation Commission or Special Courts should be gender-sensitive and promote women's participation. This will help women feel they are welcome to speak the truth about past events without fear of reprisal. These institutions could also be dedicated to unearthing the truth about impunity and violence against women in armed conflict, thereby establishing accountability for crimes against women.

The application of justice is critical during the reconciliation process. In the context of a post-violence community, there is a need to ensure legal and moral responsibilities with an honest assessment of the existing balance of power. While the implementation of a truth commission is an important step towards promoting justice, reconciliation and democratization, impunity will continue to plague the peace process if deficiencies among judicial systems are not addressed effectively. Therefore, it is necessary that personnel within

judicial institutions be required to take sensitivity training so that they may uphold the rule of law and human rights without discrimination.

In addition, civil society and governments must be made aware of continued abuses and impunity. Focusing on recording past abuses alone is not sufficient. The prevalence of violence, lack of security, and existence of impunity must be brought into the public sphere by organizations working to encourage peace through the delivery of justice. Individuals must feel that they can safely step forward to make known human rights infractions, and be protected from reprisal. Local initiatives to uncover continuing abuses should be undertaken by governments, churches, NGOs, and community groups dedicated to ending impunity as these groups can serve as a venue for recording acts of violence. These initiatives should be encouraged in tandem with full, independent and impartial international investigations into past and post conflict abuses.

Thirdly, because envisioning a new future would not be possible without truth and accountability for past acts, crimes of the past must be acknowledged and punished to prevent future violations. Therefore, while the role and significance of forgiveness has been encouraged as part of reconciliation initiatives in commissions and judicial hearings, the application of amnesty laws should be re-examined. The application of amnesty laws should be limited in time and scope. In other words, amnesty laws should have an ‘expiration-date.’

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Appendix I

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE RELIGIOUS LEADERS

1. Name of the church.....
2. Name of the respondent.....
3. Respondent's position in the church.....

4. What role did your church and church members play as peace builders during after 2007-2008 violence?
5. Did your church involve women in peace-building process after 2007-2008 violence?
6. If the answer to question 5 above is yes, then what exact roles did they perform as peace builders in the following areas
 - security process
 - governance
 - Relief and Development policies
 - reconciliation

7. What informed their choice to participate in peace building initiatives?
8. What problems did they encounter and how did they solve them?
9. What do you suggest as the way forward?

Appendix II

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUAL WOMEN PEACEBUILDERS

1. Name of the respondent.....
2. How old are you?
3. What is your marital status?
4. What is your level of education?
5. What does the word peace mean to you?
6. What role did you exactly play as a peace builder in security process after 2007-2008 violence?
7. How do you understand by the term governance? And what governance roles did you play after 2007-2008 violence?
8. What were your roles in Relief and Development after 2007-2008 violence?

9. As a peace builder what other specific services which you offered after 2007-2008 violence?
10. Did you receive any assistance from the government?.....
11. If yes, what type of assistance were you offered by the government?.....
12. Which reconciliation roles were you involved in after 2007-2008 violence?
13. What problems did you encounter during the peace-building exercise?
14. How did you solve those problems?
15. Did the problems encountered affect your role as a peace builder?.....If yes, how?.....
16. Given the sensitive nature and the insecure environment nature you were exposed to, what methods did you use in peace building and what were your entry points?

Appendix III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF NON- GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

1. Name of the organization.....
2. When was the organization formed?.....
3. What are its objectives?.....
4. What role did the organization play after 2007-2008 peace-building exercise?
5. During the peace-building initiative, who were your target groups and why?
6. Did your organization network with other grassroots based organizations after 2007-2008 violence in peace-building initiative? If yes, which organizations?
7. Did your organization coordinate with the government after 2007-2008 violence in peace building initiative? If yes, how and if not, why not?

8. What exact roles did women perform as peace builders in the following areas
 - security process
 - governance
 - Relief and Development policies
 - reconciliation

9. What challenges did you encounter during 2007-2008 violence peace-building initiatives?...And how did you solve them?.....

APPENDIX IV: LIST OF KEY INFORMANTS

No.	INFORMANT	ORGANIZATION
1.	Kenneth Mbaria Refugee Cordinator	National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) Nakuru
2.	Program Officer	<i>LEAP II</i> (Mercy Corps)- Naivasha and Nakuru
3.	Lydia Wanja- Community dev. Officials	Save the children
4.	Mrs Kiarie Disaster management section	Kenya Red Cross
5.	Mr. Gichure Technical Personnel	GOAL Ireland Nakuru
6.	John Maina Programs development official	World Vision Nakuru/ Rift Valley
7.	Ms. Hellen Onyango	Daima Initiatives for Peace and Development
8.	Ms Rachel Omondi-Cordinator	<i>Tushirikishe Jamii</i> - Nakuru
9.	Joyce Ndichu	<i>Rural Women Peace Link</i>
10.	Selina Korir- Secretary	Naivasha Women Group
11.	Ruth Kimani	Good Shepherd school secretary Gilgil Women Peace Group
12.	Mr. Njenga- Pastor	Africa Inland Church Naivasha
13.	Mrs Muiruri	Christ the King Nakuru
14.	Ms Wanjohi Church Member	Lamdiac Catholic Church Njoro
15.	Ruth Kariuki- Chairlady	Naivasha Women Peace Group

APPENDIX V: LIST OF RESPONDENTS

No.	RESPONDENT	AREA
1.	Jane Rotich	Naivasha
2.	Jacinta Akoth	Nakuru
3.	Emmaculate Amina	Nakuru
4.	Jepkogei Beatrice	Molo
5.	Tirop Caryce Chepchirchir	Molo
6.	Akech Lynnet	Molo
7.	Mutethia Nkirote	Naivasha
8.	Mapesa Jane Nandwa	Naivasha
9.	Jane Mumo	Naivasha
10.	Luchacha khabetsa	Naivasha
11.	Githu Wendy Wanjira	Nakuru
12.	Maitho njeri sarah	Nakuru
13.	Gitonga Grace Gaceri	Nakuru
14.	Kimani Regina Wambui	Nakuru
15.	Abuga Viola Nyanchoka	Molo
16.	Njoroge Ashley Wanjiru	Naivasha
17.	Mutura Wambui Teresia	Nakuru
18.	Mwangi Wangechi	Nakuru
19.	Ogega Vanessa Minsari	Molo
20.	Musembi Melvine	Nakuru
21.	Chumo Martha	Naivasha
22.	Waiya Wanjiru	Molo
23.	Rialem Mercy Chebet	Nakuru
24.	Kihoro Ikambili	Nakuru
25.	Esther Njeri Moffat	Nakuru
26.	Chepchirchir Dorothy	Nakuru
27.	Karanja Joan Wamaitha	Naivasha
28.	Ng'ang'a Wambui	Nakuru
29.	Mutai Cheptoo Julie	Molo
30.	Wakahora Waruguru	Nakuru
31.	Karimi Janet	Molo
32.	Jane Wanjiru	Molo
33.	Elosy Muriuki	Molo
34.	Geraldine kawira	Molo
35.	Njeru Mercy mumbi	Nakuru
36.	Lucy Ithima	Nakuru
37.	Njue mercy murugi	Nakuru