

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF
THE TANA RIVER REGION OF KENYA**

M.A. INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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DECLARATION

I Lilian Nyambura Mwangi, hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

Signed

Date

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

Signed

Date

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The success of this research is an express manifestation of Godly works and consummate providence. I'm also very grateful to my supervisor of boundless abilities and patience,. Thank you for the valuable time you invested to inspect every corner and crack of this paper to ensure flow, clarity and conciseness. I also want to thank those who have stood by me since the conception of this thesis idea. Similarly, I want to thank all the key infKambants and respondents who provided their perceptions and narratives.

DEDICATION

This project is cheerfully dedicated to my mother Florence Njeri and my sister Mercy Mwangi for their continual presence in my life.

ABSTRACT

While conflict inflicts suffering on everyone, women are particularly affected by it. Sexual assault and exploitation are frequently employed as tools of war; victimization leads to isolation, alienation, prolonged emotional trauma, and unwanted pregnancies that often result in abandoned children. As culturally-designated caregivers, women must struggle to support their families and keep their households together while the traditional bread-winners are caught up in the fighting and are unable to provide for their families. This is not only exclusive to Pokomo and Kamba communities in Tana River only, but in Rift Valley and upper Rift Valley areas such as Turkana where there are frequent intercommunity wars; between Turkana and Pokot due to cattle rustling. Therefore this study sought to investigate the role played by women in Mutitu Sub-county Divisions in conflict management; to identify the strategies used by women in Mutitu Sub-county divisions in managing conflicts; and to evaluate the effect of inclusion of women in conflict management processes in Mutitu Sub-county divisions. Study relied on the Feminist peace theory developed in 1794 by Mary Wollstonecraft. The study used ex post factor research design. The study was carried out in Tana River County. The major ethnic groups of the Tana River District are the Pokomo, many of whom are farmers along the Tana River, and the Kamba, who are predominantly a cattle-herding nomadic people. The study sampled women respondents from the Kamba and Pokomo communities, and further included past studies and information collected by other scholars on the conflict between the two communities. The recorded data was transcribed before the critical analysis. The study analyzed the data using quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods. Secondary data was analyzed using content analysis. The study found out that women were actually involved in peace initiatives or conflict management situations in the Tana River. The women were involved in the initiatives through structured committee models, disarmament efforts and even through traditional means. However in some cases, this inclusion was rather limited since the women and minority members in the DPC expressed dissatisfaction with their lack of involvement, claiming that male elders still had far more influence. From the study, it is evident that a wide range of conflict management strategies were used by women in Tana River. This implies that the government should try to explore a conflict management strategy that is effective and not easily dominated by the male representatives. In terms of policy, the study findings shed light on the importance of gender sensitivity and inclusion in managing conflicts. Contextually, the study was limited to conflict in Tana River in Kenya, and that these findings may not represent the situation in the whole country. Methodologically, that this study relied on women alone to give feedback, and thus ignored other stakeholders like youths and elders who might be actively involved in the management of conflicts alongside the women, therefore creating a source of bias.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFWIC	-	Africa Women in Crisis
CICC	-	Coast Interfaith Council of Clerics
DPC	-	District peace committee
IMF	-	International Monetary Fund
NDP	-	National development Plan
SAPs	-	Structural adjustment programmes
UN	-	United Nations
URNG	-	Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity
WILPF	-	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
YPG	-	Youth for Peace Groups

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	vi
Chapter One	1
Introduction to the Study	1
1.1 Background of the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Research Problem	4
1.3 Objectives of the Study	5
1.4 Literature Review	5
1.4.1 Women and Participation in Conflict Situations	5
1.4.2 Women and Conflict Management Policies	8
1.4.3 Women and Global Conflicts	10
1.4.4 Women in Conflict Management Process	12
1.5 Justification of the Study	14
1.5.1 Academic Justification	14
1.5.2 Policy Justification	15
1.6 Theoretical Framework	15
1.6.1 Feminist Conflict Resolution Theory.....	15

1.7 Hypotheses.....	17
1.8 Methodology	17
1.9 Chapter Outline	18
Chapter Two	19
Discourse on Women and Global Conflicts Management Processes	19
2.0 Introduction.....	19
2.1 Inter-clan Conflicts in Kenya.....	19
2.2 Global Approach to Gender and Conflict.....	22
2.2.1 Practical Needs Approaches to Gender and Conflict.....	27
2.2.2 Protection Approaches to Gender and Conflict	27
2.2.3 Instrumentalist Approaches to Gender and Conflict.....	29
2.2.4 Participation Approaches to Gender and Conflict	29
2.2.5 Transformative Approaches to Women Involvement in Peace initiatives	31
2.3 Women in Conflict Resolution	33
2.3.1 Guatemala Case	33
2.3.2 Woman Grown Sustainable Peace in Wajir Sub-county, Kenya.....	35
2.4 Criticism of the Gendered Approach to Conflict Management.....	37
Chapter Three	41
Overview of Women in Conflict Management in Tana River County	41
3.1 Introduction.....	41
3.2 Description of Study Area and its People.....	41

3.3 Historical Roots of the Conflict	42
3.4 Role of Women in Management of the Tana River Conflict.....	45
3.4.1 Women as Actors.....	45
3.4.2 Women Involvement in Disarmament	46
3.4.3 Women in Structured Peace Process.....	46
3.4.4 Structured Peace Committee Model.....	47
3.4.5 Women in District Peace Committee.....	47
3.5 General Roles.....	48
3.5.1 Extent of Involvement in Conflict Management	49
Chapter Four	51
Critical Analysis of Women in Management of the 2012-2013 Tana River Conflicts	51
4.1 Introduction.....	51
4.2 The Kamba and Pokomo Traditional Conflict Management Mechanism.....	51
4.2.1 New Twist in the Conflict	52
4.3 The Pokomo óKamba Conflict	54
4.4 Women Involvement in Conflict Management	55
Chapter Five	57
Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations	57
5.1 Introduction.....	57
5.2 Summary of Findings	57

5.3 Implications of Results	58
5.4 Limitations of the Study	58
REFERENCE	i
APPENDICES	ix
Appendix I: Letter of Introduction.....	ix
Appendix I: Letter of Transmittal.....	ix
Appendix II: Interview Guide.....	x
Appendix III: Map of Tana River County.....	xi
Appendix IV: Workplan.....	xii

Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Background of the Study

Different researchers have investigated the role of women in conflict situations either as active perpetrators, passive perpetrators or as victims.¹ Sexual assault and exploitation are frequently employed as tools of war which in turn affects the women involved in the conflict situations. Moreover, women in the conflict zones suffer from victimization, alienation, prolonged emotional trauma and unwanted pregnancies. As culturally-designated caregivers, women must struggle to support their families and keep their households together when conflict occurs. This is worsened by the fact that the husbands and sons end up in the fighting and are unable to provide for their families. Therefore, conflict shatters the comfort of predictable daily routines and expectations.

Although conflict may, in some cases, improve gender relations as a result of shifts in gender roles, its impact on women is devastatingly negative. Women are rarely mere passive victims of conflict. They can play active roles in the events that lead to fighting and instability, and even in combat itself. Women have also served as the forerunners of peace movements that have ended conflicts. However, the determined effort of women to bring an end to fighting is usually not recognized by many. According to the UN Security Council Resolution of 1325 of 2000, the contribution of women in a conflict situation has been under-valued and under-utilized yet women contribute in conflict prevention, peace-keeping, conflict resolution and peace-building.² The resolution 1325 (2000) also stressed the importance of women's equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security. The UNSCR 1325 recognized that women are relevant to international peace and security hence the need for their inclusion in conflict. The resolution therefore emphasized on increased participation and representation of women in all levels of decision making in the post conflict processes.

¹ Cheldelin (2011). *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement*. Princeton: Princeton: University Press. Pg.47

² Ntahori, and Ndayiziga, (2003) *Gender, Peace and Conflict*. London: SAGE Publication, pg.112

In the African context, women have played a major role in the peace building processes in post conflict situations³. For example; after the Rwandan genocide of 1994, Eloise Inyumba, the social affairs minister, led women into burying the dead, finding homes for the orphaned and resettling refugees. She also served as the executive secretary of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission which organized public debates promoting reconciliation between the Hutus and Tutsis.⁴

A study done in Tanzania revealed that women have always played a critical part in maintaining equilibrium in society hence developing the rightful traits that help promote peace between bordering communities⁵. This is by bringing up their children as responsible members of the community. Among the Tubur of Cameroon, women have been used as mediators in conflict management processes to ensure that communities bordering each other have peaceful co-existence. The *wog clu* or ðold mamasö were responsible for mediation and were consulted on all problems which disturbed peace among the communities bordering each other. Once consulted, a *wog clu* shared with those directly involved in the conflict in a bid to get a resolution and reconciliation between such communities.⁶

In Somalia, women poets use their art to preach peace and peaceful co-existence among bordering communities. The major aim of the poets is to encourage reconciliation, instill peace and unity among bordering communities despite the rapid conflict in the areas.⁷ In Namibia, spiritual healing rituals were done by women to purify and cleanse the war returnees of blood guilt. This was to ensure that the desire to kill did not spread.⁸ In Kenya, resource based conflicts specifically involving water in arid and semi arid areas have been common. Many of the conflicts revolve around livestock, need for water and harsh climatic conditions.⁹

³ Lihamba, F., (2003) *Women for Peace*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1997.

⁴ Agatha, (2011) *Age Descent and Elders among the Pokomo*.ö Africa 47, no.4 (001): 386-397

⁵ Becker, (2003) *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflicts in Africa*. London: Zed Books.

⁶ Mwangi (2013) *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003.

⁷ Becker, (2003) *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflicts in Africa*. London: Zed Books.

⁸ Ibid

⁹ ðThe Tribes of Tana Valley,ö Journal of the East African and Uganda Natural History Society 16, no.4 (2013): 137- 216.

Example of such conflicts is the Samburu and the Rendile conflicts over water and grazing land and the Pokomo and Kamba pastoralists' conflicts over grazing land and water.¹⁰ In Kitui County, conflicts over pasture have occurred mainly in the arid areas like Tseikuru and Kyuso Sub-County, involving the Kamba against the Somali. Conflicts have occurred in Mwitika Division and neighboring sub-locations: Syou, Katumbi, Malalami, Twambui and Makuka. According to the Caritas Kitui Report of 2012, the conflict in Mutitu sub-county dates back to the 1970s with the Pokomo raiding Kamba cattle.¹¹ Though the conflict has continued to persist little has been done to address the issue, except the Caritas report in the humanitarian activities which take place in the region.¹²

In Mutitu sub-county, conflict has been a sporadic event and mainly occurs during the dry spell or whenever water becomes scarce in the region. As a result, the intervention measures have been on and off. A picture of the actual activities performed and any other intervention is not clear. It has been noted that men flee from the conflict zones when the conflict intensifies; leaving the women behind to tend to the families. The role played by these women while staying behind needs to be examined in order to establish the role of women in the conflict management.¹³ In Mutitu Sub-county, men own wells which are the main sources of water in the region. The neighbors constantly reach these wells to water their animals. The men charge the Pokomo for using these wells to water their animals.¹⁴ This is without the knowledge of the women. As the women source for water in the same wells, the Pokomos open fire, attacking and even killing the women and girls as intruders in their wells. The men in response retaliate in an attempt to defend their wives and daughters. This finally develops into a major conflict. The Pokomo have guns while the men in Mutitu Sub-county Divisions only have bows

¹⁰ Irungu, P. (2000). Cattle keeping practices of the Kamba people: a household survey in Tana River District, Kenya. KETRI-ILRI.

¹¹ Kiruthu P., (2013) *Handbook of conflict resolution: The analytical problem-solving approach*. London: Pinter.

¹² Mpangala M., (2004) *Code of Conduct Conflict TransfKambation*. London: IA.

¹³ Harermans, (2000) *Is Mediation Alien to Africa?* In Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution 1.3 (August).

¹⁴ Harermans, (2000) *Is Mediation Alien to Africa?* In Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution 1.3 (August).

and arrows. The women and children hence face the real conflict situation and become both victims and actors in the conflict.¹⁵

In Kenya the place of women in conflict resolution has however not been adequately studied. This is due to the socio-cultural set up in the Kenyan communities where the patriarchal systems have dominated both the formal and informal sectors. This study contributes in the expanding of literature on conflict and more on the role of women in conflict resolution in reference to Mutitu Sub-county Divisions in Mutitu Sub-County. The year 2008 was characterized by the post-election violence where the main targets were women and children.¹⁶ A majority of those rendered homeless were women hence the need to address the plight of women in conflict situations. Mutitu Sub-county divisions have been identified as the areas of study because little has been done on the conflict management by women. Therefore, there is need to address the role of women in conflict management in order to prevent re-occurrence of the conflict in the area.¹⁷

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

This study attempts to identify the specific roles women in Mutitu Sub-County have played in the conflict resolution processes. Mutitu Sub-county has been faced with recurrent bordering community conflict with the neighboring communities of the Tana River Sub-County. Due to the arid nature of the region, there is limited supply of water which calls for the local people to sink wells in the River Engamba to get water for their livestock and household use especially during the dry season.¹⁸

Most women in the conflict zones and warring communities are left to take care of children. This is not only exclusive to Pokomo and Kamba communities in Tana River only, but in Rift Valley and upper Rift Valley areas such as Turkana where there are frequent cattle rustling incidents. Women are often left behind to take care of the children while men follow the stolen animals. When women are left behind, they have to deal with

¹⁵ Orensen 1998, *Killing the Vote: State-Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya* Nairobi: KHRC

¹⁶ Mwangi (2013) *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003.

¹⁷ UN 2005:61 öFrom District Commissioner Tana River District to the Manager InfKambation Services, Nairobi.ö 1951

¹⁸ Orensen 2013, *Killing the Vote: State-Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya* Nairobi: KHRC

attackers, save their lives and save the lives of their children and protect the properties left with them. The women often have to either negotiate with the attackers or fight the attackers away. Therefore, to live in a peaceful environment among the bordering communities, women have to be engaged in conflict management process because they are the ones greatly affected when conflicts occur. The study therefore sought to analyze the specific roles women play in managing conflicts and sustaining peaceful co-existence with a focus on Mutitu Sub-County of Tana river County.¹⁹

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The following objectives guided the study;

1. To investigate the role played by women in Mutitu Sub-county in conflict management.
2. To identify the strategies used by women in Mutitu Sub-county in managing conflicts.
3. To evaluate the effect of inclusion of women in conflict management processes in Mutitu Sub-county

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.1 Women and Participation in Conflict Situations

Women clearly play a crucial role in conflict prevention, management resolution and post conflict reconstruction. But their marginality in high level decision-making, including those decisions regarding war and peace, constrain their ability to decisively influence or impact on conflict prevention and attainment of sustainable peace. There is need therefore, not only to enact and endorse gender responsive legislative measures and policies, but also to translate such commitments into action, including affirmative action and proportional representation in the electoral political context. Women themselves must seek to organize and become active players at all levels of decision making in their societies, including in the management of conflict. They need to develop mobilization strategies for dealing with conflict situations and to strengthen sub-regional networking with other women groups around key issues relating to peace and training in conflict

¹⁹ Mwangi, N. (2013) *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003

management. In this regard, there is need to continuously lobby and spearhead gender and civic education programmes aimed at changing those elements of socio-cultural attitudes and practices that are resistant to gender equity.²⁰

Women's Participation in conflict management refers to the role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution.²¹ It is widely recognized that women bear a heavy burden in conflict and post conflict societies, both directly through violence perpetrated against themselves and their families and as survivors attempting to reconstruct destroyed communities. There is also growing recognition of women as agents of change skillfully reshaping and rebuilding communities affected by conflict.²² Women worldwide who act as government representatives, activists, leaders of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), women's networks and concerned citizens have persevered through threats and conditions of violence to initiate transformative processes within conflict and post conflict societies²³. Undeterred by rebel groups, authoritarian regimes, cultural restrictions or resource limitations, and often at great personal risk, women continue the work of promoting peace and security in their communities.²⁴

The literature on women's participation in conflict resolution and peace processes takes two approaches. One focuses on their representation and participation at high political levels and in decision-making mechanisms for conflict resolution. The second is a disparate collection on women's grass-roots peacemaking initiatives. The first approach includes the ongoing debates in international agencies. These discussions of women's participation in decision-making about war and peace predate recent discussions of their role in post conflict reconstruction. Calls to involve women in matters of war and peace

²⁰ Nzomo, M. (1994) "Women in Politics and Public Decision-making" in Himmelstrand, U. et al (eds) In Search of New Paradigms for the Study of African Development. London, James Currey.

²¹ Ibid

²² Lihamba, F., (2003) *Women for Peace*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1997.

²³ Dombrowski, N. A. (1999) *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted With Or Without Consent*

²⁴ Dombrowski, Nicole Ann. (1999) *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted With Or Without Consent*

began seriously in the 1980s²⁵. However, as Gedge reports, a review of these strategies in 1990 concluded that women were more prominent in decision making about conflict than they had been in the past²⁶. This appraisal recommends that, the United Nations and the international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) continue to monitor and support women's increased involvement in peace processes.²⁷

Governments should be encouraged to increase the participation of women in the peace process at the decision-making level, including them as part of delegations to negotiate international agreements relating to peace and disarmament, and establishing a target for the number of women participating in such delegations²⁸. Several initiatives to involve women in conflict resolution followed these recommendations. All of them emphasised the importance of increased sensitivity to the needs and capacities of women in programmes relating to peace building and post conflict reconstruction.²⁹ UNESCO's Culture of Peace Programme and UNIFEM's Africa Women in Crisis Programme (AFWIC) emerged from developments in the 1990s. While both organisations have projects in countries besieged by conflict, they have yet to establish comprehensive programmes in Kenya. This limitation means that women's participation takes place outside comprehensive international frameworks and support mechanisms.³⁰

Long-term conflict prevention requires investment in cultures of peace along with formal and informal institutions for non-violent conflict resolution. Women's participation can provide a more comprehensive understanding of the causes of alternative solutions to conflict, and bolster actions addressing varying needs and sustaining peace over time.³¹ When conflict breaks out, both formal and informal negotiations and peace processes provide critical opportunities to reshape a country's

²⁵ Cockburn, C.. (2001) *The gendered dynamics of armed conflict and political violence*. In *Victims, Perpetrators or Actors? Gender Armed Conflicts and Violence*, edited by Caroline Moser and Fiona Clark. London: Zed Books, 2001

²⁶ Gedge, E. (2010) *A Recent Exploration, under Captain F.G. Dundas, R.N., up the River Tana to Mount Kenia*. *Royal Geographical Society* 14, no. 8 (1892): 513-533

²⁷ Kelly, H.. *From Gada to Islam (1992) The Moral Authority of Gender Relations among the Pastoral Kamba of Kenya*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

²⁸ Kanogo, T.. (2007) *Squatters and the Roots of Mau Mau, 1905-196*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

²⁹ *Horrors of Hola detention camp*, Story by the Daily Nation, Part three, 22 April 2000.

³⁰ UNESCO (2007) *Culture of Peace. Promoting a Global Movement*. Paris: UNESCO

³¹ Cook, B. A. (2006) *Women and war: a historical encyclopedia from antiquity to the present*

politics, security and broader socioeconomic landscape. By including women, they expand the constituency contributing to conflict resolution, and create broader social buy-in to peace deals. This helps ensure that peace agreements are not narrow, elite pacts, and are supported and sustained by nations as a whole.³²

1.4.2 Women and Conflict Management Policies

The 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing was a watershed for thrusting women to the forefront of peace activities. This conference provided a platform for deliberations on the role of women at two levels. First, it followed up on concerns about increasing decision-making roles of women in conflict resolution at decision-making levels. The conference specifically called for including a gender perspective in the resolution of armed and other conflicts: to ensure that bodies are able to address gender issues properly. More significantly, this conference provided a rationale for looking beyond high politics to the grassroots level.

Participants turned their attention to women's roles in preventing and resolving conflicts around the world.³³ This conference aimed to involve women in crushing the prevailing logic of war and moving toward a culture of peace. It was a major step in recognizing and legitimating the role of women in conflict resolution and peacemaking at the grassroots level.³⁴

Since Beijing, women and their participation have received special attention because, it is argued, they represent a vital resource for sustaining peace efforts at all levels. The UNESCO programme is expanding to include participation at the lowest levels in areas afflicted by conflicts. UNIFEM has embarked on programmes that support women's concrete efforts in peace building, governance, and consolidating international

³² Risser, N. D.. (1999) *Women and War in the Twentieth Century: Enlisted With Or Without Consent*

³³ UNESCO. (1995). *Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace*, Expert Group Meeting, Manila 25-28 April.

³⁴ UNESCO (2007) *Culture of Peace. Promoting a Global Movement*. Paris: UNESCO.

partnerships. UNIFEM also supports documentation and distribution of information about such activities.³⁵

Over the past decade, the importance of women's engagement in peace processes has been recognized through numerous international institutions, resolutions and Member State commitments. In October 2000, the UN Security Council through SCR 1325 formally recognized the relationship between women, peace and security and the critical importance of women's participation as reflected in leadership, empowerment and decision-making.³⁶ The recognition of the use of sexual violence as a tactic of War II led the Council to adopt two other women, peace and security resolutions 1820 and 1888; which focus on gender based violence and emphasize the need for women's participation in combating this violence.³⁷ The Security Council further continued the participation theme in October 2009 with Resolution 1889, urging the international community to take further measures to improve women's participation during all stages of peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post conflict planning and peace building, including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of the recovery process, through promoting women's leadership and capacity and supporting women's organizations and countering negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally.³⁸

Within these resolutions and continued dialogue, there is growing recognition that women in conflict situations must not be viewed only as victims, but as powerful agents for peace and security in their communities.³⁹ Peace and security are essential for economic growth, development and the empowerment of women; and women need to play an equal part in securing and maintaining peace. To that end, they must be empowered politically and economically, and be represented adequately at all levels of

³⁵ UNIFEM .(1997). *Programme Proposal on Support to Women for Peace-Building and Governance*. New York: UNIFEM.

³⁶ USAID (2000). *Intrastate conflict and gender*, *InfKambation Bulletin* No. 9, December 2000. Office of Women in Development, U.S. Agency for International Development, pp. 1-4.

³⁷ UNIFEM .(1997). *Programme Proposal on Support to Women for Peace-Building and Governance*. New York: UNIFEM

³⁸ Ibid

³⁹ Ibid

decision-making. This has been reaffirmed by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and Security Council resolution 1325 (2000), which requests Member States to increase the political representation of women; include them in decision-making, peace negotiations and conflict-resolution mechanisms; and protect them in armed conflict given that women represent one of the most vulnerable segments of society during wars and conflicts.⁴⁰

1.4.3 Women and Global Conflicts

Women in World War I and II took on a variety of roles from country to country. World War I involved global conflict at an unprecedented scale; the absolute urgency of mobilizing the entire population made the expansion of the role of women inevitable.⁴¹ The hard skilled labor of women was symbolized in the United States by the concept of Rosie the Riveter, a woman factory laborer performing what was previously considered man's work.⁴² With this expanded horizon of opportunity and confidence and with the extended skill base that many women could now give to paid and voluntary employment, women's roles in World War II were even more extensive than in the First World War.⁴³

By 1945, more than 2.2 million women were working in the war industries, building ships, aircraft, vehicles, and weaponry. Women also worked in factories, munitions plants and farms, and also drove trucks, provided logistic support for soldiers and entered professional areas of work that were previously the preserve of men. In the Allied countries thousands of women enlisted as nurses serving on the front lines. Thousands of others joined defensive militias at home and there was a great increase in the number of women serving for the military itself, particularly in the Soviet Union's Red Army.⁴⁴ Total war meant that governments turned to help from women as never

⁴⁰ Boserup, Ester. (2001) *Women's Role in Economic Development*. New York: St.Martin's Press.

⁴¹ Batini , Jelena (2015). *Women and Yugoslav Partisans: A History of World War II Resistance*.

⁴² Cottam, K. Jean. "Soviet Women in Combat in World War II: The Ground Forces and the Navy," *International Journal of Women's Studies*, 3, no. 4 (1980): 345-57

⁴³ Stoff, Laurie S. (2006) *They Fought for the Motherland: Russia's Women Soldiers in World War I And the Revolution*

⁴⁴ Krylova, Anna. (2010)*Soviet Women in Combat: A History of Violence on the Eastern Front*

before. Thousands of women replaced men in factories, offices, and shops. Women built tanks and munitions, plowed fields, paved streets, and ran hospitals. They also kept troops supplied with food, clothing, and weapons. Although most women left the work force when the war ended, they changed many people's views of what women were capable of doing. Women also saw the horrors of war firsthand, working on or near the front lines as nurses.⁴⁵

In the recent past, countries in Africa have had numerous conflicts and presently the problem is far from being abated. This has caused untold suffering on the people and also taken a huge toll on the development of the continent. The horn of Africa, particularly the Great Lakes regions, have become locations for some of the deadliest and most protracted of these conflicts.⁴⁶In 2006 alone, there were 17 conflicts in Africa, which were at varying degrees of forms and intensity.

Of all the countries in the Greater Horn of Africa only two (Djibouti and Tanzania) can be said to be relatively stable, although each has its fair share of internal skirmishes. Kenya was also stable until the post-election crisis erupted.⁴⁷In Sudan, where conflict has existed since 1956, almost two million people have lost their lives since the early 1980s.⁴⁸

In Somalia, the decade-long civil war claimed hundreds of thousands of lives while there were over 800,000 refugees and over one million internally displaced persons. The ethnic conflict in Rwanda resulted in genocide in 1994 with the killing of over half a million persons from one ethnic group.

Since 1960, Burundi has also faced internal conflict resulting in the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and also rendered as refugees over half a million persons.⁴⁹The consequences of these conflicts vary in scope, intensity, and nature. Conflict has taken immeasurable toll on human lives, leaving people dead, maimed, and displaced either internally or in other nations.

⁴⁵ Pennington, Reina. (2007) *Wings, Women, and War: Soviet Airwomen in World War II Combat*

⁴⁶ Heuer, Jennifer. (2014) *Women and the Great War: Femininity under Fire in Italy* (Palgrave Macmillan,)

⁴⁷ Mpangala, (2004) *Code of Conduct Conflict TransfKambation*. London: IA.

⁴⁸ Achieng, L, (2008), *Evaluation of the Resettlement Programme for Ethnic Clashes Victims in Kenya*. Nairobi: Department of Foreign and International Development (DFID).

⁴⁹ Villanueva, p., (2005), *Africa-Human Rights: Women Aim to Lead the way to Peace*. Interpress Service.

In such calamitous situations, women and girls are often exposed to acts of violence which seriously undermine their human rights. Studies have shown that women are worst hit in situations of violent conflict. It is also becoming increasingly obvious that women have unique opportunities for conflict resolution and peace building due to the unique role they play in society.⁵⁰

While many studies show that conflict occurs with the involvement or acquiescence of women, several new studies portray women as a principal driving force in peace initiatives. Women generally show a keen interest in peace processes. However, the rituals of peace often preclude their full participation. When peace negotiations become formal exercises, women fade into the background. Other peace activities by women, such as reviving economies and rebuilding social networks, are seen as peripheral to the formal mechanisms and have received little recognition.⁵¹

1.4.4 Women in Conflict Management Process

Women play important roles in the process of peace building, first as activists and advocates for peace. Moreover, women wage conflict nonviolently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Women also contribute to reducing direct violence as peacekeepers and relief aid workers. Additionally, women work to transform relationships as mediators, trauma healing counselors, and policymakers. Lastly, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflict by acting as educators and participants in the development process.⁵²In Burundi; women's participation in conflict resolution helped to integrate gender equality into democratic governance and the peace building framework. This was as a result of the quotas in the peace agreement and Burundi's new constitution. Pressure from women's organization contributed to a culture of negotiation for national peace. The participation

⁵⁰ UNESCO, (1999) *Women's Contribution to a Culture of Peace*, Expert Group Meeting, Manila 25-28 April.

⁵¹ Cock, Jaclyn. *Colonels and Cadres: (2009) War and Gender in South Africa*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

⁵² UNESCO (2003). *Women and Peace in Africa: Case Studies on traditional conflict resolutions practices*. Paris: UNESCO Workshops.

of women was initially inconsistent due to lack of political will by all sides and in some cases strong resistance by political parties.⁵³

Under a study on women contribution to conflict resolution, Practices and Rituals, the Burundian case revealed that in situations of armed conflict, women played both an active and a passive role in the restoration of peace in traditional Africa. It was also established that in certain situations of armed conflict between two clans, women used a strategy to bring the hostilities to an end. The strategy involved holding a meeting and choosing the prettiest girl of marriageable age to give to the opposing clan as a token of peace. That blood pact put an immediate and final end to the conflict, as the girl married to one of the heroes of the enemy village now became the link between her parents and the parents of her husband. The marriage itself constituted an inviolable alliance between the villages involved in the conflict.⁵⁴ A Somali study showed that in some regions, older women who could no longer conceive were used as peace envoys.⁵⁵ In times of war the older women were the only ones who could move across the zones of conflict freely and without much danger. It was the older women who studied the situation, assessed the prospects for peace, and facilitated contact and communication between the two warring parties.⁵⁶ Responsibility for selection and deployment of peace envoy rested with prominent leaders, religious figures and women.⁵⁷

In Kenya, the understanding of women, war and peace has to begin with the understanding of Kenyan history. There are authors who have mentioned women and the Mau Mau war, for instance. The authors discuss women and their ideological ties to land.⁵⁸ However, most of the authors do not portray the importance of women in the Mau

⁵³ Ntahobari, J., & Ndayiziga, B. (2003). The Role of Burundian Women in the Peaceful Settlement of Conflicts. In UNESCO, *Women and Peace in Africa* (pp.11-26), Paris: UNESCO Workshops.

⁵⁴ Nyoka, Agnes Peter,(2000) "African Women's Perspective on Conflict TransfKambation in Africa: Case of Sudan" Paper presented at the AAWORD/ALERT Workshop On Conflict TransfKambation In Africa, Dakar 23- 23May.

⁵⁵ 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.

⁵⁶ Ogot, G. (1980). *The Island of Tears*. Nairobi: Uzima Press Ltd.

⁵⁷ Nyoka, Agnes Peter,(2000) "African Women's Perspective on Conflict TransfKambation in Africa:Case of Sudan" Paper presented at the AAWORD/ALERT Workshop On Conflict TransfKambation In Africa, Dakar 23- 23May.

⁵⁸ Hassen, Mohammed. (1990), *the Oromo of Ethiopia: A History 1570-1860*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mau rebellion. However, Kanogo acknowledges that women played a role during the Mau Mau rebellion, but other than this, she gives no details of women's specific actions.⁵⁹ Although these works mention some aspects of Kenyan women's history, still there is need for more studies focusing on women, for example, on the specific roles women played in peacemaking and conflict resolution over time.

In Tana River County, women have been engaged in peace-making and conflict resolution.⁶⁰ During the past community conflicts that rocked Tana River county, women were significant social actors generally and in particular in peace-making.⁶¹ A study carried out in Tana river to determine the role played by women as told through stories about the conflict, indicated great contribution of women towards conflict resolution.⁶² The study found that 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. In conclusion, the study offered suggestions for further research in women's roles in peace-making.

Women need to build up a strong movement before war starts and to sustain it through the war and after the ceasefire.⁶³ In summary, most of the studies reviewed fail to clearly highlight the specific strategies used by women in conflict management. Moreover, some studies reviewed link the women to the conflicts and consider them as victims rather than possible peace champions.

1.5 Justification of the Study

1.5.1 Academic Justification

⁵⁹ Amadiume, L.F, (2007), *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in African Society*. London: Zed Press

⁶⁰ Anderson, K. & D. Jack, eds. (1991) *Interview Techniques and Analysis*. In *Women's Words: the Feminist Practice of Oral History*. New York: Rutledge.

⁶¹ Kassam, A., & Bashuna A. B. (2004). Marginalisation of the Waata Oromo hunter-gatherers of Kenya: Insider and outsider perspectives. *Africa*, 74, 194-216..

⁶² Kirchner, K. (2013). *Conflicts and politics in the Tana Delta, Kenya: An analysis of the 2012-2013 clashes and the general and presidential elections 2013* (thesis). African Studies Centre, Leiden University.

⁶³ Mugambe, Beatrice (2000), *Women's Roles in Armed Conflict and their Marginalisation in the Governance of Post- Conflict Society*, Uganda Gender Issues Research Report Series, no. 11, Addis Ababa, OSSREA, February.

The study adds knowledge to the existing body of literature, especially on women and conflict management strategies. Most of the empirical studies reviewed in the literature fail to explicitly mention the strategies used by women in managing conflict, a gap the current study sought to fill. Therefore, future scholars and researchers in conflict management can review the study findings and establish gaps to inform their studies. This study therefore acts as a guide to what was previously done by past scholars hence giving proper literature on women and conflict management processes.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

The study sought to give more information and findings to the policy makers regarding women and conflict management processes among bordering communities in Kenya and globally. The study sought to cover a number of gaps that were not well covered by past scholars specifically among bordering communities in Kenya which have had historical conflict in Tana River County. The first sought to investigate the role played by women in Mutitu Sub-county Divisions in conflict management, to examine the impacts of the Mutitu Sub-county conflict on women and finally to evaluate the extent in which women have restored peace in Mutitu Sub-county. This can help to understand specific details that are of interest in this study and bring into book the possible conclusions, recommendations and further suggestions that would be carried forward by the future scholars.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The study was guided by theories of conflict management that relate to women involvement in conflict management.

1.6.1 Feminist Conflict Resolution Theory

The Feminist conflict resolution theory by Bailey in 1989 focuses on the women's non-violent struggles for peace across the globe and the theoretical frameworks designed to make sense of the relationship between women and peace, men and war, and sexism

and militarism.⁶⁴The theory seeks to identify the elements of women's voice, insight and understanding of reality. The theory argue that centuries of exclusion, subjugation and discrimination have given women perspectives on social issues which more insightfully reveal the true structures and actors of the world than men. What is particularly relevant to the study and practice of conflict management is the contention of many feminist standpoint scholars and activists that in order to uncover and transform inter-group conflicts that involve unequal relations of power one must look at the situation from the perspective of the subordinate, not the master.⁶⁵

According to the theory, the dominant meanings of peace and security are informed primarily by strategic discourses and military terminology which quite often restrict the understanding of peace to the absence of war and the meaning of security to imperatives of national security.⁶⁶ The conventional understandings of peace and security often originate in exclusively male-dominated settings and tend to privilege the men, governments and power elites. Feminist peace scholars, researchers and activists have insisted that the role women play in both the escalation and the de-escalation of conflicts depends on the particular historical, cultural and sociopolitical context as well as on the conceptual framework one utilizes to explore the gendered dimensions of conflicts.⁶⁷

The feminist conflict resolution theory goes beyond calls for mere inclusion in existing social and political structures and advocates for women's experiences and ways of knowing as enablers to articulate functional conflict management strategies.⁶⁸ The theory further focuses on the distinct feminist standpoint, grounded in the daily

⁶⁴ Bailey, M. J. (1989). "Mediation as a "Female" Process." Paper presented at the National Conference on Peace and Conflict Resolution, Montreal

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Kriesberg, L. (1991). "Conflict Resolution Applications to Peace Studies." *Peace & Change*, 16(4): 400-417.

⁶⁷ Peterson, V. S.. (1992). *Gendered States: Feminist (Re) Visions Of International Relations Theory*. Boulder, CO: Lynne and Rienner Publishers.

⁶⁸ Ibid

experiences and struggles of women. This position is identified in feminist literature as feminist standpoint. Based on these convictions, the feminist conflict resolution theory informs this study by focusing on the importance of women in conflict management. Moreover, the theory informs this study by highlighting the differences between men and women in both qualitative and structural terms of conflict management.

1.7 Hypotheses

The following constitute the study's hypotheses:

H₁: Women in Mutitu Sub-county do not play any roles in conflict management.

H₂: Women in Mutitu Sub-county do not employ any strategies for managing conflicts

H₃: Inclusion of women in conflict management processes in Mutitu Sub-county has no effect on conflict management

1.8 Methodology

The study adopted ex post facto research design. Ex post facto study or after-the-fact research is a category of research design in which the investigation starts after the fact has occurred without interference from the researcher. Ex-post facto research is systematic empirical inquiry in which the scientist does not have direct control of independent variables because their manifestations have already occurred or because they are inherently not manipulated. This is the suitable research design since the study sought to analyze women and conflict management process in Tana River among Kamba and Pokomo. The study was carried out in Tana River County. The major ethnic groups of the Tana River District are the Kamba, Pokomo and the Kamba.

The study purposively sampled nine women respondents from the Kamba and Pokomo communities, and two women representatives from the peace committees in the area. The study further included past studies and information collected by other scholars on the conflict between the two communities to identify the women participation in conflict management process among the two communities. The study collected data using tape recorders and an interview guide. The guide had open and closed ended questions.

The guide majorly handled issues on conflict management strategies used by women. The recorded data was transcribed before the critical analysis.

The study analyzed data using quantitative and qualitative data analysis methods. Secondary data was analyzed using content analysis. In order to better understand the nature of the results of the study; a thorough analysis was conducted from the responses. Four people who live and work in the study area were hired to guide the researcher and help with translation.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter one covers on the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, literature review, research hypotheses, justification, theoretical framework, hypothesis and methodology. Chapter two covers literature on women and global conflict management. Chapter three provides an overview of conflict in Tana River County and women in conflict management in Tana River County. Chapter four presents a critical analysis of the role of women in management of the 2012-2013 Mutitu Sub-county conflict in Tana River County. Chapter five presents the summary, conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter Two

Discourse on Women and Global Conflicts Management Processes

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the global scope of the international conflicts management processes and specifically indicates how women have been instrumental in the management of such conflicts both globally and within the African context. The chapter further highlights the conflict management strategies employed by women in conflict management. It also compares women in global conflict management with those in local conflict management.

2.1 Inter-clan Conflicts in Kenya

The inter-clan or inter-community conflicts manifest themselves as conflicts within arid areas or pastoral communities.⁶⁹ Inter-clan conflicts are the oldest types of conflicts experienced by many societies in Kenya. As agricultural communities settled and individual ownership became the basis for regulating resources, inter-clan conflicts persisted.⁷⁰ Most communities are still organised within the framework of communal ownership.⁷¹ Pastoralists occupy ecologically fragile areas characterised by unreliable patterns of rainfall and high evaporation rates.⁷² 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 land. 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.

⁶⁹ Juma M. K. (2000). *Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya*. Report to UNDP.

⁷⁰ Mwangi N. (2013). *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa*. Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003

⁷¹ Achieng, L. (2008), *Evaluation of the Resettlement Programme for Ethnic Clashes Victims in Kenya*. Nairobi: Department of Foreign and International Development (DFID)

⁷² Ibid

While conflicts are not new to communities in Kenya, 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, commercialization 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 livestock.⁷³

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 to restock.⁷⁴ Pastoralists have come up with complex social mechanisms that govern negotiations for compensation after raids. These mechanisms have recently been rendered ineffective for several reasons.⁷⁵ Cattle raids have resulted in conflicts with loss of life between Turkana and neighboring communities.⁷⁶ The problem has doubled since the introduction of cash for animals which has created a network of businesses that offer a ready market for raided animals.⁷⁷

Ethnicity is a primary element in the social and political configurations of Kenya.⁷⁸ For most Kenyans, rites of passage—birth, initiation into adulthood, marriage,

⁷³ Goodhand, J. and D. Hulme. (1997). *NGOs and Peace Building in Complex Political Emergencies: An Introduction*. NGOs and Complex Political Emergencies Working Paper No. 1 Manchester: University of Manchester and Intrac.

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Oxfam. (1999). *Wajir Pastoral Development Programme*. Background Document.

⁷⁶ Ibid

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Roberts, A. (1999). "Humanitarian Intervention." Paper Presented at the Symposium, *Civilians in War: 100 Years After The Hague Peace Conference*, September, New York.

and death; are acknowledged through ethnic rituals and regulations that reinforce the bonds between community members. However, the politicisation of ethnicity in post independent Kenya is the key to understanding all the conflicts in Kenya. Politicians have used ethnic structures to create their positions as the representatives of their groups.⁷⁹ Ethnic community claims also to correspond to political constituencies, and political participation has been primarily organised along communal and ethnic lines. Political parties are usually known by the ethnic and regional basis from which they draw their support rather than by their party manifestos, achievements, or strategies. Thus, a political party's loss is interpreted as the entire ethnic group's loss.⁸⁰

The extent of the effects of conflict on Kenya's populations is uncertain and speculative. Registering displaced persons is difficult for both logistical and political reasons.⁸¹ Many victims remain undocumented, leaving large numbers outside assistance networks. The most cited estimates of clash victims indicate 1,500 by early 1993. More than 350,000 people, largely but not exclusively from the Rift Valley and Western provinces, were displaced to camp-like situations, usually in church compounds, schools and market places.⁸² By 1993, about 22,300 people were registered as displaced in the Elgeyo-Marakwet districts.⁸³

Between 1997 and 1998, the Pokot-Marakwet conflicts produced more than 4,000 victims.⁸⁴ Between January and March 1998, clashes in Laikipia and Molo displaced and disrupted the lives of many. The numbers are less definite in the nomadic North Eastern province where entire populations are on the move throughout the year. In March 1999, an incident of inter-clan rivalry in Wajir left nearly 140 people dead and an unknown

⁷⁹ Ibid

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Somjee, S. and M. Kathina. (1997). *Situational Analysis of Emergencies in Kenya*. Nairobi: Action-Aid.

⁸² Ibid

⁸³ NEMU (1993). *Report of the National Election Monitoring Unit*. NEMU, Nairobi.

⁸⁴ National Council of the Churches of Kenya. (1997). *The Peace Update*, Issue No. 43, 31 August.

number wounded. Other areas prone to clashes and displacement are away from the prying eye of the media and remain largely unreported.⁸⁵

Tana River, parts of Migori and northern Mwingi are areas that have witnessed systematic depopulation as people flee attacks from bandits.⁸⁶ In each instance, the conflict has led to substantial loss of human life and destruction of livestock and other property. Therefore, the clashes have created a large internally displaced population of destitute and highly vulnerable Kenyans. Many thousands of homes have been destroyed, and the majority of the displaced populations have lost most, if not all of their household effects, food stocks, agricultural implements, seed, and livestock. So in conclusion, conflict situations have been very sporadic in Kenya.

2.2 Global Approach to Gender and Conflict

The world continues to experience high levels of violence and instability after the cold wars.⁸⁷ However, the nature of conflicts has changed, with the majority of conflicts now being between states, clans or religious groups. The roles and responsibilities carried out by international institutions charged with peace building and conflict resolution have also changed.

Since the early 1990s, the United Nations (UN) peacekeeping mission mandate was extended beyond military operations and mediation between nation states to multidimensional missions, which incorporated a wide range of activities.⁸⁸ However, whilst billions of dollars are spent each year on such operations, sustainable peace remains elusive for large swathes of the world's population.⁸⁹ Civilian populations have

⁸⁵ Orensen 2013, *Killing the Vote: State-Sponsored Violence and Flawed Elections in Kenya* Nairobi: KHRC

⁸⁶ Ibid

⁸⁷ Alberd A. (2010), *Specific Contribution of Peace Research to the Study of Violence, Typologies, Violence and Its Cause*. UNESCO Publication

⁸⁸ Bertolazzi, F., (2010). "Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions" *UN-INSTRAW Gender, Peace and Security Working Paper Series*

⁸⁹ Anderlini, S.N., (2007). *Women Building Peace: Why They Do It, Why It Matters*, (Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.)

been increasingly affected as the nature of conflict changes and as the line between the peace and the war becomes increasingly blurred.⁹⁰

Ethnic conflicts and genocide have scarred many countries such as Rwanda. Those countries that have transitioned to democracy and to relative stability face the threat of falling back into conflict and the proliferation of small arms coupled with violence against women.⁹¹ At the international level, there is now a general consensus on the need for a gendered approach to conflict resolution.⁹² This is the result of long-term activism and lobbying by women's networks worldwide.⁹³ Women from different countries have met together in a Congress of Women to protest against the First World War, and founded the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).⁹⁴

The Peace building Initiative, a project designed in partnership with the United Nations Peace building Support Office to share information within the peace building community, argues that there are two key dimensions in taking a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution. Firstly, the approach must acknowledge differences in women and men's experiences, ensuring that women's interests and needs are met. Secondly, it involves recognizing the key roles that women play in peace building and conflict resolution, and facilitating those roles wherever feasible.⁹⁵ However, it is not possible to clearly sub-divide the different strands relating to these two dimensions.

⁹⁰ Strickland, R., Duvvury, N., (2003). *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*, (Washington, USA: International Center for Research on Women)

⁹¹ Moran, M.H., (2010). "Gender, Militarism and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment" in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol.39, (Palo Alto, USA: Annual Reviews)

⁹² Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, (2012)

⁹³ Pratt, N., Richter-Devroe, S., (2011). "Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.13 (4),

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Ibid

The United Nations, academicians and activists interpret their roles and implement their policies in a range of overlapping and sometimes conflicting ways with regard to peace initiatives. These approaches may be defined as instrumentalist and transformative. Hence, ideas about the meaning, intentions, and implications of a gendered approach are varied and diverse.⁹⁶ Furthermore, the gap between rhetoric and implementation is worth noting.

The complexity of all of these overlapping and sometimes contradictory stands in gendered approaches to peace building is perhaps best illustrated by the UN Women, Peace and Security agenda; UNSCR 1325. It was adopted in 2000 and forms the basis for the UN Women, Peace and Security agenda. It was passed following the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action which called for the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations to undertake steps to improve gender balance and gender equality at all levels of peacekeeping missions.⁹⁷

UNSCR 1325 subsequently promised protection of women's rights as well as the guarantee of their equal participation in peace processes.⁹⁸ It further affirmed its commitment to increasing women's role in decision-making; expanding the role of women to UN field-based operations; providing training guidelines to all member states on the particular needs of women; ending impunity with regards to rape and sexual abuse of women; and increasing financial, technical and logistical support for a gender-sensitive approach to peace building and conflict resolution.⁹⁹

The concept of gender mainstreaming initiative has since been criticized for turning gender into a technocratic category whereby women's involvement and

⁹⁶ Bertolazzi, F., (2010). "Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions" *UN-INSTRAW Gender, Peace and Security Working Paper Series*

⁹⁷ Ibid

⁹⁸ Pratt, N., Richter-Devroe, S., (2011). "Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics, Vol.13 (4)*

⁹⁹ Ibid

empowerment has been reduced to a simple face value exercise.¹⁰⁰ Thus, an approach which was explicitly political and feminist in its conception, has been depoliticized as it has been adopted by the mainstream and become bureaucratized, limiting its transformative potential.¹⁰¹

The UN Women, Peace and Security agenda is ambitious and transformative in rhetoric, and there are many different agencies and bodies in the UN which are truly committed to a genuinely transformative gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution. However, the UN encompasses a multitude of different agencies, departments, and therefore, opinions and approaches, which may compromise the coherence of its approach. Furthermore, economic and political imperatives dictate funding priorities, and the promotion of a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution may often be perceived as an optional add-on or additional complication.¹⁰²

The UN and in particular the Department charged with Peacekeeping Operations continues to marginalize women further and fail to promote them to high levels of leadership regardless of its stated obligation of ensuring gender equilibrium and equality.¹⁰³ It is critical that the peacekeeping side as well as the host community give credence to the issue of gender in their own organisations.¹⁰⁴

Studies on the culture of large institutions, including the UN has shown that such institutions tend to be mannish in culture and practice and therefore favor hierarchical

¹⁰⁰ Cornwall, A., Harrison, E., Whitehead, A., (eds.), (2007). *Feminisms in Development: Contradictions, Contestations and Challenges*, (London, UK: Zed Books)

¹⁰⁰ Onslow, C., Schoofs, S., (2010). *Peacebuilding with a gender perspective: How the EU Can Make a Difference, Synthesis Report*

¹⁰¹ Ibid

¹⁰³ Rehn, E., Johnson Sirleaf, E., (2002). *Women War Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-Building*, Progress of the World's Women 2002, Vol.1

¹⁰⁴ Strickland, R., Duvvury, N., (2003). *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*

structures, individualism, and competitiveness as opposed to cooperative or consultative approaches.¹⁰⁵

Furthermore, high levels of sexual harassment and gender discrimination in troop-contributing countries reduces the number of women in peacekeeping forces. Thus, it can be argued that the UN itself maintains a deep-rooted gender hierarchy which works against gender equality. In 2008 only about 2% of military personnel in UN peacekeeping forces were female.¹⁰⁶

Proponents of a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution argue that women's involvement in peacekeeping missions in higher numbers will have positive effects for women in the countries where missions are stationed, by providing positive examples of female leadership.¹⁰⁷ Many authors argue that the UN continues to employ essentialist definitions of women as mothers, caregivers and providers.¹⁰⁸

Women and children continue to be conflated into one category that signifies innocence, vulnerability, and in need of protection.¹⁰⁹ Arguably, this focus on vulnerability and protection continues to form part of a stereotype of women which aims to justify their exclusion from negotiations and powerful roles. This is so because when the women are portrayed as weak it means they are not suitable for the roles involved in peace building and security.

This has led some authors to argue that the celebration of the Women, Peace and Security agenda is little more than empty rhetoric.¹¹⁰ As victims, actors and perpetrators

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

¹⁰⁶ Bertolazzi, F., (2010). "Women with a Blue Helmet: The Integration of Women and Gender Issues in UN Peacekeeping Missions" *UN-INSTRAW Gender, Peace and Security Working Paper Series*

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ Puechguirbal, N., (2010). "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents" in *International Peacekeeping, Vol.17 (2)*,

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Ibid

in conflict and peace building, the exclusion of women from formal processes is inexcusable. Their inclusion is imperative to reaching inclusive peace agreements that lead to positive and sustainable peace.¹¹¹

2.2.1 Practical Needs Approaches to Gender and Conflict

The practical reasons for a gendered analysis are numerous. Actors in the field have made evaluations and criticisms of post-conflict operations and initiatives which claim gender neutrality. Many humanitarian organisations cling to the principle of neutrality in post-conflict relief operations, arguing that meeting the immediate practical needs of populations is their task. However, in practice, these operations do not exist in a vacuum, but work within communities which have their own gendered power structures in place, whereby women are often subordinated. A weak gender neutral programme, therefore, can easily reinforce existing inequalities and disadvantage women.

2.2.2 Protection Approaches to Gender and Conflict

There is a general consensus that a crucial component of a gendered approach to peace building is to acknowledge gendered vulnerabilities and ensure that women and girls are afforded protection from violence. Specific forms of violence, especially sexual violence, are used against women in what has come to be defined as gender-based violence, violence that targets individuals or groups of individuals because of their gender.

Conflict and its aftermath affect women and girls in different ways.¹¹² Men and women assume different roles and are targeted differently by virtue of their genders. Women have specific vulnerabilities and often experience multiple forms of violence

¹¹¹ Sweetman, C., (2005)., *Gender, Peacebuilding, and Reconstruction*, (UK: Oxfam GB)

¹¹² Aroussi, S., (2011). "Women, Peace and Security: Addressing Accountability for Wartime Sexual Violence" in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.13 (4)

during and after conflict, with brutality reaching new levels in times of conflict.¹¹³ The targeting of women's bodies has emerged as a systematic strategy used during conflict.

Furthermore, extremely high levels of violence against women after the formal cessation of conflict, problematises the notion of 'peacetime' for women.¹¹⁴ However, a truly gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution must address not only how men and women experience conflict differently, but why. This means examining the reasons why women are more vulnerable during conflict.¹¹⁵

Women do not suffer in war because of any intrinsic weakness, but because of their position in society.¹¹⁶ Ignoring underlying gendered power relations and inequalities in a society can lead to an oversight of some of the fundamental causes of conflict and undermine work towards building sustainable peace.¹¹⁷

Painting women purely as victims can obscure women's agency and undermine the positive work which some women do in resisting conflict and violence, and can weaken future potential.¹¹⁸ Moreover, it also down plays the diverse roles that women play and the positions that they occupy in society since some women are also involved in supporting conflict and agitating violence, as well as directly participating in combat.¹¹⁹

¹¹³ Ibid

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Puechguirbal, N., (2010). 'Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents' in *International Peacekeeping, Vol.17 (2)*,

¹¹⁶ Pankhurst, D., (2000). 'Women, Gender and Peace building' *Working Paper 5, Centre for Conflict Resolution*

¹¹⁷ Anderlini, S.N., (2007). *Women Building Peace: Why They Do It, Why It Matters*, (Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.)

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Ibid

2.2.3 Instrumentalist Approaches to Gender and Conflict

For many actors in the international arena concerned with peace building and conflict resolution, the logic behind supporting a gendered approach is that it enhances the efficiency and effectiveness of peace building and that women's peace building efforts are a valuable resource for the development of sustainable peace and security.¹²⁰ This can be defined as an instrumentalist approach, which is concerned with what women can do for peace building, not the reverse.¹²¹ Instrumentalist arguments for funding education programmes for women in post-conflict situations believe that women are primary caregivers and educating them will be beneficial because they can pass their knowledge on to the next generation.

Disregarding the capacities and efforts of 50% or more of the population can be seen as a waste of resources. However, these approaches are based on efficiency arguments, as opposed to considering the intrinsic value of empowering women and girls. Instrumentalist approaches and arguments can be seen to be, in many ways, a result of NGOs and other groups in the peace building community having to compete for resources in a funding context which is very much driven by the desire of donors to see concrete outcomes and to meet specific targets.

2.2.4 Participation Approaches to Gender and Conflict

A further stand of a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution is the requirement that women must be involved at all levels and all stages of the peace building process. Examples of the crucial roles that women can play are numerous. The different roles that women and men play in society give them different insights and knowledge. However, in typical settings, much of women's knowledge and insight is not

¹²⁰ Onslow, C., Schoofs, S., (2010). *Peacebuilding with a gender perspective: How the EU Can Make a Difference, Synthesis Report*

¹²¹ Strickland, R., Duvvury, N., (2003). *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*

taken into account. From early warning systems right through to post-conflict transformation and reconstruction, women's contributions should be invaluable.

In terms of early warning systems, women often have information about signs of potential conflict and escalating attacks. This information is garnered not through high tech surveillance and espionage, but through small signs of instability relating to day-to-day activities, such as market activity and timings, and the price of light weapons in the community.¹²² Furthermore, the position and treatment of the women themselves can be a sign of instability and escalating violence. These details are seldom taken into account by international actors in the peace building arena, who may prefer more prestigious and yet ultimately less effective methods.

The argument for women's participation is perhaps best illustrated with reference to two specific issues: sexual violence and formal negotiation. The necessity of women's involvement in conflict management is particularly clear in relation to the prevalence of rape and sexual violence. Firstly, women's involvement in post-conflict truth and reconciliation commissions is crucial. Having women-only hearings for women to discuss their experiences has been hailed as successful in many different settings.¹²³ Secondly, rape and sexual violence have often been perpetrated by security forces.

A gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution should ensure that women are trained and employed in the security services. The presence of more women in these forces has been shown to be effective in reducing the levels of sexual violence, also making it more likely that women will report sexual violence perpetrated by other actors within the forces.¹²⁴

¹²² Strickland, R., Duvvury, N., (2003). *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*

¹²³ Pankhurst, D., (2000). "Women, Gender and Peacebuilding" *Working Paper 5, Centre for Conflict Resolution*

¹²⁴ Ibid

Despite their peace building efforts, the under-representation of women at the peace table continues to be much more marked than in other areas, with women's participation remaining a largely unfulfilled target of UNSCR 1325.¹²⁵ It is men who continue to dominate the formal roles in the peace building process: A UN Report from 2010 suggests that since 1992, fewer than 10% of peace negotiators have been female.¹²⁶ Men make up the majority of politicians, peace talk negotiators, formal leaders, and peacekeeping troops while women's roles in peace building and conflict resolution have been largely invisible. Moreover, where they are acknowledged, their roles are more likely to be notable at a local, not national or international level.¹²⁷

Women's activism in managing survival and community-level agency is predictably devalued as politics becomes more structured and hierarchical.¹²⁸ Moreover, where such participation is encouraged, women can be marginalised if they do not have the education and training necessary to fully participate.¹²⁹ Therefore, the gap between rhetoric and implementation remains wide. The failure to engage women certainly undermines the prospects of building a sustainable peace.¹³⁰

2.2.5 Transformative Approaches to Women Involvement in Peace initiatives

Numerous academics, activists and civil society groups have also put forward more radical and feminist arguments in support of a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution. These authors, such as Puechguirbal, highlight structures of

¹²⁵ Diaz, P.C., (2010). 'Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence' 1325 +10: Women Count for Peace

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ Gizelis, T.I., (2011)., 'A Country of their Own: Women and Peace building' in *Conflict Management and Peace Science*, Vol.28 (5), (Sage Publications)

¹²⁸ Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., Turshen, M. (2001). 'There Is No Aftermath for Women' in Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., Turshen, M., (Eds.), *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict TransfKambation*, (London, UK: Zed Books

¹²⁹ Pankhurst, D., (2000). 'Women, Gender and Peacebuilding' *Working Paper 5, Centre for Conflict Resolution*, (UK: Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford

¹³⁰ Ibid

patriarchy as a central reason why societies continue to resort to violence to resolve conflicts.¹³¹

These arguments can be labelled transformative, as they advocate a fundamental shift in gendered power relations, and a transformation of post-conflict societies. As Meintjes, Pillay and Turshen argue: during the transition from war to peace, or from military dictatorship to democracy, the rhetoric of equality and rights tends to mask the reconstruction of patriarchal power, despite recent emphasis on women's human rights.¹³²

This can be seen more explicitly in post-conflict efforts to restore and re-establish pre-wartime roles. As Pankhurst states: The challenge to gender relations often becomes too great for patriarchal societies to maintain in times of peace, and women find their historical contribution marginalised in both official and popular accounts of war, and their freedoms in peacetime restricted or removed.¹³³

The post-war period is seen by authors that advocate a transformative gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution, as a time when gender roles and gendered power relations can be radically reconstructed.¹³⁴ This applies both to the host community and to the peacekeeping side of the operation.¹³⁵ Without challenging gender norms, and the attendant power imbalances between women and men, discriminatory attitudes and practices which disadvantage women and compromise their human rights

¹³¹ Puechguirbal, N., (2010). "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents" in *International Peacekeeping, Vol.17 (2)*

¹³² Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., Turshen, M. (2001). "There Is No Aftermath for Women" in Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., Turshen, M., (Eds.), *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation*, (London, UK: Zed Books

¹³³ Pankhurst, D., (2000). "Women, Gender and Peacebuilding" *Working Paper 5, Centre for Conflict Resolution*, (UK: Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford

¹³⁴ Moran, M.H., (2010), "Gender, Militarism and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment" in *Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol.39*

¹³⁵ Puechguirbal, N., (2010). "Discourses on Gender, Patriarchy and Resolution 1325: A Textual Analysis of UN Documents" in *International Peacekeeping, Vol.17 (2)*

can prevail after the conflict.¹³⁶ Ultimately, transformative approaches assert that building peace is *not* about returning to the status quo.¹³⁷

2.3 Women in Conflict Resolution

2.3.1 Guatemala Case

The difficulties of designing and implementing a genuine gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution can be illustrated by the case study of Guatemala. Central America has experienced many protracted conflicts in its recent history. One such conflict prone zone is Guatemala, where Latin America's longest civil war raged for 36 years until the formal signing of the peace accords in 1996.¹³⁸ Guatemala, similar to many South American nations, has a history of military dictatorship and widespread human rights abuses.¹³⁹ There is widespread societal acceptance and perpetuation of strong gender bias in Guatemala. However, the Guatemalan peace accords were praised for including systematic references to gender-related issues throughout the text, which is attributed to the involvement of women's rights activists.¹⁴⁰

Specific commitments were made in to women on housing, land, attempts to find children and orphans, and on penalizing sexual harassment.¹⁴¹ Though only two women

¹³⁶ Strickland, R., Duvvury, N., (2003), *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*, (New York, USA: UNIFEM)

¹³⁶ Enloe, C., (2005). "What Is Patriarchy Is the Big Picture?" An Afterword in Mazurana, D., Raven-Roberts, A., Parpart, J., (eds.), *Gender, Conflict and Peackeping*, (Maryland, USA: Rowman & Littlefield)

¹³⁸ Anderlini, S.N., (2007), *Women Building Peace: Why They Do It, Why It Matters*, (Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.)

¹³⁸ Strickland, R., Duvvury, N., (2003), *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*, (New York, USA: UNIFEM)

¹³⁹ Jackson, A., (2007), *The Issue of Femicide in Guatemala*, online, available at <http://lanic.utexas.edu/project/etext/llilas/ilassa/2007/jackson.pdf>, accessed on 12/8/2015

¹³⁹ Ibid

were included in the negotiating teams of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (GNRU) and the Government of Guatemala, participation of women's organisations and civil society group was high. For this reason, the peace process in Guatemala is commendable by those who argue in support of a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution.¹⁴² However, women are now being killed at the same rate as they were during the genocide in the 1980s; because the phenomenon of femicide has wrecked Guatemala. In 2007, it was estimated that 2 women were killed each day, with the majority being raped before their death.

The prevalence of violence in Guatemala today is linked to the failure of the government and international community to enforce the resolutions made in the peace accords. The men who committed sexual atrocities against women have rarely been brought to trial, with devastating consequences. As Beltran and Freeman argue: The state's failure to bring to justice those responsible for the atrocities perpetrated during the war or to fully implement the commitments regarding women's rights contained in the Peace Accords has left a terrible legacy that continues to foster much of the discrimination and violence that threaten the lives of Guatemalan women today.¹⁴³

Evidently, the implementation of the peace accords has been exceptionally ineffective, and a sustainable peace has yet to be built. Thus despite initial praise for the peace process and accords, and the central facilitating role played by the UN, the situation in Guatemala clearly provides support for the arguments put forward by feminist authors which criticize the mainstream gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution as superficial, arguing for a more fundamental gender analysis which addresses the deep rooted structural inequalities that perpetuate violence.

¹⁴² Diaz, P.C., (2010). "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence" 1325 +10: Women Count for Peace, (New York, USA: UNIFEM)

¹⁴³ Beever, S., (2010). "Women's Role in Peacebuilding: Nicaragua, El Salvador, And Guatemala Compared" MA Dissertation, University of Saskatchewan, Canada

2.3.2 Woman Grown Sustainable Peace in Wajir Sub-county, Kenya

Wajir is a district in north-eastern Kenya bordering Somalia and Ethiopia. Most of the inhabitants in Wajir are nomadic pastoralists who largely depend on animals for their livelihoods¹⁴⁴. Owing to insufficient and unreliable rainfall, these pastoralists require expansive land for grazing. As in most such situations, competition over the use of the limited resources of water and pasture is unavoidable between the clans of Wajir. Raiding is common, often resulting in death and heavy loss of the only means of making a living.¹⁴⁵

In 1991 and 1992, Wajir was hit by a drought in which more than 80 percent of their animal stock died. Hundreds of people were displaced in search of food and provisions. This situation was accentuated by a general state of insecurity associated with the influx of refugees, some of whom while fleeing war carried arms with them into Kenya. With the refugees also came combatants and gangs of mercenaries. In response to the pressure caused by the refugee influx, the government declared a state of emergency and as one commentator puts it, by the end of 1991, the situation in Wajir was a disaster waiting to happen. Consequently, the situation exploded. Following the December 1992 elections, fierce fighting erupted in several places.¹⁴⁶

Resentment grew between the different clans and ethnic groups, particularly between the Ogaden and Ajuran clans. General lawlessness became widespread in the district as violence continued to escalate with heavy loss of life and destruction of property. According to a report by Dekha Ibrahim and Janice Jenner, during 1993 alone, approximately 1,213 people died, and another 200 were injured. Stolen livestock included

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Barnett, M., Kim, H., O'Donnell, M., Sitea, L., (2007). "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations*, Vol. 13 (1)

¹⁴⁶ Villanueva, p., (2005), *Africa-Human Rights: Women Aim to Lead the way to Peace*. Interpress Service.

1,000 camels, 2,500 cattle and 15,000 sheep and goats. Economic losses were estimated at around \$900,000 USD.¹⁴⁷

Three incidents provided the opportunity which women seized. Women agreed that they could do something about the conflict. Led by five women who worked in government departments, the women decided to address the violence and find ways of dealing with it. After initial discussions, a committee of ten women, headed by an elderly woman leader, was chosen to monitor the situation in the market on a daily basis.¹⁴⁸ Soon, violence in the marketplace abated. Success in stopping violence at the market encouraged the women to pursue peace in the wider community.

The Wajir Women Association for Peace was born. After getting the acknowledgement of the administration, the association of women for peace then engaged in advocacy and a recruitment drive. They visited other women within the municipality of Wajir and sought their support. Soon the group grew to 15 volunteers drawn from a cross-section of the community. Most of them were civil servants, teachers, health workers, community workers, one local Oxfam staff, and elders.¹⁴⁹ More significantly, the Alfataa Declaration for Peace was accepted. This declaration provided the guidelines for the return of peace in Wajir District.¹⁵⁰

Effectively, women had lit the candle of peace and passed it on to the men. To prepare the ground for reconciliation, meetings and workshops were organised for religious leaders, both Christian and Muslim. Starting with a vanguard group of women, the peace wagon accommodated people from varied fields. By 1994, Wajir was experiencing a window of peace.

¹⁴⁷ Clifton, D., Gell, F., (2001). "Saving and protecting lives by empowering women" in *Gender and Development, Vol.9 (3)*

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

¹⁴⁹ Ibid

¹⁵⁰ Kiplagat, B. (1998). "Is Mediation Alien to Africa?" In *Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 1.3 (August).

By using traditional and administrative channels, the peace movement broke the cycle of violence and began nurturing peace. Women had cultivated peace across the various sectors of the community and sparked off peace activities at different levels.

2.4 Criticism of the Gendered Approach to Conflict Management

The arguments put forward in support of a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution, then, are complex and diverse. These arguments, and especially the way they are expressed through the Women, Peace and Security agenda advanced by the UN, are open to a number of criticisms, as seen above. However, there are more fundamental criticisms which critique the whole basis of the UN Women, Peace and Security agenda. Firstly, to assume the primacy of any one component of a person's social identity over another is inherently problematic: 'Individuals constantly negotiate between the primacy of gender identity and the assertion of other social identities of ethnicity, class and religion.'¹⁵¹

UNSCR 1325 can be seen to privilege gender and marginalize other oppressions.¹⁵² The presumption that women involved in peace building and conflict resolution initiatives will only articulate 'gendered concerns is short-sighted and arrogant.'¹⁵³ Gibbings argues that the UN Women, Peace and Security agenda has no space for criticism of imperialism and foreign military intervention by Western powers, as was demonstrated by the embarrassment generated by the comments made by two Iraqi women during their visit to the UN, where they spoke at a meeting attended by gender officers for different UN agencies and several representatives from member states.¹⁵⁴ They criticized the US-UK invasion of Iraq, condemning it as imperialist, and

¹⁵¹ Strickland, R., Duvvury, N., (2003), *Gender Equity and Peacebuilding, From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way*, (New York, USA: UNIFEM)

¹⁵² Pratt, N., Richter-Devroe, S., (2011). 'Critically Examining UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security', in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.13 (4)

¹⁵³ Ibid

¹⁵⁴ Gibbings, S.L., (2011). 'No Angry Women at the United Nations: Political Dreams and the Cultural Politics of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.13 (4)

also critiqued the UN for its lack of support.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, UNSCR 1325 has been criticized for ostensibly giving power to Western countries to intervene in peace processes around the world on the pretext of protecting women's rights.¹⁵⁶

Secondly, the implications of neoliberal macroeconomic policies such as structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) on building a sustainable and 'positive' peace are not adequately addressed by the UN or mainstream agendas on peace building and conflict resolution. As David Moore argues: The concept of 'post-conflict' is an excuse for the main development agencies and international powers to devote fewer resources to the amelioration of complex political emergencies in the third world and to allow structural adjustment policies to reign as usual, instead of the supposed dependency inducing tendencies of welfarist humanitarian assistance.¹⁵⁷ SAPs are implemented by international institutions such as the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), who wield much power in post-conflict societies.¹⁵⁸

SAPs commonly include measures such as privatisation, liberalisation of financial markets, de-regulation of labour, and a cut back in state spending on services such as health, welfare and education. The effects of SAPs on women around the world have been well documented. Privatisation of land seriously disadvantages women as they lose a prime agricultural resource.¹⁵⁹ Tightly restricted welfare budgets lead to a neglect of women's welfare requirements, which can have a negative knock-on effect for building a sustainable peace.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ Ibid

¹⁵⁶ Aroussi, S., (2011). 'Women, Peace and Security: Addressing Accountability for Wartime Sexual Violence' in *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, Vol.13 (4)

¹⁵⁷ Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., Turshen, M.,(2001). 'There Is No Aftermath for Women' in Meintjes, S., Pillay, A., Turshen, M., (Eds.), *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict TransKambation*

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

¹⁶⁰ Pankhurst, D., (2000). 'Women, Gender and Peacebuilding' *Working Paper 5, Centre for Conflict Resolution*, (UK: Department of Peace Studies, University of Bradford)

Ultimately, SAPs have exacerbated inequalities, deepened the poverty of the already vulnerable, and created instability. Concurrently, widening inequalities and deepening poverty are clearly an underlying cause of conflict globally¹⁶¹. Thus, while there are many academics and activists advancing radical arguments for a gendered approach to peace building and conflict resolution, the agencies involved in post-conflict peace building programmes and reconstruction, as well as the donors who facilitate these programmes, often look for short-term solutions which are compatible with the dominant global neoliberal approach to economics and development.

The inclusion and empowerment of women in conflict prevention and peace processes is not simply idealism in the midst of international politics. It is a necessary and infinitely pragmatic antidote to politics and business as usual, if the object is sustainable peace¹⁶². There has been a marginal increase in the number of women involved in formal peace talks, protection of women and girls from sexual violence. However, positive examples do not amount to system change¹⁶³: women's participation in formal peace processes remains low, their activism and contributions are consistently devalued, sexual and gender-based violence is endemic, and 'women's issues' continue to be treated as marginal to the main peace building agenda.

The links between powerful rhetoric and actual policy implementation are questionable, and the UN itself can be criticised for failing to understand and progress the truly radical ideas which underpin UNSCR 1325. Furthermore, there are fundamental criticisms of a gendered approach to peace building which undermine even a more radical conception of its meaning: namely, that without challenging neoliberal economic policies which widen economic inequalities, further disadvantage women, and foment violence

¹⁶¹ Ibid

¹⁶² Anderlini, S.N., (2007), *Women Building Peace: Why They Do It, Why It Matters*, (Boulder, USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.)

¹⁶³ Ibid

and conflict, even a truly gendered approach to peace building cannot and will not deliver the ultimate goal, which is a sustainable and positive peace.

Chapter Three

Overview of Women in Conflict Management in Tana River County

3.1 Introduction

This chapter details the in-depth narrative of the Tana River Conflicts. The analysis seeks to provide an in-depth understanding of the escalated 2012-2013 Kamba and Pokomo conflicts that left more than 30,000 people affected by the ethno-political clashes. Historical roots are explored initially dating back to the 17th century migration that brought the Kamba and Pokomo to the same region. The chapter also looks at migration as a result of famine coupled with the effect of land grabbing by the Kenyan government. The chapter further seeks to highlight the importance of women in conflict management processes.

3.2 Description of Study Area and its People

Mutitu sub-county is in Kitui County. Kitui County is a county in the former Eastern Province of Kenya. Its capital and largest town is Kitui, although Mwingi is also another major urban centre. The county has a population of 1,012,709 people and an area of 24,385.1 km².¹⁶⁴ Tana River County is a neighboring county. Kitui county is divided into eight administrative divisions: Central (Kitui), Kabati, Chuluni, Mutitu, Mwitika, Mutomo, Ikutha and Yatta.

The vast majority of the economy is based on sustenance farming, despite the fact that the agriculture is an extremely challenging endeavor due to the sporadic rainfall. This basically explains the importance and overreliance on the Tana River.

The longest river in Kenya, Tana River, is a very important feature in Mutitu Sub-county of Kitui County. Tana is derived from the Kamba word which means Red. This is due to the red sand deposit which makes the water appear reddish.

¹⁶⁴ Census (2009)

3.3 Historical Roots of the Conflict

Mutitu sub-county is in Kitui County and is dominated by the Akamba tribe. The neighboring County is Tana River, which lies along the Indian Ocean in the southeast part of Kenya. Majority of residents in the Tana River County are Orma, Wadier, Pokomo.¹⁶⁵ However, the Pokomo are the closest neighbors to the Akamba in Mutitu sub-county. The Pokomos are predominantly farmers in the area and derive their livelihoods from the River Tana, which is the largest river in the country. The Akambas are also farmers but also rear a few livestock; with their life wholly dependent on River Tana. The region as a whole is generally dry and experiences a drought at least once a year. The area around the river where farmers tend to live is wetter than the hinterland, but on the whole, the entire region's rain accumulation varies and is extremely unreliable, and the region remains dry for the majority of the year.¹⁶⁶ With the difficult climate, the conflict has mainly centered around water access and grazing rights for cattle. The frequency and volatility of these clashes between the Pokomo and the Akamba has increased over the years, and as of 2011 it reached a deadly climax. The Kenyan government has always done very minimal to control the clashes. There is little to no infrastructure in the area let alone to address the conflict.

Conflict between the Kamba and Pokomo tribes is nothing new even though the conflict between the Orma and Pokomo in the same Tana River area was more pronounced¹⁶⁷. The Pokomo and Kamba communities mainly engage in farming both claim settlement along the Tana River where conflict emerged over arguments of land use and water access.

¹⁶⁵ Somjee, S. and M. Kathina. (1997). *Situational Analysis of Emergencies in Kenya*. Nairobi: Action-Aid.

¹⁶⁶ Meintjes, S., Annu P. and Meredith T. (2002). *The Aftermath: Women in Post-conflict TransfKambation*. London: Zed Books,.

¹⁶⁷ Schade, J. (2012). Human rights, climate change and climate policies in Kenya. How climate variability and agrofuel expansion impact on the enjoyment of human rights in the Tana Delta. Bielefeld: Universität Bielefeld

The Kamba are also referred to as Kikamba, Kekamba, Masaku, Ukamba, Kitui and Mumoni. Their ethnic origin is Central Bantu, and their main distribution areas are south-central Kenya, Machakos and Kitui Counties. Their languages are Kamba and Swahili. Their religious affiliation is approximately 60 percent Christian, 39 percent traditional religion, and one percent Muslim. Their main economic activities are agriculture and animal husbandry, trading and woodcarving.¹⁶⁸ Historically, the Kamba tribe has been known to have a hatred for pastoralist communities due to the scarcity of water and rainfall in their localities.¹⁶⁹

Previous attempts at settlement of these inter-tribal disputes have been for naught as differences in culture, perceptions, and lifestyles have made it extremely difficult for these two peoples to coexist peacefully. The Pokomo are predominantly agriculturalists and fishermen living along the Tana River. They originated from Somalia and were driven down to their current home by wars with the Orma in the north during the 17th century.¹⁷⁰ An interesting relevant philosophy the Pokomo have is called *Sinidikia*. This is a principle whereby all of the community members work together to achieve a common good. This same system reverberates into communal help in the event of individual problems.¹⁷¹ Even in their initial settlement along the Tana River, the Pokomo tribe divided themselves up into various clans, claiming the rights to access near the riverbank and on the flood plain.¹⁷²

Since both communities engage in farming, continual claim to better land close to the river by both tribes is the origin of most conflicts. While there are a multitude of other elements in the clashes between the Pokomo and the Kamba, the climate and land seems

¹⁶⁸ Ibid

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ Somjee, S. and M. Kathina. (1997). *Situational Analysis of Emergencies in Kenya*. Nairobi: Action-Aid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid

¹⁷² Ibid

to be the most prevalent of them all. Both the Pokomo and Kamba claim rights to the land and the waters which creates a situation in which co-habitation seems to be unattainable.¹⁷³ This has created an obstacle along the entirety of the river.

The conflict reached a point where the two sides were planning forceful displacement of each other along the River Tana. Even though the conflicts mainly happen during the dry season; they would be preventable if effective conflict resolution mechanisms were put in place and utilized.

In a fragile climate such as the Tana River Delta, land is precious and water is necessary. Reliance on these resources and an inability to coexist peacefully is the major cause of this conflict. During the dry season especially, both the Kamba and Pokomo move down towards the riverbanks to the water.¹⁷⁴ However, intrinsically, this infringes on the land that the both communities feel is unquestionably theirs. Movement by both tribes towards the river bank by necessity means that people and livestock kept goes through farmland, which can be detrimental to any crops growing.

The conflict then begins and escalates between the two communities to an extent that any lasting resolution takes a long process. During colonial times, this difference was settled with an agreement that farmers from both communities would allow herders pasture land and water corridors until the dry spells were over during which herders would move back to their original areas.¹⁷⁵ However, increase in duration of the dry season and the failure to honor past practice continue to aggravate both communities into conflicts.

Local officials in the area are from either side of the conflict, so bias plays a large role in any conflict resolution attempted. The larger state government has indirectly contributed to the conflict in their management of land rights. Over the last few decades, the Kenyan government has handed away rights to land to larger corporations, forcing the

¹⁷³ Practical Action Report (2004)

¹⁷⁴ Ibid

¹⁷⁵ Oxfam. (1996). *Wajir Pastoral Development Programme*. Background Document.

Kamba and Pokomo to relocate their villages. Land grabbing by outside actors has also made this conflict all the more escalated.¹⁷⁶

3.4 Role of Women in Management of the Tana River Conflict

One of the main questions in the study addressed the way women were involved in managing the conflict in Mutitu sub-county with a special focus on peace committees, local peace initiatives, peace building and prevention. The roles played by women in conflict management in the Tana River area were critically analyzed.

3.4.1 Women as Actors

Conflict management in the Tana delta was practiced by women in different ways. The women were either in the local government, peace committees, village elders or religious leaders. However, there was no clear distinction between these various actors. For example, peace committees involved elders, community leaders and women representatives. The peace committees also cooperated with community leaders and others. Moreover, the peace committees also liaised with religious leaders, who were sometimes part of peace committees as well (such as the DPC).

The respondent stated, on the relation between women and peace committees that, women were the eyes of the peace committees. Although every peace committee had fifteen (15) members, they hardly ever operated in their complete form, which is attributed to logistical reasons such as transportation costs.

Peace committee interventions were initiated by the respective provincial administration. Whenever the conflict occurred, the first step was that the Provincial Administration and the police forces moved in to calm the situation. This was followed by the involvement of peace committees and elders.

¹⁷⁶ 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

In a later phase, a baraza was organised. Baraza was considered the main instrument of peace committees and elders. During the baraza, people were allowed to give their side of the story, making it a useful mechanism to involve women in channeling tensions. Furthermore, during peace barazas, women spoke and preached for peace. The Kamba women were very instrumental in actual preaching of peace and relating it to the bible. The main antagonists were coaxed to come to an agreement and an open promise to keep peace uttered. Often, a number of barazas were held after a single conflict.

3.4.2 Women Involvement in Disarmament

Furthermore, women in peace committees were also active in disarmament. The women cooperated with the Provincial Administration and police. The local easily gave up their weapons and firearms to the women unlike the security forces. This was because of the roots of the peace committee in society. The government institutions were often viewed with suspicions and considered outsiders. Women were very instrumental in the disarmament process in the conflict.

3.4.3 Women in Structured Peace Process

Women were also involved in the structured peace processes in Mutitu sub-county of Tana River area. The following structural framework was put in place in the area, which follows the administrative levels: district, divisions, locations and sub-locations. Every peace committee consisted of 15 members; and the women were well represented as shown in the next table.

This structure allowed for a far reaching scope of influence and intelligence gathering. Whenever a minor conflict was noticed by a sub-location or location peace committee, they could then interfere and try to calm the situation. Whenever this was not sufficient, the assistance from the district or divisional peace committee was requested. Members of the District Peace Committee (DPC) were also represented in the Provincial Peace Forum, which is the overarching peace structure.

3.4.4 Structured Peace Committee Model

Every peace committee consisted of 15 members; among them were women. Members were expected to serve the interest of the whole community. Members were chosen for three-year terms, after which new elections were held. Elections were first held for the sub-location peace committees. Residents chose 15 members from the community, out of which two to three positions were reserved for women. The elected sub-location peace committee members chose among themselves a representative to the location peace committee. This process was consequently followed for the division and district peace committee respectively. During the interviews, women peace committee members confirmed that they were active in one or two levels of peace committees that quelled the conflict in Mutitu sub-county.

3.4.5 Women in District Peace Committee

At the district level, the DPC consists of the women representatives as well. Out of 15 members, three were directly appointed, because they either represent women or youth. If the chairman was male, the vice chairman had to be female. This ensured and confirmed women participation in conflict management. The representation of women in the DPC in Tana Delta is as shown in the table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 shows that one-third of the committee members were female. Age varied from 32 to 63, with the majority being over 40 years old. The peace committee was indeed a representative organ. However, the presence of women in the setup was a key factor in making the conflict management process as effective as possible. The women members interviewed claimed that they had far less influence compared to other members. Others claimed that since the election, they had never been invited to attend any meetings or baraza. The reason given for this by the respondents was that the DPC hardly operates in its full extent.

Whenever the DPC was urged to attend a baraza, only a couple of their members actually attended. This was partly related to the logistical issues such as transportation and facilitation costs.

Table 3.1: District Peace Committee

Function	Sex	Age	Ethnicity
Chairman	M	54	Kamba
Vice chairman	F	56	Kamba
Treasurer	F	55	Pokomo
Secretary	M	55	Kamba
Vice secretary	M	32	Kamba
Youth rep.	M	62	Kamba
Religious leader	M	63	Kamba
Women rep.	F	43	Pokomo
Member	M	41	Pokomo
Member	M	61	Kamba
Member	F	45	Pokomo
Member	M	42	Orma
Member	F	32	Luo
Member	M	39	Pokomo
Member	M	40	Kamba

3.5 General Roles

The women interviewed expressed their rejection against the diverse forms of violence. The women have taken different actions; ranging from protesting against the harm that war has caused on the entire population and on women in particular. The women from both Pokomo and Kamba communities organized themselves independently from their ethnicities, political parties and from their religion. The women organized themselves to protest as mothers united against war. They did so, adopting a speech of respect for life and human rights that brings an ethical component to political discussions about the use of violence.

Some of the women in the area also organized themselves from the local level to the national level. At the local level, they stopped their sons from being recruited or involved in the conflicts. This was very common with the Kamba women.

The women also created non-violent strategies, such as dismantling fighting group bases without the use of force in order to get armed groups out of their areas. At the national level, some of the learned women from the Pokomo and Kamba were organized right from ranged from grassroots level to national levels. Their national and international networks were explored in different ways to help manage the conflict. Among these networks include the NGOs and CBOs, which advocated for the inclusion of women at all levels of conflict resolution.

3.5.1 Extent of Involvement in Conflict Management

The table below summarizes the extent of women involvement in conflict management between the two tribes.

Table 3.2: Women involvement in Conflict Management

Description	% Involved in Conflict Management locally	% Involved in Conflict Management nationally	% Involved in Conflict Management locally and nationally
Kamba women	50%	30%	20%
Pokomo women	61%	35%	4%

From the data gathered, majority of the women from both communities were involved in conflict management from the local settings. Moreover, more women from Pokomo were involved in conflict management at the local level as compared to the Kamba. However, more women from the Kamba community were involved in curbing the conflict from the local and national levels than the Pokomo. The number of women from the Pokomo

community involved in managing the conflict from the national levels were more than those of the Kamba community.

Chapter Four

Critical Analysis of Women in Management of the 2012-2013 Tana River Conflicts

4.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the gendered role of women, from the testimonials given by women themselves with minimal discussion and analysis. In this chapter, the major concern is weaving the Kamba and the Pokomo women's own experiences in the conflict. Their role in the sense of first hand experiences and the specific roles they played in managing the conflict is the focus of this chapter. Moreover, their combined narratives are important in the sense that the women narrated changes they witnessed in their roles in peacemaking and conflict resolution. All the memories the women shared highlighted the value of peace in their lives and that of their communities.

4.2 The Kamba and Pokomo Traditional Conflict Management Mechanism

The Pokomo and the Kamba traditional governance structures are the Gasa and the Kamba Council of Elders respectively. The Gasa and Kamba council settled disputes when the need arose, ranging from civil to criminal cases which were referred to them, or when they felt necessary to intervene. They also maintained peace and order in the community. They were responsible for all the resources ranging from land to water and forests. They could deliberate on issues related to individuals, clans and inter-ethnic conflicts. The decisions taken within these structures were binding and respected in the past. However, today, traditional structures are weak mainly due to parallel State government interference.

When interethnic conflicts occurred in the past, elders from both communities would involve a neutral community. The parties to the conflict would convene, look into the causes of the conflict and where possible resolve it and then reconcile. The offender would be identified and fined. Thereafter a reconciliation ceremony would be conducted to make peace. The ferocity and extent of the most recent flare up of inter-ethnic conflict

in Mutito sub-county provides clear evidence that it is no longer possible to entirely use traditional instruments of reconciliation to restore peace.

4.2.1 New Twist in the Conflict

The conflict had a new twist that showed the weakening of the traditional conflict management mechanisms. The conflict had escalated to the levels of the Pokomos acquiring guns after the introduction of a government activity to survey land for adjudication for the people living around Tana River. The Pokomo and Kamba farmers were to get title deeds on their farmland.

The Kamba opposed the programme as they perceived it as a threat to their livelihood. It would threaten access to fall-back grazing areas and it was perceived as a program that would limit access to the Tana River waters. Moreover, the Kamba traditionally believed that they owned the Tana River itself.

The Pokomo and Kamba farms are lined along River Tana; though there are designated water corridors, these have not always been respected by the Kamba, Pokomo and visiting pastoralists such as some of the Somali speaking Wardei. This in turn led to livestock and people straying into farms and causing damage to crops. This instilled resentment between the both Pokomo and Kamba.

Initially it was reported that both communities feared that the land adjudication programme would close out the water corridors for their use; despite the presence of designated water corridors in place. Therefore a rebellion against the land adjudication gained momentum, and more pastoralists also got interested in riverine land.

In their protest for the land adjudication programme, the Kamba started by assassinating a Pokomo farmer who was clearing his farm and reinforcing his farm boundaries. This was done by a group of armed youths from the Kamba side.¹⁷⁷ This first

¹⁷⁷ Theisen, O. M., Gleditsch, N. P., & Buhaug, H. (2012). Is climate change a driver of armed conflict? *Climate Change*, 117, 613-625.

incident led to the deadly conflict now known as the Tana River conflict in Mutitu pitting two tribes: Kamba and Pokomo..

The Pokomo were soon drawn into the conflict; and they chose to use arrows, spears and clubs to attack the Kambas. They also resorted to the use of supernatural powers; the *Kaya Bombo*; assisted by their Mijikenda cousins in Kwale. The Akambas also embarked on arming themselves with makeshift weapons such as pangas, knives and spears.¹⁷⁸ The government of the day was perceived by the Pokomo as unwilling or incapable of securing their safety. The Pokomo communities therefore took their sons to train in the *Kaya Bombo*, providing them with the skills of traditional fighting that has its roots in supernatural powers of the Digo Mijikenda people.

According to the women interviewed, some general impacts of conflicts were dislocated valued relationships, and stress on structures on which relationships are based. Around the Tana River, thousands of people fled their homesteads which were later set on fire. Over 200 members of the Pokomo community lost their homes as a result of violent clashes with Kamba.

This was done in an effort to create a force against the Kamba. People were wounded and killed. It was estimated that over 38 people were killed in the violent conflict between the Pokomo and the Kamba. The government embarked on a peace building process.¹⁷⁹

The majority of the respondents (60%) reported that they were not safe when the government brought in security officers during the conflict. The reasons they gave were that the security officers were biased in a way. The security officers, it was claimed, embarked on their own parallel program of sexual based violence by raping some

¹⁷⁸ Temper, L. (2012). Who gets the human appropriation of net primary production? Biomass distribution & the -sugar economyø in the Tana Delta, Kenya. Retrieved from: <http://www.plaas.org.za/sites/default/files/publications-pdf/LDPI05%20Temper.pdf>

¹⁷⁹ Ibid

women. Respondents reported that the security officers were few and lacked strategy to deal with the conflict.

It was also reported that at other times the security forces were glued to their stations most of the time and seemed undisturbed by what was happening in the areas under conflict. As a result, attacks still occurred despite the presence of security personnel.

4.3 The Pokomo –Kamba Conflict

The conflict illustrated the precarious relations between the two dominant communities, the Kamba and the Pokomo, in the Tana delta. Although no evidence has been provided which proves that herder-farmer conflicts are on the rise, the recent history of the Tana delta at least proves that they are still relevant. Although this research has shown that resource driven conflict, and conflicts within ethnic communities, are more likely to occur, the potential damage of these conflicts is far more severe.

In order to understand the causes of conflict, the various stages of conflicts are important. The roots of conflicts lie in differences and contradiction. For the Tana delta, this revolves around the competing use of natural resource. These are water, pasture and farm land. Conflicts in the area started over cattle grazing in farms, or farmers being blocked from water, especially in the dry seasons when scarcity is highest.

However, what causes these contradictions leading to actual violence is the institutional gap to manage these differences. With the affiliation of livelihoods with ethnic identity, conflicts were able to transform into ethnic conflicts. Agreements over natural resource use between Kamba and Pokomo, have become less in use over time, with Kamba claiming they have never have been in any agreements with Pokomo at all. As described in various literatures, the erosion of community elder's authority has also happened in the Tana delta. So far, the government, or any alternatives, have not been able to fill the institutional gap, whereas the urgency to do so will only increase with Tana delta's growing population.

4.4 Women Involvement in Conflict Management

Traditionally women have had much influence on the background in stopping and preventing conflicts. Although their influence was mostly advisory, they had an important role in influencing their male relatives to stop further violence. Women from both communities claimed that their position had been weakened after the colonial time, because the colonial powers ignored them and their institutions. Still, if women's influence can grow once again by incorporating women in peace committees, such attempts should be encouraged.

It is important to note that despite their small roles, women managed to get the negotiators to briefly focus on women. As the peace talks went on, the women pushed for the inclusion of a special public hearing on women's issues as part of a broader program of public dialogues. Additionally, women managed to bring other sectors of civil society to the table, because: historically, the government never considered the demands of civil society as important to negotiation processes, nor had an event designed to give voice to women's demands and perspectives on peace. This is of extreme importance, because, civil society is once again excluded from today's negotiation tables, and few outlets are being given for them to participate.

The women also resolved conflict using customary laws. To illustrate the varying effects of use of customary and statutory law: in one case a cow was stolen. Instead of compensation for the victim, the perpetrator was sentenced to two years of probation. The victim and his community members disagreed with this way of justice and burned the thief, illustrating the precarious position of formal law mechanisms. The traditional reconciliation of compensation could have likely prevented this.

Another example involved manslaughter within a family, when one brother killed his sibling. They both had five children, who would be worse off with their uncle dead and their father in prison. This was settled by forcing the murdered to pay 50 cows as compensation to his brother's family. After a cleansing ceremony, this case was settled.

However, the local magistrate acknowledges the difficulties of these bylaws for settling differences between members of different communities, since they differ in social and cultural values. Although customary law is still much used, according to several women from Pokomo and Kamba; there is growing favor towards reconciliation through statutory law.

Women were also involved in conflict management through the peace committees. However, if favoring towards male elders represented the cultural values of Tana delta residents, it would positively affect the peace committees' legitimacy. This raises the question what's more important, having more inclusive, yet less legitimate decision or vice versa. This difficulty is also described by Chopra, where the attempt to include women undermined the peace committees' authority because of men's reluctance to comply.

Although the vast majority of women from Tana delta communities were somehow represented in the peace committee model, their actual influence in peace committees varied significantly. Some members reported that they were less, or even never, invited. When tensions were high, animosity between rivaling peace committee members became more pronounced, which indicates that peace committees had a limited reach whenever conflicts became too big. The peace committees became affected themselves when the conflict levels were at the peak.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights the study findings, recommendations and conclusions with regard to women roles in management of conflict in Mutitu sub-county of the Tana River Delta.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study found out that women for both the Pokomo and Kamba were actually involved in peace initiatives or conflict management situations in Mutitu sub-county. The women representatives were present in all the peace keeping committees right from the local level to the national level. The women were involved in the initiatives through structured committee models, disarmament efforts and even through traditional means.

One of the arguments in favor of women participation in the peace committee model involved the inclusiveness of peace committees. However in some cases, this inclusion was rather limited since the women in the DPC expressed dissatisfaction with their lack of involvement, claiming that male elders still had far more influence.

In Mutitu sub-county, women had much influence on the background in stopping and preventing further escalation of the conflict. Although their influence was mostly advisory, they had an important role in influencing their male relatives to stop further violence. Kamba women were organised in a women's networks. In case of conflicts, Kamba women tried to stop conflict by using witchcraft. An elderly Kamba woman stated that *in* her community, incidences of conflicts occurred mostly during the drought seasons. She remembered how warriors used to raid the Pokomo farmers of their produce. She confirms that the women did not welcome the move; since they wanted always to live in peace with their neighbors. However; she claims that their roles were mostly advisory as the decisions were taken by men.

Pokomo and Kamba women were less organized but were still an important mediating force in the conflict in Mutitu sub-county. Women from both communities claimed that their position had been weakened because the men ignored them and their institutions. Still, the women's influence grew through the women incorporated in the peace committees that finally quelled the tensions.

5.3 Implications of Results

From the study, it is evident that a wide range of conflict management strategies were used by women in the conflict in Mutitu sub-county. This implies that the government should try to explore a conflict management strategy that is effective and not easily dominated by the male representatives. The number of women in conflict management responses team or committee should be increased to help detect, plan and manage any conflict.

In terms of policy, the study findings shed light on the importance of gender sensitivity and inclusion in managing conflicts. Moreover, the findings root for adaptive decision making as a policy framework for crisis management policy. Through the already established relationship between conflict situations and conflict resolution, an effective and efficient conflict management policy can be drafted.

Theories on conflict management, women empowerment and inclusion can be advanced from the findings of this study. This is so because adequate inclusion of women in conflict management can contribute to growth, peace and sustainable development. Therefore the findings shape the theories that link conflict management to women inclusion.

5.4 Limitations of the Study

During the data collection phase, several practical and social barriers were encountered. In the interviews, controversial topics were discussed such as inter-communal relations, land regulations and conflicts. Although attempts were made to avoid this, the respondents were still much reluctant to discuss these issues.

After evaluating the results of this study, the following limitations should be kept in mind. The limitations take on conceptual, contextual, and methodological manifestations. Conceptually, the study only focused on conflict management in Mutitu sub-county in Tana River delta, Kenya, and did not relate it to the effectiveness of the women in conflict prevention.

Contextually, the study was limited to conflict in Mutitu sub-county in Tana River delta in Kenya, and that these findings may not represent the situation in the whole country. Moreover, the study only focused on two tribes; Pokomo and Kamba and therefore the findings cannot be generalized to other tribes in Kenya.

Methodologically, the study relied on women alone to give feedback, and thus ignored other stakeholders like youths and elders who might be actively involved in the management of conflicts alongside the women, therefore creating a source of bias.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Letter of Introduction

Appendix I: Letter of Transmittal

Lilian Nyambura Mwangi

Dear Respondent,

RE: SURVEY DATA COLLECTION

I am a student from the University of Nairobi pursuing a Masters in International Studies. I am conducting a survey on Women and Conflict Management: A case study of Tana River region, Kenya. The information provided by you will be treated confidentially and will not be disclosed to any third party. Information will only be collected for the purposes of research in order to establish the relation of the variables. I therefore request you to feel free and provide honest answers without fearing any intimidation or disclosure of the information.

Your assistance and cooperation will be appreciated.

Kind Regards.

Lilian Nyambura Mwangi

Researcher,

University of Nairobi.

Appendix II: Interview Guide

Interview Guide

What were the Pokomo and Kamba traditional conflict management mechanisms? Are there any differences with the current mechanisms? Explain.

What are the roles of women in conflict management here? What are their roles in peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes? Explain

What strategies do women use to manage conflict here? How effective are the strategies?

Are the women included in peace management initiatives? Does the inclusion influence the peace initiatives in any way? Explain.

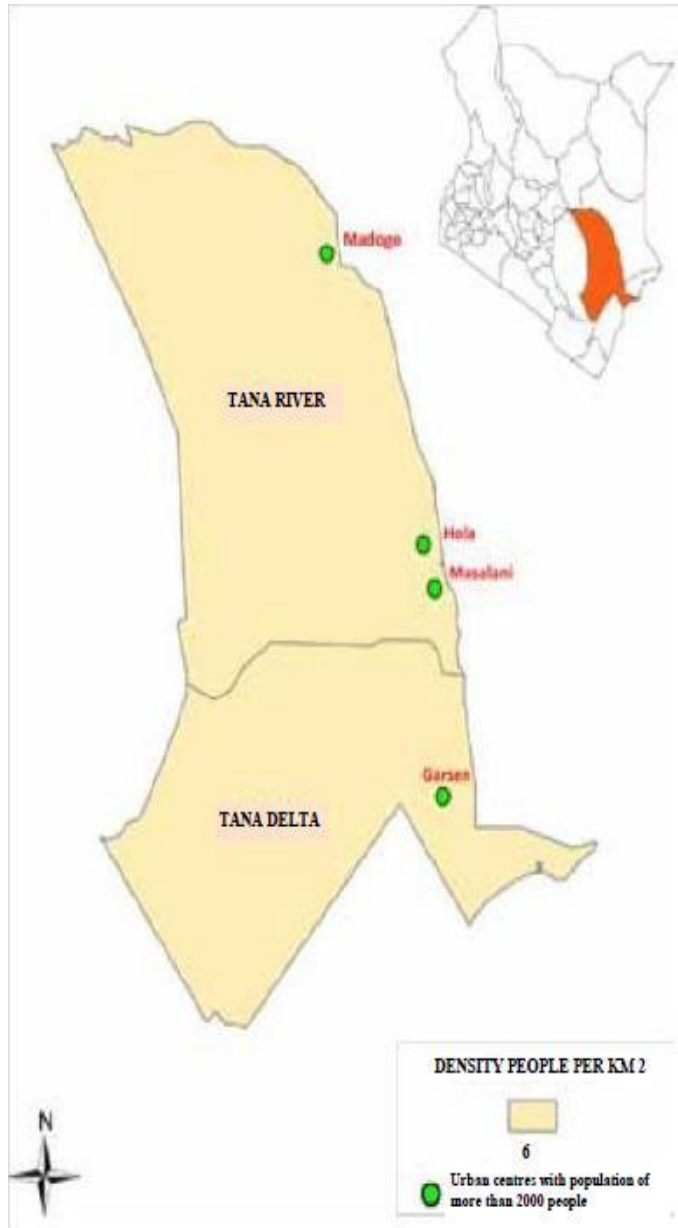
Are the women included in structured peace management initiatives? Does the inclusion influence the peace initiatives in any way? Explain.

Do women involved in peace initiatives have influence over their male counterparts? How does this help in conflict management?

Any final comment on the role of women in conflict management?

Thanks

Appendix III: Map of Tana River County



Appendix IV: Workplan

	Activity	Aug- Sept 2015		Oct ó Nov 2015		Dec 2015
1	Proposal development/writing					
2	Developing tools					
3	Data collection					
4	Data analysis interpretation					
5	Presentation of results					