

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

**THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACEBUILDING: A CASE STUDY OF UASIN GISHU
COUNTY OF KENYA**

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**MASTERS
RESEARCH PROJECT**

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DECLARATION

I, Cheptepkeny Cyprine Birgen hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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SIGNATURE.....

DATE.....

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

DR. ROSEMARY ANYONA

SIGNATURE..... DATE.....

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my lovely mother Mrs Betty Birgen and other women peacebuilders who have made a lot of sacrifices in ensuring peace prevail in the society. Thank you Mum for all the sacrifices.

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ABSTRACT

Over the years, peacebuilding has become important as a means of preventing continuing conflicts between warring factions. Simply put, peacebuilding is a shift from conflict to a peaceful future. It rests on the premise that provision of people's needs eliminates unrest and lawlessness that arise due to conflict thus preventing a relapse of violence. In many societies, women have been left out, marginalized and discriminated against as a result of patriarchal society. Their roles in peacebuilding are not considered important and they face many challenges in their efforts to rebuild their lives and families.

The violence that broke out in Kenya after the 2007 general elections started after the disputed presidential results announced by the then Electoral Commission of Kenya. The violence started between supporters of the two main presidential candidates. This resulted in destruction of property, displacements of people, rape, sexual assault, defilement and domestic violence.

Based on the above, the study focused on the roles women especially in Uasin Gishu County played in peacebuilding after the 2007-2008 post-election violence. The study used purposive sampling technique to select the study sample. It focused on the role women played in the County especially in the three districts namely Burnt forest, Turbo and Langas which was hit mostly by the violence. Through conducting face to face interviews, focused group discussions, and consulting documents available to the public, the researcher collected information about what women played as peace builders and advocates in the County after the post-election violence.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
BPA	Beijing Platform for Action
CEDAW against Women	Convention for Elimination of All Forms Discrimination
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence
DDR	Disarm, Demobilize and Reintegrate
EU	European Union
ICWPP	International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAS	Organization of American States
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PNU	Party of National Unity
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
RWPL	Rural Women Peace Link
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WAFF	Women Associated With Fighting Forces

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Chapter One

Introduction to the Study

1.1 Background

There has been a significant shift in the nature of international conflict. Intrastate confrontations have emerged to be the major threat to global and regional peace since late 1980s. According to Yilmaz, internal conflicts and conflicts within borders have replaced the ideological conflicts such as the cold war.¹ These conflicts are usually nurtured out of cultural and ethnic tensions, struggle for power, and tribal and religious rivalries.² Countries that are caught in these forms of conflicts have been pushed to the economic margins, as they are unable to find accommodation in the contemporary global economic dispensation. A disruption of their internal structural and systemic functions causes a ripple effect to their economic gains forcing them to adapt fiscal measures that aid in economic stabilisation.³ The resulting rigorous structural adjustment programs demand cuts in public expenditure and budget deficits that weaken the already fragile states. The ensuing situation fosters collapse of functional governments resulting to prolonged conflicts with no clear beginning or end subjecting the successive generations to endless struggles for survival.⁴

The nature of the conflicts also demands internal mechanisms for conflict resolution and peace building by locals. Peacebuilding is becoming increasingly important in preventing continuing hostilities. The peacebuilding missions have focused on security and governance in preventing the volatile areas from erupting into full-fledged conflicts.⁵ However, most of these missions do not take into account the gender composition of the societies and the effect that this factor takes in the nature of the conflicts and the effects of the conflict. Most missions fail to recognize the particular needs of women as an integral part of the peacebuilding strategies. The peacebuilding missions also fail to acknowledge the role of women in peace building.

¹ Muzaffer Ercan Yilmaz "The New World Order": An Outline of the Post-Cold War Era. Turkish Journal of International Relations, Vol. 7, No. 4, Winter 2008

² Ibid

³ Lund, Michael. "What Kind of Peace is Being Built? Taking Stock of Peacebuilding and Charting Next Steps." Discussion paper prepared on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Agenda for Peace for the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (Ottawa, Canada 2002)

⁴ Ibid

⁵ United Nations General Assembly (GA). 2000. "Promoting Social Integration in Post-Conflict Situations." Report of the Secretary General. 24 February 2000.

Despite the fact that women are among the most affected group in the event of conflict, the global peace arena has always treated their contribution as subordinate.⁶ Women are barely involved in peacebuilding initiatives, political discourse and social development. However in families which are the basic unit of the society, the role of women in peacebuilding and holding the family together is incomparable to any. According to McCarthy, women hold together families and by extension communities. Their exclusion from formal peacebuilding initiatives is only but a mock of their unsung role as stakeholders of peace in their families and communities⁷. Internal conflict demand the input and contribution of a class of people that are an integral part of societies in conflict. The causes of the conflict and the effects are more real to the most affected. This situation has provoked women to be more involved in peacebuilding to avert the damages of an ensuing conflict partly because they are the most affected and also because they have a role as guardians of their societies.

It is against above backdrop that the study will evaluate the role of women in peacebuilding in the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya. Through a case study of Uasin Gishu County, the study will examine women's contribution to peacebuilding and development in Kenya after the 2007-2008 post-election violence. The study will seek to analyze women's contribution in promoting peace, security, and development in Kenya following the violence. The events preceding the 2007 general elections can be described to be a heated political contest with a winner take it all mentality created among the supporters. The then Kenyan President Mwai Kibaki was contesting the seat against his former political ally Raila Odinga. It was a contest between two main political parties; Party of National Unity (PNU) and Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). What was viewed to be a closely contested election ended up with allegation of vote rigging that sparked violence across the Country.⁸

This frustration fuelled the violence that took place after the election in 2007. The carnage was horrific: 1,500 dead, 3,000 innocent women raped, and 300,000 people left internally displaced.⁹ Most of these atrocities happened in the first 14 days after the 2007 Kenyan general election. The severity of this conflict unfolded in a span of 59 days between Election Day, December 27 2007 to February 28 2008, when a political compromise was reached. The

⁶ McCarthy, Mary K., "Women's Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle?" 08 April 2011. *CUREJ: College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, <http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/132>

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Mutua, Makau. *Kenya's Quest for Democracy: Taming the Leviathan*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008)

⁹ Ibid

left glaring gaps in addressing the needs of women. Taking a closer look on literature on women and peacebuilding in Africa and specifically in Kenya, most of them suffer from male biases which emanates from the patriarchal character of African societies.

During the 2007-2008 clashes, the perception of women as the victims obscured their role as peacemakers in the peacebuilding processes. However, grassroots women and women's organizations initiated dialogue and reconciliation within their villages and communities¹². Although women played important roles in forging peace during the clashes in the family and the community, the government seemed to ignore the role they played as peace builders in the society and as a result very few resources were (and still are) allocated to their organizations. Thus, this study builds on the principles of conflict resolution and transformation to examine the role played women in Uasin Gishu County in enhancing peaceful coexistence among warring communities in the County.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the study was to examine the role in which women played in peacebuilding in Kenya, focusing on Uasin Gishu County.

1. Examine the cause of violence in Uasin Gishu County
2. Examine the challenges women are facing in peacebuilding process in the Uasin Gishu County
3. Examine how women have been affected by violence in Uasin Gishu county

1.4 Literature review

This section seeks to review literature based on key areas namely; the definitions and history of peacebuilding, peacebuilding framework, the role of women in peacebuilding, 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya and literature on theoretical perspective of peacebuilding based on the different school of thoughts.

1.4.1 Peacebuilding

Over the years, there have been significant contributions towards peacebuilding discourse offering a wide selection of literature. Most of these literatures explicitly differentiate peacebuilding from peacemaking by the fact the peacebuilding gives a sustainable solution for

¹² Kamunyan C., Cheserek, G., Kiptui M., & Arusei E., (2013) Causes and Effects of Post-Election Violence on Agricultural Production in Kesses Division, Uasin Gishu County, Kenya, *Journal of Emerging Trends in Economics & Management Sciences*;Feb2013, Vol. 4 Issue 1, p62

peace among warring communities. Authors such as Lund¹³, give a comprehensive procedure for establishing peace while Kauth¹⁴ on the other hand, emphasizes on the importance of gender based peacebuilding. In his 1992 report, “An Agenda for Peace,” former UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali introduced the concept of peacebuilding to the UN as “action to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict.”¹⁵ His definition has largely been borrowed by various international organizations which perceive peacebuilding in terms of post-conflict reconstruction of societal infrastructures and action-based approaches to peace making and structural rebuilding of institutions where infrastructures is frequently emphasized.

In addition to the above, other scholars have come up with other definitions of peacebuilding. For instance, according to Barnett, et al., peacebuilding is all external efforts to assist countries and regions in their transitions from war to peace, including all activities and programs designed to support and strengthen these transitions.¹⁶ McCarthy in his definition perceives peacebuilding to be activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations, something that is more than just the absence of war.¹⁷ The position however is contradicted by Porter who defines peacebuilding based on a post conflict reconstruction concept as activities that support the transition from conflict to peace in an affected country through the rebuilding of the socioeconomic framework of the society.¹⁸ In addition, recent studies indicate that people establishes peace utilizing processes that are meaningful within the contexts of their own culture.

During the post-cold war period of the 1990s, peacebuilding missions gained prevalence as numerous civil wars raged around the globe accounting for 94 per cent of all armed conflicts during this period.¹⁹ Regarding the civilian loss of life during this period, Paris notes, ‘...an

13 Lund, Michael. “What Kind of Peace is Being Built? Taking Stock of Peacebuilding and Charting Next Steps.” Discussion paper prepared on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of Agenda for Peace for the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), (Ottawa, Canada 2002)

14 Kauth, Glenn. “How Can Gender Advocates Help Women in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations? Issue 71. Toronto: Association for Women’s Rights in Development 2002.

¹⁵ UN General Assembly, An Agenda for Peace, resolution adopted by the General Assembly , 8 October 1993, A/RES/47/120B available at <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4a54bbdad.html> [accessed on 1 August 2015]

¹⁶ Based on the post conflict peace building concept that informs the UN Department of Political affairs (DPA)

¹⁷ McCarthy, Mary K., "Women's Particision in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle?" 08 April 2011. *CUREJ: College Undergraduate Research Electronic Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, <http://repository.upenn.edu/curej/132>

¹⁸ Porter, Elisabeth J. *Peacebuilding : Women in International Perspective*, (Routledge publishers, London 2007)

¹⁹ Robert Paris, *At War’s End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict*, (Colorado: Cambridge University Press, 2004) 1.

estimated 90 percent of those killed in armed conflicts were civilians. During this period, fourteen peace-building missions were deployed by the United Nations to a variety of war-shattered countries, including three in Latin America: Nicaragua in 1989, El Salvador in 1991, and Guatemala in 1997.²⁰ The peacebuilding field experienced extensive growth and development with these early trial missions with the establishment of implementation frameworks, peace-building centres, and the involvement of non-governmental organizations (NGOs).²¹ Despite the fact that it has been almost two decades since peacebuilding missions were first inaugurated current missions are still considered experimental because they are prone to breakdowns and seldom proceed as planned.

Paris in his discussion of the origins of peacebuilding, states that prior to the end of the Cold War the United Nations opted for a lesser role in the domestic politics of countries.²² However, conditions changed with the end of the Cold War, and the United Nations became more inclined to respond to the ‘demand’ for new multilateral peace operations.” While some operations still resembled traditional peacekeeping missions (with tasks that included verifying cease-fires and troop movements), other missions were “more complex” and comprised of “less familiar tasks.” For example, the United Nations’ first post-conflict peacebuilding mission in Namibia (1989) consisted of monitoring the conduct of local police, disarming former fighters, and preparing the country for its first democratic election – tasks not traditionally performed by the United Nations. New to the United Nations included supervising democratic elections, assisting in the preparation of new national constitutions, providing human rights training and in one case (Cambodia) temporarily taking over the administration of an entire country.²³

Paris further notes that the complexities of these peacebuilding missions required that the United Nations partner with other international actors to help countries rebuild post-conflict. These organizations include, but are not limited to, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Organization of American States(OAS), the European Union (EU), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and various International nongovernmental Organizations (INGOs).²⁴

20 Ibid

16 United Nations General Assembly (GA). 2000. “Promoting Social Integration in Post-Conflict Situations.” Report of the Secretary General. 24 February 2000.

22 Paris *op. cit*

23 Paris, *At War’s End*, 16-17

24 Paris, *At War’s End*, 18-19

Generally, the United Nation's peacebuilding missions to date are deployed after the signing of formal peace accords or agreements that have warring factions laying down their arms and agreeing to some form of a truce and a strategy for future power sharing, usually the formation of political parties and the contesting of elections indicative of liberal peace agenda.²⁵ These peace agreements typically mark the formal end of an armed struggle and symbolize the participation of belligerents in a political process. However, Jeong warns that peace agreements do not always satisfy all parties, "peace agreements do not simply mark the end of an old conflict, and sometimes they contain the seeds of their own destruction."²⁶ Therefore, depending on the particular context, there have been occasions when peacebuilding missions have been allowed to operate before and during peace accord processes.

1.4.2 The Peacebuilding Framework

As stated above, peacebuilding includes post-conflict initiatives to rebuild societies and forestall a return to violence and conflict situations.²⁷ However, the process of peacebuilding is rife with complexities. The complexities inherent in peacebuilding are reflected in the various concerns, which these missions must incorporate in their design. In general, peacebuilding missions focus on four main interrelated areas: reconciliation, governance, security, relief and development.²⁸ A discussion of the four central areas of concern will reveal the importance of each interrelated process and the inherent challenges within the broader peacebuilding framework.

1.4.2.1 Security

This is the first area of importance in any peacebuilding framework. Security entails ending violence, protecting those affected by violence, and enforcing human rights. Violence is the single most dangerous spoiler that poses fundamental challenges for peace, therefore, it is essential to disarm, demobilize, and reintegrate (DDR) warring factions into civil society. Thus, security measures and DDR initiatives are usually included within peace agreements in the form of military and police reforms.²⁹

Demobilizing soldiers and reintegrating them into civilian life is one of the single most important goals of the larger project of peace implementation. As Call and Stanley argues,

²⁵ Ho-Won Jeong, *Peacebuilding in Post conflict Societies: Strategy and Process*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005)

²⁶ Ibid

²⁷ Jeong, Op Cit

²⁸ Gareth Evans, "Peacebuilding: Six Golden Rules for Policy Makers," *International Crisis Group*, (2005), accessed at www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3771&l=1, on April 10 2015

²⁹ Ibid

Reconfiguration of military and police forces after civil wars is central to the stability of any negotiated settlement, as well as to the prospects for long term consolidation of a democratic framework³⁰ Because on-going violence will continue to devastate economies, exacerbate underdevelopment, and increase desperation and frustration among populations, ensuring that there is an effective police force that has the trust of the civilians and is accepted by former combatants is an early priority.³¹

Promoting security involves convincing competing armies to lay down their weapons, demobilize their soldiers, and reconstruct their lives in a more peaceful manner. Usually members of opposing factions are integrated to form a national military merger in an effort to establish a legitimate state monopoly over the use of force in society. This may require rewarding ex-combatants with economic and material benefits for abstaining from violence and their re-entry into society.³²Demobilization steps are important militarily and symbolically and should be accompanied by monitoring and verification mechanisms to ensure that these initial steps towards stabilization occur.

In addition to military reforms, a strong civilian police force is required to protect the institutions of democracy and act as a counterweight to military strength in areas where atrocities have previously occurred at the hands of the military. Such a force must be provided with appropriate training, educated about their mandate, and have the relevant mechanisms for internal oversight in order that it can operate in such a way that it respects the rule of law and individual rights, and selectively employ the use of force. Within peacekeeping missions, civilian police forces are often initially assisted by international civilian police and peacekeeping forces that monitor the peace and provide the necessary training.³³

1.4.2.2 Governance

Governance is another area that has to be addressed within peacebuilding. Long-term security extends beyond reforming military and police forces and is contingent upon the conversion of warring factions into political parties that can work to manage conflicts in a manner that is conducive of positive change. Peacebuilding operations are susceptible to breakdown when

³⁰ Charles T. Call and William Stanley, "Military and Police Reform after Civil Wars" in John Darby and Roger MacGinty (eds), *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 221.

³¹ Stephan John Stedman, "Peace Processes and the Challenges of Violence," 109.

³² Ho-Won Jeong, *Peacebuilding in Post conflict Societies: Strategy and Process*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005)

³³ John Darby and Roger MacGinty *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 221.

societies have a poor governance framework that exacerbates social fault lines, aggravates divisions and tensions, entrenches conflict, or provides a basis to contest the government.³⁴ Governance in peacebuilding designs requires the development of institutional capacities such as the judiciary, the electoral system, and other agencies that work to advance policy reforms, enhance transparency, and increase representation and accountability. For example, in many peacebuilding contexts, plans for elections are often outlined, agreed upon, and signed into the peace agreements between opposing factions.³⁵

Democratic electoral systems are favored by the international institutions that orchestrate peacebuilding missions because they have the potential to affect positive changes in societies where political transitions have been fraught with military coups, revolutions, and destructive patterns of violence. The role of an election during peacebuilding is significant for numerous reasons. Non-violent and successful political transitions become a critical test to determine whether new relationships can develop among former adversaries – the party that loses needs tangible, symbolic, and even material benefits from their participation in the new governance system in order for it to be embraced by those who do not gain full political power.³⁶

1.4.2.3 Relief and Development

Relief and development policies are considered an integral part of the broader peacebuilding process because where poverty and inequality endure after internal conflict they serve to undermine peace by breeding further discontent and anger.³⁷ Civil war devastates livelihoods through the destruction of production capital and displacement of peoples and loss of skilled labour. The relief and development process can be viewed as two stages — the immediate (the relief component) and the longer term (the development aspect). Immediate humanitarian assistance during peacebuilding is necessary to alleviate the human suffering that accompanies war and violent conflict. Significant portions of populations become uprooted and services that are otherwise used to tend to their suffering either are destroyed or did not previously exist. The numbers of people killed, injured, displaced, and affected by violent conflict in warring societies. The increased needs of these populations are compounded by the reduced capacity of health services, which further devastates those disproportionately, affected, namely women and children. They frequently fall victim to preventable infections and diseases, develop HIV and AIDS,

³⁴ Kirsti Samuels, “Sustainability and Peacebuilding: A Key Challenge,” *Development in Practice*, Vol.15, No.6 (November 2005), 733.

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ho-Won Jeong, *Peacebuilding in Post conflict Societies: Strategy and Process*, (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005)

³⁷ Ibid

experience mental health problems, suffer from substance abuse, or die in childbirth.³⁸ The longer-term strategy involves promoting economic growth and development.

Reforming and redesigning economic programs and policies is paramount for bringing about stability and equity because social tension is often created by perceived and real imbalances in income and wealth.³⁹ Violent conflict during civil war effectively halts development by destroying infrastructure and institutions such as the systems of transport, education, agriculture, and communication. It also leaves societies with massive human resource deficits in terms of general education and professional skills as farmers, artisans, and skilled workers are among those conscripted into war and often die as soldiers or flee the country.⁴⁰ Although civil wars may end, Stedman warns, “if former combatants lack jobs and skills and if weapons are easily available, then violence and crime may increase and rob citizens of their security and their hopes for a robust peace dividend.”⁴¹ Peacebuilding efforts stress that effective development strategies must incorporate the participation of local communities taking into account local capacities and solutions. This will increase the likelihood of more satisfactory developmental outcomes and at the same time empowers communities.

1.4.2.4 Reconciliation

Reconciliation is the process of addressing conflicting and fractured relationships that entails many different activities for it to be successful. Where deep social inequalities are common and populations are divided, impoverished, and devastated by war, institutional and policy reforms aimed at repairing and rebuilding corrosive justice systems cannot alone bring about healing. Policies and programs aimed at reconciliation are vital. These generally involve policies which stress compassion, forgiveness, restitution, psychological and social healing, all of which are designed to help communities live and work together.⁴²

Mechanisms for pursuing reconciliation include dialogue between former adversaries, story sharing, compiling records of human rights violations and Truth Commissions. For instance the

38 Sean Deely, “War, Health and Recovery,” cited in Barakat, *After the Conflict...*, 124-129.

39 Jeong, *Op Cit*

40 Sultan Barakat, “Seven Pillars for Post-War Reconstruction,” cited in Sultan Barakat, *After the Conflict: Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 266.

41 John Darby and MacGinty, *Contemporary Peace Making Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes* (New York, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002)

42 David M Last, *From Peacekeeping to Peacebuilding OJPCR: The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* (5), 1999 accessed on May 15 2015 at http://www.researchgate.net/profile/David_Last/publication/262523224_From_Peacekeeping_to_Peacebuilding/links/0f317537e33a857956000000.pdf

Gacaca courts in Rwanda and the South Africa Truth and Reconciliation Commission played a key role in the reconciliation process after the genocide and abolition of apartheid respectively. These actions also serve to deter former abusers and provide a lasting legacy and reminder of the atrocities that have occurred. According to Barakat, “The healing of bitter memories and restoration of trust is a delicate, highly complex process that cannot be rushed and which may take generations to achieve.”⁴³

1.4.3 Perception of Women in International Relations.

Most of the literature on gender and international relations addresses the relationship between the two from a feminist perspective. More recent literature on gender in International Relations, however, raise the issue of methodological coherence and how to examine gender from a non-feminist perspective. The feminist perspective nonetheless remains predominant, and is defined by its effort to examine the relationship between gender and IR largely in terms of women’s experiences—what special insight women have on security and cooperation and how and why women have been politically marginalized by men, society, and the state. According to Tickner, Men’s experience continues to shape international relations a move which not only subordinates femininity but also other masculinities.⁴⁴

In addition, a masculine approach to analysis in International Relations has resulted in only a partial view, and thus only a partial system of security.⁴⁵ With a gendered approach to security, however, traditional assumptions of the content of the term are questioned. Within the orthodox International Relations militaristic conception of security, women have been left with little control over their own security.⁴⁶ Women have been regarded as in need of protection, the receivers of security delivered to them from the protectors; the male warriors. This conventional distinction between ‘protectors’ and ‘protected’ is, however, challenged by feminists because it obscures the degree to which women are involved in war.⁴⁷ A feminist analysis of war emphasizes the connections between war as an instance of state-sanctioned violence and other forms of violence. A gendered approach to accepted conceptions of the roles of men and women in armed conflicts

43 Ibid

44 J. Ann Tickner, *Gender in International Relations Feminist Perspectives on Achieving Global Security* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992),

45 Sylvester, Christine. *Feminist International Relations. An Unfinished Journey*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

46 Steans, Jill. *Gender and International Relations. An Introduction*, (Cambridge and Oxford: Polity Press 1998)

47 Ibid

and wars can reveal underlying, and taken for granted, working relationships which in reality inhabits discriminating features resulting in inequalities between men and women.⁴⁸

1.4.4 Feminist perception to violence

Women and other marginalized groups are subjected to torture, marginalization, exploitation and oppression by the hierarchical and patriarchal capitalist of the world order,⁴⁹ Violence against women, rape and attacks are widespread, and women and children form the largest majority of refugees. For instance, during the Second World War, the Japanese army forced girls from Korea, Philippines and the rest of Asia to stay in military camps so as to provide sexual comfort to soldiers.⁵⁰ Rape continues to be used as a weapon during violent conflicts and peacekeeping operations.⁵¹ During the Rwanda genocide, radio broadcasts urged Hutu women to seduce the French soldiers so that they would become allies of the Hutu against the Tutsi. During the genocide, about 250,000 were raped by the Hutu militia.⁵²

Gender roles are socially constructed, whereby men are expected to demonstrate masculine behaviour, such as aggression, attacking, killing and coercion. Men serve armies, the most patriarchal and hierarchical institution in the world.⁵³ In majority of societies, fighting in wars is an activity reserved for men.⁵⁴ Certain jobs, like working as a nurse, for example, are reserved for women. They are socially expected to demonstrate feminine behaviour; for example, care love, comfort, compassion and mercy. Feminists argue that male dominance in all spheres of life causes violence.⁵⁵

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

⁴⁸ Cockburn, Cynthia *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict*, (London and New York: Zed Books, 1998).

⁴⁹ Jeong, H. W. *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, Burlington, United States: (Ashgate Publishing Ltd 2000).

⁵⁰ Weber, A. *Feminism Peace and Conflict Theory*. Routledge Encyclopedia of Peace and Conflict Theory, Winter, 2006.

⁵¹ Byne, B. *Towards Gender Understanding of Conflicts*. Retrieved January 10, 2011 from Canadian International Development Agency (2002). *Peace building initiative strategic framework*. Retrieved June 20, 2015, from < <http://www.acdi-cida.gc.ca> >

⁵² Gallimore, R. B. *Feminism Africa 10: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism*, 2008. Retrieved June 20th 2015 <http://www.feministafrica.org/uploads/File/Issue%2010/Feminist%20Africa%2010.pdf>.

⁵³ Jeong, H. W. *Peace and Conflict Studies: An Introduction*, Burlington, United States: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2000).

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Byne, B. *Towards Gender Understanding of Conflicts; Peace building initiative strategic framework* 1997. Retrieved August 22, 2015,

conflicts. The formation of modern nations and States was accompanied with masculine values of aggression. States use welfare resources to sustain armies and wars. Even worse, women in politics acquired masculine values so much so that they want to demonstrate heroic and aggressive behaviour. For Example, when Margaret Thatcher was the Prime Minister of Britain, she abandoned welfare services that helped women, children and other marginalized people.⁵⁶

Additionally, feminists criticize the conventional definition of security that confines security matters to issues related to high politics. For feminists, national security defined in terms of high politics promulgates the existence of armies and the accumulation of weapons. Peace, according to feminists, should be defined in terms protection of people against violence.⁵⁷ Feminists posit that since women have been subjected to both violence and nurturing, they are more likely than men to appreciate peace and become peacemakers. The current hierarchal, patriarchal, exploitative oppressive world capitalist order hinders the achievement of global peace, security and equality. In order to end violence, feminists place emphasis on social equality and justice.⁵⁸

1.4. 5 Women and Peacebuilding

Over the years, women have been excluded from most decision-making processes. This discriminatory tendency started to be reversed in 1949, with “The Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War...” the “first modern-day international instrument to establish protections against rape for women”.⁵⁹ However, discrimination, rape, and lack of protection continued. Because of this, women’s groups and civil society continued to push to put an end to discrimination. As a result, the convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW Convention) was created in 1976. The convention advocated for the need to end discrimination towards women. It was signed and ratified by 189 countries.⁶⁰

The CEDAW was a major legal step towards ending women’s discrimination. Discrimination tendencies persisted and women groups and civil society continued to advocate for their rights. This led the international community to establish the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA) in 1996. The BPA identified strategic priorities and created necessary actions and strategies to move forward when it came to women’s discrimination. This did not yield any fruits

⁵⁶ Ibid

⁵⁷ Ibid

⁵⁸ Ibid

⁵⁹ See Theydon K., Phenicie K., and Murray E. *Gender, Conflict, and Peacebuilding: State of the Field and Lessons Learned from USIP Grant making*. (Washington DC:USIP 2011).

⁶⁰ Šimonović Dubravka (2010). "Interactive Expert Panel: Commemorating 30 Years of CEDAW Converging Tracks: The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Platform for Action and the Way Forward for Gender Equality." New York, March 1-12, 2010.

as women continued to be segregated. Attempting to fill this gap the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) established Resolution 1325 in the year 2000.⁶¹ Resolution 1325 is very significant because it recognized the importance of including women in peacebuilding processes and all decision-making processes.

A report by Bushra, confirms the importance of the resolution. To her, activists stress the importance and variety of women's roles in peacebuilding and the need to support women's peace organizations.⁶² UNSC Resolution 1325 echoes this concern, and represents a global policy commitment to support women's role in peacebuilding and in post-conflict reconstruction. Resolution 1325 is seen as a tool to promote women's empowerment, as well as a basis for mobilizing women as a resource to render peace processes more effective.⁶³

Although peace activism has gathered both women and men, it is not less true that the peace movement has been one of the most "feminized" social movements, with many women taking part in it.⁶⁴ Women have been traditionally considered as passive victims of war. It was not until the 90's that some attention was brought into the fact that women played different roles within armed conflicts, challenging traditional views that portrayed men as active agents of violence and women as its passive victims. Furthermore, taking into account the reality on the ground of the conflicts that are taking place since the end of the Cold War, "the idea that (feminized) civilian and (masculinized) military spaces are distinct and separate no longer holds."⁶⁵ Women are victims of the consequences of wars, but as Lithander highlights, "the image of women as victims is paralyzing, and it does not do justice to the diversity, richness and drive of women's groups that oppose war and lean on mutual solidarity to offer alternative visions of reality."⁶⁶

Looking at women globally, most of them have decided to organize themselves to demonstrate against war, reclaim the whereabouts of their beloved ones, report human rights violations committed during armed conflicts and demand that the parties to a conflict conduct negotiations and work toward the end of violence. Many women have decided to organize into women-only groups, one of the most relevant and well-known being the Women in Black network

⁶¹ UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security]*, 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325 (2000), available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f4672e.html> accessed 1 May 2015

⁶² J. El-Bushra. *Gender in Peacebuilding: Taking Stock*. (London: International Alert 2012). Available at <http://international-alert.org/resources/publications/gender-peacebuilding>

⁶³ UN Security Council, *Security Council resolution 1325 (2000) [on women and peace and security]*, 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325 (2000), available at: <http://www.refworld.org/docid/3b00f4672e.html> accessed 1 May 2015

⁶⁴ Cockburn, Cynthia. *From where we stand: War, women's activism and feminist analysis*. (London: Zed 2007).

⁶⁵ Giles, W. and Jennifer H. *Sites of violence: Gender and conflict zones* (University of California Press 2004)

⁶⁶ Lithander, A. *Engendering the peace process. A Gender Approach to Dayton-and beyond*. (Stockholm: Kvinna Till Kvinna 2007)

which is a world-wide network of women committed to peace with justice and actively opposed to injustice, war, militarism and other forms of violence. Many women choose to participate in these kinds of groups because “the autonomy of women’s thought and their freedom to choose methods and means of action could be guaranteed.”⁶⁷

In addition, conflicts leave behind them a legacy of destruction and violence that lasts for many years after the end of the confrontations and the signing of peace agreements. For many women, war implies impoverishment, the loss of relatives, the breaking of the social fabric, sexual violence or forced displacement. Nevertheless, conflicts are not the same reality for all women. For some, conflicts have also provided an opportunity for empowerment and for gaining access to social realms denied.⁶⁸ Recognizing that although conflicts are basically a source of destruction and violence, it is also important to acknowledge that for some women this has provided them an opportunity for deeper involvement and participation within their communities. This idea serves to back the view that women are not merely passive victims of war and violence but rather an opportunity to have an active social and political participation.

There are many women’s movements against the war that are raised as a result of the impact that violence has on civilians, and consequently on women. In fact, “more often than not, women are among the first to speak out collectively against war and try to prevent escalation.”⁶⁹ In some contexts, characterized by oppression and fundamentalism, such as Afghanistan, since the beginning of the Taliban regime, women have developed resistance strategies against patriarchal practices such as criminalizing access to health and education. Nevertheless, the image of women in relation to conflict that prevails is that of passivity rather than agency in front of violence. Women are perceived or considered as objects and not subjects that can act for themselves and make their decisions to confront violence and conflicts. Looking at conflict and their consequences on women’s lives and bodies from a gender perspective, implies leaving behind the simplistic discourse that condemns women’s vital experience to that of victims.⁷⁰

Although Anderlini argues “the absence of women in formal peace talks is notorious”⁷¹. It is good to recognize that women have been involved in the cause of peace all over the world, and women’s movements have been critical in promoting a negotiated solution for many armed conflicts. For instance, women in Sierra Leone, Colombia, Nepal, Sri Lanka, Serbia, Northern

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ Anderlini, S.N. Women at the peace table. Making a difference. (New York: UNIFEM 2000)

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Bouta, T. Gender, conflict, and development, (Washington DC, 2005)

⁷¹ Anderlini, S.N. Women at the peace table. Making a difference. (New York: UNIFEM 2000)

Ireland, Uganda, Cyprus and many other places have been advocating for the end of the conflicts that affected their countries and made contributions that were significant and valuable in those contexts that began the transition from war to peace.⁷² In addition, women frequently recognize unofficial peace processes as an occasion to become involved in the public and political arenas and to organize them, particularly in the nongovernmental sector⁷³ thus acknowledging these contributions and experiences in the field of peace building provides a different perspective when approaching the issue of peace processes, especially at the community and grassroots level.

It is often argued that the absence of women in negotiations is due to their lack of experience in the conflict-resolution field.⁷⁴ The reality seems to be quite different in that women all over the world are practicing dialogue on an everyday basis, perhaps not in a formal manner, but in a way that is closer to people's conditions on the ground. Nevertheless, this role must not be taken for granted because when women's peace work is naturalized then the risk to perpetuate inequality increases. As Bouta et al state, "When this work is taken for granted, it goes unrecognized, it is stripped of its political meaning, and is rendered invisible"⁷⁵

In addition to the above, women have been capable of building bridges of dialogue and empathy in polarized societies that go beyond the reasons for the armed confrontation and the deep rooted hatred and division. They have sought positions in common from which to initiate a rapprochement and search for new ways of living together. For instance coalitions such as the Balkans, Israel and Palestine, Cyprus or Northern Ireland.⁷⁶ These alliances established between women have empowered them to transcend core political, ethnic, or religious divisions. This constitutes a palpable demonstration that coexistence; reconciliation and dialogue are possible from recognizing the other as a legitimate interlocutor with whom common ground can be found.

Literature on African women and the issue of war and peace explores various other themes. Some provide depictions of the types of war-time human rights violations committed against women; For example Turshen, explains that conflicts and wars destroy the very patriarchal structures of society that for a long time have confined and degraded women.⁷⁷ Turshen suggests that wars and conflicts bring a new beginning for women by giving them voice in the midst of

⁷² Ibid

⁷³ Bouta, T. Gender, conflict, and development, eds. Georg Frerks, Ian Bannon. (Washington, 2005) D.C.: World Bank

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Bouta *Op Cit*

⁷⁶ Giles, W. and J. Sites of violence: Gender and conflict zones.(University of California Press, 2004)

⁷⁷ Meredith Turshen and Clotilde Twagiramariya. *What Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflicts in Africa* (London: Zed Books, 1998)

turmoil that destroys morals, traditions, customs, and community women go through during wars and conflicts have been positively converted by women into learning skills, and women have obtained social, economic, and political exposure and strength.

Other scholars such as Targ argue that understanding African women and their role in peacebuilding, involves understanding the history of peace movements. To her, the history of women's involvement in war and peace was pioneered in the U.S and Europe. This can be traced back to 1915, the protests against the First World War by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP). According to Handrahan, women have had more sense of their gender identity than their ethnic identity. They understand ethnicity differently from men whose understanding is more inclined to the concept of "citizenship" and political "representation."⁷⁸ Therefore, women are less attached to the concept of ethnicity than men and the reason women have been perceived as better peacemakers than men.

In addition to the above, existing literature provides examples of how women have been influential in peace making, peacebuilding and conflict resolution, especially after the regaining of independence; for example, Codou Bop provides a classic understanding of women's roles in post conflict reconstruction and their experiences in South Africa, Eritrea and Niger. Other studies address the role of women in settling disputes in the context of traditional African society. A good example of this is Amadiume who argues that based on age seniority; patrilineage daughters had great power especially in matters of peace making.⁷⁹

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

According to a study conducted by Senge, women in Mathere slums have participated in peacebuilding processes in the slums. However, the peacebuilding approaches have been informal and not incorporated into the formal peacebuilding initiatives spearheaded by the Provincial Administration and the external actors like the United Nations and Non-Governmental

⁷⁸ L.M. Handrahan "Gendering Ethnicity in Kyrgyzstan: Forgotten Element in Promoting Peace and Democracy," *Humanitarian Work* 9, 2001, no.3 , 74.

⁷⁹ Rose Acholonu . Igbo Women and the Tradition of Peace: The Dynamics of Change and Continuity" in *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa*, ed. Ernest E. Uwazie Lanham: Lexington Books(2003). Ife Amadiume *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in African Society* (London: Zed Press 1987).

organizations.⁸⁰ Guyo in her study points out that women played a significant role by being social actors and in particular in peacemaking. Although their stories were consistent with the theories on war and peace, it challenges feminist critique by painting a picture of how they were able to create a place for themselves in their community through their role in peace-making, a role not necessarily defined through men.

1.4.6 The 2007-2008 Post Election Violence

The 2007 election took on ethnic undertones as the basis of inequality in the distribution of resources and power. ODM identified Kibaki's PNU with elite Kikuyu interests, particularly those of the so-called "Mount Kenya mafia" of successful businessmen and technocrats from the Central Province's Kikuyu, Embu and Meru peoples. The PNU in turn accused the ODM of advocating a foolishly populist economic platform that would bring financial ruin to a country that had experienced 5-6% growth during Kibaki's term and of having a devolution (*majimbo*) agenda that would inevitably spark ethnic clashes.

Prior to Election Day, Odinga led in polls and the ODM was expecting victory. Suspicion of fraud spread quickly when presidential election results were delayed and a state wide media blackout cut access to live reporting. Two days after the votes were cast, Kibaki was announced as the winner and promptly sworn in to begin his second term. On December 28, 2007, violence broke out in different parts of the country that lasted two months. The violence would end up claiming over 1,133 lives and leave over 600,000 Kenyans displaced from their homes, and more than 110,000 private properties destroyed.⁸¹ It was not until 28th February 2008 that negotiations to bring an end to the violence led by Kofi Annan resulted in the signing of an agreement to set up a coalition government in which Kibaki would be the President and Raila would be the Prime Minister that some semblance of peace returned to Kenya. The agreement also included constitutional and institutional reforms to address the state and societal level structures that would mitigate election-based conflict in the future.⁸²

Since 1993, political violence in Kenya has resulted in the death of many citizens with displacement of over 1.8 million people, the destruction of property and a generally negative impact on economic development. Of the periods of political competition that resulted in

⁸⁰ Senge Mary Kebenei. Women and peace building in Kenya's urban slums: A case study of Mathare slums in Nairobi. (Thesis University of Nairobi, 2012)

⁸¹ "Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance." *Human Rights Watch*. Vol 20:1, March 2008.

⁸² Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence, (2008) "Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence," 'Waki Report' or 'Waki Commission', Nairobi.

violence, the scale and intensity of the 2007/8 post-election violence was especially shocking to the national conscience.⁸³ That experience has shaped the character of political competition with a strong drive by the government, civil society groups and even private individuals to promote peaceful elections and to strengthen the institutions of conflict management.

Although the trigger of the violence is attributed to the disputed presidential polls, some analysts have attributed the violence to power struggle among ethnic groups. This mainly is because, the 2007 presidential election was in essence a contest between the incumbent President Kibaki, a Kikuyu, and the opposition candidate Odinga, of Luo origin, each of whom involved different ethnic groups to form a coalition for the election campaign. One of the central issues during the election was devolution or decentralization, on one hand, Odinga represented the voice of the smaller ethnic groups that have felt marginalized by the central government and yearned for devolution of power. On the other hand, President Kibaki represented the largest ethnic group, the Kikuyu, and others who favoured a strong centralized system.⁸⁴ Thus, post-election violence can be considered as part of the power struggle between these two groups.

The sporadic violence in Kenya, exposed the fragile foundations beneath what appeared, to many observers, to be a relatively stable country. It revealed the extent to which ethnic divisions remain entrenched, the limitations of Kenya's security forces and the role of organized militias in politics.⁸⁵ Furthermore, it suggested that beneath the institutions of democracy, politics in Kenya is characterized by an ethicized struggle for control of the state and the resources that come with it. These problems have not been banished or resolved by the National Accord, which brought an end to the post-election violence, nor by the limited reforms that have taken place subsequently. Peace and stability in Kenya remain fragile.⁸⁶

The violence that was witnessed soon after the elections in December 2007 has weighty undertones. There is more to it than a bungled vote-count and the so-called tribal rivalries. Najum correctly diagnoses the problem noting that 'beneath the simplistic tribal battle lines lie the historic patterns of uneven resource distribution in Kenya'⁸⁷. Lonsdale correctly argues that the key to post-election crisis in Kenya lies in the changing role of the post-colonial state in relation

⁸³ The Kenya election and the militarization of 'peace' *The East African*, 9 March 2013.

⁸⁴ Gibson, C.C. and Long, J.D. The Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in Kenya, December 2007, *Electoral Studies*, 28: 2009

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Kimenyi, M. S., and Ndung'u, N. S. "Sporadic Ethnic Violence: Why Has Kenya Not Experienced a Full-blown Civil War?" in P/ Collier and N. Sambanis (eds), *Understanding Civil War (Vol. 1: Africa)*, World Bank: Washington D.C 2005

⁸⁷ Mushtaq Najum, 'Politics: Kenya's Problem Goes Beyond Ethnicity and Elections', IPS, available at <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=40968> (accessed on May 25th 2015).

to the country's ethnic terms of political trade.⁸⁸ Quite clearly, reorganisation of the state must, among other interventions, include a shift in the allocation of national resources and ensure a wider spread of development.

1.5 Justification of the study

In a world flawed by conflict and violence, peacebuilding is becoming increasingly important as a means of preventing continuing hostilities. Peacebuilding missions and efforts have focused on emphasizing such factors as security and governance to prevent these potentially volatile situations from erupting into full-fledged conflicts. The approach however, has neglected the gendered dimensions of peace building. This is in the sense that it does not recognize the role of women during the peace building process. In addition; it's during conflicts that women have always become victims of rape, trauma and physical injuries. This not only deteriorate the situation but most of them have been exposed to HIV/AIDs and sexually transmitted diseases thus making their lives difficult after the conflict.

In addition, women's position in peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County has not been primary analytical concern of most peace and conflict scholars. There is less appreciation of the women as mediators to all peacebuilding efforts in conflict prone societies. There is need to put focus on this by way of such studies as this one. Some scholars like Kathina Juma seem to suggest that the practice of conflict resolution and peacebuilding just incorporates practices common among the female, such as compassion and empathy. But the extent to which this is true has not been demonstrated by empirical studies. This study on women and peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County is an effort to fill this gap. Along those lines, peacebuilding practice stresses the stereotypical female attributes, such as their roles as child bearers and their ability to sustain life. Yet the increasing silence on their roles in peace building leaves a lot to be discussed. This, in turn, justifies the need for this study with questions which go back to the old feminist debate around questions of war and peace and women's involvement in them

1.6 Theoretical framework

This study is based on feminist political theory whose arguments provided or described a polyphonic chorus of female voices.⁸⁹ The theory as in most feminist approaches share a belief that gender matters are very important in understanding war. They also share a concern with

⁸⁸ John Lonsdale, 'Kenya: Ethnicity, Tribe and State', Open Democracy, available at http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/democracy_power/kenya_ethnicity_tribe_state

⁸⁹ Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*, London: Cambridge University Press, 2001

changing masculine in both scholarship and political military practice, where masculine is defined as an ideology justifying male domination. The theory sees women as a disadvantaged class, unjustly dominated and exploited by men. According to the proponents of this theory, women worldwide are half the population and a third of the paid labour force, meaning they can equally do what men have done.⁹⁰

Liberal feminists argue that women equal men in ability, and that the gendering of war and peace building reflects male discrimination against women. Women have the right to participate in all social and political roles (including peacebuilding roles) without facing discrimination. The exclusion of women from peacebuilding roles is unfair to women and prevents half the population from making its best contribution to the society. Feminists do believe women's inclusion would fundamentally change the societal system, nor a given community's policy, nor peacebuilding itself. Liberal feminism does not treat peace building very differently from other aspects of social life in which men dominate the high paying, advantaged roles. Peacebuilding as a role holds potential for future survival of the society and leadership positions.⁹¹

In addition, liberal feminists argue that the society holds the false belief that women are, by nature, less intellectually and physically capable than men, it tends to discriminate against women in the academy, the forum, and the marketplace. Liberal feminists believe that "female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints that blocks women's entrance to and success in the so-called public world" and they work hard to emphasize the equality of men and women through political and legal reform⁹²

The concern for liberal and equality feminists is based on the restriction of public space by war. Reardon and Pateman describe the conditioning of men towards aggression and women to submission as the patriarchal contract that the legitimisation of violence and war is based on. Proponents of liberal feminist such as Elshtain and Bethke argue that women have performed well when, under military necessity, they have been allowed to participate in military operations but have faced persistent discrimination, including dismissal from such positions once a war ends.⁹³ A case in point is when the US military shifted from conscription to an all-volunteer force, after Vietnam, it became expedient to integrate more women into the military, especially since social

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Tony, R. *Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction*. Oxon: Unwin Human Limited, 1989

⁹³ Elshtain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

pressures for women's equality were rising and since the military itself was shifting towards more support troops relative to "combat" troops.⁹⁴

In a similar framework, current feminist peace and conflict theorists argue that war is exclusion from decision-making; which particularly affects women. If women are not allowed in the military they are implicitly barred from a primary institution which helps codify and constitute citizenship.⁹⁵ Liberal feminist theory succinctly suits the study of how women addressed the question of peacebuilding in Kenya after the 2007-2008 Post election violence. The theory underscores the question whether such conflict should be regarded as something rational, constructive, and socially functional or something irrational, pathological, and socially dysfunctional. Women during the 2007-2008 post-election period utilized non-violent ways of resolving ethnic conflicts by establishing grassroots peacebuilding initiatives on the ground.

The use of liberal feminist theory for the analysis of women's participation in peacebuilding process thus places before this studies work the immense importance of going deeper into the barriers or challenges militating against the effective participation of women in peacebuilding. Liberal feminists seek to remove such barriers which include socio-economic barriers, ideological and psychological barriers and political barriers that prevent equal participation of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding practices In addition, the liberal feminist theory helps this study to ponder on the need to achieve gender balance in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes and the necessity to ensure that commitment to equality is reflected in laws and national policies. Extending the scope of women's movement at the grassroots level constitutes an important step towards confidence building and facilitates the sharing of experiences.

Although the liberal feminist theory fits this study, it will be good to note that the theory has suffered some criticism. The critics of this theory question both women's peace movements and linkages among gender, ecology, and social oppressions. Goldstein argues that women in the societal roles can change the society making it reflect feminine values.⁹⁶ Women become peaceful and adopt a strict male-female dualism that reinforces patriarchy, and for supposedly validating caretaking while obscuring the role of caretakers in supporting war and warriors. Elstain finds

⁹⁴ Cohn, Carol, and Sara Ruddick. A Feminist Perspective on Weapons of Mass Destruction [PDF]. Cambridge University Press, Accessed on May 15 2015 at http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/wappp/research/working/cohn_ruddick.pdf.

⁹⁵ D'Amico, Francine. "Feminist Perspectives on Women Warriors." *Peace Review* 8, no. 3 (1996): 379-84.

⁹⁶ Joshua S. Goldstein. *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. New York: [Cambridge University Press](#), 2001

women complicit in the construction of gendered war identities.⁹⁷ Although with such criticism, the theory fits the study by raising women to equally participatory in societal roles such as peace building.

1.7 Hypothesis

1. If women are included in the management of violence in Uasin Gishu County, they become effective peace builders
2. With adequate resources women can become good peacebuilders in Uasin Gishu County
3. Women in the urban areas were the most group affected by the post-election violence in Uasin Gishu County

1.8 Methodology

This study examined the role of women in peacebuilding after the 2007-2008 post-election violence with a focus on Uasin Gishu County. Based on the nature of the study which is mainly about process, qualitative change and perceptions, qualitative approach was the most appropriate method for the study. As Creswell posits, qualitative approach as a method of study is a means of understanding the complexity of a situation by exploring the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social problem.⁹⁸

Reviews of relevant literature on peace, conflict management, women and peacebuilding, were sourced from books, academic journals, past studies and government policy documents. The study also made use of in-depth interviews targeting community elders, religious leaders, individual women peace builders and key informants from peace volunteer organizations in Uasin Gishu County. Interviews was also administered randomly to women especially those who reside in the most affected areas of the County like Burnt forest, Turbo and Langas while face to face interviews was administered to the key informants.

The study also made use of focused group discussion targeting those at the camps and those residing at the most affected areas of the County. Each group was made up of five participants who were guided by open ended interview questions on what they understood about conflict and the way they have contributed to peacebuilding in the area. Purposive sampling was used in the study in selecting those to be interviewed by the researcher as this allowed the researcher not only to focus on particular characteristics of a population that are of interest but also enabled her

⁹⁷ Elshstain, Jean Bethke. *Women and War* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 6.

⁹⁸ Creswell, John (2009). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, Ltd 2009).

achieve the objectives of the research questions. In addition, inductive process was adopted such that the developed theory was used to inform the course of search for a pattern from the collected data.

1.8.1 Sampling Design and Sample Size

The population to be sampled consisted of all the peace keepers affiliated to NGO's working towards peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County, Religious leaders, local community leaders, and individual women peace builders. The sampling frame included NGO's such as PeaceNet, Eldoret Rural Women Peace Link, Mercy Corps and The International Organization for Migration, the Catholic Peace and Justice Commission. The sample size used in this study was made up of 90 respondents who represented the three worst hit areas by the violence in Uasin Gishu County. The study made use of non-probability sampling technique because the researcher required maximum degree of insight into the problem that was investigated and therefore purposively selected informants from the County with relevant knowledge to be interviewed. This technique was appropriate considering the population for the study is more of heterogeneous in nature thus ensured all the different segments of the population represented.

1.8.2 Data collection

The approach to data collection was methodical with some flexibility. Data was collected in textual form based on the responses that were given in the interview by the interviewee. Face to face interviews was used and focused group discussions with the intention of eliciting information and opinions. Focused group discussions was made up of five members in each group especially the internally displaced women who resided in the worst hit areas like Burnt Forest, Turbo and Langas.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

The data analysis started with organizing the data based on the respondents content. Data gathered from focus groups discussions was separated from those that were collected from direct interviews. Data collected from NGOs were separated from that collected from ordinary women and women in leadership. The second stage of the data analysis involved sorting of the data into exploratory and explanatory framework. In explanatory framework, the collected data was sorted according to the research objectives.

Data that related to women's contribution to peacebuilding and development in Kenya after the 2007-2008 post-election violence was separated from that which assessed the challenges women faced in peacebuilding process after the post-election violence and their role in promotion

of peace and security in Kenya. In exploratory framework, data collected was compared to the theoretical framework. Hence, the findings was used for descriptive analysis and related to information gathered from theoretical research.

1.9 Chapter outline

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one include introduction to the study. It gives the background of the study, statement of the research problem, its objective, justification of the study, theoretical framework, hypothesis and the preferred methodology. Chapter two provides details on the history of conflicts in Kenya and Post-election violence. It also gives information on the different types of conflicts witnessed in Kenya. Chapter three looked at the role of women in peacebuilding in Kenya with a focus on Uasin Gishu County. The chapter provides detail information on what women have done as peacebuilders. Chapter four looks at critical analysis of the role of women in peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County while chapter five give a summary of the study, conclusion from the findings and recommendations.

Chapter Two

Post-Election Conflict and Peacebuilding in Kenya

2.0 Introduction

Extreme poverty and the collapse of law and order can become mutually reinforcing, producing a conflict trap⁹⁹. In Sub-Saharan Africa, many countries are caught in such a conflict trap and one out of every five people is directly affected by civil wars.¹⁰⁰ Peace building is shaped by the nature of the conflicts and challenges confronting peace workers. As Richmond observes, ethnic conflicts take various forms, sometimes combining different elements.¹⁰¹ According to him, there exist six types of conflicts: conflicts that engage the state against a community, conflicts for emancipation by minority groups seeking to reclaim territory and reassert human rights, with or without the support of outside agencies, conflicts in which questions of language, religion, and irredentism are involved, conflict within states, stemming from inter-ethnic antagonisms, competition for scarce resources, political power struggles, and ideological disputes that fail to be resolved by other means¹⁰².

According to Mitchell, a conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals, different perceptions, objectives, and ideas.¹⁰³ Mwangi on the other hand states that in a simple conflict for example between two people, the incompatibility arises because they may both have different perceptions, goals and ideas about how to achieve them.¹⁰⁴ Underlying that situation is a conflict of visions and often an inability or unwillingness to see the other person's point of view. Additionally, Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff view conflict as a condition that exists when one group of human beings, whether tribal, ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, socio-economic or political is engaged in conscious opposition to one identifiable human group because these groups are pursuing what are or appear to be incompatible goals.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁹ Blomberg, S. Brock and others, "Is there Evidence of a Poverty-Conflict Trap?" Wellesley College Working Paper 2000-06, (Massachusetts: Department of Economics, Wellesley College, May 2000). Internet. Available at: http://www.wellesley.edu/Economics/wkpapers/wellwp_0006.pdf accessed on 22nd May 2015

¹⁰⁰ E Elbadawi and N.Sambanis. Why are there so many civil wars in Africa? Understanding and preventing violent conflict Journal of African Economies, 2000

¹⁰¹ Richmond, A. *Global Apartheid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1994

¹⁰² Ibid

¹⁰³ C.R. Mitchell, *The structure of International Conflict* (London Macmillan, 1998) pg 15-25

¹⁰⁴ M. Mwangi, *Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management* (Watermark Printers Kenya Ltd: 1990) pg 182

¹⁰⁵ J.F. Dougherty and Pfaltzgraff, *Contending Theories of International Relations* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers 1990) pg. 182

In many conflicts, majority of the victims are women, children and the elderly and are in many instances disproportionately affected by attacks. Women and children, who make up to the 80% of the world's population, are the most targeted.¹⁰⁶ Women are not only vulnerable but also regarded as the property of men. Women and girls as a group are especially vulnerable to violence meted out against them because of a woman's sexuality and gender, her relationship to a man, her relationship to the social, religious or ethnic group in a conflict.¹⁰⁷ This brings to the attention that women and girls face different forms of risks and dangers in armed conflicts compared to men and boys. During armed conflicts women and girls experience all physical, emotional and sexual forms of violence. The forms of violence used are: torture, rape, forced prostitution and mutilations¹⁰⁸. This is accompanied by the violation of human rights.

Looking closely at the Kenyan context, conflicts that arise because of past and present migrations, some of the factors in Richmond's categories are relevant to Kenya. Policies pursued by the government have marginalized certain communities'. Competition for scarce resources, political struggles, ethnic nationalism, and migrations shape the nature of conflicts in Kenya. Thus this chapter highlights information on the history of conflict in Kenya, classification of conflicts such as ethnicity, conflicts among pastoralists, conflicts associated with the presence of refugees, conflicts among pastoral communities and that between agro-pastoralists communities. Additionally, the chapter discusses on the different ways of responding to conflict and restoring peace in the country. This includes both the formal and informal peacebuilding approaches to restoring peace in the country.

2.1 History of Conflicts in Kenya

Kenya has an estimated population of over 35 million people composed of more than 42 ethnic groups. Major tribes are Kikuyu, Luo, Kalenjin and Luhya.¹⁰⁹ Its ethnic diversity is both a source of a rich culture and political related conflicts. After independence in 1963, the first president Jomo Kenyatta dominated the political scene under the Kenya African National Union (KANU) party, until his death in 1978.¹¹⁰ KANU's dominance was achieved by banning

¹⁰⁶ Barkan, D.J. 'The Rise and fall of governance Realm in Kenya', in Goran, H. and M, Bratton (Eds) *Governance and Politics in Africa*, (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992)

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

¹⁰⁸ *Women, Peace and Security* (United Nations 2002) pg,15,16

¹⁰⁹ Barkan, D.J. 'The Rise and fall of governance Realm in Kenya', in Goran, H. and M, Bratton (Eds) *Governance and Politics in Africa*,(London: Lynne Rienner Publishers,1992)

¹¹⁰ Nyong'o, P. *A leap in the Future: A Vision for Kenya's Socio Political and Economic Transformation*, (Nairobi: World Alive Publishers,2007)

opposition parties in 1969 leaving Kenya a *de facto* one-party state to a *de jure* one-party state when a constitutional amendment in 1978 ruled that no other party was able to contest in the elections.¹¹¹

In 1991 after much pressure from Kenyan activists and the international community, multi-party elections were re-introduced. Several opposition parties emerged (FORD Kenya, FORD Asili, Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party and National Development Party of Kenya).¹¹² Nonetheless KANU remained in power winning the general elections of 1992 and 1997 amid violence and allegations of electoral irregularities. Much of the violence occurred during the pre-elections period and was concentrated in the Rift Valley and Western provinces. According to Kagwanja apparent local “Kalenjin warriors” attacked the homes and farms of migrant non-Kalenjin groups.¹¹³ The government described the violence as ethnically motivated clashes that erupted spontaneously as a result of multi-party politics. Analysts though, argued that politicians instigated the violence as a tool for winning the elections. People’s need for land was exploited by some politicians to instigate violence, especially in the Rift Valley, as it has happened in other African troubled elections.¹¹⁴

Kagwanja further argues that the Kalenjin and Maasai ethnic groups were allowed to occupy land abandoned by displaced groups to ensure the political alliance of these groups and to prevent them from joining opposition parties.¹¹⁵ The Kenyan elite aiming to suppress opposition political parties also recruited and sponsored ‘tribal militias’ and gangs for them to terrorize and instigate ethnic violence in the same vein as other African countries have done such as Cameroon, Malawi, Nigeria, South Africa and Sudan.¹¹⁶ Additionally during the 1997 elections, clashes erupted in Mombasa and Kwale districts in the Coastal region.¹¹⁷ In these clashes, the Digo who are one of the local Mijikenda tribes, targeted members of tribes from outside the Coast province, mainly the Kikuyus and Luo’s. By the time the clashes subsided after about two weeks, 65 people

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Nyong'o, P. A leap in the Future: A Vision for Kenya’s Socio Political and Economic Transformation, (Nairobi: World Alive Publishers, 2007)

¹¹³ Kagwanja, P. Politics of marionettes: Extra-legal violence and the 1997 elections in Kenya, (Kampala: Fountain Publishers 2001)

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Kagwanja, P. Globalizing Ethnicity, Localizing Citizenship: Globalization, Identity Politics and Violence in Kenya’s Tana River Region, Africa Development Vol. 28 (2003), pp112-152.

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Kenya Human Rights Commission. Kayas of Deprivation, Kayas of Blood: Violence, Ethnicity and the State in Coastal Kenya. Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997

including 13 police officers had been killed, property worth millions of shillings destroyed, and more than 10,000 people displaced.¹¹⁸

During the 2002 general elections, there was a change: the ruling political party, the Kenya African National Union (KANU), that had ruled the country since independence, collapsed. It collapsed beneath a new political party comprising of an alliance that had formed between all of the major Kenyan tribes.¹¹⁹ This political stakeholder was named the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). The election victory was a landslide. Mwai Kibaki of the NARC won 62% of the vote on a platform of fighting corruption, forming a coalition government that shared power amongst the various tribes, and changing the constitution within 100 days of being elected to limit the executive power that had ballooned over the previous four decades.¹²⁰ People across Kenya from all tribes felt hope that the country's government was finally on the verge of a system of governance that would have accountability through shared power. Yet, within weeks of the election, the memorandum of understanding (MOU) that forged the tribal factions into the NARC alliance and that got Kibaki elected had effectively collapsed.¹²¹ The agreement in the MOU to share power within the cabinet did not occur, as four key positions that were to be created, including that of a Prime Minister. Kibaki, from the Kikuyu tribe, broke his election promise and filled many appointed positions with fellow tribesmen, thus following in the footsteps of his presidential predecessors by selecting people for appointed positions primarily through tribal bias. This in turn led to discrimination of many people of other tribes who were more qualified.¹²²

Whether the decision to keep the massive executive power that Kibaki had campaigned to reform was premeditated, or whether he succumbed to certain pressures by his fellow tribesmen to hoard power within the tribe once in office may never be known. The result was the same: the disintegration of the NARC party and the broken promises of a shared government and new constitution. This left many citizens tasting what could have been and frustrated over what should have resulted from the new government coming to power in 2002. This frustration fuelled the violence that took place after the election in 2007.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Ibid

¹¹⁹ Mutua, M. Kenya's quest for democracy: Taming the leviathan. (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008).

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Ibid

¹²² Mutua Op cit

¹²³ Calas, B. From rigging to violence. Lafargue, J. (Ed.). *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*. (pp. 165-185). (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd, 2008).

According to Maupeu, the carnage was horrific: 1,500 dead, 3,000 innocent women raped, and 300,000 people left internally displaced.¹²⁴ Most of these atrocities happened in the first 14 days after the 2007 general election. The severity of this conflict unfolded in a span of 59 days between Election Day, December 27th, 2007 to February 28th, 2008, when a political compromise was reached.¹²⁵ The magnitude of the trauma and structural violence that took place in Kenya after the fourth multi-party general election took both Kenyans and the international community, alike, by surprise.¹²⁶ In retrospect, the violence that occurred could not only have been predicted, it could most likely have been prevented.

2.2 Classification of Conflicts in Kenya

Conflicts in Kenya have been classified based on socio-economic characteristics of the communities at war. According to Kathina, conflicts in Kenya can be classified in four broad areas namely: Conflicts among pastoral communities, Conflicts linked to Ethnic clashes, Conflicts linked to presence of refugees, Conflicts between pastoralists and crop farming communities.¹²⁷

2.2.1 Conflicts among pastoral communities

Violent conflicts involving pastoralists have become widespread and increasingly severe in the North Rift and North Eastern regions of Kenya. The contrasting uses of land by cultivators and pastoralists have been the source of local level conflicts across Kenya, especially in areas where competition for land is mounting. The increased frequency of conflicts stems in-part from the expansion of private property, commercial farms and private ranges and so-called 'land grabbing' that has diminished the land available for pastoralists.¹²⁸

Apart from the land issue, cattle rustling have remained to be a dominant cause of conflicts among the pastoral community members. For instance, cattle rustling in West Pokot County involved the Turkana, Sabaot, Samburu, Marakwet, Sabinu and Karamajong communities. According to Kiplagat,¹²⁹ cattle rustling were a way of life for the pastoralists where pastoral communities organized raids which were executed by the morans, as a symbol of dominance.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Maupeu, H. Revisiting post-election violence. Lafargue, J. (Ed.). The general elections in Kenya, 2007. (pp. 187-223). (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd, 2008)

¹²⁵ Ibid

¹²⁶ Ibid

¹²⁷ Kathina, Monica J, Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace: Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya,(New York: UNDP, 2000)

¹²⁸ Ibid

¹³⁰ Kiplagat, Bethuel, Is Mediation Alien to Africa? Track Two, Vol. 7, No. 1. Cape Town: Centre for Conflict Resolution 1998.

These raids were planned, guided and moderated by the community elders. After the raid, retaliatory attacks were organized by the rival community elders at the most appropriate time and ensured no fatalities occurred. However, contemporary raids have become more frequent and fatal. This has been attributed to increase in extreme climatic events, particularly droughts and proliferation of small arms respectively. Kiplagat's observation concurs with Meier et al.¹³¹ who notes that raiding, which serves to rebuild the lost herds through droughts, occur more frequently as climate changes since they are largely tied to climatic conditions. In addition, in the arid pastoral areas the production potential of livestock and the rangeland resources are low due to rainfall patterns. Since livestock significantly contribute to the pastoral production, herd size affects pastoral human welfare and, therefore, livestock wealth accumulation is a desirable goal.¹³² Livestock accumulation, therefore, is a major cause of incidents of pastoral conflicts during drought periods.

2.2.2 Ethnic Violence in Kenya

Ethnicity has been commonly cited as the common cause of conflicts in Kenya. The country is ethnically diverse, with at least 42 distinct tribal groups, and it has been established that ethnic identification in Africa is very strong. Collier for example, observes that the tribe and kin groups are the most powerful levels of social identity.¹³³ Tribal identification has been shown to be an important way of solving collective action problems, but it can also have negative implications for non-members.¹³⁴ This is mainly because violence has been organized along ethnic lines; the inference is that ethnic clashes in Kenya have been purely the result of "ethnic hatred." But this hatred must be qualified. It is linked to electoral politics and competition among new arrivals in a region, groups with large land ownership, and native groups who feel threatened by the others. This pattern seems to agree with some empirical studies conducted by scholars like Hegre et al. where their findings found evidence of a positive correlation between ethnic diversity and the incidence of civil war. The nature of conflicts in Kenya was transformed by multiparty politics in the 1990s. Across the country, conflicts broke out between or within ethnic groups.

¹³¹ Meier, P., Bond, D. and Bond, J. Environmental influences on pastoral conflict in the Horn of Africa. In *Political Geography* (26) 716 -735 (2007). Elsevier. Available at: http://www.scribd.com/cybea_r62/d/6521399-Environmental-inuences-on-pastoralconict-in-the-Horn-of-Africa.

¹³² Almagor Uri, *Pastoral Partners Affinity and Bond Partnership among the Dassanech of Southwest Ethiopia*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978)

¹³³ Collier, P. "Ethnic Diversity: An Economic Analysis of Its Implication." *Economic Policy* 32(2001): 129–66.

¹³⁴ Kimenyi, Mwangi & Ndung'u, Njuguna 'Sporadic Ethnic Violence: Why has Kenya Not Experienced a Full-Blown Civil War?' n *Understanding Civil War* (Volume 1: Africa 2005)

While this type of conflict is not new to Kenya, the clashes of the 1990s were noticeably different in scale complexity, and consequences. These conflicts presented unique challenges for peace activities.

Beginning in 1991, in the euphoria of democratization and the anticipation of the historic 1992 elections, the ethnic clashes that erupted reflected political developments. The first conflict erupted at Mitei-tei Farm in Nandi district¹³⁵. Violence then swept through the Rift Valley to Western Province. After the election, clashes intensified and kept recurring on a small scale at different times, in various places through 1995. Similar incidents erupted in Mombasa and Kwale districts in the Coastal region in August 1997. In these clashes, the Digo, who are one of the local Mijikenda tribes, targeted members of tribes from outside the Coast province, mainly the Kikuyus and Luo's. By the time the clashes subsided after about two weeks, 65 people including 13 police officers had been killed, property worth millions of shillings destroyed, and more than 10,000 people displaced.¹³⁶ The tourism industry, which is the lifeline of the coastal area, bore the brunt of the "collateral damage," suffering a fall of nearly 70 percent and a loss of more than 5,000 jobs.¹³⁷ Although some analysts attribute these ethnic clashes in Kenya to increased competition for shrinking resources,¹³⁸ the interpretation does not explain why the clashes erupted in 1991 and why they followed a pattern of occurring in ethnically heterogeneous zones, and more significantly, why the state was reluctant to deal firmly with the perpetrators of violence.

Rutto in his study on community relations and democratization processes among the Kalenjin communities of the Rift Valley Province perceives the outbreak of ethnic clashes in parts of the Rift Valley in 1992 as a demonstration of the bitter ethnic relations due to the perception that Agikuyu grabbed land in Rift Valley.¹³⁹ He argues that the absence of a strong constructive inter-ethnic social structure was a source of ethnic conflicts with ethnic biases, myths, stereotypes and misinformation aggravating ethnic differences. Rutto's argument of the absence of a strong

¹³⁵ Kathina, M. and A. Masika, Evaluation of the Resettlement Programme for Ethnic Clashes Victims in Kenya. (Nairobi: Department of Foreign and International Development (DFID), 1997)

¹³⁶ Mazrui, A, Violence, Ethnicity and the State in Coastal Kenya. Kenya Human Rights Commission. Nairobi, Kenya: Kenya Human Rights Commission, 1997

¹³⁷ Ibid

¹³⁸ Rogge, J. The Internally Displaced Population in Kenya, Western and Rift Valley Provinces: A need Assessment and a programme proposal for Rehabilitation. (Nairobi: UNDP, 1993)

¹³⁹ Rutto, S. Ethnicity as Objects of Hatred: Community Relations and Democratization Process Among the Kalenjin Communities of the Rift Valley Province in Kenya. In Murunga, G. R. (ed) 70-107, 2000.

constructive inter-ethnic social structure as the cause of ethnic conflicts underestimates the potentialities of some realities that connect humanity such as religion, belief in rites and rituals.

2.2.2.1 Land Dispute as a cause of Ethnic Violence

At independence from the British rule, the new Kenyan government redistributed land that had been previously owned by white settlers. The fact that part of the lands were given to immigrants is often cited as a cause of the land conflict in the Rift Valley Province.¹⁴⁰ Before colonization, land was managed by communities and allocated to households as seen fit by them. No land certificates were issued, but the user rights were recognized and protected as such by community members. Ignoring the existence of such unwritten land rights, the colonial government appropriated the most fertile plots of land in Kenya that summed to 2.8 million hectares and gave them to white settlers.¹⁴¹ The Kikuyu people who had lived in populated White Highlands in the Central Province moved as farm workers to relatively large scale farms in the Rift Valley White Highlands. The Luo and Luhya that had inhabited the Western Province also migrated to the Rift Valley in pursuit of better employment.

The situation became more complex in Rift Valley when, at independence, the land redistribution program covered not only the Kalenjin people, who were the indigenous to the land, but extended to the Kikuyu, Luo, and Luhya people who had moved to the land as farm labour.¹⁴² There is also a view that the Kikuyu people were given preferential treatment in the redistribution due to ethnic attachment of the first President Kenyatta and many others Kikuyu officers who occupied high posts in the government.¹⁴³ In the early days of independence, however, when people were still celebrating and in high hopes for the future and when land was in relative abundance, land issue was not considered as a serious problem. As the economy remained stagnant and the expanding rural population halved the per capita landholding from 0.46 hectare in 1960 to 0.23 hectare in 1990,¹⁴⁴ increased demand for land led to more frequent land related disputes. Nonetheless, violence as an expression of discontent from such land disputes becomes

¹⁴⁰ Daudeline, J. "Land as a source of conflict and in post-conflict settlement," World Bank Regional Workshop on Land Issues in Africa and the Middle East, April 29-May 2, 2002, Kampala, Uganda.

¹⁴¹ Kimenyi, Mwangi & Ndung'u, Njuguna, 'Sporadic Ethnic Violence: Why has Kenya Not Experienced a Full-Blown Civil War?' n *Understanding Civil War* (Volume 1: Africa, 2005)

¹⁴² Ibid

¹⁴³ Kimenyi, Mwangi & Ndung'u, Njuguna, 'Sporadic Ethnic Violence: Why has Kenya Not Experienced a Full-Blown Civil War?' n *Understanding Civil War* (Volume 1: Africa, 2005)

¹⁴⁴ Jayne, T.S., T. Yamano, M.T. Weber, D. Tschirley, R. Benfica, A. Chapoto, and B. Zulu. 2003. "Smallholder income and land distribution in Africa: implications for poverty reduction strategies," *Food Policy*, vol. 28: 253-275

discernible only after almost 50 years since the independence in 1963. In 2001, 62 people died and scores were injured in clashes pitting the Kisii and Maasai along the Gucha Transmara border; more than 50 people died in a single week of fighting between the Pokomo and Wardei tribes in Tana River district.¹⁴⁵

The violence in the Rift Valley and Coastal Region is of particular significance because it was widely viewed as constituting a serious threat to the existence of a united Kenyan nation, the rule of law, and the institutions of private property, contract, and the market economy. The violence appeared senseless. People who had lived together for decades were suddenly killing each other. The true objectives of the attackers largely remain a matter of speculation. Even the identity of the attackers is puzzling. The label “ethnic clashes” is it somewhat paradoxical because the clashes did not involve significant numbers of any ethnic community up in arms against another ethnic community. Instead, most reports give the numbers of raiders in the hundreds, sometimes in the dozens. While the victims are from specific ethnic communities, the aggressors hardly qualify as an ethnic group. In many ways, the raids resemble Mueller’s description of opportunistic depredation waged by small bands of criminals and thugs, often scarcely differentiable from ordinary crime.¹⁴⁶

2.2.2.2 Politics as a cause of Ethnic Violence in Kenya

The problem of ethnicity, having emerged during the colonial period, has been progressively accentuated since independence with the emergence of ethnicity as a factor in national politics. Ethnicity in Kenya became a national concern as early as during the colonial period but was accentuated in the post-independence period during the implementation of the policy of Africanization.¹⁴⁷ Ethnic tensions developed especially around the structure of access to economic opportunities and redistribution of some of the land formerly owned by the white settlers.¹⁴⁸ The central rationale of the violence appears to have been to maintain the political and economic status quo in the region during the run up to the general elections in 1992, 1997 and 2007.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid

¹⁴⁶ Mueller, J. “The Remnants of War: Thugs as Residual Combatants.” Working Paper, Department of Political Science, (Ohio State University, Columbus, OH, 2001)

¹⁴⁷ Yamano, T., and Deininger, K. :Land Conflicts among Rural Households: Evidence from Kenya, in S. T. Holden, K. Otsuka, and F. Place (eds.) 2009, The Emergence of Land Markets in Africa: Impacts on Poverty, Equity, and Efficiency, Resources for the Future.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid

The main motivation behind the violence was to influence voting in favour of the incumbent. Public choice scholars have attributed ethnic conflicts in Africa to the failure of political institutions to accommodate diverse interests. They argue that the lack of political models to deal effectively with diversity in centralized states where competition for resources and power is prevalent leads to conflicts. Until 1991, post independence Kenya was characterized by one-party rule and excessive centralization of power. In such a scenario, the leader and group who capture the state have control of an enormous amount of resources and thus can reward supporters, provide for group members, and create barriers to entry into political and economic markets. Violence in the Rift Valley was part of such a strategy. At the onset of the violence, Kenya was on the verge of a political transition to a multiparty system. Kenyans had long sought the abolition of the one-party state because the ruling party, Kenya Africa National Union (KANU), had been responsible for widespread repression and corruption. By mid-1991, scores of people had died in violent confrontations between reformists and state security.¹⁴⁹

2.2.3 Conflicts between Pastoralists and Crop Farming Communities

The contrasting uses of land by cultivators and pastoralists have been the source of local level conflicts across Kenya, especially in areas where competition for land is mounting.¹⁵⁰ The increased frequency of conflicts stems in-part from the expansion of private property, commercial farms and private ranges and so-called ‘land grabbing’ that has diminished the land available for pastoralists. Agro-pastoralist conflicts are prevalent among communities around the Tana River best between pastoralist Orma and Pokomo farmers. Facilitated by inadequate land administration, the cyclical nature of conflict that results from initial clashes between settled cultivators and roaming pastoralists have continued to intensify, to the point where communities mobilise militias for protection, heightening the intensity of cycles of violence.¹⁵¹

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

¹⁴⁹ Kimenyi, Mwangi & Ndung’u, Njuguna, ‘Sporadic Ethnic Violence: Why has Kenya Not Experienced a Full-Blown Civil War?’ in *Understanding Civil War* (Volume 1: Africa, 2005)

¹⁵⁰ Otieno, C et al, *Valley of Conflicts: Analysis of Conflict, Threats and Opportunities for Peace in the Rift Valley and Mt Elgon Regions of Kenya*, Saferworld & PeaceNet for DFID 2009.

¹⁵¹ Ibid

Turkana for example, it is women and children who have suffered most from attacks by the better armed Toposas, Rangiles and Karamojong communities.¹⁵²

As noted by Otieno, agro-pastoralist conflicts are exacerbated during periods of environmental extremes such as drought or flooding. During these periods of climatic stress, demand-induced scarcity can increase the prevalence of migration which in-turn decreases the proximity between communities and invariably the frequency of conflict between them.¹⁵³ This was evident in the South Rift for example when Maasai clashed with large-scale commercial flower farms in Naivasha and settler farms in Elementaita.¹⁵⁴

2.3 The 2007-2008 Post-Election Violence in Kenya

Kenya held the fourth general elections in December, 2007 since the return of multiparty system in 1991. The elections in December, 2007, led to a violent electoral conflict that almost turned into a civil war. After incumbent president Kibaki was announced the winner of the elections on 30th December, violence erupted. His victory was disputed by international and domestic observers, opposition as well as civil society.¹⁵⁵ The violence that erupted in Kenya in 2007 was surprising. This is because as a democracy, Kenya was viewed as the most successful especially after the political change in 2002.¹⁵⁶ The violence was manifested in different ways: spontaneous violence in urban centres, retaliatory violence by gangs like Mungiki, organized violence by politicians as well as state violence by security officers. This violence was so overwhelming to the state that it could not shield its citizens from harm.¹⁵⁷

In January 2008, there was violence in Nakuru, Eldoret, Naivasha and Kericho in the Rift Valley. Women, children and the disabled people were targeted during the clashes. The gangs used knives or machetes to kill. The Mungiki militia was involved in the violence, making the situation even worse. The violence involved militia (Luo, Mungiki and Kalenjin) attacking people as ordered by politicians, killings of ODM supporters by police as ordered by the government,

¹⁵² Mula, A. "Go to Famine Areas, Ndingi tells NGOs", *Daily Nation*, 27 November 1999.

¹⁵³ Otieno, C et al, *Valley of Conflicts: Analysis of Conflict, Threats and Opportunities for Peace in the Rift Valley and Mt Elgon Regions of Kenya*, Saferworld & PeaceNet for DFID 2009.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

¹⁵⁵ Sievers Harnet Axel and Peters Ralph-Michael „Kenya’s 2007 General Elections and Its Aftershocks“ *Africa Spectrum*, Vol. 43, No. 1 Horn of Africa (2008) pp. 133-144

¹⁵⁶ Maupeu. H *The General Elections in Kenya, 2007* (United Kingdom: African Books Collective, 2008) pp 187-223

¹⁵⁷ Kagwanja Peter“ *Courting genocide: Populism, ethno-nationalism and the informalisation of violence in Kenya’s 2008 post-election crisis*“ *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* Vol. 27, No. 3 (July, 2009) pp. 365-387, 367

actions of vigilante groups and people taking advantage of the crisis to destroy or grab property of rivals. Young men harassed motorists on the road. Violence was prevalent mainly in the urban areas. However, it also affected the rural areas. In Narok, there were several instances of cattle rustling.¹⁵⁸ The pro-ODM youths threatened elders who they believed voted for Kibaki, a leader they considered dishonest.¹⁵⁹ In Eldoret, angry Kalenjin youth went to churches, police stations and schools where their enemies sought refuge.¹⁶⁰

The police had a role to play in increasing the violence after it started. For instance, in Nyanza province, the police as ordered by the state, used excessive force to counter the activities of the protestors. This led to many deaths and human rights violations.¹⁶¹ When violence started in Kisumu, the General Service Unit (GSU) and the police set out to stop the rioting and looting. After sometime, they became overwhelmed and decided to use live ammunition to counter rioters' actions. In slums such as Mathare and Kibera in Nairobi, the police used heavy live fire to contain protests leading to more deaths and many sexual assaults. In Eldoret, within a period of four days, the police shot people, killing 16 of them and many injured.¹⁶²

The violence led to massive killings in the country. During the swearing in of president Kibaki, 10 people were killed in Kisii. Odinga's supporters burnt a church that provided refuge to about 200 Kikuyus and killed 35 people. The situation in the country became worse. About 1000 people lost their lives in the violence. Some of the displaced persons sought refuge with their relatives in places where people of their tribe dominated. Others depended on charitable organizations to offer assistance to them. Others went to Uganda as refugees. Women and children were sexually violated.¹⁶³ Most of the displaced persons were small scale farmers such as the Kamba, Kikuyu, Kisii who had lived in their homes for a long time. Some were junior Luhya or Luo civil servants living in the Central province and Eastern Rift Valley. In Nairobi, tenants in Kibera, Mathare, Kangemi, Kawangware and Eastleigh were forcefully moved out of their houses by their landlords if they were not of the same ethnic group.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ Ibid

¹⁵⁹ Lafargue Jerome „General Elections in Kenya, 2007“ (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2009) pp. 181-182

¹⁶⁰ Ibid

¹⁶¹ Opolot Okia „The Role of the Police in the Post-Election Violence in Kenya 2007/2008“ *Journal of Third World Studies* Vol. 28, No. 2 (2011) pp 260-261

¹⁶² Ibid

¹⁶³ Shekhawat Seema and Modi Renu „Aftermath of the Kenyan Crisis“ *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 43, No. 18 (May 3-9, 2008), pp. 25-27

¹⁶⁴ Ibid

According to BBC, admissions for rape at the Nairobi Hospital and Coast General Hospital doubled.¹⁶⁵ Young girls were sexually violated in exchange for basic needs such as food. The violence greatly affected the economy. Businesses were closed leading to tax revenue losses of about \$ 29 million. Transportation of goods and services was blocked. For instance, the fishing industry suffered greatly due to the blockade. The prices of essential products sharply went up in several parts of the country. The transport of fuel and other goods and services to the neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Burundi was disrupted. Burundi lost 3 million dollars in taxes every month because of importing commodities through Kenya as the Kenyan crisis interfered with supply routes of the region. The prices of commodities such as fuel that Kenya provides to the neighbouring countries also increased.¹⁶⁶

2.3.1 Effects of Post-Election Violence in Kenya

The 2007-2008 post-election violence started in form of riots in places where the opposition had won such as Kisumu, Eldoret, Mombasa and some areas in Nairobi like Kibera and Mathare slums. When the violence began in Kisumu, streets were destroyed but there were no deaths. In Nakuru, Eldoret and Kericho, there was peasant uprising planned by politicians which targeted mainly the Kisiis and the Kikuyus.¹⁶⁷ According to Poster, in regions such as the Coast and the Rift Valley, the Kikuyu and Kisii ethnic groups were targeted. The intention seemed to be to displace and destroy their property rather than to kill them. In Nyanza and Western provinces, target was mostly government facilities. There was destruction and looting. Human Rights Watch holds that local and village leaders, politicians and businessmen also participated in planning the violence as they recruited criminal gangs to carry out the violence.¹⁶⁸ This particularly took place in Nairobi and Rift valley. In Nakuru, Naivasha and slums in Nairobi, kikuyu gangs executed violence against Luhya's, Kisii's and Luo's and removed them from their areas of residence. Kalenjin's attacked Kikuyus in the North Rift and expelled them from their residential areas. There was sexual violence targeted at women and girls in form of rape and forced female genital mutilation. Men were also forcefully circumcised. In some instances, people were forced to watch

¹⁶⁵ BBC report on Kenya's post-election violence

¹⁶⁶ Shekhawat Seema and Modi Renu „Aftermath of the Kenyan Crisis“ Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 43, No. 18 (May 3-9, 2008), pp. 25-27

¹⁶⁷ Lafargue, Jerome „General Elections in Kenya, 2007“ (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2009) pp 182-183

¹⁶⁸ Poster Emily „Post Election Violence in Kenya and its Aftermath“ (Center for Strategic International Studies, 2009)

their family members as they were sexually abused. Gangs, citizens and security forces members such as the General Service Unit were identified as the sexual violence perpetrators.¹⁶⁹ It is surprising that the security forces that are given the mandate to protect the Kenyan people were among the people that abused Kenyans sexually.

The other effect of the violence was displacement. As poster notes, the post-election violence led to the displacement of at least 350,000 people, many victims of social violence, destruction of 491 government properties such as vehicles, offices, schools and health centres 117,216 government properties were also destroyed.¹⁷⁰ This led to Kenya being destroyed economically, socially as well as politically. Additionally, Agricultural activity was seriously interfered with since farmers were displaced from their fields. This threatened food security in the Country. As Lafargue notes, most of the displaced persons were small scale farmers such as the Kamba, Kikuyu, Kisii who had lived in their homes for a long time. Some were junior Luhya or Luo civil servants living in the Central province and Eastern Rift Valley. Health and education sectors were also interfered with as many professionals were displaced from their place of work.¹⁷¹

Massive killings in the country were also another effect of the violence. This was witnessed during the swearing in of president Kibaki where 10 people were killed in Kisii. Odinga's supporters in Rift Valley burnt a church in Eldoret that provided refuge to about 200 Kikuyus and killed 35 people. The situation in the country became even worse. About 1,500 people lost their lives in the violence. Some of the displaced persons sought refuge with their relatives in places where people of their tribe dominated. Others depended on charitable organizations to offer assistance to them. Others went to Uganda as refugees.¹⁷²

Due to the violence, economic activities were put on hold, mobility was reduced and there was no activity going on in the markets. Business people feared looting hence they stopped going to the markets. There were many barriers on the roads created by the police and vigilante. Roadblocks made it impossible for goods and services to be transported from one place to another. For instance, movement to the Western part of the country was blocked for transporters

¹⁶⁹ Ibid

¹⁷⁰ Ibid

¹⁷¹ IRIN Humanitarian News and Analysis In-depth A service of the UN office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs „Kenya's Post election crisis“ (2014)

¹⁷² Shekhawat Seema and Modi Renu „Aftermath of the Kenyan Crisis“ Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. 43, No. 18 (May 3-9, 2008), pp. 25-27

who belonged to the Kikuyu ethnic group.¹⁷³ In the urban areas, violence impacted on small traders most of whom were Kikuyus. In rural areas, violence affected land owners who were believed to be “outsiders”. Outsiders were those who did not belong to a particular community in a particular geographical area like the Kikuyus in most parts of the Rift Valley. The violence resulted into the destruction of homes belonging to “outsiders”. Some of the people whose homes were destroyed had stayed there since Kenya got independence.¹⁷⁴

The violence also had a huge direct impact on those in need of health care. Many health workers fled their workplaces or were unable to return, due to threats against them and members of their ethnic group.¹⁷⁵ At the same time, the post-election violence greatly increased the need for medical care, due to injuries and sexual violence.¹⁷⁶ Health facilities continue to be plagued by the absence of health workers who fled. In addition, it has been reported that ethnic tensions increased in some health facilities. For example, patients complained that health workers gave preference to patients from their own ethnic group, and avoided seeking treatment from health workers who are not of their own ethnic group. According to reports by Academic Model for the Prevention and Treatment of HIV (AMPATH), patients who were on antiretroviral drugs were greatly affected with only 5 percent of its patients in the Rift Valley coming to refill their prescriptions for antiretroviral drugs.¹⁷⁷ Patients in the poorer areas of Nairobi also stopped taking their drugs. MSF-Belgium found that the default rate of their patients in Mbagathi and Kibera doubled. This is mainly due to fear of being attacked by the opponents as they go for their drugs and routine medical check-ups.¹⁷⁸

Education was also affected. In 2008, the Kibaki government ordered schools to reopen. However, when students went to their various schools, some of them found out that their schools were used as shelters for the internally displaced persons. Many schools did not open in good time due to the violence. Some had been burnt down so learning could not go on.¹⁷⁹ Rebuilding them would take quite some time hence affected students had to look for other schools to continue with

¹⁷³ Katumanga Musambayi and Lafargue Jerome „Kenya in Turmoil: Post-election Violence and precarious pacification“ (United Kingdom: African Books Collective, 2008) p 14

¹⁷⁴ Lafargue Jerome „General Elections in Kenya, 2007“ (Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, 2009) p. 185

¹⁷⁵ HIV treatment in times of civil strife: Serious threats to antiretroviral drug access in the Kibera slum following the Kenyan elections,” AIDS, vol. 22, no. 13, 2008, pp. 1693-1694; Human Rights Watch interviews with HIV-positive mothers and guardians of HIV-positive children in Mathare slum, Nairobi, August 13, 2008.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid

¹⁷⁷ Kenya: Drug resistance risk as displaced ARV patients skip ARV doses,” PlusNews

¹⁷⁸ Ibid

¹⁷⁹ Katumanga Musambayi and Lafargue Jerome „Kenya in Turmoil: Post-election violence and precarious pacification“ (United Kingdom: African Books Collective, 2008) p 14

their education.¹⁸⁰ The violence paralyzed education in the country. School going children could not go back to school at the time they were expected to. Others could not go back to their usual schools since they were closed down. Time for learning was wasted as students looked for other schools to enrol in.¹⁸¹

The disputed presidential crisis in Kenya also had global effects. For a long time, Kenya has been seen as model of democracy as well as stability for other states in Africa. The violence resulted into challenges for matters such as good governance, human rights and democracy in Kenya. The west saw the violence as an impediment to their commitment of nurturing of legitimate democracy in the whole world. The violence showed that Kenya was poorly governed in that the interests of the leaders overshadowed the interests of people. Due to the crisis, the global business partners of Kenya incurred losses.¹⁸²

2.4. Main Players in post-election violence

2.4.1 Political Parties and Tribes

With the failure of the National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) party, many of those who were left out of power from the failed power-sharing Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) in 2002, formed the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). ODM was largely made up of a tribal alliance between the Kalenjin, Luhya's as well as Luo's. Kibaki and the Kikuyu in power formed the Party of National Unity (PNU). Out of these, the three main tribes that formed the larger share of the two main parties (PNU and ODM) were involved in the 2007 post-election violence.¹⁸³ The Luhya's were a part of the ODM, however, less is written about their involvement. The reality on the ground is that the majority of African political parties are not communities of the political ideology or philosophy but they are vehicles of ethnic nativism.¹⁸⁴

2.4.2 International Community

Attempts by the ODM to stage public, peaceful protests in Nairobi and other cities were squashed by the police after Kibaki made them illegal through an executive order. Kibaki, on the other hand, was legally certified as the president and had the legal right to ban the protests, especially if the protests could compromise the stability of the government. The first to step in to

¹⁸⁰ Traill Richard „Is Power-Sharing the Answer in Kenya?“ *Fortnight*, No. 457 (February, 2008) pp. 5-6

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*

¹⁸² Shekhawat and Modi „Aftermath of the Kenyan Crisis“ *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 43, No. 18 (May 3-9, 2008) pp. 25-27

¹⁸³ *Ibid*

¹⁸⁴ Mutua, M, *Kenya's quest for democracy: Taming the leviathan*. (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers 2008)

mediate a solution between the PNU and ODM was led by an African Union negotiator along with a combined team of the French, British, US diplomats.¹⁸⁵ After this mediation attempt failed, the former Secretary of the UN, Kofi Annan came in and negotiated a power sharing deal involving Kibaki and Odinga where Odinga became Prime Minister and also the ODM was given ten cabinet positions.¹⁸⁶ This deal was quite similar to that which should have happened in 2002 under the NARC's pre-election agreement.

2.4.3 Government

The subject of land in Kenya is vital in its history of conflict and it is an example of structural violence. This is in part due to long and also complex histories of land dealings amongst the tribes. Mostly, the members of the tribe who were in power were unethically given or else allowed to use land, normally at the expense of the other tribes. This is so because of the complex legal structure surrounding land, for instance, there are at least 42 laws that apply to land currently, some of which contradict to the each other as well as with the weak judicial system to carry out these laws effectively.¹⁸⁷ In the 2007 post-election violence, the historic land problems between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin's continued to be the main cause of conflict.

In the year 1939, under British colonization, the Kikuyu were forced to shift from the Central Province, in order to make way for an exclusive community of white settlers termed as the 'White Highlands'.¹⁸⁸ Many Kikuyus moved north into the Rift Valley. After Kenya gained independence from Britain, more people from the Kikuyu tribe settled in the Rift Valley, protected by Jomo Kenyatta's power.¹⁸⁹ Some argue that Kenyatta gave this resourcefully rich land to the Kikuyu. However, the Kikuyu state that, they were unjustly made to leave their land of the Central Province by the British colonizers, and expected to move elsewhere.¹⁹⁰

Parallel to what Kenyatta did with the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley area during his tenure (1963-1978), Moi (1978-2002) did the same with the Mau Forest, the lushest part of the Rift Valley. The forest being government trust land, Moi used his power to give executive permission to his tribal community, the Kalenjin's, to stay there. Eventually, Kibaki, also using the same executive power, expelled the Kalenjin's from the Mau Forest in the year 2003, with most of the returning.

¹⁸⁵ Lafargue, J. and M. Katumanga Post-election violence and precarious pacification in Lafargue, J. (Ed.). *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*. (pp. 13-34). Dar es Salaam: Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid

¹⁸⁷ Lafargue *op. cit*

¹⁸⁸ Ibid

¹⁸⁹ Cussac, A. Kibaki tena?! *The challenges of a campaign* Lafargue, J. (Ed.). *The general elections in Kenya, 2007*. (pp. 55-104). Dar es Salaam: (Mkuki na Nyota Publishers, Ltd, 2008).

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

The argument was that they had a right to the land that Moi gave them'.¹⁹¹ The expulsion, together with the promise of further expulsion future attempts played a big part in the Kalenjin bands militantly evicting the Kikuyu from their homes in the Rift Valley, destroying their property, as well as occasionally murdering those in resistance of these actions after the election results were announced. In a case of the dynamic nature of conflict, Kibaki in 2008 again called for the expulsion of the Kalenjin's from the Mau Forest. In this instance, the Kalenjin's lobbied Odinga the then Prime Minister plus part of the ODM Luo-Kalenjin alliance, to actually resist the executive order. Kibaki set up a commission to document the history of illegal land disbursements during the Kenyatta and Moi eras in 2003. This resulted into the *Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Illegal/Irregular Allocation of Public Land*, commonly known as the Ndung'u report, which is a 244 page document with almost 1800 pages of appendices intimately outlining the common practice by corrupt politicians of illegally awarding land for political gain.¹⁹²

2.5 Responding to Conflict and Restoring Peace

At the heart of the requirement for peaceful settlement of disputes is the belief that disputes and conflicts cannot always be avoided and that should they arise they should be settled peacefully rather than through war. Article 2(4) of the Charter of the United Nations outlaws war as a basis for relations between states. To clearly understand the process of Conflict Management, it is important to distinguish settlement and resolution of a conflict. Makumi Mwangi says that settlement of a conflict is based on power and specifically on the power relationships between the parties.¹⁹³ To him since the process is power based the stronger party during the bargaining is able to secure the better bargain. However, there is a possibility of the conflict erupting again should the power relationship between the parties change thus conflict settlement is based on win-lose outcome.¹⁹⁴ In the Kenyan context, attempts to restore peace in Kenya have taken both the formal and informal shape. The formal shape consists of peace negotiations conducted by political leaders and sometimes mediated by external parties. The second shape contains an array of grass-roots initiatives and traditional approaches in resolving conflicts.

¹⁹¹ Mwangi Makumi „The Water's Edge“ (Nairobi: Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, 2008) p. 1

¹⁹² Ibid

¹⁹³ Makumi Mwangi; Conflict: Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management (Nairobi: Watermark Publications, 2000)

¹⁹⁴ Ibid

2.5.1 The Formal Response - The Role of the Government

The conflicts that plagued Kenya in the 1990s were seen in political terms. Leaders in government, particularly KANU stalwarts, including the President, blamed the clashes on multiparty politics. At another level, clashes were seen as an attempt to ensure the survival of the state. According to this interpretation, the political agenda of the state took two forms. First, clashes became a vehicle to fulfil President Moi's prediction that Kenya's return to a multiparty system would plunge the country into tribal violence. The second agenda item was to influence the outcomes of the multiparty elections in 1992 and 1997.¹⁹⁵

Emanating from these two positions, the search for peace needed to be conceived within the arena of high politics. Affected communities became recipients, rather than participants in these initiatives. This top-down perception of peace became the greatest weakness of the formal response. Activities within this framework remained ad-hoc; they lacked community support, and failed. Calls for peace by the government were met with suspicion and distrust. Government officials were viewed by most victims and analysts as partisan, unable to keep the conflict in check, and either unwilling or incapable of responding to its consequences. The people saw attempts to preach peace as pursuing state survival. The government argued that irresponsible utterances by opposition Members of Parliament (MPs) and their desire to wreak havoc before the elections had caused the clashes and perpetuated them¹⁹⁶.

After the 1992 clashes, the President toured areas affected by clashes, ordered that violence stop, and appealed for calm. In the most insecure areas he invoked the preservation of Public Security Act and declared the hardest hit areas of Elburgon, Molo, Londiani and Burnt Forest security operation zones. This act banned outlawed the possession of firearms, instituted curfews, and prohibited movement into these areas. The bans on entering or working in the zones interfered with the work of certain NGOs and prohibited certain individuals from visiting them. Among those obstructed were Aurelia Brazeal, the US Ambassador to Kenya and a team of officials from the United Kingdom and Denmark.¹⁹⁷

More government administrators went to affected areas. Their first tasks were to increase security and oversee the return of displaced people. Molo, one of the hardest hit sites, received an additional 15 district and police officers. The presence of government officers, some of whom were eager to begin their assignments, stabilised populations and provided a basis for peace work.

¹⁹⁵Mutua, M. Kenya's quest for democracy: Taming the Leviathan. (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2008)

¹⁹⁶ Ibid

¹⁹⁷ Human Rights Watch *Failing the Internally Displaced: The UNDP Displaced Persons Program in Kenya*. (New York: HRW, 1997)

These efforts did not go far enough in punishing the perpetrators of violence, leaving this as an unresolved issue in most of the areas affected by clashes. These government-driven efforts encouraged little participation from affected communities. For the most part, these communities remained suspicious of the government and reluctant to seek meaningful involvement.¹⁹⁸

2.5.2 Informal response- Grassroots Peacebuilding Initiatives

Local peace-building activities emerged out of despair and exasperation with conflict. Initial responses were based on the relief model and dominated largely by international actors. In this model, food relief comes first, followed by returning displaced populations, rehabilitation, and reconstruction. Peace and reconciliation are part of rehabilitation. However, persistent problems with displacement led to outside actors experiencing burnout. Furthermore, resources were diminishing because of donor fatigue, and frustration with the government was increasing.¹⁹⁹ Although the departure of foreign actors created a vacuum, it did leave local actors with the space to reassert their role and engage in a wide range of activities related to returning, rehabilitation and reconstruction. Peace building posed particular challenges for most local actors. It required specific skills and institutional support, both of which were scarce at the local and national levels. The withdrawal of foreign actors translated into reduced funds for local actors working with displaced populations.

A set of challenges were generated at the ground level where most displaced persons began to show signs of weariness with assistance programmes and eagerness to return to their homes. This generated immense pressure for actors to look to issues beyond relief, a challenge that required big budgets and long term commitments.²⁰⁰ Constrained by limited expertise, resources, and government support, local actors were forced to turn to local resources. They sought skills, capacities, and available opportunities among members of communities with which they worked. Through intense interaction and working together, peace actions were initiated and the process of transforming conflict began. In short, local peace builders learned while working for peace.

2.6 Women and Peacebuilding in Kenya

Women play important roles in the process of peacebuilding, first as activists and advocates for peace, women wage conflict nonviolently by pursuing democracy and human rights. Secondly,

¹⁹⁸ Barasa, L. Government Set Up Army Camp in West Pokot, | *Daily Nation*, 2 February 2000.

¹⁹⁹ Nasong'o, SW, *Negotiating new rules of the game: Social movements, civil society and the Kenyan transition*. G.R. Murunga, S.W. Nasong'o (Eds.). Kenya: the struggle for democracy. (pp. 19-57). New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillian, 2007.

²⁰⁰ Ibid

as peacekeepers and relief aid workers, women contribute to reducing direct violence. Thirdly, as mediators, trauma healing counselors, and policymakers, women work to ‘transform relationships’ and address the root of violence. Lastly, as educators and participants in the development process, women contribute to building the capacity of their communities and nations to prevent violent conflict. This is made possible as a result of socialization processes and the historical experience of unequal relations and values that women bring to the process of peace building.²⁰¹ Although women have had a huge impact on the peacebuilding process, some have acted as conflict perpetrators while some have been victims of the violence as will be discussed below.

2.6.1 Women as Victims

As victims, women’s roles vary. As was stated before, women can become victims by being forced to take a part in conflict; they can also lose their loved ones, or become direct victims of rape, landmines, or explosions among other forms of violence. Additionally, they can lose their land, their household support and be forced to shift their traditional roles in society. According to McCarthy, for example, women are “more likely than men during a civil war to be displaced, experience food insecurity and to lose traditional social networks.”²⁰² It is important to note that women suffer the most when it comes to conflict. Even before conflict starts, abuses towards them increase. “Too often women’s roles and positions in society are among the first to be circumscribed. Their employment, their freedom of movement, their dress, and legislation governing their citizenship, as well as rise in sexual violence and parallel decline in prosecution of such crimes, are among the earliest indicators of increased social and political intolerance”²⁰³ In Kenya for example, a lot of the women in the hotspots areas suffered a lot as they were raped, their property torched by angry opponents and even their husbands killed.²⁰⁴

2.6.2 Women as Perpetrators

When it comes to conflict, women as well as men can be perpetrators. Their roles in supporting conflict vary. According to Anderlini, women are on the front lines of providing

²⁰¹ Korir, C. Peace at Grassroots; Experience of community Peace Building in the North Rift Region of Kenya. (2009).

²⁰² McCarthy Mary K. "Women’s Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle? ("University of Pennsylvania, 2011)

²⁰³ Anderlini Sanam Naraghi. 2007. *Women Building Peace: What they do, Why it Matters*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers

²⁰⁴ Sievers Harnet Axel and Peters Ralph-Michael „Kenya’s 2007 General Elections and Its Aftershocks“ Africa Spectrum, Vol. 43, No. 1 Horn of Africa (2008) pp. 133-144

services, heading households, caring for the sick and the elderly, and sustaining and ensuring the survival of their families”²⁰⁵ Women also support war by helping to spread war propaganda, and by, for example encouraging revenge. Even more, women serve men, iron their clothing, cook for them, and perform many other sorts of services that allow warriors to fight. At times, they are warriors themselves.²⁰⁶ Many times they perform these activities by force, as they are abducted and obliged to be active members of conflict yet other times they willingly support the conflict. In McCarthy’s words: “some women adopt an active role—serving on the front lines of the conflict.”²⁰⁷ Frequently, women find the experience empowering, as they acquire skills such as basic literacy, organization, leadership, map reading and negotiations. Thus, women are not inherently peaceful—they too have the potential for violence and are capable of participating alongside male combatants in brutal conflict.²⁰⁸

2.7 Role of Women in Peacebuilding in Kenya

Women also play a key role in peacebuilding. They are activists for peace, and advocate for the end of violence; “women are among the first to speak out collectively against war and to try to prevent escalation. That is evident globally”²⁰⁹.As peacebuilders, some women, for example, use the role of motherhood and base themselves on non-violent Gandian strategies in order to achieve their objectives. This works quite well because it is hard to attack a mother, and because it generates public awareness.²¹⁰ Even more, women try to find a common ground for all parties in conflict. Women also engage in nonviolent strategies in order to advocate for peace. “Both men and women join anti-war movements, but women are often more numerous than men, and sometimes they form separate organizations. Sometimes they do so because they find the male leadership style prefigurative of neither democracy nor violence.”²¹¹

2.7.1 Women as Advocates of Peace

In the highly politically charged and violent atmosphere, the involvement of women in the Kenyan process took many different forms. Women were engaged as members of the panel; as

²⁰⁵ Anderlini Sanam Naraghi. *Women Building Peace: What they do, Why it Matters*. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007)

²⁰⁶ Ibid

²⁰⁷ McCarthy Mary K. 2011. "Women’s Participation in Peacebuilding: A Missing Piece of the Puzzle?" University of Pennsylvania

²⁰⁸ Ibid

²⁰⁹ El-Bushra, Judy. *Gender in Peacebuilding, Taking Stock*. London: International Alert ,2012

²¹⁰ Ibid

²¹¹ Cockburn Cynthia. "The Gendered Dynamics of Armed Conflict and Political Violence." (London, New York, 2001)

senior advisors to the mediator and in mediation support roles; as senior members of the political delegations and as civil society leaders. While the formal process was taking shape, women were mobilizing in a range of ways at local and national level. At the national level, women organized through a range of different forums. A few notable national processes were organized by the vital voices women's group, who partnered with Burundian women to share experiences of conflict. The Kenyans for Peace, Truth and Justice (KPTJ) met every day to discuss how to deal with the crisis.

The Kenya Women's Consultative Group also held a one day meeting with more than fifty women to discuss how women could pressure the two principles to meet and end the electoral conflict. This group later formed a twelve member consultative group that presented a memorandum to the mediation team.²¹² The memorandum to the panel called for the mediators to ensure that UNSCR 1325 was implemented and called for constitutional reforms among other demands. They also advised the mediation team to second a gender advisor to the Panel to ensure gender mainstreaming although this was not implemented. At the local level, a number of women's organizations, as well as individuals initiated reconciliation in their communities while the national dialogue was ongoing. For instance, the Kibera Women for Peace and Fairness Women's initiative was formed to address the gender-based violence (GBV) that Kibera women were facing during the 2007 electoral crisis. Rural Women Peace link a local NGO based in Uasin Gishu in Rift Valley is another example of a women's organization that initiated community dialogues for reconciliation during the height of the postelection violence.²¹³ Women as individual in Kenya have also made a milestone in peacebuilding process for instance; Teckla Lerule a renowned athlete formed a peace foundation and on many occasions used sports in fostering peace especially in the Rift Valley Region of Kenya.²¹⁴ Additionally, nominated Senator Honourable, Naisula Lesuuda championed peace campaigns in Laikipia in 2010 during ethnic conflict between the Samburu and the Pokots. According to United Nations Report on Sustainable Peace for Sustainable future, the late Professor Wangari Maathai was awarded Nobel Peace Prize because of using environmental conservation as a prerequisite to a sustainable and peaceful world.²¹⁵

²¹² Meredith P. M, et al (2011), Beyond the Numbers: Women's Participation in the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation. 114, rue de Lausanne ch-1202 Geneva Switzerland pp16-22

²¹³ Ibid

²¹⁴ Korir, C. Peace at Grassroots; Experience of community Peace Building in the North Rift Region of Kenya. (2009).

²¹⁵ United Nations Report; International Day of Peace 21 September, 2012: Sustainable Peace for a Sustainable Future. Retrieved on June 4, 2015 from <http://www.un.org/event/peaceday>.

Additionally, the presence of Mrs. Graca Machel who was brought in due to her work in Kenya on the Africa Peer Review Mechanism has been cited to have promoted considerations of women's concerns during the dialogue process.²¹⁶ Her level of seniority and long history around women's issues meant that she possessed the skills necessary to identify specific issues of importance. Her seniority and stature also meant that she was able to push these issues in a way that few other women would be able to. Her work through the Africa Peer Review Mechanism also meant that she had a good understanding of the underlying dynamics and strong networks to civil society in the country. The other factor that served to promote consideration of women's concerns during the dialogue process was the capacity for civil society to mobilize and ensure that women's issues and priorities were presented to the mediation team.²¹⁷

2.7.2 Women as actors in Rebuilding Political and Economic Institutions

Peacebuilding also necessarily involves rebuilding or reconstituting political and economic institutions in an inclusive manner and promoting democratization, through mechanisms such as fair elections and increased popular participation. These long-term undertakings help to develop a stable society that is able to deal with competing interests in a non-violent manner. In this realm, the participation of women is particularly vital— not in the least because women constitute half of every population, and so their full and fair participation is necessary for a functional democracy. In terms of political institutions, women play a multifaceted role in both the formal and informal spheres. Informally, women's organizations frequently influence the political agenda; however, these initiatives are often undertaken in the realm of civil society. As political actors, women often use their gender identities and common social experiences to bridge divides, providing an example for other politicians to work across party lines. Particularly because women remain a minority in the political realm, they have greater incentives to work as a collective and also to reach out to male candidates regardless of affiliations.²¹⁸

Women can also participate in rebuilding the economic institutions of a post-war state. In doing so, they contribute to economic stability and growth, and so raise incentives for both sides to continue peaceable relations. Although in many countries women are excluded from the formal sector of the economy, they contribute significantly in terms of both agriculture and the informal

²¹⁶BBC Interview with Graca Machel, South Africa, February 2010

²¹⁷ Wanyeki, L. , For an elaboration on the importance of the capacity of civil society in Kenya - and importantly how unique this level of capacity is in a conflict-affected country, pp. 1-14.

²¹⁸ Laura McGrew, Kate Frieson, and Sambath Chan. Good Governance from the GroundUp: Women's Role in Post-Conflict Cambodia, (Washington DC: Hunt Alternatives Fund 2004)

sector. During conflict and afterwards, women often become responsible for men's traditional roles, allowing them to learn new entrepreneurial skills and also to assert themselves in new economic realms.²¹⁹ After violence has ceased, women still remain primarily responsible for providing for dependants, as frequently their male relatives have either been killed or imprisoned during the fighting. Thus, the revitalization of the economy—particularly as the local level—falls to women who must support themselves and their families. To accomplish this, women have proven adept at establishing new networks towards restoring their livelihoods. By resuming agricultural production and contributing to informal sector activities, such as petty trade or work in small-scale businesses, women capitalize on income-generating opportunities that can lead to expansion in both these areas.²²⁰ For instance after the 2007-2008 post-election violence, women in Burnt Forest, Eldoret joined hands under Rural Women Peace Link and established a market which acts as an economic centre of the town where women have been carrying out their trading activities as a way of promoting themselves economically

In summary, from the available literature, several issues can be underlined. First, most of the studies on background to conflicts in Kenya suggest that most of the conflicts occur as a result of ethnicity, something that played as a major cause of the post-election in Kenya. Additionally, others have blamed political dominance for the presence of conflicts in Kenya. This is mainly because, of how different leaders overtime have unequally allocated resources to its citizens based on their ethnicity. Although ethnicity has played a major cause of conflicts in Kenya, other issues such as presence of refugees in the country, Conflicts among pastoral communities, Conflicts between pastoralists and crop farming communities have also contributed to the conflicts in Kenya. Additionally, although Kenya has witnessed some violence with the post-election being the worst that has ever hit the county, women have played a lot of roles in championing for peace. Women have been peace educators while others have been peace advocates as seen during and after the 2007-2008 post-election violence.

²¹⁹ Mark F. Chingono Women, War and Change: An Ambiguous Legacy” in *The State, Violence and Development: The Political Economy of War in Mozambique, 1975-1992*, ed. M.F. Chingono, (Aldershot: Avebury Press 1996) p. 209-243.

²²⁰ Ibid

Chapter Three

Women and Peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses women and peacebuilding particularly women's contribution in peace endeavours in Uasin Gishu County during and after the 2007-2008 post-election violence. Throughout the world accounts of war tend to portray men as the conflict resolvers and women as passive innocent victims. In conflict situations, women are much more disadvantaged compared to men. Women tend to be the most vulnerable victims of various forms of violence, from domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, to sexual torture and other types of sexual violence. They also suffer disproportionately from displacement and deprivation.²²¹

Focusing on women only as victims of conflicts ignores the fact that women play significant roles during and after the conflicts, and reinforces existing traditional gender values and practices that women are only "passive" and "subservient" in peace and politics.²²² This has negative consequences in overlooking women's potential as key actors in conflict management processes and activities and yet women themselves are active participants in conflict situations. Women are thus caught in a vicious paradox: while they are the main civilian victims of conflicts, they are often powerless to prevent the conflict, and are excluded from decision making positions, and negotiations. When it comes to women participation in conflict resolution, they are usually confined to a marginal role in the post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation and when they contribute their effort is usually ignored.²²³

Women are viewed as peaceful because they are less likely than men to initiate or participate in violence because of the maternal instincts to have a peaceful environment for the children. However, they do often fill supporting roles that prolong or shorten intractable conflict. Goldstein argues that, "masculine war roles depend on feminine roles in the war system, including mothers, wives, and sweethearts."²²⁴ To him, women always have a greater role in contributing to the effectiveness of men during war. This is in the sense that its women who provide food and an encouragement to them.

²²¹ Boulding Elise, *Building a Global Civic Culture: Education for an Interdependent World* (Peace and Conflict Resolution 1990)

²²² Ibid

²²³ Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender; How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa*. (Cambridge University Press, 2001)

²²⁴ Ibid

Peacebuilding is a markedly complex undertaking, which involves a multitude of diverse actors including women. Much of the existing literature on women's involvement with attaining and maintaining peace discusses the possible roles of women in peacebuilding, such as grassroots organizing or involvement in reconciliation. However, it does not explicitly present a causal explanation for how their participation keeps war from resuming in the long run. In addition, as Shukria states "women's peacebuilding initiatives remain invisible to policy-makers and development institutions, as well as to their own societies."²²⁵

Afshar argues that, historical constructions of nationhood and nationalism often rest on masculine foundations particularly in post-colonial societies and so these ideologies are not necessarily altered during conflict but 'are simply suspended.'²²⁶ These salient norms, formed over the course of historical processes, help to explain why women are often excluded from the peace process despite the impact of the conflict on their well-being. Further, after conflict has decimated a population, women may be pressured to fulfil their role as mothers by helping to rebuild the nation through childbearing. Control over women in the domestic sphere can become regarded as necessary to 'protect, revive and create the nation.'²²⁷ In addition, many feminist critiques have demonstrated that the international community is patriarchal in its approach to post-conflict transition and peacebuilding, in both the composition of international organizations, including the United Nations, and in the community's approach to negotiations and Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) proceedings. The legal structures constructed by the United Nations in relation to violations during intrastate conflict often do not incorporate violence against women as such; these violations are excluded from the narrative of the conflict to the detriment of the country's women.²²⁸

Most notably, women are often excluded from the initial decision to engage in conflict, but are then disproportionately affected by its consequences. In contemporary civil wars, civilians—particularly women have increasingly become the victims of violence. Women are especially vulnerable to rape and sexual violence, which are used as strategic weapons to humiliate the other side and threaten the existence of ethnic groups.²²⁹

²²⁵ Nadine Robitaille, "Shukria Dini – Canada," International Development Research Centre Bulletin, www.idrc.ca/en/ev-114798-201-1-DO_TOPIC.html, Date Accessed June 2015.

²²⁶ Haleh Afshar, "Women and Wars: Some Trajectories towards a Feminist Peace" in *Development in Practice* 13 (2003), n 178-188.

²²⁷ Ibid

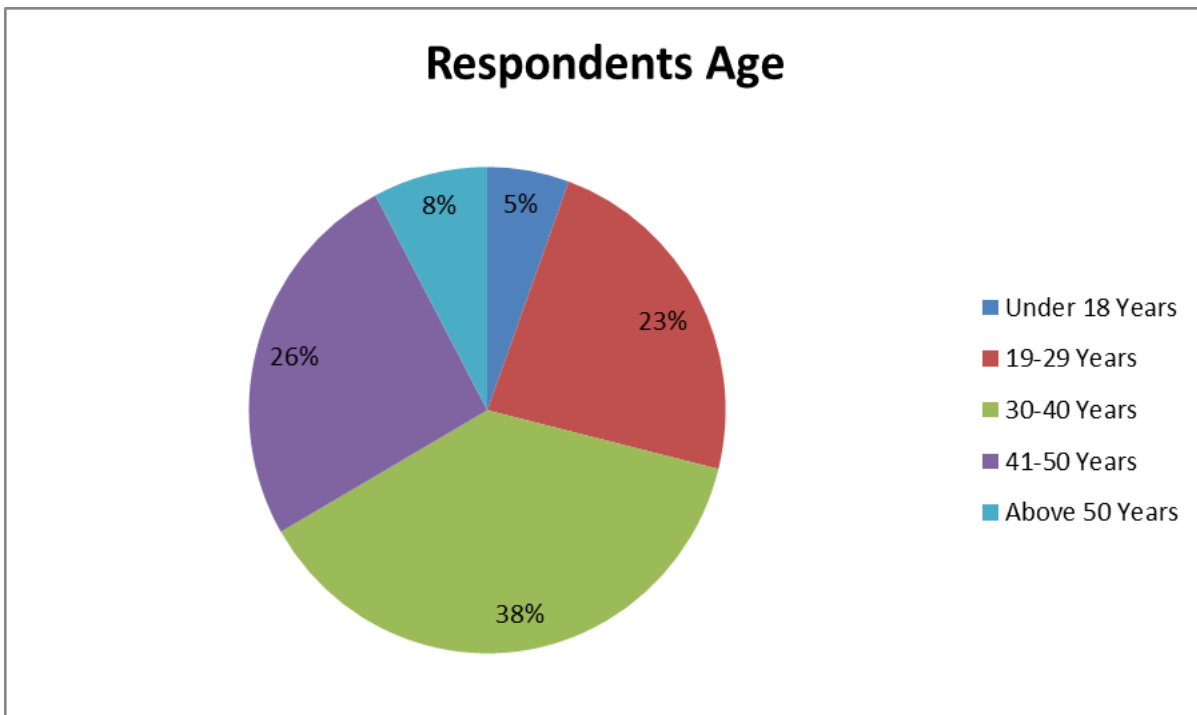
²²⁸ Ibid

²²⁹ Joyce P. Kaufman and Kristen P. Williams, *Women and War: Gender Identity and Activism in Times of Conflict*, Sterling, (VA: Kumarian Press, 2010) p. 38.

3.1 Women and Peacebuilding Activities in Uasin Gishu County

During the study on the peacebuilding activities by women in Uasin Gishu County, a sample of 90 respondents was used as a representation of women who played an active role as peace builders in the County. As shown below, the respondents were grouped based on their different age brackets, marital status and their level of education. The criteria of dividing women to the different age brackets, marital status and level of education was important in the study as it helped in determining which group of women were active peace builders in the County.

Figure 1: Respondents Age



From the above figure 1, most women peace builders are between 30-40 years of age. Only five percent of the women are under the age of 18years. This is partly because most of the women falling in the 30–50 age brackets are married and are mothers and they are more affected during conflicts due to the loss of their husbands and children. Ruddick coined the notion of maternal thinking by arguing that care and ‘relation based thinking is the main precondition for a more peaceful society. Caretakers, they argue, do not have value in our societies and if men would take active roles in care taking, less abstract and aggression based decisions would be made. Biologically, it is women who give birth and nurse babies. In most societies, women are the primary care givers responsible for the children and the family. The role of women in nurturing, building relationships and maintaining the family is central to their

identity. As Gnanadason observes, women play the role of peacemakers within their families and their communities²³⁰

Figure 2: Distribution of respondents based on their marital status

Marital status	Frequency
Single	25
Married	33
Separated/Divorced	21
Widowed	11
Total	90

From the findings of on the marital status of the respondent, the study found that majority of the respondent as shown by above table indicated that they were married. Majority also indicated that they were single while some indicated that they had separated from their marriage while few indicated they had been widowed. This is shows that the respondents were distributed in terms of their marital status

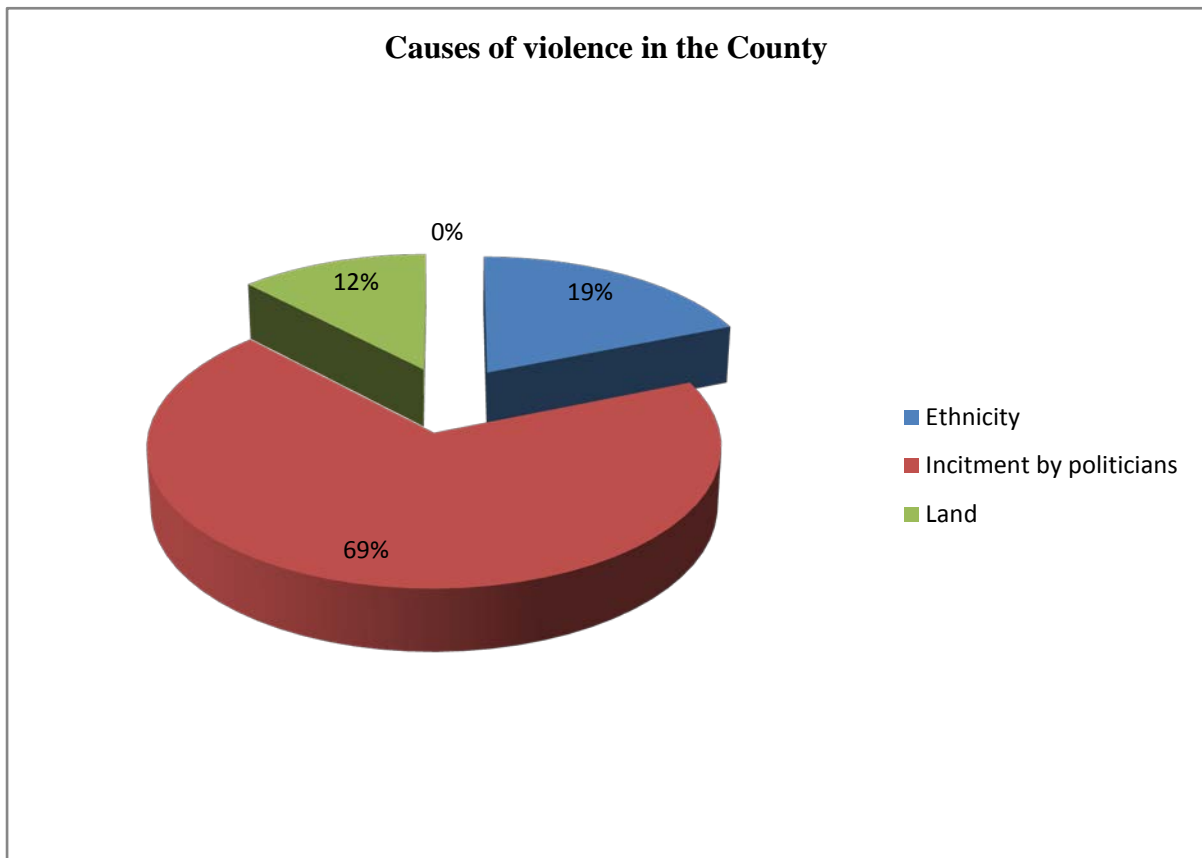
Figure 3: Distribution of respondents based on levels of education

Level of Education	Frequency
Lower Primary	17
Upper Primary	33
High School	29
College/University	11
Total	90

²³⁰ Gnanadason, A., R., A. Kanyoro and L. A. McSpadden, *Women, violence, and nonviolent change*, Lutheran World Federation, and World Council of Churches,1996

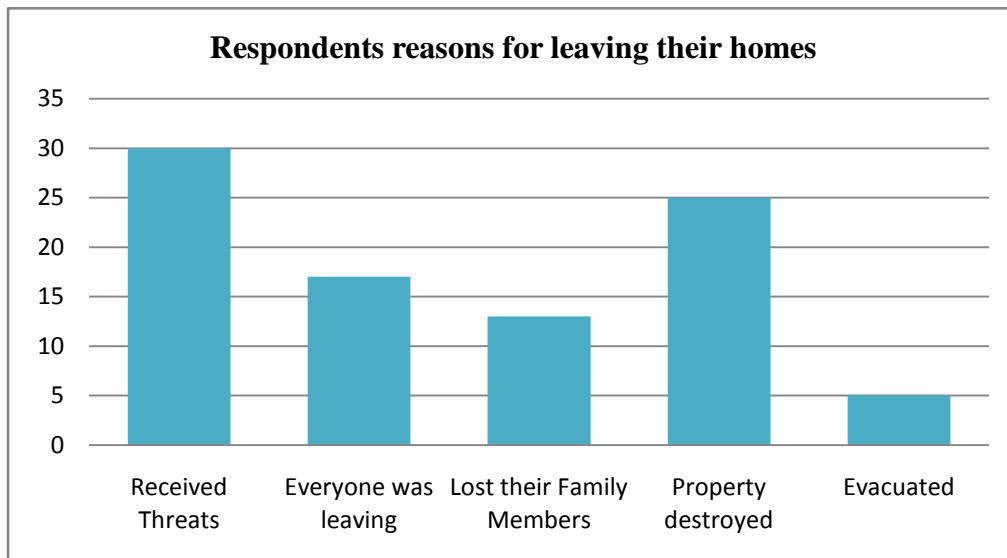
Most of the grassroots peace builders have low education standards as reflected in the above table. Few attended high school and had university education but most of them had upper primary education. This was partly because of gender bias in deciding who should go to school between boys and girls. Additionally most respondents who completed Upper Primary attributed their lack of furthering education to early marriages and lack of enough resources to facilitate them in completing their education. From the above responses from the respondents, it is clear that women have limited access to resources, education and even power. Thus they often opt for grassroots initiatives as their way of promoting their peacebuilding activities on the ground.

Figure 4: Causes of violence in Uasin Gishu County



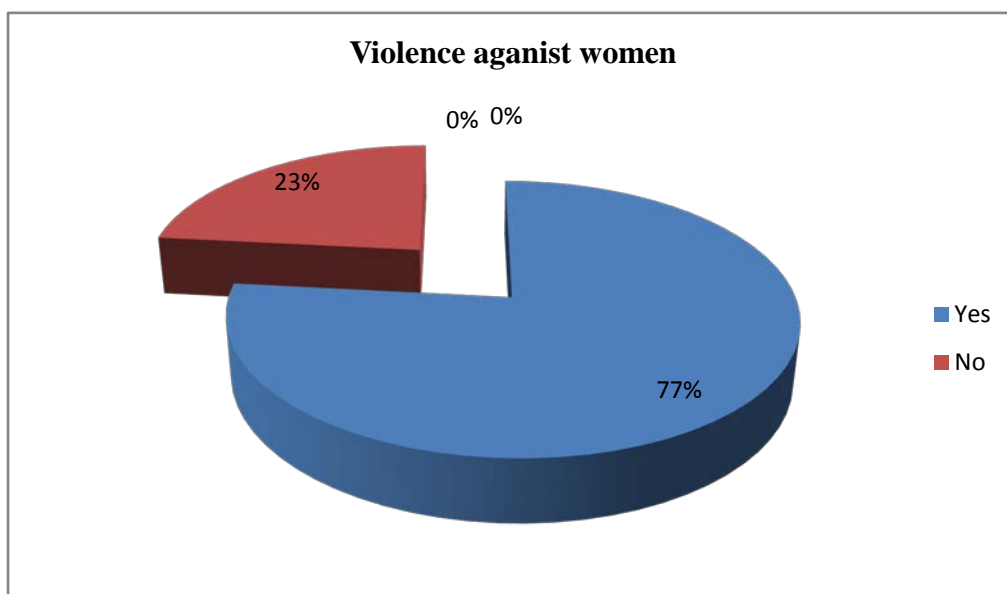
From the findings in regards to the causes of violence in Uasin Gishu County, majority of the respondents at 69% indicated that incitement from politicians was the major cause of violence in the County especially during the 2007-2008 post-election violence. 19% indicated that ethnicity is also a major cause of violence in the County while 12% of the respondents interviewed indicated that land was also a major cause of violence in Uasin Gishu County

Figure 5: Reasons why respondents left their homes during violence



The study sought to determine the reason as to why respondent were leaving their home during the violence. The study found that 30% of the respondent indicated that threats from their neighbours and those from the opposing side of the political parties made them flee their home. 25% on the other hand indicated that property destruction by the perpetrators made them flee their homes and look for safety. The study further found out that 17% of the respondents left their homes because everyone else was leaving in search of safety while 13% and 5% indicated that loss of their family members and evacuation by the police officers respectively made them flee their homes.

Figure 6: Data on violence against women



From above findings on violence against women, the study found that 77% of the respondents said there was violence against women while 23% said there was no violence against women. This is an indication that there was violence against women during in the County during the post-election violence.

Some the roles and activities women in Uasin Gishu County played as a way of promoting peace during the violence include;

3.1.1 Women as Socializing Agents

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

*We as women, used storytelling, traditional songs and riddles to teach our children to love one another and to live peacefully with their neighbours. As a teacher, I had come up with some ways so as to enable the pupils to enter into a relationship based on the real harmony of interest and understanding. I involved them in games however difficult it was as some don't want to participate in extra-curriculum activities. In addition, I had to make sure that the pupils used friendly language so as not to hurt children from other communities and encouraged the idea of sharing stationery and group visits.'*²³¹

Women being the social cement of every society are taught as young children, most often by their mothers, their peace-making skills and the roles which they will have to perform after marriage, within the family and with their neighbours.²³² This confirms what a chairlady of Langas women group had to say:

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

²³¹ Oral Interview with Ruth Bett, Turbo July, 2015

²³² Pearce, Jenny. "The International Community and Peacebuilding." *Development*, Vol.48 (2005) No.3. Pp.41-49.

This suggests that men and women have different styles of handling inter-personal conflicts. To some extent this is reflected in the differential socialization boys and girls are exposed to in the society. Girls are socialized to value relationships and maintain harmony while boys are socialized to value status and seek victory. The essence of conflict theory that is best epitomized by the classic 'pyramid structure' in which an elite dictates terms to the larger masses is very well depicted here. Women are expected to take a cooperative stance in conflict situations while men are more competitive.²³³ As all major institutions, laws, and traditions in the society are created to support those who have traditionally been in power, or the groups that are perceived to be superior in the society according to this theory. At the household level, a woman in Burnt Forest openly told her son that:

*'If I could have known that the food I am preparing is only going to energize you to shed blood, I wouldn't have prepared it.'*²³⁴

This statement stopped her son from accompanying other warriors as they went to raid because, according to him, this was an open curse on him. Women encouraged their children to go to stay with their distant relatives and friends as a way of building good relationships. This practice exposed them less to the conflict hence protecting them from anger or vengeful feelings. From above, it came out clearly from the respondents that women used reward and punishment as tools of instilling a culture of peace in their children.

3.1.2 Women as Security Agents

Violence is the single most dangerous threat to peacebuilding. Therefore, it is important that any peacebuilding efforts bring an end to violence and protect vulnerable populations.²³⁵ The current security procedures, usually included within peace agreements, require that previously warring factions be disarmed, demobilized and reintegrated (DDR) into society.²³⁶ Recognizing that criminal acts have a potential of escalating into conflicts between the tribes, most Women Peace Groups in Uasin Gishu County created Rapid Response Teams. As found in Eldoret Town, this team drew its members from women, youths, the district security committee and elders. Their mandate was to "listen continuously and act immediately" in potentially volatile situations like in

²³³ Randall, Margaret. *Gathering Rage: The Failure of Twentieth Century Revolutions to Develop a Feminist Agenda.* (New York: Monthly Review Press 1992).

²³⁴ Oral interview Winnie Kurgat

²³⁵ Sanam Naraghi Anderlini. *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters,* (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc,2007).

²³⁶ Charles T. Call and William Stanley. "Military and Police Reform after Civil Wars," in John Darby and Roger MacGinty, *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes,* (New York:Palgrave Macmillan, 2003)

case of rape or burning of houses by the perpetrators. After an incident is reported to them, they visit the place where the crime has occurred, secure evidence, meet with all sides involved, and act appropriately.

As noted by Koech, actions by the Rapid Response Team included mediation, reporting to security forces, or facilitating the arrest of the perpetrator of a crime. The issue may also be referred to a subcommittee. For instance, the Rapid Response Team called upon the Women for Peace subcommittee to deal with matters concerning women.²³⁷ In one case, this approach solved a problem that could have been manipulated politically. A seven-year-old girl was raped within Langas. Unfortunately, the victim belonged to the tribe that purportedly lost in the previous general election while the culprit came from the winning side. After these facts were established, the case was referred to the subcommittee of women. All members then visited the elders and chiefs to which the girl belonged.²³⁸ They spoke to them, explaining that this was not just their problem and appealed to be given time to deal with the matter, with the government. During this visit, the elders confessed that a number of their young men were preparing to act. This meant engaging in a revenge orgy of killing, looting or raping members of the clan of the culprit. The visit by the women calmed the elders who talked their youths out of revenge. This incident shows how much trust the women have cultivated in the society including the elders who are primary opinion makers. In as much as women acted as security agents during the 2007-2008 post-election violence in the County, they faced a lot of challenges in executing some of their roles as members of the Rapid Response Team. As noted by Koech Emmy, chairlady of women's peace committee Langas chapter;

“There were incidents we tried raising some issues with the elders and the even the police but all fell into deaf ears. In one incident an old lady within ‘Kisumu ndogo’ estate in Langas lost everything to the perpetrators including her own life as she tried to protect her two children from the angry mob. When the matter was brought to the elders and the police, none of them took action.”²³⁹

From the above sentiment by Emmy, it can be noted that the difficulties of achieving general security cannot be overemphasized, but when it comes to women, the problems become even more complex as women have their own set of unique challenges related to security

²³⁷ Oral Interview Koech Emmy, chairlady of women's peace committee Langas chapter

²³⁸ Ibid

²³⁹ Oral Interview with Koech Emmy, Chair lady, Women's Peace Committee Langas, 16th July 2015

improvements like the patriarchal society which view women as subordinates. In addition, women were less able to fully participate, due to family responsibilities and lack of child care support, to travel to areas where workshops were being held as well as security campaigns and thus did not fully attain the benefits. Consequently, they missed-out on valuable training opportunities and benefits as they sacrificed their own ambitions and stepped back into traditional roles. For Instance Jackie Atieno, Secretary for Women's Committee Langas Chapter points out that;

“In as much as we yearned to attend the various security campaigns in Eldoret, we had children to fend for and our husbands would not also allow us to move around the County for fear of attacks”²⁴⁰

While the formal security procedures have been weak in terms of addressing the security needs specific to women, women themselves have been finding ways to address their concerns and promote their efforts.²⁴¹ In Uasin Gishu, many NGOs were active in responding to women's unmet security concerns in the County especially in the IDPs camps. For Instance according to Cheruto from MercyCorps Eldoret office, many NGOs both local and international teamed up during the violence in advocating for security. This was mainly through campaigns held across the County dubbed *“I too deserve a chance”*.²⁴² The main aim for the campaign was to promote the importance of being each other's keeper. Additionally it's through the campaign that they made it publicly the security concerns of women who had suffered during the violence and the need to protect them.²⁴³

3.1.3 Women as Peace Exhibitors

Women in the County at the grassroots level held village peace exhibition where they exchanged views on the symbols of peace and analysed security situations in the areas they visited during and after the violence. According one of the Key informants from International Organization for Migration, during the peace exhibition, people came along with peace symbols from the different communities because it was believed that what might seem normal to one community may be totally different thing to another community. It's during the peace exhibition that women sang traditional peace songs, brought milk, spears, gourds, green leaves and explained

²⁴⁰ Oral Interview with Jackie Atieno, Secretary, Women's' Peace Committee Langas, July 2015

²⁴¹ Ibid

²⁴² Oral Interview Betty Cheruto, Mercycorps, Eldoret

²⁴³ Ibid

how important they are used during the war.²⁴⁴ For instance the Kalenjin women during any violence or war carry milk in a gourd as a sign that they are in search for peace. Among the kikuyu, Mary Njoki in Burnt Forest explained that for them carrying green leaves or undressing is a sign that they want violence to stop.²⁴⁵ To note also is that it's during the peace exhibition that women in Uasin Gishu County came up with peace exchange programmes as a way of exchanging inter-communities cultural practices aimed at ensuring peace prevailed and no misunderstanding between them. As Caroline Mutai the chairlady of women peace committee Turbo chapter says.

*“Peace exchange programs like learning the different cultures of a community enabled us to learn and appreciate the different cultural practices of other communities. It also strengthened our relationships and rebuilt the trust that was lost during the post-election violence”.*²⁴⁶

3.1.4 Women as victims’ advocates.

During post-election violence in 2007/2008, large sections of the population especially women and children became internally displaced from their original homelands. Women among the IDP population formed a special category, and that their human rights often exceeded those of men. According to the UN guiding principle on internally displaced persons, “all women returning IDPs as well as those still in the camps are more vulnerable than men.”²⁴⁷ For instance, it becomes impossible for women IDPs to access resources: they hardly ever get back what was left behind. Men have greater mobility than women and are typically the first to leave the camps to try to return and access their sources of livelihood while women in IDP camps lose their livelihoods and property.²⁴⁸

Additionally, male children are also the ones who have easier access to education as they are more mobile. Girls typically remain in the camps with their mothers, where females are exposed to Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) for instance during the post-election violence, there were many reported cases of rape in the County. As Betty Akinyi a former IDP at Eldoret show ground narrates,

²⁴⁴ Oral Interview, Charity Murrey, Burnt Forest, Uasin Gishu County

²⁴⁵ Oral Interview with Mary Njoki from Burnt Forest held on 16th July 2015

²⁴⁶ Oral Interview with Caroline Mutai from Turbo held on 17th July 2015

²⁴⁷ Women, Peace and Security: UNIFEM Supporting Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325. (2004).

²⁴⁸ Ibid

*“A day wouldn’t pass without us hearing cases of rape in our camp. The incident made us scared as we did not know who will be next. The trauma experienced by the rape victims was horrible as some even lost their lives due to lack of medical attention.”*²⁴⁹

Based on the increasing rape cases at the camps, women joined forces of being advocates for the victims by reporting the perpetrators. Others teamed up and joined local NGOs and International agencies in protecting the SGBV victims. For instance at the Eldoret show ground and Kambi ya moto camps, some women teamed up with International Organization for Migration Eldoret chapter to provide psychosocial support to the vulnerable victims.²⁵⁰ Others went ahead and became court witnesses for the victims.

3.1.5 Women as Peace Educators

“Peace education and civilization are inseparable dimensions of human progress. Expressed differently, peace education is the only route to true civilization and true civilization is both peaceful and peace creating”.²⁵¹ Empowerment and education play a major function in grassroots peacebuilding efforts. Education and empowerment are interrelated; education feeds empowerment, empowered members of a community can then give back to the community and educate others. Education and empowerment serve as tools to unify communities, to focus on vulnerable groups, such as youth and women, and can be used to establish a culture of peace in the community from the ground up. Danesh further points out that main reasons for what he refers to as “high [incidences] of conflict and war in different societies” is the *nature* of education provided. He reaffirms this by stating that “Education has enormous impact on the presence or absence of a proclivity to violence in every new generation”

After the post-election violence, women in Uasin Gishu County through NGOs organized education campaigns targeting the various groups, particularly government officials. Each workshop identified the next target group depending on whom the participant viewed as requiring exposure to civic education. Chiefs and sub-chiefs with leadership training were among the beneficiaries of these workshops. Their training focused particularly on need for peace and development. These helped them appreciate the impact of violence on the civilians and the need to come up with a lasting solution. Other groups of civil servants who were exposed to the civic

²⁴⁹ Oral interview with Betty Akinyi, former IDP at Eldoret Show Ground, July 19th 2015

²⁵⁰ Ibid

²⁵¹ Danesh H.B. Towards an Integrative Theory of Peace education. *Peace Education* 3.1 pp.55-78, 2006

and peace education included the police, military personnel and administrative officers, particularly the District Officers.²⁵²

With the help of the Administration Police wing of Peace Corps the women in collaboration with peace committees organized peace caravans which exported peace to the hotspots areas within the County mainly Burnt Forest, Turbo, Langas, and Kimumu. For peace to be sustainable in larger Uasin Gishu region, therefore, required peaceful coexistence with communities in neighbouring districts. This reality became a basis for nurturing an inter-district understanding and peaceful coexistence.²⁵³

No single factor can account for some success of women and the entire peace movement in the County. A combination of factors contributed to the creation of some sustainable peace that has since been replicated in outlying districts. The idea of working for peace in Uasin Gishu occurred at the right moment. The society had been nearly destroyed after the post-election violence. Secondly the absence of outside actors and initial reluctance of the government provided women on the ground a space within which they defined their problems and sought local solutions. This opportunity made the nurturing of peace an organic process. Starting from issues that affected daily lives such as conflicts in the marketplace, women embraced bigger problems. This way of defining problems created opportunities for participation by all sectors of the community.²⁵⁴

As peace educators, women partnered with the youth under ‘The caravan peace walks’ an initiative by the government Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. Through the caravan peace walks, women and youth volunteered in peace walks and educating the masses on the importance of maintain peace in the Country. The Eldoret youth for example walked from Eldoret to Nairobi, a journey that took seven days. The caravan walk was intended to boost healing, peace and coexistence. The youth had stop-overs in Molo, Nakuru, Naivasha and other areas deemed to have been seriously affected by the post-election violence.²⁵⁵

3. 7 Use of Merry-go round as a peacebuilding tool

Women peace builders in Uasin Gishu County established and adopted Merry-go-round strategy to assist the victims of the 2007-2008 post-election violence. This was a strategy where

²⁵² Monica Kathina Juma, *Unveiling Women as Pillars of Peace Peace Building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya: An interim Report on Management and Government Program*, New York: UNDP, 2000

²⁵³ Ruto Pkalya, Mohamud Adan and Isabella Masinde, *“Indigenous Democracy”*, p.39.

²⁵⁴ Ibid

²⁵⁵ Mungai, P. Zuia Noma: *A National Youth Campaign for Peace*. Vijana Magazine. MOYAS (2007)

women came together monthly to contribute money or any other item of their choice to one of their members. It was rotational depending on who picked the first number. During the occasion, the members engaged in prayer meetings and made contributions in the form of clothes money and utensils among other things. In the process, they counselled their members and encouraged them to forget the past and focus on the future. As noted by Irene Atieno, a member of Tuiyabei women group,

*“Merry-go-round in the area provided us with an opportunity of restating our businesses and reconciling with neighbours within. It also nurtured us spiritually due to prayer session that was always held in every merry- go- round meeting”*²⁵⁶

Although women in Uasin Gishu County played many roles as peace builders after the 2007-2008 post-election violence, there were notable challenges they experienced as expressed by many respondents on the ground. This included; Lack of political strength and political vision: Women suffer from “political illiteracy”. They lack an ideological framework that could give teeth to a strong position adopted by a collective women’s. Peace building as a political activity and therefore requires political strategy for engagement. Secondly, lack of experience, exposure and skills in negotiation, advocacy and lobbying techniques was also another challenge to them. This is mainly because women have always been kept secluded from the political arena and sphere of decision-making; therefore, in many situations they are unable to participate. Lack of a political platform: Without a political platform, women are on the margins of action and lack confidence in participating in the peace building process.

Lack of resources (material and financial) was also another challenge to them. This is mainly because most of the time women’s groups lack the means to back up their actions. In some instances, they were unable to get across to the media network to enhance their peace campaign because they do not have a budget for multi-dimensional activities. Further, they are not part of main fund raising channels and networks. Most of them worked on a voluntary basis at the grassroots levels, pooling their own resources together to get an office, desk, and phone line. Additionally most women used their little resources in providing medical care the SGBV victims.

In summary, from above discussions, women in Uasin Gishu County played a significant role during and after the post-election violence as security agents, peace educators, survivors and peace builders. Most of their activities took place through grassroots organizations due to their lack of access to formal participation. Drawing on shared values of security and women coming

²⁵⁶ Interview with Irene Atieno, a member of one of the Merry-go-round groups in Eldoret, 18th July 2015

together around shared concerns in seeking peace that is rooted in social justice and freedom women engaged in confidence-building programs across communities. Additionally discussions in this chapter have shown that, despite women's successes, particularly in grassroots mobilization and campaigning, women continue to be marginalized and ignored. The challenges they face are manifold. They seek peace for their communities and at the same time, they are struggling for gender equality against long-term structural factors, which reinforce social and gender inequalities and inhibits women's leadership potential.

Chapter Four

Critical Analysis of Women and Peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County

4.0 Introduction

More of the conflicts in the developing world are ethnic in nature. As such in order to manage and hopefully resolve these conflicts, a comprehensive approach that identifies and tackles their multiple causal factors is today necessary. Evidently, even though international agencies, governments and private organizations have entered the field of peacebuilding in ever increasing numbers, it is evident that most interventions in Africa have done little to prevent conflict²⁵⁷ Nnoli refers to conflicts as contradictions arising from differences in interests, ideologies, orientations, perceptions and tendencies.²⁵⁸ Such tendencies exist at all levels of society, individual groups, institutions and nations as well as in inter-personal, inter-group, interinstitutional and international relations. People get involved in conflicts when their interests or their values are threatened or when their needs are not met. On the other hand, ethnic conflicts are disharmonies that arise as a result of ethnic groups disintegrating themselves from “others” and developing the “we-they” attitude, which create dichotomies among ethnic groups as each one look at the other ethnic groups with contempt²⁵⁹.

Peacebuilding is a long term process of setting up conditions that are conducive to cultivation of harmonious co-existence. It is a process to reconcile warring parties with the aim of building long lasting peace.²⁶⁰ In many societies, women have been left out, marginalized or discriminated in the process of peacebuilding as their roles are not always considered as having an impact compared to their male counterparts. It’s against this background that this chapter therefore gives a critical analysis of the study by examining on the roles women played in Uasin Gishu County as peace builders after the post-election violence. In addition, the chapter also presents key themes such as women and Reconciliation efforts, women building peace

²⁵⁷ Roislén, H. (2005). *Mapping the Terrain: The Role of Religion in Peacemaking*. Oslo: International Peace Research Institute

²⁵⁸ Ibid

²⁵⁹ Mwagiru (1998). *Understanding Conflict and its Management: some Kenyan Perspectives*. Center for conflict Research and Women and law in East African (Kenya). Nairobi: Watermark publications

²⁶⁰ Wirmark, Bo (ed). (1997). *Government-NGO Relations in Preventing Violence, Transforming Conflict and Building Peace*. Report From a Conference in Mariefred, Sweden, September 4-6. Peace Team Forum

through the government and grassroots women peacebuilding entry points that emanated from the findings based on the stipulated objectives.

4.1 Women and reconciliation efforts

Reconciliation is a process of restoration of fractured relationships. It calls for moving from strife to a more positive relationship. Reconciliation involves bringing people who have had a history of conflict into a harmonious relationship and developing the capacity of warring parties to live with one another.²⁶¹ Reconciliation generally begins when a relationship of conflict between groups shifts to a new stage of lessened conflict, through an agreement of some kind.²⁶² Reconciliation is a major reason why women think peacebuilding is of utmost importance. The women are advocating for peacebuilding in order to be reunited with relatives and neighbours who fled during the post-election violence. Many of the women's sons, brothers and husbands participated in the violence and reconciliation is seen as the best way to be reunited.

Reconciliation efforts under current peacebuilding initiatives are carried out through a variety of means, including the use of high-profile truth commissions that document the crimes of the conflict and/or assign responsibility for them, governmental apologies, local peace commissions, and grassroots workshops. Traditional reconciliation efforts also encompass the reintegration of displaced persons and refugees, peace education, and trauma support for communities. The goal is to provide mechanisms for conflict resolution and, of course, to deter future abuses.²⁶³ While the goal of reconciliation to date has been to help restore moral order through psychosocial healing, for many victims reconciliation is also strongly associated with the pursuit of truth and justice. Truth, mercy, and justice are all important aspects of the reconciliation processes because reconciliation often requires confronting the violence of the past as well as the perpetrators of that violence, and addressing the needs of victims.

Reconciliation involves the participation of perpetrators and victims in a process of truth telling, apology, and forgiveness. It is not just a process of addressing problems in the government, or weaknesses in the judicial system. Rather the process of reconciliation must involve the construction of a new moral order that incorporates political, cultural, psychological, and spiritual strategies. Reconciliation efforts, like security, governance and relief and development, are also rife with challenges. For instance, women's participation during the formal mechanisms of reconciliation during peacebuilding has been minimal to date. Government and

²⁶¹ Cheryl de la Rey, *Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall. 2001

²⁶² Ibid

²⁶³ Francis, Diana. *People, Peace and Power: Conflict Transformation in Action*. (Virginia: Pluto Press, 2002)

nongovernmental perspectives on how to address the problem of past violations of human rights have often conflicted: while most transitional regimes have broadly endorsed the view that some kind of truth telling constitutes a valuable contribution to national reconciliation, they have rejected putting those responsible for human rights violations on trial, claiming that this would prejudice the democratic transition.²⁶⁴

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

Responses of Women to Reconciliation in Uasin County

When it comes to the reconciliation concerns of women, many organizations were active in pursuing it in Uasin Gishu County during and after 2007-2008 post-election violence. Their actions centred on two areas. First, women worked to bridge the divide with former adversaries and fostered long-term social transformation. Secondly, they supported the implementation of truth and reconciliation commission as well as the investigations into past events. While their efforts have had differing levels of success, the impact of their actions has been significant during peacebuilding. Women from the sides of the conflict managed to come together to share their common experience of suffering and to foster healing and reconciliation in the County. For example, *Rural Women Peace Link* (a well informed gender sensitive society that values and practices peace, promotes coexistence and a culture where women's contribution matter and make an impact) began educating women on peace issues regardless of their tribal background. Through this organization, women realized that each side experienced similar suffering and this consciousness of their shared pain helped them to develop an understanding of each other. This greatly helped advance reconciliation within the IDP camps as well as within the resettled regions.

Additionally, women's helped them to re-humanize those who were previously viewed as enemies. Through dialogue and open communication women were able to overcome past acts of violence and draw upon their common experience of loss and suffering. This experience

²⁶⁴ Jeong, Ho-Won. *Peacebuilding in Postconflict Societies: Strategy and Process*. Boulder, Colorado:(Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc, 2005)

motivated them to reconcile and take steps towards social transformation. Women also identified and made use of their socially significant position as parents –capitalizing on their ability to influence the events of the future by encouraging interaction among their children within the camps. As Porter noted, women often exhibit the ability to “dialogue across differences”—which catalyzes reconciliation efforts and promotes the inclusion of all sides in these discussions. In the aftermath of conflict, women are more likely to form inter-ethnic associations to deal with remaining difficulties; in doing so, they create a “shared space” for diverse women and also contribute to the healing process.²⁶⁵

With many women experiencing traumatic sexual violence, they are particularly sensitive to such experiences—thus organizations and individual women often provide psycho-social counselling to victims in the aftermath. By listening to testimonies, women help to relieve victims of emotional burdens that would potential lead to sustained animosity.²⁶⁶ For instance in Uasin Gishu County small women organizations group like Langas and Turbo women group played a major role for most women who had been raped as they were able to share their experience and as a result through confession and exchanging information on what they experienced, most women found a sense of healing and trust among each other.

Women’s organizations also frequently promoted an awareness of human rights and address issues of justice by assisting victims with their compensation claims; these activities are vital to creating a sense of trust by providing closure for victims rather than lingering uncertainty.²⁶⁷ In Uasin Gishu County, women mobilized resources, and facilitated reconciliation among warring communities. For instance the use of the SAYARE radio station by women through their program *obwa kegas* Kalenjin word for *Come we list*” to promote peace and reconciliation in the county. The programmed aim at encouraging listeners to come together and assist the members who had been affected by the violence through sharing of food and even providing shelter. Additionally, Tecla Lorupe a renowned athlete through her peace foundation programme formed way back in 2003, used sports especially after the post-election violence in fostering peace especially in the Rift Valley Region of Kenya.²⁶⁸ The race takes place in July each

²⁶⁵ Kimberly A. Maynard, (1997) “Rebuilding Community: Psycho-Social Healing, Reintegration and Reconciliation at the Grassroots Level” in *Rebuilding Societies after Civil War*, ed. K. Kumar, (London: Lynne Rienner,), p. 203-26.

²⁶⁶ Ibid

²⁶⁷ Bridget Byrne, *Gender, Conflict and Development*, Vol I: Overview: BRIDGE Report No. 34, (Sussex: Institute of Development Studies, 1996).

²⁶⁸ Korir, C. *Peace at Grassroots; Experience of community Peace Building in the North Rift Region of Kenya*. (2009).

year attracting participation of more than 3,000 people from across communities up to neighbouring borders of Kenya and Uganda. The race creates an opportunity for the young people to discuss peace and conflict, make contacts and friendship, interact and appreciate each other and showcase sports as an alternative livelihood. The event is essentially educative, an avenue to build trust and fun to the participants. It brings together leaders ranging from the ministers to leaders from villages to address participants and communities on issues of conflict and peace, education, girl child rights, pastoral development and concerns on disarmament.²⁶⁹

The race gives the communities, their leaders and government agents the opportunity to come together to think, reflect and talk peace. The communities' perpetual conflict needs both short term and long-term intervention to address the immediate challenges to peacebuilding while gradually reducing the generational build-up of negative perceptions and the traditions of enmity that has grown and sustained for many years. Categories for this race are 10 km for young men and women and 2km for dignitaries and other guests. Winners in the race are rewarded with cash prizes. All participants who complete the race receive a cotton sheet or Maasai Shuka which is used as symbol of Kenyan identity and patriotism.²⁷⁰ The peace races create opportunities for interaction, reduce synergies and tension and rebuild social relations among communities and inducing attitude change. They also provide a platform for girl child rights advocacy as well as inspiring athletic talents.²⁷¹ Through the forum, Lorupe appeals to the Heads of States of Kenya, peace actors and communities during the race to address the question of poor infrastructure, inadequate schools and absence of colleges in the pastoral areas that undermine access to education by pastoralists. She appeals to the governments to establish more schools and colleges in the area as a way of promoting reconciliation and also a bridge to reduce development gap between communities living in the County.

4.2 Women building Peace through the Government

During the study, women also expressed their active participation of restoring peace through the government. This was mainly because the violence witnessed after the 2007 general election had been associated with political incitement. Emanating from this point of view, the

²⁶⁹ Eunice Hasango Kaumbi, *The Moroto Peace Race Report: the 22nd, Tecla Lorupe Peace Race in the Seventh Edition of the July, 03, 2010* tegla@teglapeacefoundation.org / www.teglapeacefoundation.org

²⁷⁰ Jannick Maisonhaute, "The East Pastoral Pokot Sapana Ceremony". *Rites ET Religion: Les cahiers de l' IFRA 18*, Nairobi: French Institute for Research in Africa, 2000, pp. 1-47.

²⁷¹ Ibid

search for peace needed to be conceived within the arena of high politics. The pressure on the government mounted from lobby groups, within and outside the country, urging the government of Kenya to take up its mandate and protect the civilians in the region. The government responded by forming the District Peace Committees whose membership included women. Since women were the main victims, they joined lobby groups through NGOs, such as the NCKK and MercyCorps which played a very important role in peace building.

4.3 Women as activist against gender-based violence

Gender based violence (GBV) is an umbrella term for any harm that is perpetrated against a person's will as a result of power imbalances that exploit distinctions between males and females. Violence may be physical, sexual, psychological, economic or socio-cultural. Perpetrators may include family members, community members or gangs.²⁷² According to Burnet, in any conflict situations many women and girls are subjected to rape which is sexual violence. Sexual and gender based violence are normally at a very high rate during conflict situations.²⁷³ Women and girls are particularly targeted in violence situations to humiliate their communities and as a way of celebrating their conquest. Their bodies become a battleground over which opposing forces struggle. Women are raped as a way to humiliate the men they are related to, who are often forced to watch the assault.²⁷⁴ Female heads of households, women and girls on their own are more vulnerable to sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) as they try to provide for themselves and their families since they lack sufficient support and protection²⁷⁵.

Additionally, the vulnerability of women and girls during conflict periods is dictated by many factors such as age, marital status and the dynamics of the areas where they are resident for the time being. For example in Kenya, hospital reports indicate that between 27 December 2007 and 29 February 2008, 322 cases of sexual assault and rape of women and girls were reported to Nairobi Women's Hospital²⁷⁶. A number of UN agencies and other organizations also expressed concerns about sexual exploitation of IDPs. This was seen especially in Uasin

²⁷² Women Paid the Price, Sexual and Gender- based violence in the 2007 post-election conflict in Kenya:

CREAW, 2008 p, 1-25

²⁷³ ²⁷³ Patric Burnet, Sherren Karmali and Feroze Manji (eds), Grace, tenacity and eloquence: The struggle for women's rights in Africa, Nairobi: Fahamu 2007 p,72-83

²⁷⁴ Ibid

²⁷⁵ Ibid

²⁷⁶ Nairobi Women's Hospital, "Interim Report – Gender Violence Recovery Centre", 27 December 2007 to 29 February 2008.

Gishu County where most Internally Displaced Women who were living in the camps experience a lot of sexual exploitation. This resulted to trauma and even deaths of the victims.²⁷⁷

4.4 Religion as a peacebuilding tool

With the negative impact of ethnicity persisting, the church had started to fight against tribalism within Uasin Gishu County. Although the church is not supposed to get involved in politics directly, it will not sit back and watch humanity perish.²⁷⁸ The National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCCK) was really in the frontline in initiating peace during 2007-2008 post-election violence. Generally, the churches had done a lot to initiate peace, give hope and offer material assistance to the victims of ethnic clashes in Uasin Gishu County. First, abundant prayers had been organized calling for peace in the country and more so in the ethnic clashes zones in the County. A lot of faithful who were mostly women fasted so that peace could be restored in the ethnic clashes zones. The church played a major role in giving support to the clashes victims. For instance, The Catholic Dioceses in Eldoret, Eldoret Central Seventh Day Adventist Church offered accommodation and food to the displaced victims during the violence. All these were from Christian well-wishers. Clergy men and women came out with the assistance they could as a way of providing compassion to the victims.

4.5 Grassroots women peace builders' entry points

During this study, the following emerged as the entry points for women peace builders in Uasin Gishu County.

4.5.1 Religion

Christianity provided the foundation which inspired women peace builders as the teachings of Jesus taught them to challenge the family, community and the society to live peacefully and practice the virtue of love.²⁷⁹ Church conferences and meetings of the National Council of Churches of Kenya, Catholic Peace and Justice Commission, and Seventh Day Adventist provided a platform for women to speak for peace. As believers, they used

²⁷⁷ Kenya Post-election Emergency Response Report in the 2007-2008 post-election violence in Kenya IOM, 2008 accessed at <http://kenya.iom.int/press-a-media/itemlist/search?searchword=Post+election+violence>

²⁷⁸ Kahumbi, Newton Maina (2004). Women Religious Leaders as Actors in Ethnic conflicts Management and Resolution in Nakuru and UasinGishu Districts, Kenya. Kenyatta University, Unpublished Paper, p56

²⁷⁹ Kahumbi, Newton Maina (2004). Women Religious Leaders as Actors in Ethnic conflicts Management and Resolution in Nakuru and UasinGishu Districts, Kenya. Kenyatta University, Unpublished Paper, p56

the 10 commandments as a tool to redirect their families, community and the society and warn them against killing one another which is against the Bible.²⁸⁰ They encouraged their children to develop virtues of love, humility and kindness and follow the footsteps of Jesus as a peacemaker. Through religion, women peacebuilders gained the strength, courage and inspiration to work.

Additionally, women through the church organized peace workshops and peace visit.²⁸¹ The peace visit involved members of different church paying another church a visit and engaging in dialogue over the causes of conflict and how peace can be achieved. For instance, engaging in peace races and participating in cultural activities. In addition holding ball games together, organizing inter-communities debates in schools and institutions facilitated peace. Intermarriages and holding interdenominational prayers were also cited as approaches used by women as way of promoting peacebuilding in the County²⁸².

4.5.2 Workshops and conferences

Most of the grassroots women peace builders organized workshops and conferences urging communities to promote peace and support methods of conflict resolution and management. At Burnt Forest in Uasin Gishu County, Rural Women Peace Link held workshops across the County facilitated by the Catholic Church, Eldoret Parish. It's through the workshops that they discussed on how best they could ensure that peace prevailed and exchanged views on how they were faring with regard to their roles as peace builders in their communities. Some of the proposed ways of promoting peace included, engaging and persuading men to more dialogue as opposed to fighting, engage each other on income generating activities such as farming and working together with the police by reporting issues that may result in fighting.

4.6 Challenges

During the study, it was realized that women have indeed contributed a lot in peacebuilding. However they continue to face a lot of that need to be addressed for them to tap into their full potential in order to become agents of lasting peace. The challenges identified may be grouped under different categories, which are attributed to women themselves and their environment. In broad terms, the challenges are highlighted below:

²⁸⁰ Ibid

²⁸¹ Ibid

²⁸² Adan M. & Pkalya R. Conflict Management in Kenya: Towards Policy and Strategy Formulation. 2009

4.6.1 Poor coordination, networking and monitoring system of women's initiatives.

Throughout the County, women have come together or acted individually to initiate activities that are either channels of peace or they contribute directly to the process of reconciling different sections of Uasin Gishu County. Most of these initiatives are started by women themselves who are handicapped in many areas. For these initiatives to grow and become sustainable, they need to be well nurtured, supported, coordinated and replicated. However, respondents interviewed whether at community or policy-making levels concurred that there is very little contact between such institutions and the County Government considering most of the activities that were previously centralized have now been devolved to the County level. This problem is compounded further by the lack of a clear policy on unity and reconciliation that defines the role of different actors and priority actions required to address the needs of different interest groups. As a result, most women who were interviewed lamented that their efforts are frustrated by the inability of the leadership to recognize, encourage and give visibility to the best practices.

Furthermore, most women associations in rural areas particularly the newly established ones, lack opportunities to network with better established and more experienced associations performing similar activities. Additionally, lack of education and limited skills among women a majority of the illiterate members of the community, especially, women do not attend meetings and other gatherings within their respective cells and sectors, since they claim that they cannot follow what is communicated to them, and they lack the confidence to contribute their ideas²⁸³.

4.6.2 Lack of resources

The lack of access to and control over resources is considered to be the main source of women's poverty. Consequently, most women lack access to loans and to other means of investment. Additionally, lack of adult males in the families to provide labour, lack of capacity to undertake and initiate income generating activities as well as the loss of productive animals such as cows, goats, and other economic assets has also contributed to the poverty levels. The situation is even made worse by having a large number of dependents to cater for and some of the basic facilities they acquired after the violence have depreciated and are in need of urgent repair. For example some of the houses are in dire need of repair including churches like the Kiambaa that was burnt during the post-election violence.

4.7 Testing Hypotheses

This study tested three hypotheses below;

If women are included in the management of violence in Uasin Gishu County, they become effective peace builders. This has been proven by the study. Active participation of women in the management of post-election violence like being security agents, reporting the perpetrators, providing refuge to the displaced ones played a key role in making them peace builders. This is mainly because it is through their actions that women and men from the different tribes and groups reunited with each other, thus leading to establishment of peacebuilding grassroots initiatives like merry-go-round.

Providing adequate resources for women such as finances help them carry out their peacebuilding activities well. This has been proven by the study in the sense that most women attributed to challenges such as inadequate resources as the main reason to why their involvement in peacebuilding activities was slightly low why women involvement in peacebuilding activities in the County was

Women living in the urban areas of Uasin Gishu County were the most group affected by the post-election violence in Uasin Gishu County. This has been proven by the study. During the violence women who resided within the urban settlements of the County were the most affected group as opposed to those in the rural areas. This is mainly because of the cosmopolitan nature of the urban settlement of the County.

Chapter Five

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, conclusion as well as suggested recommendations for the implementation of women and peacebuilding after the 2007-2008 post-election violence with a focus on Uasin Gishu County.

5.1 Summary

This research has discussed the role of women in peacebuilding with a focus on Uasin Gishu County. The study has presented the different ways women can play in promoting peace both as individuals and collectively as a group. As seen in the study, women played a lot of roles in promoting peace. Although most of their initiatives were based on traditional and grassroots approach, there is significant impact on how women have and still contribute to peacebuilding initiatives. As seen in the study, women went out of their way to forgive their enemies as part of reconciliation which is a pillar to peacebuilding. This is a good model that can be emulated in other places and also serve as a lesson to men. The challenge that remains is to make this known widely. Peacebuilding works best where people share common activity or resource. It takes place through mutual support and in line with people's common cultural realities. Women have a strong potential for educating their children and imparting on them positive cultural values that enhance peace and reconciliation. In areas where women have come together and worked towards peacebuilding; their children have spontaneously followed their examples as they have a big role to provide basic education and up bringing for children to embrace the culture of peace. This forms the basis of women working towards and promoting sustainable peace.

In as much as women have made strides by contributing to peacebuilding initiatives in the last seven years, there still a lot that need to be done to voice their concerns. Women still experience gender inequality when it comes to conflict situations, they are still considered as homemakers, caregivers rather than decision makers in resolving conflicts as seen in the case of Uasin Gishu County where women faced a lot of setbacks trying to promote peace in the County. Additionally, it has been observed that high rates of illiteracy and lack of education undermine women's confidence and capacity to participate effectively in community and national programs. This is linked again to the historical gender-related imbalances in the colonial and post-colonial education systems. Another challenge is linked to the persistence of poverty in rural areas with women as the main victims. This is compounded by the high incidence of female-headed

households; scarcity of resources and the inability to address basic needs frustrates women's efforts to contribute towards peace. Violence against women is still a threat to women's role contributing to peace building and reconciliation. This phenomenon affects women's security with regards to their role in participatory justice system and their health. Since their very existence is threatened, their energy to be agents of peace is greatly undermined.

The study also discussed the post-election violence in details. It has shown how various ethnic groups attacked each other because of the disputed presidential election. It has brought out the causes of the violence as well as its devastating effects. It has been seen that the violence was not only caused by the disputed presidential election. There were other underlying causes such as the matters about land, poverty, inequality, ethnicity and unemployment especially among the youth. The violence had a lot of effects to the County. Property was destroyed, many lives were lost and thousands of people were displaced from their homes. The economy was adversely affected since businesses could not be carried out normally. There was difficulty in transporting goods from one place to another and services could not be rendered smoothly as before.

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

5.2 Conclusion

War and conflict negatively affects women and men and results in gender-specific disadvantages, particularly for women, who are not always recognised by the mainstream, gender-blind understandings of conflict and reconstruction. Gender inequality reflects power imbalances in social structures that exist in pre-conflict periods and are exacerbated by conflict and its aftermath. The acceptance of gender stereotypes is one of the main reasons that such gender blindness persists.

Stereotypical interpretations shape and are shaped by social, political, economic, cultural and religious contexts. Armed conflict encourages expectations that men will fight and women will support them on the home front. The popular perception is that men are soldiers or aggressors and women are wives, mothers, nurses, social workers and sex-workers. Although it is primarily

men, who are engaged in conflict or in battle, but women make up the majority of the society. They undergo a lot of trauma and suffer in their role as care givers, due to a breakdown of social structures. Looking at the 2007-2008 post election violence that broke out in Kenya after the disputed presidential elections, above gender inequality in a conflict situation mirrors what women went through during and after the conflict. However, this does not mean that women didn't play a part in the conflict. As revealed in the study, women played a role as victims and even perpetrators of the post-election violence.

As seen in the study, conflict exacerbates inequalities in gender relations that existed in the pre-conflict period. This study explores the role of women in conflict. It highlights the roles played by women in conflict and peace building practices. The study reveals the diverse realities of women and men, who may simultaneously play the roles of activists and parents, soldiers and victims. Recognising and addressing this diversity is vital to establishing more sustainable, peace building programmes. Women experience significant disadvantage in the course of conflict, but it does not necessarily follow that men are always the perpetrators and therefore the winners, and women the losers. This study shows that both women and men experience conflict in distinct ways that in turn may alter their participation. Additionally, the study revealed that the impact of the violence on gender relations were significant. This is mainly because of the consequence it brought. For instance gender based violence and forced displacement revealed the two most common impacts that are always inevitable in any conflict situation.

This study was inspired by the inequality that women experience during and after conflict in all societies. A key focus of this study was to explore the role of women in Uasin Gishu County in peace building. This was aimed at giving gender relations in terms of how the violence affected them. The study started by discussing the causes of post-election violence in Uasin Gishu County. The study revealed that the causes of the 2007-2008 post-election violence was as a result of the disputed presidential elections with a lot of political incitement from the different political parties that had contested in the election. The study revealed that a lot of women were greatly affected by the violence as most of them became victims of Sexual and Gender Based Violence, displacement, others were killed and their property destroyed and burnt to ashes. This left a lot of women vulnerable as most of them became breadwinners for the family despite lack of adequate resources to help them support their families. Moreover, the post-election violence caused/perpetuated inequalities between the different ethnic groups and discrimination against marginalized groups of women and men, thereby paving the way for the outbreak of more conflict in the area thus making a hotspot. While looking at the role played by women of Uasin Gishu

County in peace building, the research aimed at achieving three objectives of Examining the challenges women faced in peacebuilding process in the Uasin Gishu county after the 2007-2008 post-election violence, examine to what extent the 2007-2008 post-election violence affected women in Uasin Gishu County. To achieve these objectives, the research was guided by hypotheses which included Women being the most group affected by the post-election violence in Uasin Gishu County and including women in peacebuilding process helped address justice issues such as rape during conflicts.

To satisfactorily achieve the above, the study was guided by the liberal feminist theory which insisted that women equal men in all societal activities, including war and peace making processes. In its mission the study found out that indeed woman played important roles in the conflict and peace-making in the County. The study reveals that apart from taking part in conflict women and girls also faced insecurity due to persistent conflict especially within the Internally Displaced Camps, hence influencing them to take active roles in peace building. Yet, there was little known from the County on the position of women in this conflict. The study further revealed that in order for there to be real reconciliation, there was a need for forums and other woman friendly spaces in which those who violated rights come forward, acknowledges that they committed violations, renounce those violations and seeked reconciliation and peace with the community. If these violations were not addressed, it was likely there will be no justice and thus no real peace. In-fact, in the absence of justice mechanisms and processes of recognizing women by sensitization of civilian populations to accept women roles in the society may actually increase tensions rather than peace.

The study proved that increased meaningful women participation in peace talks, mediations and other negotiation processes, including during the peace negotiations and planning processes, would ensure lasting peace in the County and Kenya at large. The study highlighted the importance of women's meaningful participation in peace negotiations because the groundwork for peace and security structures is put in place. The study also proved that women were very important in influencing men in society and can help sustain the peace process. For women leaders involved in meaningful participation in peace negotiations marks a pivotal step in setting post-conflict community and reconstruction agendas that take women's and girls' needs and priorities into account. This research clearly illustrated that when women are discriminated in peace negotiations and mediation , women's issues, concerns and priorities were usually also absent at the peace table, hence the goals of peace were never achieved.

Apart from women position in peace the study also looked at the genesis of conflict in Kenya with a focus on Uasin Gishu County. To achieve this, the study looked at the different

general election that has been conducted in the Country since independence together with conflicts associated with it. This included an aspect on British colonial administration which played a key role as most of the Country's structure is based on the structures and system adopted by Kenya's founding father after independence. The study also proved that the conflict was also caused by various unpredictable factors, ranging from environmental, security, revenge, and resource considerations. These factors affected the entire community, women included. Since the government and the traditional systems that ensured security of women had been interfered with, women were also forced to take up roles in the conflict.

The study further indicated that conflict caused suffering of the people of Uasin Gishu County both men and women. This is in terms of heavy social and economic costs to the people. It also imposed costs on neighbouring Counties. The resources which would have been used for development were diverted either to military operations or assisting the displaced people. The history of the conflict was disappointing. The impact and trauma of death of family members extend far beyond the attack itself. Women survivors faced emotional torment, psychological damage, physical injuries, disease, social ostracism and many other consequences that can devastate their lives. The study, therefore achieved the main objectives and proved the hypotheses right.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Increasing sensitivity towards gender-issues.

The mainstreaming of gender in all processes, official or non-official, related to peace and security, is essential. If gender issues are ignored by national governments, it will be difficult to facilitate women's organisations and activists through for example proper funding mechanisms. The lack of a broader structural framework for the implementation of gender related policies and the lack of a political commitment are currently limiting initiatives in this field. Further, if gender is not treated as an integrated issue in politics in general, it may be difficult to argue for gender-sensitivity in a situation of conflict, where both human capital and finances are often marginal. More to that, the County and the government should acknowledge and promote women's programs that fosters peacebuilding. Acknowledging gender issues is also important in peacebuilding. Programs that ignore gender issues leave out women and are therefore not comprehensive. More to that, they cause society to miss out on the input by women. Such programs usually do not acknowledge women's efforts in peacebuilding.

Addressing sexual and gender-based violence cases

In order to prevent the occurrence of SGBV and to provide protection and justice to victims of such violence it is recommended that national and local authorities consider: establishing reporting and protection mechanisms and mandatory investigation into the allegations of sexual exploitation and sexual violence in the camps and sites of displacement in accordance with the Inter-Agency Standing Committee Gender Guidelines, creating centres in the camps where women can obtain health care. Free counselling and legal advice relating to SGBV during displacement, should be provided to the affected victims with perpetrators charged based on the crimes they committed. Police training on handling SGBV cases should be conducted across all the police posts in the County to help them understand on the different techniques of dealing with victims of SGBV.

Post-Election Violence

Justice for post-election violence would need the establishment of special prosecutorial capacity of highest quality and independence, including ethnically balanced judicial structures that can effectively use the findings and recommendations of the non-judicial Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence in subsequent criminal proceedings. This should include providing mechanism for witness protection to enable victims get justice. As seen in the last few years, most of the witnesses of post-election violence have either died in unclear circumstances or have recanted their testimonies due to lack of adequate witness protection services. Some have feared to testify for fear of death or intimidation. Thus the County through the central government and in collaboration with the international Criminal Court should team up in ensuring all the post-election violence witnesses are given full protection.

Reviewing of Land Allocation Policy

The land issues in the Kenya and especially in the Rift valley where the County lies have been contentious. This mainly has been attributed to corruption and ethnicity especially when it comes to land allocation. Additionally due to climatic changes and increased population, land has been of great demand. Thus the County through the devolved system of governance should come up with legislation on how to prosecute those who have been accused of land grabbing.

Peace education through drama, songs, poetry and other forms of message should be encouraged to help change attitudes that lean towards stereotyping, conflicts and violence witnessed in the County.

Peace education and related activities should be carried by targeting women and youths in churches, schools, villages and other institutions, therefore, creating a generation that abhors violence. This will limit the number likely to be drawn or used to violate other communities. Utilizing other avenues such as public meetings, traditional ceremonial rites and meetings is important to ensure that youths out of school are reached and encouraged to become agents of peace in Uasin Gishu County. The county should also establish an educational/social centre where women, men from different ethnic group can always meet and exchange their cultural values.

Funding and recognition.

More funds need to be allocated to the process of peacebuilding but also important is the need for accountability and proper allocation in a way that even the women in the rural areas are catered for. Also, there is need for the government to tighten on officials who misallocate funds meant for peacebuilding. Investigation and punishments for culprits should serve as examples to other people.

Adoption of African indigenous methods of peacebuilding.

The County should work towards strengthening African indigenous methods of peacebuilding, reconciliation and justice dispensations mechanism. In so doing it recognizes the culture and social structures that define the communities living within the County. This research noted that there is urgent need for a bottom-up approach to societal needs where women makes use of existing cultural values and structures to reduce conflicts and engender peace. Inter-community and inter-religious dialogue should be facilitated. The various efforts in the County trying to build a culture of community reconciliation and peaceful existence should be recognized and encouraged. Peace meetings, exposure tours and exchange visits are some of the ways to achieve this objective. Grassroots partnerships that are better placed to bring on board a broad and representative participation especially youths and women, whose potential in prevention of conflicts remain untapped.

Enhancing security

Security reform recommendations advocate the inclusion of a gendered perspective during security reform discussions and decision-making, and defining and addressing security in light of women's specific concerns. As suggested by most of the key informants, women especially in the County should play a key role in security issues as opposed to being sidelined like during the post-election violence. Security matters should not be determined by military agents alone but rather should be an inclusive process. In addition, women have a vested interest in ending the

cycle of violence and building a safer society for their families. For these reasons, programs and pilot projects that provide further evidence of the value of women's contribution to security reform should be encouraged, supported, and documented in the County.

5.4 Area for further study

For further study, one can look into The Role of Uasin Gishu County government in the implementation of resolution 1325, Impacts of indigenous approaches to Peacebuilding and The Role of youth in Peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County

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Appendix 1
Interview Guide for Individual Women Peacebuilders

- 1) Name of the respondent.....
- 2) What is your marital status?
- 3) How old are you

20-25
26-30
30-35
35-40
Above 40
- 4) What is your level of education?
- 5) Where were you during the outbreak of the 2007-2008 post-election conflict in Uasin Gishu County?
- 6) What does the word peace mean to you?
- 7) What role did you exactly play as a peace builder after the 2007-2008 post-election violence?.....
- 8) Had you participated previously in any peacebuilding activity before? If so where
- 9) During the peacebuilding process Did you receive any assistance from the government?..... If yes, what type of assistance were you offered by the government?.....
- 10) What challenges did you encounter during the peace-building exercise?.....
- 11) How did you solve those challenges?.....
- 12) Did the problems encountered affect your role as a peace builder?.....If yes, how?.....
- 13) How has your involvement impacted your life, that of your family, and those around you?
- 14) How did the men perceive your work as a peacebuilder during the 2007-2008 post-election violence?.....
- 15) Given the sensitive nature and the insecure environment nature you were exposed to, what methods did you use in peace building and what were your entry points?
- 16) In your view, do you think these peacebuilding initiatives are helping [or not helping] communities work on differences with other communities constructively?
- 17) What are some of your suggestions/recommendations in involving women in peacebuilding activities?

Appendix 2
Interview Guide for the Religious Leaders

1. Name of the respondent
2. Name of the church.....
3. Respondent's position in the church.....
4. What role did your church and church members play as peace builders after the 2007-2008 post-election violence?.....
5. Did your church involve women in peacebuilding process after 2007-2008 post-election violence?.....
6. If the answer to question 5 above is yes, then what exact roles did they perform as peace builders?
7. What informed their choice to participate in peace building initiatives?.....
8. What problems did they encounter during the peacebuilding process?.....
9. How did they solve the problems they encountered?
10. Did the Government co-opt some members of your church in their peacebuilding Committees and Commissions?
11. If yes in (10) above, how many and which Committees and Commissions did they serve?.....
12. What are your suggestions/way forward in regards to women and peacebuilding in Uasin Gishu County?

Appendix 3

Interview Guide for Members of Non-Governmental Organizations

1. Name of the organization.....
2. When was the organization formed?.....
3. What are the organization objectives?.....
4. What role did the organization play after 2007-2008 peacebuilding exercise?.....
5. During the peace-building initiative, who were your main target groups and why?
.....
6. Did your organization network with other grassroots based organizations in promoting peace after the 2007-2008 post-election violence?
If Yes which organization?.....
7. Did your organization coordinate with the government after 2007-2008 violence in peace building initiative? If yes, how? and if not, why not?
8. What exact roles did women perform as peace builders in the following areas?
 - a) Reconciliation
 - b) Security
 - c) Relief and Development
 - d) Governance
9. What challenges did you encounter in promoting peacebuilding initiatives after the post-election violence in Uasin Gishu County?
10. How did you overcome the challenges in 9 above?
11. In your view do you see women as endowed with special talents which if used can help restore peace in Uasin Gishu County? If Yes which talents and how can they be tapped?

Appendix 4

Interview Schedule for Focused Group Discussions

1. What does the group understand about peace?
2. Where were you when the violence broke out?
3. For how long did you live in the camp?
4. Tell me what women from your tribe/clan have done with women from the other tribes/clan in conflict with each other during post-election violence in order to work toward peace?
5. What do the group think about the peace initiatives led and carried out by women with/for women in Uasin Gishu County?
6. During the post-election violence did the group receive assistance from any peace initiative group or the government? If so, what's the name of the peace group who assisted you