WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN KENYA: THE CASE OF WAJIR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT AGENCY (2002-2018)

BY

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SUMMER, 2019
STUDENT’S DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the United States International University in Nairobi for academic credit.

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ABSTRACT

The study sought to contribute to the understanding of the factors that have led to the success of women participation in peacebuilding, with specific reference to women in Northern Kenya. The researcher selected the case of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency with the aim of understanding the approaches employed by Wajir Peace and Development Agency in peace building, contributions of Wajir Peace and Development Agency in Wajir county peacebuilding and Kenya and the challenges to women participation in peacebuilding process using Wajir Peace and Development Agency as a case study. The target population of the study was the member organisations of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency based in Wajir County. The study used questionnaires as the main tool to gather primary data. Data was collected through key informant interviews so as to confirm the findings of the study. The study used both probability and non-probability methods to sample thirty-five respondents to the questionnaires. A pilot study was undertaken utilizing an arbitrary sample of 10 members from Wajir County to guarantee consistency of the poll. The findings indicate that WPDA was largely successful in most of its endeavours to bring peace. However, women still face obstacles as a result of the political system. Initially, the violence experienced in elections prevented women from vying for elective positions. In Wajir negotiated democracy has been adopted to counter violence in the political process. However, the elders involved in the negotiation deliberately leave out women due to cultural beliefs. The discussion shows that despite the gains made through WPDA, a lot of potential in peacebuilding is unrealized due to exclusion of women in leadership. There is need to support women initiatives towards peace by making them part of the mainstream political system.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Notwithstanding whatever else, I give my thankfulness and humble gratefulness to the Almighty God for the gift of life, a sound personality and grand fortune that empowered me to consider this proposition.

Plus, I wish to accord my Supervisor, Mr. George Kabongah amazing validation, for furnishing me with the learning and aptitudes in shaping the undertaking with mind blowing understanding, consolation and course all through the examination by investigating and surveying my work. God Bless You.
DEDICATION

This examination is devoted to my late father and regarded family for their help, tirelessness and support amidst the whole project. May the Almighty support each one of you.
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUPSC</td>
<td>Africa Union Peace and Security Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>CFR</td>
<td>Council on Foreign Relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVE</td>
<td>Countering Violence Extremism</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration/Rehabilitation</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced persons</td>
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<td>IFIs</td>
<td>International Financial Institutions</td>
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<td>NCIC</td>
<td>National Cohesion and Integration Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KNDR</td>
<td>Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation</td>
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<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Steering Committee</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organisations</td>
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<td>RCSK</td>
<td>Red Cross Society of Kenya</td>
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<td>SGBV</td>
<td>Sexual and gender-based violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UN Women)</td>
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<tr>
<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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UNSC  United Nations Security Council

UNSCR  United Nations Security Council Resolution

WPDA  Wajir Peace and Development Agency
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 Background of the Study

Northern Kenya (NK) is made up of three distinct administrative areas which include: North Rift, Upper Eastern and North Eastern. It is made up of 8 Counties of Garissa, Mandera Turkana., Marsabit, Isiolo, Samburu, West Pokot and Wajir (Njambi, 2014). Wajir is found in an arid area susceptible to drought. It is mainly inhabited by Somalis, with Degoodia clan occupying most parts. The County is located in North-Eastern Kenya and covers an area of 55,840 Km² with a population of 661,941. It is headquartered in Wajir Town. Wajir County has six (6) sub-counties (constituencies) which are further divided into 30 electoral wards (Infotrak Research, 2015). Violent conflicts involving pastoralists have been common and severe in the North Rift and North Eastern regions of Kenya. The major causes of these conflicts include; intensified cattle rustling, proliferation of illicit small arms and light weapons (SALW), inadequate policing and state security arrangements, diminishing role of traditional governance systems, competition over control and access to natural resources such as pasture and water, land issues, political incitements, ethnocentrism, increasing levels of poverty and idleness amongst the youth (Pkalya, Adan & Masinde 2003).

Walton (2015) observes that women are still largely absent from peace processes. As a result of this side-lining, peace agreements and ceasefires rarely address the perspectives, needs, and concerns of women and other vulnerable groups, and a subsequent lack of planning for those needs in post-conflict recovery. Brounéus (2014) argues that this can endanger the long-term sustainability of any peace agreement. The demand for more women in peace processes is being met by an expansion of women mediator networks (Olofsson, 2018). These networks
work to strengthen women’s leadership, offer coordination and make synergies among actors, and share tools and information to strengthen the capability of women mediators (Ellerby, 2016). Shepherd (2016) discusses women as advocates of change rather than victims of violence. Kumalo and Sigsworth (2016) observe that previously, many scholars argue that men are the perpetrators while women are the victims of violence in conflicts. However, Khalifa (2017) means that the masculinized story of war does not describe the complexity of men’s and women’s role in the war. Further, McQuinn (2013) contends that by only letting women be represented as victims of violence undermines their agency role and thus the development of peacebuilding activities, in which women can participate and all their experiences of conflict are addressed is undermined. Similarly, Goswami (2015) argues that women in conflicts often take part as decision-makers, negotiators, peace activists and participating in the military struggle.

1.1.1 Wajir Peace and Development Agency (WPDA)

Wajir Peace and Development Agency (WPDA) is an indigenous organization that was started by local women to find sustainable measures to end insecurity in Wajir County. Over the years, the organization has positioned itself as an effective peacebuilding organization that is dependable for tackling conflicts and insecurity issues. The organization has expanded the scope of its work, bringing on board the youth, elders, professionals, religious groups and even workers from the Government. WPDA was credited for diffusing many inter-ethnic tensions in the County and dealing with deeply rooted community conflicts. The organization has also been involved in peacebuilding in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya’s Rift Valley region during the 2008 post-election violence. It has a large pool of trained volunteers, spread throughout the County, who we are instrumental in peacebuilding and conflict resolution. These volunteers undertake to monitor for conflict early warning, undertake rapid responses
and participate in conflict resolution dialogues forums. WPDA has an impeccable working relationship with the County Government, and most of the peace missions are done jointly and in partnership with County authorities. The County government relies on the human resources, networks and expertise of WPDA to resolve peace issues within the County.

WPDA is the first women organisation to develop a county action plan on Community Violence Extremism (CVE) - a programme that addresses extremism at the community level (WPDA, 2019). CVE is a national donor-funded program, underway in Mombasa and Kwale (National Cohesion and Integration and Commission (2019). This is an important programme in the context of peacebuilding at the community (UN Women, 2017). WPDA has been at the forefront of peacebuilding in the northern Kenya region and hence the motivation in studying Wajir Peace and Development Agency. The organisation is currently diffusing conflict between some pastoral communities in Wajir East and Wajir South and has heavily invested in the peace process between Elders and Wajir North.

The organisation works with leaders to put equity at the centre of policy-making (WPDA, 2015). According to WPDA (2015), the organisation has expanded its programmes to deal with emergent issues. The context of the conflict in Wajir is changing rapidly (Ahmed, 2015). It has moved from the time when it was characterized by high levels of insecurity emanating from inter-communal conflicts, crosses border insurgency as well as clashes arising from access to resources to political violence in recent years (Red Cross Society of Kenya, 2019). Poverty, marginalisation, refugee influx and recurring shocks due to climate change factors all play a role towards conflict. The instability in Somalia, which has spill-over effects, has also been blamed for conflict in the northern parts of Kenya (RCSK, 2019). The Somalia conflict has bred militias and violent extremists some who are now a major threat to security.
in northern Kenya hence the reason as to why such organisations like Wajir Peace and Development Agency are vital.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The existing peace structures in Kenya, both traditional and modern, have perpetually excluded women from peacebuilding processes, yet they play a vital role in harmonization and resolution of conflicts in many communities (Piece Net Kenya, 2019). Traditional and modern cross-border peace mechanisms have been tried in Kenya, but the level of participation of women has not been adequately documented. The year 2015 was crucial for the enhancement of the Women, Peace and Security agenda, marking the 15th anniversary of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR 1325), which acknowledges the inordinate impact of war on women. It also emphasizes women as proactive agents for transformative change and sustainable peace and demonstrates why their role in conflict management, conflict resolution and peacebuilding have to be secured (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013).

Women and men experience and respond to a crisis in different ways. In peacebuilding, women tend to be excluded (McKay, 2014). For sustainable peace, women must be included in all aspects of the peace process, agreements and transitional governance structures (Murithi, 2017). Gender perspectives and issues of equality must be addressed at all stages and all levels of planning, implementation and evaluation, in conflict prevention, and at every rung of the ladder to peace (Wani, 2011).

Wajir is a fascinating example of women’s involvement in the quest for peace, long before UNSCR 1325. In 1992, the late Dekha Ibrahim (a Right Livelihood Award winner) and other women, as well as concerned men, started a grassroots peace initiative, drawing inspiration from the traditional dispute resolution mechanisms. This group became the Wajir Peace and
Development Committee that brought together traditional leaders, government security officers, parliamentarians, civil servants, Muslim and Christian religious leaders as well as civil society organizations. This committee was the genesis of the District Peace Committees, which has been replicated in the country by the government as the national peace architecture (Gizelis, 2011). Their experience has been showcased globally as a best practice when it comes to community lead peace initiatives.

Scholars are interested in the factors that make women invisible in peacebuilding and conflict resolution process. Jama (2010) studied the social-cultural factors influencing women on peacebuilding participation in Kenya and concluded that women can play an effective role in peace processes if they are sensitized through awareness creation about the benefits of peace and the importance of spreading a culture of peace in the community. However, the study did not identify why the Wajir Peace and Development Agency (WPDA, 2015) is different. Despite this empirical evidence, the studies fail to document the significance of women in peacebuilding process and the impediments to women participation in peacebuilding process.

This study entails an attempt to cover the existing gap on the involvement of women in peacebuilding around the country by focusing on the case of WPDA.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to contribute to the understanding of the factors that lead to the success of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency.

1.4 Specific Objectives

The following specific objectives guided the study:

1. To identify the strategies used by Wajir Peace and Development Agency in peacebuilding.
2. To establish the role of Wajir Peace and Development Agency in Wajir county.
3. To analyse the challenges facing women participation in peacebuilding process using Wajir Peace and Development Agency.

1.5 Research Questions
I. Which strategies were employed by Wajir Peace and Development Agency in peacebuilding?
II. What role does Wajir Peace and Development Agency in Wajir county play in peacebuilding at the county and national levels?
III. What challenges do women face during participation in peacebuilding process using Wajir Peace and Development Agency as a case study?

1.6 Significance of the Study

It is envisaged that broadly, the findings of this study will provide the basis for future research work on the strategies used by WPDA in all aspects of peacebuilding.

The pastoral conflicts in Northern Kenya have redefined the roles of men and women. Many women groups, NGO’s and community-based organisations (CBO’s) have been formed to champion peacebuilding activities in the region. Due to the ability of traditional structures, women were largely excluded in such activities, but there has been a shift since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 on the role women play both in conflict and peacebuilding. The reality is that men still take the leading role in just about all formal peace processes and women are unheeded hence diminishing their potential capabilities for peacebuilding (Hudson, 2010). Ensuring women participate in peacebuilding is not only a matter of women and girls’ rights. Women are crucial partners in shoring up the three pillars of lasting peace: economic recovery; social cohesion; and political legitimacy (Luchsinger, 2010a).
According to Luchsinger (2010b), several of the world’s fastest-growing economies began their ascent from ashes of conflict. Their success, it is argued, stemmed, in part, from women’s increased role in production, trade and entrepreneurship. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the role women in Wajir County play in the new socio-cultural and political environment. It is also imperative to understand what has informed their role in peacebuilding, the challenges they face and what their participation in governance systems means. This study may benefit policymakers in understanding what Wajir Peace and Development Agency did that can be repeated elsewhere, as it stands to gain from their increased participation in peacebuilding.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

This study employs the theory of socialist feminism, which is a branch of feminism that focuses upon the private and public spheres of a woman's life and argues that liberation can only be achieved by working to end both economic and cultural oppression of women (Kinyanjui, 2007). This school of thought assumes that as a whole, women are oppressed by the capitalistic economic system, in much the same way that the working classes in society are subjugated. The theory aims to understand the nature of inequality and focuses on gender politics, power relations and sexuality (Kinyanjui, 2007).

Women, on account of their gender, face social exclusion in many forms. The feminist movement of the 1970s was indeed a direct result of the marginalisation of white women from the labour force and undervalued housework (Moosa-Mitha, 2005). Luchsinger (2010b) claims that, during the conflict and post-conflict state of affairs, there’s a general exclusion of women from the general public sphere (and war), which becomes difficult to move out of. This, according to Luchsinger (2010b), is referred to as “The Vicious Cycle of Exclusion.” Women are excluded from the process of designing peace agreements and recovery.
frameworks which results in insufficient attention to redressing gender inequalities and women insecurity. As a result, women’s capability and potential to participate in peacebuilding remains unutilised (Baron, et al., 2019). This framework has relevance to the present study as a result of, it explores women situation, the social relations and therefore the unequal power relations that curtail women’s full participation in peacebuilding.

1.8 Justification of the Study

Many women groups, NGO’s and community-based organisations (CBO’s) have been formed to champion peacebuilding activities in Kenya. Due to the ability of traditional structures, women were largely excluded in such activities, but there has been a shift since the adoption of UNSCR 1325 on the role women play both in conflict and peacebuilding (Kamoli, 2013).

Therefore, it is necessary to understand the role women in Wajir Peace and Development Agency, in Wajir County play in the new socio-cultural and political environment. It is also vital to understand what has informed their role in peacebuilding, the challenges they face and what their participation in governance systems means. This study may benefit policymakers in determining the specific interventions that relate to the overall needs of women in WPDA, in Wajir County, as it stands to gain from their increased participation in peacebuilding (Kamoli, 2013).

1.9 Scope of the Study

This research studied the case of Wajir Peace and Development Agency for the years 2002-2018. The study was conducted among the 115 organisations that are members of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency. The Agency, as well as its members, are primarily located in Wajir County, one of the 47 Counties in Kenya. The work of the agency, however, goes beyond the County and peacebuilding efforts are conducted across the North Eastern region.
in Kenya. The scope of the study was limited to the engagement of women in peacebuilding, however, related literature on conflict resolution and feminism was analysed to give the study a theoretical foundation. The findings can, however, be applied in different situations with similar cultural practices.

1.10 Definitions of Key Terms

Peace

This term denotes the prevalence of amicable relations and mutual goodwill between the particular society and all foreign powers. In the latter case, it means the tranquillity, security, and freedom from commotion or disturbance which is the sign of good order and harmony and obedience to the laws among all the members of the society (De la Rey, & McKay, 2006).

Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding will be defined as a 'range of measures targeted to lessen the danger of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development' (Awodola, 2016).

Mediation

Mediation is a form of alternative dispute resolution (ADR), a way of resolving disputes between two or more parties with concrete effects (Wallensteen & Svensson, 2014).
Dialogue

Communication or discussion between people or groups of people such as governments or political parties (Dessel, Rogge & Garlington, 2006).

Women

Female adults over 18 years as defined by the constitution of Kenya (Government of Kenya, 2010).
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Various studies have been carried out in Kenya on women and peacebuilding. However, the studies fail to provide a strong link between women participation and success in peacebuilding in Kenya. For example; (Karim, 2014) studied the role of women in peacebuilding and community development. The findings reported that peacebuilding efforts resulted in a higher representation of women at national and local decision-making levels. Akinyi (2017) studied women and conflict: strengthening the agenda for peacebuilding.

2.2 Strategies Employed by Women in Peacebuilding

2.2.1 Mediation

Lynch (2013) and Alexander, (2015) defines mediation as a facilitative form of conflict resolution, which focuses on the parties’ commercial, financial, as well as social and personal interest, with the aim of reaching a mutually acceptable agreement while promoting the principles of confidentiality, autonomy, and informed consent in decision making. In mediation, there is a third party, a mediator, who facilitates the resolution process, and may even suggest a resolution, but does not impose a resolution on the parties (Erzurum & Eren, 2014). Peacebuilding is one major goal of all alternative dispute resolution processes (Grytsenko, 2015). If a process results in a resolution, it is a conflict resolution process. Thus, mediation is a peacebuilding process (Gumru, 2014).

In some countries, mediation is equated to alternative dispute resolution. For instance, Somalia women during the civil war emerged as crucial mediators and peacemakers.
(Beetham, 2013). For example, when the war was at its peak, and fierce, warfare raged between rival clans in the 1990s, warlords failed to reach an agreement in twelve (12) reconciliatory meeting (Niuk, 2013). During this period, Somali women were able to play the role of peace envoy and messengers (Pirrko, 2014). During the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya which led to 1,133 deaths and displacement of over 300,000 Kenya people over a two-month period (Ayoub, 2015), the peace process involved a high level and high profile of women, with about 25 per cent of the members of the negotiating team being women (Agbalajobi, 2014).

Women negotiate for peace than men, and in achieving this, women devise all available strategies and resources within their reach to mediate and resolve conflicts for peace to reign (Jarhum & Hoppe, 2019). For instance, Gardner and Bushra (2016) posited that, in order to achieve peace processes women, go as far as holding prayer meetings, marches, night vigils, and in some cases as alluded in the Sudan case study, withhold sexual services from their partners or shamed authorities into negotiating by appearing naked in public demonstrations (Allam, 2013). The extent to which women develop both formal and informal initiatives to bring about peace shows that women are a formidable force to reckon with in mediation and conflict resolution and must be well integrated with these peacebuilding processes (Ridley-Duff & Bennett, 2011). Bennett argues that this means that for women to be actively integrated in mediation or peacebuilding processes, they must have some level of consensus and a sense of unity amongst them, and a ‘common voice’, irrespective of culture, and other affiliation in the continent, and within each member state, because “united will women be integrated, divided will they be excluded”

Alexandra (2014) posits that the flexibility of the mediation process allows it to address different cultures, relationships and interest and puts it in a better position to design a process
which is acceptable to all participants. Similarly, Goldberg (2016) stated that, due to the accommodation of cultural differences, mediation leads to greater satisfaction of parties with the process and the results, higher compliance of mediated agreement and the whole process is more likely to improve the relationship between the disputants than is adjudication. In the same vein, Dunne, Hansen and Wight (2013) reported that mediation has led to the resolution of many intractable armed conflicts in Africa in the past two decades as a result of negotiated settlements which were achieved through mediation. On the whole, mediation is a good tool for conflict resolution and helps rebuild relationships that have been destroyed by conflicts, and since women have proven to be good mediators (Gichuru, 2014), it will benefit societal development, if women are more actively incorporated in the conflict resolution process (Heinze & Marwa Baabbad (2017).

2.2.2 Gaining Access to Power

Women are seen as victims of war rather than agents of change (Yuhas, 2013). This is based on the general assumption that war is gendered and often ascribed as a masculinized story. The discourse of agency is depreciated from what it means to be a woman (Shepherd, 2016). To understand the concept of agency, it is important to discuss the power and how power is linked to the peacebuilding. Cheng (2010) argues that if women are to gain access and be able to fully participate in peace processes, one need to more deeply understand the power dynamics that fuel ongoing exclusions and learn to recognise the way power travels through formal and informal settings, and how exclusions are established and upheld through multifaceted obstacles, some brutally direct, others subtler (Walton, 2015).

To ensure the active participation of women in peacebuilding process, there must be increased representation and training of women in negotiating and mediating skills (O’Reilly,
In addition, women should be included in senior positions within their existing structures of mediation and conflict resolution (Lauren, 2013). This step will invariably increase women’s participation at all levels of mediation processes. In the same vein, member states within the African region should also increase the number of women in senior positions in conflict prevention, management and post-conflict peace talks (Sanauddin, Khan & Ahmad, 2015). Potter (2014) posited that peace processes that had significant involvement of women were found to be more legitimate and sustainable compared with those with little or no involvement of women. An indication that women have deep insight and provide a perspective which men may not deduce (Ibarra, Ely & Kolb, 2013). African women must lobby to ensure that the various conventions and treaties which protect women, and which their member countries are signatories to, are implemented (Steinberg, 2013).

The importance of lobbying in achieving results was exhibited when the Kenya women were the first to lobby at the African Union, and to pass messages to a senior figure in the UN and other capitals, their lobbying was critical in achieving sustainable peace agreements (McGhie & Wmai, 2014). According to Arostegui (2013), there must be the creation of awareness and sensitization of all stakeholders from the local, national, regional and international level on the need and importance of actively involving women in both local and high-profile peace talks. In Kenya, for instance, there was 25 per cent involvement of women in negotiation and mediation processes, even though this per centage is not fair enough, it is commendable as compared to a smaller per centage of women’s involvement in other parts of Africa (Canning, 2014). This move is crucial, considering the increasing realization that involving women in mediation and peacebuilding has a direct impact on stability and sustainable peace and development (Gizelis, 2011).
Gaining access to power fundamentally has to do with being able to determine what the important issues about which decisions will be made are: setting the agenda (Paffenholz et al., 2016). Foucault (2015) argues that power is disciplinary, as it shapes and normalizes ideas and the framework for understanding the world. To deviate from the norm may be impossible, even dangerous. Nemeth, Mitchell, Nyman and Hensel (2014) observed that the use of power always means that some issues are automatically excluded from being decided about at all.

Power and powerlessness are experienced in public realms as well as private realms that involve relationships and roles within families (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013) friendships and marriage for example, and intimate realms of power that have to do with personal confidence (Rubimbwa, 2013), emotions and one’s relationship to one’s body and health (Popovic, 2014). Importantly, an individual may be quite powerful in one aspect of her life, and less powerful in another. As noted by Westendorf (2013) on the continuities of violence, for many women in post-conflict societies, the way rights are negotiated as part of the micropolitics of the family, village or neighbourhood are not separate but part of a wider political realm.

In private or local spaces, “power is flexed subtly or brutally, authority is exercised and challenged and the game of politics is played out”. Wallensteen and Svensson (2014) analysis have made an important contribution, since the author changed the understanding of power as a finite quantity that is divided up between various stakeholders, between those who ‘have’ power and those that want power. Instead, Dhungana (2014) described power as an ongoing relationship between various actors. To exemplify, the empowering of women is sometimes interpreted as implicating that power must be taken away from men (Young, 2014). The standpoint here is rather the contrary: that the transformation of societies towards sustainable peace, which also includes gender equality, results in an overall societal gain (Ramzy & Ashaari, 2018).
2.2.3 Conflict Prevention

Recurrent and emerging armed conflicts, expanded terrorist and extremist networks, increased targeting of civilians, and record levels of mass displacement have defined global security in the twenty-first century (Tzivaras, 2018) and showed that standard peace-making methods have proven ineffective at addressing these trends. Nearly half of the conflict-resolution agreements forged during the 1990s failed within five years (Rotberg, 2010). Recidivism for civil war is alarmingly high, with 90 per cent of civil wars in the 2000s occurring in countries that had already experienced civil war during the previous thirty years (Iribarnegaray & Jenkins, 2016). New thinking on peace and security is needed (Polly, 2014). A growing body of analysis suggests that typical peace and security processes habitually overlook a critical approach that might reduce conflict and advance stability: the inclusion of women (McMains & Mullins (2014).

Evidence indicates that women’s participation in conflict prevention and resolution advances security interests (Miller Pournik & Swaine, 2014). Reimer et al. (2015). found that substantial inclusion of women and civil society groups in a peace negotiation makes the ensuing agreement 64 per cent less likely to fail and, according to another study by Nemoto, Bödeker, Iwamoto & Sakata (2014) 35 per cent more likely to last at least fifteen years. Several analysts suggest also that higher levels of gender equality are associated with a lower propensity for conflict, both between and within states (Al Qurtuby (2014) Despite growing international recognition of women’s role in security, their representation in peace and security processes has lagged. Between 1992 and 2013, women represented fewer than 4 per cent of signatories to peace agreements and 9 per cent of negotiators (Nyirimana & Draper, 2013).
In 2015, only 3 per cent of UN military peacekeepers and 10 per cent of UN police personnel were women, substantially lower than the UN target of 20 per cent (Moe, 2014). And despite the role that local women’s groups could play in preventing and resolving conflicts, they received just 0.4 per cent of the aid to fragile states from major donor countries in 2012–2013 (Yoshizawa, 2013). Wai argues that conflict is a gendered activity: women and men have different access to resources, power and decision-making before, during and after conflicts (Bräuchler, 2015). The experience of women and men in situations of tension, war and post-conflict reconstruction is significantly different (Rotberg, 2010). Approximately 80% of today’s civilian casualties are women and 80% of all refugees and internally displaced people worldwide are women and children (Dunphy, Elton & Jordan, 2014). As noted in the Platform for Action of the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women (2013), “while entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are mostly affected owing to their status in society as well as their sex”.

The general exclusion of women from decision-making positions before, during and following a violent conflict, reinforces their victimisation (Lee-Koo, 2016). A study done by Hutchinson (2016) considers that women can play a particularly important role in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and appreciates the positive role women can make in post-conflict reconstruction and peace consolidation. Hudson (2010) contends that empowering women in conflict situations would help prevent gender-based violence such as the abominable crimes of rape, forced pregnancy, sexual slavery and others. These crimes constitute grave breaches of the Geneva Conventions and their Protocols and should be prosecuted as such (Hunt, 2014).

According to Gumru (2014), women should be aware of the positive and negative influence they may have on their children’s behaviour towards “the other” in the transmission of values
and attitudes. Dinar and Hogarth (2015) averred that education for peace should be developed in society as one of the major and permanent measures aimed at conflict prevention. The training of present and future generations of children as peacemakers should be considered as a very important task for the public education systems (Steinberg, 2013). The educational policies should be developed, both at the formal and non-formal levels, to integrate the respect for human rights, the practice of democracy, the promotion of peace and intercultural understanding into mainstream education (Umezurike & Isike, 2013). Those policies should include training programmes for professionals, involved in educational activities, mass-media and decision making (Wani, 2011).

2.2.4 Peace and Political Settlements

Barnes (2009) notes that peacebuilding and stability are pegged on political cooperation in many regions in the world. This is widely applied in situations where traditional governance systems entailed negotiated democracy. Negotiated settlements apply when one of the sections of the society have what to give to receive peace in return. This means that one clan or region may choose to support leadership from the other, either on a rotational basis or in exchange of another position as a way of demonstrating or sustaining peaceful coexistence between the people involved. Political settlements are no longer a result of long-term agreements between the parties involved. Creation of multiple political offices has made it easier for sections of the community to share the available seats and leave the entire county satisfied, rather than drag the people into long-term settlements. Long-term settlements have been associated with conflict, where the beneficiaries of the first settlement fail to replicate by helping the other parties ascend to power as agreed.

As political factors increasingly become a source of conflict, political solutions have become more viable to the peacebuilding process. They are mainly used as a preventive strategy for
the war. Carrier and Kachore conducted a study on ethnicity and electoral politics in northern Kenya in the 2013 national elections. The findings showed that the devolved system had created better conditions for negotiated democracy. The increasing number of available seats at the general election gave the elders an easier time in distributing political leadership among the clans. However, there was a section of the society that chose to go against the recommendations made through the negotiations.

Women have been relegated to a nominated position in Kenyan politics. While nominated positions come with similar legal powers as the elected ones, the former has less legitimacy to participate in the peacebuilding process. Elected politicians can influence masses due to the popularity gained during campaigns and elections. Some Positions, such as governorship and legislative seats, come with resources meant for development. These resources can be incorporated into the peacebuilding process to promote the ability of leaders to influence the entire process. Therefore, elected leaders have more power to control factors related to peace than nominated ones.

Women have performed well in elections, but the number of those vying for political positions has remained low through the years. Women involved in peacebuilding would have been more influential if they had political power and control of the privileges that come with it. One of the leading causes of conflict in Northern Kenya is access to water and pastures for livestock. Clans fight over natural water sources and artificial ones such as boreholes. Elected members of parliament have constituency development funds while members of county assembly control ward development fund. These funds can be used to drill more boreholes so that each clan has its own, and feuds that arise from water sources are put to an end. Nominated legislators lack this power and control. Their only power comes with the law-making process. The law-making process is bureaucratic and does not provide instant
solutions to issues facing the people. In addition, the process is complicated to the extent that common people can hardly link the outcome of the process with the person who initiated it. Laws made in parliament have to be implemented by the executive, which may willingly subdue the process due to political reasons. This scenario limits the ability of nominated political leaders’ top influence the process of placemaking.

2.3 Roles of Women in the Peacebuilding Process

2.3.1 Advocates of Peace

According to Dunaiski (2014), the struggle is to start identifying women as agents instead of victims and strengthen their roles as agents for social transformation. For instance, when the Arabic spring came to Yemen in 2011, the Yemini women were at the front of the revolution (Dodo et al. (2017). where they engaged in a non-violent protest and demanding a better future for themselves (Bastick (2017). When the conflict became violent, some women became combatants or smuggled arms (Aeby, 2017). However, most women decided to serve the combatants by delivering food and water to them, caring for the wounded and guarded checkpoints (Wolff, 2011). Later women have helped to engage in humanitarian relief, mapping internally displaced persons (IDPs), providing aid by smuggling medicine and food (Visoka, 2012). Women have also demonstrated for the detained civilians and kidnapped persons to be released (Donais, 2009), and negotiated for the release of detainees.

Women have worked to reintegrate child soldiers back into society (Anderlin, 2013). For instance, women in Sudan have had a big impact on conflict resolution and have also had a significant role in peacebuilding, especially concerning healing, reconciliation and building bridges between divisions created by the conflict. According to Alexander (2015), Sudanese women were in the 1990s involved in peacebuilding at the grassroots level where they were part of the” People to People” initiative which was an initiative to heal the internal conflicts
that were present in the country at the time. In 1994, over seven hundred women attended a women’s conference for civic groups (Lo and Hiscock (2014). It was also one of the first times that the military institution had to recognize the women as a part of the civil society and thus attempted to co-ordinate their operations with the civilian group created.

According to Paffenholz (2016) since the 1990s, many of the peacebuilding initiatives worked on by women in Africa at large have focused on grassroots levels of the conflict, and by using their mediation skills and establishing indigenous peace processes, women have worked towards a more peaceful society (Murithi, 2017). The forums that the women created in Sudan have been used to working towards ending inter-ethnic conflicts (McQuinn, 2013). The focus has also been on a national level where many women in Sudan were engaged in groups, NGOs and different networks (Lynch, 2013). This as a way to spread a message where they advocated for peace and wanted to draw attention towards the conflict in their country, which then often was referred to as ‘the forgotten war’ (Posa, 2014). According to, Ramzy and Ashaari (2018) women all over the world have contributed to peacebuilding in several ways, some of the practices used are songs, dances, peace missions and marriage. In some areas, women used the threat of their nakedness to force impact since women’s nakedness is regarded as a curse in Sudan. For example, were this used as a way for women to force their sons to give up their arms and protest against the conflict (Schirch, 2015).

2.3.2 Human Rights and Democracy Activists

Despite ongoing exclusions, women have managed to claim civil society as a space of their own from which they engage actively with other aspects of society in peacebuilding processes (Wiebelhaus-Brahm, 2010). According to Wiebelhaus-Brahm, (2010) informal actors are in general afforded limited attention. In addition, informal actors are sometimes usurped when newly consolidated state actors in the post-conflict phase move in to take
control of the issues (Demirel-Pegg & Moskowitz (2009). In other cases, organisations run by private entrepreneurs crowd the space of civil society. All such developments tend to create double exclusions of women: not only are women in general marginalised but also the informal networks in which they are often active (Neumayer, 2005). One stands to lose much by excluding civil society in peace processes (Kim & Sikkink, 2010).

A study was done by Paffenholz et al. (2016) found a clear link between sustainable peace and the involvement of women civil society organisations. According to the study, in all cases where civil society had been directly involved in peace negotiations, resulted in sustained peace. Examples include Guatemala in 1996, Sierra Leone in 2000 and Mozambique 1992. Hultin (2014) found a clear link between cases where civil society representatives did not participate themselves at the table, but still exercised a strong influence over the negotiators. When these were democratically oriented, the resulting peace was also sustainable (Wolf, 2013). By contrast, according to Leboo (2014) in most cases with little or no involvement of civil society actors in the peace process relapsed into conflict at a later stage. Without the involvement of a broader spectrum of society, there is a risk getting what Hamre, (2015) described as “backchannel” negotiations, characterized by secrecy and with the great majority of those concerned left out.

While there are no guarantees that civil society is inherently peaceful, there is a lot to be gained from including civil society actors to a higher degree Heinze, and Baabbad (2017). Not only, as argued by does Ibarra, but Ely and Kolb (2013) also increase the chances of sustainable peace, can it change the paradigm of the routine exclusion of women because ‘no women can be found’. Creating Track-II mediation processes, which opens the way for a variety of actors, is one way of trying to feed the voices of civil society and other relevant key actors into the peace negotiation process (Mugarura, 2013). Such parallel processes are
widely advocated today (Francis, 2017), and may have an impact on the official negotiation process if there are established channels for communication.

According to Elly (2015), peacebuilding is no longer solely concerned with ending violence, but involves a long-term commitment to end war, and as global interconnections and commitments grow, there is no doubt that the actions of international actors are of paramount importance and have deep impacts on local and national processes (Gardner & Bushra, 2016). Civil society organisations have been given crucial support (Hearn, 2015), UNSCR 1325 has been introduced onto the national agenda, and attention was given to key processes such as Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) to which a gender perspective has been added. Developments are often driven by a number of key individuals who also fought hard for a gender perspective within their international organisations (Gichuru, 2014).

Nevertheless, in all contexts, it is clear that there are many instances where international actors have been co-opted by local norms.

Peace matters to everyone living in conflict regions. It concerns those who have seen their relatives killed, their houses demolished and the economy crash; those with memories and wounds that will stay with them forever (Njambi, 2014). The chances of lasting peace increase dramatically if not only the warring parties but also representatives from different groups in civil society, including women, sit at the negotiation table (Mugarura, 2013). This is not the case today and according to the since 2011, most peace agreements fail and conflicts erupt anew after a few years. This comes as no surprise to women activists who have advocated for decades that peace processes need to be inclusive to be sustainable (Nemoto, Bödeker, Iwamoto & Sakata (2014).). In 2000, the UN Security Council finally listened to the women’s movement. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted (Mugarura, 2013). It acknowledges that women must participate on an equal footing with men in
peacebuilding processes, and that gender equality is essential to building a democratic society.

However, more than a decade later and despite all efforts, the statistics show quite a different reality. A study by UN Women (2014) reveals that of 24 major peace processes taking place since 2002 only 2.5 per cent of signatories, 3.2 per cent of mediators and 7.6 per cent of negotiators have been women. In addition, the UN has never appointed a female chief mediator (Visoka, 2012). On top of this, peace agreements often lack a gender perspective. Consequently, women’s human rights are not effectively protected and peace is not sustained. Men’s violence against women continues after ceasefires and the prevalence of small arms makes this violence even more damaging and deadly (Tzivaras, 2018). Eriksson posits that this violence brutalises society as a whole and destabilises communities. Ridley-Duff and Bennett (2011) argued that the war is far from over with the last bullet fired.

In addition, according to Ramzy and Ashaari (2018) women are often left in financial ruin with no right to inheritance or legal protection. This discrimination hinders both economic and democratic development (Pirrko, 2014). For instance, after the upheavals of the Arab spring, there are signs of a backlash against women’s human rights in the Middle East and North Africa (Sirleaf, 2013). Twin trends of nationalism and extremism, coupled with the economic crisis, threaten women’s rights around the world. However, at the same time, more women are gaining political and economic power (Umezurike & Isike, 2013). The number of female parliamentarians continues to rise, albeit at a very slow pace, and the world average is almost 20 per cent (UN Women, 2017). Women activists in regions affected by the conflict continue to defy the obstacles to participation in peacebuilding (Posa, 2014).

But this comes at a price, as UN Women (2014) reveals, women who speak out are often harassed, intimidated and beaten. For instance, women who sat at the negotiation table in
Northern Ireland were warned by women from South Africa that they would be the object of slander and that they should warn their families that terrible things would be said about them. A woman’s reputation is often her most valuable asset: if it is destroyed, her family, friends and community might turn their back on her (Cheng, 2010). A study by Cheng (2010) argues that a woman is then alone, which makes women even more vulnerable. The democratic and human rights standpoint that gender should not be a reason for exclusion is frequently bolstered by the argument that if women do not participate, peace will not be sustainable (Bernardino, 2015).

While the relationship between gender equality and peace is highly complex and needs to be explored further, a number of studies point to a positive correlation between gender equality within a state and the state’s peaceful relations with other states (Dodo et al. (2017) as well as links between higher levels of gender equality and lower levels of intrastate armed conflict (Donais, 2009). The importance of women’s participation in peace processes has been recognised formally in a plethora of forums, not least by the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 to three women peacemakers (Dunne, Hansen & Wight, 2013). Nevertheless, despite global recognition of women as peacebuilders and insights that sustainable peace cannot exclude half the population, not much has changed on the ground (Elsawi, 2013).

**2.3.3 Peacebuilding**

Priest (2015) outline that women especially engage in four kinds of peacebuilding, for example, they work as advocates and activists for peace, they pursue democracy and human rights, and they are peacekeepers, relief aid workers and work as mediators, counsellors and policymakers and in education. Asaf (2017) examines the phenomenon that women who are present in peacebuilding seldom get the same recognition as the men who are present. Gorsevski (2012) argues that women are to a large extent present, however, they are not as
visible. Miller, B., Pournik and Swaine (2014) posits that the women who work in peacebuilding often use their knowledge and power to help other women and increase their influence.

This is further explored by Goswami (2015) who notes that since women are the subordinate gender and thus disempowered and not recognized in the same way as men. Goswami (2015) cites the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, who says that women are recognized as important in peacebuilding but in the area of reconstruction they are not seen as legitimate, often based on the idea that women are seen as victims (Beza, Johnson & Fuentes, 2017). In a field study done by Hayward (2015) in Mogadishu, the researcher asked the participants if they had any training and how they engaged, with the help of organizations or if there was a culture of peacebuilding in the societies they lived in and the study found that the women in Somalia had several roles in peacebuilding where the main focus was found at the community level. These roles were amongst other, dismantling illegal checkpoints that were controlled by different armed militia groups and creating groups that consisted of women and youths that worked for peace and security in their communities (Dahal, 2015) One major role that the women had been to bring the opposing parties together to start the reconciliation process, both on a local and a national level (Sandole & Staroste, 2015).

2.4 Challenges to Women Participation in Peacebuilding Process

2.4.1 Violence

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) and subsequent resolutions on Women, Peace and Security have been adopted since 2000 (UNSCR, 2015). These commitments mandate the international community to ensure women’s participation in all aspects of peacebuilding, protect women’s rights in conflict and address violence. UNSCR
1325 was ground-breaking because the first-ever Resolution to recognise the actual impact of violent conflict on girls and women and the role of governments in supporting survivors to recover (Shepherd, 2016). Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is a major barrier to women’s participation in peacebuilding and recovery as mandated by UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325. Violence against “political” females speaking up publicly, defending human rights or seeking political office is very common in post-conflict countries and strongly dissuades women from participating in public life, let alone seeking political office. For instance, in Afghanistan in nine months alone, 70 such women in leadership positions were assassinated (Fritz, 2009).

In many post-conflict countries new laws to eliminate violence against women are in place, but are not enforced (Pratt, 2013). Resources need to be prioritised to operationalise the protection of women and girls and to support gender training, sensitising and capacity-building for police, judiciary and social services professionals to enforce the law (Lee-Koo, 2014). Olsson and Gizelism (2015) posit that it is important to remember that in many contexts, security forces are the perpetrators of SGBV. The need for improving legal accountability and prosecutions is thus crucial for the legitimacy of post-conflict institutions (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014). Local women’s NGOs in post-conflict countries could be involved in the monitoring, documenting and publishing of the human right violations of women and the gender training of professionals. According to Dharmapuri (2013), former combatants and security forces are often the perpetrators of SGBV against women. No longer able to wield small arms in public, they may use them as an expression of their power in the private realm in acts of violence against intimate partners or other family members (Cockburn, 2011). Thus, the public reintegration of soldiers into peacetime civilian life must address their adjustment to changed family and gender relations destabilised by war (Kirby & Shepherd, 2016).
In addition, Goldstein (2013) contends that women are often assigned roles as victims, this is based on the sexual abuse they are targets of, amongst other things. They are also victims of war as civilians since they in many cases do not partake in the conflicts as agents (Gleditsch, 2015). Further, women’s gender roles place them as subordinate to men where they are considered to have limited or no impact on conflict or reconciliation since this is something that has to be dealt with by the men (Mac Ginty & Richmond, 2013). Due to these factors, women are often placed in a box where they are perceived as only victims, rather than as victims and as agents. Women do suffer from sexual abuse and are victims of war, however, this is only one part of the role that women have in conflict and in the peace work afterwards (McMains & Mullins, 2014).

2.4.2 Prejudice and Traditional Ideas about Gender Roles

Another dimension of the problem is that common obstacle within the African continent such as deeply entrenched patriarchal values which perceives women as second-class citizens and undervalues their roles, to a large extent, have limited women from adequately being recognized as central key players in peacebuilding processes (Menze, 2014). An indication that women’s powerful potentials in bringing war-torn societies back to peace aren’t completely utilized in mediation and conflict resolution in the continent (McQuinn, 2013). There are multiple feminist theories (Neumayer, 2005) One of the common grounds for all feminist theories are to highlight the gender roles (Paffenholz, 2014). Gender roles are the basic way of how society is symbolically divided. Gender can be explained as to how society reproduces individuals raised to be masculine or feminine (Yassine-Hamdan & Pearson, 2014). In different countries, what is feminine and what is masculine can be different from one another and thus one explanation is not universal for all societies (Yuhas, 2013).
For instance, according to Kabongah (2011) due to the cultural roles in Yemen, women are seen as passive beings who does not have the expertise or capacity to engage in the peace process (Webber, 2013). In the formal peace talks in 2016, only a few women from Yemen were allowed to participate (Wolf, 2013). The women who were participating were regulated to only partake in the unofficial discussions and these had limited impact and relevance to the main negotiations that were held (Steinberg, 2013). Even though the national peace reconciliation process has not included women in a meaningful way, when it comes to the work regarding the peacebuilding and mediation on a local level, women are very much engaged and have a big impact on the society (Westendorf, 2013).

In Libya, women have been excluded from the formal work in the peace process and especially the mediation and reconciliation part. Yuhas (2013) states that the inclusion of women is difficult as the male elders who are the ones who usually take part in the mediations would not allow women to participate. In some cases, there have been separate meetings for women and men, where the group of women share their strategies with the men and thus influencing the mediation (Larsson & Selimovic, 2014). Similarly, in Somalia, the advocates for peace have traditionally been male and often amongst the elders. Despite this, women are often effective in influencing the elders in how to engage in the peace processes. A reason for this is due to women’s affiliation to multiple clans, for example, through their fathers, siblings and so on, resulting in a view where women are not trusted as advocates for their clan in formal peace talks.

However, the understanding that femininity is constructed from masculinity, to where the two are opposites, the woman is what the man is not, is a basic understanding for how the gender roles are constructed (Kabongah, 2011). For example, if the man is active, the woman is passive, if the man is rational the woman is emotional (Yoshizawa, 2013). Feminist theory...
is to identify these roles and question these by the consequences they may arise. Sirleaf (2013) argue that in the existing society, only people with male attributes can engage in masculine activities. A woman, who does not have the male attributes can thus not engage in the same activities and never as (Stamp, 2013). Autesserre (2017) cites Sir Henry Maine’s work from 1861, where he argues that the eldest male in the family was the supreme power over the rest of the family. Loyd (2012) consider the difference between sex and gender and the psychological explanation of women’s social existence.

The psychological reasoning to women’s subordination to men can be explained through the so-called gender schema (Lee-Koo, 2016). Gender schema is the way people address the incoming information and selects how we react and act on certain information (McGhie & Wmai, 2014). Through this selective intake of information, the individual can impose the current structures of society. All this is learned from childhood, where the society teaches girls and boys the gender roles that are associated with their sex (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014). For example, boys are taught to be strong and powerful while girls are taught to be nurturing and caring (Menze, 2014). This results in that there is an internalized motivation to why women and men behave in different ways and how they regulate their behaviour to adapt to their gender schemas and the gender roles that are existent in the structure of a society (Miller, Pournik & Swaine, 2014).

Gender norms that associate “being a man” with domination and aggression can fuel conflict and violence (Schirch, 2015). Such ideas for male behaviour can motivate men and boys to participate in violence and can lead women to encourage them (Shepherd, 2016). Military and political actors also deliberately use and manipulate such ideals to build support for conflict and to recruit men into armed groups. Moreover, these norms for “what it means to be a man” make those who fail to live up to such standards such as by failing to act as
economic providers for the family, more susceptible to recruitment as a way of proving their manhood by other means (Steinberg, 2013). Norms also make men more likely to perpetrate violence against those over whom they do have power: women and children in the home (Walton, 2015). Fuelled by unequal gender ideologies, SGBV can destabilise communities over generations, undermining human and economic development, recovery, reconciliation, the rule of law and trust in state institutions (Hossain Zimmerman & Watts, 2014).

According to Kirby (2015) women are rarely included in peace negotiations. In the peace negotiations from 1990-2017 women represented 2% of the mediators, 5% of the witnesses and signatories and 8% of the negotiators (Kiganane, 2013). Of the 1.187 peace agreements during the same time, 19% mentioned and made references to women, 5% made references to gender-based violence. Experts in the area of creating lasting peace stress the need to include women in the peace negotiations since women’s needs are different to those of the men and they are often more vulnerable which is overlooked or forgotten in the negotiation process (Ali & Mahamud, 2013). This, in turn, leads to the peace agreements being less effective and less likely to be sustainable since the humanitarian responses are limited (UN Women, 2014).

2.4.3 Poverty and Economic Inequality

Post-conflict peacebuilding processes present major opportunities for advancing women’s rights and gender equality (Duflo, 2012). But a gender perspective must be more effectively operationalised in post-conflict establishments and peacebuilding processes. A key challenge for the United Nations (UN) and its member states in progressing the women, peace and security agenda in post-conflict settings is bridging the gap between the interdependent political and economic security pillars of peacebuilding (Erzurum & Eren, 2014). Well-intentioned gender mainstreaming objectives are usually undermined by the post-conflict
political economy context, which reinforces structural gender inequalities between men and women (Elsawi, 2013). This is a major setback for peace, reconciliation and the long-term recovery of societies.

Peacebuilding institutions typically do little to create livelihoods and economic opportunities for girls and women or to empower them politically and economically after conflict (Gichuru, 2014). Haider argues that to be effective, they must be able to transform the structures of socioeconomic inequality that affect women’s insecurity and vulnerability to violence and poverty after conflict. Often, dire economic conditions after conflict foster corruption and criminality, while marginalised groups of women experience extreme income inequality, working in the informal economy and the most precarious employment positions in the labour market (Gleditsch, 2015). They also suffer from pre-conflict legacies of poor investment in gender-equal economic and social development with respect to education, health, housing, food security, water, property and land rights (Francis, 2017).

The 2011 World Bank Development Report concurs that while the impact of armed conflict falls directly on young males, who make up the majority of fighting forces, women and children suffer disproportionately from war’s indirect effects (Hossain, Zimmerman & Watts, 2014). Increases in female heads of households; gender discrimination in employment; exploitation in incipient sex industries and trafficking networks; female displacement and resettlement in urban slums; and gender bias in disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) processes are all part of a pattern of gendered marginalisation after conflict that constrains economic recovery in post-conflict settings and women’s participation in that recovery (Ikelegbe & Umukoro, 2016). Women’s capacity to access economic resources after conflict affects their access to justice and physical security (Domingo et al., 2015). If key economic and social rights such as those to land and housing,
to transact in one’s own legal name, to equality in marriage, and to freedom of mobility are not secured early enough after conflict, then many women who are already poor and marginalised will be denied opportunities for both economic and political participation in peace and reconstruction (Ramirez & Franco, 2016).

For example, in post-genocide Rwanda, the 70% of households headed by females fell into poverty at greater rates than male-headed households because they lost their access to or ownership of land (Moreno, 2016). Land was either transferred to a son or other male relative or sold for survival reasons for women survivors of SGBV, recovery, protection and the prevention of future violence are “often tied to their ability to move on and generate incomes for themselves and children” (Anderson & Swiss, 2014). Empowering girls and women and strengthening gender equality in fragile settings will help remodel vicious circles into virtuous ones, supporting inclusive societies, sustainable peace and development (Asaf, 2017). Where women actively participate in peacebuilding and state-building processes the chances for peace and resilience improve. At the same time, these processes offer unique opportunities to increase women’s rights and empowerment (Autesserre, 2017).

Meaningful participation by women in peace negotiations and associated constitutional reform processes will increase the likelihood that an agreement will be reached and enforced (UN Women, 2017). In fact, the probability of a peace agreement lasting at least 15 years is 35% higher when women participate (Bräuchler, 2015). Women’s economic empowerment can also contribute to post-conflict recovery and reconstruction (Canning, 2014). In addition, women play an important role in building peace, recovery and resilience at family, community and sub-national levels (UN Women, 2017). According to Baylis Smith and Owens (2017) women often lack access to legal recourse because of prejudice, weak law enforcement, and corruption. The use of unofficial, traditional, religious, and tribal justice
systems to settle disputes involving women is common. Women play important roles in building peace and advancing security, yet they remain underrepresented in official peace-making processes (Beza, Johnson & Fuentes, 2017).

2.5 Chapter Summary

This study sought to add to the existing knowledge gap of the impact of women in peacebuilding in Kenya. The research established Women negotiate for peace than men, and in achieving this, women devise all available strategies and resources within their reach to mediate and resolve conflicts for peace to reign. Different studies have for women to be actively integrated in mediation or peacebuilding processes, they must have some level of consensus and a sense of unity amongst them, and a ‘common voice’, irrespective of culture, and other affiliation in the continent, and within each member state, because “united will women be integrated, divided will they be excluded”. Others found that women are still largely absent from peace processes, which results in peace agreements and ceasefires that seldom address the views, needs, and issues of women and other vulnerable groups, and a subsequent lack of planning for those needs in post-conflict recovery (Cheng, 2010). The following chapter will discuss the procedures to be applied for the primary study.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter has distinctive sections aimed to exhibit the procedures used to grasp this particular examination with the target of answering the four specific objectives of the study. The segments are as follows: - research design, population and sampling procedure, data collection methods, research procedures, data analysis methods and summary of the chapter.

3.2 Research Design

The examination used qualitative, phenomenological research approach. Phenomenology is the study of subjective experience (Moustakas, 1994). It is a way of dealing with psychological subject matter that has its underlying foundations in the philosophical work of Edmund Husserl. The reason for the phenomenological approach is to enlighten the specifics and to distinguish marvels through how they are seen by other people in a circumstance (Corbin, Strauss & Strauss, 2015). A phenomenological approach is especially viable at conveying to the fore the encounters and impression of people from their own particular points of view, and along these lines at testing basic or regulating suppositions (Moustakas, 1994). In this examination, this converts into acquiring profound data and discernments through inductive or subjective strategies (interviews, dialogues, member perception).

3.3 Population and Sampling

The target population is the total social occasion of individuals from which a sample might be drawn. While a sample is defined as a group of people who take part in an examination (Dau, 2014).
3.3.1 Target Population

The target population of the study is the members of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency based in Wajir, Kenya. Founded in the year 2002, the organization is membership-based and has a total of 115 organizations that are members (WPDA, 2017). The organization has partnered with Pact Kenya, UN Women, and Coffey International to promote self-reliance of Wajir people to develop sustainable peace and livelihoods, hence the motivation in choosing the organization to address the study questions.

3.3.2 Sampling Design and Sample Size

Sampling design is the structure or a guide that serves as the roadmap for the determination of a sample size for a study. The sample size, on the other hand, is the quantity of subjects incorporated into a sample (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003).

3.3.2.1 Sampling Frame

Sample size

In determining the sample size, this study will use the formula below by Professors Mugenda and Mugenda (2003)

\[ n = \frac{Z^2pq}{d^2} \]

80% Accuracy Level

Standard Deviation of 1.28

where \( n \) is the desired sample size

\( z \) is the standard normal deviation at the specified confidence level
p is the proportion in the target population estimated to have the characteristics being measured (or 50% of the population)

q is 1-p

d is the level of statistical significance set

\[ n = \frac{(1.28)^2 \times 115 \times 50}{(5)^2} \]

The sample population for the study if the population is greater than 10,000 is therefore 276.8

However, when the population is less than 10,000, Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) suggest the formula:

\[ n_f = N \frac{(1+n)}{N} \]

Where \( n_f \) is the desired sample size,

n is the sample size if the population was greater than 10,000

N Population Estimate

The sample population of this study was, therefore:

\[ n_f = 115 \frac{(1+376.83)}{115} = 35.06 \]

The sample population was 35
3.4 Data Collection Methods

The study used questionnaires as the major instrument for primary data collection. The usage of a questionnaire in this study was supported by four reasons: It ensured total confidentiality; it took less time and was affordable, and it was easy to administer. This is as per another examination is done by Kothari (2004) which found that questionnaires give a more noticeable opinion subsequently encouraging open responses to fragile questions and is free from bias, guaranteeing accuracy and significant data. In addition, a questionnaire was ideal for this examination in light of the fact that the researcher accumulated information from a greater sample size.

The questionnaire had closed-ended and open-ended questions to bring out specific responses for quantitative and qualitative examination respectively. A bit of the closed-ended questions required a response on a five-point Likert scale, demonstrating to what degree each independent variable affect peacebuilding process at Wajir Peace and Development Agency. Furthermore, the questionnaire was organized into two subsections. The first section took note of demographic characteristics like; sex, age, and the number of years. The second section covered the questions from the four specific objectives.

Supplementary data was gathered from secondary sources such as reports and publications. An interview guide of open-ended questions was used.

3.5 Research Procedures

To ensure the constancy and consistency of the examination instrument, a pilot study was coordinated using a subjective sample of 10 members from WPDA. Ten (10) individuals for the pilot test are picked in perspective of Muchiri, Odilla & Kathuri, (2013) proposal that it is the most unobtrusive number that yields essential results in data analysis in any research.
Moreover, Williams et al. (2017) found that a pilot test is central for testing the legitimacy and unwavering quality of data-gathering instruments. In this examination, the pilot test was aimed at assessing the sensibility of study questions, the interview time, the wording of the questions and the consistency in the responses.

For purposes of the validity of data, this study applied face validity. This was done by asking participants to give suggestions regarding the nature of the questions in relation to the specific objectives. Content and construct validity were used to evaluate the inferences based on the results from the research instrument. To establish content and construct validity the researcher searched for an expert opinion concerning the research instrument from the supervisor at United States International University (USIU).

3.6 Data Analysis Methods

Different data analysis methodologies were used for the various kind of data collected. Qualitative data in the questionnaires were used to describe and explain the quantitative data. All the quantitative variables were chronologically organised with respect to the questionnaire outline and this ensured that the correct coding was issued for variables. The quantitative data were analysed using charts, graphs and percentages. Editing was then done to ensure that information entered for each questionnaire in each variable is correct. Using the coded variables and the questionnaire numbers, it was easy to edit erroneous data and verify the data entered. All data entered was presented using charts and graphs and tables for ease of reference.

For qualitative data, which was mainly gathered from key informants, interviews and the open-ended questions in the questionnaires; a qualitative data checklist was developed. The checklist was clustered along with the main themes of the research to ease the consolidation
of information and interpretation. The main themes in the checklists included; Level of involvement of WPDA in Peacebuilding; Nature of their involvement; Strategies employed by WPDA in peacebuilding; The roles of WPDA in Wajir county peacebuilding and Kenya in general; The challenges to women's participation in peacebuilding process using WPDA as a case study; and lastly recommendations for promoting women’s representation and participation peacebuilding; and Conclusion. The checklist made it possible to collate the scattered information under particular themes. This in turn aid a generation of discussions, analysis and interpretation of information under these main themes.

3.7 Conclusion

Chapter three has identified the strategies to be utilized to complete this investigation. The examination will utilize a phenomenological research approach to answer the study questions. The objective populace of the examination is the members of Wajir Peace and Development Agency based in Wajir, Kenya whereby the investigation applied a census to interview all the members. The investigation utilized questionnaires as the key instrument for primary information accumulation. The examination dispensed with all inclinations and confinements suitably and appropriately by directing a pilot study. The accompanying chapter (chapter four) will present the primary findings and discuss the literature review in association with the primary findings. Presentation of the findings will be discussed starting with descriptive, then the inferential while interpreting the findings by comparing and contrasting with the literature reviewed.
CHAPTER 4

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the thematic analysis of quantitative data, derived from the responses of the questionnaires and the structured interviews conducted on key informants. The study randomly selected 35 people in different organizations that are members of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency for the questionnaires and four key informants from different organizations relevant to the work of peace and women in Wajir. The chapter first presents key findings based on the analysis, of the questionnaires, then briefly discusses findings from the key informants on their perceptions of the involvement of women in peacebuilding by the Wajir Peace and Development Agency.

4.2 Demographic Information

The study sampled 35 individuals from different member organizations of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency. All thirty-five questionnaires were appropriately filled and returned. Out of thirty-five respondents, 20 were male and 15 were female.

The ages of the respondents ranged from 24 to around 68 years. The study had ten people below thirty years, three people between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine, five people between forty and forty-nine, one person above sixty years and two people did not state their ages. The information can be represented in the figure below:
Majority of the respondents were in the middle-level management of their respective organizations. This means that they had adequate access to strategic information to talk about their organization and the work of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency as it relates to the involvement of women in peacebuilding. A few were in the position of Director and senior management and only about six ticked the option of other. The six were two community elders, a Police Constable, a member of Maendeleo ya Wanawake, and two youth representatives.

Most of the respondents who stated the number of years that their organizations had been members of the Wajir Peace and Development said that the organizations had been members for over two years. This is significant because it means that they could authoritatively talk about the different strategies put in place by Wajir Peace and Development Agency to involve women in peacebuilding in Wajir County. Only about seven per cent had been members for two or fewer years. Respondents who stated that they work for government offices (county government and police), as well as those who said they were community elders, did not,
however, state the number of years of membership. The key informant interview with the Director of Wajir Peace and Development Agency, however, confirmed that they had involved government representatives and community elders since inception.

The study purposefully identified four key individuals whose positions and nature of work were deemed very relevant to this study. The individuals were identified from four key sectors namely; government administration, management of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency, Religious leader and women leadership. These individuals were interviewed with a view of collecting informed opinions on the subject under study. Their responses were necessary to corroborate, complement, clarify and/or substitute information collected through the questionnaires.

The key informants who included two women and two men were carefully chosen from the top management. The researcher ensured that they were individuals who had access to strategic information and who were allowed to speak on behalf of their institutions. The researcher however still assured these key informants of the ethical consideration of anonymity.


In this part of the chapter, findings from respondents on the questionnaires are shared. All 35 respondents fully completed this section giving the study varied responses from which analysis can be based.

Majority of the respondents (97.1%) agreed that community mobilization was the most effective strategy to be employed in peacebuilding in Wajir County. 91.4% of the respondents
further agreed that education was an effective approach in peacebuilding in Wajir followed by women engagement (80%) then religion (71.4%). The total figure goes above 100% as respondents were asked to tick all that apply. The figure below shows the percentages of respondents who ticked different strategies of peacebuilding.

**Figure 2: Strategies Employed by WPDA in Peacebuilding.**

From the table above, community mobilization and education were rated very highly as strategies in peacebuilding with 97% and 91% respectively. Surprisingly, women engagement was rated third at 80% and slightly above religion at 71% as an effective way of building peace. This comes as a surprise considering the strong cultural and religious background of Wajir County and the common assumption on gender disparities in the region. This finding agrees with the findings of (Musau, 2014) that presents women as advocates of peace. The research attributes the success of the Wajir Peace & Development Agency to the involvement of women. Interestingly, almost half of the respondent did not think that the
presence of Police Officers and legal structures did not play a significant role in peacebuilding in Wajir County.

The 17.14% who indicated that there were other strategies that lead to peacebuilding mentioned the engagement of community/traditional elders, Nyumba Kumi initiative, capacity building and one respondent referred to a system within the Wajir community called *Maslaha* system which the researcher established as a concept in traditional Islamic Law which proposes a framework of actions that do much more good than harm to the greater public in areas that are not well addressed by other conflict resolution mechanisms. Loosely translated, *Maslaha* refers to a win-win situation for the conflicting groups.

Regarding the question on the strategies used by the Wajir Peace and Development Agency in peacebuilding, majority of the respondents mentioned community mobilization, followed by women engagement then religion as the most common strategies. A good number of respondents also mentioned education as an approach used by the agency. The researcher, however, makes the assumption that the education insinuated by the respondents is civic education rather than formal education as the researcher meant. This was confirmed by the key informant interviews. The information can be further presented in the pie chart below:
Figure 3: Strategies Employed by WPDA in Peacebuilding According to Key Informants.

The total number adds to more than 35 (100%) as respondents were allowed to indicate all that apply.

Responses to question four further confirmed the findings in question one. Majority of the respondents felt that the presence of police officers and Legal structures least contributed to peacebuilding in Wajir County. This is as a result of the existing distrust between the police and the security. Unfortunately, this complicates formal peacebuilding efforts through security agents. Interestingly, a number of respondents also mentioned that religion least contributed to peacebuilding in the county. The researcher found this surprising, owing to the fact that communities within Wajir County strongly follow the Islamic religion.

The question on what other strategies the agency needs to employ elicited varied responses; the most frequently mentioned strategy was, however, the need for collaboration with security agencies. More than half of the respondents pointed to the need for the agency to
help build trust between the community and the police officers. The table below lists some of the responses in no particular order.

**Table 1: Responses on other Strategies needed to be employed by WPDA.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response on other Strategies Needed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ensure there is good relationship/trust between police and public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Training and capacity building of member organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Multi-structural approach including local leaders and government officers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Peace education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Employment creation/ financial empowerment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Use of “Maslaha”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Counter religious extremism and radicalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Gender equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Inter-religious dialogue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Security &quot;intelligence&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the key informant interviews, it was established that the Wajir Peace and Development Agency has five key strategic strategies that it uses in peacebuilding and conflict resolution.

The first strategic approach used by WPDA is partnership and networking. The Agency networks with government, donor communities, religious leaders, CBOs and other relevant organizations in their work. One of the examples that came out in the interviews is the establishment of district peace committees that include all stakeholders.

Secondly, it was established in the interviews that the agency empowers and engages the community by building its capacity to resolve conflicts internally. Some of the ways through
which they do this is by the use of traditional leaders, counselling, capacity building and inclusivity of all. It was further established that the agency and its partners had introduced a peace curriculum in some of the schools as a long-term solution to sustainable peace. Further, it was established that the agency was able to develop peace declarations and accords for different warring communities. A final method through which the agency empowers and engages the community is by enhancing the participation of women through training courses on leadership so as to increase the inclusion of women in negotiation and mediation.

Further, the agency relies on research and advocacy. Through their research and advocacy, the agency is able to resolve most conflicts by employing conventional methodologies such as mediation and negotiation. The agency is also able to rally the community and government to support its initiatives as was established in the interviews. Some of the people displaced by internal conflicts are resettled using community resources. In other cases, the agency uses “Sharia” laws and other alternative conflict resolution methods such as Maslaha.

The agency was also credited for its use of media (including social media) for peace messaging and peacebuilding. One interviewee also made reference to the peace caravans organized by the agency and a video show titled “The Wajir Story”. Finally, the researcher established that the agency uses the do no harm strategy.

4.4 Role of the Wajir Peace Development Agency

Concerning the second objective which sought to establish the contribution of Wajir Peace and Development Agency in Wajir County, ten or 28.6% of the respondents rated the efforts of the agency as moderate while the rest, that is, twenty-five or 71.4% rated their efforts in peacebuilding in Wajir County as high. This can be represented in the chart below:
Among the reasons given for the high rating of the work of WPDA in peacebuilding are the inclusion of both men and women and all ages, the inclusion of traditional leaders in peacebuilding and the support WPDA gives to CBOs engaged in peacebuilding in the County.

On the question as to whether the peace situation in the county had improved, declined or remained the same, majority 30 or 85.7% said that the peace situation in Wajir County had improved in the past five years. The rest, 5 or 14.3% felt that the peace situation had actually declined. Results from the key informant interviews showed that while inter-clan wars and general security had greatly improved, the fear of terrorism had increased.
On whether the respondents felt that the WPDA had had a direct hand in the peace situation in the county or not, all those who said the peace situation had improved attributed it to the work of WPDA. These respondents who attributed the improvement of the peace situation to the work of WPDA listed several reasons including gender inclusion, community involvement and networking with CBOs as some of the strategies that WPDA had used to improve the peace situation. The 14.3% who said the peace situation had declined exonerated WPDA from the decline. One respondent went ahead and attributed the decline of peace to the increase in violent extremism.

From the findings, it is clear that the Wajir Peace and Development Agency had several strengths as it relates to peacebuilding in Wajir County. Peace related education was the most frequently ticked by the respondents at 33 followed by inter-agency networking at 29 then gender mainstreaming at 24. The figure below shows the responses from the questionnaires.
regarding the strengths of the agency. The total number comes to over 35 (100%) since the respondents were asked to tick all that applies.

**Figure 6: Strengths of WPDA.**

Understandably, the respondents pointed out advocacy with government, community empowerment and policy and legal framework as the areas that most needed to be strengthened by the agency. Surprisingly 24 out of 35 (68.6%) of the respondents still felt that gender mainstreaming needed to be strengthened by the agency.

### 4.5 Challenges to Women Involvement in Peacebuilding in Wajir County

Analysis of the third objective which forms the third thematic area for this report showed that the Wajir Peace and Development Agency gives prominence to women. 32 (91.4%) of the
respondents said that women were given prominence by the agency. Only 3 respondents said otherwise. The information is summarized below:

Figure 7: Women Involvement in Peacebuilding.

Regarding the challenges faced in involving women in peacebuilding, cultural beliefs were the most frequently identified as a challenge followed by the attitude of leaders towards women and the education level of women. Availability of women for peacebuilding did not seem like a major challenge since only six respondents ticked it. The following pie chart summarizes the choices picked by the respondents. The total number comes to over a hundred per cent as the respondents were asked to tick all that apply.
The following points were stated as other challenges impending women participation in peacebuilding activities:

1. Lack of resources
2. Low support from the government
3. Lack of goodwill from the donor community
4. Low skills
5. Low motivation
6. Volunteer fatigue

Under question 15, that asked respondents to say anything else about the WPDA it was noted that some respondents referred to its work in establishing the Wajir County action plan on Countering Violence Extremism further, it was noted that the agency has taken the lead in the establishment of district peace committees and established declarations and peace accords between different communities.
4.6 SWOT Analysis for Wajir Peace and Development Agency

From all four interviewees, the researcher established that one of the most effective strategies that the WPDA has been employing in peacebuilding was exploiting the use and acceptance of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms which includes community participation at every intervention. WPDA has also been active in initiating programmes towards reducing the County’s risks and vulnerability to conflicts and violent extremists. These are opportunities that WPDA will take advantage of in designing interventions.

Some of the **strengths** of the organization as established through the key informant interviews were:

First, it is an Indigenous organisation, formed and represented by the indigenous people and trusted by the communities of Wajir County. One interviewer mentioned that the agency gets first-hand information from members of the community. Second, it has acceptability, presence and goodwill from the national and county government. WPDA’s popularity traverses into the neighbouring counties of Mandera, Garissa, Isiolo and Marsabit and at one time WPDA was active as far as Nakuru County. This acceptance also crosses the international border into Somalia, especially in the Gedo Region bordering Wajir to the North Eastern. Third, WPDA works through volunteers in the five (5) sub-counties and finally, WPDA has a long history and vast expertise in Peacebuilding and conflict mitigation in all these areas.

**Weakness**

1. It was established that the organisation has little institution memory; apart from oral conflict resolution methods, there is no documentation of the good work done,
successes, best practice and lessons learnt over the past two decades it has been in existence.

2. Another weakness lies in the overreliance on donor funding, WPDA has not established a source for own funding.

**Opportunities**

The greatest opportunity identified for the WPDA approach to exploit is the National government acceptance of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) mechanisms which includes community participation. The other opportunity is the remarkable shift in the attitude of the state towards handling conflict from the traditional war on terror to an approach that focuses on engaging and involving the communities and public on this war.

**Threats**

The greatest threats identified include; Dwindling donor funding worldwide, terrorism and violent extremism and, reduction of funds to civil society organisations.

Regarding the involvement of women in peacebuilding, it was established that WPDA has a progressive gender policy in place. WPDA has been on the forefront in growing recognition about the different ways in which conflict affects women and men, their potential to build recovery and peace and how they can complement each other in peacebuilding efforts. In addition, the agency recognizes the role of women as multi-faceted actors in conflict and post-conflict situations, while promoting women’s participation at all stages.

One of the key informants shared that;
“The agency acknowledges that “women are powerful and influential in shaping individuals and societies’ attitudes towards peace, the security of otherwise.”

Another interviewee also confirmed the agencies dedication to women engagement and stated that;

“Women’s capacities to mentor, negotiate and mediate in peace and security issues and the roles they play as mothers, caretakers/caregivers, spouses, teachers, leaders, activists and professionals to model society norms is undisputed.”

It was however observed by the interviewees that challenges of women engagement in peacebuilding still abound in Wajir County. According to the interviewees, the role of women has not yet been fully exploited in Wajir County. Women’s participation is very minimal due to cultural limitations yet women are instrumental in peacebuilding. The organization also faces a challenging of accessing women at the grassroots.

4.7 Conclusion

This section has provided the research findings of how the Wajir Peace and Development Agency involves women in peacebuilding in Wajir County. The findings are organized thematically following the three study objectives provided in chapter one. The findings from both the questionnaires and the key informant interviews have illustrated that despite the challenges involved in engaging women in peacebuilding in Wajir County, the approach is both important and worthwhile.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the findings of the study are discussed. The chapter further analyses the contribution of the theories discussed in chapter two and makes a summary of the findings in relation to the research questions. The first section gives a summary of the key findings, followed by a discussion of these findings. This section is followed by the conclusion drawn from the major findings of research and recommendations are given.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings and Discussions

This section summarizes the key findings of this research based on the three research questions.

5.2.1 Strategies Used by WPDA in Peacebuilding in Wajir County

The first research question sought to explore strategies used by WPDA in peacebuilding in Wajir County. The study found that the WPDA mainly uses community mobilization, women engagement, and religion and peace education as strategies to peacebuilding. The least used strategies were economic empowerment, police presence and legal strategies. From these findings, it can be stated that WPDA uses both traditional conflict resolution strategies to peacebuilding as well as a feminist approach as discussed in chapter two. The success of the WPDA supports the existing literature by Lynch (2013) and Miller, Pournik and Swaine (2014) on the importance of involving women in peacebuilding. These findings were collaborated by the information provided by the key informants where partnership and networking, community empowerment, engagement and inclusiveness, research and
Advocacy and use of media for peace messaging were identified as key strategies used by WPDA.

5.2.2 Role of the WPDA to Peacebuilding in Wajir County

The second research question sought to establish the contribution of WPDA to peacebuilding in the county. Even though the Wajir Peace and Development Agency has been in existence in Wajir since 1992, the study chose to limit the responses to the last five years. The researcher felt that this was an appropriate period to investigate the role of the agency without having to ask the respondents to dig too deep into their memory. This further was an appropriate period considering that other factors such as the establishment of county governments in 2013, and end of the civil war in Somali could have had similar effects on the peace situation beyond the five-year period of the study.

From the findings of this study, it is clear that WPDA has had a positive contribution to peacebuilding in the county. Some of the roles attributed to the work of the agency by the respondents include the end of inter-clan wars, support to local CBOs in peacebuilding and inclusion of women and youths in peacebuilding. The findings, however, seem to indicate that more efforts need to be put in bridging the trust gap between the community and government officers. From the findings, police presence and legal systems were rated very poorly as strategies to peacebuilding in the county. The key informant interviews confirmed these findings and illustrated that the WPDA has had a positive impact on peacebuilding and conflict resolution in Wajir County and its neighboring counties of Mandera, Garissa, Isiolo and Marsabit.

Northern Kenya societies have no mechanisms that actively engage women in peacebuilding. The initiatives taken by individual women are only supported by private organizations and NGOs from outside the county. Communities are yet to come up with elaborate mechanisms
on how the position of women can be elevated in the entire process. Political settlements remain the main forms of forging and sustaining peace between clans. Women are yet to be incorporated into the process, meaning that they have to create and support their own initiatives.

5.2.3 Peace and Political Settlements

Kenya’s political systems reset through elections every five years. The change in alliances before and after the elections has serious implications on the ability of the population to coexist. In some instances, competition between people from different backgrounds can spark conflict between their clans and communities. Political settlements have been key in distributing power in Northern Kenya. Many people in this region still embrace negotiated democracy as a tool for strengthening peace settlements and promoting understanding between clans and communities living in the same administrative regions. In 2013 and 2017, governorship, legislative and other key political positions in Wajir County was heavily influenced by traditional community leaders. In an article by Makong (2017), it was noted that leaders picked by clans after the consultation was instrumental in solving long-standing disagreements between the people of Wajir and Mandera counties. The leaders enjoy greater support and have the backing of elders when issues such as conflict arise in their respective areas.

Traditional governance systems do not recognize women as community leaders. Therefore, the political distribution of seats through these systems undermine the ability of women to ascend to important elective seats in Wajir County. Mohamed and Wambui (2017) note that negotiated democracy would have been a great advantage to women who wish to ascend to power. They not that from the advent negotiated democracy was to help reduce the violence that comes with followers of candidates from different clans and tribes clashing. However, the elders involved in selecting leaders undermine women because traditional systems of
governance do not recognize their role in political leadership. Women end to missing out on key elective positions.

Women’s role in peacemaking in Wajir County has been limited by their inability to secure elective political positions. Although political settlements have grown in significance in regard to the peace restoration process, women are still relegated in these negotiations. Wajir County has 6 constituencies, with no single elected female member of the national assembly. The only elected female MP from Wajir is the woman representative. The county also elected a male senator, with negotiation from the elders. Wajir County Assembly has a total of 45 members, with 29 elected and 16 nominated. All the 29 elected members are male, with 15 nominated MCAs being women and 1 nominated man (The Wajir County Assembly, 2018). This means that Wajir County has only one woman in an elected political position, who is the woman representative. This position is legally reserved for women, meaning that negotiated political settlements on leadership have done little to alleviate women from the undermining that they suffer in their efforts to become political leaders.

Women in Wajir county have worked with little political power and resources in their efforts to restore peace. This means that the potential of women in peacebuilding is being suppressed by the political process. The gains made through negotiated democracy and political settlements towards peace can be increased by incorporating women in these settlements. Elders who play the role of identifying leaders should consider paying more attention to women leadership. The challenges brought by political settlements are mainly a reflection of culture. If cultural beliefs are overcome in these settlements, elders will become more willing to focus on the potential that women leaders bear towards improving the wellbeing of society.
5.2.4. Summary of the Challenges of Women Engagement in Peacebuilding

The third research question sought to identify challenges to women engagement in peacebuilding in Wajir County. From the responses in 4.4 above, it is clear that WPDA has put a lot of efforts in engaging women in peacebuilding. There however still exist challenges in this endeavor. The most commonly mentioned challenge in the study was cultural beliefs. Unfortunately, culture can only be erased systematically through exposure. The initiative by WPDA to engage women in spite of the existing cultural beliefs is a first step towards countering these negative cultural gendered beliefs.

Another challenge that was identified in the study was the attitude of leaders towards the engagement of women in peacebuilding. This can be countered through peace education and continuous mobilization of communities to support women engagement. A final challenge that came out in the findings was the educational level of women. This is both a cultural and historical issue. Women in Wajir County and the North-Eastern region have over the years lagged behind in education. Resources need to be mobilised for women education and advocacy efforts be stepped up to ensure that the MDG of compulsory free basic education works for the women of Wajir County. Efforts are however being made by WPDA as confirmed in the sturdy and substantiated by the key informants that women are no longer just viewed as victims of war, but are regarded as important contributors to the peace situation able to mediate and resolve conflicts.

5.3 Conclusion

This chapter has given a summary of the key findings and discussed the implications of these findings. From the findings, it is clear that WPDA has strategically used the mediation and conflict resolution mechanisms of women to contribute significantly to the improved peace situation in Wajir County. However, their efforts have been undermined by the change in the
mode of politics in the county. Negotiated democracy is used to ensure that political leaders are spread between the communities and clans in the county. However, none of the people promoted by traditional leadership to vie for elective political positions has been a woman. Women end up having nominated positions, which are relatively less influential with no resources to distribute as part of the peacebuilding strategies. Finally, it is concluded that even though the challenges of women engagement in peacebuilding exist, concerted efforts by different players can systematically surmount these challenges leading to peaceful coexistence between communities.

5.4 Recommendations

1) A need for organizations within Wajir County to work towards creating mutual trust between the community and law enforcers as there seems to be mutual distrust among them.

2) There is a need for non-governmental organizations and CBOs to continue engaging women as agents of peace and to mobilize communities to support female peace heroines in order to motivate more women to engage in peacebuilding to ensure sustainable peaceful communities.

3) The process of negotiated democracy should be remodeled to include women. Women leaders should be actively involved in making political settlements towards peace, right from the point of selecting the people to vie for the seats to distributing resources as a strategy for harmony and coexistence.

5.4.1 Suggestions for Further Studies

The study suggests a research to be done on how religion affects women involvement in peacebuilding.
REFERENCES


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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

I am Grace Konde, a student of the United States International University in the department of International Relations. As a part of the course requirement, I am undertaking a research on Women and Peacebuilding in Kenya with specific attention to the work of Wajir Peace and Development Agency in Wajir.

Kindly help me collect data for this important study by filling in the attached questionnaire as honestly as possible. The information collected from you will be utilized only for academic purpose and your responses will be presented anonymously.

Thank you.

(Fill or tick where appropriate).

PART 1: Demographic characteristics of respondents

1. Name of the respondent........................................ (Optional)

2. Age of respondent............................................

3. Gender

[] Male

[] Female

4. Organization attached to ..................................... (Optional)

5. Position held in organization

(a) Director

(b) Senior Management

(c) Middle level management
(d) Support staff

(e) Others

6. How long has your organization been a member of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency? (Years)

7. What are the reasons for taking up membership in the Wajir Peace and development Agency? (Tick all that apply)
   - Economic benefit and fundraising
   - Networking and socialization
   - Information sharing
   - Advocacy and collective bargain
   - Others (Please specify)

PART II: Approaches used by Wajir Peace and Development Agency in peacebuilding

8. Which activities lead to peacebuilding in Wajir County? Tick all that apply
   - (a) Women engagement
   - (b) Education
9. Which of the above activities are commonly used by the Wajir Peace and Development Agency?
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

10. In your opinion, which of the activities listed in 8 above are most effective in peacebuilding?
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

11. In your opinion, which of the activities listed in 8 above are least effective in building lasting peace?
12. What other strategies should Wajir Peace and Development employ to ensure lasting peace in Wajir County? (State any three)

13. How would you rate the efforts of Wajir Peace and Development agency in peacebuilding? (tick where appropriate)

[ ] None
[ ] Low
[ ] Moderate
[ ] High

(ii) Please explain your reasons for the rating in 13 above

PART III: Impact: Contributions of Wajir Peace and Development Agency in Wajir county peacebuilding

14. Has the peace situation in Wajir County changed over the past 5 years?

[ ] Declined
[ ] About the same
15. Do you think that the Wajir Peace and Development Agency has contributed to the situation over the past 5 years ago?

[] Yes

[] No

ii) If yes, please state any way in which the Wajir Peace and Development has contributed to the situation

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16. In your opinion, which of the following is a strength of Wajir Peace and Development Agency in Peacebuilding?

[] Peace related education

[] Advocacy with government

[] Inter-agency networking

[] Community empowerment

[] Gender mainstreaming

[] Policy and legal enforcement
17. In your opinion, which of the following areas of peacebuilding require strengthening by the Wajir Peace and Development Agency?

[ ] Peace related education

[ ] Advocacy with government

[ ] Inter-agency networking

[ ] Community empowerment

[ ] Gender mainstreaming

[ ] Policy and legal enforcement

[ ] Resources mobilization

[ ] Any other (Please specify) .............................................

18. Are women given prominence in peacebuilding effort by Wajir Peace and Development Agency?

[ ] yes

[ ] No

ii) If yes, explain how women are engaged
iii) If no, please state what can be done by Wajir Peace and Development Agency to engage women in peacebuilding activities.

19. What do you consider as the greatest challenge in involving women in peacebuilding in Wajir County? Tick one

[] Cultural beliefs

[] Education level

[] Religious beliefs

[] The economic situation of women

[] Attitude of leaders towards women

[] Availability of women for peacebuilding activities

[] Other, please specify

20. What other challenges has your organization faced in engaging women in peacebuilding activities in Wajir County?

21. What strategies have you used to counter the challenges above?
22. Please state any other relevant information on the work of Wajir Peace and development Agency on Peacebuilding in Wajir County in the space provided below or overleaf.

Thank you for taking your time to fill the questionnaire
Appendix 2: Key Informant Interview

1. Please describe yourself in terms of age, gender, position held and number of years you have worked here.

2. What are the strategies that the Wajir Peace and Development agency uses in peacebuilding in Wajir County?

3. How would you describe the effectiveness of these strategies in peacebuilding?

4. What other strategies should Wajir Peace and Development employ to ensure lasting peace in Wajir County?

5. What other strategies does the Wajir Peace and Development Agency plan to employ in peacebuilding in Wajir County?

6. How has the peace situation in Wajir County changed since your organization started peacebuilding activities in Wajir County?

7. Do you think that the Wajir Peace and Development Agency has contributed to the change in the peace situation in Wajir?
ii) Please explain

8. Briefly state the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and Threats of the Wajir Peace and Development Agency in peacebuilding in Wajir County

9. What are your greatest achievements in the past five years?

10. Do you have a policy on women involvement in peacebuilding?
    ii) If yes, explain how women are engaged

11. Do you think women play an important role in peacebuilding? Explain.

12. What challenges do you face in involving women in peacebuilding in Wajir County?

13. What strategies have you used to counter these challenges?

14. Is there any other relevant information you would want to give on the work of Wajir Peace and Development Agency on Peacebuilding in Wajir County?

Thank you for taking your time to respond to the interview questions
Appendix 3: Research Introduction Letter

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN.

11th JUNE, 2019

Dear Sir/Madam,

REF: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH – GRACE KONDE
STUDENT ID. NO.626088

The bearer this letter is a student of United States International University (USIU) -Africa pursuing a Masters Degree in International Relations.

As part of the program, the student is required to undertake a dissertation on the "Women and Peacebuilding in Kenya: The Case of Wajir Peace and Development Agency," which requires her to collect data.

Please note that information provided will be treated with utmost confidentiality and will only be used for academic purposes.

Kindly assist the student get the appropriate data and should you have any queries contact the undersigned.

Yours Sincerely,

[Signature]

Prof. Anna Njagina,
Dean – School of Graduate Studies, Research and Extension
Tel: 730 116 442
Email: annnjagina@usi.ac.ke
Appendix 4: Research Authorization Letter

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471, 2281-39, 33-30571, 2219420
Fax: +254-20-2218245, 218249
Email: dg@nacost.go.ke
Website: www.nacost.go.ke
When replying please quote

Ref: No. NACOSTI/P/19/79886/31358

3rd July 2019

Grace Dama Konde
United States International University
P.O. Box 14634- 00800
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Women and peace building in Kenya: The case of Wajir peace and development agency.” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Wajir County for the period ending 3rd July, 2020.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner, and the County Director of Education, Wajir County before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a copy of the final research report to the Commission within one year of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

Boniface Wanyama,
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:
The County Commissioner
Wajir County.

The County Director of Education
Wajir County.