

# ***THE INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL STUDIES***

## **Women in Conflict Management Following the 2007/2008 post Election Violence in Kakamega County: Challenges and Prospects**

**Mukabi Narotso Benardatte**

Ph.D. Student, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya

**Dr. Janet Kassilly**

Senior Lecturer, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya

**Dr. Were Edmond**

Senior Lecturer, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya

**Dr. Moses Wesangula P.**

Senior Lecturer, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Kenya

### ***Abstract:***

*In most African societies women are discrimination against in terms of participation in decision making. This situation becomes worse in times of conflict where women are sidelined in conflict management and yet they are the major victims. They are physically and sexually abused, and end up in refugee camps with their children. The 2007/2008 Post-Election Violence (PEV) marked one of the darkest period in Kenya's history characterized by widespread killings and destruction of property in many parts of the country including Kakamega County. The overall objective of this study was to establish the challenges experienced by women in conflict management following the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kakamega County and the prospects. The study was conducted in three Sub-Counties of Kakamega County, thus Kakamega Central, Lugari and Mumias West which were intensely affected by the PEV. Questionnaires, interviews, and observation methods were used to collect primary data while secondary data was obtained through analysis of documents and reports from relevant offices, library and internet. The main respondents were 384 household heads, while key informants were 38 head teachers of primary schools, 33 Community Based Organizations (CBO) heads and 9 Assistant Commissioners. Both probability and non-probability sampling techniques were used. The data collected was analyzed using descriptive and inferential and the results obtained were presented using tables, graphs, pie charts, maps, figures chi-square and thematic narrative technique. The study revealed that women had a well-designed work-plan for conflict management following the 2007/2008 PEV and did this through various strategies among them peace talks, peace matches, counselling, and civic education. However, implementation of this work-plan was deterred by a number of factors among them financial constraints, unresolved land issues, political incitement, lack of grass root support and lack of genuine desire to bring peace by some peace building groups. The study recommended enhancing capacities by dealing with root causes of conflicts, strengthening security personnel and promotion of national cohesion. Legislative and other barriers for women's participation in conflict management should be removed to allow them to participate fully. The study further recommended provision of education, technical and financial support to women as key in empowering them for conflict management.*

**Keywords:** *Women's initiative, 2007/2008 post-election violence, conflict management, sustainable peace.*

### **1. Introduction**

Throughout the world accounts of war tend to portray men as the conflict resolvers and women as passive innocent victims. In conflict situations, women are much more disadvantaged compared to men. Women tend to be the most vulnerable victims of various forms of violence, from domestic violence, rape, sexual harassment, sexual torture and other types of sexual violence. They also suffer disproportionately from displacement and deprivation (Boulding, 1988). Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2010) enumerates a number of common challenges women face in conflict management processes and in national and international support to peace building objectives. One of these challenges is the lack of shared vision. In countries emerging from conflict, for women to arrive at a broad consensus are not a simple or fast process. In some instances, a vision for peace either does not exist or is not shared by the women in search for lasting peace. The lack of a shared understanding of the context of the conflict, absence of an agreed approach for change in the future, the tendency to focus on immediate priorities and interventions unsuited to address the multiple

dimensions of conflict management all limit the development of a shared vision in conflict management. A shared vision amongst all women actors is a necessity in peace building.

Lack of financial capacities, poor and inefficient donor financing practices is a fundamental challenge for women in conflict management. Common problems with financial practices includes the lack of flexibility of donor funding, the weak alignment of funding to nationally owned planning processes and priorities and specific aid modalities. All these aspects affect legitimacy, capacity and responsiveness to crisis. Women in conflict management remain underfunded in many conflict zones; and the way funds are delivered may also not respond to the needs and expectations of female partners. Research demonstrates that without timely, sustained and well targeted resources, external support to post conflict peace initiative is unlikely to make a difference in the ground (Tschirgi, 2004).

Bayne (2008) also cites political incitements as a major challenge in peace building. A lot of efforts in reconciling warring communities are put in place, relationships are restored and efforts towards and rebuilding of structures destroyed during conflict are done by women Any political incitements as such times, is a major threat, since it pulls back the progress gained through the peace efforts. Hence lack of support from all stake holders can destroy peace efforts.

OECD (2010) highlights that poor strategic communication among women in conflict management remains a key challenge in peace building efforts. Strategic communication in fragile and conflict affected communities is seldom a priority, despite being a critical element for change and for efforts to increase the legitimacy and accountability. Communicating decisions in regard to critical conflict management goals and interventions contribute to aligning interest and getting support for difficult reforms. Lack of communication is a real challenge to the advancement of peace building agenda. Strong political divides have resulted in a weak culture of political dialogue; weak communication between women in conflict management, and other stakeholders on policies and direction; contribute to this lack of understanding.

Women's participation in formal negotiation and decision-making processes has been directly opposed in some situations. In addition, women face many more general challenges to their participation in public life and decision-making (Juma, 2000). According to Juma, these include: intimidation, harassment and violence, time and mobility constraints, responsibilities in the home, including care obligations, illiteracy and limited access to education and training, limited access to information, economic dependency and lack of adequate financial resources, customs and traditions. Stereotypes continue to limit or narrowly define women's role in public life and decision making. It is worth noting that Juma's study classified conflict in three groups, thus conflict related to pastoral, agricultural and refugee communities in Wajir and Mt. Elgon regions. The present study intends to address the gaps by looking at the role of women in management following the 2007/2008 PEV in Kakamega County.

UNIFEM, (2005) differs with the above scholars by indicating that women are excluded from the formal political peace process, which is dominated by male political, community and religious leaders. Only a few women, principally religious leaders, participate in the peace accord and other formal political peace activities. The majority of grassroots women peace workers are engaged in 'informal' peace activities such as peace marches, distributing basic needs and financial assistance to the IDPs and returnees and organizing prayer sessions.

A study by Bouta et al, (2002) in Hague on the other hand indicated that the emergence of women in conflict and peace-related issues is a new phenomenon in the world. Generally these women have limited education, knowledge, and organizational experience and leadership skills. Some women activists, especially in the village level, have only completed primary school and they have received little training to improve their knowledge and skills of peace related issues.

It is worth noting that Bouta's study was on the role of women in conflict prevention and resolution in the in Netherlands and the Scope of the study was on pre conflict, actual conflict and post conflict. Much as this will enrich the present study, the study was carried out in the developed world and hence the need to carry out as similar study in a developing Country and these are the gaps that the present study sought to fill. Odongo, 2004 agrees with Bouta and indicates that most of the grassroots rural women peace builders during the 1992 Rift Valley clashes in Kenya were semi-literate. This put them at a disadvantage because those who organized seminars or workshops targeted professionals, academicians, authorities in the field of peace and security, and those who had written a lot in the area of peace building. Odongo further indicates that this technically shut the rural women out because of their low literacy levels, since they were probably compromised by their parents in terms of who went to school.

In Kenya at the time of conflict women have mobilized resources, and facilitated reconciliation among warring communities in Wajir and the North Rift region (Odongo, 2004). According to UN (2012), Professor Wangari Maathai was awarded Nobel Peace Prize because of using environmental conservation as a prerequisite to a sustainable and peaceful world. Korir (2009) indicates that Teckla Lerupe a renowned athlete formed a peace foundation and on many occasions used sports in fostering peace especially in the Rift Valley region of Kenya. Nominated Senator Honorable Naisula Lesuuda championed peace campaigns in Laikipia in 2010 during ethnic conflict between the Samburu and the Pokots (UN 2012).

In 2007/2008, Kenya experienced post-election violence following the disputed presidential election results. The former President Mwai Kibaki of Party of the National Unity (PNU) was declared winner, and this prompted Raila Odinga of the Orange Democratic Party (ODM), and his followers who were dissatisfied with the results to claim rigging. As a result, supporters of each party turned against the other in most parts of the country leaving about 1500 people dead and 250,000 displaced (Maja, 2009).

As a result various stakeholders came up with ways of peace building and the composition included women. According to KNHRC (2008), NGOs like Peace Unit Programme which targets the youth in Higher Learning Institutions and Women Peace Link which deals with women in peace building among others have strived for sustainable peace in these regions. Based on this background, the study sought to establish the challenges of women in conflict management following the 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya, with specific emphasis

on Kakamega County with an aim of coming up with intervention strategies of improving women participation in conflict management.

## 2. Methodology

The focus of the study was on the challenges faced by women in conflict management following the 2007/2008 postelection violence and the prospects. This study was specifically on women because women as child bearers seek conditions that enable society to be peaceful for the sake of their children (Odongo, 2004). It is important to note that the key informants and respondents for the study were both male and female since both had knowledge on the role of women in conflict management following the 2007/2008 PEV. The study was confined to the three Sub-Counties of Kakamega County, Kenya which were extensively affected by the 2007/2008 PEV thus, Kakamega Central, Mumias West and Lugari. In this study, exploratory and descriptive survey research designs were adopted to evaluate the challenges faced by women in conflict management following the 2007/2008 PEV on women in Kakamega County. The research also adopted exploratory research design, which is also referred to as formulative research design whose main purpose is to formulate a problem for more precise investigation. The major emphasis in such studies is on the discovery of ideas and insights. According to the 2009 census, the three sub-counties (Kakamega central, Mumias West and Lugari) of had a total population of 616,335 and a total of 203,282 households (KNBS, 2009).the total population of the age range 20 to 49 was 315,513. Kakamega central had a total of 50,605 male and 54,862 female, Lugari had a total of 43,044 male and 50,929 female while Mumias West had a total of 53,322 male and 62,798 female. A total of 384 household heads was utilized as the sample size. The study focus having been on women, out of the 384 household respondents 60% were female while 40% were male thus 230 female (Kakamega central 76, Mumias west 78, Lugari 76) and 154 male (Kakamega central 51, Mumias west 52 , Lugari 51). The 384 were not sampled in the category of key informants and this was meant to avoid double responses cases. Therefore, a total of 464 respondents/key informants, comprising of 384 household heads, 38 head teachers of primary schools, 33 heads of CBOS and 9 Assistant Commissioners formed the sample size for this study hence the total sample size was 464. On observation method, the researcher physically visited the three Sub Counties and divisions under study and observed various variables of the study guided by an observation checklist. The study collected secondary data published and unpublished, on the role of women in conflict management from libraries of the various universities, publications, and reports from organizations. To enhance validity and the researcher conducted a pilot study by which pretesting of tools was done on a few respondents in a non-targeted region for the research which also experienced the 2007/2008 post-election violence. Using test/retest method the researcher administered questionnaires and interview schedules to the pilot respondents to fill and were collected, after two weeks the same respondents were given the same questionnaire again to fill. The pilot study was done in Busia County a non-targeted region for the study. The qualitative data collected through the use of in-depth interview were coded, thematized and discussed as a report. The findings of the questionnaire were presented using descriptive statistical tools such as frequency, tables and graphs.

## 3. Results and Discussion

### Challenges Faced by Women during Conflict Management

The study sought to establish the challenges faced by women in their search for peace during the 2007/2008 PEV in Kakamega County. To achieve this, the 384 household respondents were asked to give the challenges faced by women during conflict management. The responses were recorded in table 1.The 33 CBO heads were also asked to indicate the challenges women experienced in their conflict management initiative and their responses are recorded in Table 2.

Challenge	Frequency	Percent (%)
Financial constraints	230	60
Unresolved land issues	115	30
Political incitement	20	6
Lack of genuine drive	19	4
Total	384	100

Table 1: House hold heads responses on Challenges that women faced in their conflict management initiatives  
Source: Field data

Challenge	Frequency	Percent (%)
Financial constraints	20	60.6
Unresolved land issues	8	24.2
Political incitement	3	9.09
Lack of genuine drive	2	6.06
Total	33	100

Table 2: CBO heads responses on Challenges that women faced in conflict management  
Source: Field data

According to the respondents, women conflict management strategies were effective but they faced challenges that interfered with implementation of conflict management strategies, resulting in the lack of sustainable peace in the region. The respondents both household heads and key informants identified the challenges as discussed in the subsequent paragraphs.

### 3.1. Financial Constraints

Financial constraints was one of the major challenges faced by women in their conflict management initiative with 230 (60%) of household respondents supporting this position as shown in table 1. This was further corroborated by the CBO heads and assistant commissioners who were interviewed. Both of them reiterated that the biggest challenge women faced in conflict management initiatives was financial constraints. They indicated that though women had a good work-plan for peace in the region, it was very difficult for them to implement this because most of these activities required finances to implement. They emphasized that conflict management was very expensive and required large sums of funds to support transportation of those involved to the field and community members where peace activities were done, sometimes the venues for conflict management were hired and this required payments, payments of some of the hired people required large sums of money for instance referees during peace tournaments. Depending on the type of activities undertaken, items like balls and uniforms were required for peace tournaments. Hired projects like cattle dips needed building materials such as cement.

Women had different varying levels of financial challenges experienced depending on sources of funds. Some of the scheduled activities had to be cancelled or alternative versions picked on to cut down in the costs. The UN also identifies financial constraints as a major challenge in conflict management as stated below. During conflict donors are usually not willing to fund high risk political and security activities, yet this is the moment when a country may require financial support for peace building efforts. Identifying these needs writing proposals on peace building and getting funded are a major challenge for post conflict countries (UN, 2010).

### 3.2. Unresolved Land Issues

The study revealed another major challenge to conflict management as the unresolved land ownership. 115 (30%) of the household respondents indicated that the major hindrance to sustainable peace is unresolved land ownership disputes. The Assistant commissioners indicated that land issues have been the major problem that triggers conflict. The household heads respondents indicated that land issues are very emotive in Kakamega County. One of the strategies that could help resolve land issues in the region is the development and implementation of clear land policy in Kenya (Kamoet, 2011). The humanitarian policy group (HPG, 2008) examines the land issues in Kenya and indicates that internal displacement is a cyclic theme in Kenya's recent history. During the colonial period, the British land policy which favored white settlers involved taking land from indigenous communities mainly in Western, Nyanza and Rift Valley. This led to implementation of an individual free-hold title registration system at the expense of customary mechanisms of land tenure. The land problem as accelerated during Jomo Kenyatta's tenure as president. He compensated the displaced through resettlement schemes based on a market system which was biased towards those who had financial ability to acquire land. This was worsened by corruption and political networks which favored certain communities. The land issues was further worsened by Kenyatta's successor former President Daniel Arap Moi. He saw multi-party politics as a threat in the 1990s. He portrayed the opposition as Kikuyu led and multi-party politics as an ethnic project to control land. To recover "stolen" land, the Kikuyus were evicted from certain areas they had settled in Western Kenya and the Rift Valley. This led to violence throughout the 90s which left thousands dead and over 350,000 displaced, leading to Moi winning elections in 1992 and 1997. During his tenure, there was rampant land grabbing by a few in his government at the expense of the majority who remained poor. The high population growth during his tenure also increased land pressure. Due to land grievances, over years people have remained bitter due to the loss they experienced. Simply focusing on the return of IDPs to their original homes following the 2007/2008 PEV without addressing their underlying structural causes does not solve the problem. Some of the women involved in conflict management lacked adequate understanding of the land issues and tended to dismiss the land problem as too complex and sensitive hence outside their mandate.

In cases where land is not a central force conflicts can still emerge if there is protracted displacements and land is occupied opportunistically. Policy responses usually favor populations returning to their areas of origin or habitual residence. However, displaced people have no land to return to or unable to or are unable to access their properties. They may have no alternative but to occupy someone else land as squatters. For this reason, land issues post a substantial challenge to women as they assisted those who returned through conflict management (HPG, 2008).

One of the household heads in the questionnaire on personal views commented:

### 3.3. Political Incitement

This was also a major challenge for women in achievement for sustainable peace in the county. household heads respondents indicated peace building efforts were hampered by political incitements as shown by 20 (5%) of them as illustrated in table 1. the findings indicated that the strides made in conflict management were sometimes hampered by political incitements. this revised the gains that had already been made.

Bayne (2008) indicates that hate speech interfered with conflict management during and following the 2007/2008 PEV. This was documented in numerous by local and international organizations. The rhetoric of some politicians following the 2007/2008 PEV made it clear that voters should have been organized along ethnic lines and defended their ethnic interests. A tactic that had been previously been used in 2002 elections. Political, military, religious and other leaders made speeches that were not healthy for public unity. Political leaders' actions are highly influential and can open the door for other more ethnic clashes and intimidations. (Hirsch, 2008). Jolley 2013 agrees with Hirsch's sentiments that politicians and local leaders have been greatly involved in violence. In the 2007/2008 PEV they heightened political tension as they exploited sensitive issues such as the land question and incited the communities against each other.

The household respondents cited lack of grass root support in women's conflict management initiative following the 2007/2008 PEV. Table 1. indicates that 19(4%) of the respondents explained that lack of grass root support hinders conflict management efforts. The interview session with assistant commissioners and CBO heads indicated that some community members did not turn up for the planned activities due to busy schedules or ill intention rendering the activities unachievable. Rescheduling these activities would have been too costly than initially budgeted. In the researcher's view, for positive peace to be achieved, all stakeholders in the peace process must own the process and not impose on them. The best way is when conflict management activities are planned together with the local communities so that they can see themselves as part of the initiative. When activities are planned from top levels and trickled down to grass roots for implementation the local people may not embrace the programs and may lack interest to support. Furman (2011) supports this argument and proposes that the answer to sustainable peace does not rest on diplomatic and political interventions. Sustainable peace and reconciliation seeks to address conflict at grass roots levels, using approaches that encourage the development of trust among the people across the divides.

According to McFarlane (2011) conflict management can be divided into schools of thought through top-down and bottom-up. Top-down (elite) approaches to conflict management concentrate on development at the elite level, putting emphasis on the role of elite actors such as the high-level politicians and the input by international organizations to conflict management. In most cases, the top-down approach involves external organizations and states. It is argued that often, elite and decision makers ignore the experiences of those at the grass root level, where the conflict had adverse effects (Senehi, 2000). A bottom-up (grass root approach) concentrates on the efforts at the society's level thus a form of conflict management developed by the victims of conflict on the ground (Lederach, 1997). The bottom-up approach puts emphasis on grass root leaders and mid-level actors and their responsibilities in conflict management. It focuses on empowering those on the ground people taking ownership of their circumstances and building peace from the grass root level (Lerch, 2000).

### 3.4. Lack of Genuine Drive

Household heads respondents cited lack of genuine drive in conflict management. Table 1. shows 53(29.9%) of the respondents indicating lack of genuine drive towards sustainable peace. The interview sessions with the 9 Assistant Commissioners and 33 CBO heads revealed that this was a problem for women during their conflict management initiative. They stated that some of the community members did not participate in conflict management efforts unless they were given incentives. Sustainable peace therefore became elusive due to the fact that the quest for peace by such individuals was not genuine. In fact some household respondents pointed out those interests drove some individuals to ignite conflicts so that they can constantly get incentives from peace builders (United States Institute for Peace USIP, 2013).

Data collected from CBO heads indicate that 20 (60.6%) cited financial hindrance as a major challenge faced by women in conflict management agreeing fully with household heads respondents about this challenge. Household heads and CBO heads had the same views regarding the challenges faced in conflict management by the women. Figure 7.2 indicates that 2(6.06%) of CBO heads in general indicated that lack of genuine drive was one of the major problems. 3(9.09%) of CBO heads in general pointed out the concern that political incitements interfered with conflict management efforts as indicated in figure 2. Further, 8 (24.2%) of the CBO heads in general highlighted that land problems remained unresolved in many generations hindering achievement of sustainable peace. Table 2. illustrates the challenges as outlined by CBO heads thus it shows the voices of CBO heads in general as far as the depth of challenges experienced by women in conflict management are concerned.

Ways through which women's participation in conflict management could be fostered

The study sought to establish ways through which women's participation in conflict management could be fostered, and therefore the 384 household heads respondents were asked to give suggestions on how women's participation in conflict management could be fostered. The responses were summarized in table 3. below; From table 3. most respondents agreed with the ways of fostering women's participation in conflict management. 65.7% (253) of the respondents agreed with education and training as a way of fostering women participation.

Werner, (2010) indicates that many governments and international organizations play important roles in facilitating women's participation in peace processes, peace building and post-conflict reconstruction, by removing legislative and other barriers for women's participation. Educating and training of women exposes them to many aspects of life including the importance of participating in peace issues, education makes women aware of their rights and are able to contribute to development confidently. The government therefore should take a lead in providing education, technical and financial support to women's organizations with special emphasis on their participation in conflict management. 63.1% (242) cited equal opportunities in legislative aspects. In post-conflict societies, this support is critical as institutions are redefined, restructured or newly created and new laws and regulations are developed. For many years women were disadvantaged as they were not given the opportunity to equally participate as men in politics. 61.0% (234) of the household respondents indicated access to decision making. It is important even for Kenya to stick to the third rule so that the women are given a chance to fully participate and being mothers with motherly instincts, they will ensure that peace prevails.

Way		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Total
Deploy in peace missions	F	53	16	130	185	384
	%	13.9	4.1	33.9	48.1	100.0
Education and training	F	-	38	93	253	384
	%	-	10.0	24.3	65.7	100.0
Organizational Capacity building	F	10	56	116	202	384
	%	2.5	14.5	30.3	52.7	100.0
Equal opportunities	F	5	30	107	242	384
	%	1.3	7.8	27.8	63.1	100.0
Political space	F	-	41	139	204	384
	%	-	10.6	36.2	53.2	100.0
Access to Decision making	F	10	10	130	234	400
	%	2.5	2.5	34.0	61.0	100.0

*Table 3: Ways of fostering women's participation in conflict management*  
*Source: Field data*

This is in agreement with UNESCO, (2006) which indicated that countries, such as Rwanda, Burundi, Mozambique, South Africa and Timor Leste, have taken important steps to increase the number of women legislators in post-conflict elections, including revisions of constitutional and legal frameworks to remove discriminatory provisions; reform of electoral systems; specific targeting of women in voter registration; provision of security during elections; training of women candidates, and introduction of temporary special measures such as quotas. According to Mwamba (2010), measures to ensure attention to women's rights and gender equality issues in truth and reconciliation commissions have also been taken.

The International Centre for Transitional Justice and other organizations have produced useful materials along with specific strategies to address gender equality issues across all operations of truth commissions. For instance in South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, several steps were taken to facilitate women's participation: gender training was provided for all the commissioners; preparatory workshops were held, particularly for rural women; and gender-sensitive reparations policies were developed (for example, providing compensation for work in the home). Mwamba further indicates that in Sierra Leone, women's participation in the design of the truth commission ensured the existence of a special unit to investigate war crimes from a gender equality perspective. Women's participation in peace processes and new governments, and their efforts to rebuild judicial and civil infrastructure, cannot be achieved unless their efforts to organize are supported.

#### 4. Conclusions

In line with the study objective which was to establish the challenges women faced in their initiative in conflict management following the 2007/2008 PEV, the study revealed that women faced various challenges in conflict management. This challenges included financial constraints, political incitement, lack of community support, and lack of genuine desire for sustainable peace. Further findings from the study indicated that women role in management of peace could be fostered by empowering them economically, education and training, equal opportunity and political space. The study also established the desire material and financial gain for some individuals participating in conflict management. They demanded for the incentives before participating in peace initiatives and this points that such people may fuel conflict so that they can benefit from it through conflict management activities.

#### 5. Recommendations

The objective of the study was to establish the challenges faced by women in their initiative in conflict management following the 2007/2008 PEV in Kakamega County. The researcher recommends that legislative and other barriers for women's participation in conflict management be removed to allow them to participate fully. Provision of education, technical and financial support to women's organizations is key if they have to participate fully. In post conflict societies, this support is critical and institutions should be redefined, restructured or newly created and new laws and regulations on this be developed. It is important to increase the number of women legislators in post conflict elections, including revisions of constitutional and legal frameworks to remove discriminatory provisions; reform of electoral systems; specific targeting of women in voter registration; provision of security during elections; training of women candidates, and introduction of temporary special measures such as quotas. Measures should be put in place to ensure attention to women's rights and gender equality issues. Gender training should be provided for all the commissioners; preparatory workshops be held, particularly for rural women; and gender-sensitive reparations policies be developed (for example, providing compensation for work in the home). In addition to these, for women to contribute to peace processes and decision making about security they need safety, resources, political space and access to decision makers. Sometimes regard them as a nuisance or even a threat to their interests. Activists who have had an opportunity to meet with decision makers at the national or international level told me how crucial it was to share information and to build relationships. As Secretary General Kofi Annan has called non-governmental organizations "the conscience", the voices of women's organizations must be heard and heeded by governance structures in which they are fully and consistently represented.

## 6. References

- i. Bayne, S. (2008). 2007 Post Election Violence in Kenya: An Assessment for the UK Government. London: DFID Kenya-UK Government.
- ii. Boulding, E. (1988). *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse.
- iii. Bouta, T. & Frerks, G. (2002). *Women's Role in Conflicts Resolution, Conflict Resolution and Post Conflict Reconstruction*, Netherlands Institute of International Relations, Clingendael.
- iv. HPG (2008). *Crisis in Kenya: Land, Displacement and the Search for Durable Solutions*. London: Overseas Development Institute. Juma, M. K. (2000). *Unveiling Women as pillars of Peace, Peace-building in Communities Fractured by Conflict in Kenya*, UNDP.
- v. Kamoet, A.S (2011). PhD Thesis Titled "The Land Question and Intra-Ethnic conflict in Squatter Enclaves of Mt. Elgon Region, Western Kenya". Kakamega: Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.
- vi. Korir, C. (2009). *Peace at Grassroots; Experience of community Peace Building in the North Rift Region of Kenya*.
- vii. Lederach, J. P (2000). "Conflict Transformation: A Working Definition" In Carolyn Schronk- Shenk, ed. *Mediation and Facilitation Training Manual*. Akron: Menonnite Conciliation Service.
- viii. Lerch, C. (2000) *Peace Building through Reconciliation*. The International Journal of Peace. Vol. 5. (2.)
- ix. Maja, J. R. (2009). *Conflict Analysis of the 2007 Post-election Violence in Kenya: The Pathfinder: A Journal of peace and Conflict Studies Vol.1 No.1*. New Dominion Philanthropy Metrics.
- x. Mwamba, P. S. (2010). *Gaps in Eastern Congo Peace Building Process: The Role of Peace Education and Local Tensions*. Africa Peace and Conflict Journal Vol.3No.3. [www.apcj.upeace.org](http://www.apcj.upeace.org) retrieved on 15th June 2011. Northrup, T. (1989). "The Dynamic of Identity in Personal and Social Conflict" In Terrel.
- xi. Odongo, G. (2004). *Role of Women in Peace Building in Kenya: Focusing on the 1992 Rift Valley Land Clashes (Unpublished Study Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin Stout USA)*.
- xii. OECD (2010). *Peace Building and State building Priorities and Challenges: A Synthesis of Findings from Seven Multi-stakeholder Consultations*. International Dialogue on Peace Building and State holding. Retrieved on May, 20 from <http://www.gsdr.org/go/>
- xiii. McFarlane, P. (2011). *Community based NGOs in Grassroots Peace building and Reconciliation in Northern Ireland*. E-International Relations. Retrieved on May 22, 2013 from <http://www.eir.info.2011/09/24/community-based-ngos-in-grassroots-peacebuilding-and-reconciliation-in-northern-ireland/140>.
- xiv. Richmond, O. (2001). "Rethinking conflict resolution: The linkage problematic between "Track I" and "Track II". *Journal of Conflict Studies Vol 21 No.2* 155-61.
- xv. Senehi, J. (2000). *Constructive Storytelling in Intercommunal Conflicts in Byrne, Sean and Ivin Cynthia, L(Eds). Reconcilable Differences: Turning Points in Ethno political Conflicts*, Connecticut Kumarian Press.
- xvi. SFCG (2011). *Communication for Peace building: Practices, Trends and Challenges*. USA: United States Institute for Peace.
- xvii. Tschirgi, N. (2004). *Post-Conflict Peace building Revisited: Achievements, Limitations and Challenges*. New York: International Peace Academy.
- xviii. UN (2012) *International Day of Peace 21 September, 2012: Sustainable Peace for a Sustainable Future*. Retrieved on June 4, 2013 from <http://www.un.org/event/peaceday>.
- xix. UNIFEM, (2005). *Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community towards Women' Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes*. New York: UNIFEM [www.unifem.org/resources/item\\_detail.php?ProductID=53](http://www.unifem.org/resources/item_detail.php?ProductID=53) (accessed 7 April 2011).
- xx. Werner, K. (2010). *Rediscovering Indigenous Peace building Techniques: The Way to Lasting Peace? Africa Peace and Conflict Journal Vol.3 No.3*. [www.apcj.upeace.org](http://www.apcj.upeace.org) retrieved on 15th June 2011.