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EXPLORING WOMEN'S INCLUSION AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE BUILDING OF INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE FROM GRASSROOTS INITIATIVES IN KENYA

EXPLORANDO LA INCLUSIÓN Y LA CONTRIBUCIÓN DE LAS MUJERES A LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE INFRAESTRUCTURAS PARA LA PAZ A PARTIR DE INICIATIVAS COMUNITARIAS EN KENIA

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACCORD	African Center for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
AMARC	World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters
APAI	African Platform on Access to Information
AVEGA	Association for Widows of the Genocide
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CCP	Concerned Citizens for Peace
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women
CEWARN	Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism
CEWERU	Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit
CEWS	Early Warning System
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
CIPEV	Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence
CoE	Committee of Experts
COI	Commissions of Inquiry
COVAW	Coalition of Violence against Women
CPMR	Conflict Prevention, Management and Reconciliation
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
CSSDCA	Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
DC	District Commissioner
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
DMCs	District Code of Conduct Monitoring Committees
DPC	District Peace Committee

EEAS	European External Action Service
EIGE	European Institute for Gender Equality
EMM	European Media Monitor
EP	European Parliament
EU	European Union
FCAS	Fragile and Conflict-Affected States
FPCT	Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GIVAS	Global Impact and Vulnerability Alert System
GK97	Global Knowledge 97
GPBS	Global Peace-Building Strategy
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
HRBA	Human Rights Based Approach
HRW	Human Rights Watch
I4P	Infrastructures for Peace
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IIEC	Interim Independent Electoral Commission
ILO	International Labor Organisation
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
ICTR	International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda
IWTC	International Women's Tribune Center
JRC	Joint Research Centre
KADU	African Democratic Union

KANU	Kenya African National Union
KNCHR	Kenya National Commission on Human Rights
KNFP	Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons
KPU	Kenya People's Union
KRCS	Kenya Red Cross Society
LAAC	Local Authority Advisory Committee
LWI	Liberian Women's Initiative
MCDWA	Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MOZA	Men of Zimbabwe Arise
MYWO	Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGEC	National Gender and Equality Commission
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NMC	National Code of Conduct Monitoring Committee
NPC	National Peace Council
NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NRPAC	Northern Region Peace Advocacy Council
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management
NSP	National Solidarity Program
NVAC	National Vulnerability Assessment Committee
OCHA	Office of the Coordinator for Humanitarian Affairs
OPTIMA	Open Source Text Information Mining and Analysis
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues

OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PEV	Post-Election Violence
PPF	Provincial Peace Forum
PNUD	Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo
PPRC	Political Parties Registration Commission
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PSC	Political and Security Committee
PSC	Protracted Social Conflict
RC	Regional Commissioner
RECSA	Regional Centre on Small Arms
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SALW	Small Arms and Light Weapons
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SMS	Short Message Service
TJRC	Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UN	United Nations
UNCSTD	United Nations Commission on Science and Technology for Development
UNDAW	United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNDP-BCPR	United Nations Development Programme-Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
WC	Women Coalition
WiLDAF	Women in Law and Development in Africa

WHO	World Health Organisation
WORC	Women's Online Resource Centre
WOZA	Women Of Zimbabwe Arise
WPDC	Wajir Peace and Development Committee
WPF	World Peace Festival
WPS	Women Peace and Security
WSIS	World Summit on the Information Society
ZACT	Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre
ZANU	ZimbabweAfricanNationalUnion

EXPLORANDO LA INCLUSIÓN Y LA CONTRIBUCIÓN DE LAS MUJERES A LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DE INFRAESTRUCTURAS PARA LA PAZ A PARTIR DE INICIATIVAS COMUNITARIAS EN KENIA

Como académicos y seres humanos hemos asistido a un profundo cambio en el carácter de los conflictos en las últimas dos décadas. Conflictos armados internos han tenido lugar con mayor frecuencia en comparación con los inter-estatales, por lo que los civiles se han convertido en los actores principales de los enfrentamientos armados, así como en sus principales víctimas. Wiist et al. (2014) informan que, a pesar de que tanto la proporción de muertes de civiles como los métodos para clasificarlos son controvertidos, los civiles constituyen entre el 85 y el 90% de las víctimas de guerra, y alrededor de diez civiles mueren por cada combatiente muerto. Además, los civiles han sido víctimas de violencia sexual en muchos conflictos contemporáneos y entre el 70 y el 90% de las víctimas de las 110 millones de minas plantadas desde 1960 en 70 países han sido civiles.

A la luz de este cambio fundamental de dinámica, por lo tanto, es de suma importancia entender los conflictos, tanto como la paz, no como un único y accidental evento sino como un proceso capaz de transformarse a sí mismo, ya sea positiva o negativamente, en un período de tiempo y en el espacio. Es fácil entender la planificación de la guerra como una serie progresiva de acciones que incluyen la preparación estratégica y la recolección de enormes recursos y datos, dirigida a crear

una infraestructura militar en continuo estado de preparación. Por el contrario, el concepto de planificación de la paz se suele concebir como algo accidental en lugar de razonado y analizado. Esto se traduce desde el punto de vista operativo y estratégico en la ausencia genérica de un enfoque sistémico de prevención de conflictos y construcción de la paz (Dress, 2005:2).

En 2002, la Organización Mundial de la Salud hizo una declaración en su *Informe Mundial sobre la Violencia y la Salud*:

> La violencia se puede prevenir así como se puede reducir su impacto, de la misma manera en que los esfuerzos de salud pública han impedido y reducido las complicaciones relacionadas con el embarazo, lesiones en el lugar de trabajo, las enfermedades infecciosas y las enfermedades derivadas de agua y alimentos contaminados en muchas partes del mundo. Los factores que contribuyen a las respuestas violentas - ya sean factores de actitud y de comportamiento o relacionados con las condiciones sociales, económicas, políticas y culturales más grandes - pueden ser cambiados (OMS, 2002:3).

La fuerza de esta declaración es la de ser basada en pruebas de vanguardia. Desde 2006, las iniciativas apoyadas por las Naciones Unidas han ayudado a prevenir o reducir significativamente la violencia en Bolivia, Guyana, Ecuador, Colombia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenia, Kirguistán, Lesoto, Nigeria, Togo, las Islas Salomón, Sierra Leona y Timor Leste (Cravero y Kumar, 2005:9).

Varios ejemplos de casos de éxito se pueden encontrar en todo el mundo, desde los esfuerzos individuales y comunitarios hasta las políticas nacionales y las iniciativas legislativas, lo que demuestra que la violencia puede prevenirse o, en otras palabras, *la paz se puede planificar*. A pesar de la simplicidad de estas palabras, su significado, su alcance y repercusiones para el futuro de los estudios de paz y conflicto, si no para el futuro de todos los países, son inmensamente amplios y

pioneros. La idea de que la paz puede ser planificada ha sido traducida operacionalmente en el concepto de Infraestructuras para la Paz (I4P).

Durante una reunión facilitada por el Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) en febrero 2010 en Naivasha, Kenia, representantes de gobiernos, partidos políticos, sociedad civil y equipos nacionales de la ONU de quince países africanos acordaron una definición de este nuevo concepto. Las infraestructuras para la paz han sido definidas como la '*red dinámica de estructuras interdependientes, mecanismos, recursos, valores y habilidades que, a través del diálogo y la consulta, contribuyen a la prevención de los conflictos y a la construcción de la paz en una sociedad'*. El potencial de este tipo de infraestructuras, que constituyen el fundamento de la 'capacidad de colaboración', es de ser capaz de ayudar una sociedad frágil, dividida, en rápida transición o post-conflicto para hacer frente, mediante la búsqueda de soluciones internas a través de un diálogo entre múltiples actores, a problemáticas como por ejemplo los conflictos recurrentes sobre la tierra y los recursos naturales.

I4P son no sólo la respuesta a la necesidad de un enfoque sistemático para la prevención de los conflictos arriba mencionados, sino también una oportunidad perfecta para los ciudadanos, hoy en día cada vez más exigentes de tener sus necesidades representadas, para reemplazar acuerdos políticos de poder con soluciones a largo plazo y basadas en la comunidad capaces de llevar ante la justicia los crímenes contra la población civil.

Dado que la capacidad de innovación de las infraestructuras para la paz es la de ser estructuras inclusivas que permitan la participación civil de múltiples grupos, es imperativo no ignorar las necesidades de la mitad de la población mundial cuando se trata de desarrollar la capacidad para gestionar y prevenir los conflictos. Como la

evidencia disponible sugiere, sin embargo, este requisito muy básico no suele cumplirse. A pesar de la creciente evidencia del valor de las mujeres como constructoras de paz, de hecho de los 24 principales procesos de paz desde 1992, menos del 3% tenían mujeres firmantes, 3,2% mujeres mediadores, 5,5% mujeres testigos y 7,6% mujeres negociadoras (Castillo-Díaz, 2010:3). Por otra parte, relativamente poca atención se le ha dado hasta hoy en día a la acción de las mujeres en los procesos de planificación de paz actualmente en vigor.

A pesar de haber demostrado su eficacia en la mitigación de conflictos a través de mediación comunitaria y en los sistemas de alerta temprana, tanto en los estados frágiles cuanto en los estados relativamente estables como Kenia, las mujeres están en gran medida ausentes de los procesos de paz y las iniciativas de prevención de conflictos. Esto significa que la perspectiva basada en la comunidad que las mujeres traen a menudo falta en perjuicio de los resultados. A menos que las mujeres puedan participar desde la fase inicial en la expresión de sus necesidades y además ver estas tratadas en las estructuras de gobierno y en las constituciones, no disponen de ninguna base legal para impugnar las desigualdades sistémicas que determinan su condición social, corriendo de esta manera el riesgo de permanecer económicamente, políticamente y socialmente marginadas.

Operativamente esto precisaría de un enfoque múltiple para aportar nuevas ideas en la construcción de capacidades de estabilización que se desarrollan desde la base popular hasta niveles superiores. Los objetivos se refuerzan mutuamente: de un lado, aumentar el conocimiento y las habilidades de las mujeres para hacer frente a conflictos y problemáticas de seguridad; del otro, promover su participación en el diálogo y en la toma de decisiones, con el fin de ser capaces de influir en las políticas y las prácticas de seguridad.

La intención de este trabajo académico es, por lo tanto, investigar la presencia imprescindible y las contribuciones de las mujeres en la construcción de infraestructuras para la paz, ya que su inclusión en los procesos formales de paz es el determinante más crucial por una mayor atención a las cuestiones de género en la garantía de la justicia política, jurídica, social y económica de una sociedad. Consiguientemente es necesario incorporar en los programas de I4P un pensamiento habitual que incluya una conciencia de género y el reconocimiento de las mujeres como aliados con los hombres en la lucha por construir naciones pacíficas. Además, es fundamental reconocer que la participación ciudadana sólo se puede lograr a través de la implementación de nuevas estrategias de comunicación que permitan empoderar a las mujeres para que reclamen su derecho a la participación en la toma de decisiones y, por lo tanto, influyan en las mesas de negociaciones políticas y en las prácticas de seguridad. Se requiere así un cambio real en los marcos conceptuales de paz actuales para que la inclusión de las mujeres sea la norma y no la excepción. Esta sería una gran oportunidad para las infraestructuras para la paz de ser un modelo y establecer un punto de referencia para sociedades inclusivas, justas y pacíficas.

Planteamiento del problema

Como sostienen varios informes, las mujeres y los niños siempre han pagado un precio muy alto durante y después de los períodos de guerra. A finales de 2010, el número de personas internamente desplazadas (PID) por conflictos armados, violencia generalizada y violaciones de derechos humanos llegó en todo el mundo a 27,5 millones, aumentando de unos 400.000 desde el final de 2009 (Centro de Control de Desplazamiento Interno, 2010). La violencia sexual y la violación se han utilizado cada vez más como herramienta de guerra moderna para extender el miedo y la

humillación, desmoralizar a las comunidades y destruir las identidades de grupo. UN Women (womenwarpeace, 2011) informa de que entre 250.000 y 500.000 mujeres y niñas fueron violadas durante el genocidio de 1994 en Ruanda, entre 20.000 y 50.000 durante la guerra en Bosnia-Herzegovina a principios de 1990, entre 50.000 y 64.000 mujeres desplazadas en Sierra Leona fueron atacadas sexualmente por los combatientes, y más de 200.000 mujeres y niños han sido violados durante más de una década de conflicto en la RDC.

El legado generacional que estos hechos atroces dejan y la incorporación de los conflictos en la psique de una nación no deben ser subestimados, con las mujeres y los niños especialmente vulnerables a raíz del sufrimiento causado. La desintegración familiar y la viudez frecuentemente los privan de medios de vida, dejándolos vulnerables a la trata y al ostracismo social.

Debido a las consecuencias de los conflictos en los hombres, por otra parte, las mujeres con frecuencia se vuelven esenciales en la aplicación de los acuerdos de paz y la reconstrucción de la cohesión social. Utilizando a menudo un enfoque basado en los derechos humanos (*Human Rights Based Approach*, HRBA) y en el análisis de los conflictos, en general las mujeres no solo toman conciencia de los problemas que son causa de guerras siendo especialmente sensibles a factores como el respeto de las diferencias y de las minorías, sino que también suelen ser capaces de contribuir de manera significativa en impedir los conflictos por medio de alertas tempranas (*Early Warning*). Los así llamados "indicadores de género", reflejando las circunstancias cambiantes en la sociedad entre hombres y mujeres y poniendo de relieve las tensiones emergentes en la comunidad, son de hecho a menudo los primeros signos de un conflicto emergente. Los informes sobre Kosovo y Sierra Leona muestran que las

mujeres a veces eran conscientes del conflicto inminente, pero no tenía dónde remitir la información (Dress, 2005:89).

Kofi Annan, anterior Secretario General de las Naciones Unidas (ONU), declaró en un discurso con motivo del Día Internacional de la Mujer, 8 de marzo de 2000, que "las mujeres que saben el precio de los conflictos tan bien están a menudo mejor equipadas para prevenirlos o resolverlos". Estas palabras definen muy bien la necesidad de planificar la paz inclusiva, la igualdad y la prevención de conflictos. Es fundamental, por lo tanto, deconstruir la noción de la mujer como únicamente víctima de las guerras, prefiriendo fortalecer la importante contribución que las mujeres pueden hacer como actores sociales activos en las difíciles tareas de mediación, estabilización y reconstrucción de las comunidades asoladas por conflictos, incluyendo su papel de madres y educadores.

Al mismo tiempo, tenemos que repensar el significado de "paz" y "conflicto", realzando las capacidades de las mujeres para contribuir a la planificación de la paz, de la democratización y de la justicia social. Tenemos que desarrollar la capacidad básica de las mujeres para acceder y analizar la información en relación con la prevención y gestión de conflictos, haciendo uso de las diferentes tecnologías de los medios de comunicación de acuerdo al contexto, la audiencia y las infraestructuras disponibles (Mckay y Mazurana, 2004).

Por último, varios documentos producidos por diversos organismos de las Naciones Unidas, entre ellos el Fondo de Desarrollo de las Naciones Unidas para la Mujer (UNIFEM), el Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (PNUD) y el Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Refugiados (ACNUR) serán

analizados para verificar cómo la participación de las mujeres constituye un pilar fundamental de todas las sociedades basadas en seguridad, paz y justicia.

Por lo tanto, el supuesto básico de esta tesis es que la participación de las mujeres como grupos de interés constituye un pilar fundamental de cualquier Infraestructura para la Paz. Tengo la intención de demostrar, mediante un análisis crítico del material académico y el uso de Kenia como un estudio de caso, que la seguridad, la paz y la justicia no pueden construirse sin las mujeres y, en consecuencia, sin el respeto de los derechos humanos y la justicia socio-económica.

Por lo tanto, la hipótesis básica de esta investigación es que la participación de las mujeres a la construcción de infraestructuras para la paz mediante la aplicación de políticas, estrategias de comunicación e iniciativas comunitarias no ha sido reconocida en el ámbito académico.

Objetivos

Los objetivos de esta Tesis Doctoral son los siguientes:

1. Analizar la noción teórica de paz, violencia, conflicto, acción para la paz, comunicación para la paz e Infraestructuras para la Paz. Este objetivo será estudiado en el segundo capítulo de esta Tesis Doctoral.

2. Examinar la contribución de las mujeres en la elaboración, construcción y ejecución de las infraestructuras para la Paz, mostrando la evolución histórica e institucional del papel que han desempeñado en la construcción de la paz, la prevención de conflictos y la alerta temprana. Este objetivo será estudiado en el tercer capítulo de la Tesis Doctoral.

3. Examinar los éxitos, retos y obstáculos para la aplicación uniforme y global de las Infraestructuras para la Paz a través del estudio del caso concreto de Kenia, dedicando especial atención al papel fundamental desempeñado por la comunicación para la construcción de paz en la mejora de los mecanismos eficaces e inclusivos de prevención de conflictos. Este objetivo será estudiado en el cuarto capítulo de esta Tesis Doctoral.

Hipótesis

La hipótesis de esta tesis doctoral es que la fuerza innovadora de Infraestructuras para la Paz radica en su carácter inclusivo, que permite la participación civil de múltiples actores e incorpora las funciones y contribuciones de las mujeres como un mecanismo vital para construir una planificación eficaz de la paz y prácticas de prevención de conflictos.

Justificación del tema de investigación

La autora cree firmemente en la necesidad de la investigación que esta tesis doctoral ofrece por diversas razones. El concepto de Infraestructuras para la Paz sigue ante todo aún no bien conocido, investigado y documentado, ya que pocos son conscientes de sus características y potencialidades. Esta tesis doctoral, por lo tanto, proporcionará una investigación académica y la práctica de esta nueva y fundamental idea añadiendo así más en la investigación para la paz.

Aún más importante es, por otra parte, mostrar las contribuciones fundamentales que las mujeres son capaces de llevar a cabo en cualquier mecanismo de prevención de conflictos y resolución. Hay, de hecho, una considerable escasez de

evidencia empírica y datos desglosados, tanto como pequeña colección formal y oficial de dichas cifras. A menudo es difícil recopilar información útil con la que crear un panorama más exhaustivo de la participación de las mujeres en procesos de paz y de los consiguientes resultados. La autora tiene por lo tanto la intención de llenar este vacío.

Además, ella ha estado personalmente y directamente involucrada en este tema específico, tanto académicamente como profesionalmente. Desde 2010 ha sido, de hecho, lidereza del objetivo 2 del proyecto *"About time: women at every peace table"* de la Global Peace Building Strategy (GPBS), presentada en el World Peace Festival (WPF, Berlín, agosto de 2011) y destinada a abordar sistemáticamente la cuestión de los conflictos violentos. Desempeñando este rol, ha sido responsable de la elaboración y aplicación de una estrategia destinada a facilitar un cambio en los procesos de paz en curso, por lo que sea reconocido y aprovechado el rol de las mujeres como constructoras de la paz. En consecuencia, ella ha investigado numerosos perfiles de mujeres constructoras de paz en unos 30 países y ha establecido colaboraciónes con organizaciones locales e internacionales que trabajan con y para las mujeres. Estos incluyen: UN Women, United Nations Development Programme-Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery (UNDP-BCPR), Global Fund for Women, WomanKind Worldwide and GAPS UK (Gender Action for Peace and Security).

También, la autora ha colaborado con algunas mujeres constructoras de paz en Ghana y Kenia, con la intención de organizar conferencias y cursos de formación específica sobre la mujer y la paz finalizados al intercambio de las mejores prácticas, la deconstrucción de la idea de las mujeres como únicamente víctimas y ofrecer la posibilidad de ser instrumentos de transformación en sus vidas y en las vidas de los

demás. Su objetivo es, por lo tanto, utilizar las experiencias profesionales paralelas como investigación de campo para esta tesis doctoral.

Por último, la autora esta personalmente entusiasta de ampliar sus conocimientos sobre los conceptos que tiene la intención de investigar en esta tesis doctoral, trabajando para convertirse en doctora en un tema que es su pasión, tanto al nivel personal como profesional. Con los pasos de cara al futuro le gustaría, de hecho, fortalecer sus conocimientos y experiencia práctica en el desarrollo de una perspectiva de género en los procesos de construcción de la paz. Este proyecto académico sería una excelente ocasión para comenzar una carrera profesional.

Revisión literaria

El propósito de esta revisión literaria es señalar y resumir cómo los diferentes estudiosos han investigado y presentado la correlación entre las mujeres y la acción para la paz. Con este fin, la autora ha proporcionado una visión general de la literatura seleccionada que, ofreciendo diferentes perspectivas, es fundamental para el tema de esta tesis doctoral. Al explorar las lagunas entre el espectro teórico y la realidad de la inclusión de las mujeres en la construcción de la paz y la prevención de conflictos, esta revisión académica dará una buena razón para la relevancia de esta tesis doctoral.

La revisión se centra en particular en teorías como la de paz, conflictos y desarrollo, apuntada a definir el ámbito muy complejo de la construcción y planificación de la paz, y de la prevención de los conflictos. Además, como esta tesis doctoral investiga el papel de las mujeres en los procesos ascendentes a través de las cuales las comunidades participan en las infraestructuras de paz nacionales, se utilizan teorías feministas como la teoría feminista de paz y conflictos (*FeministsPeaceand*

ConflictTheory (FPCT)) para explicar el entendimiento de la paz por parte de las mujeres y su papel en la prevención de conflictos. Además, en esta revisión se presenta brevemente el ámbito de las comunicaciones para la construcción de la paz a fin de investigar las oportunidades que esta herramienta ofrece para conceder a cualquier estrategia de paz un carácter amplio y sistemático. Por último, se hace una breve reseña de los antecedentes teóricos que condujeron a la elaboración del concepto de Infraestructuras para la Paz.

Sólo recientemente el término *peace-building* (construcción de la paz) ha llegado a un ámbito común y generalmente aceptado que abarca la justicia social y la igualdad, la mejora de las relaciones y la satisfacción de las necesidades básicas. Sin embargo, todavía hay una confusión generalizada en la diferencia existente entre los diversos términos que constituyen el amplio campo de los estudios para la paz y los conflictos.

Galtung (1976) no sólo está considerado como el padre de la disciplina de los estudios para la paz y los conflictos, sino se acredita también con la introducción de la idea de *peace-building (*construcción de la paz), diferente del concepto de *peace-making* (establecimiento de la paz), el cual consiste en una infraestructura aplicable dentro y entre las naciones que ofrece alternativas y elimina las causas de la guerra. A pesar de las diversas connotaciones que el concepto de paz ha asumido a lo largo de la historia, la distinción de Galtung entre paz positiva y negativa es quizás una de las más significativas para el propósito de esta disertación. Al impugnar la hipótesis de que la investigación sobre la paz debe centrarse únicamente en la violencia directa, el autor (1964) definió la paz positiva exigiendo no sólo que todos los diferentes tipos de violencia fueran mínimos o inexistentes, sino también que se determinara la eliminación de todas las causas principales de futuros conflictos. La construcción de

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la paz adquiere así un ámbito más amplio que abarca la justicia social y la igualdad, la mejora de las relaciones y la satisfacción de las necesidades básicas.

Galtung (1969) también identifica seis dimensiones de la violencia y, lo que es más importante, elabora la primera distinción entre violencia personal (directa) y estructural (indirecta), elaborando posteriormente el triángulo del conflicto que introdujo la violencia cultural en el mundo de la teoría del conflicto. Además, el autor (1969) conecta la teoría de la paz y la investigación para la paz no sólo con la teoría y la investigación de conflictos, sino también con las de desarrollo. Galtung (1996) advierte, de hecho, que la violencia más directa en el mundo es cometida por hombres a través de jerarquías que les permiten sustituir violencia cultural y estructural por violencia directa. Si la violencia directa, como la violación, intimida y reprime a las mujeres, la violencia estructural institucionaliza la violación de las necesidades básicas, mientras que la violencia cultural internaliza los sentimientos de sufrimiento de las mujeres.

Dado el alcance de esta tesis doctoral, es fundamental analizar también las definiciones feministas de los conceptos antes mencionados. Enloe (2000) define la paz en términos feministas como "el logro por las mujeres del control sobre sus vidas". Pankhurst (2003) subraya que la interpretación "positiva" de la paz feminista implica no sólo la ausencia de conflictos armados y de género, sino también la ausencia de pobreza y de las condiciones que los recrean. La "paz positiva" hace de los temas de género elementos importantes y capaces de afectar directamente la eficacia de los procesos de construcción de la paz, ya que requiere igualdad de género.

Porter (2003) afirma que las mujeres tienen una noción ampliada de paz sostenible, que corresponde directamente a su visión de la justicia social y que

requiere tres elementos principales: el cumplimiento de las necesidades humanas, las instituciones democráticas y justas, y procesos de paz en curso.

Lacey (2004) ilustra los orígenes del feminismo, que se remontan a hace muchos siglos. Con respecto a la era moderna, la contribución de los sufragistas a comienzos del siglo XX fue fundamental para crear la primera distinción entre el patriotismo y el pacifismo feminista, basado respectivamente en la participación y la toma de decisiones y la vital contribución de las mujeres a la construcción de la paz.

Como Weber (2006) señala que la Teoría Feminista de la Paz y los Conflictos (FPCT) se desarrolló a través de diferentes disciplinas y metodologías siguiendo la naturaleza cambiante del feminismo para cuestionar los estándares normativos masculinos e introducir la dimensión de género en todas las formas de violencia. Como explica Caprioli (2000), la FPCT estaba fuertemente influida por un concepto biológico versus un concepto socialmente construido de género. El determinismo biológico utiliza las diferencias fisiológicas entre hombres y mujeres como base de sus roles sociales, basados principalmente en la investigación de Fukuyama (1998) que muestra cómo las mujeres son en realidad más pacíficas que los hombres. Sin embargo, muchos académicos como Charlesworth (2008) han discutido tal concepto, argumentando que ese pensamiento es responsable de fijar el sexo con el género, sin considerar el hecho de que las mujeres también pueden ser responsables de la violencia durante los conflictos y limitar su agencia política a lo que es posible por su tranquilidad femenina.

El constructivismo social, por otro lado, sostiene que las diferencias de género son socialmente construidas, trazando una clara distinción entre género y sexo. Como lo ilustra Yablon (2009) la academia ha argumentado a menudo que todas las

diferencias existentes entre mujeres y hombres en muchos aspectos de su vida social han impactado directamente su diferente actitud hacia la paz. Como consecuencia, la falta de poder social y político de las mujeres les ha obligado a recurrir a la mediación y al compromiso. Por lo tanto, las mujeres son relegadas a ser cuidadoras naturales.

Con respecto a los principales discursos sobre la acción para la paz, como lo demuestran las operaciones de las Naciones Unidas, el enfoque ha cambiado en el siglo pasado debido a la naturaleza cambiante de los conflictos desde el mantener el statu quo (*peace-keeping*) a la aplicación de procesos globales de paz (*Peace-building*). Sin embargo, todavía existe un amplio sentimiento de confusión respecto a la terminología utilizada en este campo. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, el ex Secretario General de la ONU, diferenció formalmente entre el establecimiento de la paz, el mantenimiento de la paz y la construcción de la paz en su *An agenda forpeace: preventivediplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping* (1992). Sin embargo, la definición incluida en el informe del Secretario General se refiere únicamente a las actividades posteriores a los conflictos, por lo que excluye muchas estrategias a largo plazo.

Schirch (2008) describe los tres tipos generales de mantenimiento de la paz como han sido elaborados por el Centre forMulti-TrackDiplomacy. Estos incluyen la construcción política, estructural y social de la paz. La autora subraya que, debido a este carácter tan multilateral, la construcción de la paz requiere una serie de enfoques para apoyar la transformación pacífica del conflicto en todos sus aspectos.

En cuanto al concepto amplio de la prevención de conflictos, Stewart (2003) relata cómo este concepto ha evolucionado sustancialmente desde el período posterior a la Guerra Fría y el estallido de conflictos intra-estatales violentos, convirtiéndose en

una opción moralmente y financieramente deseable en comparación con la difícil resolución de conflictos y la costosa reconstrucción post-conflicto. Como explica la Comisión Carnegie sobre la Prevención de Conflictos Mortales (1997), la acción preventiva, que se diferencia entre la prevención operativa y estructural, tiene como objetivo prevenir el surgimiento de conflictos violentos, prevenir la propagación de los conflictos y prevenir el resurgimiento de la violencia a través del uso de mecanismos cualitativos y cuantitativos de alerta temprana. Anderlini y Stanski (2007) subrayan la importancia de incluir indicadores sensibles al género en el análisis de conflictos y proporcionan ejemplos de su capacidad para resaltar los primeros signos de inestabilidad a nivel comunitario. Estos indicadores pueden ser sistémicos, como la exclusión política a largo plazo de las mujeres y la discriminación económica/educativa; catalizadores como asesinatos y desapariciones específicas de género y económicas.

Además, las comunicaciones han desempeñado históricamente un papel fundamental en los contextos de conflicto y pos conflicto. Debido a la naturaleza evolutiva de la vigilancia de los conflictos, la alerta temprana, la construcción de la paz a nivel comunitario y nacional, los procesos eficaces de información y comunicación se han convertido en elementos fundamentales para construir una cultura participativa de paz. Como Bratic y Schirch (2007) han ilustrado, hay muchos enfoques para analizar cómo las comunicaciones y los medios de comunicación han influido en las actividades de construcción de la paz. Pueden proporcionar comentarios y sensibilización sobre cuestiones sociales críticas a nivel local, mantener un equilibrio de opiniones y ayudar a influir en los responsables políticos, cubrir y facilitar las iniciativas diplomáticas, así como disminuir la polarización entre los

grupos. A través de diferentes tipologías de herramientas, las comunicaciones pueden ayudar a construir cambios cognitivos, actitudinales y conductuales.

Con respecto al concepto de Infraestructura para la Paz, este surgió por primera vez en Sudáfrica durante la lucha contra el apartheid. Gracias al Acuerdo Nacional de Paz, se establecieron comités de paz nacional, regional y local que condujeron a la creación de un nuevo sistema nacional destinado a encontrar soluciones no violentas a los conflictos intergrupales. Como ilustran Ball y Spies (1998), los comités de paz en Sudáfrica no sólo han creado lugares seguros y han abierto canales de comunicación, sino legitimaron la negociación y la igualación de las relaciones de poder, fortalecieron la responsabilidad de los actores y redujeron la incidencia de la violencia.

Además, van Tongeren (2011) pone de manifiesto que las estructuras de paz en todo el mundo han demostrado ser en primer lugar económicas y rentables en comparación con intervenciones externas a menudo ineficaces y usualmente muy costosas, así como capaces de ayudar a las sociedades frágiles y divididas a construir la paz a través de un enfoque cooperativo y de solución de problemas. El UNDP (2010) ofrece ejemplos, como Ghana y Sierra Leona, de cómo las infraestructuras para la paz han logrado armonizar y coordinar los mecanismos de prevención de conflictos.

En conclusión, la revisión de los discursos académicos y las teorías sobre el tema de esta tesis doctoral ha mostrado cómo una orientación estructural de la construcción de la paz se ha ido expandiendo a través de los años, mientras se desarrolla en el concepto de planificación de la paz. Desafortunadamente, la literatura actualmente disponible no propone muchas soluciones posibles a la necesidad urgente

de elaborar estrategias integradoras de prevención de conflictos, a pesar de un acuerdo general sobre la necesidad de redes e infraestructuras coherentes a largo plazo. El término "Infraestructuras para la Paz" aún no se conoce, así como sus componentes ni su potencial.

Aunque la literatura sobre la construcción de la paz ha ilustrado ampliamente la centralidad de su noción como un proceso, la visión de la paz como un proceso es difícilmente documentada (Lederach, 1995a, 1995b). Como De la Rey y McKay (2006) señalan, hay poca consideración para el hecho de que la paz es "acerca de hombres y mujeres y cómo se relacionan entre sí", ya que en su lugar la paz se percibe más comúnmente como un estado o un resultado basado sólo en las perspectivas de los hombres.

A pesar de la atención específica dada por los académicos feministas a la exclusión histórica de las mujeres de disciplinas como la diplomacia, las relaciones internacionales y los estudios sobre la paz, el género aún no se ha integrado permanentemente en el pensamiento dominante dentro de estos campos. Dolgopol (2006) subraya que los procesos de paz dominados por los hombres suelen centrarse en poner fin a las hostilidades al tener partidos "belicosos" dominados por los hombres representados en la mesa de la paz. Al excluir a las mujeres de las negociaciones sobre constituciones y políticas gubernamentales, se pierden muchas ocasiones importantes para redefinir la distribución del poder en la sociedad. El potencial de las mujeres, las redes de mujeres y las organizaciones de mujeres como actores de la paz en la alerta temprana y las actividades preventivas aún no se han aprovechado.

Puesto que a menudo no se reporta la prevención de conflictos con éxito, especialmente debido a la dificultad de probar que una iniciativa específica, en lugar de otros factores, tuvo éxito en la prevención de un conflicto, generalmente se acordó que muchas situaciones de conflicto podrían haberse evitado mediante intervenciones preventivas oportunas. Como ha señalado el Centro Africano para la Resolución Constructiva de las Disputas (ACCORD) (2007), asignar los recursos necesarios a la prevención es una cuestión de voluntad política, ya que los tomadores de decisiones rara vez están dispuestos a leer los signos de alerta temprana antes de que sea demasiado tarde.

Si el desarrollo y la paz están profundamente ligados entre sí, es fundamental incluir a las mujeres en la planificación de ambas. A través del trabajo y el esfuerzo de las Naciones Unidas, se ha prestado nueva atención a la incorporación de la perspectiva de género, los derechos humanos y el desarrollo de asociaciones entre mujeres y hombres como bases estratégicas para la consecución de la igualdad de género y la paz sostenible. Sin embargo, todavía existe mucha resistencia a la inclusión de la experiencia local de las mujeres en planificación, participación e implementación de paz sostenible.

No hay mucha literatura disponible sobre cómo las estrategias de comunicación pueden, a través de un enfoque de abajo hacia arriba, permitir que las mujeres dentro de las comunidades locales participen activamente en el esfuerzo de prevención, ni sobre cómo las mujeres pueden contribuir a la construcción de infraestructuras holísticas y completas para la paz realizando la recopilación y el análisis de información y proporcionando información, conocimientos y soluciones diferentes.

Por lo tanto, la autora tiene la intención de remediar estas deficiencias, investigando el concepto de construcción de la paz como un proceso de planificación para la construcción de infraestructuras de paz, que incluyan a las mujeres como uno de los pilares fundamentales e indispensables. Dada la escasa documentación de la contribución cotidiana de las mujeres a la prevención de conflictos y la construcción de una paz sostenible, esta tesis doctoral pretende ampliar la evidencia del potencial de las mujeres como constructoras de paz a partir de las comunidades.

Marco Teórico

En las últimas dos décadas, la comunidad internacional ha mostrado un creciente interés en el campo de la construcción de la paz. Desde principios de 1990 las instituciones internacionales han de hecho modificado su actitud hacia lo que se ha convertido en una industria importante. Si hasta la década de 1980 el principal objetivo de la construcción de paz fue el de simple mantenimiento de un alto el fuego o la restauración de la estabilidad en las zonas de conflicto, en los últimos diez años del siglo veinte se ha observado un cambio hacia las intervenciones internacionales capaces de crear sociedades pacíficas y democráticas (Chinkin, 2006:937).

Las siguientes teorías tienen en común su intento de ampliar el concepto de paz sostenible, incluyendo en particular las perspectivas de las mujeres y su visión, y por lo tanto son imprescindibles para esta tesis doctoral.

La teoría de paz y conflicto de Galtung

Se pueden dar diferentes interpretaciones al concepto de paz. Para la finalidad de esta tesis doctoral, elegí utilizar la teoría de paz y conflicto de Galtung (1969), según la cual el término paz puede conllevar una connotación negativa y positiva. La

primera, y más común, se identifica con el simple fin o ausencia de un conflicto violento generalizado asociado con la guerra, mientras que la segunda requiere no sólo que todos los diferentes tipos de violencia sean mínimos o inexistentes, sino también que hayan sido eliminadas todas las principales causas de conflictos futuros. Utilizando una comparación médica, Galtung (1985) afirma que la paz positiva puede entenderse como "La construcción de un cuerpo sano capaz de resistir enfermedades, dependiendo de sus propias fuerzas de salud o recursos de salud". Basando las operaciones de construcción de la paz en este concepto más amplio de paz, se construyen actividades para promover y fomentar nuevas formas de ciudadanía y participación política, dirigidas a la creación de democracias activas y, por consiguiente, a la planificación de la paz.

Este cambio ha sido causado, como ya se mencionó anteriormente, principalmente por la naturaleza cambiante de los conflictos. Desde la década de 1990, la mayoría de los conflictos violentos se han librado de forma significativa entre las poblaciones civiles. Frente a una realidad tan notable, se ha vuelto fundamental incluir la población civil en aquellos procesos de paz orientados a la restauración de un orden destrozado por conflictos, de los que esa misma población es protagonista.

La teoría de construcción de paz de Porter

Desafortunadamente, como argumentan las teorías feministas que analizan el marco jurídico internacional (Chinkin, 2006; Porter, 2003), las mujeres han sido raramente incluidas en el diseño institucional internacional de estrategias de construcción de la paz, que en algunos casos han reducido la agencia local de las mujeres en la sociedad.

Para comprender mejor las causas de esta omisión, es fundamental analizar la definición de construcción de la paz y prevención de conflictos proporcionada por las diversas instituciones y actores internacionales. La ONU ha sido la primera en observar la evolución de los términos a lo largo del tiempo. Este análisis revelará que ni la participación de las mujeres, ni su función fundamental en los procesos de construcción de la paz han sido incluidas explícitamente en ninguna de las definiciones formales si no sólo recientemente. Una de las principales causas, bien explicada por la teoría de construcción de pazde Porter, es que la construcción de la paz ha sido generalmente considerada como parte de los procesos de paz formales, haciendo invisibles a muchas mujeres que trabajan por la paz a través de actividades informales como mediación, gestión de conflictos y reconciliación.

Por consiguiente, la comunidad internacional ha trabajado para hacer hincapié en la necesidad de garantizar la participación de la mujer en todas las etapas. Además, si la paz positiva inclusiva es el objetivo de cualquier Infraestructura para la Paz, es fundamental analizar la definición de paz desde la perspectiva de las mujeres y su comprensión de la noción de procesos de paz. Es un hecho que el logro de una mayor igualdad de género no suele considerarse una prioridad dentro de ningún proceso de construcción de la paz. Si la "paz negativa" se puede lograr también en condiciones de disparidad de género, dada la ausencia de imperativos de eficiencia que impulsan un cambio, la "paz positiva" hace que los temas de género sean elementos importantes capaces de afectar directamente la eficacia de los procesos de construcción de la paz (Pankhurst, 2003:13).

La Teoría Feminista de la Paz y los Conflictos (FPCT)

A través del análisis de la Teoría Feminista de la Paz y los Conflictos (FPCT), que se desarrolló a lo largo de una amplia variedad de disciplinas y metodologías, esta tesis doctoral pretende investigar la necesidad de visibilidad de las mujeres en los estudios de paz y conflicto para elaborar una comprensión más amplia de la seguridad. Como explica Dolgopol (2006:258-259), existen muchas razones o justificaciones que se han utilizado para explicar la exclusión de las mujeres de los procesos de paz. Una de ellas es que las mujeres son a menudo consideradas como una amenaza para las relaciones de poder existentes, así como figuras de autoridad culturalmente incapaces de representar a los mandantes y hacer contribuciones relevantes al proceso debido a su falta de experiencia en liderazgo político y en ambientes diplomáticos. Además, las mujeres frecuentemente tienen que superar obstáculos económicos, como no tener fondos suficientes para viajar a las reuniones.

Todas estas razones comparten un aspecto fundamental: no toman en consideración los papeles fundamentales desempeñados por las mujeres en la guerra y otros tipos de conflicto violento. Durante muchos años, éstos permanecieron casi invisibles en todo el mundo. Las mujeres han sido retratadas simplemente como víctimas inocentes y pasivas, mientras que los hombres eran los principales actores tanto en el campo de batalla como en la mesa de decisiones. Ya es hora de que se discuta el papel de las mujeres y su contribución a la construcción de la paz. Porter (2003) resume perfectamente las diversas razones que apoyan la importancia de su asistencia: las mujeres se ven afectadas por conflictos y, por lo tanto, por las consecuencias de cualquier acuerdo de paz o actividad de prevención de conflictos; la justicia social incluyente exige la participación de la mujer en todas las etapas de los procesos de paz; la presencia de las mujeres aporta una diferencia académica y

política en el tipo de asuntos generalmente incluidos en los procesos de paz. Esto ha llevado a un amplio debate sobre la necesidad de asegurar la presencia de las mujeres en la construcción de Infraestructuras para la Paz.

Metodología

En la realización del presente trabajo doctoral, la autora ha utilizado diferentes metodologías y técnicas de investigación. A fin de utilizar de una manera adecuada y efectiva las distintas herramientas de investigación disponibles, la autora ha tenido como referencia algunos autores, entre ellos Mishler (1986) y Briggs (1986).

En particular, ha desarrollado el estudio utilizando un método cualitativo, ya que el objetivo es la construcción de un profundo relato descriptivo de los conceptos de construcción de la paz y prevención de conflictos, centrándose específicamente en el desarrollo de la noción de Infraestructuras por la Paz y la inclusión y contribución de las mujeres en esta área específica. Consciente del hecho de que estos conceptos están sujetos a varias y diferentes interpretaciones y significados, es objetivo de la autora identificar una definición común que será la base de la investigación subsiguiente sobre el papel que desempeñan las mujeres en las actividades de construcción de la paz y Infraestructuras para la Paz. El método cualitativo, de hecho, permitió seguir el proceso internacional en curso destinado a desarrollar un entendimiento común y el fomento de Infraestructuras para la Paz en la agenda internacional. La autora ha participado personalmente a reuniones con representantes de diferentes países, la primera en Londres en julio de 2011 y la segunda en Berlín en agosto de 2011, en las cuales se llegó al acuerdo sobre el establecimiento de un International Steering Group por el desarrollo de Infraestructuras para la Paz. Además, un análisis cualitativo de Infraestructuras para la Paz proporcionará

información sobre el primer objetivo y generará ideas e hipótesis para investigaciones posteriores.

Con el fin de proporcionar una descripción completa de la participación de las mujeres en la construcción de una Infraestructura para la Paz, la autora utiliza el método de estudio de casos prácticos porque considerado el más apropiado para investigar los fenómenos sociales y las características holísticas y significativas de los acontecimientos de la vida real (Yin, 1989: 4). La autora eligió a Kenia como caso práctico de investigación empírica con el fin de proporcionar evidencia de cómo y porqué las mujeres han contribuido a la construcción de una nación más pacífica y estable.

Además, a lo largo de toda la disertación y particularmente en el tercer capítulo, se emplea un método diacrónico puesto que el estudio abarca varios momentos en el tiempo y en diversas etapas históricas. Finalmente, esta disertación se basa en fuentes secundarias documentadas en la bibliografía. La autora ha analizado todos los datos recopilados categorizandolos a través de patrones temáticos que corresponden a las principales teorías y conceptos incluidos en la tesis. Al clasificar y agrupar los datos en grupos, se ha completado la organización primaria de los hallazgos de la investigación. Debido a la imposibilidad de viajar a Kenia, como se había previsto inicialmente, para llevar a cabo investigaciones mediante métodos directos tales como entrevistas y observación de grupos locales de mujeres (Marshall y Rossman, 1998: 110), la recolección de información se ha llevado a cabo a través del análisis de documentos y materiales comparativos en forma de libros, artículos de revistas, informes, bases de datos, manuales, actas de reuniones, páginas de web institucionales y documentos oficiales emitidos por gobiernos y organizaciones locales e internacionales.

Estructura de la Tesis Doctoral

Esta Tesis Doctoral se estructura en cinco capítulos. El *primer capítulo* es una introducción general en la cual se plantea el problema de investigación, los objetivos, la hipótesis, la justificación de la elección de este tema específico de investigación, la revisión literaria, el marco teórico utilizado para apoyar los principales argumentos, la metodología utilizada para llevar a cabo la investigación y la estructura de la tesis doctoral que incluye una sinopsis detallada de cada capítulo.

El *segundo capítulo* presenta el marco conceptual y teórico del concepto de Infraestructuras para la Paz y de su desarrollo histórico e institucional. Para entender mejor esta cuestión, se analiza la evolución a lo largo del tiempo de los conceptos de paz, violencia, conflicto, construcción de la paz y prevención de conflictos. Este capítulo también dedica una parte sustancial al análisis de las comunicaciones para la construcción de la paz como una herramienta de empoderamiento capaz de dar voz a las mujeres y compartir información y experiencias. Además, destaca ejemplos prácticos de la aplicación de las Infraestructuras para la Paz en Kenia, Ghana, Nepal y Kirguistán.

En el *tercer capítulo*, se examina la contribución de la mujer en la elaboración, construcción y ejecución de las Infraestructuras para la Paz. Para ello, la autora llevará a cabo una investigación detallada de la conexión existente entre la mujer y la paz, proporcionando una trayectoria histórica del papel desempeñado por la mujer en la promoción de la paz desde la historia antigua hasta la actualidad. De esta manera también se ilustran las diferentes visiones y definiciones de la paz por parte de las mujeres para poner de relieve la importante contribución que pueden llevar a cabo a través de su enfoque y perspectivas diferentes. Además, este capítulo muestra a través del análisis de género de los conflictos, lo importante que es tomar en consideración

la experiencia de las mujeres en conflictos como algo muy diferente de la de los hombres. También, se muestra la evolución histórica e institucional del papel que han desempeñado en la construcción de la paz, prevención de conflictos y la alerta temprana, haciendo visibles sus contribuciones significativas en estos temas y, por tanto, la importancia de su presencia. Por otra parte, considero fundamental analizar el marco jurídico que la ONU ha venido desarrollando desde su fundación con el fin de apoyar la mejora de la situación de las mujeres.

El *cuarto capítulo* está dedicado al estudio de caso de Kenia. A partir de una detallada historia del país, se llevará a cabo con especial atención al papel que han desempeñado las mujeres desde la lucha por la independencia nacional hasta la actualidad. Además, han sido analizados tanto los mecanismos tradicionales de resolución de conflictos de diferentes sociedades en el país cuanto el desarrollo institucional de los componentes de Infraestructuras para la Paz en Kenia a partir de la iniciativa de las mujeres en el distrito de Wajir, que culminó con la formación del WajirPeace and Development Committee. A través de su éxito en la reducción de la espiral de la violencia, el Gobierno ha replicado este modelo en otros distritos del país y una Política Nacional de Paz ha sido adoptada por la Asamblea Nacional el 27 de agosto de 2015, después de más de diez años de consultas con las organizaciones de la sociedad civil (OSC).

Finalmente, el *quinto capítulo* incluye las principales conclusiones de la investigación, recomendaciones y futuras áreas de investigación.

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

A peace process is not about the mathematics of numbers and percentages in relation to who is in majority or minority. It is about plurality, diversity, participation and ownership of all affected by the conflict and who live in the context hence nothing less than full participation and ownership.

Dekha Ibrahim Abdi (2007)

1.0 INTRODUCTION

As academicians and as human beings we have been witnessing a deep change in the nature of conflicts during the last two decades. Intra-state armed conflicts have been taking place with increased frequency compared to inter-state ones, making civilians the main actors of armed confrontations as well as their main victims. As Wiist et al. (2014) report, despite the fact that both the proportion of civilian deaths and the methods for classifying them are controvert, civilians constitute 85 to 90% of war casualties, with about 10 civilians dying for every combatant killed in battle. Furthermore, civilians have been targeted for death and sexual violence in many contemporary conflicts, and 70 to 90% of the victims of the 110 million landmines planted since 1960 in 70 countries were civilians (Wiist et al., 2014).

In the light of this fundamental change of dynamics, it is therefore paramount to understand conflict, as much as peace, not as a single and accidental event but instead as a process able to transform itself either positively or negatively over a period of time and space. War planning is easily understood as a progressive series of actions, such as strategic preparation and gathering of enormous resources and data,

aimed at creating a military infrastructure in continuous state of preparedness. On the contrary, the notion of peace planning is usually conceived as something accidental instead of reasoned and analyzed. This is operationally and strategically translated in the generic absence of a systemic approach to conflict prevention and peace-building (Dress, 2005:2).

In 2002 the World Health Organisation (WHO) made a statement in its *World Report on Violence and Health*:

> Violence can be prevented and its impact reduced, in the same way that public health efforts have prevented and reduced pregnancy-related complications, workplace injuries, infectious diseases, and illness resulting from contaminated food and water in many parts of the world. The factors that contribute to violent responses – whether they are factors of attitude and behavior or related to larger social, economic, political and cultural conditions – can be changed (WHO, 2002:3).

The fact in this statement is that it is based on ground-breaking evidence from different initiatives. For instance, since 2006 United Nations-supported initiatives have helped to prevent or significantly reduce violence in Bolivia, Guyana, Ecuador-Colombia, Ghana, Guinea, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan, Lesotho, Nigeria, Togo, the Solomon Islands, Sierra Leone and Timor Leste (Cravero and Kumar, 2005:9).

Several examples of success stories can be found around the world, from small-scale individual and community efforts to national policy and legislative initiatives, proving that violence can be prevented or, in other words, *peace can be planned*. Despite the simplicity of these four words, their significance, scope and implications for the future of the field of peace and conflict studies, if not for the future of all countries, are immensely extensive and pioneering. The notion that peace can be planned has been operationally translated into the concept of Infrastructures for Peace (I4P).

During a meeting facilitated by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in February 2010 in Naivasha, Kenya, representatives of governments, political parties, civil society and UN Country Teams from fifteen African countries agreed on a definition of this new concept. Infrastructures for Peace were defined as the *'dynamic network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values, and skills which, through dialogue and consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peace-building in a society'* (Kumar and De la Haye, 2011:1). The potential of such infrastructures, constituting a society's 'collaborative capacity', is that of being capable of helping a fragile, divided, in rapid transition or post-conflict society to deal with, for example, recurrent conflicts over land and natural resources by finding internal solutions through a multi-stakeholder dialogue.

Not only are I4P the answer to that need for a systematic approach to conflict prevention which is highlighted above, but also a perfect opportunity for citizens, who are today demanding for their needs to be represented, to replace power-play political settlements with long-term community-based solutions that deliver justice for crimes against civilians.

Given that the innovative strength of Infrastructures for Peace is that of being inclusive structures that allow multi-stakeholder civil participation, it is imperative that we do not ignore the needs of half of the global population when it comes to building capacity to manage and prevent conflicts. However, as evidence suggests, this very basic requirement is rarely fulfilled. Despite growing evidence of their value as peace-builders, in fact, of 24 major peace processes since 1992 less than 3% had women signatories, 3.2 % women mediators, 5.5 % women witnesses and 7.6 % women negotiators (Castillo-Diaz, 2010:3). Moreover, relatively scant attention has

been given to date to women's agency in the peace planning processes currently in place.

Despite having demonstrated their effectiveness in mitigating conflict with community mediation and signaling early warnings of unrest, not only in fragile states but also in fragile moments of relatively stable states like Kenya, women are largely absent from peace processes and conflict prevention initiatives. This means that the community-based perspective they bring is often missing to the detriment of the outcomes. Unless women participate at an early stage in voicing their needs and having them addressed in the governing structures and constitutions, they have no legal basis to challenge those systemic inequalities that determine their social condition, running the risk to remain economically, politically and socially marginalised.

In the author's opinion, this would operationally need a multi-pronged approach to bring fresh thinking into building stabilization capacity from the grassroots (bottom) to the top decision making level. The goals are mutually reinforcing: increasing women's knowledge and skills to address conflict and security issues, and advancing their participation at dialogue and decision making tables, in order to be able to influence security policy and practice.

This dissertation is, therefore, intended to investigate the imperative presence and the contributions of women to I4P.Their inclusion in formal peace processes is crucially the strongest determinant of attention to gender issues in guaranteeing the political, legal, social and economic justice of a society. It is consequently necessary to build into I4P programs habitual thinking that encompasses gender awareness and recognition of women as partners with men in the struggles to build peaceful nations.

Moreover, it is fundamental to acknowledge that multi-stake holder civil participation can be realized only through the implementation of new empowering communicative strategies, which allow women to claim their seats at decision-making tables, therefore influencing security policy and practice. It will require a real change in current peace frameworks to make it the norm and not the exception to include women, but it is at the same time a great opportunity for Infrastructures for Peace to be both a model and set the benchmark for inclusive, just and peaceful societies. Infrastructures for Peace programs have in fact the potential to build habitual thinking that encompasses gender awareness and recognition of women as partners with men in the struggles to build peaceful nations.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Different organisations have reported that women and children have always paid a heavy price during and after war periods. At the end of 2015, the number of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) across the world by armed conflict, generalized violence and human rights violations reached 40.8 million, increasing of about 2.8 since 2014 (Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, 2016). Sexual violence and rape have been increasingly used as a tool of modern warfare to spread fear and humiliation, demoralize communities and destroy group identities. UN Women (womenwarpeace, 2011) reports that between 250,000 and 500,000 women and girls were raped during the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, between 20,000 and 50,000 during the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the early 1990s, between 50,000 and 64,000 internally displaced women in Sierra Leone were sexually attacked by combatants,

and more than 200,000 women and children have been raped over more than a decade of the conflict in Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC).

The generational legacy that these atrocious facts leave and the embedding of conflict in the psyche of a nation should not be underestimated, with women and children especially vulnerable in the wake of the suffering caused. Family breakdown and widowhood often deprive them of livelihoods, leaving them vulnerable to trafficking and social ostracism.

Because of the consequences of conflicts on men, women often become essential in the implementation of peace agreements and the reconstruction of societal cohesion. Particularly sensitive to factors as the respect for differences and minorities and generally aware of those issues that are root cause of wars, women often utilise a Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA) in the analysis of conflicts. Through such skills, they significantly also contribute in impeding conflicts and developing early warning mechanisms. The so-called "gender indicators", reflecting the shifting circumstances of men and women in the society and highlighting emerging tensions within the community, are in fact often the earliest signs of an emerging conflict. In fact, Dress (2005:89) says that reports on Kosovo and Sierra Leone show that women were sometimes aware of the imminent conflict but had nowhere to refer the information to.

Kofi Annan, the former United Nations (UN) Secretary-General, stated in an address on the occasion of International Women's Day, 8 March 2000, that "Women who know the price of conflicts so well are also often better equipped to prevent or resolve it". These words define so well the need for inclusive and equal peace planning and conflict prevention. It is fundamental, therefore, to deconstruct the notion of women as solely victims of wars, preferring to strengthen the important

contribution that they are able to make as active social actors, in the difficult tasks of mediation, stabilization and reconstruction of conflict torn communities, including their role as mothers and educators.

This dissertation explains why the general rethinking of the meaning of 'peace' and 'conflict' is needed in order to enhance women's capacities for contributing to peace planning, democratization and social justice. Moreover, it explores women's expanded notion of peace-building, which requires three main elements: fulfillment of human needs, involvement of democratic and just institutions, and on-going peace processes.

Furthermore, it analyzes the theory of Communications for Development and Communications for Peace-building, showing how communication tools can be used to promote a culture of peace, build trust and understanding, strengthen the freedom of speech and the right to participate, improve systems of governance through transparency, empower local voices creating safe spaces for interaction, and change attitudes towards violence (Search for common grounds, 2011:18). It is in fact much needed to build women's basic capacity to access and analyze information in relation to conflict prevention and management, making use of all the different media technologies according to context, audience and available infrastructures (Mckay and Mazurana, 2004).

Finally, it utilises various documents produced by various UN agencies, among them the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), as to demonstrate how women's participation

as stakeholders constitute a fundamental pillar of any society built upon security, peace and justice.

Hence, the basic assumption of this research is that women's inclusion and contribution to building Infrastructures for Peace through implementation of policies, communication strategies and grassroots initiatives has not been adequately addressed and acknowledged in a scholarly manner.

1.2 OBJECTIVES

The following are the objectives of this dissertation:

1. To provide a conceptual and theoretical analysis on Peace, Violence, Conflict, Action in Pursuance for Peace, Communication for Peace-Building and Infrastructures for Peace. This objective will be developed in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

2. To examine the inclusion and contribution of women in the elaboration and building of sustainable peace, by showcasing the historical and institutional evolution of their role in implementing Infrastructures for Peace as a peace-building, conflict prevention and early warning mechanism. This objective will be analyzed in Chapter Three.

3. To explore the successes, challenges and obstacles to an equal and inclusive implementation of Infrastructures for Peace through the specific case study of Kenya. Also, the potential key role played by communications for peace-building

in enhancing effective and inclusive conflict prevention mechanisms is given a special attention. This objective will be documented in Chapter Four.

1.3 HYPOTHESIS

The hypothesis of this dissertation is that the innovative strength of Infrastructures for Peace lies in its inclusive nature, which allows multi-stakeholder civil participation and incorporates women's inclusion and contributions as a vital mechanism to build effective peace planning and conflict prevention practices.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION

The author of this study strongly believes that the chosen topic is essential and timely for several reasons. The concept of Infrastructures for Peace is first of all still not yet well known, researched and documented. A few are aware of its features and potential. This dissertation will, therefore, provide academic and practical research on this new and paramount notion thus adding more into peace research.

Even more important it is to showcase the fundamental contributions that women are able to bring about in any conflict prevention and resolution mechanism. In fact, there is a considerable shortage of empirical evidence and gender disaggregated data readily available and there is also little formal and official collection of such figures. It is often difficult to collect useful information with which to create a more informed picture of women's involvement in peace processes and the consequent outcomes. It is therefore the intention of this research to fill this gap.

Furthermore, the author has been personally and directly involved in this specific topic, both academically and professionally since 2010. In fact, she was the

project leader of objective 2 "*About time: women at every peace table*" of the Global Peace Building Strategy (GPBS), presented at the World Peace Festival (WPF, Berlin, August 2011) and intended to systematically address the issue of violent conflict. As part of her responsibilities, she was also in charge of elaborating and implementing a strategy aimed at facilitating a change in the current peace processes, making it the norm and not the exception for women to be included and for their agency as peace-builders to be recognized and utilised. She has also researched on women peace builders' profiles in about 30 countries and established partnerships with local and international organisations working with and for women. These organisations included: UN Women, United Nations Development Programme-Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery (UNDP-BCPR), Global Fund for Women, WomanKind Worldwide and GAPS UK (Gender Action for Peace and Security). The author also collaborated with some local women peace-builders in Ghana and Kenya to organise conferences and trainings specifically on women and peace in order to share best practices, deconstruct the notion of women as solely victims and empower them to become instruments of transformation in their lives and in the lives of others as well.

Finally, she is personally eager to broaden her knowledge on the concepts that she intends to investigate in this study as she is not only passionate about women and Infrastructure for Peace but it is also of her personal and professional research interest.

1.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

The purpose of this literature review is to point out and summarise how different scholars have investigated and presented the correlation between women and

action in pursuance of peace. In order to do so, I have provided an overview of selected literature that, offering different perspectives is pivotal for the topic of this dissertation. By exploring the gap between the theoretical spectrum and the reality of women's inclusion and contribution in peace-building and conflict prevention, this academic review will give good reason for the significant value of this doctoral dissertation.

The review focuses in particular on theories such as peace, conflict and development theory, aimed at defining the very complex realm of peace-building, peace planning and conflict prevention. Furthermore, as this dissertation investigates the role of women in bottom-up processes through which communities take part to national peace infrastructures, feminist theories such as Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT) are used to explain women's understanding of peace, as well as their role in preventing conflict. Moreover, this review briefly presents the realm of communications for peace-building as to investigate the opportunities offered by such tool to grant to any peace strategy a comprehensive and systematic character. Finally, a short overview of the theoretical background that led to the elaboration of the concept of Infrastructures for Peace is hereby provided.

The term peace-building has only recently come to a common and generally accepted scope encompassing social justice and equality, improved relationships, and meeting of basic needs. However, there is still widespread confusion on the existing difference among the various terms that constitute the extensive field of peace and conflict studies.

Galtung (1976) is generally credited not only with being the father of the discipline of peace and conflict studies, but also with introducing the idea of peace-building as distinct from peace-making, which consists of an infrastructure within and

between nations that offers alternatives to and removes causes of war. Despite the many different connotations that the concept of peace has assumed throughout history, Galtung's distinction between negative and positive peace is perhaps one of the most significant ones for the purpose of this dissertation. By challenging the assumption that peace research must focus only on direct violence, the Galtung (1964) defined positive peace as requiring not only all the different types of violence to be minimal or non-existent, but also the removal of all the major potential causes of future conflicts. Peace-building thus acquires a broader scope encompassing social justice and equality, improved relationships and meeting of basic needs.

Galtung (1969) also identifies six dimensions of violence and, most importantly, elaborates the first distinction between personal (direct) and structural (indirect) violence, later elaborating the conflict triangle that introduced cultural violence to the world of conflict theory. Furthermore, he connects peace theory and peace research not only with conflict theory and research, but equally with development ones. Galtung (1996) notices, in fact, that most direct violence in the world is committed by males through hierarchies that allow them to substitute cultural and structural violence for direct violence. If direct violence, such as rape, intimidates and represses women, structural violence institutionalises the violation of basic needs, while cultural violence internalizes women's victim relation.

Given the scope of this dissertation, it is fundamental to analyze also feminist definitions of the above-mentioned concepts as well. Enloe (2000)defines peace in feminist terms as women's achievement of control over their lives. Pankhurst (2003) underlines how the "positive" interpretation of feminist peace entails not only the absence of armed and gender conflict, but also the absence of poverty and the conditions that recreate it. "Positive peace" renders gender issues important elements

capable of directly affecting the efficacy of peace-building processes as it requires gender equality.

Porter (2003) claims that women have an expanded notion of sustainable peace, which directly corresponds to their view of social justice and which requires three main elements: fulfillment of human needs, democratic and just institutions, and ongoing peace processes.

Lacey (2004) illustrates the origins of feminism, which go back to many centuries ago. With regard to the modern era, the contribution of the suffragists in the early twentieth century was fundamental to create the first distinction between feminist patriotism and feminist pacifism, based respectively on participation and decision-making, and women's vital contribution to building peace.

As Weber (2006) reports, Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT) developed throughout different disciplines and methodologies following the changing nature of feminism in order to question male normative standards and introduce the gendered dimension in all forms of violence. Caprioli (2000) explain that FPCT was strongly influenced by a biological versus a socially constructed concept of gender. Biological determinism uses physiological differences between men and women as basis of their social roles, mainly based on Fukuyama's research (1998) which displayed how women are in fact more peaceful than men. However, many scholars like Charlesworth (2008) have contested such concept, arguing that such thinking is responsible for fixing sex with gender, not considering the fact that women can also be accountable for violence during conflicts and limiting their political agency to what is made possible by their womanly peacefulness.

Social constructivism, on the other hand, argues that gender differences are socially constructed, tracing a clear distinction between gender and sex. As Yablon (2009) illustrates, the academia has often argued that all the differences existing between women and men in many aspects of their social life have directly impacted their different attitude towards peace. As a consequence, women's lack of social and political power has obliged them to recur to mediation and compromise. Women are thus relegated to being natural caregivers.

With regard to the main discourses concerning action in pursuance of peace, as UN operations demonstrate that due to the changing nature of conflict the focus has shifted in the last century from maintaining the *status quo* (peace-keeping) to implementing comprehensive peace processes (peace-building). However, there still is a widespread sense of confusion concerning the terminology used in the field. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the former UN Secretary General, formally differentiated between peacemaking, peacekeeping and peace-building in his *An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping* (1992). The definition included in the Secretary-General's report, however, refers only to post-conflict activities, therefore excluding many long-term strategies.

Schirch (2008) describes the three broad types of peace-building as elaborated by the Centre for Multi-Track Diplomacy, which include political, structural and social peace-building. The author stresses that because of such many-sided nature, peace-building requires a range of approaches in order to support the peaceful transformation of conflict in all its aspects.

Concerning the broad concept of conflict prevention, Stewart (2003) reports how it has been substantially evolving since the Post-Cold-War period and the

outbreak of violent intra-state conflicts, becoming a morally and financially desirable option compared to difficult conflict resolution and costly post-conflict reconstruction. As the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1997) well explains in its final report, preventive action, which differentiates between operational and structural prevention, is aimed at preventing the emergence of violent conflict, preventing ongoing conflicts from spreading, and preventing the re-emergence of violence through the use of qualitative and quantitative early warning mechanisms.

Anderlini and Stanski (2007) stress the importance of including gender-sensitive indicators in conflict analysis and provide few examples of their ability to highlight early signs of instability at the grassroots level. They can be systemic, such as long-term political exclusion of women and economic/educational discrimination; proximate, including gradual trends to a closed society that implements restrictive laws relating to women; triggers and catalysts like gender-specific killings and disappearances; economic and forceful measures.

Furthermore, communications have historically played a fundamental role in conflict and post-conflict settings. Because of the evolving nature of conflict monitoring, early warning, community and national peace-building, effective information and communication processes have become pivotal elements to build a participatory culture of peace. As Bratic and Schirch (2007) have well illustrated, there are many approaches to analyze how communications and media have influenced peace-building activities. They might provide feedback and awareness on critical social issues at the local level, maintain a balance of views and help to influence policymakers, cover and facilitate diplomatic initiatives, as well decrease

polarization among groups. Through different typologies of tools, communications can help building cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral change.

The concept of Infrastructure for Peace first emerged in South Africa during the struggle against apartheid. Thanks to the National Peace Accord, national, regional and local peace committees were established, leading to the creation of a new national system aimed at finding nonviolent solutions to intergroup conflicts. Ball and Spies (1998) clarify that peace committees in South Africa have not only created safe places and opened channels for communication, but also legitimised negotiating and equalised power relationships, strengthened accountability and consequently reduced the incidence of violence.

Furthermore, van Tongeren (2011) gives evidence of how peace structures have worldwide proved to be first of all inexpensive and cost-effective compared to often ineffective and usually very costly outside interventions, as well as able to help fragile and divided societies to build sustainable peace through a co-operative and problem-solving approach. UNDP (2010) provides few examples, such as Ghana and Sierra Leone, of how Infrastructures for Peace have successfully harmonised and coordinated conflict prevention mechanisms.

In conclusion, the above review of academic discourses and theories concerning the topic of this dissertation has showed how a structural orientation of peace-building has been expanding through the years while developing in the concept of peace planning. Unfortunately, the literature currently available doesn't shed light properly on this issue by proposing possible solutions to the urgent need for the elaboration of integrating conflict prevention strategies, despite a general agreement on the necessity of coherent networks and infrastructures for long-term or durable

peace planning. The term Infrastructures for Peace itself is still not known, so are its components and potential.

Although the literature on peace-building has widely exemplified the centrality of its notion as a process, the view of peace per se as a process is hardly documented (Lederach, 1995a, 1995b). As De la Rey and McKay (2006) point out, there is little consideration for the fact that peace is "about men and women and how they relate to each other", as it is instead more commonly perceived as a state or an outcome usually based only on men's perspectives.

Despite the specific attention given by feminist scholars to women's historical exclusion from disciplines such as diplomacy, international relations and peace studies, gender still has not been permanently integrated into the mainstream thinking within these fields. Dolgopol (2006) underlines that male-dominated peace processes usually focus on bringing an end to hostilities by having male-dominated "warring" parties represented at the peace table. By excluding women from negotiations about constitutions and government policies, many important occasions to redefine the distribution of power in society are lost. The potential of women, women's networks and women's organisations as actors for peace in early warning and preventive activities is still untapped.

As successful conflict prevention is often not reported, especially due to the difficulty to prove that a specific initiative, rather than other factors, was successful in preventing a conflict, it is generally agreed on that many conflict situations could have been avoided through timely preventative interventions. The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD, 2007) has noted that it is a matter of political will to allocate the necessary resources to prevention, as decision-makers are

rarely willing to read the early warning signs understanding the seriousness of a situation before it is too late.

If development and peace are profoundly linked to one another, it becomes paramount to include women in the planning of both. Through the work and effort of the United Nations, new attention has been given to gender mainstreaming, human rights and the development of partnerships between women and men as the strategic bases for the pursuit of gender equality and sustainable peace. However, much resistance still exists to the inclusion of women's local expertise in planning, participation and implementation.

Not much literature is available on how communication strategies can, through a bottom-up approach enable women within local communities to be active part of the prevention effort, nor on how women can in fact contribute to the building of holistic and comprehensive Infrastructures for Peace by undertaking information gathering and analysis, and by providing different insight, knowledge and solutions.

It is therefore the intention of the author of this research to remedy these shortcomings, by investigating the concept of peace-building as a planning process for the construction of peace infrastructures, which include women as one of the fundamental and indispensable pillars. Given how poorly women's everyday contribution to the prevention of conflicts and the building of sustainable peace is documented, this dissertation intends to broaden the evidence of women's potential as peace builders starting at the grassroots level.

1.6 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Over the last two decades, the international community has showed an increasing interest in the field of peace-building. Since the early 1990s, in fact, international institutions have modified their attitude towards what has become a major industry. If until the 1980s the main aim of peace-building was that of simply maintaining a ceasefire or restoring stability in conflict areas, the last ten years of the 20th century have witnessed a change towards international interventions able to create peaceful and democratic societies (Chinkin, 2006:937). The following theories have attempted to expand the concept of sustainable peace, including in particular women's perspectives and insight, and are therefore relevant to this dissertation.

1.6.1 GALTUNG'S PEACE AND CONFLICT THEORY

Different interpretations can be given to the concept of peace. For the purpose of this dissertation, Galtung's peace and conflict theory (1969) is applied, according to which the term peace can have both a negative and a positive connotation. The first and most common one corresponds to the simple end or absence of widespread violent conflict associated with war, while the latter requires not only all the different types of violence to be minimal or non-existent, but also the removal of all the major potential causes of future conflicts. Using a medical comparison, Galtung (1985:145) says that positive peace can be understood as "the building of a healthy body capable of resisting diseases, relying on its own health forces or health resources". Basing peace-building operations on this wider concept of peace, activities are consequently built in order to promote and encourage new forms of citizenship and political participation, aimed at the creation of active democracies and, consequently, at the planning of peace.

This shift has been caused as already mentioned earlier, mainly by the changing nature of conflicts. Since the 1990s, most violent conflicts have been fought significantly among civilian populations. In front of such a remarkable reality, it has become fundamental to make the civil population be part of those peace processes aimed at the restoration of an order shattered by conflicts, of which that same population is protagonist.

1.6.2 PORTER'S PEACE-BUILDING THEORY

Unfortunately, as feminist theories that analyze the international legal framework (Chinkin, 2006; Porter, 2003) argue that women have been rarely included in the international institutional design of peace-building strategies, which have in some cases actually reduced local women's agency in the society.

To better understand the causes of this striking omission, it is fundamental to analyze the definition of peace-building and conflict prevention offered by various international institutions and actors, the UN *in primis*, in order to observe the evolution of the terms over time. It will be evident that nor the participation of women, nor their fundamental role in peace-building processes have been explicitly included in any of the formal definitions if not only recently. One of the main causes, well explained by Porter's peace-building theory, is that peace-building has generally been considered to be part of formal peace processes, then rendering invisible many women who work for peace through informal activities like mediation, dialogue, advocacy, conflict prevention, conflict management and reconciliation. The international community has, therefore, worked in order to emphasise the need to ensure women's participation at all stages. Furthermore, if inclusive positive peace is

the goal of any Infrastructure for Peace, it is fundamental to analyze women's definition of peace and their understanding of the notion of peace processes. It is a fact that the achievement of greater gender equality is usually not seen as a priority within any peace-building process. If "negative peace" can be achieved also in conditions of gender disparity, given the absence of efficiency imperatives that push for a change, "positive peace" renders gender issues important elements capable of directly affecting the efficacy of peace-building processes (Pankhurst, 2003:13).

1.6.3 FEMINIST PEACE AND CONFLICT THEORY (FPCT)

Through the analysis of Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT), which developed throughout a wide variety of disciplines and methodologies, this dissertation aims at investigating the need of visibility of women in peace and conflict studies, in order to elaborate a broader understanding of security issues. Dolgopol (2006:258-259) explains that there are many reasons or justifications that have been used to explain the exclusion of women from peace processes. One of them is that women are often considered as a threat to existing power relations, as well as authority figures culturally unable to represent constituents and make relevant contributions to the process because of their lack of experience in political leadership and in diplomatic settings. Moreover, women frequently have to overcome economic obstacles such as not having sufficient funds in order to travel to meetings.

All of these reasons share a fundamental aspect: they do not take into consideration the fundamental roles played by women in war and other types of violent conflict. For many years, they remained almost invisible throughout the world. Women have been usually portrayed merely as innocent and passive victims, while men were the main actors both in the battlefield and at the decision table. It is about

time for women's roles and contribution to peace-building to be discussed. Porter (2003) perfectly summarises the various reasons supporting the importance of their attendance: women are affected by conflicts and thus by the consequences of any peace agreement or conflict prevention activity; inclusive social justice demands women's participation at all stages of peace processes; women's presence makes a difference to the sorts of issues generally included in peace processes both academically and politically. This has led to a widespread debate about the necessity of ensuring women's presence when building Infrastructures for Peace.

1.7 METHODOLOGY

This doctoral dissertation uses different research methodologies and techniques. In order to utilise the various available research tools in a proper and effective way, it utilises as reference few authors, among them classical work by Mishler (1986) and Briggs (1986).

Furthermore, the dissertation uses a qualitative method, as it aims at building a deep and descriptive narrative of the concepts of peace-building and conflict prevention, looking specifically at the development of the notion of Infrastructures for Peace and the inclusion and contribution of women in this specific area. Conscious of the fact that these concepts are subject to various and different understandings and meanings, it is the aim of this research to establish a working definition that will be the baseline for this study in order to document the role played by women within peace-building activities and Infrastructures for Peace. The qualitative method allows the research of this dissertation to follow the on-going international process aimed at developing a common understanding and fostering Infrastructures for Peace in the international agenda. The author of this dissertation has participated in different

meetings, the first in London in July 2011 and the second in Berlin in August 2011, which saw representatives from different countries coming together and agreeing on the establishment of an International Steering Group with these specific tasks. Concerned with the experience as a whole, a qualitative analysis of Infrastructures for Peace will provide insight into the first objective and generate ideas and hypotheses for future research.

In order to provide a comprehensive description of the involvement of women in the building of an Infrastructure for Peace, the author uses the case study method as she believes it to be the most appropriate as to investigate social phenomena and to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events (Yin, 1989:4). Despite the many challenges of such choice, the study uses Kenya as the specific empirical inquiry of the dissertation, as to provide purposive practical evidence of *how* and *why* women have contributed to the building of a more peaceful and stable nation.

Moreover, throughout the entire dissertation and particularly in the third chapter, a diachronic method is employed because the study applies to various points in time and at various historical stages. Finally, this dissertation is a desktop research which relies on secondary sources documented in the bibliography. The author has analyzed all collected data by categorizing it through thematic patterns that correspond to the main theories and concepts included in the dissertation. By classifying and grouping data into clusters, primary organising of research findings has been completed. Due to the lack of possibility to travel to Kenya, as initially envisioned, in order to carry out a field research as part of the primary data collection method through direct interviews and participant observation of local women's groups, information gathering was carried out through secondary data collection

method by analyzing comparative documents and materials in the form of books, academic journal articles, reports, databases, handbooks, meeting minutes, institutional websites, and official documents issued by governments as well as local and international organisations.

1.8 ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This doctoral dissertation is organised into five main chapters with an introduction and conclusion of the themes discussed in every chapter. *Chapter One* is the general introduction which provides the statement of the problem; the objectives of the dissertation; the hypothesis assumed; the justification to the choice of this specific topic of research; the literature review; the theoretical framework utilised to support the main arguments; the methodology used to carry out the research and the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter Two outlines the conceptual and theoretical analysis by giving the general overview of the concept of Infrastructures for Peace and its historical and institutional development. In order to better understand this, the concepts of peace, violence, conflict, peace-building, conflict prevention and communication for peace-building are analyzed together with how these have evolved over time following the evolution of conflicts. This chapter also dedicates substantial part of it on the analysis of Communications for peace-building as an empowering tool able to give women a voice and share information and experiences. Moreover, it highlights practical examples of the implementation of Infrastructures for Peace in Kenya, Ghana, Nepal and Kyrgyzstan.

Chapter Three examines the inclusion and contribution of women in the elaboration and building of sustainable peace. Also, a detailed investigation of the existing connection between women and peace is carried out and it provides a historical account from ancient times until today on women's role in the promotion of peace. It also illustrates women's visions and definition of peace as to highlight the important contribution that they are able to bring about through their different approach and perspectives. Furthermore, it shows through the analysis of gendered conflict analysis, how important it is to take in consideration women's very different conflict experience from men. Moreover, it highlights the historical and institutional evolution of the role they have been playing in peace-building, conflict prevention and early warning, rendering visible their significant contributions to these fields and, therefore, outlining the significance of their presence. Additionally, it analyzes the fundamental legal frameworks that the UN has been developing since its foundation in order to support women's protection and human rights. A detailed examination of all UN events and documents is provided and included.

Chapter Four discusses the chosen case study of this dissertation, which is Kenya. It gives an overview of the country's history, carried out with specific attention to highlight the role played by women since the struggle for national independence to present day. This chapter also looks at the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms of different societies in that country. It further examines the institutional development of components of Infrastructures for Peace in Kenya, starting from a women's initiative in the Wajir District that culminated into the formation of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee. Through its success in reducing the spiral of violence, the government replicated this model to other districts around the country and a Peace Policy was adopted by the National Assembly on 27

August 2015, after more than ten years of stakeholder consultations with Civil Society

Organisations (CSOs) and the government.

Finally, *Chapter Five* offers the conclusions of the research through key findings, recommendations and future research areas.

CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL ANALYSIS ON PEACE, VIOLENCE, CONFLICT, ACTION IN PURSUANCE FOR PEACE, COMMUNICATION FOR PEACE-BUILDING AND INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE

We need an essential new way of thinking if mankind is to survive. Men must radically change their attitudes toward each other and their views of the future. Force must no longer be an instrument of politics...Today, we do not have much time left; it is up to our generation to succeed in thinking differently. If we fail, the days of civilized humanity are numbered.

Albert Einstein (1954)

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Conflict is an intrinsic part of societies. Cravero and Kumar (2005:2) argue that "the difference among societies is not whether conflict exists; it is how conflict is managed, whether conflict is managed in ways that lead to violence or in ways that open opportunities for innovation and positive change". If we assume that any process of development leads to conflict, conflict itself in fact becomes a force of positive change for society that redefines priorities and relations among actors.

Due to the constantly developing and changing nature of human and international relations, the world has witnessed a deep transformation of the world order, consequently influencing our understanding of peace and conflict. If during the Cold War era this was based on the absence of war in the context of the nation state, the change in the global dynamics gave peace a more positive connotation based on an individual centered presence of social justice (ACCORD, 2007). This found further

realization due to the change in the nature of conflicts that took place in the last two decades of the twentieth century. The increase in intra-state armed conflicts caused civilians to become the main actors of armed confrontations as well as their main victims, which led to the massive humanitarian tragedies we have been witnessing. This called for a revised and reformulated notion of peace, which is of course intrinsically linked to our understanding of violence.

Given that the hypothesis of this dissertation is that Infrastructures for Peace allow, through their innovative and inclusive nature, multi-stakeholder civil participation, therefore incorporating women's contributions as a vital mechanism to build effective peace planning and conflict prevention practices, the author developed the theoretical framework of this research in order to allow the reader to acquire general knowledge of some concepts and theories that constitute the backbone of any architecture aimed at fostering sustainable and inclusive peace.

Therefore, this chapter first of all investigates the realm of peace and conflict studies, with specific attention to concepts that have been over time reformulated and are used by the international community and nation states to respond to and prevent conflict. Through the analysis of important notions such as the distinction between negative and positive peace, and the different typologies of violence described in the conflict triangle, the author explores what are the conditions needed at the societal level to eliminate all causes of conflict by focusing on a broad concept of peace that emphasises everyday realities at the local level rather than aspects such as economic growth, good governance and democratic institutions that have been the basis of the dominant peace discourse.

Once better comprehended what peace and conflict are, the author examines action in pursuance of peace in order to provide a comprehensive understanding of the

different typologies of intervention that are available to conflict-affected communities, such as peace-keeping, peace-making, peace-building, conflict prevention, and early warning. Such outline is needed not only for the reader to differentiate among the different tools available, but also to better understand what are the most suitable mechanisms to bring about change starting at the grassroots level. Moreover, an overview of how communications play a pivotal role in conflict prevention and peace-building is provided.

Furthermore, this study chose to provide a general outline of two theories that constitute the basis of any discourse regarding sustainable peace and women's inclusion. The peace, conflict and development theory is in fact important to stress the significance of building local and national infrastructures that focus on meeting and developing basic needs as to reduce structural and cultural violence. Therefore, social justice requires gender equality and women's empowerment. The feminist peace and conflict theory crucially stresses the need to highlight women's roles in conflict, as well as to introduce the gendered dimension and the interconnectedness of all forms of violence in the security discourse.

Finally, an overview of the concept of Infrastructures for Peace is provided through the study of its historical and institutional development and through practical examples of its implementation in Ghana, Sierra Leone, Uganda, South Sudan, Togo, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Nepal, the Philippines, Northern Ireland, Former Yugoslavia Republic of Macedonia (FYR), Kyrgyzstan and Afghanistan as to showcase its potential within fragile contexts.

2.1 DEFINING PEACE

Men have tried to define the concepts of peace and conflict since the beginning of time. Although we might think it easy to explain their meaning and delineate their boundaries, we would be surprised of the different interpretations that these two concepts can acquire, depending on a wide range of variables. According to time and place, the term peace has been given very different connotations, sometimes also negative. As Barash and Webel explain (2002:4), for the Roman poet Tacitus peace is a place of sterility and emptiness. That is why Tacitus spoke of creating a desert and calling it "peace", referring to an unwanted. The term pacified, moreover, has been often used to refer to a state of false and misleading quietude.

As Barash and Webel (2002) describe, different positive characterizations of the concept of peace can be found in all societies and all eras. The Chinese philosopher Lao-Tsu (sixth century B.C.E), founder of Taoism, based his philosophy on the assumption that military force is not the Tao or Way that human beings should follow, frequently referring to peaceful images of water and wind as soft and submissive elements, yet able to dominate over the hard rock. K'ung-Fu-Tzu, or Confucius (approximately 551-479 B.C.E) considered the attainment of peace as the ultimate human goal. The Buddhist monarch Aśoka (third century B.C.E) was known for abandoning his successful military campaigns to devote himself to the religious conversion of his opponents by peaceful means of persuasion. The *Bhagavad Gita,* famous segment of the Hindu epic text *Mahabharata* (about 200 B.C.E), tells the deeds of Arjuna, warrior of a civil war in India who, reluctant to fight as his opponents were friends and relatives, was ultimately persuaded to fight out of selfless duty by the god Krishna. Despite the controversial message of the myth, which was cited by the inventor of the atomic bomb Oppenheimer when referring to the weapon

as a contemporary incarnation of Krishna, the *Gita* also inspired Mohandas Ghandi as an allegory for the de-emphasis of individual self in the pursuit of higher goals (Barash and Webel, 2002:4-5).

Instead, if we look at some Judeo-Christian concepts of peace, we will find that there are some few interesting points of analysis (Barash and Webel, 2002:5). Despite frequent portraits of bellicose warriors, the Old Testament offers the example of prophet Isaiah who praised the reign of peace and described war as a punishment for those who fail God. Thanks to him and other prophets, the Jewish tradition became one of the strongly endorsing peacefulness. With the emergence of the militarist state of Israel, however, the tradition deeply changed. Christianity, on the other hand, despite being founded on a message of peace, love and nonviolence gave rise to one of the greatest warrior traditions in history. Stated religious aspiration thus often found a completely different translation in recurrent martial activities (Barash and Webel, 2002:5-6).

Peace and Conflict Studies as a discipline emerged from the ashes of the twentieth century devastation. In the wake of the horrors of the world wars and the construction of weapon of mass destruction, the international community decided to develop mechanisms to systematically address the issue of conflicts. 1945 saw not only the institution of the United Nations (UN), but also the creation of the first operating peace research centre, the Lentz Institute in St. Louis, followed in 1948 by the first academic program in peace studies at the Manchester College in Indiana. During the next decades, the so-called "science of peace" developed as a response to the fast evolving science of war (Harris and Shuster, 2006: xi). As a response to the Vietnam War, courses on human rights, peace and global issues started to flourish within the academic world.

During the 1980's, due to the Cold War, the focus of peace studies shifted from state actors to peace movements and organisations, which eventually contributed to the dissolution of the Iron Curtain. This gave impetus to the creation of a wide range of conflict resolution programs challenging the traditional concept of national security based on military might, investigating instead concepts of collective, environmental and comprehensive security (Harris and Shuster, 2006:xiii-xv). The year 2000 and the decade 2001-2010 were declared by the UN and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) "year and decade for a culture of peace and nonviolence for the children of the world", which signed the recognition of the great role played by society and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in providing awareness. Finally, the beginning of the twenty-first century saw a further diversification of peace and conflict studies in order to include also the threat of terrorism, environmental concerns and gender issues (Harris and Shuster, 2006:xiii-xv).

Galtung, who is considered to be the father of the discipline of peace and conflict studies after founding the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO) in 1959 and the Journal of Peace Research in 1964, was appointed to the world's first chair in peace and conflict studies at the University of Oslo. His work is therefore a compulsory reading for each researcher and student interested in understanding these complex concepts. His wide academic work entails various *chefs-d'oeuvre* responsible for introducing an innovative and interdisciplinary way of thinking into the discipline. As he personally explains, although peace research is old as humankind, PRIO was the first institute after the Second World War to openly study peace in itself.

> Peace was in those years something identified in the West with
> communism, a very radical concern, just as ten years later – at

the height of neo-Marxism in Western Europe – it became the symbol of conservatism (Galtung, 1985:141).

His definition of peace research includes three fundamental components: peace is the explicit value and focus of study, which is approached in an inter-disciplinary and inter-national manner (Galtung, 1985:143). Needless to say, the two last conditions were in absolute contradiction with the traditional approach to peace studies, which tried to capture a very complicated phenomenon within the intellectual frameworks of a single classical discipline such as history or international law (Galtung, 1985:143).

In *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (1997), John Paul Lederach puts forward that the nature and characteristics of contemporary conflict suggest the need for a set of concepts and approaches that understand peace as calling for long-term commitment to establish an infrastructure across the levels of a society able to empower the resources for reconciliation from within that society and maximize the contribution from outside. Lederach (1995a) also underlines the importance of looking for innovative operational modalities outside the mainstream of international political discourse, and furthermore highlights how peace processes should include all actors involved in internal conflicts as they are ultimately linked and interdependent both at the personal level as well as in terms of streams of activity.

Despite the many different connotations that the concept of peace can assume, this research dedicates specific attention to two particular ones, key to analyze the necessary role played by civil society, and more specifically women, in the building of sustainable peace: negative and positive peace.

2.1.1 NEGATIVE AND POSITIVE PEACE

A broader and positive understanding of the concept of peace was first elaborated at the beginning of the 20th century by Jane Addams who, in *Newer Ideals of Peace* (1907) defined peace as a dynamic social process emerging out of the poorer quarters of cosmopolitan cities. However, it was Johan Galtung who first elaborated in a comprehensive manner the distinction between negative and positive peace. First introduced by Galtung in the editorial to the founding article of the Journal of Peace Research in 1964; these concepts created a dichotomy that aimed at challenging the assumption which constituted the basis of peace research until that point, then it was dominated by North Americans who focused solely on direct violence such as assault and warfare (Grewal, 2003:1). Galtung (1985:141) says that:

> Thus, the definition of "peace" becomes a major part of a scientific strategy. It may depart from common usage by not being agreed to "by most" (consensus not required), yet should not be entirely subjectivistic ("agreed to by many"). It should depict a state of affairs the realization of which is not utopian ("not impossible to obtain"), yet not on the immediate political agenda ("complex and difficult"). And it should immediately steer one's attention towards problems that are on the political, intellectual, and scientific agenda of today, and tomorrow.

He defined negative peace as simply the end or absence of widespread violent conflict associated to war (Galtung, 1964:2). This definition is closely related to the traditional interpretation of the concept, such as the one provided by twentieth Century French intellectual Raymond Aron. Aron, in fact, described peace as a condition of "more or less lasting suspension of rivalry between political units", agreeing with the most common neo-realist understanding of peace within the traditional international relations framework (Barash and Webel, 2002:6).

On the other hand, Galtung (1964:2) defined positive peace as requiring not only all the different types of violence to be minimal or non-existent, but also the removal of all the major potential causes of future conflicts. Positive peace refers thus to the integration of human society, where exploitation is minimized or eliminated on the basis of harmony, cooperation and integration (Barash and Webel, 2002:6).

Barash and Webel (2202), also investigate how many cultural and spiritual traditions have identified social and political goals that are closer to positive rather than negative peace. The ancient Greek concept of *eireinei* refers to harmony and justice besides peace; the Arabic *salaam* and the Hebrew *shalom* denote not only the absence of violence but also the presence of well-being, harmony and wholeness within oneself, a community and among all nations and peoples; the Chinese *ping* refers to harmony and unity from diversity; the Sanskrit word *shanti* means spiritual tranquility integrating outward and inward modes of being. Positive peace is therefore surely more difficult to articulate and achieve as it includes harmony, cooperation, equity, justice and love (Barash and Webel, 2002:8-9).

It is very interesting to note that the inspiration for the negative/positive dichotomy came from medical science. Using a medical comparison, health can be seen as the absence of disease, meaning absence of symptoms of disease, but also more positively as "the building of a healthy body capable of resisting diseases, relying on its own health forces or health resources" (Galtung, 1985:145).

As illustrated below in figure 1, the reason for using the terms negative and positive lays in the fact that "the absence of personal violence does not lead to a positively defined condition, whereas the absence of structural violence is what we have referred to as social justice, which is a positively defined condition".

```
                              VIOLENCE

              Personal                  Structural        (also referred to
              (direct)                  (indirect)        as «social injustice»)

                 │                          │
                 ▼                          ▼

             absence of                 absence of
          personal violence          structural violence

                 or                         or

              Negative                   Positive          (also referred to
               peace                      peace            as «social justice»)

                     ▲                 ▲
                        PEACE
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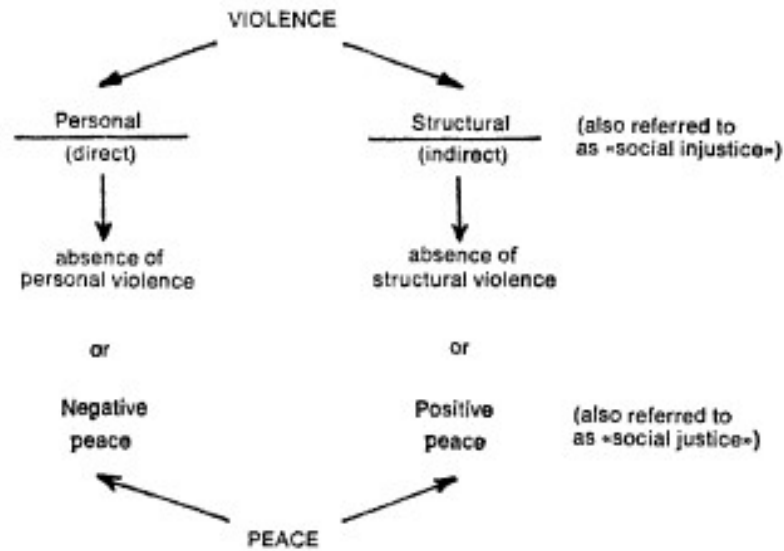
Figure 1: The extended concepts of violence and peace (Galtung, 1969:183).

But what is social justice? According to Barash and Webel (2002), despite the fact that everyone agrees on the desirability of a just society, there is much disagreement on what that would look like. Capitalists and individualists tend to privilege economic freedom and individual liberty often at the cost of mass poverty and malnutrition, while socialists and collectivists tend to value economic and social security, sometimes at the price of individual political freedoms. Social injustices such as political autocracy, economic exploitation and social inequality are not only important contributors to structural violence, but also major factors in the outbreak of wars (Barash and Webel, 2002:8-9).

The United Nations (2006) defined social justice as "the fair and compassionate distribution of the fruits of economic growth". First used by the organisation during the 1960s as a substitute for the protection of human rights, it was later used in the Declaration on Social Progress and Development adopted in 1969, which included the neglected pursuit of all dimensions of social justice as one of the cause of violence, repression and chaos (United Nations, 2006:6).

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The United Nations (2006) further define the origins of this concept by underlining how the notion of considering justice from a social perspective was first developed in the western world after the industrial revolution and the development of the socialist doctrine, which led to widespread protests against the capitalist exploitation of labor in favor of improved human conditions through progress and fraternity. By the mid-twentieth century, the concept of social justice had become the slogan of leftist and centrist ideologies around the world (United Nations, 2006:11-12).

From a gender perspective, unless women's agency in society is increased, allowing them to voice their needs and having these addressed in governing structures and constitutions, women have no legal basis to challenge those systemic inequalities that determine their social condition, running the risk to remain economically, politically and socially marginalised. Peace-building thus acquires a broader scope encompassing social justice and equality, improved relationships, and meeting of basic needs. For instance, Dolgopol (2006:258) underlines that male-dominated peace processes usually focus on bringing an end to hostilities by having male-dominated "warring" parties represented at the peace table. This approach is not only based on the wrong assumption that these groups represent the views of the general population, but also ignores the fundamental inequalities that exist in societies and that have the potential to inflame conflict. It is thus necessary, for any shift in views to take place, to acknowledge that issues related to gender are, in fact, political in nature and an outgrowth of concepts of power and hierarchy. Change and restructuring are consequently opposed in order to maintain unequal power-relations. The exclusion of women from negotiations about constitutions and government policies, which are powerful occasions to redefine the distribution of power in society, is thus a denial of

their right to influence their lives and impact decision-making. As power is often interpreted as a zero-sum game, where any increase in the number of participants can be viewed as weakening the power of the original ones, greater effort needs to be placed in deconstructing all forms of power imbalances (Dolgopol, 2006:259).

Within such discourse, Gilman (1983) defines sustainable peace as needing three basic elements: nurturing, empowerment and communications. With the term nurturing the author refers to the physical and emotional support that each person needs to meet basic human needs. Empowerment relates to the development and acknowledgment of each person's inner strength and worth through cultural, political and economic institutions that allow individual full expression by eliminating all forms of structural violence. Lastly, communications are fundamental in overcoming ignorance and building bonds within communities, and reliable and useful information is a powerful tool for effective conflict resolution and prevention.

Gilman (1983) further suggests four main strategies to achieve sustainable peace. First of all, he underlines the importance of raising the level of nurturing and empowerment. Secondly, he stresses the need to develop non-violent conflict resolution skills through local mediation services. Thirdly, he emphasises the value of developing true defense systems aimed not at threatening others but instead at making them more secure through local empowerment. Finally, he highlights the need for planetary links that enable early warning and dealing with potential conflict situations before they escalate into violence.

If the purpose is therefore achieving sustainable and positive peace, as Galtung sustains, peace research ought to analyze both the conditions for the absence of violence in general and war in particular, and for peace-building to take place. To do so, as illustrated below in figure 2, peace research bases its work on the analysis of

data through which theories are developed. Through empiricism, theories that do not fit the data are discarded. However, this is not sufficient as the complex value of peace is only imperfectly and incompletely realized. It is therefore necessary to compare in a critical manner data to values and, going one step further, theories to values to understand constructively the conditions under which values associated with peace could be realized.
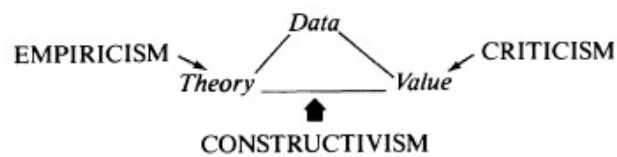
Figure 2: The scientific activity of peace research (Galtung,1985:152).

Galtung (1985) described thus three different types of research: empirical, dealing with the problems of the past, which has generated them; critical, dealing with the problems of the present, for instance evaluating concrete policies; constructive, dealing with possible peace strategies for the future. The author will now investigate how peace and conflict studies have developed, and which of the just-mentioned approaches have been used.

2.2 THE DEFINITION AND DIMENSIONS OF VIOLENCE

While analyzing violence, Galtung openly aimed not only to define the term, but mostly at theoretically identifying the significant dimensions of violence to be able to stimulate thinking, research and potential action. Galtung (1969:168) recognized the presence of violence when "human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realizations are below their potential realizations".

In his "Violence, Peace and Peace Research" (1969:168-173) he further identified at least six main distinctions:

I. Between physical and psychological violence, which differentiates between violence somatically hurting human beings both biologically and physically as such, and violence that works on the soul decreasing mental potentialities.

II. Between negative and positive approach to influence, as influence can be exercised on a person by pushing him/her when he/she does what the influencer considers wrong or by rewarding him/her when the influencer considers right what he/she does. In our reward-oriented consumer's society, action is consequently narrowed down.

III. Whether or not there is an object that is hurt. Truncated violence makes it possible for violence to occur even if no physical or biological object is hurt.

IV. Whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts. Violence can occur regardless of an existing subject-action-object relation, for instance if it is built into the structure, showing unequal power and thus unequal life opportunities.

V. Between intended and unintended violence, which is an important distinction when guilt is to be decided? The traditional link defined by Judeo-Christian ethics and Roman jurisprudence between guilt and intention, for example, makes it difficult to include structural violence in the discourse.

VI. Between manifest and latent violence, that is to say observable violence and violence that happens when the situation is so unstable that the actual realization level "easily" decreases.

The above-mentioned six dimensions of violence are hereby represented in figure 3.
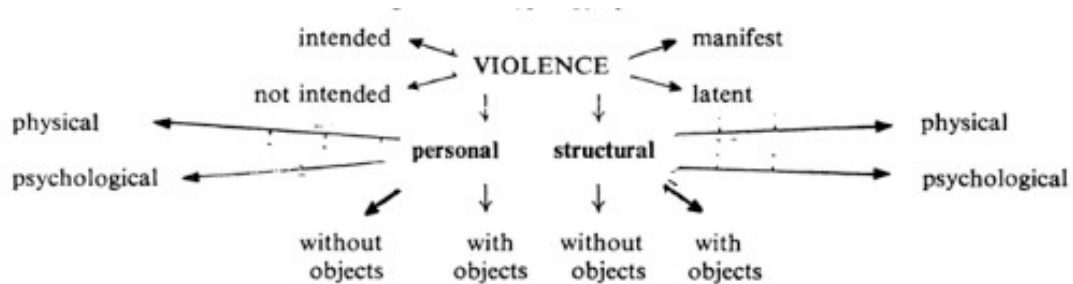
Figure 3: A typology of violence (Galtung,1969:173).

Galtung (1969) decided to make the distinction between personal and structural violence the main one, challenging the traditional idea of violence as "somatic incapacitation, or deprivation of health, alone (with killing as the extreme form), at the ends of an actor who intends this to be the consequence". If personal violence shows, as the violence is perceived, the object of structural violence may be persuaded not to perceive it at all. Therefore, this makes structural violence more stable as built into the societal structure, compared to a more in time fluctuant personal violence.

On the basis of such main distinctions, Galtung then elaborated one of his most prominent concepts, pivotal for any peace architecture to effectively address violence in all its forms: the conflict triangle.

2.3 THE TYPOLOGY OF VIOLENCE: DIRECT, STRUCTURAL AND CULTURAL VIOLENCE

In 1996 Galtung published "Peace by Peaceful Means", which soon became one of the most accredited books of peace and conflict theory. Most importantly, he

elaborated the first distinction between personal (direct) and structural (indirect) violence. As he explained, violence is commonly understood as direct violence, that is to say physical and easily observable through bodily injury or pain.

As showed by the previously observed different dimensions of violence, however, another more indirect and insidious form of violence exists. Built into the structure of social, cultural and economic institutions, structural violence is often unnoticed as it operates to slowly erode humanistic values and impoverish human lives (Barash and Webel, 2002:7). For instance, both ancient Egypt and imperial Rome were highly despotic and practiced slavery despite technically living in negative peace for long periods of time. Structural violence usually denies people important rights such as social, political and sexual equality; economic well-being and so on. When people starve to death, die of preventable diseases, are denied education or housing, a society is committing violence against its members as forcibly hindering their development and well-being (Barash and Webel, 2002:7).

Combining the distinction between direct and structural violence, and rooting violence in the basic concept of human needs, seeing it as "avoidable actions and insults to basic human needs, and more generally to life, lowering the real level of needs satisfaction below what is potentially possible" (Galtung, 1990:292-293), a holistic typology of violence, hereby described in Table I, can be created.

	Survival Needs	Well-being Needs	Identity Needs	Freedom Needs
Direct Violence	Killing	Maiming Siege, Sanctions Misery	Desocialization Resocialization Secondary Citizen	Repression Detention Expulsion
Structural Violence	Exploitation A	Exploitation B	Penetration Segmentation	Marginalization Fragmentation

Table 1: A typology of violence with corresponding human needs (Galtung, 1990:292).

Galtung identified four classes of basic needs: survival needs (negation: death, mortality); well-being needs (negation: misery, morbidity); identity, meaning needs (negation: alienation) and freedom needs (negation: repression). The result is thus eight types of violence easily identified for direct violence, and more complex for structural violence. Galtung (1990:292) also specified that a fifth column including "ecological balance" could be added in order to challenge the anthropocentric nature of the table.

In his "Cultural violence", article published in the Journal of Peace Research in 1990, Galtung further expanded the basic distinction between direct and structural violence, elaborating the conflict triangle that introduced cultural violence to the world of conflict theory. He defined it as "those aspects of culture, the symbolic sphere of our existence –exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science –that can be used to legitimise direct or structural violence" (Galtung, 1990:291). The study of cultural violence is thus aimed at highlighting how direct and structural violence are legitimised and rendered acceptable in the society.

Violence can start at any corner of the direct-structural-cultural triangle, represented below in figure 4, and can be easily transmitted to the other corners as when violent structures are institutionalised and violent culture is internalized also direct violence tends to be institutionalised in a repetitive manner.

Direct violence

Cultural violence   **Structural violence**
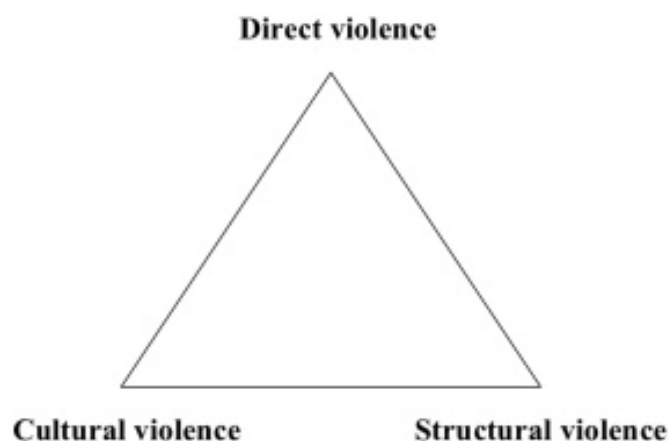
Figure 4: Typology of violence (Galtung, 1990:291).

However, Galtung (1990:302) underlined that a triangular syndrome of peace can be generated to contrast the one of violence through cultural peace engendering structural peace with equitable relations among diverse partners, and direct peace with acts of cooperation and love. The concept of infrastructure for peace is, in fact, an attempt to build such a triangular syndrome of peace that will later be elaborated in this dissertation.

2.4 DEFINING ACTION IN PURSUANCE OF PEACE

After having analyzed the field of peace and conflict research with specific attention given to the concepts and notions relevant or the purpose of this dissertation, t is necessary to address the existing main areas of action in pursuance of peace as one of the main aims of this research.

As illustrated below in figure 5, the responses used by the United Nations (UN) and African Union (AU) are first to prevent conflict (preventive diplomacy); if this fails, to make peace by gathering all parties around the negotiation table (peace-making); if a ceasefire or agreement is reached, to deploy a peace-keeping mission to

monitor and otherwise assist with its implementation; and lastly to assist to rebuild the country with a specific focus on addressing the root causes of the conflict in order to ensure that it does not reoccur (peace-building) (ACCORD, 2007:14).

Preventive diplomacy
(Try to prevent conflict)
⭣
Peace-making
(Make peace through negotiation)
⭣
Peace-keeping
(Monitor ceasefire or assist implementation of agreement)
⭣
Peace-building
(Rebuild country and put in place measures to address root causes of conflict)

Figure 5: Stages in the peace process (ACCORD, 2007:14).

As we will see later in this chapter, conflicts cannot be seen as a singular event but rather as a process going through cyclical phases. For this reason, we cannot consider the just illustrated dimensions of peace action as one independent from the other. In reality they are often in progress at the same time. Peace-building may thus be in theory a post-conflict activity, taking place once stability has been restored through a peace-making mission. However, conflict might erupt again giving peace-building activities a new preventative character as they aim at trying to stop the recurrence of the conflict (ACCORD, 2007:14).

The historical development of conflicts that we earlier explored surely influenced also the way in which the international community responds to conflicts.

In the 21st century, the focus shifted from peace-keeping, that is to say maintaining the *status quo,* to peace-building and the management of transitions. Most UN operations since 1989 have been, in fact, peace-building operations specifically focusing on supporting the implementation of comprehensive peace processes that included: Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR); organising elections; justice sector reform; training and restructuring new police forces; facilitating the transition from interim to democratically elected governments. The protagonist role played by civilians in the new conflict paradigm caused the transition of response to be characterised by the inclusion of new and mostly civilian dimensions to the traditional military peace-keeping mandates (ACCORD, 2007:12).

Linguistically speaking, there is an increasing sense of confusion concerning the terminology used in the field. As Lisa Schirch (2008:2) wrote, "is conflict something to be managed, mitigated, negotiated, mediated, resolved, prevented or transformed? Is peace something to be kept, made or built?"

As the different actions undertaken to pursue peace have not originated in one place, but rather in different cultures around the world, it is very difficult to decide on a singular terminology. In order to try to dismantle this general puzzlement, the author has examined individually the main areas of action used at the international-national-local level to pursue peace, namely conflict prevention, peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building, and early warning.

Lastly, as tensions frequently escalate in situations where information is scarce, I have also decided to include the issue of communications for peace-building in the proposed analysis. Therefore, by offering a variety of information that contains a range of facts, perspectives and opinions, by promoting tolerant and diverse

informative viewpoints to large potential audiences, by strengthening local capacities'
efforts, communication tools can, in fact, importantly contribute to the building of an
open culture that allows different voices to emerge and be heard, besides offering
powerful tools of conflict prevention and mediation.

2.4.1 CONFLICT PREVENTION

The concept of conflict prevention has been substantially evolving and
broadening over time, as academic research, task forces, trainings and networks have
begun to examine it more profoundly. In particular, it has gained a major role in the
agendas of governments and international organisations since the Post-Cold War
period, when opportunities for international cooperation increased due to potential
instability caused by the forging of new states and the outbreak of violent and
destructive intra-state conflicts such as the conflict in former Yugoslavia and the
genocide in Rwanda. Conflict prevention thus became a morally and financially
desirable option, compared to difficult conflict resolution and costly post-conflict
reconstruction (Stewart, 2003:2).

As a concept, conflict prevention remains confusing especially due to its wide
interpretation and norm-laden character, which consequently hampers attempts to
develop coherent conflict-specific policies. Stewart (2003) explains that theories
exploring the conditions necessary to create international peace go back to Kant and
Rousseau if not further. She moreover illustrates how, as seen earlier, it was after
World War II and in particular during the détente period that the study of conflict as a
separate phenomenon emerged, aiming at developing an alternative to superpower
crisis management given also the emergence of highly destructive nuclear technology.

Initially the dominant school of thought was realism[1], which saw anarchic international relations as ruled by interests-based competition among nation states. Foreign policy and international politics were therefore more attentive to crisis management rather than conflict prevention (Steward, 2003:5). During the 1960s and 1970s an alternative analytical perspective emerged with the behavioral school, which focused more on the psychological aspects of crisis behavior such as the stress and threat perception of the crisis decision-making process. The détente period led to the wide spreading of the concept of prevention, even if still in the short rather than long-term. It was only in the framework of the developing peace and conflict research that a wider approach addressing the root causes of conflicts started to develop, thanks also to the rejection of nuclear weapons and deterrence as a way of preventing war (Steward, 2003:5).

Drawing on earlier research methods of analysts such as Quincy Wright and Lewis Richardson, scholars around the world including Kenneth Boulding, founder of the Journal of Conflict Resolution in 1957 and the Center for Research on Conflict Resolution at the University of Michigan in 1959, and Galtung himself started to advocate for conflict prevention through the development of research and early warning systems within newly reorganised international relations, besides advocating also for a wider scope for conflict studies as to include concern over human rights, justice, equality and ecology (Steward, 2003:5).

The real focus on prevention emerged during the 1990s as optimism started to grow after the end of the Cold War when obstacles to collective action were removed. The following disintegration and state formation processes which took place in East

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[1]School of thought in international relations theory characterised by the belief that world politics are ultimately a field of conflict among actors pursuing power.

Europe and the former Soviet Union led to the need for new ways of mediating and resolving emerging internal conflicts (Steward, 2003:7). The change in nature, dynamics and scope of the principal international actors had also a major impact: the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE, formerly CSCE) was institutionalised and expanded in order to play an important role in election and human rights monitoring; the UN took the lead in early warning and the development of preventive diplomacy techniques, thanks also to the fundamental lobbying and coordinating role played by non-governmental organisations (NGOs); the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) made a successful transition from Cold War defense alliance to post-Cold War crisis management, occasionally military partnering with the UN; the European Union (EU) emerged as a new actor especially with the inception of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) in 1991 (Steward, 2003:7).

Despite these optimistic developments, the 1990s were a very difficult decade in terms of violent conflicts and inability of the international community to react on time. The break-up of Yugoslavia saw a failure in the early diplomatic attempts, while war was not prevented in Somalia (1993), Rwanda (1994) and Kosovo (1999) with disastrous consequences.

As a result of failed interventions, the international community recognized the need for innovative international mechanisms based on a different perception of state interests and new international norms. Conflict prevention thus finally saw a more practical development.

Burton (1996), sustaining the importance of finding a word referring to avoiding a problem or conflict by dealing with its causes, elaborated the term "provention", which specifically refers to the means by which a situation is

anticipated and dealt with by removing the causes of conflict. Differently from prevention, which he defines as the use of forces to stem violence and crime, as well as to maintain power balances, provention can thus be considered a political philosophy to be used as an approach to government.

2.4.1.1 CATEGORIES, SCOPE AND CHALLENGES OF CONFLICT PREVENTION

It is important to pose the following questions in order to profoundly analyze Conflict prevention. What is conflict prevention? How do we define this complex concept and what are its main features? In general terms, conflict prevention can be defined as any attempt by third parties to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict (Stewart, 2003:3) or, if that has already happened, to limit its impact on innocent civilians by trying to stop the hostilities as swiftly as possible (ACCORD, 2007:14).

According to the Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1997:2), preventive action has three broad aims:

1.   To prevent the emergence of violent conflict. This is done by creating capable states with representative governance based on the rule of law, with widely available economic opportunity, social safety nets, protection of fundamental human rights, and robust civil societies. The aim is to prevent dangerous circumstances from developing through a network of interconnecting international regimes based on the rule of law. Again, the medical metaphor can be used, as this approach is comparable to primary prevention in public health.

2.   To prevent ongoing conflicts from spreading. This is done by creating political, economic, and, if necessary, military barriers to limit the spread of conflict within and between states. Firebreaks may be created through well-designed efforts to

deny belligerents the ability to resupply arms, ammunition, and hard currency, combined with humanitarian operations that provide relief for innocent victims.

3.   To prevent the re-emergence of violence. This is done through the creation of a safe and secure environment in the aftermath of conflict and the achievement of a peace settlement through the rapid introduction of security forces to separate enemies, oversee disarmament plans, and provide a stabilising presence. At the same time, immediate steps will also be necessary to restore legitimate political authority, to install functioning police, judicial, and penal systems, and to integrate external and internal efforts to restore essential services and restart normal economic activity.

According to Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1997:2) effective preventive strategies work on the basis of three elements:

1.   Early reaction to signs of trouble. This requires early detection and skilled analysis of developing trends; governments' clear statements of interest based on broad political consultations; pragmatic courses of action to respond to the warning signs and provide support for locally sustainable solutions.

2.   A comprehensive, balanced approach to alleviate the pressures or risk factors that trigger violent conflict. A deliberate coordination of a range of political, economic, social, and military measures is often paramount in order to face the strain posed by large-scale crises.

3.   An extended effort to resolve the underlying root causes of violence. Through a structural approach to prevention leaders and governments must ensure

fundamental security, well-being, and justice for all citizens in order to inhibit the tendency to use violence to settle differences.

Moreover, preventive strategies have been differentiated in two broad categories that is operational and structural prevention. Operational prevention includes measures applicable in the face of immediate crisis, based on early engagement able to create conditions for its resolution. It requires four key elements: effective leadership from an international organisation, country or prominent individual; a comprehensive political-military response able to arrest the violence, address the humanitarian needs and integrate all political and military aspects; adequate resources coming from a wide range of sources such as the private sector, local and international humanitarian organisations, and governments; a plan for the restoration of host country authority, especially in case of intrastate conflicts (Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997:3-15).

The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1997:4-8) provides a broad description of the four main groups of measures to avoid imminent violence:

- Early warning and early response. Indicators of imminent violence include widespread human rights abuses, increasingly brutal political oppression, inflammatory use of the media, accumulation of arms, and sometimes a rash of organised killings. All main actors have, in their different ways, a capacity for early warning. Very often the problem is not that of gathering early warnings but rather that of translating them in early action. As there are no mechanisms in place for governments or decision-making bodies of the major regional organisations to acquire systematically the information that has been gathered (Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997:4). However, there are signs that this may be

changing. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan firstly recognized the importance of NGOs and other elements of civil society and acknowledged the essential contribution they make to UN operations in terms of prevention. Early warning systems have increasingly become an indispensable part of conflict prevention and peace-building, and there is added emphasis being given to developing networks that provide scenarios, risks and warnings before international forces have to be deployed. Yet even practical early warning will not automatically ensure successful preventive action unless there is a fundamental change of attitude by governments and international organisations. No systematic and practical early warning system will be efficient if not combined with constantly updated contingency plans for preventive action. Thus, in addition to the relatively easy identification of major hot spots and checklists of problem conditions, policymakers also need specific knowledge of the major elements of destabilization and the way in which they are likely to coalesce to precipitate an outbreak of violence (Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, 1997:4). Dress (2005:29) explains well the difference between the two main methodological categories of early warning systems:

1.   Qualitative early warning consists of field-based analysis by researchers in crisis-affected regions to monitor, conduct research and to varying degrees also to conduct fact-finding missions. Organisations such as Human Rights Watch (HRW), Amnesty International (AI) and the International Crisis Group (ICG) usually carry out these types of activities.

2.   Quantitative warning systems use a given set of criteria to systematically collect and process empirical information. Such research is usually used in causal and systems-dynamics models aimed at identifying the conditions and structural contexts under which violence will occur from a pre-defined (baseline) set

of indicators. Conflict-causing factors are thus isolated and attempts are made to reveal links between them and the outbreak of violent conflict and to decide the probability and trend of violent conflict.

Both methodologies can, in fact, be used in parallel utilizing constant monitoring (qualitative), event data analysis (quantitative), fact-finding missions in the field and external expertise from a network of governments and NGOs. Fundamental is the work carried out by various networks that, despite not being strictly formal systems, have proliferated thanks to the support given by humanitarian agencies as to improve their communications with others for purposes of early warning. These networks, such as the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), allow the organisations to access already-existing resources in a cost-effective way since repetitive field studies do not have to be undertaken, besides helping exchange and rapid dissemination of analytical information.

As Dress (2005) underlines, when talking about early warning it is also essential to underline how women, often utilizing a Human Rights Based Approach (HRBA) in the analysis of conflicts, generally aware of those issues that are root cause of wars and particularly sensitive to factors as the respect for differences and minorities, are usually capable of significantly contributing in impeding conflicts and early warnings. The so-called "gender indicators", reflecting the shifting circumstances of men and women in society and highlighting emerging tensions within the community, are in fact often the earliest signs of an emerging conflict (Dress, 2005:89). However, reports show that women have been often aware of the imminent conflict but had nowhere to refer the information to. In Sierra Leone in the late 1990s, for example, village women knew about forthcoming attacks by rebels

against UN peacekeepers and were willing to pass the information on to the UN system but did not know whom to contact (Dress, 2005:89).

In a study commissioned by International Alert and the Swiss Peace Foundation three hypotheses were presented as to support the importance of including gender indicators in conflict analysis (Anderlini and Stanski, 2007:5-6). First, gender indicators are often most evident at the grassroots level and can point to systemic problems or highlight early signs of instability, providing an opportunity to alleviate them before they escalate. Second, when gender perspectives are excluded from situation analyzes, there is a greater risk of ignoring the often-deteriorating situation of specific sectors of society and related factors that fuel conflict. The inclusion of gender perspectives can help ensure that discriminatory policies are not perpetuated in post conflict situations that "newly established freedoms" are not reversed and that responses at a political and humanitarian level address the vulnerabilities specific to women and men. Third, the untapped potential of women, women's networks and women's organisations as actors for peace can play a pivotal role in early warning and preventive activities by undertaking information gathering and analysis, by providing different insight, knowledge and solutions, which can complement and support the efforts of others, particularly international actors.

Anderlini and Stanski (2007:4-7) investigate how gender-sensitive indicators can be found at all levels and therefore assume different characteristics. They can as a result be:

- Systemic, including long-term political exclusion of women, economic discrimination (for example. laws prohibiting women from inheriting property), discrepancies between men and women's educational levels or place in the work

force. An example can be the deterioration of the situation of women in a specific country, which is highlighted by the diminishing percentage of literate women over a decade. This could imply increasing economic hardship or the spread of religious extremism, with a focus on women (for example the Taliban's treatment of women in Afghanistan) (Anderlini and Stanski, 2007:4-5).

- Proximate, including gradual trends from an open/tolerant society to a more closed society, particularly imposing or implementing restrictive laws relating to women. Examples can be the increase in propaganda that emphasises hyper-masculinity and violence; rape and honor killings of women; lack of institutional prosecution of perpetrators; increase in violence against women in both private and public spheres (for example the increased level of domestic violence and general tension observed prior to the outbreak of the Eritrean War of Independence in 1961); gender-based changes in economic patterns (for example sale of jewelry or other precious materials by women due to increasing economic hardship); sex-specific refugee migration (for example approximately 6–8 weeks prior to the outbreak of widespread violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, large numbers of women, particularly of Muslim origin, left Priador) (Anderlini and Stanski, 2007:5).

- Triggers and Catalysts, including killings, disappearances (for example in Cambodia and Kosovo, many males were either killed or "disappeared" prior to the eruption of widespread violence) and gender-specific killing ("Gendercide", for example in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Rwanda young, educated and often pregnant women were targeted for execution in an attempt to extinguish a culture, while non-pregnant women were forcibly impregnated to dilute a culture or introduce the genes of another culture) (Anderlini and Stanski, 2007:5).

- Preventive diplomacy. When a conflict is erupting, diplomatic and creative efforts must be made to encourage dialogue and facilitate a nonviolent resolution of the crisis. These must necessarily and importantly include contextual and traditional diplomatic techniques, as well a number of fundamental steps. First, states should maintain open lines of communication with leaders and groups in crisis. Second, governments and international organisations must express in a clear and compelling way the interests in jeopardy. Third, the crisis should immediately be put on the agenda of the relevant international organisation and agencies in order to permit preventive action, and regular updates should come from local informative mechanisms. Fourth, governments should support quiet diplomacy and dialogue with and between moderate leaders in the crisis, also through special envoys and representatives of key states or regional organisations or on behalf of the UN. As preventive diplomacy is not limited to the pre-conflict stage but follows the development of the conflict step by step, many argue that there are several diplomatic tracks that can be used to address a crisis at different levels. Official and formal diplomatic channels (Track I) can be greatly strengthened by private sector activity through more informal, citizen diplomacy channels (Track II). NGOs have in fact proved to be potentially very useful in building relationships between conflicting parties and with interested governments, offering training in diplomacy and conflict resolution, and providing good offices to parties that are committed to the peaceful resolution of conflict.

- Economic measures, such as sanctions and inducements. With exception of sanctions, inducements together with economic conditionality and the dispute resolution mechanisms of international trade and other economic organisations may also be useful to influence potential belligerents to avoid violence.

- The use of force. In case of inefficient diplomatic responses, even if supplemented by strong economic measures, forceful measures are possible but only if based on three broad principles. First, any threat or use of force cannot be arbitrary but must be governed by universally accepted principles, as the UN Charter requires. Second, the threat or use of force should not be regarded only as a last resort in desperate circumstances. Third, despite the fact that the Charter authorises unilateral force in certain circumstances, the threat or use of force must be generally part of an integrated, usually multilateral strategy, and used in conjunction with political and economic instruments.

Differently from operational prevention, structural prevention entails measures to ensure that crises do not arise in the first place, or if they do, that they do not recur. Structural prevention, given its long-term character as opposed to immediate peace-making efforts, includes strategies such as institution-building, strengthening international legal systems, and developing national dispute resolution mechanisms in order to rebuild societies that meet basic economic, social, cultural and humanitarian needs through self-governance and nonviolent efforts (Dress, 2005:13).

Concepts such as that of conflict prevention understandably lead to a series of difficulties and complications. It will be later examined how the inclusion of qualified and trained women in the planning and implementation of prevention policies might, in fact, offer a solution to the existing challenges or an alternative path to conventional definitions and patterns. As portrayed by the author during her work elaborating objective two of the Global Peace-Building Strategy, the untapped potential of women can, in fact, provide different insight, knowledge and solutions to the challenging task of building sustainable peace. In order to influence security policies and practice it will be necessary to bring fresh thinking into grassroots

stabilization, increase women's knowledge and skills to address conflict and security issues and advance their participation at dialogue, negotiation and decision making.

The wide interpretation of the concept of conflict prevention, however, renders even more difficult the already challenging task of elaborating effective and coherent policies, which are specific to a certain conflict at a certain time. Conflict dynamics and patterns, as the idea of what constitutes long-term structural prevention, can be in fact very differently interpreted. The existing confusion on the relevant terminology thus contributes to the misperception of policy aims (Stewart, 2003:3).

Moreover, predicting conflict at an early stage is, particularly in the case of internal wars, notoriously challenging. Policy-makers' failure in the past to predict important events such as the break-up of the Soviet Union diminished the trust in their ability to establish the real likelihood of escalation of violence (Stewart, 2003:8).

It is true, however, that successful conflict prevention is not often reported, as it is obviously always tricky to assert that a situation would become violent before it actually happened. For this reason, it is difficult to prove that a specific initiative, rather than other factors, was successful in preventing a conflict (ACCORD, 2007:17). However, it is generally agreed on that many conflict situations could have been avoided through timely preventative interventions, which are generally considered more effective and cheaper than peace-keeping. The always-present dilemma is thus one of political will to allocate the necessary resources to prevention, as decision-makers are rarely convinced of the seriousness of a situation before it is too late, thus unable or unwilling to read the early warning signs (ACCORD, 2007:17).

Outside actors are usually reluctant to mobilize when there is no pressing need to intervene, immediate threat to international security or when the region is of little strategic interest, as conflict prevention is generally considered risky, costly and usually counter-productive (Stewart, 2003:9). Supporters, on the contrary, argue that costs are overestimated and try to expand narrow and short-term national interests bringing successful examples to the table.

Another existing difficulty is the fact that effective conflict prevention policies have to be based on assumptions about the causes of war that respond to reality. Despite the vague consensus on the fact that lack of resources, poverty, and problems of governance and political legitimacy lead to instability, there is much debate about how much these contribute to the outbreak of conflict and how they should be tackled, as indicators for structural conflict prevention are considered to be too general or with limited effect (Stewart, 2003:11).

Finally, as Steward (2003) explains, the issues of legitimacy and ethical intervention continue hindering the promotion of conflict prevention. Despite the challenge recently posed to norms of sovereignty and non-interference, there are still many states defending them. Developing countries such as India, Pakistan, Algeria and Egypt oppose the principle of prevention, seeing it as a platform for greater external, and more specifically Western, interference in their internal affairs. The 1999 intervention in Kosovo, despite its claimed humanitarian nature was highly criticised not only for worsening the conflict it was supposed to prevent, but also for starting a new trend of Western neo-imperialism disregarding the existing international law (Stewart, 2003:13). In light of this, the principle of "limited intervention" was created, identifying strict conditions such as a humanitarian

catastrophe and the exhaustion of diplomatic efforts before collective military intervention is acceptable (Stewart, 2003:13).

2.4.2 PEACE-KEEPING, PEACE-MAKING AND PEACE-BUILDING

The distinction among the different terms was first officially explained in 1992 by the then Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his report "An agenda for peace: preventive diplomacy, peace-making and peace-keeping". As requested by the Security Council, the document included Boutros-Ghali's analysis and recommendations given the changing international context on how to strengthen and make more efficient, within the framework and provisions of the Charter, the capacity of the United Nations for preventive diplomacy, peace-making, peace-keeping and the newly added concept of peace-building.

Very importantly, the Secretary-General formally defined that step-by-step approach previously addressed, which includes trying to identify at the earliest possible stage situations that could produce conflict and using diplomacy to remove the sources of danger before violence erupts; where conflict has erupted, engaging in peace-making aimed at resolving the issues that led to conflict; where fighting has been halted, working through peace-keeping to preserve peace and to assist in implementing agreements; to stand ready to assist in peace-building in its differing contexts; and to address the deepest causes of conflict, including economic despair, social injustice and political oppression (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:823).

The definitions provided were as such (Boutros-Ghali, 1992:824-825):

1.   Peace-making as action to bring hostile parties to agreement, essentially through such peaceful means as those foreseen in Chapter VI of the Charter of the United Nations. The Secretary-General also called attention to the power of the Security Council, under Articles 36 and 37 of the Charter, to recommend to Member States the submission of a dispute to the International Court of Justice, arbitration or other dispute-settlement mechanisms. On the use of military force, he observed that if peaceful means failed, the measures provided in Chapter VII should be used on decision of the Security Council to maintain or restore international peace and security.

2.   Peace-keeping as the deployment of a United Nations presence in the field, hitherto with the consent of all the parties concerned, normally involving United Nations military and/or police personnel and frequently civilians as well. Given the evolved nature of activities and the emerged new demands and problems regarding logistics, equipment, personnel and finance, peace-keeping is a technique that expands the possibilities for both the prevention of conflict and the making of peace. The Secretary-General stressed in particular the importance of reviewing and improving arrangements for training and rapid transfer of peace-keeping civilian, police and military personnel.

3.   Post-conflict peace-building as action to identify and support structures which would tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict. Measures might include, for instance, disarming the previously warring parties and the restoration of order, the custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriating refugees, advisory and training support for security personnel, monitoring elections, advancing efforts to protect human rights, reforming or strengthening governmental institutions and promoting processes of political participation. In case

of international conflicts, peace-building might include effective cooperative projects between two or more countries, able to both contribute to economic and social development and enhance the confidence so fundamental to peace.

2.4.2.1 THE MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF PEACE-BUILDING

As understandable from the above given definition, the term peace-building offers a wide range of possible interpretations and can consequently be used in a variety of situations. The definition included in the Secretary-General's report, however, refers only to post-conflict activities, which include a less wide array of long-term strategies.

Schirch describes the spectrum of meanings in peace-building terminology in the chart below.

← Spectrums of Meaning in Peacebuilding Terminology →	
Focus on post-conflict time span	Focus on all stages of conflict
Narrow focus on specific kinds of activities	Wide focus on a range of activities including peacekeeping, human rights monitoring, mediation, development, education, governance, etc.
Immediate focus on ending direct violence	Long-term focus on addressing root causes of violence, including structural injustices
Outcome-oriented focus on solutions	Process-oriented focus on transformation
Focus on the role of outside experts "intervening" in local conflicts	Focus on the role of insiders and increasing their capacity for building peace
Focus on high level national and international interventions	Focus on all levels of interventions, from the community, regional, and national levels
Focus on military peace operations	Focus on non-military approaches to building peace and security

Table 2: Spectrums of meaning in peace-building terminology (Schirch, 2008:4).

Taking into consideration the fact that peace-building includes all those actions aimed at addressing the root causes of a conflicting situation so as to prevent

the reoccurrence of conflict, the UN nowadays differentiates between preventive and post-conflict peace-building. While the first includes those efforts dedicated to preventing a conflict from developing into a violent one, the second addresses the rebuilding of physical infrastructures, state systems and civil society organisations. It is thus this preventative character, which makes the concept of peace-building very interesting and useful given the aim of this academic work.

As clarified by the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (2007), preventive peace-building simultaneously addresses both the causes and consequences of a conflict through a complex system of multiple short, medium and long-term programs.

> In the short term, peace-building programs assist in stabilising the peace process and preventing a relapse into violent conflict. In the long term, peace-building programs, collectively and cumulatively, address the root causes of a conflict and lay the foundations for social justice and sustainable peace (ACCORD, 2007:22).

One of the fundamental factors is that for any peace-building structure to properly function, a coherent and coordinated multidimensional response system must be in place. A broad range of internal and external actors undertake a range of interrelated programs that span the security, political, socio-economic and reconciliation dimensions of society. It is essential to create a comprehensive group of actors including government, civil society, the private sector, international institutions and agencies, and international non-governmental organisations.

Successful peace-building operations generally evolve through three broad phases: the stabilization phase, the transition phase and the consolidation phase (ACCORD, 2007:22). As conflict cannot be described as a singular event, also peace-

building should not be understood as clear, fixed, time-bound or having absolute boundaries. Transition between phases might therefore include overlap or regression.

Furthermore, the Centre for Multi-Track Diplomacy argues that there are three broad types of peace-building (Schirch, 2008:5):

1.   Political peace-building, which is about agreement and legal issues and includes formal negotiations, diplomacy, etc.

2.   Structural peace-building, which is about infrastructures and includes building economic, military, social and cultural systems that support a culture of peace through activities such as voter education, police training, disarming warring parties, building schools and good governance.

3.   Social peace-building, which is about relationships and includes dealing with attitudes, feelings, beliefs, opinions and values through dialogue processes, community-building activities and training.

Given the multi-faceted character of the term, it is easily understandable that peace-building requires a range of approaches in order to support the peaceful transformation of conflict in its political, social and structural aspects, as explained in figure 6:

1.   Advocating for change by increasing a group's power to address issues and develop the conditions needed to transform relationships.

2.   Reducing direct violence by restraining perpetrators of violence, relieving the immediate suffering of victims of violence and creating a safe space for peace-building activities that address the root causes of violence.

3.   Transforming relationships through processes that address trauma, transform conflict and restore a sense of justice.

4.   Capacity building through a long-term approach aimed at meeting needs and preventing violence by building just structures that support a sustainable culture of peace.
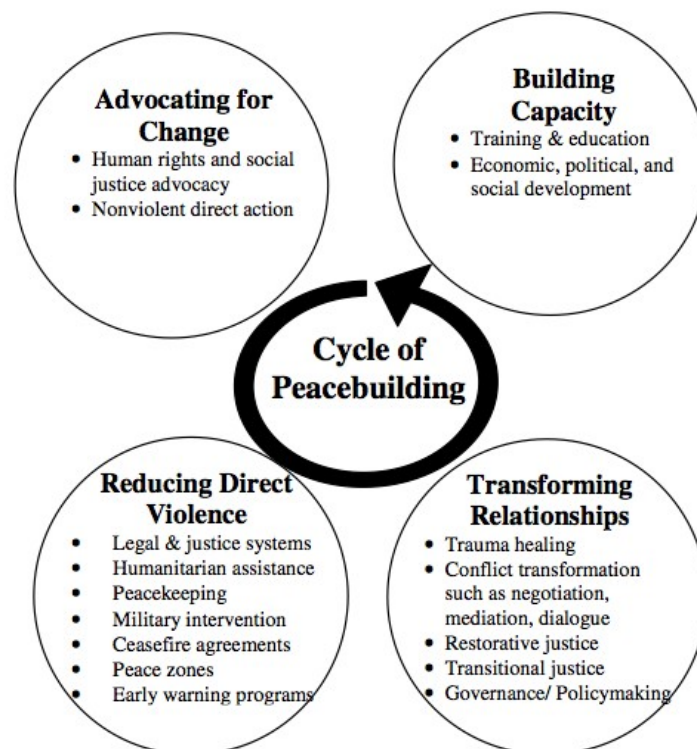
Figure 6: Categories of peace-building (Schirch, 2008:9).

Lederach (1995a), understanding conflict as expressive, dynamic, and dialectical in nature, refers to peace-building as a process made up of roles and functions rather than an activity led by a mediator or intermediary team. New figures are consequently suggested to be part of the process (Lederach, 1995a:67); among others the Explorer, who reassures adversaries and sketches out a range of possible alternative solutions; the Convener, who initiates the process by calling for a truce and

inviting parties to the discussion, convincing them of possible mutually satisfactory solutions; the Unifier, who repairs intraparty divisions so that all factions can agree on interests, values, and acceptable solutions; the Enforcer, who monitors the post agreement behavior by adversaries and imposes sanctions for nonperformance of the agreed terms of settlement. Given that such activities entail a deep-rooted understanding of the context, the conflict and the relationship between the parties, it is therefore clear how important it is for any peace-building process to be initiated and carried out by the communities themselves at the local level.

As we have now seen what a successful preventative peace-building strategy should include, the question is immediate. How do we implement one? How do we make sure that bottom-up processes are owned by societies and are able to pursue all these valid objectives through community initiatives and national infrastructures? It is crucial to examine that very important tool , which is necessary to grant to any peace strategy that comprehensive and systematic character it so importantly requires. The tool is communications for peace-building.

2.5 COMMUNICATION FOR PEACE-BUILDING

Communications have historically often played a fundamental role in conflict and post-conflict settings given their powerful capacity of providing information and shaping people's views. This tool has been used both to incite violence and promote hate speeches as well as to promote peace, coexistence, reconciliation and to prevent conflict. As Search for Common Grounds (2011:7) has well documented, there are many available examples of this, starting with the Crimean War (print media), through the American Civil War (photo journalism and print media), World War II (cinema newsreels, radio and daily newspapers), the wars in the Persian Gulf in 1991

and the invasion of Iraq in 2003 (global television and the 24-hour news cycle), and the most recent events in the Middle East (wireless communication networks and social media). This short list of cases clearly shows the rapid development of communication tools.

Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) can be defined as comprising a complex and heterogeneous set of goods, applications and services aimed at producing, processing, distributing and transforming information (Tan, 2008:3125). Older segments such as print journalism, television, telecommunications and radio broadcasting have witnessed the development of new tools such as computer hardware and software, electronic media as the Internet, and mobile phones (Tan, 2008:3125). The amazing innovations offered by technology have thus created new opportunities and participatory spaces for individuals and communities through the development of so-called information or knowledge societies, consequently leading to changes in social interaction, economic practices, political engagement, education opportunities and health (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005:2).

Conflict monitoring, early warning, crisis and disaster response, civilian protection, community peace-building and state-building activities have thus gained new methodologies and nature. Based on the idea that effective information and communication processes are prerequisites for successful development, programs have been launched aimed at the creation of new horizontal and vertical communication flows using various tools in order to initiate a participatory culture of peace (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:4).

As already stated, the field of communications for peace-building originates directly from the communications for development. Given its evolving nature, Search

for Common Grounds (2011:5) has identified three main phases of its development. The first one began in the 1940s as a consequence of the establishment of the Bretton Woods system, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in 1944. Primarily based on an economic approach, modernization and growth theories described development as a unilateral process, and the world as divided into poor-traditional societies and rich-modern ones. Mass media were considered to play an important role in spreading awareness about new possibilities, diffusing practices and shaping people's attitudes and behaviors.

The second phase saw a challenge to the above-described top-down model posed by Latin American social scientists, who underlined dependency and underdevelopment. From the 1960s to the early 1980s a movement for a New World Information and Communication Order developed. Independence struggles and popular movements, which characterised these years, brought to the rise of a strong Non-Aligned Movement that contested and politicised communication strategies (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:5).

Finally, between the 1970s and the 1980s, interdependence of nations and global issues caused the emergence of a new concept of development based on cultural identity and multidimensionality. Change needed to be analyzed through a bottom-up approach based on the self-development of local communities. The modernization model was thus replaced by the participatory development model, which stressed the importance of democratization and participation at all levels. New communication strategies were consequently developed and the World Bank adopted a new definition of communications for development: integration of strategic communication in development projects based on a clear understanding of indigenous realities (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:5).

2.5.1 CHARACTERISTICS, FUNCTIONS AND GOALS OF THE MEDIA IN CONFLICT PREVENTION AND PEACE-BUILDING

As Melone et al. (2002) underline, tensions frequently escalate in situations where information is scarce. Therefore, offering a variety of facts, perspectives and opinions can be a de-escalating measure.

There are four main ways to conceptualize how communications have been applied to peace-building (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:9-11).

The first one is useful to identify at what level communication might be helpful in promoting positive change and is based on the different channels of communication flows between various entities:

- Between individuals in conflict;

- Within a group where conflict exists;

- Within groups or communities in conflict;

- Between communities and organisations such as multinationals, government, and NGO's where cooperation and coordination are issues.

A second approach looks at the tools or platforms that are used to communicate, differentiated between "traditional" and "new forms of media", such as the ones displayed in figure 7. This divide has been however questioned, as it is no longer considered relevant.
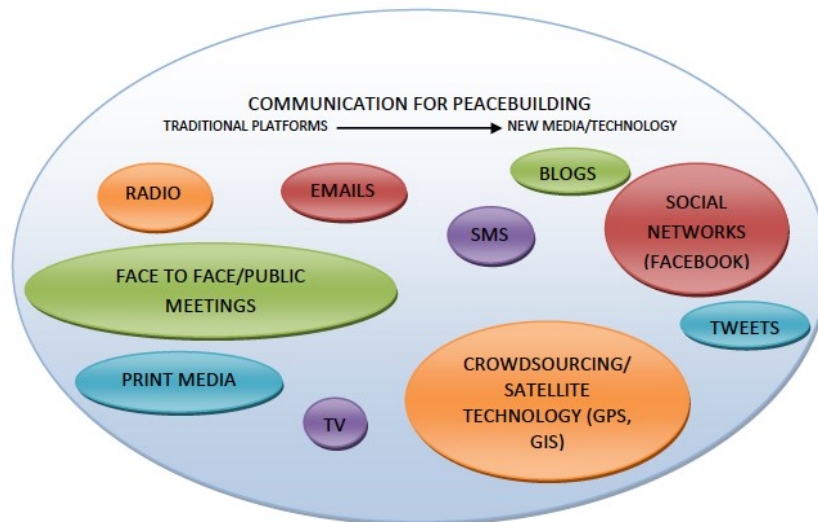
Figure 7: Tools or platforms used in communication for peace-building (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:10).

New communication tools like mobile phones, Short Message Service (SMS) and social media have allowed individuals, communities and organisations to complement traditional forms of media such as community meetings, radio, television, and newspapers by facilitating more information gathering and interactions between users, and expanding the group of subjects who can participate in the communication process. Importantly, these new tools can increase contact and understanding between opposing groups by contributing to greater knowledge about the needs of communities that are enduring or have endured violence (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:10).

Taking into consideration the different subjects involved in the communication process and the consequently different tools used to convey information, another distinction has been made (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:11):

- One to One Communication - Voice, Mobile, SMS.

- One to Many Communication - Broadcast - radio, TV, web mobile applications and SMSs broadcast.

- Many to Many Communication - Social networks including online or mobile internet, mapping and crowd sourcing.

The third approach analyzes the different spheres of activity where communication can play a role in conflict prevention and peace-building, as represented in a general manner in figure 8. This methodology allows us to understand the sequential nature of processes and the consequent different role that actors can play in different spheres and dimensions making use of the wide range of available tools.
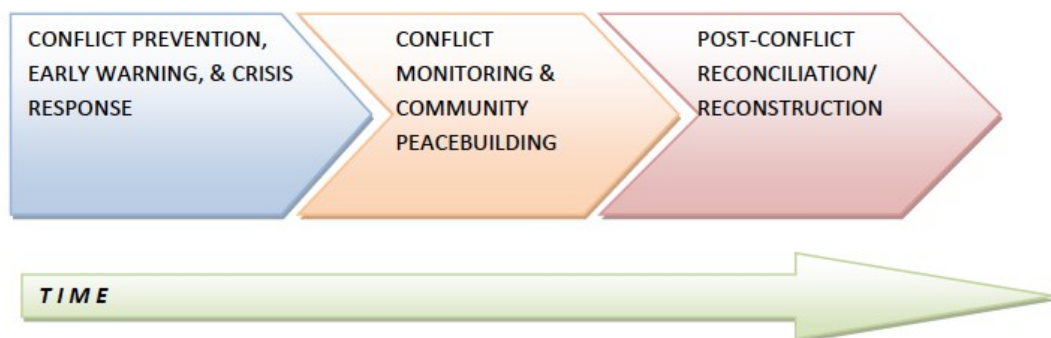
Figure 8: Spheres of activity of communication in conflict prevention and peace-building (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:11).

The last approach makes a functional analysis of how media is involved in conflict prevention and peace-building showing the potential of communication. As put forward by Bratic and Schirch (2007:9-11), media play a number of very important roles. First of all, they sometimes acts as a third party "watchdog" by providing feedback on local problems, promoting awareness of critical social issues

and bringing hidden stories to the public. For example, the video entitled "Operation Fine Girl: Rape Used as a Weapon of War in Sierra Leone", produced by human rights activists together with the international non-governmental organisation WITNESS, played a pivotal role in raising awareness on the serious impacts and extent of civil war and sexual violence in Sierra Leone (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:9).

Secondly, media can also act as a gatekeeper by filtering issues, setting agendas and trying to maintain a balance of views. Thirdly, media is a very powerful tool both for policymakers to disseminate their message and to influence policymakers, especially on methodologies of conflict prevention and response as it happened during the conflict in Bosnia (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:9).

Media can be also used to cover and facilitate diplomatic initiatives, especially when the absence of direct channels of communication imposes the need for alternative interaction canals between sides of a conflict, for example when they want to test reactions to a negotiation proposal (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:10).

Lastly, media can be bridge builder among groups, especially in the case of conflicts concerning national, ethnic or religious identity. Polarization between groups can be decreased by showing the other in a similar light to self as to create common empathy; by depicting people with the same types of problems, as the 2007 HBO documentary "To Die in Jerusalem" did by featuring Palestinian and Israeli mothers sharing the same grief caused by losing their children; by sharing similar interests and positions; by condemning violence (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:10).

Media can therefore have a large potential for creating a common basis and thus cultivating conditions for conflict transformation through the above-mentioned variety of activities which allow that bottom-up civilian involvement that is necessary

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to transform mentalities both within the society and the individual (Melone et al., 2002:4).

Melone et al. (2002) report some interesting examples of how media have been used within community projects aimed at transforming and preventing conflict. Workshops have been held in Macedonia, the Middle East, and Sri Lanka to help defuse inflammatory coverage; local journalists and students have been trained in conflict resolution skills through various media and materials in a Greek-Turkish project, as well as in Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone and Liberia; radio programs fostering dialogue and cooperation between journalists from hostile groups have been conducted in Rwanda and Liberia; documentaries about persons making a difference in their community have been produced in Angola and series presenting the lives and concerns of ordinary people successful trying to rebuild the nation's economy, politics and society have been created in Bosnia (Melone et al., 2002:4-5).

According to Bratic and Schirch (2007:14-20), the use of media can cause three main typologies of change:

1.   Cognitive change: the ways people think about conflict and other groups of people. Media help to set the public agenda and frame the scope of public discussion by providing and limiting the range of ideas from which we can choose.

2.   Attitudinal change: the attitudes people hold toward each other. Media can prompt us to like or dislike an idea, attitude or behavior.

3.   Behavioral change: the ways people act with each other. Given its complexity, media's impact on behavior will likely work on attitudes and opinions

that shape behaviors rather than directly affect people's actions or behaviors.

The table below shows the best suited typology of media according to the different change that is aimed for.

Type of Change	Cognitive Change	Attitudinal change	Behavioral change
Type of media best suited to bring about change	Information programming	Entertainment, Advertising	Cumulative impact of media and other social institutions

Table 3:Media genres and techniques suitable for behavioral change process (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:16).

Peace-oriented cognitive change requires new information supporting the desired change to be made available, safely transferred and acquired by the targeted audience. Given its broad scope, journalism can play a pivotal role making journalists highly responsible for the information delivered to the audiences in terms of conflict prevention and peace-building (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:17). Information, when freely exchanged, has the powerful capacity to inform and educate citizens, allowing them to be better knowledgeable and equipped to participate in the political process. As a consequence, two schools of thought have emerged in response to the role of journalism in conflict: standard professional journalism and peace (conflict sensitive) journalism.

Coined by Johan Galtung, peace journalism advocates for conflict transformation through constructive discourse dealing not only with people, but also with the violence used to address conflicts. Journalists thus start taking into account different group's objectives, needs and shared experiences of suffering, given their cultural and historic context. To achieve such a goal, it is necessary to use a proactive

approach to the constructs of reporting, openly admitting a bias towards peaceful ways of addressing conflict and searching for a delicate information balance.

As Bratic and Schirch (2007:17-19) put forward, attitudinal change happens when the audience, once the information has been acquired, makes an evaluation of the message and consequently positions itself on the basis of a positive or a negative response to it, accordingly being persuaded or remaining unconvinced. The creation or re-creation of positive attitudes toward a group of people can be pivotal when at stake is the development of a positive relationship with a former enemy. Media campaigns can, through the use of different resources, make a significant impact on the success of a peace agreement, as it happened in Ireland, Macedonia, Bosnia and the Great Lakes region of Africa. Billboards, posters, leaflets, audio-video-print advertisements, radio drama, soap-operas and music all have a proven track of success in delivering a message about conflict prevention and peace-building. Of course, media alone do not have the capacity to achieve such a result, it is thus necessary for legal, political, economic and other social institutions to assist in an integrated effort in order to transform the conflict. Despite such a capacity, no recent peace agreements mentioned media as possible contributors to peace-building (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:19).

The impact of communication on human behavior is well explained in the prism of behavioral change theoretical models, which have been developed by social scientists coming from different scientific disciplines (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:16). All the models are based on a process of consecutive steps needed to cause sustainable change. Environmental factors such as current events, the escalation of conflict or the rise of a new leader influence behavioral change. For example, when a new incidence of violent conflict takes place, the audience is often driven towards

decisions that are not always in accordance with their cognitive value systems. Unfortunately, it is not sure that any positive impact will be translated into a change in behavior or will result in action. For this to happen, only the true integration of all media genres into a greater peace-building strategy can ensure a significant move toward a peaceful society (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:16).

Despite the great potential offered by communication tools to prevent conflict, provide early warning and effectively respond to crises, little has been done to take advantage of it. In order to fill this gap, many regional and international organisations have been developing information management systems.

The UN has, for example, launched different programs such as the Global Impact and Vulnerability Alert System (GIVAS, 2009) aimed at collecting real-time information in order to better prepare decision makers for a response to a crisis/emergency, and the Global Pulse initiative that collects information on vulnerable populations and provides real time information as to shorten the link between information and response. More specifically, GIVAS aspires to bring the voices of the most vulnerable into high-level decision making forums through new data presentation formats (that is interactive graphics, info graphics and mappings) and different types of deliverables such as quarterly "situation reports", "alerts", "eye-witness reports", and a "Vulnerability Information Hub" website (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:12-13).

At the European level, in terms of military security, the European Commission has designed through the Joint Research Centre (JRC) the Geo-Spatial Analysis for Global Security and Stability, aimed at using information captured by satellites to code findings and troubleshoot potential areas for crisis. Similarly, but with an

approach mainly focusing on communities and societies, the Open Source Text Information Mining and Analysis (OPTIMA) has been designed to monitor texting and blogging information to detect public sentiments, while the European Media Monitor (EMM) has been developed to collect media posts from across 1,600 news portals per day on the Internet and examine them to detect changing public attitudes and early stages of crisis (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:13). For instance, the search for racist or discriminatory slogans could provide an indication of imminent ethnic conflict. In 2010, OPTIMA integrated a blog-monitoring feature and a sentiment detection system to follow public opinion (ICT for Peace Foundation, 2011). The JRC also recently partnered with the African Union to develop, deploy and operate the Continental Early Warning System (CEWS) (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:12-13).

Notwithstanding the many valid initiatives just described, we will see how any effective conflict prevention process must be based on the direct empowerment of local stakeholders. In terms of communication strategies, it is thus fundamental to build freer availability of open-source software and mobile technology, micro-level early warning and early response mechanisms. Aimed at providing direct and first responder intervention, the so-called "citizen-based early warning" or "third or fourth generation early warning" are, in fact, people-centered and run by and for the community (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:14).

Given the wide scope of communications for peace-building, it is likely to expect the emergence of various challenges, hereby presented in four main categories as done by Search for Common Grounds (2011:21-24):

1. Collaboration and management of information flows. One of the main

difficulties is that of managing the flow of large quantities of information as to avoid information overload. Without planned coordination, responsible leadership and appropriate training it will be difficult to ensure the timely exchange of information, which can prevent violence and save lives. It is paramount but surely complex to connect monitoring information not only with international responders but also community-based ones, able to act as first line responders. Moreover, it is difficult to make sure that multiple actors across sectors work collaboratively. For example, NGOs should cooperate with telecommunication service providers, the private sector with government and multilateral institutions, coordinating between their differing systems to provide the most effective response (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:21).

2.   Credibility, trust and validation. Accuracy and authentication of inherently political information collected from a decentralized group of sources are very important but also challenging to verify, as technology cannot operate as experienced individuals and organisations can. In a system where witnesses can communicate via SMS or phone updates on the conflict, it is crucial to verify those messages to justify a response and avoid the use of information to fuel conflicts, especially as regimes often control access to information to draw loyalty and support from individuals. However, it is equally essential to make sure that no discrimination and bias influence the access to the available tools, excluding groups such as women, the elderly and handicapped. Finally, it is a demanding task that of comprehensively measuring the effectiveness of Communication for Peace-building approaches (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:22).

3.   Environmental factors. It is important to overcome poor accessibility to channels of communication, as it is often communities in marginalised rural areas to

be at greatest risk of violent conflicts causing projects to have the greatest potential for beneficial effect. It is thus key to address issues such as lack of infrastructures (no electrical power, no running water, bad roads, etc.), levels of literacy, prohibitive costs of access to the internet and of communication projects (for example in Africa, one year of (dial-up) internet supply will cost more than the average annual income), control over traditional and independent media freedoms by governments (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:23).

4.   Privacy, security, and ethical challenges. Given the conflict situation of the context where these communication systems operate, privacy and security play a key role not only because of the sensitive nature of the information collected, but also to avoid risks such as physical violence and stigmatization or targeting of collaborative subjects. Appropriate codes of conduct defining when information is considered public or private while upholding the "do no harm" principle are thus essential. An example is the set of Professional Standards for Protection developed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) for humanitarian and human rights actors in armed conflict and other situations of violence, which provides 16 standards and guidelines addressing issues such as humanitarian intent, non-discrimination and informed consent to ensure that the collection of potentially sensitive information, and its subsequent handling, is undertaken in a professional manner. At the same time, given what is at stake for communities and their safety expectations, it is important to ensure that these systems do elicit a timely, appropriate and coordinated response despite the frequent lack of political will to respond. In order not to act when it is too late, information needs to be synthesized in a focused and cohesive way and directed at right, trained and prepared recipients within vulnerable communities (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:24).

2.6 PEACE, CONFLICT AND DEVELOPMENT THEORY

As a detailed overview of the main definitions and notions that constitute the wide realm of peace and conflict research has been provided, it is now time to see how such concepts have been used to elaborate theories concerning the topic of this dissertation. The author chose to investigate two of them, the first one being peace, conflict and development theory. Its basic assumption is that peace theory is intimately connected not only to conflict theory but also to development theory. Development studies, in fact, go beyond reducing the suffering when basic needs are not fulfilled; focusing on meeting those needs and further developing them. That is where peace studies come in again, focusing on the reduction of structural and cultural violence.

Defining development is of course very complex. Galtung (1996:127-136) offers three main definitions on the basis of different perspectives. The first one uses culture as the defining factor. There are as many definitions as many cultures, thus if a civilization imposes on another, it is committing cultural violence. Galtung also underlines that the noun development can be understood only in its plural sense, as numerous cultures correspond to several developments.

The second definition states that development is the progressive satisfaction of the needs of human and non-human nature, starting with those most in need. All forms of sentient life have needs; therefore when life is deprived of them suffering is caused. Galtung identifies in the table below few basic human needs and their satisfiers.

Basic Human Needs	Satisfiers
Integrity of the human body	Trauma protection
Input of (clean) air, water, and nutrition	Air, water, food
Input of (pleasant) stimuli, visual, auditive, olfactory	Pleasant environment
Output of waste products, excretion	Latrines etc.
Temperature, humidity, wind control	Clothes, shelter
Sleep, rest	Quiet
Movement	Space
Sex	Privacy
Reproduction	All of the above

Table 4: Human needs and other satisfiers (Galtung, 1996:128).

As the author further illustrates, needs are not only somatic, as when we talk about survival as opposed to extinction and a minimum of well-being, but also spiritual such as identity and freedom. Identity gives meaning to life, as it allows identifying with nature, personal, social, time and cultural spaces. Freedom allows making choices through mobility in world, social, inner and personal space. As all nature has needs, development can be homo-centric, nature-centred and homo/nature-balanced.

Galtung's (1996) third definition defines development as economic growth but at nobody's expense, which Galtung wonders if it is possible at all.

Taking into consideration peace as the absence of structural violence, thus referring to social justice as a positively defined condition based on an egalitarian distribution of power and resources, it becomes more evident how peace can be understood not only as control and reduction of the overt use of violence, but also as what we refer to as "vertical development". Peace theory and peace research are hence intimately connected not only with conflict theory and research, but equally with development theory and research; the former often more relevant for negative

peace and the latter more relevant for positive peace, but with highly important overlaps (Galtung, 1969:183).

Among Galtung's observations around the concept of development, there is the fact that 95-98% of direct violence in the world is committed by males, who try to control their own violence through hierarchies that allow them to substitute cultural and structural violence for direct violence. Moreover, he highlights the importance of development strategies that remove major structural impediments and centre-periphery structures while engaging through people-people mechanisms that address basic needs in a reciprocal manner. Galtung emphasised in particular the important role played by women's organisations, often faithful to the primacy of basic needs, solidarity, humanity and nature.

Gender equality and women's empowerment are fundamental aspects of social justice. Social norms, gender stereotypes, unequal and limited access to resources, health and education services limit women's ability to participate as full and equal participants in all aspects of life. Women continue suffering from different forms of social injustice: they die in childbirth or are aborted at alarming rates (World Health Organization, 2016); they continue to lack voice in the household and the ability to participate in decisions that impact them, their families, and their societies, while their economic opportunities remain very constrained. This is clearly a violation of many of the basic needs just examined above. There is thus an obvious exercise of violence in all its dimensions. If direct violence, such as rape, intimidates and represses, structural violence institutionalises, while cultural violence internalizes women's victim relation making the structure durable (Galtung, 1996:40).

If development and peace are profoundly linked to one another, it becomes paramount to include women in the planning of both. The series of international conferences that took place during the 1990s allowed the international community to agree on certain global commitments in relation to sustainable development, which addressed the important issues of financing for development, human rights, population issues, social development, gender equality and women's empowerment. The global framework created by the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21, outcome documents of the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro (the Earth Summit), specifically included the importance of women's inclusion. Principle 20 of the Rio Declaration that states that women's full participation is essential to achieve sustainable development, while Chapter 24 of Agenda 21 recommends that national governments develop strategies to "eliminate constitutional, legal, administrative, cultural, behavioral, social and economic obstacles to women's full participation in sustainable development and in public life" (UN Women, 2012:7-8).

Moreover, the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women added a new dimension to the development discourse. The Beijing Platform for Action led the shift from a women-specific approach to a focus on gender relations by identifying gender mainstreaming, human rights and the development of partnerships between women and men as the strategic bases for the pursuit of gender equality. As human beings are at the centre of concern for sustainable development, women consequently have an essential role to play in developing sustainable and ecologically sound consumption and production patterns and approaches to natural resources management.

The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were developed at the Millennium Summit in 2000 and to be achieved by 2015, importantly stress the

importance of promoting gender equality and women's empowerment in order to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable. One goal, MDG3, is dedicated specifically to gender equality and women's empowerment, while several other goals include gender-sensitive targets and indicators. Today, the international community is at another juncture. In the outcome document of the Special Event towards achieving the MDGs that was hosted by the President of the UN General Assembly on 25 September 2013 and that was adopted by Member States, world leaders renewed their commitment to meet the MDG targets and agreed to hold a Heads of State and Government Summit in September 2015 to adopt a new set of goals for the post-2015 development agenda known as Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). In particular, emphasis has been given to prioritizing gender equality as a comprehensive goal in itself, with indicators and targets that embrace the economic, social and environmental dimensions of sustainable development (UN General Assembly, 2013: 3).

2.7 FEMINIST PEACE AND CONFLICT THEORY (FPCT)

As I earlier discussed the different notions of peace, conflict and violence, it is also important to analyze feminist definitions of such concepts as well. Enloe (cited in Kelly, 2000:48) defines peace in feminist terms as "women's achievement of control over their lives". Given the "positive" interpretation of the concept, it is consequently considered to require not only the absence of armed and gender conflict, but also the absence of poverty and the conditions that recreate it. If "negative peace" can be achieved also in conditions of gender disparity, given the absence of efficiency imperatives that push for a change, "positive peace" renders gender issues important

elements capable of directly affecting the efficacy of peace-building processes (Pankhurst, 2003:12-13).

Women thus seem to have an expanded notion of peace, integral to their view of social justice. According to women, in fact, sustainable peace requires three main elements: fulfillment of human needs, democratic and just institutions, and ongoing peace processes (Porter, 2003: 257).

The first element discussed by Porter (2003) reflects on the reality that many women face during wartime, when peace-building activities arise in the struggle of everyday contexts. In this context, peace is not conceived as an abstract goal, but rather it is grounded in the immediacy of fulfilling human needs through local, national and state funding, and the development of consulting agencies and legal advisors. The second element is strictly linked to the first one, as every notion of peace that is aimed at meeting everyday needs has to be founded on social, political and economic structures that are able to guarantee democratic principles of participation, rights, equality and social justice. Inclusiveness becomes fundamental, as it is exclusion, inequity, discrimination and social cleavage that usually cause violence (Porter, 2003: 257). The last element reflects on the fact that all those ongoing formal and informal processes, aimed at promoting dialogue and cooperation, constitute peace. Positive relationships, based on equality, reconciliation of differences, healing of wounds and restored esteem, are fundamental both at the grassroots level and during the aftermath of violence (Porter, 2003: 257).

According to feminist scholars, therefore, building peace is a process that requires time. It is shaped by the characteristics of the specific context and its historical, social, cultural, religious, political, economic and regional elements.

Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT), as Weber states (2006:1-2), was developed throughout different disciplines and methodologies, and was based on the questioning of normative standards grounded in women's epistemology. Reflecting on the need of visibility of women's roles in conflicts, it led to a broader understanding of security issues by introducing the gendered dimension and the interconnectedness of all forms of violence: domestic, societal, state based and inter-state.

Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory strictly originated following the developing and changing nature of the feminist thought. Aimed at questioning the authority of the traditional or mainstream Western thought, better defined by feminists as "malestream" (Beasley, 1999:3), feminism originated many centuries ago. In the modern era, the fundamental contribution of Mary Wollstonecraft in the 18th century and the suffragists in the early twentieth century introduced the distinction between feminist patriotism and feminist pacifism, based respectively on participation and decision-making, and women's vital contribution to building peace.

Between late 1960s and 1970s, the second wave of women's movement gave new impetus to the feminist thought, promoting its gradual entry into the academic world and shedding light on formerly ignored issues like sexual violence, gendered division of labor, pay equity and sex discrimination (Lacey, 2004:14).

As Lacey (2004) illustrates, the moral argument of men as makers of war and women as victims was the dominant analysis in FPCT until the late 1980s. In the early 1970s, the feminist coinage "Her-story" stressed the absence of women from "His-story" in conventional historiography. Moreover, FPCT was strongly influenced by a biological versus a socially constructed concept of gender. This demarcation, which has been shortly better explained later on in the dissertation, was fundamental in

helping to shift the political and intellectual focus from women and law, which left both categories untouched, to law and gender, which critically analyzed them, attributing to law a dynamic role in the constitution of gender and creating space for a potentially radical law reform (Lacey, 2004:15).

As Caprioli (2000:52) explains, biological determinism[2] uses physiological differences between men and women as basis of their social roles. Lynda Birke is one of the most prominent scholars who have explored female gender identity resulting from the interaction between a presupposed immutable biology and societal expectations (Birke, 1986:84-86). As a feminist biologist, she has both strongly criticised biological determinism, as well as used it as a feminist tool. As she explained (Asberg and Birke, 2010:415-417), biological determinism is political as it fosters the *status quo* by explaining and consequently justifying gender imbalances. However, it can also be a powerful tool to broaden the feminists literature on the biology of the body through a progressive and holistic approach. The author therefore sustains the importance of continuing to challenge the scientific authority while, at the same time, trying to understand how to use theories and empirical findings for the feminist cause (Asberg and Birke, 2010:419).

A fundamental contribution to this topic was made also by Francis Fukuyama who, in 1998, published an article entitled "Women and the evolution of world politics" in the Journal Foreign Affairs. In his research, Fukuyama (1998) examined groups of chimpanzees, focusing his attention specifically on their violent behavior and the strategies used to build coalitions aimed at dominance. The result of the study

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[2] Biological determinism was first theorized by an Austrian biologist, August Weismann, who at the end of the nineteenth century started studying the impact of molecular biology on human behavior. It was only in the following century, however, that biological determinism was used to investigate gender roles and sexual differences through the mechanisms of chromosomes, genetics, and inheritance.

demonstrated that, although female chimps can be violent, competitive and cruel, it was male subjects that were responsible for highest rates of violence and cruelest coalition building, based mainly on purely instrumental and calculating reasons. The two sexes presented different strategies used to create alliance, as females tended to involve emotions.

Fukuyama (1998) used his study to make a comparison with human beings, given the close evolutionary relationship. He consequently used biological basis to explain sex differences in international affairs: men are more likely to engage in war and aggression, while women are less competitive, violent and prone to conflict as more conciliatory and cooperative. Even though the author supported an increasing participation of women in international affairs, he actually doubted the impact of such a change, given the biological basis of violence and aggression (Charlesworth, 2008:347-348).

Fukuyama's hypothesis reflects on a concept that can be easily found in the peace and conflict resolution literature: women are more peaceful than men. Women traditionally provide more emotional support than men, ask more likely for help, establish more intimate and conversation-focused friendships, and are more prone to harmonious social relations and the use of negotiation instead of rivalry, competition and aggression (Yablon, 2009:305).

This idea traces its origins back in ancient times. Although I provide more details about the long-existing link between women and peace activism in the following chapter, we can already find a common example of this phenomenon in Aristophane's play Lysistrata, set during the war between Sparta and Athens, where women refused to sleep with their men until the cessation of the conflict. This case of

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women's power has been later used as an inspiration for the so-called Lysistrata project, aimed at protesting against the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq (Charlesworth, 2008:349).

The idea of naturally peaceful women has been, however, also highly contested. Feminist theories have argued that it is responsible for fixing sex with gender, not considering the fact that women can also be accountable for violence during conflicts, and limiting the understanding of global security (Charlesworth, 2008:349). Moreover, some critiques have underlined how differences between men and women in their attitude towards peace are actually minor and insignificant, besides the fact that most of the investigations were conducted in Western countries, giving little attention to Middle Eastern ones (Yablon, 2009:306). Lastly, despite the fact that documents with international legal significance have recently started to include the idea of women as peaceable, which is now becoming part of the orthodoxy in international institutions, it is also important to consider how this could be risky.

> If women are admitted on the understanding that their special contribution arises from their womanly instincts, it follows that their political agency will be limited to what is made possible by that representation and restricted to "feminized" tasks involving nurturing and mothering. On the other hand, if the argument is made on the basis of women's equality with men, women's agency will not be so restricted (Charlesworth, 2008:350).

Moving away from the biological determinism, the second theory, social constructivism[3], argues that gender differences are socially constructed, tracing a clear distinction between gender and sex. Many theoretical explanations have been used to

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[3] First introduced by Berger and Luckmann in 1966 in "*The social construction of reality*", the term "social construction" has been used in the social sciences to refer to the creation of concepts or mental representations of each others' actions through the repeated interaction of people and groups in a social system. Such conceptions of reality eventually refer to reciprocal roles that become institutionalised within the fabric of society. Reality is therefore said to be socially constructed.

justify such gender distinctions (Yablon, 2009:305-306). Some scholars argued that the different attitude towards peace is a reflection of the wider differences existing between women and men in many aspects of their social life like for example the lack of women's social and political power. If power plays a major role in conflict resolution, women are consequently obliged to recur to mediation and compromise as not having access to power as a social resource. Many societies, in fact, traditionally depict women and children as victims who play only a passive role in conflict resolution.

Furthermore, women's peacefulness is also explained through concepts such as mothering skills and maternal thinking, describing women as natural caregivers, whose social role prevents them from recurring to power. According to such view, then, the inclusion of women in decision-making would not alter policy outcomes unless societies were freed from gender stereotypes.

Weber (2006:4-5) also illustrates how patriarchal structures play an important role in FPCT. For essentialist feminists, such as Mary Daly or activists in the Ecofeminist movement like Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies, male aggression is the main cause of war. However, unlike mainstream IR theory, they also see a potential for change by stressing the non-violent potential of "feminine virtues" in order to create a peaceful world. Structuralist feminists differently see militarised masculinity, perceived as the founding myth of nation states, as needing as well as perpetuating the construction of a gender dichotomy. Sara Ruddick (1989) coined the above-mentioned notion of maternal thinking by arguing that care and "relation based thinking" are the main pre-condition for a more peaceful society.

In the late 1990s, post-modernist or deconstructivist feminists such as Judith Butler (1990), further argued that gender as well as any other identity is created through discursive practice. This led a broad variety of liberal, post-structural and anti-essentialist feminists such as Linda Nicholson (1995) to argue that, if gender is constructed, it can be de-constructed and has no prior relation to the sex of a person.

Moreover, the experience of female fighters in independence struggles had a deep impact in the feminist peace discourse. Acknowledging women's experiences in war, both as active fighters as well as victims, inherent peacefulness and maternal thinking were consequently questioned. However, the tendency even in feminist peace and conflict theory is to portray female warriors as individual exemptions and as temporary transgressors. The myth of Jeanne D'Arc could be mentioned as one of the prime examples of male structures of power decorated with a female icon in the western context.

In order to conclude and thus summarise this short historical account on feminist thought, we can identify three main feminist approaches:

1. **Liberal feminism**. Based on the liberal political thought that emerged during the Enlightenment, liberalism has often been associated with the birth of feminism, despite the presence of feminisms also outside the liberal approach, severely actually critical to it. The position of women within society is seen in terms of unequal rights, focusing on the artificial barriers built in order to limit their participation as individuals in the public sphere, outside family and household. Basic assumption is the fundamentally sexually undifferentiated human nature between men and women, on which liberal feminism founds its struggle for reform in the society, in order to create equal access to benefits and opportunities (Beasley, 1999:51-52)

2. **Radical feminism**. It bases its action on the assumption that women's oppression can be defined as sexual oppression. Instead of trying to assimilate women to the realm of men's activities, radical feminism stresses the commonalities that unify women as oppressed subjects, emphasizing the concept of sisterhood and advocating a revolutionary model of social change of the patriarchal system (Beasley, 1999:54-56). This approach, moreover, gives great importance also to motherhood and women's bodies, considering the last ones as the physical territory of the political struggle against the general resistance to approve laws and social changes that would give women control over their bodies. Few examples are reproductive rights, freedom of sexuality and criminalization of rape in marriage (Bunch, 1990:491). Like liberal feminism, also radical feminism has been criticised, accused of replying assumptions that characterise the patriarchal order and of limited substantive focus (Lacey, 2004: 24).

3. **Marxist/Socialist feminism**. Influential school of Western feminism during the 1960s and 1970s, able to influence different approaches, like psychoanalytic and postmodern-poststructuralist feminisms, witnessed a loss of importance that brought, according to some scholars, to its death at the end of the 1980s, when socialism itself collapsed in Eastern Europe (Beasley, 1999:58-59). Based on Karl Marx's theories, Marxist feminism considers hierarchical class relations as the source of all inequalities, including coercive power and sexual oppression. Class divisions are believed to be responsible for male dominance, strengthened by an organisation of labor, which does not allow women to equally access sources of wealth. For this reason Marxist feminism advocates for a revolutionary approach, based on the overthrow of capitalism as precondition to dismantle male privilege (Beasley, 1999:60-61). Meanwhile, Socialist feminism uses elements of both the Marxist and

radical approaches, like respectively the significance of labor and class distinctions, and the conception of sexual oppression as not historically caused by class divisions, to analyze the relationship between class and sex, between capitalism and gender (Beasley, 1999:62-63). The main criticisms have underlined their class reductionism and their limited applicability to the complex reality of women's subjugation, as based on a unitary and monolithic analysis of oppression based only on economic relations (Lacey, 2004:25).

2.8 INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE

After providing a broad understanding of the academic literature that characterises peace and conflict studies, this chapter finally explores the main tool that this dissertation proposes to showcase the role played by women in building sustainable peace starting from the grassroots level: Infrastructures for Peace.

As stated in the Final Report of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict (1997:16), the effort to help avert deadly conflict is a matter not only of humanitarian obligation, but also of enlightened self-interest. The Commission continues by indicating the main actors responsible for preventative action on the basis of the principle according to which those with the greatest capacity to act have the greatest responsibility to do so. States and their leaders, first of all, must decide whether they do nothing, act alone, act in cooperation with other governments, work through international organisations or with elements of the private sector.

Moreover, as the Commission portrays, civil society can work through its many branches to reduce hatred and violence and to encourage attitudes of concern, social responsibility, and mutual aid within and between groups. NGOs can, as pillars of any thriving society, provide early warning of rising local tension and help open or

protect the necessary political space between groups and the government that can allow local leaders to settle differences peacefully. There are three main categories of NGOs that offer especially important potential contributions to the prevention of deadly conflict, which are human rights and other advocacy groups, humanitarian and development organisations, and Track Two groups that help open the way to more formal internal or international peace processes. These different types of NGOs can, if properly coordinated:

- Monitor conflicts and provide early warning and insight into a particular conflict.

- Provide a neutral forum to convene the adversarial parties.

- Pave the way for and undertake mediation.

- Carry out education and training for conflict resolution, building an indigenous capacity for coping with ongoing conflicts.

- Help to strengthen institutions for conflict resolution.

- Foster development of the rule of law.

- Help to establish a free press with responsible reporting on conflict.

- Assist in planning and implementing elections.

- Provide technical assistance on democratic arrangements that reduce the likelihood of violence in divided societies.

Religious, scientific, business, educational and media institutions can all contribute to reduce conflicts, each using its specific tools and networks.

The concept of infrastructure for peace is consequently based on the premise that underlines the primary responsibility of the people and the institutional framework of a country to avoid the re-emergence of violence. In many countries, a critical deficit exists for building capacities that can manage conflict and avoid its recurrence. This deficit is often due to unstable governance structures and fragile relationship between governments and civil society (Dress, 2005:19).

In order to address this important issue, it is thus necessary to develop institutional and organisational skill-building programs based on an integrated conflict transformation strategy that could include (Dress, 2005:27-28):

- A strategic plan for incorporating conflict prevention/transformation and peace-building strategies into current and future national development policies.

- Wider use of conflict-sensitive development policies or conflict impact assessments on development projects to examine the effects of development activities on tensions that can trigger violent conflict, and to seek ways to re-orient projects so that negative effects can be transformed into neutral or peace-promoting impacts.

- Formulation of projects to introduce dispute resolution mechanisms that can regulate conflict through acceptable channels, such as mediation centres, ombudsman offices, human rights structures, improved judicial mechanisms, and other dispute resolution mechanisms.

- Awareness-building and educational components that provide training and curriculum development in mediation, group facilitation, negotiation skills, judicial process, human rights, tolerance-building, and bias reduction.

• Review of the status and needs of civil society with the aim of initiating local community activities to develop a more balanced, constructive interface between NGOs, civil society, the religious sector, the private sector and government.

• Assistance in developing a national multi-cultural policy orientation that counteracts discrimination and marginalization promotes development equity and fosters employment equity and development of integrated governance capacity-building and training programs for the public service, legislative branch, judiciary and security sector.

Such structural prevention needs the building of an infrastructure able to revise the current doctrine on conflict prevention by legitimizing and re-framing the concepts of conflict prevention and transformation; operationalizing a technical cooperation approach able to build capacities; mainstreaming these concepts across diverse policy areas in order to place prevention at the center of decision and policy-making, planning, budgeting and institutional processes and structures (Dress, 2005:23).

As one of the greatest difficulties in peace-building and conflict prevention is that of effectively relating to those most seriously affected by conflict and crises, it is thus fundamental to adopt a new approach that fully associates the intended beneficiaries with the search for solutions by understanding local aspirations and processes (Whaley and Piazza-Georgi, 1997:9). Infrastructures for peace are, in fact, based on such an approach. Let us now trace where the concept originated and its main characteristics.

2.8.1 THE HISTORICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE

The concept of Infrastructure for Peace was first developed in South Africa. The country had been living in a system based on apartheid since the late 1940's. Apartheid legalized social, economic and political discrimination in favor of the white minority through allocation of jobs on the basis of race and gender, restricted access to social services such as education, housing and health, and restricted ownership of land. After experiencing first serious challenges in the late 1950's and early 1960's, the system began to collapse in the mid 1980's, when strikes and civil disobedience started all over the country. Organised labor unions and resistance movements that included youth, women's, human rights' and political organisations increased their power, but at a very high cost. It is estimated that from 1985 to 1991 nine thousand people died as a result of politically motivated violence. Spreading a culture of mistrust and violence, security forces committed great atrocities in order to prevent the population form having its needs met.

As a consequence, both sides agreed on the necessity for a new constitutional agreement institutionalizing equality. Thanks to Nelson Mandela's tireless struggle, which started during his prison years, a difficult and stumbling dialogue began and resulted in the National Peace Accord being signed by 27 South African organisations on 14 September 1991, establishing codes of conduct for the political parties and the police forces during the transition to multiparty rule, besides national, regional and local peace committees. This network of dispute resolution committees became the backbone of the new system, given the inability of state institutions to find nonviolent solutions to intergroup conflicts. The National Peace Committee was created in order to nominate the members of the National Peace Secretariat, which established and

coordinated regional committees that included members of civil society organisations, local and tribal authorities and security forces. An elected executive council was charged with daily administration, as well as establishing on a consensus basis and overseeing the local committees.

The main aim of the committees, as illustrated in the table below, was that of implementing the National Peace Accord through different measures, which included settling disputes potentially leading to violence and building trust and reconciliation at the grassroots level. The committees were created to fulfill different functions, such as (Ball and Spies, 1998:14-21):

- Opening channels of communication to engage on a personal level with the antagonist. Maintaining barriers is fundamental in order to perpetuate a culture of violence. Enhanced communication was achieved through consultation with regional authorities, liaising efforts with local forces, grassroots trust building activities, implementation of local and regional peace agreements, and arrangements on conditions and rules for public events (Ball and Spies, 1998:14).

- Legitimizing the concept of negotiating which came to assume a connotation of weakness. A give-and-take approach was thus fundamental for any peace process to diffuse tension and avoid violence. Besides facilitating negotiations themselves, peace committees' staff members were also able to train the representatives of various groups in negotiation skills (Ball and Spies, 1998:15-16).

- Creating a safe place to raise issues otherwise not easily addressed. The creation of a psychological secure space for mutually hostile groups to engage in a dialogue is pivotal when trying to overtake stalemates and common frustrations (Ball and Spies, 1998:17).

- Strengthening accountability. Peace committees played an important role in demonstrating how public officials could be held accountable by monitoring the activities of the police and the respect of its code of conduct (Ball and Spies, 1998:18).

- Helping equalize the power balance and helping reduce the incidence of violence. Accountability relies on power balance as groups that are too powerful often easily operate with impunity. In order to avoid this, the peace accord mandated a liaising and problem-solving approach between the peace committees, and the government and security forces (Ball and Spies, 1998:19-20).

- Reducing the incidence of violence through transparent information channels, minimizing opportunities for violent interaction at public events by monitoring them (Ball and Spies, 1998:20).

Regional Peace Committees

Mandate
- Advise the National Peace Committee on causes of violence and intimidation in the region
- Settle disputes leading to violence and intimidation by negotiating with the parties to the dispute and recording agreements reached
- Monitor all peace accords applicable in the region and settle disputes that arise from their implementation
- Consult with regional authorities to limit or prevent violence and intimidation
- Oversee the work of the local peace committees
- Inform the National Peace Secretariat of efforts to prevent violence and intimidation within the region as well as breaches of the peace accord
- Establish reconstruction and development subcommittees
- Address matters referred to the regional peace committees by the national committee

Membership: Each committee consisted of at least 20 members who represented political and religious organizations; business, industry, and trade unions, local and tribal authorities, and the security forces.

Offices: Witwatersrand/Vaal Region (Johannesburg), KwaZulu–Natal Region (Durban), Western Cape Region (Bellville), Orange Free State Region (Bloemfontein), Border/Ciskei Region (East London), Northern Transvaal Region (Pretoria), Western Transvaal Region (Klerksdorp), Eastern Transvaal Region (Witbank), Far Northern Transvaal Region (Pietersburg), Eastern Cape Region (Port Elizabeth), Northern Cape Region (Kimberley)

Local Peace Committees

Mandate
- Create "trust and reconciliation" at the grass roots, including among the members of the security forces
- Eliminate conditions detrimental to peaceful relations generally and the National Peace Accord specifically
- Settle disputes leading to violence and intimidation by negotiating with the parties and recording agreements reached
- Promote compliance with the peace accords
- Reach agreement on rules and conditions for marches, rallies, and other public events
- Liaise with the local police and magistrates regarding the prevention of violence and cooperate with local justices of the peace
- Address issues referred from the National Peace Committee and the regional peace committee
- Report to the regional peace committee, including making recommendations as appropriate

Membership Local peace committees "will be constituted by drawing representatives reflecting the needs of the relevant community" (NPA 1991)

Table 5: Regional and Local Peace Committees functions (Ball and Spies, 1998:11).

The ability of the different committees to succeed in its functions was strongly determined by the complexity of the environment, in some cases due to "third force" paramilitary hit squads operating with impunity (Ball and Spies, 1998: v-vii). Environmental factors where thus important in defining the success of the

infrastructure, whose limits were also defined by its mandate. Focusing mainly on the political aspects of the transition, the committees little dedicate their activities to the socio-economic reconstruction of the communities, consequently not including development initiatives (Ball and Spies, 1998:22).

Ball and Spies (1998:24-50) identify eight main factors, which shaped the effectiveness of the South African peace committees and whose analysis is thus fundamental in trying to understand how much the concept can be reproduced in other contexts.

1.   Political will. Without sufficient political will at the national level, the different parties would have never committed to the peace process and consequently translated this commitment into action at all levels. Through a mandate conferring legitimacy to the committees and organisations' senior leadership signature of the accord it was thus easier to gain leverage also at the regional and local level. Electoral calculations also played an important role, as candidates were aware of the risk of losing votes if working against the accord. Moreover, political will was essential in the case of those communities in which leaders were used to rule and maintain personal power through the threat of violence (Ball and Spies, 1998:24-26).

2.   The role of security forces. At the time of the National Peace Accord signature, state-sanctioned paramilitary forces known as the "third force" were highly responsible for the spreading of violence. For this reason, two chapters of the accord were dedicated to principles governing the activities of the police through the creation of a code of conduct. Accountability was thus strengthened by a series of requirements, which made it easier to monitor the police's actions and included police forces representatives in the work of local and regional committees. The accord's

effectiveness varied, of course, from region to region. The tendency to transfer police officers frequently hindered the establishment of solid community-police relations. The establishment of local forums, however, helped promoting constructive community engagement (Ball and Spies, 1998:27-30).

3.   Developing relationships among key participants in the peace process. In order to build peace, it is essential to transform negative relationships based on animosity and trauma through a long-term process. In South Africa, key church and business leaders acted as intermediaries between political parties when the peace process was at stake. Besides, many important personalities, such as Nelson Mandela, Frederik de Klerk and Bishop Desmond Tutu, and also many grassroots leaders played an important role in overcoming impasses in the negotiation process and acting as role models (Ball and Spies, 1998:30-33).

4.   The role of civil society. Qualified facilitators and staff were fundamental in supporting the peace committees' work. The committees' chairman had the important task of selecting individuals who had the skills and the personality to handle such responsibilities and overcome barriers. Ongoing training was also fundamental as to always be fully prepared (Ball and Spies, 1998:34-36).

5.   Legitimacy of the peace structure. Five factors intervened in defining such legitimacy: the existence of a strong national mandate; community ownership built including local population; credibility based on the ability to be even-handed and on placing emphasis on educating by example; respect of the principle of inclusivity through involving all stakeholders, in particular women, youth, internally displaced and other marginalised groups; funding provided in legitimate ways that eliminate the appearance of bias (Ball and Spies, 1998:36-41).

6. Enhancing communication. Successful peace processes are built on accurate information provided in a timely fashion. By breaking the monopoly over information and investigating allegations of misconduct, effective means of communication based on specific codes of behavior are opened to citizens. Including media members in the work of the committees can be a powerful strategy to enhance the structural ability to effectively diffuse information (Ball and Spies, 1998:41-44).

7. Financial and structural stability. Financial-structural flexibility and defined budgets were essential in building efficient and effective committees. Bureaucracy and the lack of adequate budgeting processes rendered accountability and the ability to initiate actions actually responding to local needs and changing environment much more difficult to achieve (Ball and Spies, 1998:44-47).

8. The role of international actors. In the South African case, two types of external assistance were pivotal: direct financial assistance provided by aid donors and international observer missions sent by the UN, the EU, the AU and the British Commonwealth. It is so important that missions do have a mandate allowing them to go beyond mere observation by assisting local staff to carry out specific tasks (Ball and Spies, 1998:47-50).

Ball and Spies (1998:vii-viii) provide through the South African example an analysis of the lessons learned, which can help practitioners to better understand capacities and flows of the peace infrastructure.

• Peace committees can be valuable conflict management tools as, by creating the appropriate conditions, they can engender dialogue between opposing parties and promote constructive relationship patterns that are essential to build peaceful societies. Even though committees were used in South Africa as a short-term

tool aimed at managing conflict during the political transition, we will see further that it is also possible to use them before the outbreak of violence in a preventative mode (Ball and Spies, 1998:51).

- The concept of peace committees should not be confused with their structure, given the importance of the specific social, political and economic context in the design of the structural aspect (Ball and Spies, 1998:52).

- Peace committees are not an appropriate tool for every setting, as there are a number of essential enabling factors such as political will among national actors, good attitude of security forces and armed groups, a well-developed civil society, official accountability, trust among key stakeholders, local ownership of the committees, inclusivity, a quick and flexible funding mechanism, appropriate staffing and international support (Ball and Spies, 1998:52).

- It is pivotal to build on what already exists locally and take local ownership seriously. The South African case might have had a very different result if the concept had not come from within the country (Ball and Spies, 1998:52).

- The commitment to conflict management must be based on a long-term approach, as there is no quick-fix solution to violent conflict and when the reconstruction of trust in interpersonal relationships is essential (Ball and Spies, 1998:52).

It is of course very difficult to assess the impact of the National Peace Accord and its structure, as it is in general not easy to quantify the extent to which the undertaken action has, in fact, prevented violence. It is also difficult to establish the impact of the committees on social cohesion due to the lack of quantitative data.

However, it is generally agreed on that the Local Peace Committees in South Africa, despite not being able to entirely stop violence and end impunity, were anyway fundamental in strengthening accountability, equalizing the balance of power and giving citizens conflict resolution tools that would profoundly change the way in which people would respond to disputes. Susan Collin Marks, a key figure in the Western Cape RPC, observed that:

> South Africans had never met one another before like this, face-to-face, and over time we learned to turn away from our habit of fearing one another and instead begin to face our common problems and jointly find solutions... As former adversaries found one another's humanity throughout the country, so the foundation began to be built for a place where we could one day all be human beings together (Spies, 2002:25).

2.8.2 WHY AN INFRASTRUCTURE FOR PEACE?

In order to better explain why Infrastructures for Peace is a valid tool to achieve sustainable peace, I have mainly illustrated the different and effective points that have been publically presented at the World Peace Festival in Berlin in August 2011 by the Global Peace-building Strategy (GPBS), whose elaboration I was lucky enough to be part of.

As well illustrated by van Tongeren (2011:9), peace structures are first of all inexpensive and cost-effective compared to often ineffective and usually very costly outside interventions. As he explains, Kenya's leading business association assessed that post-election violence in 2008 resulted in 3.6 billion US dollars in economic losses. In contrast, the 2010 constitutional referendum did not see any violence despite the presence of similar inter-ethnic tensions. Through the implementation of prevention activities and strategies that we will analyze further on in this dissertation,

Kenya managed to carry out the referendum without incidents and at the mere cost of 5 million US dollars (van Tongeren, 2011:9).

Similarly, in Kyrgyzstan inter-ethnic violence in mid-2010 brought to the country a loss of 71 million US dollars, while national and regional efforts to restore political and inter-ethnic confidence were estimated to cost approximately 6 million US dollars (van Tongeren, 2011:9). As a consequence, the constitutional referendum in 2010 and the parliamentary elections in 2013 happened without violence, leading the country to a significant growth rate. In Ghana, thanks to the work of the National Peace Council, the peaceful national poll that took place in December 2008 brought a significant increase (90%) in foreign direct investments in the country between 2008 and 2009 (van Tongeren, 2011:10).

Infrastructures for peace can, moreover, help fragile, divided, transitional or post-conflict societies to build and sustain peace by (van Tongeren, 2011:8),:

- Adopting co-operative, problem-solving approaches to conflict that include all stakeholders and are based on dialogue and non-violence.

- Developing institutional mechanisms appropriate to each country's specific context, including a government bureau, department or ministry of peace-building.

- Creating national-district-local peace councils, which include trusted and qualified persons able to bridge political divides.

- Managing recurring conflicts over land, natural resources and contested elections.

- Finding internal and community-based solutions through mediated consensus or multi-stakeholder dialogue.

- Creating national platforms for consultation, collaboration and coordination of peace issues.

- Negotiating and implementing new governing arrangements in an inclusive and cohesive manner, also through legislative measures with appropriate allocation of budget.

- Renewing and using traditional perspectives and methodologies for conflict resolution.

- Promoting a shared vision for a society based on a culture of peace.

As Lederach (1995a) points out, an infrastructure for sustaining the dynamic transformation of conflict and the construction of peace should be understood as a process-structure made up of systems that maintain form over time yet have nohard rigidity of structure, and that are able to transform divided, hostile, and violent relationships into just and interdependent ones while using non-violent mechanisms for expressing and handling conflict. Lederach (1995a) further explains, such infrastructure is made up of a web of people, relationships and activities at all levels of society, as well as of the social mechanisms necessary to sustain the change sought. In order for peace to be sustainable, Lederach underlines the importance of building infrastructures that are rooted in the conflict setting and that emerge creatively from the culture and context.

2.8.3 PRACTICAL EXAMPLES OF PEACE ARCHITECTURES

As stated in the memorandum of the "Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Cooperation in Africa" (CSSDCA), which took place in Durban, South Africa in 2002, a group of African leaders signed a resolution in which they committed to take responsibility for setting up national institutions to manage conflict in partnership with their civil societies.

In his progress report (Annan, 2006:14) on the 2001 report "Prevention of Armed Conflict", Secretary General Kofi Annan reiterated his view on the importance of creating sustainable national infrastructures for peace. Moreover, the Secretary General's report (2009:16) on "Enhancing Mediation" indicated under the heading "Strengthen National/Local capacity for conflict prevention/resolution": "*(...) one promising approach is the development of a national architecture for dispute resolution through national, regional and district peace councils to provide mediation and prevent local conflicts from escalating and spreading"*.

Given these premises, it is now understandable why the United Nations have been strongly contributing in the last decade to some ten countries for the establishment of infrastructures for peace and supporting the national capacities on preventing conflict and building peace, spending an average of 2 to 3 million US dollar per country.

Among the many examples, this research will now briefly examine a few countries as case studies to clearly demonstrate the potential and effectiveness of building architectures for peace and also strongly recalling the South African example. However, this study will heavily use the case study of Kenya as an example.

As Odendaal (2010), expert on local peace-building and one of the few authors of the limited literature available on Peace Committees, widely illustrates, Ghana is a key example as it is nowadays one of Africa's most democratic and stable countries. Despite its current status, the country has however experienced high levels of often violent inter-community conflict. Between 1990 and 2002, in fact, 14 violent clashes took place between ethnic community groups mostly in the northern region, where the populations feels economically and politically marginalised. Some of these conflicts have been enormously violent, leading also to the death of 5000 people as in the case of the Konkomba-Nanumba war (Odendaal, 2010:55). During the conflict, civil society organisations played a pivotal role in facilitating the peace process through an inter-NGO consortium, which adopted an approach that was completely different from the governmental one. It tried, in fact, to explore the root cause of the clash and focused on dialogue, deeper mutual understanding and joint problem solving and reconciliation. In 2003, after the 2002 slaying of the King of Dagbon and 40 of his elders due to a dispute between two royal houses on power issues, the government decided to declare a regional state of emergency, fearing the complete destabilization of the northern part of the country given the highly politicised climate (Odendaal, 2010:55). Thanks to the appointment by UNDP of a Peace and Governance Advisor who immediately started consultations with the government and civil society, the Northern Region Peace Advocacy Council (NRPAC) was created and successfully worked to deal with issues of trust among factions, restoring confidence and relationships. On the basis of this success, the government decided to expand the mechanism with the UN's help to the national level. In 2005 a National Peace Council (NPC) was established and has since then been playing a major role in ensuring peace, especially during the 2008 elections and the transfer of power. In

March 2008, the National Peace Council Bill was unanimously adopted by the parliament, giving the infrastructure that legitimacy it was lacking before. Van Tongeren (2011:47), member of the Global Peace-Building Strategy and expert on Infrastructures for Peace, describes its main functions:

- To harmonise and coordinate conflict prevention, management, resolution and build sustainable peace through networking and coordination.

- To strengthen capacities in relation to the objectives.

- To facilitate the amicable resolution of conflicts through mediation and other connected processes.

- To monitor, report and offer indigenous perspectives and solutions to conflicts in the country.

- To promote understanding about values of reconciliation, tolerance, confidence building, mediation and dialogue as responses to conflict.

With a board of 13 relevant and highly trusted members, six of which are representatives from religious bodies, the NPC is connected to regional and district peace councils including full-time professional peace promotion officers working to diffuse public education, besides sensitizing and raising awareness of conflict indicators within the region (Odendaal, 2010:55).

According to Odendaal (2010:56) there are few relevant features that characterises Ghana's peace architecture and they include:

- It is the first official African program for peace-building, matching the 2002 resolution of African leaders.

- Major political consensus exists on the usefulness and value of the peace councils, on the basis of the success of carefully-facilitated dialogue and problem-solving processes.

- National security has seen a great improvement thanks to the local peace-building and conflict prevention processes.

- Technical and administrative support has been given to the councils through a peace-building support unit and thanks to highly qualified international advisors.

- There is a clear conceptual distinction between the roles of the peace councils and the governance structures, as the first cannot intervene in or override governance functions.

In June 2011, the author had the pleasure of assisting a meeting on infrastructures for peace, which included the governments of Ghana, Kenya, Kyrgyzstan and South Sudan, organised by the GPBS in collaboration with the High Commission of Ghana to the United Kingdom. The meeting saw the establishment of an International Steering Group to enhance the concept internationally, with the support of UNDP-BCPR, who also participated at the event.

Another very interesting case is the one of Sierra Leone (Odendaal, 2010:63-67). Civil war took control of the country from 1991 to 2001. The pre-conflict period was already characterised by fragmentation, exploitation and insecurity due to the British colonial rule, which contributed to the creation of unequal development and the crisis of the chieftain system with consequent disconnection between rulers and the ruled. When the colonial power left the country, a one-party dictatorship in which

the political elite controlled all wealth was established. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) declared that all the post-colonial regimes were in fact responsible for creating the conditions for conflict due to widespread corruption and nepotism that reduced most people to poverty.

The Revolutionary United Front (RUF) started the civil war in 1991 allegedly in collaboration with Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL). It was soon clear that there was no guiding revolutionary ideology as anger, greed and brutality dominated the country (Odendaal, 2010:63). As Odendaal reported, the collapse of law and order presented economic opportunities for armed people in the illegal diamond trade. One of the elements, which mainly contributed to the fuelling of the Sierra Leonean conflict, was the alienation of the districts, whose tensions kept on feeding violence and hate. The civil war completely ruined the community social fabric, as brutal acts such as rape of women and children; abuse of elders and, in some cases, cannibalism took place in almost every community (Odendaal, 2010:63).

Sierra Leone finally emerged from the cycle of violence with the democratic elections of 2002, followed in 2007 by further Presidential and Parliamentary elections, which saw violence throughout the country but anyway led to a peaceful transfer of power to the opposition party. These significant achievements were obtained through the professional and qualified work of the National Electoral Commission (NEC) and the Political Parties Registration Commission (PPRC), whose mandate included registering political parties; monitoring party affairs and conduct to ensure they comply with the constitution; promoting pluralism and the spirit of constitutionalism; and mediating conflict and disputes between political parties or leaders (Odendaal, 2010:64).

In 2006, all registered political parties signed a National Code of Conduct and a National Code of Conduct Monitoring Committee (NMC) was established with one representative from each of the registered parties, one from the NEC, two from civil society, one from the police, one from the Inter-Religious Council and one from the National Commission for Democracy and Human Rights. Due to its success in creating an effective platform for dialogue and problem-solving, it was decided to reproduce its structure also at regional and district levels with district code of conduct monitoring committees (DMCs) in all districts (Odendaal, 2010:64). These were fundamental in reducing tensions by showing the electorate that representatives from different political parties could work together for peaceful elections, besides using local knowledge to identify potential areas of conflict and prevent them from escalating. If conflicts occurred, the DMCs were able to mediate between the different participants. Given the importance previously discussed about communication means, it is significant to stress the collaboration that took place between DMCs and the Independent Radio Network's district radio stations, which allowed Committee members to participate in biweekly radio programs (Odendaal, 2010:65).

The committees continued working also during the 2008 local elections that, besides some violent incidents, took place in an overall peaceful but still extremely fragile environment (Odendaal, 2010:68). The case of Sierra Leone is a very complex one, and the committees have proved to be effective conflict prevention tools, whose mandate is however very limited. It would be interesting to further develop this mandate, as to create more comprehensive organs able to carry out such important tasks beyond electoral periods.

Due to the specific choice of an African country as case study of this dissertation, I have therefore chosen to analyze in this chapter examples of successful

local peace initiatives located in the African continent. Besides the fact that there are more examples located in the region, as well documented on the online peace portal dedicated to Infrastructures for Peace (PeacePortal), such as Uganda where the government is working with UNDP to build national conflict prevention and peace sustaining capacities, South Sudan where a Ministry for Peace and Comprehensive Peace Agreement was established to create a peace policy framework, and Togo where a Permanent Framework for Dialogue and Consultation was set up by the government in 2009, there are also many other well-documented cases of national peace capacities being developed. As van Tongeren (2011) and Odendaal (2010) further report, peace commission development arose in Nicaragua out of the 1987 Esquipulas Peace Accords, a regional initiative that saw Central American presidents coming together to bring civil wars in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala to an end; Northern Ireland District Policing Partnerships were part of a peace-building architecture aimed at building local consensus on effective policing; Nepal's Local Peace Councils were created in 2005 and were followed by the establishment in 2007 of a Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction, which followed the Ministry of National Unity, Reconciliation and Peace in the Solomon Islands and was then followed by the Ministry of Justice and Peace created in Costa Rica in 2009; the national and municipal Committees for Inter-Community Relations (CICRs) drove the peace-making process in Former Yugoslav Republic (FYR) of Macedonia; a National Peace Plan was formulated together with a policy framework for peace in the Philippines; Oblast Advisory Committees (OACs) and Local Authority Advisory Committees (LAACs) were created in Kyrgyzstan; local and district Peace Shuras or Councils (CDCs) are part of the National Solidarity Program (NSP) in Afghanistan. Hence, all

these examples constitute a large basis of evidence clearly showing the impact and effectiveness of local conflict prevention.

2.9 CONCLUSION

In conclusion this chapter analyzed the different definitions and notions of some key concepts such as peace, violence, conflict prevention, action in pursuance of peace including peace-keeping, peace-making and peace-building, as well as communication for peace-building. It then presented two theories that deeply explore the link between women, peace and conflict. Finally, it provided a brief overview of how Infrastructures for Peace have developed and how they can potentially be important tools for inclusive societies.

The analysis clearly showed that because of the deep change in the nature of conflicts which took place during the last decades, the character of conflict prevention and peace planning has consequently changed. The increased frequency of intra-state armed conflicts has made civilians the main actors of armed confrontations as well as their main victims. As a result, new methods to prevent violence and spread a culture of peace have been developed and terms that have been used for decades have assumed a completely new meaning.

Despite the many connotations that the concept of peace has assumed throughout history, it is its "positive" character as defined by Galtung to offer a completely new and wide potential of peace. Societies can hence be transformed into just places where harmony, cooperation and integration exist. Galtung's differentiation between direct, structural and cultural violence further marks the importance of developing actions in pursuance of peace that take into account the

multi-faceted character of conflict and, most importantly, that conflicts cannot be seen as a singular event but rather as a process.

Conflict prevention, early warning mechanisms, peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building therefore become all important elements of a complex process aimed at creating a culture of peace and rendering communities able to sustain it. The analysis has highlighted how a general sense of confusion characterises the different terminology used in peace and conflict research. For the purpose of this dissertation, I chose to use definitions which specifically refer to peace-building and planning as a long-term process aimed at addressing the root causes of a conflict so as to prevent its recurrence. Peace-building then assumes a new preventive nature, distant from the post-conflict connotation that was initially given to it.

As no conflict can be solved if the solution does not take into account its victims' interests, local expertise in planning, participation and implementation is paramount. As the authors presented in this chapter well illustrated, local and regional structures then offer an opportunity to empower citizens and become venues for dialogue, reconciliation, trust-building activities, training and conflict prevention. This aspect assumes particular importance given that the hypothesis of this dissertation is that inclusive peace planning and conflict prevention practices allow civil participation and incorporate women's roles and contributions. In particular, with regard to conflict prevention and early warning mechanisms, gender-sensitive indicators often constitute a first unrecognized sign of social tensions which, if identified in advance, could easily prevent violence from escalating.

Moreover, using all the available tools and knowledge is crucial. Besides existing institutions and networks, also communication strategies that are based on a bottom-up approach have proved to effectively enable local communities to be active

part of the prevention effort aimed at bringing sustainable peace-oriented change while, at the same time, expanding regional networks and sharing platforms. Consequently, many organisations at the local, regional and international level have developed communication programs and systems aimed at collecting real time information as to shorten response times and at empowering local stakeholders by bringing the voices of the most vulnerable into high-level decision making.

Finally, Infrastructures for Peace constitute a valid opportunity to create a holistic and comprehensive strategy that, by integrating security, inclusivity and development, can start a unified but at the same time localized process, aimed at containing conflict and using it as a force for positive change within the society. Peace can only be sustained if leaders, institutions and civil society have skills and mechanisms to manage those tensions that inherently emerge from change.

Through the examples provided such as South Africa, Ghana and Sierra Leone, the chapter has provided a glimpse of the potential of peace architectures. In particular, the creation of local and district peace committees has been fundamental in finding community-based and context-specific solutions, managing recurring conflicts and creating new platforms for consultation and collaboration. Such structures have been the starting point for the process that has led to national peace policies and institutions. A collective vision based on a culture of peace can be developed only if the whole society is included in its elaboration.

CHAPTER THREE: WOMEN'S INCLUSION AND CONTRIBUTION TO THE ELABORATION AND BUILDING OF SUSTAINABLE PEACE

"Both men and women have the potential for peace-making and the responsibility to build and keep peace."

Pankhurst (2003:14)

3.0 INTRODUCTION

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the role of women in peace activities, both at the national and the international arenas. The academic world has, in fact, started to focus its attention on the fundamental role played by women within the field of peace planning, peace-building, conflict resolution and conflict transformation.

Many scholars have tried to deconstruct the notion of women as solely victims of wars, underlining the important contribution that they are able to give as active social actors in the difficult tasks of mediation and peace negotiation, which are the basis of the complex post-conflict reconstruction process. Women's rising voice as agents of change can be seen, in fact, through the numerous women who have worldwide initiated transformative change within their societies and communities. As Asha HagiElmi Amin said on behalf of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, "women's participation in peace processes is not optional: it is a requirement" (Suthanthiraraj, 2011:2). However, their participation cannot be understood only in terms of numbers but, instead, in terms of how substantively diverse women are able to participate, access power structures, resources and information. Evidence shows that, despite an increasing participation of women in community peace-building and new innovative community-based responses that are

reshaping their roles within their communities, women are almost completely absent from political negotiations tables.

Following the second objective of this dissertation that aims to examine the inclusion and contribution of women in the elaboration and building of sustainable peace, by showcasing the historical and institutional evolution of their roles in implementing Infrastructures for Peace, this chapter analyzes the actual and potential role played by women within their own communities. Furthermore, it tries to understand why it has been, and still is, so difficult to recognize, both theoretically and practically, the social roles played by women in peace-building both at the local and the national level. This chapter also presents a detailed investigation of the existing connection between women and peace, by providing a historical account from ancient history until today of their role in the promotion of peace.

Similarly, it illustrates women's visions and definition of peace and highlights the important contribution that they are able to bring about through their different approach and perspectives. Besides, it shows, through the examination of gendered conflict analysis, how important it is to take into consideration women's different experience in armed conflicts. This chapter focuses on the historical and institutional evolution of the role women have been playing in peace-building, conflict prevention and early warning, therefore, rendering visible their significant contributions and presence.

Moreover, it shows the importance of the analysis of the legal framework that the UN has been developing since its foundation in order to support women's enhancement. Hence, a detailed examination of all UN events and documents is provided and it includes, among others, the Declaration on the Protection of Women

and Children in Emergency and Armed Conflict (1974), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the Declaration on the Participation of Women in Promoting International Peace and Cooperation (1982), the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985) with its international conferences and follow-ups, and Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889, 2122 and 2106. Finally, a substantial part of this chapter is dedicated to the analysis of Communications for peace-building as an empowerment tool. Investigating their origins and potential, it shows how paramount it is to build Infrastructures for Peace that encompasses communication strategies that is able to empower women by giving them a voice.

3.1 THE CONNECTION BETWEEN WOMEN AND PEACE FROM ANCIENT HISTORY UNTIL TODAY

It is interesting to see how peace as a concept has usually been represented as a woman, associating its body and symbols with feminine attributes. Therefore, the role played by women in nonviolent movements have been surely very significant and certainly not less than that of men. However, unfortunately, history records have not given it proper representation and account. Even though historical records have failed to capture the connection, the bond existing between women and nonviolent action is, actually, very old. If we attentively analyze history, we will immediately notice how nonviolence has been used by women in a very wide range of periods, in cultural and political contexts as method of struggle for their rights or demands.

Unfortunately, the concept of nonviolent action is generally and rarely considered as a valid and effective alternative mean of action. On the contrary, being based on the idea that no ruler can maintain power without the people's consent and

support, the individual or combined use of psychological, social, economic and political methods has frequently proved to be very successful.

Ackerman and DuVall (2000) argued in their book, *A force more powerful*, that violence is always instrumental and never constructive. As they illustrate, although it may bring quick changes in the short-term, it will not replace old forms of authority with new opportunities for freedom. It is indeed nonviolence, which allows ordinary people to come together and consequently be empowered and freed by the strength of their unity against violent behaviors.

As Holmes (1990) shows, the interpretation of nonviolent action as a mean to bring independence and liberty to the agents of change clearly sustained women's struggle in being such agents since the beginning of time. Hence, the first forms of women's civil disobedience can be, in fact, traced back to antiquity, by which we refer to the Jewish-Greek-Hellenistic-Roman world. There are few examples of it (Holmes, 1990:82-88).

The oldest record of civil disobedience towards a governmental decree is narrated in the Second Book of Moses. Hebrew midwifes, fearing God, decided to go against the will of the Pharaoh, who had ordered to kill all male new-borns immediately on delivery. Once again, in the Greek society women organised one of the main prototypes of civil disobedience. It is Antigone, who decided to bury her brother who had died as a traitor, not obeying King Creon's strict prohibition and declaring "My nature is for mutual love, not hate" (Holmes, 1990:82). Both these two examples involve female heroines and have been, until recent time, neglected by the male scholarly world.

The third and the most famous case is Aristophanes' comedy *Lysistrata*. The time it occurred is during the war between Sparta and Athens, which had been going

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on incessantly and futilely. Women of both cities consequently decide to take action, abstaining from intercourse with both their husbands and friends until peace is achieved. Moreover, women also occupied the Parthenon in Athens, in which the public treasure is held, carrying out the first sit-in in history (Holmes, 1990:84).

Participants, who are all married, explain their tactic saying that they wish to protest against the worthlessness of the conflict denying the joys of love during the war. Because of it, in fact, soldiering husbands leave behind their wives, and unmarried girls are doomed to a lonely existence. Ultimately, maternal love here is represented by the struggle of these women against a war, which incessantly causes the death of their beloved sons.

These women consider themselves equally intelligent to men but superior to them in judgment. Their struggle has a double character: a private one, as Athenian or Spartan women who have to deal with their husbands and friends, and a public one, as occupiers of the temple and active social actors struggling for a peaceful resolution of the conflict between the two cities. Both aspects have been carefully planned (Holmes, 1990:86). The conquest of the Parthenon clearly shows a strategic preparation: some elderly women assemble, pretending to offer a sacrifice, later making other women enter the temple. Closing the doors and barricading the place, women were consequently in control of the money needed for the war. Therefore, excellent planning and cooperation enable these women to defend themselves from external attacks, giving one of the first examples in history of strategic nonviolent action (Holmes, 1990:86).

Around twenty years after *Lysistrata*, Aristophane wrote another play, entitled *The Female Parliament*. The protagonists were women who were fed up with the male mismanagement of the city, they decided to participate in a legislative assembly

disguised as men and ultimately obtaining the government of the city, which was consequently reorganised as a large household where there is no private property or marriage, everything is at communal disposal and meals are free (Holmes, 1990:88). Despite the utopian character of the play, women are here again representing life, wisdom, advancement and joy.

Concentrating our analysis on the western world, both feminism and nonviolence have been expressed in social activism only in the 19[th] century. What is particularly interesting is the proximity of the dates in which the first nonviolent and feminist movements were founded. The New England Non-Resistance Society, along with its newspaper *The Non-Resistant*, was in fact created in 1838. Only ten years later, in 1848, the first women's rights movement was launched, as a direct consequence of the Seneca Falls Declaration of the Rights of Women (Holmes, 1990:90).

The reasons of this proximity are due to the fact that both movements grew out of the struggle for the abolition of slavery led by an emerging group of radical reformers, who believed that the Christian principles could be the translated into action in order to bring peace and justice in a sole struggle. However, as Holmes (1990) explains not everyone believed in the importance of including women's human rights in the struggle, parallel to nonviolence and abolition of slavery.

The merit of embodying all the three concerns in one sole movement was of Lucretia Mott, a Quaker minister who founded the Philadelphia Female Anti-slavery Society, first active women's political organisation based on the merging of feminism and nonviolence. They organised meetings, circulated petitions, supplied literature and raised funds and also, the society gave women for the first time the chance to

participate in the male-dominated public sphere, increasing general awareness on gender issues (Holmes, 1990:91).

Completely faithful to the power of moral weapons, Lucretia maintained her pacifist post during the Civil War, complaining the numerous casualties caused by the conflict and supporting the use of conscientious objectors to bring an end to it. After the war, as a consequence of its terrible experience, civil disobedience became the favorite method of resistance used by Quaker feminists and pacifists, who continued their battle for suffrage and respect of women's human rights until after the first World War, signing the beginning of a new phase of struggle based on the inclusion of nonviolence, feminism and social justice in a unique movement (Holmes, 1990:94).

It was feminists who questioned the gender dynamics of the French Revolution and the subsequent exclusion of women from the acclaimed new status of citizenship. Pacifists such as Bertha von Suttner or revolutionaries like Rosa Luxemburg or Emma Goldman made explicit reference to the plight of women in war and the continuity of men's domination in the family and in the public domain (Weber, 2006:2).

Nonviolent struggles have been consequently deployed throughout history in a very wide range of different social, political, economic and cultural contexts. They have occurred in the East and in the West; in industrialized and developing countries; in political, economic or religious conflicts; in anti-slavery resistance. However, it was in the struggles against empires, dictatorships, and foreign occupations that took place throughout the twentieth century that it reached unprecedented political significance (Sharp, 2005:15-16).

Nonviolence was therefore one of women's strategies to achieve freedom and empowerment during and in the aftermath of national liberation struggles. Seeing an

opportunity to finally leave their households and to participate alongside men in struggles for major political changes, women have been invisible protagonists of the revolutionary movements of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As women got involved in the resistance and partisan movements of the Second World War, they furthermore took part to the independence groups fighting for national liberation from colonial rule and to the democratic movements struggling against dictatorships. Many women's movements for liberation and democracy spread all over the globe, beginning a parallel struggle for women's rights and redefining the terms of their participation in the public realm (Karl, 1995:79).

In the 1980s and 1990s, aware of the importance of mobilizing women in order to achieve success, many of the national liberators founded women's organisation to support and carry out revolutions. Despite their significant contributions, however, women have been portrayed as carrying out only supportive tasks. Basic assumption of liberation strategies was that emancipation would have been automatically achieved once independence was obtained (Karl, 1995:79).

However, as history shows, this has rarely happened. In fact, once independence was achieved, women were generally expected to go back to their traditional roles of being mothers and wives, excluding them again from political and public life. The only exception was the case in which women's economical contribution was necessary for building of a newly independent economy. Consequently, legal measures were implemented in order to enable women to be part of the national labor force (Karl, 1995:79).

Nevertheless, what male-dominated leaderships and governments did not take into consideration was the empowerment that women had experienced throughout the liberation struggle. Some of them not only refused to conform back to traditional

roles, but also rejected the violent methods used to achieve independence. Women's groups therefore elaborated alternative strategies based on the principles of nonviolence, initially implementing them to pressurize governments in order to make them stop the bloodshed, and secondly to assure their own participation in the public life of the independent countries that they had been fighting for too.

3.1.1 WOMEN'S ROLE IN RESISTANCE AND LIBERATION STRUGGLES: THE EXAMPLE OF THE WOMEN OF ZIMBABWE ARISE (WOZA)

One of the many examples of how women played an important role as individuals both in the fight against a patriarchal society within a complex national context as well as in the aftermath of national liberation movements is the case of Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwean women have been historically influenced by three different legacies. First, by the Pre-colonial culture and customs, regarding particularly family structure and personal relationship, had a strong impact on women's lives. Traditional society models considered, in fact, women as "minors under their fathers' and husbands' tutelage" (Seidman, 1984: 421). Polygamy was common and women's body was considered to be object of control and exchange, as the *Lobola*[4] practice suggests (Seidman, 1984:422).

Second, by the Colonial models imposed by late 19[th] century British white settlers brought a new gender ideology and new economic relationships. Women's role was primarily that of mothers and child carers, while their husbands economically supported the family. Besides difficult access to schools for blacks, girls

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[4] Practice of marriage payments used to mark unity between lineage groups. Through this bride wealth, husbands gained legal control over their wives and children, consequently also on their labor. Women were consequently consistently subordinate and deferential (Seidman, 1984: 422).

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were far less permitted to receive formal education and only for subjects that western gender models considered appropriate. Moreover, girls who became pregnant had to obligatory leave school. This model totally ignored the traditional role played by Zimbabwean women in agriculture, fundamental for the production and consequently for the subsistence of families. Merging together colonial and traditional gender ideologies in ways that worked to women's disadvantage, colonial policies reduced women's access to land and economic resources, impeding them to feed their families. Rejecting the imposed lifestyle, women decided to migrate to urban areas where, unfortunately, employment opportunities were limited mainly to domestic services. As a result, many women became seasonal migrants or turned to the informal sector (Seidman, 1984:422-424).

Lastly, the struggle for independence changed women's living conditions and the framework of their relationships with men. Many women saw in the guerrilla a way towards individual and national independence and consequently joined the national liberation forces in Zambia and Mozambique. In the first years of the civil war, women served mainly as support staff. Only later, Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) decided to train them as fighters. As a consequence, women shared all tasks with men, whether domestic, defensive or agricultural. Women's participation in the civil war deeply challenged existing relationship models as in the fields they could command men and take leadership, expecting obedience. Not only women were in command, but also they were fundamental in the guerrilla effort as peasants and messengers (Seidman, 1984:427).

War experience and the exposure of exiled Zimbabweans to western feminism truly mobilized women throughout the country, giving them a new perspective on their role in the society. Moreover, they caused the rise of a new awareness of

women's needs within ZANU. During the independence struggle, in fact, the party strongly advocated for structural and institutional changes to improve women's living conditions. As it often happens, however, good intentions were abandoned once independence was achieved. There are many reasons for this situation

First of all, older views of women's roles re-emerged within the party's leadership. Secondly, the newly created Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCDWA) encountered structural difficulties caused by low funding and governmental opposition to some proposed programs. An example was the campaign for the abolition of *lobola,* defended by ZANU leaders as part of the national heritage and fundamental to tie together lineage groups. MCDWA consequently moderated its tone (Seidman, 1984:432).

As a result, women's concerns have been increasingly marginalised in the government's policy-making. As long as women are channeled into low-income and dead-end jobs, without access to economic resources or control over their sexuality and reproduction, there will not be any substantial change in their living conditions. Nevertheless, women who fought or have experienced the war have not forgotten the government's commitment to improve women's lives. Many Zimbabwean women now refuse a passive role and, challenging traditional gender ideologies, have the courage to publically fight for their rights and the rights of their children (Seidman, 1984:433).

Zimbabwe is today facing tremendous challenges. The economic and food urgent situation has been attributed to different factors, including recent governmental price controls and land policies, the HIV/AIDS and cholera epidemics, and severe drought affecting the area of food production.

As a result, about 3 million Zimbabweans have left the country in the last decade. According to the 2013/14 National Vulnerability Assessment Committee (NVAC) report, an estimated 2.2 million people – 25% of the rural population – were food insecure until April 2014. (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs - OCHA, 2015)

According to the World Health Organisation (2015), female life expectancy at birth has decreased from 65 years in 1990 to 61 in 2013. After a decade-long struggle supported by UN Women and UNDP through a constitutional lobby group, a special electoral quota system was included in Zimbabwe's new Constitution as to increase women's representation in Parliament to at least 30 per cent, which is considered the minimum for collective action. Consequently, women's representation in Parliament more than doubled from 17 per cent following the 2008 general elections, to 35 per cent in the elections on 31 July 2013 (UN Women, 2013).

As a result, 124 of the 350 MPs in Zimbabwe's new Parliament are women. The use of the special measure also led to 37 women candidates being elected to the Senate, and one woman was selected to one of the two Senate seats allocated for people living with disabilities, bringing the total number of women to 38 – an unprecedented 47.5 per cent of the 80 Senators (UN Women, 2013).

As the temporary measure will be in effect for the first two Parliaments elected after the Constitution came into effect (2013 and 2018), women activists know that they must work with the new women Parliamentarians to secure the gains made and prepare for 2018.

Zimbabwe represents a perfect example of how women are and have been playing a fundamental role in the history of their country, and of how the Black Feminist thought has been wisely transformed into action. Following its basic

principles, that is to say revolutionary vision, resistance, mutual stretching, collectivism, spirituality, community mothering, self-determination and self-reliance, black women have strategically learned how to face the different oppressions they were subjected to (Russel, 2009). Discriminated because of being women and black, Zimbabwean women have strengthened through unity and cohesion. The rise of the women's movement has been fundamental in bringing women's voice and agenda in otherwise patriarchal and male dominated political processes.

The Women Of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) has played a fundamental role in giving space to those women's nonviolent voices which were trying to challenge the authoritarian and discriminatory governmental policies, building a political and social alternative in a country ruled by a dictatorial regime. As explained on the official website, WOZA was created in 2003 as a women's civic movement and now has a countrywide membership of over 75,000 women and men, who in 2006 created also Men of Zimbabwe Arise (MOZA). A Ndebele word meaning "come forward", WOZA works to empower female leadership in leading community involvement in solving current crises and to encourage women to stand up for their rights and freedoms, the movement's actions are based on the core principles of strategic nonviolence (WOZA,2017). It is in fact, ordinary women who have decided to come together, strongly believing in the fact that if you do not resist injustice actively you are in fact upholding it.

WOZA has conducted hundreds of protests since 2003 and over 3,000 women and men have been arrested (WOZA, 2017). Fundamental is, consequently, the work that the movement does to protect their members, carefully monitoring every protest or action in order to promptly provide lawyers and medical care to those in need as a consequence of arrests or beatings (WOZA,2017).

Tactically speaking, the main method of action used by the movement is that of nonviolent protest and persuasion, organising rallies based on an identified slogan or central issue. Strategically well organised in order to operate without being seen by the police, women usually march while distributing placards, leaflets or any other symbolic object, normally hidden in bags or under the clothes (WOZA, 2017).

Unity plays an essential role, as women find the courage to go to the streets to rally as aware of not being alone. Convinced of having to speak out for themselves, in order to put pressure on their government to bring change and save the country from its crisis, these women represent the part of the population which is most suffering.

An element that is often used to bring more women to be active social actor is the concept of motherhood. Many slogans call for women's participation as mothers of children who do not have food or are ill, therefore finding a strong element of cohesion. An example is the "Stand up for your child" campaign of 2008 (WOZA, 2017).

When motherhood is conceptualized as the antithesis of violence, it means that we are interpreting motherhood on an essentialist basis. Mothers are, from this angle, considered to be "fundamental and formative peace educators", as they feel the "responsibility of creating positive human relations in the family, the community and the world" (Skjelbaek and Smith, 2001:62). Nevertheless, we cannot deny that mothers have been recurrently encouraging their sons and husbands to participate in war, or those motherhood actions like protecting, nurturing and training could have a peaceful or violent outcome, depending on the context.

Another core concept used by WOZA for mass mobilization is that of "Tough Love", meaning the disciplining love of a parent. Women practice it to advocate and bring dignity back to Zimbabweans. It is a tool that any community can use aiming at

better governance and social justice. Once again, the role of mothers is used to bring discipline also to the political class. Examples of this are the numerous campaigns that have been carried out on Valentine's Day since 2003. Different slogans have been used, among which "Learn to love again", "Choose love over hate", "The power of love can conquer the love of power", "Bread and roses". The rallies have been organised also to convince Zimbabweans to vote during the various elections that took place over the years. Furthermore, there are many women, and also babies, who have been arrested and suffered injuries (WOZA, 2017).

Moreover, since 1996 the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA), a coalition of NGOs, community based organisations, women's groups, churches, students, labor and political parties, have been working and advocating for a new Constitution, as a first step in the long path towards a better Zimbabwe. The political alliance with NCA has been strategically fundamental for women's groups, as it gave them visibility and legitimacy (Ncube, 2005:6).

However, afraid not to be fully represented, Zimbabwean women decided to set up a separated process, creating the Women Coalition (WC). Through civic education and mass mobilization, ordinary women engaged in political issues through a gendered approach, drafting the Women's Charter. The document was subsequently used as a yardstick to check the governmental draft proposal, which of course did not pass the test. Through a widespread "Vote No" campaign, women managed to have a majority of the population rejecting the draft, with consequent harsh reaction of the government (Ncube, 2005:9-10).

In 2006, WOZA carried out consultations on social justice across the country. In 284 meetings, almost 10,000 rural and urban people were asked about what they wanted in a new Zimbabwe. The result were written in the People's Charter, which

asks for freedom and equality, people's participation in governance, legitimately elected leaders, justice in the law, a new Land Redistribution Programme, wealth and prosperity, right to earn a living, to education, to health, to access information, respect for culture, accountability and peace (WOZA, 2017).

Zimbabwe's new Constitution, which included the special electoral quota system, was approved by referendum in March 2013 and signed into law on May 22nd, 2013 (BBC, 2013). That same female portion of the population, which had been for long ignored and deprived of the opportunities to actively contribute to the development of its country, effectively acted in order to promote democracy, education, women's and children's human rights, social justice, and to take an active role in the drafting of the new constitution.

Women Of Zimbabwe Arise is, as we have said, only one example of women's nonviolent movement. Among many others, there are the Liberian women's mass action for peace; the Women in Black feminist resistance to war, founded originally against the Arab Israeli conflict and later became active also in the former Yugoslavia and in many other countries. Other examples include the Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, whose children disappeared during the Dirty War of the Argentinean military dictatorship; women's organisations in post genocide Rwanda; women's opposition to Pinochet's regime in Chile; women's movement for democracy in the Philippines; the Tibetan women's association; women's nonviolent resistance in Burma, led by the Nobel Peace Prize recipient Aung San Suu Kyi and the nuns' resistance in Vietnam. Therefore, it can be argued that nonviolence has empowered women to become active social actors, making them aware and informed of their rights and, most of all, of their ability to redefine the terms of their participation in the public realm.

3.2 PEACEFUL WOMEN, VIOLENT MEN

Many scholars have dedicated their studies to the existence of a gender gap between women and men's support for the use of violence to resolve international disputes, supporting the presence of a potential impact of domestic gender equity on international behavior. It is on the basis of gender, in fact, that access to resources, control, responsibilities and power relationships are determined.

Although the authority and role of women vary across cultures, women are usually living in unequal economic and political conditions. As already mentioned, two main theories have been developed to explain this power deficit: biological determinism and social constructivism (Caprioli, 2000:52).

The first theory uses physiological differences between men and women as basis of their social roles. A fundamental contribution to this assumption was made by Francis Fukuyama who, as already mentioned, published an investigation in which he examined groups of chimpanzees, focusing his attention specifically on their violent behavior and the strategies used to build coalitions aimed at dominance. The result of the study demonstrated that the two sexes presented different strategies used to create alliances, as females tended to involve emotions while male subjects were responsible for highest rates of violence and cruelest coalition building.

Through a comparison with human beings, he consequently used biological basis to demonstrate that men are more likely to engage in war and aggression, while women are less competitive, violent and prone to conflict as they are more conciliatory and cooperative.

Fukuyama's hypothesis reflects a concept that can be easily found in the peace and conflict resolution literature: women are more peaceful than men as they traditionally provide more emotional support than men, more likely ask for help,

establish more intimate and conversation-focused friendships, and are more prone to harmonious social relations and they use negotiation instead of rivalry, competition and aggression (Yablon, 2009:305).

However, the idea of naturally peaceful women has been also highly contested. As already seen, in fact, feminists have argued that such concept is responsible for fixing sex with gender, without taking into consideration that women can also be accountable for violence during conflicts (Charlesworth, 2008:349). Moreover, some critiques have underlined how differences between men and women in their attitude towards peace are actually minor and insignificant, besides the fact that most of the investigations were conducted in Western countries, giving little attention to other ones (Yablon, 2009:306).

The second theory, social constructivism, argues that gender differences are socially constructed, tracing a clear distinction between gender and sex. Some scholars argued that the different attitude towards peace is a reflection of the wider differences existing between women and men in many aspects of their social life like for example the lack of women's social and political power. If power plays a major role in conflict resolution, women are consequently obliged to recur to mediation and compromise as not having access to power as a social resource. Many societies, in fact, traditionally depict women and children as victims who play only a passive role in conflict resolution (Caprioli, 2000:52).

Furthermore, others explain women's peacefulness through their mothering skills and maternal thinking, describing them as natural care givers, whose social role prevent them from recurring to power. According to this theory, then, the inclusion of women in decision-making would not alter policy outcomes unless societies were freed from gender stereotypes.

Some authors have underlined, besides, the existence of a link between domestic values represented in women's equality and the state's use of force, both at the national and international level. The main arguments are that discrimination against women increases the likelihood of internal conflicts, and that the greater the role of women within society, the less likely the state will use force to settle international disputes (Caprioli, 2000:54). Women should therefore be included in the building of peaceful societies. Now let us see how both men and women differently interpret this complex process.

3.3 PEACE-BUILDING: A BIASED DEFINITION

During the last two decades, the international community has showed an increasing interest in the field of peace-building. Since the early 1990s, in fact, international institutions have modified their attitude towards what has become a major industry. If until the 1980s the main aim of peace-building was that of simply maintaining a ceasefire or restoring stability in conflict areas, the last ten years of the twentieth century have witnessed a change towards international interventions able to create peaceful and democratic societies (Chinkin, 2006: 937).

Such change has followed, among others, the evolving interpretation of the concept of peace itself. As already seen, Galtung's distinction between positive and negative peace is an example of how such an important notion has evolved and transformed in time. Positive peace can be understood, using a medical comparison, as "the building of a healthy body capable of resisting diseases, relying on its own health forces or health resources" (Galtung, 1985:145). Basing peace-building operations on this wider concept of peace, activities are consequently built in order to

promote and encourage new forms of citizenship and political participation, aimed at the creation of active democracies.

Another reason for a new interest in the field of peace-building has been the changing nature of conflicts. Since the 1990s, in fact, most violent conflicts have been fought significantly among civilian populations. Between 1990 and 2000, the estimated 118 conflicts that took place all over the world resulted in around 6 million deaths, three-quarters of which were civilian (Reilly, 2009: 93).

In front of such dreadful data, it became fundamental to include civil society in peace processes aimed at the restoration of an order shattered by conflicts, of which that same population is the protagonist. Unfortunately, as many scholars have demonstrated, women have been rarely included in the international institutional design of peace-building strategies, which have in some cases actually reduced local women's agency in the society (Chinkin, 2006: 938).

To better understand the causes of this striking omission, it is fundamental to analyze the definition of peace-building. As defined by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in 1992, Peace-building is the "action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict". Such a meaning refers mainly to measures such as disarmament, restoring order, custody and possible destruction of weapons, repatriation of refugees, support for security personnel, election monitoring, human rights protection, reforming or strengthening of governmental institutions and promoting formal and informal processes of political participation (UN, 1992).

Furthermore, in 1998, the new Secretary-General Kofi Annan used a similar definition, adding the task of "providing for reintegration and rehabilitation programs, and creating conditions for resumed development". In this way, the definition

included also socio-political and economic reconstruction of society, including power sharing, establishing constitutional, administrative and legal structures and determining resource allocation (UN, 1998).

It is evident that nor the participation of women, or their fundamental role in peace-building processes have been explicitly included in any of these formal definitions. One of the main causes is that the United Nations has traditionally considered peace-building and negotiations as part of formal peace processes, rendering then invisible many women who work for peace through informal activities like mediation, dialogue, advocacy, conflict management and reconciliation (Porter, 2003: 256).

The international community has therefore worked in order to emphasise the need to ensure women's participation at all stages. One of the first steps was made by the UN General Assembly which, in a 2000 Special Session aimed at reviewing the outcomes of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing + 5, formally called for the inclusion of women in all levels of decision making, development activities and peace processes (Chinkin, 2006: 938).

Much has been done to deconstruct the notion of women as mere victims, in order to enable them to actively take part in the difficult processes of conflict resolution and transformation. All the documents, reports and legal records that have been elaborated reveal a common attempt of underlining the fundamental role played by women during conflicts, showing how simply casting them as war victims of male violence completely ignores the complex reality of women's experience, denying them agency and negating the spirit with which they have responded to the crisis (El-Bushra, 2007: 135).

Hence, women being an active part of conflicts, whether they physically

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participate as soldiers, messengers, nurses, carriers of ammunition and members of political movements, or they take care of the survival of the rest of the family while men are fighting, it is then important to guarantee their inclusion in peace agreements, both as subjects of the drafting process and as objects of the dispositions (El-Bushra, 2007: 135).

In order to do so, first it is necessary to acknowledge that violence against women is likely to be a continual phenomenon that does not stop with a formal ceasefire. An example is the case of Iraq, where women have been subjected to rape, death and restriction of movement, with no protection from the authorities. Fear has then inhibited them from leaving their houses, restricting their participation in the civil society, particularly in education, employment and political decision-making. The collapse of civilian structures has, in this case, caused continuing lawlessness and insecurity, translated in a conservative backlash responsible for totally conditioning women's lives (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 941).

Secondly, it is important to redefine the concept of security. The notion that safety can be achieved only through military force, in fact, does not take into account the gendered threats faced by women or the need to investigate and challenge power relations within the state. If the goal is that of achieving a positive peace, it is then necessary to go beyond a simple reconstruction of societies, usually based on going back and restoring positions and capacities previously existing. It is essential to transform them, in order to create new spaces and new opportunities for those women who have been empowered by the conflict (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 941).

Thirdly, any peace-building process has to take into account that women do not necessarily speak with one voice, as their interests widely vary according to their experiences and position. Former female combatants may need specific assistance in

their reintegration, particularly when perceived by society as having transgressed gender stereotypes or when totally excluded by demobilization programs directed only to men. Girls who have been abducted and then obliged to marry their kidnappers, and women who have been raped and are consequently pregnant or have been infected with sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, may need medical and psychological care. It is then important for international agencies to have adequate information about local initiatives run by women's groups, in order to be aware of which are the issues within the specific context that women themselves indicate as prior (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 942).

3.4   PEACE IN FEMINIST TERMS

As the achievement of greater gender equality and women empowerment is usually not seen as a priority within any peace-building process, it is important to stress that any egalitarian vision of peace as a concept embodies equality between ethnic and regional groups, as well as among sexes. Enloe (1983) defines peace in feminist terms as "women's achievement of control over their lives". How can this be accomplished? Within a community enjoying "positive" peace, not only the absence of armed and gender conflict is required, but also the absence of poverty and the conditions that recreate it (Pankhurst, 2003:12).

If "negative peace" can be achieved also in conditions of gender disparity, given the absence of efficiency imperatives that push for a change, "positive peace" renders gender issues important elements capable of directly affecting the efficacy of peace-building processes (Pankhurst, 2003:13).

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The classic approach used by negotiators, mediators and leaders is, however, that of firstly ending hostilities and consequently prevent the killing, trying to ensure that those warring parties considered to represent the views of the general population will actually sit at the peace table. This approach, unfortunately, completely ignores those fundamental inequalities, existing within any society, able of further inflaming the conflict.

As Secretary General Kofi Annan stated in his report concerning "Women and Peace and Security":

> The leadership of parties to conflict is male-dominated and men are chosen to participate at the peace table. The desire to bring peace at any cost may result in a failure to involve women and consider their needs and concerns. In addition, women's organisations often do not have the resources needed to effectively influence lengthy peace negotiations processes (Dolgopol, 2006:159).

Any change of method consequently requires the acknowledgement by those engaged in peace processes of the fact that gender issues are, in fact, political in nature. That is why according to Dolgopol (2006:258-259) there are many reasons or justifications that have been used to explain the exclusion of women from peace tables. One of them is that representatives of combatants usually consider women as a threat to their power. Power often being seen as a zero-sum game, any increase in the number of actors involved in the peace process can cause a decrease in the power of the original ones.

Other frequent excuses are those based on women's practical inability to make relevant contributions to the process because of their lack of experience in political leadership and in diplomatic settings, on their not being culturally accepted authority figures able to represent constituents, and on their usually not having sufficient funds available to travel to meetings.

All of these reasons share a fundamental aspect: they do not take into consideration the fundamental roles played by women in war and other types of violent conflict. For many years, in fact, these remained almost invisible throughout the world. Women have been usually portrayed merely as innocent and passive victims, while men were the main actors both in the battlefield and at the decision-making table. Only until recently, women's roles have started to be discussed both academically and politically. This has led to a widespread debate about the necessity of ensuring women's presence at the negotiating tables.

Moreover, Porter (2003:249) illustrates three reasons supporting the importance of women's attendance as they are affected by conflicts and thus by the consequences of any peace agreement have to be involved; inclusive social justice demands women's participation at all stages of peace processes; women's presence makes a difference to the sorts of issues generally included on peace processes. Therefore, the following is the analysis of each of the three points.

First of all, women and girls are enormously affected mainly because of their subordinate position within society. Because of men's patriarchal ownership of women's bodies, they are frequently considered to be "property" to be targeted, causing physical and psychological suffering. Moreover, they usually also become responsible for the care of children, old people, wounded and the ill, experiencing a shift of social responsibilities once held by their men. Those unique ways in which women are affected by conflicts, then need specific attention. Women's subordination is consequently exacerbated by peace agreements, which do not properly address them (Porter, 2003:249).

Secondly, a peace accord should aim not only at the end of the conflict, but also at the creation of a new, just and equal society. This is possible only if initiatives

and activities of conflict resolution are undertaken before the actual peace negotiation, when hostilities are still ongoing. Women should then be included in all stages of the peace process, in this way allowing those subjects who are practically involved to concretely contribute to the elaboration of a new legislation, new governmental structures and new social institutions (Porter, 2003:249).

Thirdly, women's participation is fundamental as it helps to bring on the negotiation table new issues and topics, being moreover frequently responsible for the adoption of different approaches to conflict resolution. It is important to stress, however, that women's presence does not automatically guarantee that gender issues will be taken into consideration (Porter, 2003:250).

These three points help us to understand why women have an expanded notion of peace-building, integral to their view of social justice. According to women, in fact, sustainable peace requires three main elements: fulfillment of human needs, democratic and just institutions, and ongoing peace processes (Porter, 2003: 257).

The first one reflects the reality that many women face during wartime, when peace-building activities arise in the struggle of everyday contexts. Consequently, peace is not conceived as an abstract goal, but is grounded in the immediacy of fulfilling human needs through local, national and state funding, and the development of consulting agencies and legal advisors (Porter, 2003: 257).

The second element is strictly linked to the first one, as every notion of peace aimed at meeting everyday needs has to be founded on social, political and economic structures able to guarantee democratic principles of participation, rights, equality and social justice. Inclusiveness becomes fundamental, as it is exclusion, inequity, discrimination and social cleavage that usually cause violence (Porter, 2003: 257). The last factor reflects on the fact that all those ongoing formal and informal

processes, aimed at promoting dialogue and cooperation, constitute peace. Positive relationships, based on equality, reconciliation of differences, healing of wounds and restored esteem, are fundamental both at the grassroots level and during the aftermath of violence (Porter, 2003: 257).

According to feminist scholars, therefore, building peace is a process that requires time. It is shaped by the characteristics of the specific context and its historical, social, cultural, religious, political, economic and regional elements.

Within the extensive discourse concerning the need for visibility of women in peace and conflicts, for a broader understanding of security issues and for the understanding of the fundamental interconnectedness of all forms of violence besides its gendered dimension, a very interesting contribution was given by the feminist peace and conflict theory (FPCT), which this dissertation illustrate further in the next session. .

3.4.1 FEMINIST PEACE AND CONFLICT THEORY (FPCT): EXPLAINING WOMEN'S EXCLUSION IN PEACE PROCESSES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION

As all theories emerging from a hybrid phenomenon, FPCT was nurtured by a variety of disciplines and methodologies. It analyzes the consequences of the silencing of women's experience and knowledge and its possible solutions understanding both the essentialist side of the "female nature", as well as gender as a discursive practice (Weber, 2006:1). Moreover, it analyzes war and conflict through a variety of approaches ranging from historical accounts of women in war to the psychological scrutinizing of gendered upbringing of children. The theory was further shaped by the contribution of women in liberation movements in Latin America,

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Africa and Asia, as well as the critique on western feminism by working class, Black and lesbian scholars (Weber, 2006:1).

As already seen in the brief historical analysis of the existing bond between women and peace, many feminists early questioned the continuum of violence both in the family and in the public domain. If pacifists used the fact that for the first time realities encountered by women in wars were brought to the surface as a moral mobilizing factor against war, patriotic suffragists used it to mobilize more capacities for a just war or revolution.

For the patriotic faction, as for liberal feminists on the question of women in the army, the key issues were participation and decision-making. For feminist pacifists, women had a vital contribution to make to peace. What is interesting is that for both groups it was women, rather than gender, which became the decisive category for both analysis as well as offering a possible solution (Weber, 2006:4).

In the early 1970s, conventional historiography saw the coinage of the new term "Her-story" as opposed to "His-story" and stressing the absence of women from war. As already seen earlier, scholars argued the distinction between a biological and a socially constructed concept of gender. Essentialist feminists sustained that not only war affects women disproportionately, but it is also the ultimate attack on the inherent "feminine" peacefulness of women enacted by motherhood and caring (Weber, 2006:4).

Liberal and equality feminists such as Reardon and Pateman described, instead, the conditioning of men towards aggression and women to submission as the patriarchal contract that the legitimization of violence and war is based on. Meanwhile, Simon de Beauvoir, an existentialist, introduced in 1949 a more constructed notion of gender based on the concept that existence preceded essence.

Being women fabricated as the "Other" and being the feminine attributed to nature, women have been denied access to public space and political decision-making (Weber, 2006:5).

It was only in the 1990s that post-modernist or deconstructivist feminists[5] such as Judith Butler argued that gender, as well as any other identity, is created through discursive practice. A broad variety of liberal, post-structural and anti-essentialist feminists further argued that, if gender is constructed, it can be de-constructed and has no prior relation to the sex of a person.

In their early stages, in fact, feminists aimed purely at documenting women's voices and called for their inclusion in different disciplines and non-academic domains. To do so, they appealed to essential gender differences and argued that women are essentially different in that they have an alternative way of making sense of the world and acting within it (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Brock-Utne, 1985, 1989). However, as soon as the part men played in oppressing and excluding women was established, feminism faced serious divisions. Understanding the full range of women's experiences has entailed taking into consideration not only the differences and structured inequalities between men and women but also the divisions and differences that exist between women themselves.

For example, African-American women as well as non-Western Feminists criticised the women's movement as well as feminist peace theory and activism for two main reasons. Firstly, "White feminism" was criticised for creating a homogenous, monolithic image of "third world women" as victims, which replicated in fact the patriarchal normative setting by silencing anybody conceived as the

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[5] Approach to feminist theory which originated mainly with the need of some feminist scholars to move beyond liberal and radical feminism in order to include post-modern and post-structuralist theories. In particular, Judith Butler was among the first authors to criticise the distinction between sex and gender, and therefore between biological and socially constructed identities, arguing that language is responsible for defining them.

"Other". Secondly, the narration and accounts of women who participated or fought in liberation movements and claimed their position as liberating challenged the idea of women's inherent peacefulness and maternal thinking (Weber, 2006:6).

Even feminist peace and conflict theory showed a tendency to portray examples of female warrior queens, ancient goddesses and female fighters (Jean d'Arc, Calamity Jane, Mary Reed) as individual exemptions and as temporary transgressors (Weber, 2006:6).

Despite the different interpretations, feminists tend to agree that taking the variety of women's situations and experiences into account is not simply a matter of including those, which had been omitted. Many feminists have insisted that in order to transform disciplinary paradigms as well as social and political structures, there is a need to move beyond and critically examine how these practices of exclusion take place and what enables them. Despite the different scopes, both conflict resolution and feminism emerged in 1960s as a way to map alternative paths for social and political analysis and change by creating multidisciplinary bodies of scholarship that emphasised the relationship between theory, research and practice (Weber, 2006:6).

Equal access to active service in the armed forces is one of the primary discourses that developed in feminist peace and conflict theory as for equality feminists it meant the right for women to hold any position traditionally restricted to men. Some scholars, such as Judith Hicks-Stiehm (1988), have argued for equal access for men and women in the military in order to demystify masculinity and the role of the protector. Others, such as Sheila Tobias (1990) have argued on grounds of soldier-citizenship, which means that if first class citizenship is gained through access to military positions, women need to have equal access in order to gain full citizenship and a better access into the realm of high-level politics (Weber, 2006:7).

For a large number of feminist conflict theorists, however, women's active role in the military was not the answer to a less militarized-masculine and dichotomic society, as it perhaps asserted the right of women to equal access to all spheres but it also showed the deeply internalized and militarized masculinity of military spheres. The consequences of a highly gendered soldier and fighter identity were not only felt by female fighters during the struggle, but also during the post-conflict transformation that then forced them to identify with the gender roles traditionally attributed to women (Weber, 2006:7).

From the late 1980s, feminist peace and conflict theories were built on the connectedness of nation-state building, masculine initiation into the military body, the myth of the protector and the innocent and civilian victim of war. Scholars such as Cynthia Enloe (1983, 1989, and 1999) wrote extensively on the militarized masculinity of western armies considered as a foundation for nation state building and national identity reassurance (Weber, 2006:8).

Among the concepts that FPCT challenged, is the notion of maternal thinking, and thus the inherent peacefulness in the mother figure, was deconstructed for example by Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1996), Laura Kaplan (1994), whom claimed that without the collaboration of the mother-character, the legitimization of violence enacted by men could not function. The mother's acceptances of death as well as their active part in mobilizing their societies by creating enemy images were questioned. By claiming the moral superiority of women through their biological, universal female inherent peacefulness, critics highlighted the danger of a new norm setting, which could only intervene in policy making by moral appeal.

The caretaker loses its critical and pacifist non-violence space when taking unconditional care of those perpetuating violence. Besides, Benhabib (1992) stressed

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that by perpetuating the private/public divide men are encouraged to pass from nature to culture, while women remain in a "timeless universe, condemned to repeat the cycle of life". What happened in former Yugoslavia is a clear example of how motherhood and caring can be used for nationalist mobilization and recruitment, and of how women were forced to become the archive and thus the victims of nationalist identity construction (Weber, 2006:9).

By questioning the relationship between citizenship and war participation, the issue of gendered citizenship as the enactment of agency in the political realm gained further weight in FPCT. Similarly to what was written about the French Revolution, Virginia Woolf in her 1936 novel "The Three Guineas" spun the thread between militarism and enforced invisibility of women, underlining how domination of man over women is legitimised from domestic relations to warfare. Institutions such as the military, the state, public space and International Relations were considered unacceptable due to the underlying patriarchal construction of exclusion and silencing. Since the 1990s, however, a methodology of transformation has been developed. Feminists such as Spivak (1999) used "strategic essentialism[6]" in order to overcome the essentialist notion of gender and identity in general. They questioned and contextualized grand narratives, bringing the experience of those who had been silenced as to perpetuate a less abstract analyzing of realities and strategies (Weber, 2006:10).

The realm of International Relations (IR) and the relation between states also became constitutive for FPCT. In the early 1990s, scholars challenged the notion of security used in IR theory. Tickner (1991), for example, reformulated Hans Morgenthau's principles of political realism by questioning the notion of security as

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[6] Concept elaborated by Gayatri Spivak within post-colonial theory in order to explain how groups mobilize on the basis of shared gendered, political or cultural identities for the purpose of representing themselves despite the existing differences.

military strength. Understanding power as abstract and absolute rather than relational, and the political sphere as objective and independent from the domestic sphere, IR theory was based on the ideal of a masculine state functioning independent of human agency. On the contrary, feminist IR theorists argued that the dichotomic constructs of masculinity and femininity, bound closely to the concept of citizen-warriors, depended intrinsically on the devaluation of femininity (Weber, 2006:12).

Looking at security as a multilevel and comprehensive framework, in which different forms of violence contribute to the creation of insecurity, adding a gendered perspective is therefore paramount to transform our understanding of peace and conflict. Appeals to masculinity are used to encourage aggressive behavior in soldiering and in the conduct of war. To be a soldier, one must first be a "man". This association is true also in everyday life, where veterans returning to a civilian life are inherently considered being good citizens. Consequently, women are hardly perceived as first-class citizens capable of holding power positions. Moreover, if patriotism and service to one's country are associated with war fighting, any other types of activity equally valuable for the political, economic and social life are neglected. Gendered discourses, therefore, influence the way strategic planners act and represent their state, narrowing the possible ways in which national security policies can be developed. A strategy marked as "feminine", such as preferring negotiations over coercive threatening, is thus disqualified as to maintain one's credibility (Tickner, 1995:49).

3.5 FROM GENDER TO LAW: THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Institutions responsible for law-making within the international legal order have always been, and still are, dominated by men. For this reason, both their

structure and the substance of the norms reproduce male experiences, without giving proper representation to women's ones, subsequently questioning the claimed universal character of international human rights (Evans, 1998: 143).

As we have seen, the distinction between public and private life reflects itself the masculine character of the norms because of the primacy given to the spheres of workplace, law, politics and economics, intellectual and cultural life, commonly regarded as the province of men. The gendered differentiation has been regarded as a "metaphor for the social patterning of gender, a description of sociological practice and a category grounded in experience" (Charlesworth, 1994: 69).

What constitutes the fundamental concern is, then, whether violations of human rights within the family, which contribute to the maintenance of the patriarchal control, should be included in the realm of human rights theory and action, overcoming the male character of the norm, which has been used as basis to develop and define them (Bunch, 1990: 492). Violence against women, in fact, is essentially political, as it derives from those structural relationships of power, domination and privilege between men and women found in the society. "Female subordination runs so deep that it is still viewed as inevitable or natural, rather than seen as a politically constructed reality maintained by patriarchal interests, ideology and institutions" (Bunch, 1990: 491).

It is clear, then, that no actual progress for women will be achieved until the gendered nature of the human rights system itself is recognized and transformed. Obviously, there is no such thing like a unique and global women's point of view, as distinctions of culture, class, religion, geographical area and race should be considered when talking about women's human rights. It is important, however, to be aware of the existence of commonalities that make us capable of talking about a wider

issue, like the fact that women's concerns are regarded as a distinct and limited category, compared to men's ones which are usually referred to as general human concerns (Charlesworth, 1994: 63).

The reason why this research deems that it is important to briefly analyze the role of international law in relation to women's participation in peace-building is that all those processes aimed at resolving conflicts usually take place in the framework of international treaties, customary law and general principles of law. These include norms and principles deriving from human rights law, international humanitarian law, international criminal law, prohibition of the use of force in international relations, the right to economic and social rights and to sustainable development, the obligation for peaceful settlement of disputes, the emerging law of transitional justice, refugee law and the principles on internal displacement (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 942).

The key question that we should try to answer relates to the ability of international law to preserve and sustain women's interests in peace-building. Many critiques have been advanced underlining both its biased structural hierarchy, responsible for silencing and marginalizing women, as well as its colonial origins, blamed for producing standards considered not to be objective and impartial.

International human rights should be the foundation of every peace-building process. Unfortunately, this does not automatically guarantee equal protection for women and men's rights. History proves, in fact, that post conflict scenarios are usually characterised by the need to go back to traditional life and practices, often responsible for women's inequality.

It is necessary, then, to include the concept of women's rights within post-conflict national legal systems and constitutions, providing it with priority over religious and customary law. Evidence demonstrates that, although many

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constitutions produced during peace-building processes have included the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of sex; few states have actually managed to implement it. An example is the 2005 Iraq Constitution. Iraqi women's groups have underlined how the guarantees of women's rights assessed within the legal document have not been actually observed, Islam being the basic source of law. Male community leaders could, then, consolidate stereotypical images of women through their religious interpretation of women's rights (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 944).

When we talk about human rights, however, we should not think only about equality and cultural rights, but also about economic and social rights. Any peace-building process should, in fact, create conditions where both men and women have, just to cite few, the right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health, the right to just and favorable conditions of work and the right to education guaranteed on a non-discriminatory basis. In Rwanda, for example, male prisoners accused of offences after the genocide were given drugs for HIV/AIDS to keep them alive for trial, while women victims of rape were not (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 946).

Another fundamental concern that should be taken into account is that of gendered-based violence against women because it is a frequent issue in peace-building processes. Peace agreements however, rarely underline the need to eliminate it, as violence is hardly ever considered to be a threat to peace-building. Specifically, there are two issues of violence against women that are regarded as particularly relevant in this field. The first is the fact that, although the presence of international or national military and civilian forces can provide the civilian population with safe space, it is also true that the presence of large numbers of unattached men is

responsible for physical security concerns for women, as it happened in the case of the Democratic Republic of Congo, where reports of sexual exploitation by UN peacekeepers were presented (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 947). Training in gender relations, cultural customs, democratic values and human rights should be provided to police forces, immigration officers, security services and all the personnel involved in peace-building and peace keeping operations, in order to avoid increased prostitution, sexual violence and connivance in trafficking of women (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 947).

The second issue regards the accountability for crimes committed during conflict. International criminal law has created specific principles dealing with sexual violence. An example is the jurisdiction purposely elaborated for the ad hoc international tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. However, the limitations faced by the tribunals in dealing with violence against women have been highly criticised (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 948).

This research believes that the legal framework provided by international law can actually play an important role in supporting the need to promote women's involvement in peace-building. The brief analysis of those human rights that should constitute the basis of every peace-building process has demonstrated how it is fundamental to guarantee the presence of women's perspectives, in order to implement those rights that have been claimed to be universal. It is only through the participation of women in peace-building tasks that major issues like gendered violence, otherwise probably not analyzed at a male-dominated peace table, would then be assessed.

After having seen which are the main theoretical basis on which any attempt of including women in peace-building processes should be undertaken, it is now the

moment to explore what has already been practically done to deconstruct the notion of women as mere victims, in order to enable them to actively take part in the difficult processes of conflict resolution and transformation.

All the documents, reports and legal records that have been elaborated reveal a common attempt of underlining the fundamental role played by women during conflicts, showing how simply casting them as war victims of male violence completely ignores the complex reality of women's experience, denying them agency and negating the spirit with which they have responded to the crisis (El-Bushra, 2007: 135). In particular, the analyzed documents have marked important steps forward by acknowledging that violence against women is a complex and continual phenomenon that does not stop with a formal ceasefire; understanding that the concept of security needs to be redefined in order to include the gendered threats faced by women and take into account their different experiences; and including mechanisms that allow the gathering of adequate information about local initiatives run by women's groups as to be aware of the issues within the specific context that women themselves indicate as prior (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 942).

Taking into account what has been said above, this study is going to analyze how some of the different areas that constitute the international legal framework have worked to incorporate a gender perspective, demonstrating how being able to transform and evolve can effectively promote the achievement of women's rights in the interrelated areas of political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights.

3.5.1 GENDER AND TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE: THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT (ICC)

The field of transitional justice has notably evolved in the last decades, adapting itself to the changing nature of conflicts. The main challenging element, when dealing with this topic, is that of balancing the normative imperative of justice against the pragmatic requirements of peace and reconciliation. This difficult task is usually solved through shifting from the formal retributive to the informal restorative model of justice (Reilly, 2009: 96).

As evidence suggests, war crimes against women have been taken into account only recently. Some scholars attribute the responsibility of this gendered exclusion to the incorporation of traditional human rights hierarchies into transitional justice practices; while others blame the domination of war and security discourses by men and the logic of masculinity for having obscured women's labor and bodies within conflicts.

As a consequence, "if transitional justice is to include gender justice, the gender biases underpinning ideas of nationalism, war/peace/security, human rights, liberalism and so on, must be problematized in the process" (Reilly, 2009: 97). It is necessary, then, to promote models of transitional justice that try to overcome traditional outcomes that are territorially bounded and based on a distinction between private and public-male dominated spheres. Instead, transition should be framed as an opportunity to initiate a bottom-up transformation based on critically interpreted human rights and aimed at reaching women's equality (Reilly, 2009: 99).

Unfortunately, gender crimes in post-conflict justice processes started to receive proper attention only in the 1990s, despite the fact that women's vulnerability to rape and sexual violence has always been constant in the history of conflicts. Both the Nuremberg Charter (1945) and the Geneva Conventions do not specifically list

wartime rape and sexual violence as war crimes or crimes against humanity demanding prosecution.

Consequently, the Global Campaign for Women's Human Rights initiated in the early 1990s decided to address the issue at the international level. In order to pursue gender justice in conflict situations, the movement chose to intervene directly into the statutes and procedures of those ad hoc organs charged with guaranteeing transitional justice: the International Criminal Tribunals for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTFY) and Rwanda (ICTR), and especially the proposed permanent International Criminal Court (Reilly, 2009: 102).

Thanks to the joined lobbying effort and drafting work of the ICC NGO Women's Caucus for Gender Justice, created in 1997, and a wider NGO coalition, the Rome Statute of the ICC resulted in a document attentive to mainstream women and gender-specific concerns in international humanitarian and criminal law. Firstly, it explicitly listed a wide range of gender crimes as crimes against humanity and war crimes, that is to say rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity (Art. 7). Secondly, it codified specific gender-sensitive provisions and rules of procedure in order to guarantee the implementation of its articles. For example, the court is required to establish a Victims and Witnesses Unit, aimed at ensuring the safety of victims and witnesses, and to provide counseling and other necessary services (Reilly, 2009: 102).

Moreover, rules of evidence are established in order to prevent attacks to the credibility of victims or witnesses based on past sexual behavior, legal advisors with experience about violence against women should be appointed, gender balance among judges and the all ICC personnel should be present, and new ways for women's

voices to be heard are created as victims are allowed to participate in proceedings even if not called as witnesses (Reilly, 2009: 103).

The ICC Statute is, then, a perfect example of the great contribution that the inclusion of women's perspectives and experiences can bring about in conflict resolution and peace-building processes, creating new opportunities for transforming pre-existing terms of power within societies.

3.6 WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND THE UNITED NATIONS (UN)

From a legal point of view, the development of conflict-oriented normative areas has played a fundamental role in implementing a gendered perspective into peace and security at the international level. More specifically, the developments of the *jus in bello*, the set of laws that come into effect once a war has begun, have provided new provisions regarding protection of non-combatants, still mostly women, humanitarian assistance and repression of specific war crimes such as rape. Achievements in the realm of the *jus contra bellum*, which includes laws on the prevention of war, allowed the introduction of new multi-level intervention modalities that included long-term, informal activities carries out by women. However, it is mainly due to enhanced soft law instruments such as declarations, resolutions and guidelines, as well as developing international institutional and political machinery that new programmatic documents and dedicated organisations have been created.

One of the first international organisations to start striving for the inclusion of women's rights and perspective within the work and outcomes of its agencies is, of course, the United Nations. Undisputed protagonist of gender mainstreaming in peace politics, the organisation defines gender strategies through its main organs such as the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretariat, while specialized

agencies and departments implement such strategies through their action plans and programs. The general agenda to promote and guarantee gender equality has been developed through the Beijing Platform for Action, which is the outcome of the fourth world conference on women that took place in China in 1995, and is implemented by all the specialized agencies and bodies such as the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), merged in 2011 into UN Women together with the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues (OSAGI), and the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW).

As stated during the Beijing conference (UN, 1995):

> Local, national, regional and global peace is attainable and is inextricably linked with the advancement of women, who are a fundamental force for leadership, conflict resolution and the promotion of lasting peace at all levels.

In 1948, thanks to the pressure exercised by the Commission on the Status of Women, the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights first introduced a gender perspective, which can be already identified in the preamble where both the words men and women are used. However, feminists have underlined how the declaration negatively defined women in its articles as a vulnerable group which should be defended. Although this could find an explanation in the historical context in which the document was drafted, moment characterised by the necessity to protect women as new subjects within the concept of citizenship, following legal texts have instead tried to empower women as active and strong social actors, not only protecting them but also enabling them to legally fight gendered discriminations (Calloni, 2002: 70).

In the next section this study is going to briefly present the main documents and initiatives produced by the United Nations through the years.

3.6.1 THE UNITED NATIONS (UN) LEGAL FRAMEWORKSFOR PROMOTINGWOMEN'S HUMAN RIGHTS

There is no doubt that the principle of non-discrimination on the basis of sex has found firm protection in international law. In addition to it, further important provisions have been introduced in numerous other international documents and treaties. Apart from the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we can find examples in the UN General Assembly Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), in the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (1966), in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), and in the UN Declaration for Eliminating all Forms of Discrimination against Women (1967). These documents have included, just to cite few, the protection of motherhood, paid maternity leave, equal rights during marriage and its dissolution, equal pay for equal work, rights to participate in public life without discrimination, prohibition of death sentence on pregnant women, and many others measures (Stamatopoulou, 1995:37).

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly has often been described as an international bill of rights for women. It outstandingly integrated in an organic text drafted by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, a body established in 1946 to monitor the situation of women, all the other measures and provisions concerning women that could be found in international treaties existing at that time. CEDAW not only defines what constitutes discrimination against women ("...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic,

social, cultural, civil or any other field"), but it also sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination (United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2006).

By accepting the Convention, States committed themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms, including:

- To incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women;

- To establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and

- To ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organisations or enterprises.

Very importantly, the Convention is the only human rights treaty that affirms the reproductive rights of women and targets culture and tradition as influential forces shaping gender roles and family relations.

It is important to note, however, that despite the ratification by many countries, the document has been frequently signed with reservations, mostly on religious and cultural grounds, which actually undermine its conceptual framework, regardless of the existing prohibition of such kind of reservations posed by Article 28. (Stamatopoulou, 1995: 38)

CEDAW was adopted during the United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985) which not only placed women in the international intergovernmental agenda, but also facilitated women's cooperation in order to exchange policies and create new working relationships. While the official delegations of the General Assembly were

taking part to the three international meetings which took place in Mexico City in 1975, in Copenhagen in 1980 and Nairobi in 1985, NGOs and other non-governmental organisations carried out other not less significant gatherings and activities aimed at accompanying the official meetings and putting more pressure on national governments for a deeper awareness of the necessity to include women's rights in their political agendas (Friedman, 1995: 23).

The international documents that have been drafted during the United Nations Decade for Women still to date constitute the backbone of women's human rights defense. In order to guarantee their full implementation, regional bodies were created including the Latin American Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights (CLADEM), the Asia-Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (APWLD), and the Women in Law and Development in Africa (WiLDAF) (Friedman, 1995: 24).

Moreover, UNIFEM itself was created in 1976 after the first international conference in Mexico City in order to promote women's security, progress in women's access to justice, increase in the political representation, protection of women's right to land, preservation of women's indigenous cultures and many other issues that until today constitutes a fundamental part of the United Nations agenda.

Naturally, some aspects of the United Nations Decade for Women were object of criticisms. CEDAW, for example, was criticised especially by the Third World with regard to the issue of violence against women and the need to abolish the distinction between public and private life, in order to eradicate those cultural or religious traditions and prejudices responsible for human rights violations against women. Between requesting either a revision of the document or an interpretation in the form of a General Comment, NGOs decided to choose the second line and, in 1992, the Committee issued a Comment stating that the prohibition of violence

against women was in fact included in the Convention. As a result of the international pressure placed on this specific issue, in 1993 the Commission also adopted the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women, which in Article 1 defined violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual, or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life" (Stamatopoulou, 1995: 39-40).

The General Assembly adopted the Declaration in the same year in which the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights took place in Vienna, Austria. This event was soon followed by the Fourth World Conference on Women that were held in Beijing in 1995. Major result of the conference was the launch of the already-mentioned Beijing Platform for Action, an agenda aimed at the enhancement of the social, economic and political empowerment of women through the implementation of the Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (Jenkins and Reardon, 2007: 221-222). The twelve areas of concern, which constituted the core of the action of the Platform, provided the precedents that made the elaboration of the Security Council Resolution 1325 about Women, Peace and Security (2000) possible. The resolution was the first document issued by the Security Council directly addressing the disproportionate and unique impact of war on women, and women's under-valued and under-utilised contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.

The maintenance of peace and security at the global, regional and local levels, together with the prevention of policies of aggression and ethnic cleansing and the resolution of armed conflict, is crucial for the protection of the human rights of

women and girl-children, as well as for the elimination of all forms of violence against them and their use as weapons of war (Jenkins and Reardon, 2007: 222).

The General Assembly, reviewing the Platform for Action in 2000, decided to fix another re-examination of the Agenda in 2005 at a so-called "Beijing 10" meeting. The review session, however, turned out to be merely a technical discussion within the Commission of the Status of Women. There are many voices which have been lately requesting a fifth world conference, in order to face the recently precipitously deteriorated worldwide situation of women, which has been recently de-prioritized by the UN, and the fact that the Beijing Platform has proved insufficient to secure tangible change for women worldwide.

3.6.2 UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS (UNSCR) 1325, 1889 AND 2122

Approved in 2000 after a Special Session of the General Assembly reviewing the progress of the outcomes of the Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing + 5, Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 on Women, Peace and Security is the first document approved by the Security Council dealing exclusively with women as subjects, in their own right, in situations of conflict and transition from conflict. It covers the inter-linked thematic areas of participation, protection, prevention, and relief and recovery.

Thanks to many months of sustained advocacy, which led to an unprecedented level of women's mobilization and engagement with the UN Security Council, the legally binding resolution addressed few fundamental issues: the need to protect women during conflicts; the inclusion of women in peace processes through the assurance of a "gender perspective" in post-conflict settlements, "including the

special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction"; the endorsement of "measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary"; the approval of "gender balance" policies in the participation throughout all processes for decision-making, policy making and operationalizing measures for post-conflict peace-building; "gender mainstreaming" policies in the formulation of all peace-building policies, practices and law and in their implementation (Chinkin and Charlesworth, 2006: 938-939).

Following the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Action Plan, the resolution made gender mainstreaming one of its fundamental elements. As the United Nations defines gender equality as the goal to ensure equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men, girls and boys, the strategy used to achieve this goal is precisely "gender mainstreaming", that is to say "bringing the perceptions, experiences, knowledge and interests of women and men to bear on policy-making, planning and decision-making" (Porter, 2003: 246).

The resolution was the first official document to recognize the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women, and the under-valued and under-utilised contributions women make to conflict prevention, peace-keeping, conflict resolution and peace-building. It also stressed the importance of the equal and full participation of women as active agents in peace and security (Black, 2009:1).

The campaign initiated by civil society was not the only factor, which led to the adoption of this unprecedented document. The Presidency of the Security Council was assumed in 2000 by Ambassador Anwarul Chowdhury of Bangladesh, key

proponent of a resolution on women. However, he was forced to settle for a Presidential Statement in which he cited the inextricable link between gender equality and security, paving the way for the language later adopted in the resolution. In the meanwhile, two other key proponent of the advancement of women gained their seat on the Security Council: Jamaica, with the only female Ambassador to the UN at the time; and Namibia, which had recently hosted the Namibia Declaration and Platform for Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective of Peace Support Operations (Black, 2009:6).

Moreover, at that time feminist theory and other scholarly research also began providing powerful evidence to support both the unique impacts of conflict on women and children, and the differentiated prospects for successful peace-building when women are active agents of change. Such thinking led to the need for the deconstruction of masculine and feminine roles and behaviors, thus emphasizing the differentiated impacts on and contribution of women in decision-making and the prevention and resolution of conflicts. The Millennium Development Goals included several indicators on the participation of women in society, including equal access to education, and participation in governance (Black, 2009:8).

Another important accomplishment made after the approval of the SCR 1325 was the establishment by both General Assembly and Security Council of the UN Peace-building Commission (PBC) in 2006. Aimed at dealing with the needs of countries emerging from conflicts and at assisting them in the creation of a sustainable peace, the commission reaffirmed "the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace building" (Charlesworth, 2008: 350).

Many analyzes and studies have been conducted in order to evaluate the implementation of the resolution, generally highlighting a gap in the full internalization of its principles both by the Security Council itself, as well as by member states. Much resistance remains to the active participation of women throughout many regions of the world, particularly in strongly patriarchal societies where such policies can have unintended consequences. For example, few years ago a young Afghan woman who owned her own construction business was granted refuge in Canada after her family and Taliban members threatened to kill her, as an International Security Assistance Forces (ISAF) article describing her presidential ambitions was published in a local paper. Policies should be evaluated with an understanding of the short-term risks to populations and the impacts on the long-term prospects for equality (Black, 2009:9).

Despite the difficulties in its implementation, the resolution has caused much progress when considering the scenario that characterised the international arena at the time of its adoption. A search of all 120 Security Council Resolutions adopted in the two-year period between 1998 and 2000 was conducted by examining the presence of at least one of five key words: women, girls, females, gender and mothers. Results showed that only 12 per cent of resolutions contained one of these five key words, and that of those only eight were country-specific and thematic. Of the 106 conflict-specific resolutions that were adopted in the two-year period, less than 5 per cent contained at least one of the five key words. In conclusion, it is fair to say that despite its shortcomings, the resolution marked a significant change in language and a shift in the frequency of references to women in conflict (Black, 2009:18).

Unanimously adopted in October 2009 on the occasion of an open debate marking the 9th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, United Nations Security Council

Resolution 1889 reaffirmed the Council's commitment to women, peace, and security agenda by addressing obstacles to women's participation in peace processes, and calling for the development of global indicators to track the implementation of resolution 1325, as well as the improvement of international and national responses to the needs of women in conflict and post-conflict settings (United Nations Security Council, 2000).

In particular, key elements of the resolution are:

• Increasing women's participation in peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peace-building.

• Emphasizing the responsibility of States to protect women and girls in armed conflict, including from sexual violence, and to prosecute perpetrators of violence.

• Including provisions related to gender equality and women's empowerment when renewing the mandates of United Nations missions.

• Requesting that all country reports to the Security Council include information on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, and their needs in post-conflict situations.

• Encouraging States to design strategies to address the needs of women and girls during post-conflict situations, including access to education, socio-economic conditions, and gender equality.

• Protecting women and girls in refugee camps by guaranteeing humanitarian access.

• Requesting the Secretary-General to submit a set of indicators to track the implementation of resolution 1325.

As Asha Hagi Elmi Amin stated after the resolution was adopted, representing the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, the resolution laid out important steps on international obligations to ensuring women's rights in conflict. However, impediments to its implementation would remain without accountability, strong high-level leadership, a coherent approach and concrete monitoring mechanisms to address gaps were needed (NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, 2009).

Finally, in October 2013 the Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 2122, aimed at implementing stronger measures for women to participate in all phases of conflict prevention, resolution and recovery, placing the onus of providing them with seats at the peace table on Member States, regional organisations and the United Nations itself.

Adopted during an open debate on "Women, rule of law and transitional justice in conflict-affected situations", in which concern was expressed about the need for a significant implementation shift that would allow a decrease in women's under-representation in conflict prevention and resolution, as well as in peace-building, the resolution was the seventh document adopted by the Council with the aim of substantially addressing the participation of women in the peace and security agenda (United Nations Security Council, 2013).

In order to foster monitoring on the work done on issues relating to women, peace and security (WPS) by the organisation itself, the Council requested:

- More regular briefings by UN-Women Executive Director and the Secretary-General's Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict.

- The Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peace-keeping Operations to provide updates during their regular briefings on issues relevant to that topic.

- The Secretary-General and his special envoys and representatives to invite women to participate in discussions on preventing and resolving conflict, maintaining peace and security, and building post-conflict peace.

- All United Nations-established commissions investigating situations on the Council's agenda to include information on the impacts of armed conflict on women and girls.

- The Secretary-General to make gender expertise available to all United Nations mediation teams, to support the appointment of women as senior mediators and to commission a study on the implementation of resolution 1325 (United Nations Security Council, 2013).

- During the above-mentioned meeting, UN-Women Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka pointed out that while gains had been made, they had not been as consistent or sustained as they should be. For example, spending on gender equality and women's empowerment in peace-building had increased, but rarely reached the 15 per cent minimum set by the Secretary-General's Seven-Point Action Plan on Gender-Responsive Peace-building 1325 (United Nations Security Council, 2013).

Moreover, the numbers of senior women in United Nations field missions also remained relatively stagnant. She noted, however, the growth of a "new generation" of gender-responsive mediation practice including early and regular consultations with women's rights groups, gender advisers for mediation teams, and efforts to

ensure that crimes against women were addressed in ceasefire and peace negotiations (United Nations, 2013).

3.6.3 UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS (UNSCR) 1820, 1888, 1960 AND 2106

Recognizing the impact that sexual violence in conflict has on the maintenance of peace and security, the Security Council adopted resolution 1820 in 2008. Explicitly defining sexual violence as an unacceptable and preventable tactic of war, and thus not as an inevitable element of conflict, strictly linked to women, peace and security issues, this specific resolution stemmed from the work done for SCR 1325 and reaffirmed the need for women's full and equal participation in peace-building processes.

In addition to the above-mentioned recognition of sexual violence as a war tactic and thus eventually as a war crime, crime against humanity, or act of genocide, the resolution importantly demanded protection and prevention measures from parties of armed conflict, as well as appropriate mechanisms to provide protection from violence in refugee and displaced person camps.

In particular, key elements of the resolution are:

- Strengthening the protection of women from sexual violence by, to cite few, evacuating women under imminent threat and training troops on prohibition of sexual violence. The resolution explicitly mentions state-specific sanctions against parties to armed conflict who are perpetrators, as well as and making sure that individuals who participated in sexual violence are excluded from institutions that handle post-conflict security issues.

- Strengthening advocacy aimed at ending conflict-related sexual violence by training UN peace operations personnel and exposing myths that fuel sexual violence at country level.

- Supporting victims of sexual violence through national basic health services, maternal care and psychosocial counseling.

- Countering impunity and strengthening accountability by developing systems able to collect necessary data and evidence to account for and prosecute crimes of sexual violence, and never letting sexual violence be part of amnesty provisions in peace processes.

- Strengthening women's participation locally through the empowerment of civil society actors who advocate against sexual violence and support victims. Dialogue between the UN and regional, state and civil society should be fostered and special envoys should be encouraged to include women in discussions on conflict resolution and peace.

- Increasing women's representation and integrating gender perspectives in peace operations through the deployment of more women as peace-keeping personnel, in all professions and at all levels, training of peace-keeping personnel both regarding codes of conduct and how to keep civilians protected from sexual violence, zero-tolerance policies on sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peace-keeping operations (United Nations Security Council, 2008).

Despite the absence of a strong language, which does not oblige but rather recommends parties to adjust their behavior, stating for example that sexual violence and rape can constitute an international crime instead of clearly stating that they are crimes against humanity and war crimes like the International Criminal Court did, resolution 1820 nevertheless played an important role in including women in all

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aspects of conflict resolution and peace-building (United Nations Security Council, 2008).

Through the text of UNSC resolution 1888, adopted in September 2009, the Security Council further expressed its concern over the lack of progress on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict and decided to specifically mandate peace-keeping missions to protect women and children from widespread sexual violence during armed conflict (United Nations Security Council, 2009).

Among other measures, the resolution called on the Secretary-General to rapidly deploy a team of experts to situations of particular concern to work with United Nations personnel on the ground and national Governments on strengthening the rule of law. The Council also affirmed that it would consider the prevalence of sexual violence when imposing or renewing targeted sanctions in situations of armed conflict.

Moreover, the Council decided to identify women's protection advisers among gender advisers and human rights protection units as to enhance the effectiveness of protection measures. Other provisions included the strengthening of monitoring and reporting on sexual violence, the retraining of peacekeepers, national forces and police, and calls to boost the participation of women in peace-building and other post-conflict processes (United Nations Security Council, 2009).

As Bedouma Alain Yoda, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burkina Faso, said on the day of the adoption of the resolution, sexual crimes create long-lasting enmity between peoples, making it hard to bring about peace. Moreover, degrading the dignity of women reduces their crucial ability to contribute to peace making (United Nations, 2009).

In December 2010 the Council adopted resolution 1960, which further condemned the widespread and systematic use of sexual abuse against the civilian population in situations of armed conflict, calling for an end to all acts of sexual violence and for further steps to combat it. Importantly, the Secretary-General was asked to develop monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements, as well as to make a public list including information on parties suspected to be responsible for acts of rape or other acts of sexual violence, which the Council would use to engage and possibly take action against. As a final point, the Secretary-General was asked to strengthen the policy of zero tolerance on sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations personnel (United Nations Security Council, 2010).

Finally, in June 2013 resolution 2106, the fourth one focused on conflict-related sexual violence, was adopted by the Security Council as to add greater operational detail to previous resolutions on this topic, reiterating that all actors, including all Member States and United Nations entities, must do more to implement previous mandates and combat impunity for these crimes (United Nations Security Council, 2013).

The resolution importantly stressed the importance of promoting gender equality and women's political, social, and economic empowerment in order to prevent sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations. It also emphasised the need for more consistent and rigorous investigation and prosecution of sexual violence crimes as a central aspect of deterrence and prevention, recognizing the need for "more timely, objective, accurate and reliable information" (UN Women, 2013). Finally yet importantly, it requested Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and relevant United Nations entities to speed up the establishment of monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements on conflict-related sexual violence.

3.6.4 LIMITATIONS, CRITIQUES AND STEPS FORWARD TO THE UNITED NATIONS LEGAL FRAMEWORKS

Despite the attempts that have been made to overcome shortages characterising previous documents, also recently approved resolutions have been criticised for not having properly addressed certain issues. Many critical studies have been made about the latest official UN documents. As a result, four recurring elements have been identified as evidence of the development of an institutional orthodoxy regarding the relationship between women and peace (Charlesworth, 2008:351):

- An assumption that women are better than men at developing and sustaining peace.

- A tendency to assert that women are more vulnerable than men. It is furthermore frequent to find women and children as part of the same vulnerable category.

- Reference to the need to include women in formal peace negotiations, although the basis of this claim is not always clear.

- The use of the term gender to refer only to women, sometimes creating confusion between sex and gender.

These four elements have been depicted as in constant tension with one another, thus not forming a consistent picture. Moreover, they have been criticised for presenting women as both a problem and a solution to problems. For these reasons, some authors have underlined the importance of abandoning the first two elements of the orthodoxy, recognizing instead the multiple and contradictory effects of war and peace on women, who can be in fact involved in both the areas (Charlesworth, 2008: 360).

According to these critiques, what should be stressed is the need for reviving an equality framework as the basis of the claim that women should be included in conflict resolution and formal peace building, being more cautious when referring to the "affinity" argument. Moreover, it is important to keep on promoting the inclusion of gender issues, however avoiding associating gender simply with women (Charlesworth, 2008: 360).

Scholars have furthermore highlighted the paradox of women's extensive engagement in peace-building activities being followed by their subsequent marginalization from formal peace negotiations and newly formed governance institutions and processes. In order to achieve gender justice in transition it is necessary, then, to investigate the causes and consequences of women's marginalization in high-level political decision-making, understanding how prior gender inequalities have shaped women's experiences during conflicts and transitions, and recognizing the vital role played by women through informal peace-building activities (Reilly, 2009: 107).

It is of course paramount to analyze the above-mentioned documents not only through the work of renowned scholars, but also through the lenses of civil society, which is the first recipient of the dispositions included in resolutions. As elaborated by Peace Women (2010:1-5), suggestions to further implement resolution 1325 and following related women, peace and security commitments in and by Europe include:

- Prioritize, enable and strengthen the participation of women in peace and security matters. Support should be both financial as well as political, for example when designing and reforming governance institutions via quotas and other special measures, or supporting women's presence in police, military, judicial and financial institutions, along with civilian and military response teams.

- Include a set of minimum standards in all Women, Peace and Security (WPS) action plans and strategies. Standards should consist of specific and realistic goals; objectives and priority actions; timelines; a dedicated budget; indicators, benchmarks and targets; clear lines of responsibility to specific individuals, units or functions, both governmental and non-governmental; a results-oriented and transparent reporting and monitoring mechanism, including a high-level taskforce/review committee and a system for tracking funds allocated to implementation; mechanisms for civil society participation.

- Engage civil society organisations in the development, implementation and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) of WPS plans. Engagement should be at the technical level but also in high-level political forums, as sharing information and consulting with CSOs increases the relevance of action and can lead to stronger monitoring processes.

- Include meaningful indicators and M&E mechanisms in WPS action plans and strategies. The development of indicators should be an integral part of any drafting process in order to look at enabling factors, input, process, output and outcome.

- Allocate specific WPS resources, which should be both financial, for example prioritizing WPS in funding programs or making full use of existing financial instruments, as well as human, allocating the necessary capacity, resources, oversight and authority.

- Appoint a high-level representative on women, peace and security. Chosen on merit, he/she should co-ordinate, ensure consistency of policies and activities, monitor implementation of commitments and facilitate the exchange of good practices by the EU at large.

- Ensure that the European External Action Service (EEAS) contributes to further implementation of SCR 1325 and related resolutions, and functions in line with WPS commitments.

- Strengthen the EU Task Force on WPS to further coordinate and implement by peer-reviewing the adoption and implementation of National Action Plans by EU Member States, applying a systematic gender analysis to Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) missions and operations mandate and main activities as well as to the work of EU Delegations in conflict-affected countries.

- Ensure implementation of WPS commitments in CSDP missions by making sure that gender expertise is in place from the start of missions.

- Prepare an annual report on European implementation of WPS commitments to be presented to the main bodies of the organisation, including the proposed EU high-level representative on WPS, the Political and Security Committee (PSC), the European Parliament (EP), national parliaments and the United Nations Security Council.

More generally speaking, as well analyzed by the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (2010), gaps in implementation at the policy and practice levels can be addressed by ensuring consistent leadership as to make sure that the centrality of WPS is understood throughout staff at all levels – including country experts, other thematic experts, and political coordinators.

Secondly, there is the need for better and more consistent information flow through reports including detailed and timely information on challenges faced by women in conflict situations, as well as on needed steps to ensure women's involvement in the implementation of Comprehensive Peace Agreements, in political processes post-conflict, and in judicial and security sector reform.

The global set of indicators on Women, Peace and Security that has been recently developed within the UN system following the specific requests included in resolution 1889 provide the type of information that can be used to regularly assess and measure the progress on WPS resolutions. Reporting plays, in fact, a fundamental role and should thus:

- Reflect the UN mission mandates contained in the relevant Security Council resolutions. In Afghanistan, for example, despite a call by the Council to ensure women's rights were incorporated in all efforts at creating stability in the country, reports lack substantive information and analysis on this issue.

- Integrate WPS concerns on key issues such as implementation of Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) processes. Despite recent acknowledgement that women associated with fighting forces often need specific DDR considerations, such practice is rarely reported on, making it difficult to assess whether programs are succeeding or even being attempted.

- Cover all relevant aspects of WPS, addressing the inter-linkages between these issues. For example, reports that provide information on protection issues sometimes neglect to give sufficient analysis of women's lack of engagement in political spheres.

Third, it is paramount to establish clear good practice on Women, Peace and Security for all tools at the Council's disposal as to ensure that WPS elements are referred to in documents in a manner that produces tangible results in the field. Clear guidance should be given to all missions staff through, for example:

- Country reports and briefings. As there is usually no public record of the Council's private briefings on both country and thematic issues, it is necessary that WPS issues are raised in country reports for discussion in these briefings. In all

public or private briefings Council members should be sure to inquire about women's status and situation, and about all programs designed to support and empower women.

- Commissions of Inquiry (COI). In situations of immediate concern, the Security Council can establish such commissions to investigate and recommend timely action regarding violations of international humanitarian and human rights, including international law violations against women. COIs must be carefully selected to include the necessary expertise, including gender expertise, should receive sufficient political support to conduct thorough investigations and to follow up on resulting recommendations.

- Mission mandates and renewals. The Council should ensure that its decisions are based on accurate and timely information incorporating civil society in the region of conflict, and that mandates clearly state the centrality of engagement and support of women to the mission and to the implementation of Comprehensive Peace Agreements. Standard operating procedure should be consistent, mandatory, based on good practice and inserted into mission mandates.

- Presidential statements. Such statements, agreed upon by consensus amongst the Security Council members, tend to carry considerable weight and thus should articulate points relevant to women, highlighting the continuing inter-linkages between WPS and other areas of concern.

- Press statements. They are often used to send a strong message regarding the Council's positions on urgent matters on which, at the moment, it does not intend to take formal action.

- Sanctions. Being one of the more stringent options the Council has at its disposal, they should include an assessment of gender-based violence crimes.

- Security Council missions. These special trips are organised for Security Council Ambassadors to travel to the field, thus allowing direct communication between Council members and those who work for women's rights in conflict areas. Final reports on the missions should incorporate the challenges women are facing, from violence to structural barriers to participation in social, economic and political spheres.

- Arria Formula meetings. These meetings constitute an additional arena for civil society women's rights representatives to bring timely and relevant information, thus providing early warning signals by informally and directly briefing Security Council members on matters of urgency.

3.7 GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN THE EUROPEAN UNION

The European Union holds nowadays a significant part of the regional heritage in terms of norms and gender policies. Actively involved in the creation of the Beijing Platform for Action, the organisation is a signatory of the main treaties and declarations aimed at reducing gender inequalities and protecting women's rights. Bolstered by strong legal foundations, its action is characterised by the adoption of a dual approach combining gender mainstreaming with traditional positive actions targeting women through specialized bodies, information and public awareness campaigns such as the European Year of Equal Opportunities for All, which took place in 2007 in order to raise awareness of the advantages of a just and solidarity-based society. The Council of Europe defined gender mainstreaming as "the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making" (Charlesworth, 2008:5).

In the context of cooperative development, for example, gender mainstreaming is used as a guiding principle of any kind of action. Furthermore, in the context of regional agreements that regulate cooperation with third countries, the European Union has provided for the implementation of specific gender measures.

Similarly to the United Nations Security Council, the European Parliament has adopted as well specific resolutions such as the resolution on the EU Strategy for equality between women and men post 2015 (2015), the resolution on progress on equality between women and men in the European Union in (2013), the resolution on participation of women in peaceful conflict resolution (2010), the resolution on equality between women and men in the European Union (2006), the Resolution on Violence against Women (1986).

Moreover, EU Presidential Statements such as "Conflict, Peace-keeping and Gender" (2002) and "Women, Peace and Security" (2003) have confirmed the role played by the organisation not only in long-term policies but also in conflict resolution and prevention, where it promotes the use also of civilian instruments thus implementing a wider concept of human security.

The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE), an autonomous body of the European Union, has furthermore strengthened the promotion of gender equality, including gender mainstreaming in all EU policies and the resulting national policies. In particular, when dealing with conflicts, gender mainstreaming entails monitoring the respect for defined standards; removing obstacles hindering women's participation within the entire chain of command of missions acting, for example, as special representatives or gender advisers; guaranteeing specific and adequate training; carrying out campaigns aimed at removing stereotypes concerning men's and

women's roles in the security sector; ensuring that a gender perspective is used also during post-conflict phases (EIGE, 2016).

Despite such programmatic efforts, the European Union like other organisations is not able to always ensure that programs and policies find effective implementation, which requires concrete, responsive, time-bound programs, resources and evaluation mechanisms. To contain such risk, the Commission has elaborated specific initiatives to train personnel and has appointed a non-governmental organisation to conduct a study aimed at identifying methods and instruments to build a bridge between policies and practice. Furthermore, the EU itself should increase the number of women working within its own institutions; appoint women to senior-level positions at the national, regional and international levels (EIGE, 2016).

Given the particularly difficult task that the EU faces, which is that of coordinating and aligning different national approaches while ensuring the inclusion of a gender perspective in the development of a common security policy, civil society evidently plays an important role in terms of elaboration of policies, advocacy and monitoring. NGOs have become not only implementing partners, but also agenda setting partners. For example, the creation of a European Gender Institute is a strong signal of the path that the regional organisation has taken in order to promote gender equality throughout Europe.

Lastly, Europe can be easily considered a frontrunner when it comes to efforts to implement United Nations resolutions concerning women, peace and security, as the majority of national action plans (NAPs) originate in Europe.

3.8 COMMUNICATION TOOLS AND GENDER

Technologies are socially constructed[7] and thus have different impacts on women and men. In recent years, significant interest has been expressed in using media technology towards the positive goal of strengthening women's participation (McKay and Mazurana, 1999:4).

It is part of the aim of this research, stressing the importance of women's involvement in conflict prevention and peace-building activities, to underline the need to encourage and train women and women's groups to make use of available communication tools techniques as to express their views and concerns, besides actually taking active part in building a culture of peace. Only through the involvement of all social groups, in fact, can pluralism be fostered as to develop an inclusive, democratic and stable polity. Without a voice, women's concerns neither are prioritized nor resourced (Porter, 2003: 249).

If women's empowerment is focused on increasing their power to take control over decisions that shape their lives, such as those in relation to resources and participation in decision-making processes, ICTs can thus be used as a tool to reduce poverty, improve governance, overcome isolation and give women a voice. There is a growing body of evidence of the benefits of ICTs in terms of women's empowerment. However, many obstacles still exist (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005:13).

The event, which is considered to be the watershed in understanding the role potentially played by information technology as a tool used by women for mobilization, information exchange and empowerment was the Fourth World

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[7] Social construction of technology is a theory within the field of Science and Technology Studies based on the idea that technology is determined and shaped by human action and that therefore the ways a technology is used cannot be understood without understanding how that technology is embedded in its social context.

Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. The conference saw the parallel development of a still existing international, virtual community including women's organisations. Beijing was also the first international conference at which substantive issues regarding women, information and communication technology were debated, albeit somewhat on the margins of the core agenda (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005:2).

The year 2000 saw not only the review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform For Action (BPFA), which acknowledged the increased opportunities for women in knowledge sharing, networking and electronic commerce through the use of ICT besides underlining how poverty, lack of access to telecommunications infrastructure, language barriers, computer non-literacy and illiteracy are major obstacles to women' s use of ICTs, but also the adoption of a Ministerial Declaration on the role of information technology by the Economic and Social Council. Moreover, the United Nations Commission on Science and Technology for Development (UNCSTD) carried out a comprehensive set of studies on the relationships between gender, science and technology, and development, which convincingly showed the existing significant gender differences in levels of access to, control of, and benefits accruing from a wide range of technological developments. This resulted in the fact that the information revolution appeared to be bypassing women, that information society literature was silent on gender issues, and that neither research nor practical projects in the information technology field had addressed the particular circumstances of women (Primo, 2003:11).

Since Beijing, however, much awareness has been globally developed and widespread. The 2000 Millennium Declaration emphasised the need for programs aimed at ensuring that the benefits of new technologies, especially ICT, are made

available to all. As a consequence, a United Nations World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS) was planned in two phases: the first one took place at the Geneva Summit in 2003, aimed at developing political will through a Declaration of Principle and a Plan of Action and to establish the foundations for an Information Society for all; the second took place in Tunis in 2005, where participants recognized the existence of a gendered digital divide in society, consequently reaffirming their commitment to women's empowerment and to a gender equality perspective as to ensure the inclusiveness and respect for human rights within the Information Society (UN World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), 2005).

Global Knowledge 97 (GK97) was the first major international conference to explore the potential of information technologies and their possible impact on developing countries. Through an intense lobbying campaign initiated by the Ad Hoc Committee for Women resulted in substantial female participation and was an important step in putting women on the agenda. As a result, the Canon on Gender, Partnerships and ICT Development was created, emphasizing the importance of equal participation and gender-aware assessments and evaluations of ICT use. At the second Global Knowledge conference (GKII, 2000) a specific Women's Forum was held within the conference, leading to a comprehensive set of recommendations and a following Memorandum of Understanding signed by the ITU, UNDP and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in order to collaborate on developing gender-responsive approaches to telecommunications and ICT policy development (Primo, 2003:12).

In 2001 the United Nations Secretary-General also established a high-level Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) Task Force with a Plan of Action evidently informed by gender analyzes and perspectives. In 2002 the World

Telecommunication Development Conference agreed on the establishment of a gender unit within the Telecommunication Development Sector (ITU-D), aimed at mainstreaming gender issues throughout the organisation' s work (Primo, 2003:12).

In 2002, the UN Division on the Advancement of Women (DAW) held an Expert Group Meeting (EGM) on Information and Communication Technologies and their impact on and use as an instrument for the advancement and empowerment of women. Being also a sharing event, many examples of how marginalised women are using ICTs for their own empowerment were produced. Participants also underlined the global lack of gender analysis in ICT policy and programme delivery, the internal barriers felt by many women (fear of technology, lack of self-confidence, etc.) and gender-specific structural barriers such as inequalities between men and women at decision-making levels that constrain women's participation in shaping the role of ICTs as a development tool. Significantly, women's marginalization from ICTs can also influence the lower benefit from the educational and employment opportunities that will become available through ICTs, as well as access to health systems and other social services, thus perpetuating and deepening existing gender inequalities (Primo, 2003:13).

Through this different understanding of the impact of ICTs on women's lives, participation can be consequently seen as having two different dimensions: quantitative and qualitative. The tendency in the past was to focus mainly on the first aspect by measuring it in terms of numbers of people involved in projects and programs. Women's participation was thus measured in terms of how many women were affected by a project, even if they were simply passive recipients of development aid and with no voice in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the project itself. The link between quantitative and qualitative participation is, of course,

very important as the larger number of participants, the more possibilities exist for the project to make a difference within the community. Today, however, the focus has shifted from quantitative to qualitative aspects of participation, which is now conceptualized in broader terms (Karl, 1995:1).

UNDP has identified in its 1993 Human Development Report four basic forms of participation, which will be analyzed in details further in this research. Social, cultural and political participation are the ones related to the specific subject of this paragraph. Understanding empowerment as a process, a continuum of several interrelated components based on awareness and capacity building, and skills development leading to greater control and decision-making power in the household, community and society (Karl, 1995: 14). It is thus pivotal to increase first women's access to quality information and information networks. Once this goal is achieved, it is as important to build their capacity to analyze obtained information in relation to conflict prevention, conflict management, and reconciliation.

The flourishing of women's groups and organisations has led to an enormous amount of new information and publications. In a world where information is power, access to, control over and sharing of information and knowledge are thus pivotal elements in women's participation and empowerment (Karl, 1995: 42). For many of the world's women, however, infrastructure barriers hamper their ability to access information due to the lack of proper and functioning electrical power, telephone lines and computer support.

In order to face such impediments, development strategies in the last decades have tried to include specific programs such as alternative women's media, women's publishing houses, the use of grassroots media for awareness building and action, women's resources centres and information networking, action to influence

mainstream media.

As the case study of this dissertation focuses on the specific context of Kenya, we cannot forget to highlight the importance of not only building new communication infrastructures able to increase grassroots access, but also not to disregard the value of indigenous means of communication in delivering messages. Highly sophisticated Internet technologies might then be backed up by traditional practices of storytelling, plays and traditional drama, poems, demonstrations, street theatre, print media, radio and telephone. With this foundation, it is easier to understand the term "appropriate media technologies", that is to say those that are more consonant with the specific community (McKay and Mazurana, 2001:10).

In Zimbabwe, for example, as a result of the Women in Theatre Conference which was held in 1990 and attended by women theatre artists from different African countries, the Zimbabwe Association of Community Theatre (ZACT) was created as a full-time women's group aimed at using theatre to articulate women's issues with specific reference to those concerning women's role in the country's socio-economic development. Being one of the first theatre groups, which were not headed by men, the Glen Norah Women's Theatre Group was able to include women's perspectives in the represented plays. For instance, the play "Who is to blame?" used traditional music and dance in an approach that involves the audience in order to shade light on the challenging issue concerning unemployed women school leavers in Zimbabwe. Tracing the life of a rural girl from her studies to employment, and passing through the traumatic experience of rape that will lead to seeing prostitution as a job, the play ends with the protagonist crating a co-operative in which former prostitutes use their performing arts talent to earn a decent living (Karl, 1995: 43).

The International Labor Organisation (ILO) has reported that patterns of

gender segregation are being reproduced in the information economy with women concentrated in end-user, lower-skilled ICT jobs related to word-processing and data entry and men in more senior managerial, administration and design of networks, operating systems and software. Women finding employment in the new, often ICT-related industries are rarely those who lost their jobs in the traditional sectors. Even where women have the necessary skills, persistent cultural constraints, such as stereotypical views of the roles of women and men and women's lack of mobility, remain a barrier to their full participation in the information age. Boundaries of work-time in the technological society do not recognize women's and men's multiple roles, and labor laws may prevent women's full participation in the information economy (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005:9).

When concerning women, however, communications assume a much wider and broader meaning. Media can play a pivotal role in the difficult task of attracting specific target groups to join a dialogue or peace-building program by highlighting its benefits and possibly the costs or risks of not joining in. If the program aims at promoting cross-cultural dialogue between ethnic groups, it is thus necessary to think about the needs and interests of the targeted subjects (Bratic and Schirch, 2007:13).

While there is recognition of the potential of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) as a tool for the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women, a "gender divide" has also been identified, reflecting the lower numbers of women accessing, controlling over and effectively using ICT compared with men (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005: 3). In order to have a clear idea of these concepts, here we refer to access as to the ability to make use of technology as well as the information and knowledge it provides, while we define control as the ability to decide how ICTs are used and who

can have access to them. Finally, effective use refers to the ability of women and girls to use ICTs strategically to advance social development goals (Primo, 2003: 39).

Unfortunately, women's capacity to exploit the potential of the new information and communication technologies as tools for empowerment is constrained in different ways in different regions. Some differences are linked to factors that affect both female and male populations in a generalized way. These include technical infrastructure, connection costs, language skills and computer literacy. In regions with low teledensity, basic socio-structural obstacles have the direct effect of effectively excluding the vast majority of women and men from the emerging Information Society. However, in many cases these overall constraints are filtered through specific gender-based determinants that cause women to be particularly disadvantaged. For example, despite the vast amount of content available on the World Wide Web, little of it is of relevance or use. A 2000 web search found some 200,000 websites related to women and gender, but only a fraction of these came from developing countries (Primo, 2003: 18).

Moreover, home access to a computer and to the Internet is not common in developing countries. When women do have access, it is generally in their workplace, where inequalities are usually well established and affect how women use technology. As a matter of fact, only few women use ICT as a tool for communication and information sharing (Primo, 2003: 19).

The development of infrastructure thus includes pivotal decisions concerning the location of facilities, the type of technology, and issues of costs and pricing. Decisions, which do not explicitly consider access for rural areas and poor and marginalised social groups can negatively influence access to and use of ICT by women (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005:7).

Generally speaking, women often lack access, equipment, technical assistance and skills. Telecommunication infrastructures are, in fact, largely concentrated in the urban areas, while the majority of women in the developing world, particularly in Africa, are illiterate and located in remote and rural areas where access to information, lack of transportation, scarcity of trainers, cultural and language differences are common problems. The presence of such obstacles makes the use of certain communication tools costly, time-consuming and frustrating. Moreover, not all women speak English as their primary language, which translates into a further hindrance to the use of certain communication channels.

It is imperative that ICT policy and infrastructure planning include a gender perspective from early stages, in order for women's needs not to be continually ignored and underrepresented. Moreover, it is paramount to avoid the mistake of considering women as a sole group, taking instead into account the fact that, for example, in developing countries communication requirements for women in rural areas are different from those of women and men in urban centres and developed countries. Participatory audience research is thus an essential prerequisite for the planning of successful communication strategies, the selection of appropriate media and the design of creative messages (Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations, 1999).

Unless the existing divide is specifically addressed, there is a risk that ICT may in fact exacerbate existing disparities by creating new forms of inequality. If, however, the gender dimensions of ICT - in terms of access and use, capacity-building opportunities, employment and potential for empowerment - are explicitly identified and addressed, ICT can be a powerful catalyst for political and social empowerment of women, and the promotion of gender equality (United Nations

Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005: 3). For example, the use of familiar and locally based technologies, such as community radio or internal e-mail systems, might offer a more suitable solution that however prevents women from establishing broader connections at the regional, national and international level (McKay and Mazurana, 2001:11).

Women's documentation and information centres play an important role in performing such a task, as they recover, preserve and give value to women's knowledge and history, gather women's alternative resource material that are generally not found in libraries, make these material accessible to women at the grassroots who might not have access to or experience in using more formal and academic libraries.

International organisations such as the International Women's Tribune Center (IWTC), ISIS International and ISIS-WICCE (Women's International Cross Cultural Exchange) have included in their activities the specific goals of international information exchange and networking (Karl, 1995: 45). Furthermore, other strategies can be used to increase women's access to relevant information such as: increasing women's presence and perspective as well as the coverage of women in the mass media through women's news and feature services; education and technical training of women in the media; action to increase women's employment in the media; integrating human values into women's media creations, ensuring that women's alternatives do not become hierarchical, undemocratic and elitist; incorporating gender sensitivity, local history and cultural diversity in the education and training of communications professionals; expanding gender-specific media research and documentation at the local level; promoting lobbies and campaigns directed at opinion makers and media consumers to raise public awareness on how issues of development

affect women; building links and solidarity between women and gender-sensitive men working in media at all levels (Karl, 1995: 45-46).

Another tool is the development of public access centres, which can also be part of existing institutions such as schools, health and community centres. As an empowerment tool these centres can play an important role but only when built trying to eliminate constraints normally preventing women from making use of them. Inappropriate opening times such as evenings, security issue, lack of transport, women's multiple family roles and responsibilities, the available less disposable income. The availability of women's support staff and trainers can though facilitate women's and girls' access and use of ICT resources (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005:8).

As already seen media can also be used to target a specific group in order to perpetuate war and armed conflict. Gendered media technologies have in fact been utilised on the basis of cultural constructions of gender roles of femininity. In Rwanda, for example, hate radio, newspapers and journals targeted Tutsi women to incite violence against them or those who tried to protect them. In the former Yugoslavia, Serbian state television manipulated broadcasts of Serbian soldiers raping Muslim women as to show Muslim and Croat men raping Serb women and urge Serbian men to act and protect their wives, sisters and mothers (McKay and Mazurana, 2001:19).

As different types of media technology vary according to audience, cultural context, technical-social-economic resources, the available national infrastructures plays a fundamental role in addressing women's difficulties to access communications and media technologies. Literacy, language, computer skills and information literacy are critical skills for drawing some benefit from ICTs for development initiatives.

Women and girls are less likely to have these requisite skills and therefore more likely to be excluded from local initiatives.

The UN has been developing and promoting new links between women, technologies and peace-building for few decades now, starting during the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) and then through the various declarations and resolutions concerning women. In particular, of all UN agencies, UNESCO has been intensively working on reducing the gender divide in the use of communication tools. Following the World Education Forum (Dakar, 2000) and during the period 2002-2007, the agency has worked through the implementation of the six Dakar goals - which include a 50 percent reduction in female illiteracy and the elimination of gender disparities at primary and secondary levels - to ensure the access of women and girls to technical, vocational and scientific education (UNESCO, 2000).

Besides, with specific attention to gender and media, UNESCO's Communication and Information Sector has engaged globally in a wide range of gender-specific initiatives aimed at implementing its two main perspectives: equality between women and men working in the media, and equality in news reporting on women and men. Through the elaboration of gender-sensitive indicators for media, the agency has created a framework of indicators to gauge gender sensitivity in media operations and content (UNESCO, 2012).

In preparation to the first Global Forum on Media and Gender (GFMG), which took place in Bangkok, Thailand in December 2013, UNESCO has been working through the Women Make the News campaign as to draw attention to the need for a global means, including media partnerships, to follow-up on the gender and media objectives of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. The Forum final statement (UNESCO, 2013) included the participants' commitment to gender

equality, women's empowerment across generations and to women's access to freedom of expression and decision-making in a gender-inclusive media and communication environment. In particular, delegates committed to:

- A non-stereotypical, fair and balanced gender portrayal across all forms of media;

- Promotion of ethical principles and policies supporting gender equality in and through media;

- Equitable gender balance within all media occupational groups and at all occupational levels and governing boards;

- Safety of women in media;

- Equal access to and participation in digital platforms;

- Empowerment of citizens with media and information literacy skills that can help advance the cause of gender equality.

Many campaigns involving NGOs, governments and civil society have been developed worldwide to promote women's participation in the use and design of ICTs. The World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (AMARC), for example, has developed a course designed to show how women can use new technologies critically and creatively in their community radio work. Promoting the inclusion of gender analysis in ICT training, coordination, and dissemination of materials and experiences is essential. The Online Learning Centre for Women at APWINC is one example. Another - focused exclusively on training- is the pilot Women' s Online Resource Centre (WORC), being developed by Women's Net, South Africa, in collaboration with the Association for Progressive Communications. This will be part of the ItrainOnline site, an online guide to training resources targeted at NGOs, development organisations and civil society (Primo, 2003: 73).

The campaign "Women building peace: from the village Council to the negotiation table" has been using Internet, e-mail lists, CD-ROMs and web sites to provide readily accessible and updated information regarding high-level commitments to women's peace-building activities, besides connecting different groups as to share documentation, best practices and lessons learned. Through different technologies, women have been able to address together important issues such as why women work for peace, the kind of peace women want, and how women's peace-building work can be supported (McKay and Mazurana, 2001:26).

In order to build more peaceful and just societies, it is thus fundamental to fill in the gender-gap by building infrastructures that bring women together for practical benefits such as providing training as to create familiarity with media technologies, increasing women's literacy rates and English language skills, deconstructing social and psychological obstacles that prevent women from using communication tools.

3.9 CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that women and women's organisations are increasingly being called on to take part not only on mediation and peace negotiations, but also to post-conflict reconstruction processes as well as broader peace-building initiatives. In order to advance their status, women must be co-architects with men of re-emerging post-conflict societies, as women's national, regional, and international involvement fundamentally shapes how peace-building projects and processes develop. As emphases on human processes is usually lacking, women's peace-building work highlights the importance of satisfaction of basic human needs as a main concern.

This chapter showed how women, starting from ancient times, have been more and more engaged in peace-building to end violence and to build just societies by

transforming anger and frustration into action through civil disobedience, nonviolence, networking, and new spaces for women's voices to be heard. In particular, the example provided by the Women of Zimbabwe Arise (WOZA) demonstrated the fundamental role played by women in national liberation movements, taking advantage of such opportunities to escape their stigmatization as victims, fight gender stereotypes and change patriarchal discriminatory power relations.

Furthermore, the relation between women and peace has been investigated through few main approaches, among which biological determinism, social constructivism and Fukuyama's hypothesis of women being more peaceful than men. Because of women's different experience of conflict, peace and peace-building are as well differently understood by women who give a definition much similar to Galtung's concept of positive peace. As analyzed in this chapter, the concept of peace-building is itself a gendered one. The omission of women's interests and voices has been a constant feature since its early definitions. Basing peace-building operations on a wider concept of peace, activities can be consequently built in order to promote and encourage new forms of citizenship and political participation, aimed at the creation of active democracies.

The need to include women and therefore gender issues at all stages of peace processes has been however hindered by a general cultural resistance based on a portrayal of women as innocent and passive victims. In particular, Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT) has been used to investigate the consequences of silencing women's experiences and knowledge, while insisting on the importance of critically examining how practices of exclusion take place and what enables them in order to transform disciplinary paradigms as well as social and political structures.

The need to address women's exclusion has been a critical concern leading to numerous international attempts to establish more inclusive practices through programs, world conferences, platforms for action and resolutions. Conscious of women's role in informal peace protests, inter-group dialogue, the promotion of intercultural tolerance, and the empowerment of citizens, the UN as well as other regional organisations have made important steps as to make sure that all actors include a gender perspective in early warning, preventive diplomacy, conflict prevention, peace-making and peace-building.

The documents examined in this chapter reveal a common attempt to underline the fundamental role played by women during conflicts, showing how simply casting them as war victims of male violence completely ignores the complex reality of women's experience, denying them their rightful agency. Any change of method consequently requires the acknowledgement by those engaged in peace processes of the fact that gender issues are, in fact, political in nature.

As mentioned, the masculine character of norms is reflected by the distinction between public and private spheres. No actual progress for women can thus be achieved until the gendered nature of the human rights system itself is recognized and transformed. Consequently, international organisations worked to develop a general agenda aimed at promoting and guaranteeing gender equality and women empowerment.

Through events like the international conferences on women, specific platforms for action were developed thanks to sustained advocacy and unprecedented level of women's mobilization and engagement. The United Nations hence paved the way to those resolutions, which today constitute the basis of any international mission or program. These fundamental documents for the first time directly addressed issues

such as the need to protect women during conflicts and the inclusion of women in peace processes through the implementation of the simple but essential concept of gender mainstreaming.

Finally, evidence of the benefits of communication tools in terms of women's empowerment has been provided. Through ICTs, in fact, women have been able not only to have their voice heard, but also to access information and participate to dialogue platforms. However, despite such potential, women often have to face obstacles such as lack of access, equipment, technical assistance and skills.

In a nutshell, this chapter examined how women can contribute to the elaboration and building of sustainable peace by investigating the existing connection between women and peace, the historical and institutional evolution of the role that women have been playing in peace-building, conflict prevention and early warning, as well as by analyzing the international legal framework that has been developed in order to support women's protection and human rights. Women need to participate as active social actors not because of their natural peacefulness, but because of the perspective and experiences that they bring to the peace table.

The next chapter will analyze the role and contribution of women in building Infrastructures for Peace from grassroots initiatives in Kenya, looking at the successes, challenges and obstacles to an equal and inclusive implementation of a peace architecture.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ROLE AND CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN BUILDING INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE FROM GRASSROOTS INITIATIVES IN KENYA

We women of Muranga were arrested for refusing
To have our cattle poisoned. And because we
Rejected such colonial laws we were thrown into
Prison cells and our children were wailing because
They had no milk to drink.

We beseech you, our Ngai [God]
Take us away from this slavery

We were taken to Nairobi after being finger-printed
And on our way they kept asking us,
Do you belong to this conspiracy?
Fighting for Liberation?
And our children continued wailing because
They had no milk to drink.

(A Kenyan song)

4.0 INTRODUCTION

Kenya is geographically located in Africa's east coast of Indian Ocean. It lies on the equator and it borders Ethiopia to the north, Somalia to the north-east, Uganda to the west, South Sudan to the north-west and Tanzania to the south and southwest. Kenya covers area of 582,646 and is the world's 47th largest country. It shares Lake Victoria, the world's second largest fresh water lake, with Tanzania and Uganda.

Kenya is officially known as the Republic of Kenya with the capital and largest city being Nairobi. It was colonized by Great Britain and it gained full independence in 1963. The national language is Kiswahili and the official language is English in Kenya, although there are dozens of ethnic languages spoken in various parts of the country. In 2010, Kenya enacted a new constitution which introduced a

devolved government with 47 counties. Tourism and Agriculture (especially tea, coffee and flowers) are the most important income generators to Kenya's economy.

This chapter presents the role and contribution of women in building Infrastructures for Peace from grassroots initiatives in Kenya. It analyzes conflict as a complex process which includes different actors and various causes. This study looks at the history of Kenya as a country, with specific attention to the role played by women since the struggle for national independence until present. It also investigates the impact of conflict and how it has been dealt with using both traditional and modern mechanisms of conflict resolution.

Furthermore, it examines the institutional development of Infrastructures for Peace in Kenya, starting from a women's initiative in the Wajir district that culminated in the formation of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee. This research then analyzes the process of institutionalization that followed the Committees' success in reducing the spiral of violence, as the government replicated the model in other districts around the country working through the National Steering Committee on Conflict Management (NSC) and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) to develop a National Policy on Peace-building and Conflict Management.

Also, it specifically explores how peace-building under the new Constitution of Kenya has been engendered through the work of the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) and the elaboration of a National Action Plan pursuant to UNSCR1325.Finally, it examines the limitations and challenges of local peace committees and the role that media have played in Africa in fostering as well as hindering peace.

4.1 CONTEXTUALIZING CONFLICT IN KENYA

If we assume that conflict is a gendered process, no full understanding of such statement can be achieved without a thorough investigation of the very specific context-related features of conflict in Kenya. Therefore, this section outlines few factors that not only define the complex nature of conflict in Kenya, but also provides a better understanding of the different interventions that have been formulated, both locally and nationally to strengthen capacities for conflict prevention. In order to understand the history of conflict in Kenya since independence until today, it is important to investigate the main causes of conflict and the different stakeholders involved.

4.1.1 THE CAUSES OF CONFLICT IN KENYA

In Kenya, conflict has always been deeply rooted within the political, socio-economic, security, environmental and ethnic spheres. Consequently, the country has been experiencing increasingly multifaceted challenges to its security and stability, following recurrent as well as new trends and dynamics. Given the very specific Kenyan context, taking into consideration also the widespread regional volatility in terms of peaceful stability, conflicts have been ranging from internal disputes between and within different groups, to cross-border confrontations with groups from neighboring countries.

Many studies have tried to identify and cluster the different elements that have influenced and possibly exacerbated conflict in Kenya. The GOK/NSC (2011) analysis differentiates among political, security, economic, socio-cultural, legal and environmental dimensions. Scholars such as Haider (2009:6) focus their analysis on:

- Political and institutional factors such as weak state institutions, elite power struggles and political exclusion, breakdown on social contract and corruption as well as identity politics;

- Socio-economic factors, such as inequality, exclusion and marginalization, weakening social cohesion and poverty;

- Resource and environmental factors like greed, scarcity of national resources often due to population growth leading to environmental insecurity, unjust resource exploitation.

Azar's theory of Protracted Social Conflict[8] (PSC, 1990) influenced many authors, such as Kabongah (2011:7), who also added land to the above-mentioned list, in particular due to its indigenization and alienation of access and ownership. Azar, in fact, defined conflict as context-specific, multi-causal and often multi-dimensional, resulting from a combination of different political and institutional factors such as weak state institutions, elite power struggles, political exclusion, breakdown in social contract, corruption and identity politics among others.

In contrast with the single-factor theory, according to which the driving force behind conflicts is the "ancient hatred" among different ethnic groups (Brown, 1996:209), this theory supports the idea that each of the above-mentioned factors constitutes a cause, dynamic or impact of conflict. As Kabongah (2011:20-30) presents, the major causes of conflict that have been identified in Kenya are the following:

- Competition for scarce resources. Being a natural resource-based economy, Kenya depends directly on natural resource. Scarce natural resources,

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[8] The term, developed by Edward Azar, refers to how hostile interactions among groups that are based on deep-rooted ethnic, racial, religious and cultural hate may persist over long periods of time, leading to occasional outbreaks of violence.

worsening environmental conditions and increased populations have resulted in stiffer competition for land, pasture and water. Scarcity may stem from resource degradation, environmental changes, population pressure and unequal access to resources. Environmental factors, though, are rarely the sole cause of conflict as they usually combine with other elements (Kabongah, 2011:20).

- Cattle rustling. In order to replenish herds depleted by severe droughts, disease or other calamities, pastoral communities have been traditionally raiding each other for livestock. Due to political instigations, crime and availability of firearms, inter-communal rustling has become more frequent and severe, especially in the North Rift and in North Eastern regions (Kabongah, 2011:25).

- Land conflicts. Conflicts have been highly influenced by inadequacies in provisions on ownership, control and usage of land within the constitution. In Kenya, the majority of the population still relies on land for its economic sustenance. Consequently, land acquisition has been a key issue in the nation's history of conflict, serving as a critical example of structural violence while being strictly connected with clashes among different ethnic groups (Kabongah, 2011:9).

- Politically instigated ethnic clashes. The "instrumentalist" concept of constructed identity, opposed to the "primordialist" argument that conflict is the result of ethnic, religious or cultural differences, helps understanding how ethnicity has been much often exploited in history as a mean of mobilization paving the way to the diffusion of stereotypes and prejudices. In Kenya, political leadership has been habitually politicising ethnic and clan identities by manipulating inter and intra-ethnic group dynamics. According to the GOK/NSC (2011) analysis, three main strategies have been used: patronage and ethnicization of politics, manipulation of administrative and electoral boundaries and political intolerance. In Kenya, ethnicity

was first used by the British colonial administration as a powerful tool to divide and rule the country. It later acquired a new role within national politics during the quest for independence and, once this was obtained, during the post-independence period through the implementation of the Africanization and Kenyanization policies. Land redistribution, especially through the implementation of the so-called "willing buyer willing seller" policy, which followed the end of the British rule caused further tensions as the existing structures of access to the land formerly owned by the white settlers followed patterns very much influenced by ethnicity. Some ethnic clans took advantage of their political leverage and created land-buying companies which, throughout the 1960s and 70s, continued creating new settlements despite the opposition of indigenous ethnic groups. Later in the 1990s, after the re-introduction of multi-party politics, political elites took advantage of the latent resentment, which culminated in the 2007 post-election violence (Kabongah, 2011:8-9).

- Poverty and unemployment. Despite the fact that most research confirms the thesis that poverty is rarely itself a direct cause of conflict, studies show that political stability is highly influenced by poverty, inequity, scarcity of resources and external economic forces as these elements may reinforce perceived injustices and forms of exclusion between groups. According to the Government report issued by the National Economic and Social Council in 2011, rural semi-arid areas are disproportionately the most affected by high levels of poverty. In particular, households headed by widows and less educated persons, large households and certain types of occupations such as subsistence farmers, unskilled public and private sector workers and unpaid family workers are the ones facing major difficulties in meeting their basic human needs. The rise of poverty in Kenya took place during the1990s, with the percentage of population living in poverty escalating between 1990

and 2003 from about 48.8 to 56 percent, slightly reducing to about 46 percent in 2007 (Republic of Kenya, 2008). As a direct consequence of this phenomenon, a new branch of studies developed in the late 1990s, focusing the attention on the so-called "conflict-development" or "security-development" nexus and suggesting that economic conditions are important determinants of the outbreak and recurrence of conflict. However, it has been increasingly recognized that it is the nature rather than the extent of inequality that determines the likelihood of violent conflict. Researchers have confirmed that "horizontal inequalities" that align with cultural, ethnic or religious identities are more likely to result in violence. This is the case especially in the case of "multidimensional horizontal inequalities" where culturally defined groups experience multiple forms of exclusion from political, economic, social and cultural realms. Unemployment also plays an important role in the diffusion of crime, especially within the specific context of the many densely populated, low-income slums that can be found in the country. According to data, the highest incidence of crimes is found within the Nairobi County due to its population density and the presence of vast slums, whose proximity to upmarket estates and industrial zones clearly fosters crime actions aimed at targeting well-off estates. Not surprisingly, especially if we consider that 75 percent of the country's population is aged below 30 years, most crimes in Nairobi are committed by youth. Despite being the largest human resource of the country, only about 25 percent is employed and many reside in slums, thus not receiving adequate education or training. The consequent widespread feeling of disillusionment has been often numbed through substance abuse, in particular alcohol. In certain areas, the situation has rendered necessary an intervention. Religious leaders and women's groups have undertaken actions such as

public demonstrations in order to bring the issue to the political agenda (Kabongah, 2011:19-20).

- Easy access to small arms and light weapons (SALW). Because of their easy availability, relative affordability, technical simplicity and concealability, these weapons have become widespread tools of violence and crime in urban as well as in rural areas, being used in robberies, acts of terrorism, cattle-rustling, poaching, inter-ethnic strife and other violent crimes. Consequently, poverty, insecurity and underdevelopment have been exacerbated as a result of escalated risk of injury, death, destruction of property and heightened sense of fear and insecurity within communities (Office of the President of Kenya, 2011:11). Studies have showed that small arms are used also as a tool to perpetrate rape, torture and sexual violence.

- Cultural practices. Pastoral communities usually live implementing a series of cultural practices that determine the relationship among members and with other communities. For example, cattle's raiding is in many communities a cultural custom aimed not only at replenishing lost herds, but also at meeting socio-economic requirements such as paying the bride price. In some communities, a man's bravery and value are determined by the number of tattoos recognizing the number of people he has killed that he has on his body. The more marks, the more respect, the more girls he is likely to marry. Other cultural practices that influence the level of potential violence within a community are secrecy, witchcraft and moranism, which encourage young men to become warriors by fighting for their community (Kabongah, 2011:24).

- Spill-over effects from wider conflicts in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa. Many of the illicit SALW in Kenya originate from beyond the sub region, and indeed, the African continent. Since 1950s, Sudan, Ethiopia, Uganda and Somalia have experienced devastating intermittent conflict, causing illicit arms to

widespread throughout the region. Moreover, as a consequence of the Cold War, others arms were brought in to support the ideological opposed factions as it was in the case of Somalia and Ethiopia who received large quantities of arms from the former Eastern Bloc. Chronic instability along the Kenyan semi-arid, pastoralist borders has thus been caused by general patterns of state failure and lawlessness often described as "not peace not war". Local communities have been subsequently subjected to high levels of displacement and casualties in a context of sporadic and low-intensity communal clashes interrupted by extended periods of uneasy peace. Spoilers have been creating conditions of "durable disorder" in order to take advantage of chaos and violence. Due to unconventional conflict dynamics, conventional conflict prevention approaches have failed in restoring peace and rule of law (Kabongah, 2011:23-24). The absence of state authority has obliged local communities to rely upon a combination of informal systems of protection usually involving tribal or clan militias (for deterrence and retaliation), and traditional authorities and customs (for conflict resolution and justice) (USAID, 2005).

- Elite power struggles and political exclusion. The existing patron-client relationship between political leaders and their electoral bloc has been the cause of much violence in the country. The "us versus them" ideology has been largely used as justification for struggles over resources, manipulated to maxims votes. Moreover, parties depend on personalities with specific ethnic following. For this reason, the 2007 Political Parties Act, followed by the 2011 Political Parties Act and the Election Act tried to force parties to have a national rather than an ethnic character (Kabongah, 2011:27).

- Rise of militia. Due to weak state presence and inadequate security and justice systems, militia and vigilante groups have been increasingly expanding

throughout the country, often serving as tools used by political forces during campaign rallies and elections. For example, males belonging to the Kalenjin militias in the Rift Valley pass to manhood through circumcision, learning to defend their communities if needed (Kabongah, 2011:29-31).

As a direct consequence of colonialism and liberation struggles, Kenya has been facing numerous legacies of such past including fierce struggles over land and resources, polarized and militarized politics. Looking at the causes of conflict within the country, it is already clear whom the main actors involved in determining conflict dynamics are. The next section gives a more detailed portrayal of the actors of conflict in Kenya.

4.1.2 THE ACTORS OF CONFLICT IN KENYA

Kabongah (2011:32-36) identifies six significant actors who directly determine conflict dynamics:

- Politicians. This is a very peculiar category of stakeholders as political leaders have the capacity of influencing inter-group relations both towards conflict instigation and conflict resolution by taking advantage of dynamics based on the sense of belonging to communities and clans. Politicians are, therefore, central to determining the status of conflict or peace in an area. The role of political leaders in the electoral violence that took place first in the 1990s and then in the 2008 post-election violence has been the focus of investigations by the Commission of Inquiry in to Post-Electoral Violence (CIPEV), the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) and International Criminal Court (ICC).

- Political parties. The very peculiar development of Kenya's political system well explains its role in defining internal dynamics. At independence, the

country opted for being a multi-party state with two dominant political parties: Kenya African National Union, KANU and Kenya African Democratic Union, KADU. When the two merged into KANU, Kenya became a *de facto* one party state. Between 1966 and 1982, when the country became a *de jure* one party state after a resolution of the parliament, former vice president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga failed in re-establishing multi-partitism as his Kenya People's Union (KPU) was banned in 1969 and he was detained. After the resolution was adopted, there was widespread unrest throughout the country and Moi's regime responded with more suppression especially after a coup was attempted. It was only after 1991 that political parties proliferated as multi-party politics were re-introduced. Between 2005 and 2007, when the Political Parties Act was enforced, the number of parties increased from 54 to 300 (Kabongah, 2011:34). Politicians understood that the easiest way to receive votes was not publicizing political manifestos but using ethnicity to build ethno-regional constituencies. This *laissez faire* scenario changed with the coming into force of the 2007 Political Parties Act. Importantly, the enforcement of this legal instrument reduced the number of registered political parties to 47 by March 2010. The Act requires parties to have a national outlook, and establishes rules for government funding, importantly freeing parties either from cash flow challenges or from control by wealthy supporters. The new Elections Act 2011 also introduced strict guidelines in management of party affairs concerning elections, as contestation for party positions has been viewed as a function of patron-client relationships. Patrons of major parties are in fact known to sponsor proxies for given party positions, breeding animosity among political elites as well as raising grassroots antagonism with the elite and with rival grassroots groups. New dispositions have thus included explicit

requirements about leadership and integrity, besides measures barring political leaders from holding party positions as to foster party discipline and professionalism.

- Youth. Being the most susceptible to political manipulation, they are the pool from which most politicians draw their support. Unfortunately, they are also the bulk of organised gangs, frequently used to raise political violence. A comprehensive youth empowerment program is thus essential in interrupting the youth's exploitation in spreading politically motivated mayhem (Kabongah, 2011:35).

- Elders and seers. In Kenyan communities, there is a strong correlation among prophets, prophecy and leadership. Among the Sabaot, for example, Laibons are believed to have the power to predict events and interpret natural occurrences. Interviewees concurred that a Laibon blessed the youth to go and protect their land by giving them a blend of herbs to shield them by the bullets of the enemy. Because of their role, Laibons would later demand more land than the rest of the community. Generally speaking, in many communities elders still occupy a special place in decision making. In Tana River, among the Kalenjin, and even in Central Kenya, Councils of Elders have a say in important matters in conflict and peace-building. Consequently, no infrastructure for peace can be effective if it does not take into account the role played by these important actors within their communities (Kabongah, 2011:36).

- Business community. Business is inherently linked to national politics. History shows how governments have always tended to favor awarding contracts to supportive business elite, while businesses have found their way of influencing politics by funding political parties. Such form of corruption ensures that the resourceful, well-organised and internationally connected business community is able to build alliances for the purposes of personal financial gain (Kabongah, 2011:36).

- Media. As already mentioned, the media can be a powerful instrument in the hand of the actors. In Kenya, community and vernacular radio stations played an important role in post-election violence. The Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) included in its findings evidence of the promotion by specific sections of the media of hate speech in the electioneering. Moreover, many politicians also exploited opportunities offered by the media platforms to incite people. As a consequence, soon after the announcement of the disputed presidential election poll, thousands of residents of several hotspots such as Kisumu, Burnt Forest, Kiambaa and others in Uasin Gishu were attacked, hundreds injured and many forced to flee from their destroyed homes. Different vernacular stations took sides with politicians, intensifying tensions and setting the stage for violence. For the first time, a journalist with a vernacular FM station was among the six prime suspects hauled before the ICC at The Hague. The court accused him of using the station to help spread hate speech and allowed the station to be used to direct some of the attacks using coded language.

4.2 THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF KENYA

Like in all societies, the long battle for independence largely relied on the effective mobilization of extensive grassroots networks and a wide range of members of the Kenyan society. Unfortunately and unsurprisingly, historiography has tended to write out women, who were in fact instrumental to the realization of independence. Female political action against the colonial administration can be traced to the early 1930s. In 1922, women actively participated in the Thuku protest, named after a young Kikuyu who, after co-founding the Est African Association and voicing

people's opposition towards issues like increased taxation, forced labor and discriminating law was arrested by the colonial government (Presley, 1985:262).

In particular, Thuku also voiced many of women's concerns, above all the recruitment of women as laborers. The female labor issue was of great economic and political concern for the country, as by 1914 coffee was Kenya's major export. Being coffee laborers among the lowest paid categories of workers, settlers had come increasingly to rely on female and child labor to harvest their crops. Women were, however, hesitant to work on coffee estates as harvesting coincided with the peak period of the traditional planting cycle on their own farms (Presley, 1985:262).

In order to face chronic labor shortage and increasing pressure from the settlers, the government began to take measures such as the Northey Circular, which introduced compulsory labor for private purposes and lead to coercion and intimidation in the recruiting of workers and to the infliction of cruelties on men, women and children (Presley, 1985:263).

In 1923, women and children constituted more than half of the harvest labor force on coffee plantations, earning nevertheless the lowest wages in the country. Abuses were an everyday experience, as women laborers were habitually assaulted by male laborers. No measure was taken by the district commissioner's office, which only recommended that women go in groups with male escorts. Women had thus no one to whom they could complain, as they risked being further punished (Presley, 1985:263).

Given such a context, when Thuku was arrested between 7000 and 8000 people gathered outside the police station where he was held to demand his release. Many Kikuyu women applauded Thuku's efforts on their behalf, naming him "chief of women" and taking part in the protest. As negotiations between the Colonial

Secretary and some African male leaders did not prove successful, women defined a new and "female" mode of political participation as to express their displeasure with male leadership. Transforming the female body itself as the site of political protest, women engaged in the act of *guturamirang'ania*, a powerful display of anger and disrespect that involved displaying female genitals. Such form of insult represented the ultimate expression of feelings such as frustration, humiliation and revenge, indicating the end of social intercourse with the person insulted or, in the case of a man, women's refusal to recognize his authority. Symbolizing the strongest challenge that women could put to the men, such action was successful and as a result, leadership briefly passed to women, who were able to keep the crowd together. Unfortunately, the police then opened fire causing the death of 21 people, four of them women, and several injured (Robertson, 1997:36).

Despite the fact that the protest did not prove successful in freeing Thuku, it is certainly a strong testimony of women's hidden political dynamism, as they made political use of a traditionally exclusively female institution to challenge both the colonial power as well as traditional male monopoly of political power. Such bravery was enshrined in a song, the *Kanyegenuri*, which later inspired female militancy (Macdonald et al., 1988:82).

The female body continued to carry powerful political significance throughout the entire independence movement. Women's participation into active anti-colonial resistance emerged in fact as a result of the exploitation and undervaluation of female productive and reproductive labor. While men fought World War II, women at home had to supply agricultural labor without forgetting their central role in the household.

During the following decades, Kenya was subjected to new measures enforced by the colonial government, which had a strong impact on Kenyan society. Again,

women did not back out of protests that were widespread throughout the country, emerging from their homes and entering the male-dominated political arena using their collective labor power in shifting socio-economic relations. Taking into consideration the remarkable value of such actions due to women's exclusion from modern education and from any formal participation in the colonial political system, women continued to organise strikes and tried to better their conditions of work. In 1934, thousands of women marched to the Meru administrative station and demanded that corpses buried under the Native Authority Ordinance be exhumed because the burial had caused a drought. In 1938, a number of women went to Nairobi to object to the planting of grass "wash-stops", and in 1939 a group of women looted an Indian shop whose owner they felt was not giving them a fair price for their agricultural produce. In 1947-48, the "revolt of the women" involved women of Fort Hall who decided to boycott the government's soil conservation scheme. The District Commissioner, as many Europeans, found it impossible to believe that the women had acted on their own, believing instead that young urban men had encouraged them to sabotage the administration (Lambert, 1956:100).

Women's independent spirit and willingness to defy authorities can be explained also due to their role within the Kenyan society, in which not only women were responsible for most of the farming including planting, harvesting and processing of food, but also of making all the necessary decisions such as whether or not to produce a surplus. Efficiently performing such tasks and other family duties brought a woman respect not only from other women but also from the entire community. A girl's chance of a good marriage depended upon her work performance, as efficiency was fundamental when controlling over resources essential to male power when building up influence and alliances (Kershaw, 1975-76:179).

Women thus proved to be an integral part of the political economy thanks to their strength of character, spiritual powers, ability to use kin lines of influence to their advantage, and the knowledge of the indispensability of their household services. This awareness slowly lessened the distance that separated men's and women's statuses, giving women the courage to challenge male authority. In particular, the development of women's groups strongly contributed to an increasing cooperation among women as to achieve common goals and gain knowledge of their rights and how to protect them (Clark, 1980:367).

Women played a fundamental role also in the Mau Mau rebellion, which took place between 1952 and 1960 among Kikuyu-dominated groups, the white settlers and elements of the British Army. Able to avoid British suspicion, women were able to move between colonial spaces and Mau Mau hideouts to deliver supplies and services to guerrilla fighters including food, ammunition, medical care and information (Barnett and Njama, 1966:226).

The rebellion took place following an intensive campaign of oath taking to ensure unity among the Kikuyu, which largely involved women. All of the oaths included elements relating to female sexuality, and women were required for the performance of the ceremonies. Menstrual blood was an ingredient in some oath concoctions, and various higher oaths included sexual acts that bound the partakers to greater violence, more secrecy, and deeper commitment to the struggle (Barnett and Njama, 1966:226).

While some women voluntarily joined freedom fighters in the forest, many did so to escape harassment and torture by loyalists and British troops. Indubitably, men initially opposed women's participation to the fight arguing that women could not withstand the harsh forest conditions nor defend themselves against enemies.

Moreover, some men stressed how women's inclusion in the struggle meant more people to feed without return, besides increased tensions among men competing for sexual favors from the small number of women (Barnett and Njama, 1966:226).

Once women were involved in the fight, women played different roles. Some women combined domestic tasks with minor military duties like cleaning guns and helping in the making of weapons and ammunition, while others became fully-fledged warriors fighting alongside men. As forests liaisons were contrary to Kikuyu customs, if a woman soldier fell pregnant she would lose her honor and position in the army, while the man involved would be subjected to punitive chores. Moreover, despite the Kikuyu political institutions and thus guerrilla councils were exclusively male dominated, some women who proved themselves trustworthy and capable of executing tasks were co-opted into the political arena through the creation of dual-sex guerrilla councils, in some cases even obtaining senior military positions (Barnett and Njama, 1966:227).

Very importantly, the demands of the movement entailed extensive social reorganisation, as women had to adopt new roles, form new social networks and develop new bases of group control. During the liberation struggle, this exclusive Mau Mau women's collective replaced the traditional *Ngwatio* system. The courage of the Mau Mau women, idealized and lauded in the various Mau Mau songs, has been since then a great inspiration to village and struggling urban poor women.

Although by 1956 the freedom fighters had been militarily defeated and over 12,000 had been killed by the British, they were undaunted in their quest for independence (Barnett and Njama, 1966:227). To promote a military campaign of counter-insurgency, the colonial government promoted agrarian reforms that stripped white settlers of many of their former protections. For example, Africans were for the

first time allowed to grow coffee. Moreover, in 1958 the British increased African representation in the new colonial constitution. In 1962, a Kenya African National Union (KANU) -Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) coalition government was formed and the constitution established a bicameral legislature. Kenya achieved internal self-government with Jomo Kenyatta as its first president and attained independence on 12 December 1963 as a Commonwealth realm as the "Dominion of Kenya" with Queen Elizabeth II as Head of State. In 1964 Kenya became a republic, and constitutional changes further centralized the government.

4.2.1 MAENDELEO YA WANAWAKE ORGANISATION (MYWO)

The largest women's voluntary organisation in Kenya is called Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO), which in Kiswahili means "women's progress". This countrywide network of clubs, which was originally organised by a small group of European women in the 1950s to promote the advancement of African women, owes its origin to women's vigorous nationalism during Mau Mau. Created under the auspices of the colonial government's Department of Community Development and Rehabilitation, the association saw the organisation of local women's clubs run by European volunteers who then trained African assistants so that the local unities could then function autonomously (Wipper, 1975:99). Initially born under the patronage of upper class colonial women, the network carried out activities with the help of local inhabitants ranging from childcare to hygiene, farming methods training, traditional handicrafts, sports, literacy classes and the creation of a newspaper translated into four languages - Swahili, Kikuyu, Kamba and Luo (Wipper, 1975:100).

Of course, not all men approved women's engagement in such activities, often beating their wives as a punishment. While men had already started to form political

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and religious association through which they could travel and acquire an education, women had for the first time the chance to come together, acquire new skills and information by exchanging experiences, and cooperate to promote their common interests.

Through the support from the government and the United Nations, especially during transition to independence, the association rapidly expanded throughout the country by creating local, district and provincial committees, as well as by starting to Africanise its staff. The new independent government rewarded the association's efforts by funding projects and distinguishing the role of the organisation as a welfare agency (Wipper, 1975:101).

Of course, similar activities would have different response according to the specific area. For example, the organisation of "women's week", a 1969 campaign to raise money, was not successful all over Kenya. Despite the fact that in some occasions the event failed to raise funds, the idea itself of commemorating women was avant-garde as also the United Nations decided to do so six years later. Such event encouraged other forms of celebration also through art. The play *The scar*, for example, represented the clash between traditional and modern values from a woman's point of view (Wipper, 1975:103).

According to its website, today the network includes over 4 million individual members and 25,000 affiliate groups, while projects deal with central issues such as gender equality, gender based violence, female genital mutilation, peace-building and conflict management, civic education, women and development, gender and governance.

Despite the critiques that have been made towards the association, mainly criticising how the leadership has accommodated itself to the political elite,

Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation undoubtedly played a central role in improving women's living standards by empowering them socially, economically and politically, and by creating those spaces in which women could come together to raise their voices and become active members of their communities. Such accomplishment is particularly significant when considering the importance of local forms of participation in the creation of Infrastructures for Peace.

4.3 THE 2007 POST-ELECTION VIOLENCE IN KENYA

If we consider democracy and rule of law as being the foundations for independent and accountable government, Kenya found itself missing these fundamental structures when the promise of an independent country faded away (Ngari, 2012:3). The government did not take advantage of the political opportunity of allowing all Kenyans, despite race, ethnicity and religious belief to have equal access to national resources, consequently favoring and not preventing systemic violations of rights and dignity perpetrated by the state and non-state actors. Therefore, many communities were marginalised finding themselves outside of the governmental structure. This resulted in the loss of national unity in favor of a country divided among ethnic lines in which state patronage exploited power institutions and natural resources (Ngari, 2012:3).

All the above-mentioned factors contributed to the 2007 conflict arising from the disputed presidential results of the general elections that saw Kenya's Gross Domestic Product fall from 7.1% in 2007 to 1.7% in 2008, displacement of over 600,000 persons, loss of about 1,000 lives and general loss of investment opportunities (Kimenyi et al, 2016: 3).

Violence broke out following the presidential elections that were held on 27 December 2007. As the incumbent President Mwai Kibaki was initially declared the winner amid widespread allegations of electoral fraud, violent and nonviolent protests by supporters of the opposition Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) headed by Raila Odinga spread throughout the country. In particular, ethnically targeted attacks primarily against the Kikuyu community began to take place. Over 30 people were killed near the town of Eldoret as the church where they were seeking refuge was burned to the ground. As attacks and looting kept on occurring, thanks to negotiations led by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, a power-sharing agreement between Odinga and Kibaki was signed on 28 February 2008. The National Accord and Reconciliation Act established a coalition government, with Odinga as Prime Minister and a bi-party cabinet (Abdi, 2008:1).

As noted by Abdi (2008), in the history of the country violence has always characterised post-election periods. However, political processes have always proved to be strictly interconnected with environmental, social and economic issues. Any comprehensive crisis analysis should then consider all these elements, as what is in fact a single trigger, such the elections, might have major impact on social and economic disparities. Moreover, as to further demonstrate the importance of social interconnectedness, because of the specific geographical context of Eastern Africa also Rwanda, Burundi, Eastern DRC, Congo, South Sudan, Somalia and Uganda were all economically paralyzed within few days since the outbreak of violence in Kenya (Abdi, 2008:3). The following figure clearly shows such strong interconnectedness.
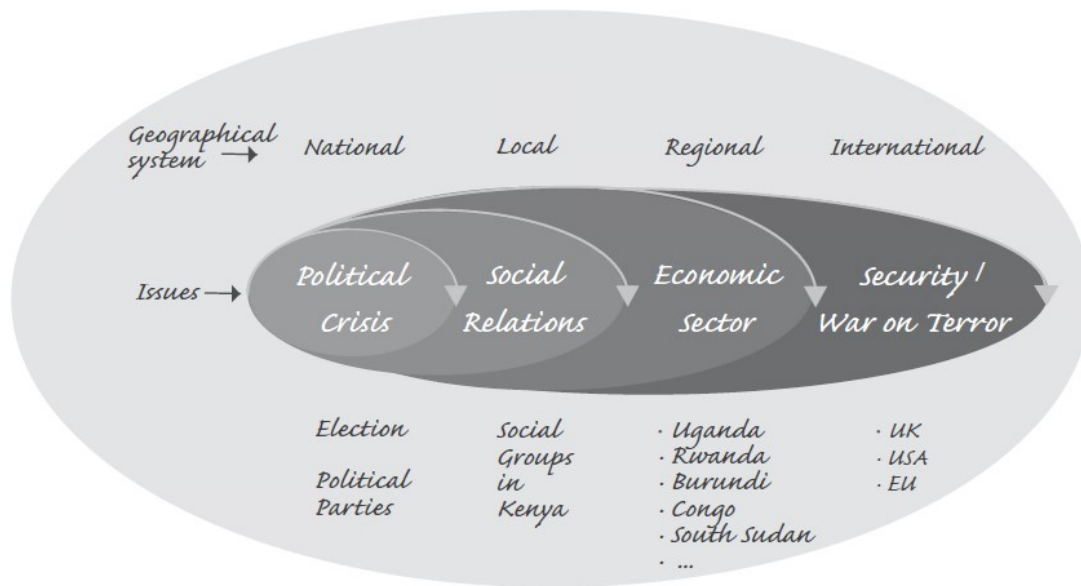
Figure 9: Sectors connected as issues in conflict (Abdi, 2008:4).

Because of such systemic thinking, during the Kofi Annan-led negotiations there were in reality four agendas. The first one aimed at immediate local and national ceasefire. The second goal was that of addressing the humanitarian crisis and the economic impact of the conflict. Agenda number three aimed at solving the political crisis, while the last one at dealing with the underlying issues, that is to say constitutional issues, poverty and inequality, the role of youth and of governance (Abdi, 2008:5).

As a matter of fact, in Kenya, violence in general and post-election violence in particular has always been strictly connected to the concept of identity. As illustrated by the figure below (Abdi, 2008:5), identity plays a fundamental role in any kind of political crisis. Issues that are underneath such crisis, for instance the exclusion of a social group from a geographical space, from services or from national political power, are usually a powerful trigger to start asserting the group's identity, whether it is a social or religious one, often strictly linked to a certain geographical space and to land, which thus loses its economic character. Development services become, through

control over local authority money and constituency development funds, a vehicle to national political powers (Abdi, 2008:5).
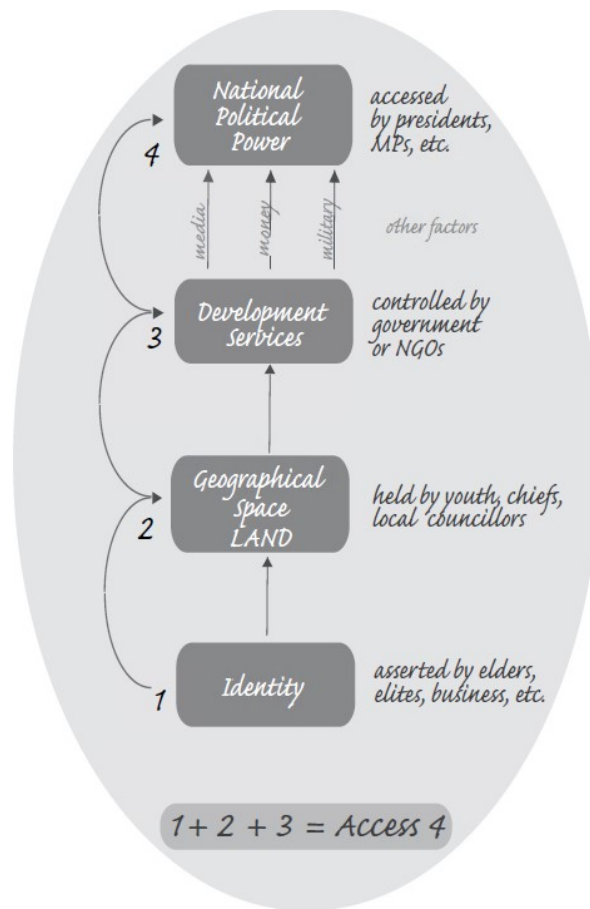
Figure 10: Factors of conflict in Kenya.

As a matter of fact, political manipulations of ethnicity followed by impunity for those implicated in such activity have always characterised Kenyan's post-independence politics. The country experienced episodes of ethnic clashes even before 2007 post-election violence. During the 1991-1993 period for example, President Moi tried to inflame sentiment against the Kikuyu in the Rift Valley in order to consolidate his vote among the Kalenjin in what was the area with the most parliamentary seats. Even though clashes led to1,500 deaths and the displacement of 300,000 people, politicians named in many government reports were rarely prosecuted for their role in inciting violence (Human Rights Watch, 2008:17).

Violence occurred also during the 1997-1998 multiparty elections, when once again government-sponsored Kiliku and Akiwumi judicial inquiries documented many politicians to be responsible for inciting, organising and financing it. In particular, the Akiwumi report included an appendix listing 189 people "adversely mentioned" including Mwai Kibaki, Minister for Internal Security, George Saitoti, and numerous members of parliament, former MPs, District and Provincial Commissioners, councilors and government employees. However, such findings, released only in 2002, were completely ignored by the following administration as it was the Task Force report on the Establishment of a Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (Human Rights Watch, 2008:18-19).

Although the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR) documented incitement and hate speech along ethnic lines also during the 2005 referendum campaign and the 2007 general election campaign, calling for the investigation and prosecution of 16 sitting and former members of parliament, no action was taken (Human Rights Watch, 2008:57).

Of course, such events have dramatically altered the ethnic makeup of many parts of Kenya as many communities have relocated to different parts of the country, sometimes referred to as "ancestral" areas, where their ethnic group is the majority. Kenya having 42 different ethnic groups, such a situation is a social, economic and moral disaster. Moreover, displaced persons' camps became the home of those who had nowhere to go, like a farmer living in a camp in Eldoret whose house had been burnt in1992, 1997 and 2008 (Human Rights Watch, 2008:57).

It is interesting to see how communication tools were used both to promote hate speech and ethnic divisions encouraging ethnic-based mob violence, as well as to promote transparency and accountability through citizen journalism and human rights

campaigns. For example, mobile phones and the Internet played an important role in the Kenyan post-election violence. As word spread that fraud had occurred during the elections, text messages urging tribal and political violence were sent throughout the country. In order to draw local and global attention to the dreadful escalation of violence that they were witnessing, few Kenyans in Nairobi launched *Ushahidi*. Through this online campaign, hundreds of incidents of violence that would have otherwise gone unreported were documented, sparking increased global media attention (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008:3).

Although there is not enough data to demonstrate whether new technology has or not influenced Africa's struggle between democracy and dictatorship given its newness, the Kenyan crisis provides insight into the emerging power of these tools, which were in fact pivotal in coordinating action by reaching large numbers of people in unprecedented ways SMS campaigns were used to promote violence, blogs to challenge mainstream media narratives, and online campaigns to promote awareness of human rights violations (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008:3).

Text messages were used to motivate violence on the base of *majimboism*, a Swahili term referring to the aspiration of a type of federalism composed of semi-independent regions organised by ethnic group. In particular, in certain areas of the country, Kikuyus were seen as invading the ancestral land of other ethnic groups. For example, one of the messages that were used to spread ethnic violence read "Fellow Kenyans, the Kikuyu's have stolen our children's future...we must deal with them in a way they understand...violence", while another in reaction read "No more innocent Kikuyu blood will be shed. We will slaughter them right here in the capital city. For justice, compile a list of Luo's you know...we will give you numbers to text this information"(Goldstein and Rotich, 2008:5).

Given the extent and rapidity to which such hateful messages reached the Kenyan population, the government decided to approach the CEO of Safaricom, Kenya's largest mobile phone provider, to shut down the SMS system. Instead, the company convinced the government to use SMS providers to send out messages of peace and calm, which Safaricom did to all nine million of its customers. Moreover, in the aftermath of violence, contact information of more than one thousand seven hundred individuals who allegedly promoted mob violence was forwarded to the Government. Such incident urged the Parliament to start a debate on an applicable law to prosecute SMS-based hate speech (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008:5).

Additionally, online platforms and campaigns also played a pivotal role in spreading awareness of occurring violence. Taking inspiration from other past initiatives such as *Mzalendo* - Eye on Kenyan Parliament, a website dedicated to help holding Kenyan Members of Parliament (MPs) accountable for their vote, and the Darfur Museum Mapping Initiative, a collaboration between Google Earth and the U.S. Holocaust Museum launched in early 2007, *Ushahidi* used two Internet applications such as Google Maps and another tool to visually document where and when violence occurred. People could report incidents of violence on the map, add photos, video and written content via mobile phones or Internet browser. Very interestingly, an interactive map is a remarkably effective narrative tool as it allows the user to establish a connection with a place where violence is taking place through empathic images (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008:6).

Moreover, blogs and platforms importantly challenged the narrative presented by mainstream media and the government, allowing citizens to take part to the national conversation by timely reporting what they were directly witnessing on the ground, especially following the ban on live news coverage declared by the

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Government in December 2007. Taking into consideration that at that time less than 5 percent of Kenyans had regular Internet access, citizen journalists saw their influence increased when radio broadcasters, who were able to reach 95 percent of the population, began to read influential bloggers (Goldstein and Rotich, 2008:8).

The "networked public sphere" thus defines the potential for a new public discourse based on participation, transparency and positive cooperation. Without forgetting the complicated narrative of sub-Saharan African, where artificial borders and ethnic strife have yet to solidify many countries into nations, the case of Kenya has showed how new technology has increased opportunities for many-to-many communication.

4.4 THE IMPACT OF CONFLICT ON WOMEN

As already mentioned, even though entire communities suffer the consequences of conflict, statistics indicate that approximately 80% of civilian casualties in armed conflicts are women and that 80% of all refugees and internally displaced people worldwide are women and children (Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly Report, 2004). In particular, women are mainly affected by short and long-term effects of conflict.

Contemporary conflicts have the most varied and complex gendered impacts on women as they are forced to experience them not only as future peace builders but also as victims, opponents and survivors (Rajoo, 2005:17). Forced to flee conflict zones, women are subjected to a wide range of abuses such as violence against women which, during war, often magnifies the inequalities that women face in their everyday lives (Ahmed Ali, 2010:114). Furthermore, during conflict women's political, social, economic, environmental and cultural security is at stake. Targeted

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because of their sex and gender roles, women are subjected to abduction, sexual slavery, rape and are forced to serve combat troops (Ahmed Ali, 2010:115).

Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) deserves specific attention, as it has become a real strategy of armed conflict to humiliate, terrorize and destroy a woman's, as well as her community's dignity and integrity. According to the World Health Organisation, "sexual and other forms of gender-based violence" comprises not only rape and attempted rape, but also sexual abuse, sexual exploitation, forced early marriage, domestic violence, marital rape, trafficking and female genital mutilation" (Anderlini, 2011:9). Women and girls represent the overwhelming number of known victims of SGBV, which is typically is the result of a mix of socio-cultural, political, economic drivers and motivations. Although sexual violence can be used as a war tactic, it is sometimes also a crime of opportunity and an extension of other forms of violence and insecurity. In fact, as reported by a Kenyan woman (Anderlini, 2011:10):

> "In a patriarchal society, domestic violence is actually recognized as one way of disciplining one's wife. In fact, even the society socializes you as a woman to anticipate this discipline. It is so deeply inculcated in many peoples' minds. We have women who say, when they have not been beaten, their husbands have stopped loving them."

Ahmed Ali (2014) illustrates how in many societies women's identity is strictly connected to men's identity as protectors. As a consequence, targeting women is a way of attacking men's role of protectors of their territory and identity. Moreover, raping women, who often personify the nation, symbolically represents violating the nation itself and creating power relations imbalances.

Politically speaking, SGBV has been used through mass rape to dominate the enemy, to commit genocide and ethnic cleansing, to eradicate a particular group from an area. Sexual torture has been also deployed as a method of interrogation. Conflict

situations, often characterised by lack of mobility, lack of security and protection due to lawlessness, and lack of economic opportunities, often create the preconditions for gender-based violence (Ahmed Ali, 2014:8).

Moreover, pre-war societal elements such as gender stereotypes and gender structural inequalities might lead to discrimination and objectification of women. The political acceptance of violence aimed at supporting patriarchy and women's subordination, as well as the continuum of violence often contribute to the systematization of wartime SGBV (Lahai, 2010:6). Lahai (2010) reports how in Sierra Leone, the Truth Commission found that the persistency of pre-war violence helped the spreading of a culture of silence as women thought that reporting domestic violence to 'outsiders' exposed 'family secret.'

African conflicts have much often witnessed incidents of gender-based violence, and in particular sexual abuse, but it was only after the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, during which possibly 500,000 women were raped, that the use of rape in Africa as widespread or systematic attack against women on the basis of ethnicity was first acknowledged (Ahmed Ali, 2010:116). Findings also documented many cases of gender-based violence, including rape and forced circumcisions both of women and men, during the 2008 post-election violence that took place in Kenya (Wanyeki, 2008:95). Anderlini (2011) reports that in a 2003 random survey of 388 Liberian women in refugee camps, 74% reported sexual abuse prior to displacement, and 54% during displacement, while in D.R. Congo an average of 1,100 rapes are reported each month, with gang rape being common.

Furthermore, during conflicts women also suffer domestic violence at the hands of their in-laws or caretakers, who become their cultural guardians once their husbands disappear, die or are exiled. For example, Sudanese women from Darfur and

Somali refugee women in camps experience domestic violence at the hands of their protectors, that is to say their father or brothers- in-law (Ahmed Ali, 2010:116).

As Murray et al. (2002) report, women often face also health consequences which can be direct (battle-related deaths) or indirect (increased risk of disease transmission). During conflicts, gender violence causes diseases to spread. For example, after the genocide in Rwanda 80% of the women had venereal diseases, while in Burundi, Liberia and DR Congo, the use of rape committed by fighters led to high rates of HIV/AIDS.(Ahmed Ali, 2010:116). Moreover, lack of natal care with consequent increased risk of infant mortality or maternal complications; breastfeeding issues related to stress and inadequate nutrition; increase in Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) can be witnessed (Kabongah, 2011:46).

Violence-caused trauma manifests itself in depression, chronic fatigue, stress, anguish and indolence. In addition, female victims of violence continue facing its effects even when the conflict is over, as they are frequently ostracized and further stigmatized as a result of violence they have experienced during armed conflict. Mental health is also affected by the loss of family members, homes and prospects for the future, the need to adjust to radically new circumstances (Ahmed Ali, 2010:115). Therapy being very expensive and time consuming, many women cannot profit from it.

Displacement is another significant gendered impact of armed conflicts. Very importantly, despite being often viewed as a temporary or transitory phenomenon, displacement is actually a prolonged process that consequently disadvantages women because of reduced access to resources, social exclusion, poverty and increased physical and emotional violence (Ahmed Ali, 2010: 118). As Kabongah (2011) reports, women and girls in Kenya have been periodically displaced following the

1992, 1997 and 2007 elections, as well as from other incidences such as cattle and cross border raids in northern Kenya.

As men became combatants or casualties, about 90% of the internally displaced are usually women and children. During post-election violence, more than 600-thousand people had to flee their homes, causing the disruption of normal family life (Kabongah, 2011:44). Even though camps offer shelter from widespread violence, they do not always protect women from abuse and mistreatment. Women also face gender discrimination while seeking asylum and confront many problems related to their biological make-up, such as menstruation, gestation, parturition and lactation (Ahmed Ali, 2010: 118). Wanyeki (2008) also reports of other forms of gender based violence perpetrated in the camps that had been set up to house the internally displaced, as well as of girls and women who had lost the male members of their families engaging in transactional sex with volunteer relief workers and formal security workers in exchange for supplies and security.

Kabongah (2011) reports a woman's testimony during post-election violence in Eldoret South Constituency. When results were announced and fear of imminent violence started to spread throughout her village, she was helped by a neighbor to escape to a safer place together with her 13-year old child suffering from cerebral palsy. After a night of terror, cold and hunger, she found her house burnt to the ground and therefore decided to flee together with other women and children, moving from one place to another without basic needs. Because of such experience, she now strongly supports an increased female participation in peace-building initiatives, as those who experienced trauma and no access to services should be key actors in building back safe communities.

Education is also highly compromised during conflict, as most schools in affected areas are closed or destroyed. Apart from extreme cases in which children have been forced to become combatants, they are generally forced to find shelter at home or to flee to areas without education facilities where survival obliges them to start working (Kabongah, 2011:47).

Moreover, conflict obviously has also a significant impact on women's economic role in the household and broader society. Such effects differ by age and life status. Schindler (2011) provides statistical data from Rwanda showing how conflict economically empowered widows, probably by necessity, while married women continued to conform to traditional notions of women's role, engaging in domestic tasks and subsistence farming. In general, as O'Connell (2011) suggests, the economic opportunities open to women are shaped mostly by culture and tradition, education, and access to land and resources.

Ahmed Ali (2010) summarises the effects of armed conflict on African women as follows:

- Women are the main collateral victims of conflicts, as they suffer attacks and violence from all sides.

- Women suffer both as participants in hospital or in domestic services, feeling hopeless in front of the witnessed sufferings, and as combatants, experiencing discrimination, sexual and psychological violence as well as physical assault.

- Women, as politicians, suffer politically from threats of death and assassinations, as well as from family pressures.

- Women who have relatives in the government forces, in official positions or in the rebel movements are tortured for the purposes of giving information of the whereabouts of their loved ones.

- Women suffer as peace-builders or campaigners as, being seen as mere victims who need masculine protection, they are denied the opportunity to participate in peace processes.

- Women suffer many forms of physical violence during conflicts, such as torture, mutilation, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, sterilization, slavery, assassination, abduction, infection with sexually transmitted diseases, and anti-personal landmines.

It is however important to highlight that conflicts also create both social upheaval as well as opportunities in terms of empowerment, especially when the notion of home as safe refuge is challenged and as women are forced to assume non-traditional roles within their societies (Ahmed Ali, 2010:117). She further explains that from a social point of view war can have different impacts:

- At the personal or individual level, there is a clear tendency towards a greater proportion of female-headed and child-headed households (30% or more), which directly affects the division of labor as women consequently tend to take on additional productive roles.

- At the community level, social relations might be modified. However, patriarchal ideologies might not necessarily be changed but rather rearranged, adapted or reinforced.

- At the broader societal level, consequences vary from society to society, and often lead to further various consequences (Ahmed Ali, 2010).

Kabongah (2011) illustrates that despite the many challenges deriving from a retrogressive culture, such as female genital mutilation that prevents girls from furthering their education and prepares them for early marriage, lack of women's rights to ownership of land and property, as well as the use of religion to deny rights,

women have in many instances taken up leadership roles. In Kenya, for example, in addition to the patriarchal social system and the general lack of financial capacity, the violent election process and the use of hate speech certainly further hindered women's participation to run for leadership positions. However, Kabongah (2011) reports the testimony of a woman in Lugari who contested for a civic seat in 2007. Being the first woman to run in that area, she was disadvantaged both in financial and political terms. During the electioneering period she witnessed widespread ethnic-based hate speech. As women were told to shut up and support men, her campaign was opposed both by other fellow women as well as by youth groups sponsored by her rival, which sent threatening messages. She was later forced to step down but continued to support her party also when the 2007 election results were contested. She was consequently forced to run away and hide, while word was going around that she had been killed.

Conflict can therefore also create opportunities for women to play an increased role in political decision-making. Hughes (2009) underlines how longer, larger scale wars that challenge the political system have produced the best outcomes for women to gain parliamentary representation, as evidence from Rwanda, Mozambique, Uganda, and Tajikistan suggests that structural and cultural mechanisms combined with political openings have resulted in post-conflict gains in terms of women's political representation. The UN Security Council (2012) reports that a third of the countries that have 30% or more women in parliament experienced recent conflict, fragility or a transition to democracy. Very interestingly, Domingo et al. (2013) state that more women in Africa have tended to run for presidential office in fragile and conflict-affected states (FCAS) such as DRC, Liberia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone than in countries that have not recently experienced conflict.

However, Hughes (2009) highlights the important fact that women in most post-conflict contexts have not been able to formalize and translate political gains into post-conflict political representation, as evidence of women having taken political roles at community and national levels (Sudan, Uganda) is inconsistent.

To conclude, conflict and post-conflict scenarios highly influence women and their human security. Widespread sexual and gender-based violence, increased poverty, lack of basic education and health services certainly make women's experience of conflict very different from the one of other actors. Without such awareness, no effective peace-building process can be implemented. Despite its destructive nature, conflict can also be a powerful occasion to bring a radical change in pre-war gender stereotypes as well as in women's social and political awareness, urging them to demand and obtain their rights. Moreover, women's specific experience can also be a useful tool to prevent conflict, as rape and violence against women is certainly a good proxy indicator of rising tensions, being a reflective element of pre-existing patterns in society.

4.5 THE MECHANISMS OF DEALING WITH CONFLICT

The history of violence in Kenya, together with the explosion of violent conflict in several provinces previously considered peaceful ones, highlighted the need to comprehensively address the root causes of all types of conflict in the country in order to enhance early warning and response mechanisms. There are many aspects to conflict intervention, as this may include (Kabongah, 2011:50):

- Measures aimed at limiting, mitigating or containing a conflict without necessarily solving it;

- Attempts to resolve the underlying incompatibilities of a conflict employing non-violence means and getting parties to mutually accept each other's needs;

- Conflict resolution methods such as negotiation, arbitration, joint problem solving and traditional approaches;

- Mechanisms used to avoid, minimize or contain potential violent conflicts or to prevent conflict from re-emerging in post-conflict situations.

Generally speaking, attempts to restore peace in Kenya have taken two distinct paths. The first one consists of formal peace negotiations conducted by political leaders and sometimes mediated by external parties. The second one includes an array of grass-roots initiatives. As a consequence, Juma (2000:16) identifies three types of peace-building responses: formal (government), semiformal (individuals in government positions) and informal (grass roots).

Until recently, there had been no conflict-resolution framework able to satisfy the traditional though changing socio-political and cultural dynamics of the parties in conflict. Much peace and development interventions have been based on a very low consideration of indigenous and traditional practices, which have been regarded as unaccountable and contradictory to modern and internationally sponsored conflict-resolution efforts.

Only in recent years, and partly as a reaction to the perceived failings of dominant Western approaches, international and national actors became aware of the fact that no successful framework could avoid taking into consideration community customary principles of "war and peace" as embedded in traditions and social structures such as group status and identity. The United Nations, for example

designated the 1995–2004 period as the "International Decade of the World's Indigenous Peoples" (Mac Ginty, 2008:140).

As a consequence, scholars and practitioners started to focus their attention on approaches based on dialogue, social justice and conflict transformation rather than resolution, as well as on local, ongoing relationships in which third parties could be invited as facilitators rather than unilateral interveners. For instance, John Paul Lederach's (1995a) notion of "elicitive training" rejects the idea of external conflict resolution experts and highlights the importance of local inputs in peace-building. Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) highly respects indigenous and traditional approaches to peace-making (Mac Ginty, 2008:141).

Traditional and indigenous approaches found widespread and renewed support not only being based on the concept of local participation, but also as they stressed the importance of sustainability. Opposite to short-term interventions, local sustainable approaches allowed communities to access their own resources and capacities over the longer term, in order to gain independence from external assistance. Moreover, the general growing awareness of the complexity of ethno national conflicts and the need for multifaceted conflict management approaches made conflict-resolution policies more sensitive to the need for holistic approaches able to involve grass-roots civil society actors (Mac Ginty, 2008:142-143).

It is however important not to confuse the terms "traditional" and "indigenous" as they are not interchangeable. While "traditional" denotes a practice or norm having a heritage of considerable duration, "indigenous" indicates an activity or norm that is locally inspired. Crucially, indigenous norms and activities do not need to be traditional as indigenous groups engage in constant processes of adaptation to their social environment. Moreover, such notions may be manipulated by actors in a peace-

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making in order to benefit from the supposed higher moral value to be gained by labeling a practice or attitude as traditional (Mac Ginty, 2008:149-150).

In order to better understand why such approach is pivotal for any effective peace-building mechanism, the next section is going to address more in detail traditional responses.

4.5.1 TRADITIONAL CONFLICT RESOLUTION METHODS

Traditional responses are based upon customary practices that use local actors such as chiefs, women's organisations and local institutions to manage and resolve conflicts through judicial and legal decision-making mechanisms. In particular, in traditional African societies the elders play a pivotal role in customary mechanisms of conflict management. Not only they control access to resources and marital rights, they can also access networks that go beyond clan boundaries, ethnic identity and generations. Moreover, they possess supernatural powers reinforced by superstitions and witchcraft. Therefore, they can exercise authority within their community (Pkalya, Ruto et al., 2004:4).

Despite being generally respected for using their judgment and moral ascendancy to find an acceptable solution, their ability to be effective differ from region to region and community to community. Through rituals, symbols and interpretation of myths, elders may come to a final decision involving forgiveness and mutual formal release of the problem or, if necessary, the arrangement of restitution. Their ability to succeed is certainly linked to the strong faith that people have in their skills, sometimes also blaming the main actors in conflicts for their failures. Consequently, peace agreements and declarations resulted from deliberation of

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traditional structures tend to be respected and supported the most (Pkalya, Ruto et al., 2004:4).

Combining consensus building based on open discussions with exchange of information, the purpose of local mediation is thus that of creating a sense of unity through dialogue, shared involvement and responsibility among parties. This approach has been used at the grassroots level to settle disputes over land, water, grazing-land rights, fishing rights, marital problems, inheritance, ownership rights, murder, bride price, cattle raiding, theft, rape, banditry, and inter-ethnic and religious conflicts (Pkalya, Ruto et al., 2003:17-19).

As women and youth are largely excluded, important community decision-making processes are therefore characterised by a serious gender and age imbalance. Regardless of their role in conflicts, women may only assist such processes by sitting in an outer circle. Without speaking directly to the council, they may convey a comment through a male relative. In some communities, however, women may have their own "council" discussions whose results are then brought to the men's council for consideration (Pkalya, Ruto et al., 2003:17).

Despite such obstacles to their active participation, women can in fact prevent inter-ethnic conflicts in a number of ways. Among the Pokot as well as some Kalenjin sub tribes, for example, a woman is believed to be able to protect her son from external harm of any kind by wearing a birth belt decorated with cowry shells called *leketio*. As warriors usually ask their mothers to wear the belt while they are away for a raid, women have started to refuse to do so as to prevent conflicts and prompt their sons to abandon the mission. Moreover, as crossing a *leketio* is considered a curse, women can also lay their belts in front of warriors who are about to leave or remove them during a fight for it to cease immediately. Unfortunately, fear and respect of

such tradition has diminished and women have been killed for this reason. This act of killing innocent women has been considered a curse on humanity itself, blaming it for severe droughts, human and animal diseases and diminishing productivity of cattle. (Pkalya, Ruto et al., 2003:71).

As a woman is generally regarded as property, when she is raped she loses value and will fetch fewer livestock (bride wealth) upon marriage. However, in many communities adultery and rape (*atikonor)* are usually considered neither domestic nor clan conflicts, but mostly criminal acts that are not tolerated in the society with consequent to heavily punishment of perpetrators (Pkalya, Ruto et al., 2004:47).

If women were once regarded in many African communities as the most none partisan when it came to conflict, therefore, they were never being killed but simply captured and later assimilated into the community that had captured them; nowadays they are instead highly affected by conflict. Therefore, they should be empowered to actively participate in decision-making and conflict-resolution mechanisms, eliminating all those cultural norms and practices that hinder or prohibit their participation.

4.5.2 OTHER FORMS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION

Kabongah (2011:52) claims that traditional and indigenous conflict management interventions are not the only resources available at the national level. Many other approaches, involving different actors and stakeholders, have been implemented. First of all, since the early 1990's local, national and international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Community-Based Organisations (CBOs) have been facilitating and implementing conflict management and peace-building strategies across the country and specifically in marginalised rural and pastoralist

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areas. Therefore, the civil society have been actively promoting conflict transformation and conflict management strategies, which included conflict early warning and early response. During the 2007 elections campaign, for example, the Partnership for Peace and Security (PfPS) network played an important part in calling for national peace through the "*Chagua Amani ZuiaNoma*" (Choose Peace, Prevent Bad Situations) campaign (Kabongah, 2011:52).

Civil society is of course pivotal in terms of rapid assessment, especially in local hotspots. For instance, Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation has collaborated with other bodies to promote conflict management activities and peace-building in many places around the country, providing for example peace training for its officials.

Some criticism has been formulated towards activities carries out by civil society organisations, which have been accused of not having achieved tangible and long-lasting results, as well as of not being neutral in their advocacy for peace but instead identity-based and with specific agendas.

In addition to civil society, the State can also respond to conflict through its judicial and administrative institutions. Judicial responses solve disputes by enforcing the rule of law through legally sanctioned judicial and quasi-judicial *fora*. In addition to the formal judicial system, there are in fact a number of statutory quasi-judicial mechanisms, which include the Land Disputes Tribunal, the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights (KNCHR), the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission (EACC), the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) and the Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC). All these bodies have been fundamental in working for reconciliation for past conflicts and abuses, enhancing national cohesion and integration by promoting co-existence, and fostering peace among communities (Kabongah, 2011:54).

On the other hand, administrative responses employ government structures and initiatives such as security agencies, provincial administration, the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management (NSC), and the Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons (KNFP). The Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security plays a key role in the executive management of the country as well as the management of conflict. The National Steering Committee on Conflict Management and Peace-building is the coordinating agency for peace-building and conflict management under the administrative system, through the Provincial Peace Forum (PPF) at provincial level and the District Peace Committees (DPC) at the district level. Moreover, Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons is the inter-agency body coordinating response to the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (Kabongah, 2011:55).

Finally, conflict is nationally managed also through the security apparatus, which includes Kenya Police, Administration Police and the Kenya Police Reserve operating in remote areas. Moreover, residents participate in policing activities in their areas by collaborating with the police through community policing. Despite their important role, being often the first ones to intervene in conflict situations, police forces have acquired in many parts of the country a bad reputation in terms of corruption, brutality, ineptitude and impartiality. As a consequence, community members do not always trust the police when in need of help. However, a vigorous police reform process is under through the National Police Service Bill and the Independent Policing Oversight Authority Bill (Kabongah, 2011:56).

4.6 WOMEN AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN AFRICA

Even if their contributions have been largely ignored by official policy-making structures, African women have played a pivotal role in conflict transformation in times of war, as well as in times of negative peace by promoting social justice and addressing issues related to structural and direct violence affecting the whole society. As the rituals of peace often preclude their full participation, activities performed by women are usually seen as marginal to the formal mechanisms and therefore receive little recognition.

There are two main approaches concerning the literature on women's participation in conflict transformation. The first one focuses on their representation and participation at high political levels and in decision-making mechanisms for conflict resolution, including the ongoing international debates calling for an increased participation of women in matters of war and peace. The second is a disparate collection on women's grass-roots peace-making initiatives (Juma, 2000:1).

Considering that since 1990 dozens of conflicts, primarily civil wars, erupted in Africa, it became more and more evident that formal mechanisms of conflict resolution were no more capable of facing such complex conflicts. Frustrated by the inefficiency of formal peace approaches, women increasingly became the new pillars of peace beyond the formal sector (Juma, 2000:2).

Ahmed Ali (2007:73-76) provides few examples of women's strategies in the quest for peace and conflict transformation within the African continent. The Green Belt Movement (GBM) in Kenya led by the late 2004 Nobel Peace Prize winner Wangari Maathai has played an active role in enhancing democracy and social justice through a purely environmental conservation movement that used strategies such as camping and hunger strikes. Very importantly, women implemented the strategy of

stripping off clothes, seen by many African cultures as a curse, in order to demand the release of their men whom had been detained for demanding more democratic rights. Despite the fact that their leader was arrested, these women waited for the release of their sons and husbands which occurred one year later (Ahmed Ali, 2007:74).

The stripping off clothes strategy has been deployed also in other African countries such as in Nigeria by the Ogoni women and in Sierra Leone in 2000, when a group of elderly women came together and demanded a meeting with Foday Sankoh, leader of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), when the group ignored the 1999 Lomé accords. As Ahmed Ali (2007) explains, after being mistreated and insulted, knowing that such action was the worst curse that can be bought upon anyone, they decided to hitch up their skirts and bare themselves to men. This episode was pivotal in giving people the courage to stand up to the RUF while upholding women's honor and supporting the curse. Sankoh was then arrested

Moreover, the Saharawi women in Southwest Algeria have been participating for almost 40 years in the struggle for independence of Western Sahara not only by taking care of health services, schools, sanitation, water and food in refugee camps, but also by taking part to diplomatic campaigns for a peaceful solution of the conflict (Ahmed Ali, 2007:75-76).

As Ogunsanya (2007) reports, Sudanese women contributed to peace making and reconciliation through various activities such as songs and dances, peace missions and marriage. In some community in the south of the country, Sudanese women threatened to withdraw conjugal duties from men, as well as to expose their nakedness, regarded as a curse. Women also encouraged inter-communal conflict resolution and peace-building through education and by bringing fellow women from other communities together in an effort to build relationships and attain peace.

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Women therefore slowly began being harnessed as tools of peace (Ogunsanya, 2007:24). Moreover, women and traditional leaders convened local peace meetings and conferences between representatives of ethnic and community groups that took place parallel to the internationally sponsored peace negotiations. Women have in fact played a large role in inter-ethnic reconciliation across southern Sudan, including for example the peace council that brought about effective solutions between the Nuer and Dinka communities and that included one-third of female members (Ogunsanya, 2007:25).

In countries torn by conflict, such as Sierra Leone, women have also launched programs of rehabilitation and socialization for ex-combatants, especially child soldiers. Thanks to their good listening, communication skills, willingness and flexibility to compromise, women have organised groups and association dealing with the long-term effects of violence. In Rwanda, widows founded in 1997 the Association for Widows of the Genocide (AVEGA), aimed at helping women to deal with the trauma of genocide by providing psychological, social and health support assistance (Ahmed Ali, 2007:76).

Very interestingly, women also took part in the traditional conflict transformation systems such as in the Gacaca courts in Rwanda, which incorporated an old system of dispute resolution that had fallen into disuse with new roles for women. By acting also as judges, women brought to the system the ability to listen with compassion, to compensate the affected families and to reunite a divided society through forgiveness.

Finally, Ahmed Ali (2007) also reports of women involved in disarmament initiatives such as the Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI), started in 1994 to informally voice women's needs during official peace talks by targeting all parties

involved and collecting small arms in the name of their motto "disarmament before elections".

All these instances show how traditional ways of building peace are pivotal when aiming at long-term, sustainable strategies capable of encompassing the community. Again, we can easily state that women have always been aware of such important element. As women in the Pokot community use the *leketio* belt, women belonging to the Kalenjin community know that, in order to ask their men to stop fighting, they carry green grass or leaves.

Of course, women taking part in conflict transformation in Africa face many challenges such as (Kabongah, 2008:72-75):

- Logistical – due to the inaccessibility of rural areas, the lack of transport and of finance, women may encounter difficulties in organising seminars and workshops or in providing victims with the required basic needs. Moreover, they are often unable to get access to media networks to enhance their peace campaign as lacking a budget for multidimensional activities. They mostly work on a voluntary basis at the grassroots level making use of personal resources (Kabongah, 2008:72).

- Cultural beliefs – because of their societal role confined to the private sphere, women can find it very difficult to openly speak for peace fearing not only being regarded as children, but also being divorced by their husbands for having gone against culture and having entered a male-dominated domain (Kabongah, 2008:72).

- The ex-militia – given that any long-term strategy had to include combatants and warlords in order to transform their way of life and halt the influx of small arms, women play a pivotal role in converting militia members to peace building. The wife of a notorious young mercenary, who led groups of gangs that unleashed mayhem in most of Wajir, after joining the women peace group decided to

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advise him to leave his gangster activities. He then surrendered to the military and was pardoned within a framework of amnesty, leading to the removal of 46 guns from the fighting group he led. As the main reason for engaging in mercenary activity is simply to earn a livelihood, peace workers aim at providing alternative earning activities to convince them to stop fighting (Kabongah, 2008:73).

- Lack of political strength and political vision - women are often accused of suffering from "political illiteracy" as lacking an ideological framework and a political strategy for engagement (Kabongah, 2008:73).

- Lack of experience and visibility – having always been excluded from the political arena and confined to the informal sector, they are frequently criticised for lacking skills in negotiation, advocacy and lobbying techniques (Kabongah, 2008:73).

- Lack of sustainability – it is important to stress that women's representation does not automatically mean meaningful and recognized participation with substantial impact. Moreover, as they usually go back to traditional activities once the conflict is over, women often lose their achieved role once the peace process is concluded. Furthermore, women use means of expression such as poems, plays, prayers, peaceful demonstrations and marches that are usually marginalised to the feminine realm as considered lacking a strong political strategy and having no impact in long-term strategies (Kabongah, 2008:74).

Moreover, Ogunsanya (2007) explains that African women face many challenges in their attempt to constructively respond to conflict and to undertake transformation, reconstruction and reconciliation. Sudanese women, for example, despite having worked across the conflict divide and having contributed to the many peace efforts in the country, they have not been as a group signatories to the

Comprehensive Peace Agreement of January 2005 between the North and South. However, determined to participate in the implementation of the Agreement, they succeeded in pressuring their leaders to appoint women to strategic positions in the Transitional Government. In Burundi, women's main challenges derive from the need to rebuild infrastructures, the economy, governance structures and foster a climate of trust amongst the population (Ogunsanya, 2007:9)

Despite the above-mentioned obstacles, there is certainly a positive change in the way that society at large and women themselves consider their role in conflict transformation. Following an increased appreciation of their contribution to build sustainable peace, women are slowly bringing about the engendering of conflict prevention, management and resolution, which is essential in order to reduce those forms of violence and inequalities that are typical of women's conflict experience. International instruments such as the previously cited United Nations Security Council Resolutions have urged states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national and regional institutions and mechanisms. It is then the responsibility of states to implement their own measures to do so.

Therefore, this dissertation is now going to examine how an infrastructure for peace might be capable to build a peaceful society by taking the necessary steps such as (Kabongah, 2008:78-80):

- Developing civic education that promotes women's rights to participate, and inherit or own land;

- Raising awareness on the elimination of discrimination in legislations, customs and practices;

- Creating community development programs in which women are involved in identifying priority projects and addressing economic obstacles to female empowerment;

- Establishing or strengthening while engendering conflict prevention, management and peace-building structures;

- Developing an inclusive resettlement approach between IDPs, government and host communities aimed at peaceful coexistence;

- Adopting government disarming programs at the community level, working to unravel the myth behind gun culture;

- Enhancing the working relationship between the provincial administration and communities through initiatives that promote trust and information sharing, as well as by encouraging a neighborhood watch approach involving women, children and youth.

4.7 INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE IN KENYA

Mainstream peace-building models have been based on the assumption that members of communities afflicted by conflict, being themselves parties to the conflict, are unable to undertake effective peace-building on their own. Consequently, peace-building mechanisms have been formulated within frameworks that depend largely on outside intervention by actors who are considered impartial.

However, we have by now largely seen how sustainable peace demands protracted engagement in efforts for medium and long-term change. No such change is achievable if affected communities are not involved in the cycle of peace-building. Local peace initiatives become thus pivotal in an era in which conflict becomes more

and more localized and complex. This "inside participation" model allows an increased participation of all community members, including women (Juma, 2000:5).

Among the many reasons, which led the author of this dissertation to choose Kenya as the case study/example for this research, the main one is that this country is a fascinating example of how bottom-up processes are capable of establishing sustainable and inclusive peace architectures. Even more interestingly, the concept of a national Infrastructure for Peace started developing in Kenya in 1993, when a group of women from the Wajir district, bordering Somalia and Ethiopia, took action to put an end to the highly destructive cycle of violent conflict in the region.

Frustrated with the failure of state institutions to regulate conflict and provide security, women took action led by Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, core team member of Concerned Citizens for Peace (CCP), an initiative launched as a rallying point for national peace and dialogue within twenty-four hours since the announcement of the disputed presidential election results in 2007. They decided to start sensitizing the population on the need for peace by engaging the elders of the different clans and setting up a mediation process. As Abdi (1996) reports, in 1995 the Wajir Peace and Development Committee was formed, including heads of all government departments, representatives of the various peace groups, religious leaders, NGO representatives, chiefs and security officers. Its success in bringing and maintaining peace to the district led to the spread of the model to other districts in the northern part of Kenya. The details of such success will be later further illustrated.

Following such example and as part of a national reform process, the government established in 2001 a National Steering Committee (NSC) on Peace-building and Conflict Management. As the official websites illustrate, the NSC is aimed at developing a national policy on peace-building and conflict management

through broad consultations. As a result, the National Peace Policy was adopted by the National Assembly on 27 August 2015, after more than ten years of stakeholder consultations with civil society organisations and the government.

Other initiatives started to develop, such as the Nairobi Peace Forum as well as other training and capacity building activities. As districts that already had peace committees recorded less violence during the 2007 clashes, institutions became aware of the importance of enhancing local capacities for peace. Therefore, following post-election violence in 2007 the National Accord and Reconciliation Act 2008 recommended the establishment of District Peace Committees in all of Kenya's districts.

As Pkalya and Adan (2006b) report, the idea of District Peace Committees started to develop in Kenya between the 1980s and 1990s, when local level peace-building and conflict management were mainly confined to arid and semi-arid areas, especially those inhabited by pastoral communities. Such *ad hoc* initiatives have then been developed in order to create a new hybrid framework able to borrow heavily from traditional dispute resolution mechanisms as well as from modern formal dispute arbitration processes.

The umbrella term used to refer to such mechanisms is "local peace committees" (LPC - also called district peace advisory councils, district multiparty liaison committees, village peace and development committees, committees for intercommunity relations and so on). Odendaal (2010) defines Local Peace Committees (LPCs) as forums that includes different sections of the community such as local government and political representatives, civil society, business and religious leaders and representatives of traditional groups, etc.

Meeting regularly to discuss emerging conflicts or tensions affecting a district, municipality, town or village, LPCs help the involved locally-divided communities to negotiate a mutually satisfactory and consensus-based peace arrangement by providing a safe environment where dialogue, mutual understanding, trust-building, inclusive and constructive problem solving, and joint action to prevent violence are promoted. Such mechanism has proved to be particularly useful in areas where coercive methods will be counterproductive as the justice system is weak or lacks credibility. Odendaal and Retief (2008) demonstrate that although never assuming functions of local governments Local Peace Committees can in particular:

- Enable communication aimed at dealing with potentially destructive rumours, fear and mistrust;

- Prevent or contain violence through a strategy of joint planning for and monitoring of potentially violent events;

- Play a facilitation or mediation role in local peace-making processes;

- Facilitate dialogue within the community to strengthen social cohesion and participatory governance approaches;

- Convey information between local and national levels so that local peace-building opportunities and challenges can receive appropriate national attention.

With great effort, such mechanisms have gone through a process of institutionalization that led the NSC to become a multi-agency organisation mandated with the co-ordination of all peace related activities in Kenya. Now called the Peace-building and Conflict Management Directorate, which also doubles up as Kenya's Conflict Early Warning and Response Unit (CEWERU), as well as coordinates local peace committees and peace forums at the provincial level (NSC, 2017). Over the last

few years, the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management has been working in collaboration with other partners, such as UNDP, to strengthen both national and local capacity through facilitation of community dialogues, training of DPCs in mediation, negotiation, dialogue and reconciliation skills, development of Terms of Reference for DPCs, and documentation of peace processes.

The next section will explain the various steps Kenya has used to develop its own Infrastructure for Peace.

4.7.1 THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN WAJIR DISTRICT IN BUILDING THE INFRASTRUCTURES FOR PEACE IN KENYA

As already mentioned, it was women in the Wajir District who started what in 1995 became the Wajir Peace and Development Committee (WPDC) previously known the Wajir Peace Group (WPG). At the time, the area was touched by a destructive cycle of violence between different clans of Kenyan Somalis. During 1993 alone, approximately 1,213 people died and 200 were injured, stolen livestock included 1,000 camels, 2,500 cattle and 15,000 sheep and goats. That year witnessed economic losses estimated at around $900,000 USD (Abdi and Jenner, 1996:10).

According to Odendaal (2010:40) the conflict found its root causes in:

- A very weak district government presence with consequent failure of state institutions to regulate conflict, provide security and promote development due to a general laissez-faire situation where neither locals nor security forces felt responsible for order and peace;

- The 1991-92 drought, which hit Wajir killing more than 80 percent of the animal stock obliging hundreds of people to flee in search of food and sustenance;

- A pastoralist culture that condoned livestock raiding;

- An influx of refugees from Somalia and Ethiopia, as well as the collapse of the state of Somali in 1991 when Somali clans exported their conflicts to Kenya;

- A ready availability of small arms.

Given such situation, locals could either choose to move out of the district, live there under fear and insecurity, or take action. Three incidents provided the opportunity to act, which women were waiting for. The idea of trying to stop the violence was born at a wedding, during which a discussion was started as a woman reminded the others of the need to disperse early for safety reasons. Due to a daytime raid in a residential area some children ran away to find shelter. As it took hours for parents to find them, fortunately uninjured, panic started to spread among parents and especially mothers who feared for their children (Juma, 2000:22).

Consequently, five women who worked in government departments met to discuss a strategy to deal with the violence. While the meeting was taking place, a fight broke out between women in a market, an arena viewed as immune to violence. The five women decided to approach the market women to find ways of dealing with the conflict, taking advantage of both the widespread frustration as well as the importance of peace for the local economy. A committee of ten women, headed by an elderly woman leader, was then chosen to monitor the situation in the market on a daily basis and make sure that all women could enter the market and conduct business without discrimination. As no one wanted to be expelled from the market, quarrels soon started to decrease. Such success encouraged women to pursue peace in the wider community and that is how the Wajir Women Association for Peace was born (Juma, 2000:22).

The association started to further target other women going door to door to convince them not to fuel inter-clan fighting. Women then targeted the elders and, despite a general prejudice against what the women could achieve, convinced them to form the Council of the Elders for Peace, comprising initially 40 and later 36 elders. The council played a pivotal role by using their traditional authority to reconcile parties through a newly signed code of conduct called the Al Fatah Declaration, which constituted the guidelines for the return of peace in the Wajir District. Finally, women also targeted the youths in schools, which then formed the Youth for Peace Groups, and both Christian and Muslim religious leaders to preach peace from village to village (Juma, 2000:24).

In one of the first community incidents in which this new mediation approach was used, animals were raided from Wajir North and brought to Wajir East. The Chairman of the Council asked one member of the Al Fatah Council hailing from Wajir East to mediate the conflict by selecting two representatives from each clan. In total, 15 elders were mandated to find the raided animals, which were then returned in a ceremony attended by Al Fatah members and government officials. Moreover, reconciliation meetings were held using the egg as a symbol for peace. Consequently, breaking the egg would symbolize a breakdown of peace. Raiding between the north and the east has since then consistently diminished (Juma, 2000:24).

Given such success, in 1995 women aimed at institutionalizing peace through a two-week conference attended by all sectors of the community, as well as administrators of the district, the police and the military. The main outcomes of the event were a peace declaration that set out the community principles and guidelines in its quest for sustainable peace, and the creation of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee. Of course, formalizing the founded mechanism was not an easy process

because of the difficult relationship between civil society and government officials. Compromise was finally achieved only when peace initiatives were integrated into the one structure in the district administration that brought government, NGOs and citizen groups together – the District Development Committee. Members of the WPDC included the heads of all government departments, representatives of various peace groups, religious leaders, NGO representatives, village chiefs and security officers (Odendaal, 2010:40).

The Wajir Peace and Development Committee immediately started working by meeting once a month to create an infrastructure to sustain peace at both the district, as well as the village level. At the District level, the WPDC served as coordinating unit for peace in the entire district. It consisted of 27-30 members coming from all sectors: four Members of Parliament, the NGOs operating in Wajir; five members of the District Security Committee chaired by the District Commissioner; four religious leaders; one businessman; two women; three to four civil servants; two youth representatives and four elders. The WPDC included four subcommittees: the Council of Elders for Peace (36 elders), Women for Peace (13 Women) Youth for Peace (13 representatives) and Religious leaders (9) (Juma, 2000:27).

Moreover, a permanent Rapid Response Team was created in order to promptly address potentially volatile situations by visiting the place where the crime occurred, securing evidence, meeting with all parties involved and act appropriately through mediation, reporting to security forces, or facilitating the arrest of the perpetrator of a crime. The Team could also defer a case to a specific subcommittee. For example, when a seven-year-old girl was raped in the Wajir Municipality the Women for Peace subcommittee were called to visit the elders and chiefs of the clan

to which the girl belonged in order to stop possible retaliations. Women, who had obviously gained the trust of their society, managed to calm the elders, who then talked their youths out of revenge. They then talked to other women of that village in order to urge them to work towards peace and to prevent rapes occurring as acts of revenge. The culprit was later arrested but, before being sentenced, he was released from custody under unclear circumstances. Consequently, the Women for Peace started lobbying for justice by pressuring the local administration as well as the local Member of the Parliament, who wisely joined women in their campaign. The man was re-arrested, convicted and jailed (Juma, 2000:28).

In order to achieve sustainable peace, peace activities initially based only in the Wajir District had to be expanded also to the other neighboring conflict-afflicted districts such as Garissa, Isiolo, Mandera and Marsabit, in order to build inter-district understanding and peaceful coexistence. Consequently, a regional workshop was held in 1998 bringing the districts of North Eastern, Eastern, and Nairobi together in order to nurture networking through the appointment of a Regional Peace Coordinator. In 1999 Women for Peace organised the next regional workshop in Wajir aimed at bringing women from different districts together and seeking ways of extending their influence in peace making (Juma, 2000:29).

In what were very difficult circumstances, women in Wajir were able to become catalysts of peace by going beyond stereotypes and by taking leadership in order to encourage community participation. Deconstructing the role of women as solely victims, women became real pillars of peace, starting what later became a real national peace-building architecture.

4.7.2 KENYAN'S NATIONAL PEACE POLICY

In order to address the lack of policy guidelines to a coordinated peace-building and conflict management approach, in some cases responsible for exacerbating conflict, the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government worked in consultation with key stakeholders to draft a National Policy on Peace-building and Conflict Management. Its mission is "…to promote sustainable peace through a collaborative institutional framework between state and non-state actors and Kenyan communities" (Office of the President and Ministry of state for provincial administration and internal security, 2006:10).

The highly consultative and procedural drafting process was started in 2004 by the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management, bringing together government representatives as well as umbrella civil society organisations, development partners and UN agencies. The policy, adopted by the National Assembly on 27 August 2015, proposes peace architecture based on the principles of proactiveness and prevention, cultural, conflict and gender sensitivity, participation and inclusivity, equity, accountability and transparency.

Taking into consideration the inter-related nature of conflict in Kenya, due to the three existing spheres of authority (traditional, civic and predatory), as well as the different and dynamic contexts of conflict (economic, socio-political and environmental) the policy examines the various available responses to conflict, including state responses, regional mechanisms, non-governmental initiatives and inter-state responses.

The National Policy on Peace-building and Conflict Management says that the State responses include:

- The establishment of Commissions of Inquiry on the basis of the intensity of the conflict, in order for the Government to gather information and make guided policy level decisions;

- The institution of mechanisms aimed at collecting illegal firearms, often used in many forms of crimes, in collaboration with local communities;

- The strengthening of early-warning and response mechanisms, especially being the Government signatory to the Protocol on the Establishment of a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) for Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) Member States, through the peace committees that work closely with the Security Intelligence Committees;

- The use of judicial mechanisms, including the implementation of Alternative Dispute Resolution as opposed to formal criminal and civil courts, often considered to be time consuming, costly and not flexible;

- The establishment of a National Peace Infrastructure able to coordinate peace initiatives across the country through Peace Committees in which both traditional and formal conflict resolution mechanisms are implemented within the framework of community-based responses;

- The provision of first aid in the form of relief supplies before the conflict resolution process begins, coordinated by the Ministry of Devolution and Planning together with the Kenya Red Cross and international humanitarian agencies.

The National Policy then includes in rregional responses:

- Initiatives by the Regional Economic Blocs;

- The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) process, which led to the adoption in 2008 of the National Accord and Reconciliation Act aimed at addressing the causes of the 2007 political crisis, reconciling communities and preventing future conflicts.

Furthermore, as the official document shows, the National Policy describes non-governmental initiatives as comprising:

- Civil society responses, which mainly focus on reconciliation and building new relationships among warring communities through dialogue, negotiations, problem solving workshops, information, education and communication;

- The use of media in echoing the effects of conflict and disseminating information through conflict-sensitive reporting;

- Private sector responses, for example coming from the business community, which has in many instances been fundamental in enabling conflict management interventions to take off.

Finally, according to the adopted policy, inter-state initiatives include:

- The already mentioned CEWARN mechanism implemented by IGAD members (Eritrea, Ethiopia, , Djibouti, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda);

- Joint Cross-Border Committees aimed at addressing issues of cross-border nature;

- East Africa Police Commissioners Cooperation (EAPCCO) aimed at prevent, combat and eradicate cattle rustling in Eastern Africa;

- Regional Centre on Small Arms (RECSA);

- New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), a programme of the African Union adopted in 2001 to face the political and socio-economic transformation of Africa.

Beyond being aimed at facilitating the implementation of international documents such as UN or African Union resolutions and protocols, and the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and recently the Sustainable Development Goals, the National Policy is strictly linked to other national policies and strategies such as: Kenya's Vision 2030, aimed at sustaining an average economic growth rate of over 10 percent per annum; the National Youth Policy, aimed at promoting youth participation in the development of the country through guidelines and strategies; the National Land Policy, designed to sustain growth and investment by eliminating disparities in land ownership in order to reduce poverty; the Strategic Plan on Arms Control and Management; the National Food security and nutrition policy; the Kenya National HIV/AIDS Strategic Plan; the National Climate change Response Strategy(Office of the President and Ministry of state for provincial administration and internal security, 2006:32-36).

Moreover, the document obviously refers to the legal and legislative framework for conflict transformation contained in the Constitution adopted in 2010 and in statute law. In particular, the new Constitution includes provisions promoting equality, equity, inclusion and tolerance, creating space and opportunities to further develop mechanisms for peace-building, conflict management, national cohesion and integration. Generally speaking, conflict management provisions are contained within the national legislation and, in particular, in the various Acts adopted by the Parliament.

Given such scenario, as the National Policy itself states, the final scope of was thus that of harmonizing all the available tools by creating an Infrastructure for Peace based on seven pillars:

- A strong institutional framework including a National Peace Council (NPC), Peace Fora, a Secretariat and District Peace Committees;

- Capacity building through training of stakeholders in key areas of conflict management and prevention;

- Preparedness through early warning response as well as gathering and analysis of information of local or cross border conflicts;

- Conflict prevention through effective early warning and response systems, dialogue on latent issues, rapid response resources and efforts to learn from past conflicts;

- Traditional conflict prevention and mitigation to provide ownership and cultural relevance to peace-building initiatives;

- Post-conflict recovery through resettlement and reintegration of displaced persons with special consideration to women and children;

- Post-conflict stabilization aimed at rebuilding relationships and infrastructures, as well as entrenching a culture of peace and non-violence.

The document represents a milestone in the national efforts to address conflict and its impact. Very importantly, it was elaborated through a very inclusive process that involved government, civil society and development partners. The new policy requests all stakeholders to coordinate effort through the established peace infrastructure to prevent and peacefully manage conflicts such as, among others, religious, resource-based and cross-border ones. Through its components, which include the National Peace Council, National and County Peace Secretariats, National

and County Peace Fora, Local Peace Committees and Mediation Support Units, peace processes are intended to be participatory, culturally sensitive, transparent and accountable. Finally and very importantly, a legal framework for the allocation of resources to peace interventions by the government is provided. This is a fundamental element in ensuring timely response to conflict issues.

4.7.3 THE NATIONAL COHESION AND INTEGRATION COMMISSION (NCIC)

Established under the National Cohesion and Integration Act, signed in 2008 as a result of the mediation process which was carried out to halt the widespread post-election violence, the Commission was created in order to build sustainable peace through the establishment of normative, institutional and attitudinal processes of constructing nationhood, national cohesion and integration.

Kabongah (2008) argues that apart from aiming at immediate action to stop violence, restore fundamental rights and liberties, address the humanitarian crisis and promote reconciliation, healing and restoration, the Act fundamentally addressed the need for long-term measures to avoid the recurrence of such deadly spiral of violence.

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) was thus established to "encourage national cohesion and integration by promoting and facilitating equality of opportunity, good relations, harmony and peaceful coexistence between persons of different religious, ethnic and racial communities in Kenya". Therefore, Kabongah (2008:83) puts forward that, to do so the Commission aimed at, among others:

- Promoting the elimination of all forms of discrimination on the basis of ethnicity or race, as well as public awareness, arbitration and conciliation to ensure on racial and ethnic harmony;

- Promoting tolerance and understanding of religious, cultural and linguistic diversity;

- Planning, supervising, co-ordinating and promoting educational and training programmes to create public awareness, support and advancement of peace and harmony among ethnic communities and racial groups;

- Promoting access to all ethnic groups to services offered by the state;

- Promoting arbitration, conciliation, mediation and similar forms of dispute resolution mechanisms;

- Investigating complaint of racial or ethnic discrimination and making recommendations to the Attorney General or other relevant authorities;

- Identifying and analyzing factors inhibiting the attainment of harmonious relations between ethnic communities;

- Monitoring and reviewing all legislative and administrative acts in terms of their effect on racial and ethnic relations.

In order to fulfill its mandate the NCIC is currently working on a National Cohesion and Integration Policy to ensure a socially cohesive society where the citizens have a shared vision and sense of belonging alongside the recognition of their diversity. Among the key issues to be addressed are:

- Historical gaps and challenges that have hindered national cohesion and integration in the country;

- Factors determining national cohesion and integration index in the country;

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- Strategies and interventions towards achieving and sustaining national cohesion and integration;

- Identification of the various actors involved;

- Financing and resource mobilization for activities aimed at promoting national cohesion and integration;

- The policy, legal and institutional framework for national cohesion.

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission clearly plays an important role in the establishment of a peace architecture within the country as it was itself created in order to build sustainable peace through new processes of national cohesion and integration. Being Infrastructures for Peace based on locally led and participatory peace-building mechanisms, the NCIC's efforts in promoting equality and tolerance are essential for any process that aims at addressing the root causes of conflict through culturally-sensitive mediation and conciliation.

4.7.4 KENYA NATIONAL ACTION PLAN (KNAP) ON UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 (UNSCR 1325)

In order to have a clear idea of where the country is at in terms of engendering peace-building activities and its infrastructure for peace, this dissertation considers important to first of all look at the Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP) that has been nationally developed in fulfillment of the country's commitment to implement UNSC Resolution 1325 and related resolutions. Appropriately titled "*Kuhusisha Wanawakeni Kudumisha Amani*" ("to involve women is to sustain peace"); the plan takes into account the changing nature of insecurity and incorporates a human security approach whose focus is on the protection of individual citizens. Moreover, it further recognizes that security threats include social, economic, and environmental factors,

and notes that women's vulnerability is exacerbated by unequal access to resources, services, and opportunities (KNAP, 2016).

Strongly anchored on the 2010 Constitution values of gender equality, inclusion, and participation, recognizing that the key beneficiaries of the constitution's bill of rights are women and marginalised communities, the plan builds on existing policies in the fields of security, development, and diplomacy.

Furthermore, the KNAP encompasses all the pillars of UNSCR 1325 and adopts the concepts of human security and sustainable peace in projecting outcomes. It is also aligned with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), specifically Goal 5 and Goal 16, which seek to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable peace and development by providing access to justice to all, and to build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at the national and county levels.

Strategies to implement the plan include (KNAP, 2016:25):

- Promoting the integration of a gender perspective into Kenya's peace and security policies, and mainstream gender perspectives into all aspects of conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peace-building;

- Encouraging and promoting collaboration with, and support to, all stakeholders in their efforts to promote the participation of women in conflict prevention, peace-building, conflict resolution, and relief and recovery programmes;

- Ensuring policy and institutional coherence in the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and related national, county, and regional plans among all stakeholders;

- Promoting collaboration with regional and international bodies to promote the women, peace, and security agenda through diplomatic,

development, and peace-keeping initiatives in conflict and post-conflict environments.

Effective coordination will be provided through the KNAP Secretariat by the Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs (State Department of Gender Affairs), which will liaise with all stakeholders and work with the National Steering Technical Committee to ensure that the key outcomes of the identified four pillars (participation and promotion, prevention, protection, and relief and recovery) are realized. The National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) will provide oversight to ensure compliance and accountability by actors in implementing the KNAP.

Monitoring of the implementation through annual, mid-term and end-term public reviews will be led by the Ministry, which will report to the relevant bodies as well as the UN Human Rights Council (KNAP, 2016:33).

The table below further explains the KNAP pillar objectives, for which specific indicators have been set in the implementation matrix (KNAP, 2016:29).

KNAP Pillar Objectives

Pillar	Participation and Promotion	Prevention	Protection	Relief and Recovery
Lead Ministry	Ministry of Public Service, Youth, and Gender Affairs	Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government	Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government	Ministry of Public Service, Youth, and Gender Affairs
Outcome Objective	Active and increased participation of women at all decision-making levels and in all institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict	The prevention of violations against women and girls, in particular the prevention of sexual and gender-based violence, discriminatory practices, abuse, and exploitation	Protection of women and girls against violence, which negates their safety, personal dignity, and empowerment	The effective, meaningful, and timely participation of women in all stages of the design and implementation of relief and recovery programmes, including, where relevant, in disarmament and demobilization programmes
Output Objectives	1. Laws, policies, and practices that empower women, strengthen and promote gender equality, and eliminate barriers to women's access to justice, equality, and peace 2. Meaningful inclusion and active engagement of women in county, national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict at all levels of decision making 3. Resources are mobilized and allocated to facilitate the active engagement and participation of women in county, national, regional, and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict	1. Improved gender-responsive early warning and early response systems and conflict prevention mechanisms and strategies 2. Decreased risk of sexual and gender-based violence during periods of instability, emergency or conflict 3. Increased capacity of security sector institutions to respond to threats of violence against women and girls and other vulnerable groups 4. Increased awareness on sexual and gender-based offences and prevention of all forms of violence against women	1. Enact and strengthen laws and policies that protect women's and girls' rights 2. Improve access to services that protect all citizens – in particular women and girls and survivors of, and those at risk of, sexual and gender-based violence 3. Increase accountability through timely and effective access to justice for victims	1. Promote gender perspectives and ensure the inclusion and participation of women in humanitarian, early recovery, relief and peacebuilding programmes, with particular focus on refugee and internally displaced women and girls 2. Strengthen response mechanisms and structures and enhance women's access to basic socio-economic rights and services in line with international humanitarian minimum standards

Table 6: Kenya National Action Plan pillar objectives.

The official document (KNAP, 2016) explains that the Kenya National Action Plan will be executed over a three-year period (2016–2018) and is aligned with the Second Medium-Term Plan to achieve coherence in implementation with relevant national and county priorities. Successful implementation will not only provide a

comprehensive approach to the implementation of UNSCR 1325, but will also enhance coordination, awareness and accountability among relevant actors and stakeholders.

The implementation of the Medium-Term Plan (2013–2017) will hasten delivery of the KNAP's objectives and simultaneously serve as an additional tool of accountability in the implementation of the constitution and relevant gender equality policies.

4.7.5 NATIONAL GENDER AND EQUALITY COMMISSION (NGEC)

The 2011 National Gender and Equality Commission Act established, pursuant to the 2010 Constitution of Kenya and as a successor to the Kenya National Human Rights and Equality Commission, the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC). Deriving its mandate from the constitutional values and principles of governance of human dignity, equity, social justice, inclusiveness, equality, human rights and non-discrimination, the Commission's functions include (National Gender and Equality Commission Act, 2011:7):

- To promote gender equality and freedom from discrimination in accordance with Article 27 of the Constitution;

- To monitor, facilitate and advise on the integration of such principles in all national and county policies, laws, and administrative regulations in all public and private institutions;

- To act as the principal organ of the State in ensuring compliance with all treaties and conventions ratified by Kenya relating to issues of equality and freedom from discrimination;

- To co-ordinate and facilitate mainstreaming of issues of gender, persons with disabilities and other marginalised groups in national development and to advise the Government on all aspects thereof;

- To monitor, facilitate and advise on the development of affirmative action implementation policies;

- To investigate on its own initiative or on the basis of complaints, any matter in respect of any violations of the principle of equality and freedom from discrimination and make recommendations for the improvement of the functioning of the institutions concerned;

- To work with other relevant institutions in the development of standards for the implementation of policies for the progressive realization of economic and social rights;

- To co-ordinate and advise on public education programmes, as well as conduct and co-ordinate research concerning the principles of equality and freedom from discrimination;

- To receive and evaluate annual reports on progress made by public institutions and other sectors;

- To work with the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights, the Commission on Administrative Justice and other related institutions to ensure efficiency, effectiveness and complementarity in all activities;

- To prepare and submit annual reports to the Parliament and to conduct audits on the status of special interest groups;

- To establish data bases on issues relating to equality and freedom from discrimination for different affected interest groups and produce periodic reports.

The NGEC also aligns with Kenya Vision 2030, which acknowledges that specific policy, legislative and programmatic interventions are required to overcome obstacle such as gender gaps and other inequalities, which influence access to and control of resources, economic opportunities, power and political voice.

4.8 LOCAL PEACE COMMITTEES (LPCS)

Local Peace Committees in Kenya, first named as Peace and Development Committees and later District Peace Committees (Pkalya and Adan, 2006b), provide appropriate case studies for the purpose of this dissertation as they originated through locally-led initiatives.

As already mentioned, due to their successful use in the aftermath of post-election violence, community mechanisms have been included in the national infrastructure for peace to supervise the implementation of what has been often referred to as the community peace, recovery and reconciliation (CPRR) model. Through the work of community members, who volunteer to ensure that community members are keeping to the agreements and obligations reached, and who are available to deal with any new breaches or infractions of peace agreements, such bodies have laid strong foundations for sustainable peace by creating an environment for locally-owned justice and accountability. Such approach is rooted in dialogue between parties aimed at facilitating truth, healing, forgiveness, reconciliation, long-term peaceful coexistence and non-violent alternatives to conflict (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:3).

The CPRR model distinguishes two different phases. The first one is aimed at securing community social peace by analyzing community conflict issues in order to better understand the underlying structural aspects and facilitating reconciliation. It is

thus pivotal to conduct a community as well as impact assessment of the conflict to identify processes, factors, stakeholders and capacities for peace. Any intervention responding to a single event usually addresses, in fact, only the triggers to that specific violent episode rather than the underlying structural issues that have underpinned violence and insecurity (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:4).

The scale and scope of the conflict are defined by identifying who has been affected (by age, gender, group characteristics and other sources of diversity); to what extent (damage to persons, social structures, economic revenues and/or infrastructure); which responses are already being provided and by whom; and whether these responses are appropriate given the needs of the affected population. Through such analysis, parties can jointly identify possible solutions to the conflict and negotiate a code of conduct (or "Social Contract") to ensure peaceful cohabitation. As to formalise the commitment by all members of the community, the social contract is signed by representatives from both parties (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:4).

The second phase is aimed at achieving sustainability through peace and recovery projects that allow the consolidation of the negotiated peace. By working together and re-establishing trust, communities understand that the benefits of peace outweigh the costs of conflict. In order to do so, an internal or external third party is usually needed to create a safe space for dialogue by mentoring the process, sharing comparative experiences, encouraging participants, providing analytical and technical support for the peace and recovery projects to be jointly designed and carried out. It is thus important to select suitable implementing partners to be trained, if needed, through skills enhancement programmes. Moreover, community processes may be

efficiently organised only if material and financial resources are found (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:4).

As the peace-building process deals with communities that have hurt each other, tensions are likely to be still high. In order to create space for dialogue it is thus important to establish the modalities for communication. It is sometimes useful to share testimonies of communities that have already gone through the CPRR process. In Kenya, for example, sessions started with live testimonies of people from Burundi who had undergone the atrocities of civil war and had found peace within their communities through the CPRR model (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:20).

It is fundamental to manage emotions so that they do not dominate the process, allowing participants to create an environment of trust and jointly assess the root causes of the conflict by acknowledging the roles each member of the community has played in it. The parties are then assisted to envision the kind of community they would like to live in, working then back to present reality and jointly developing the modalities for peaceful coexistence, which will be included in the final "social contract" (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:20).

The challenge is to manage the common sense of injustice in order to prevent retaliatory actions or further violence in the future. In many communities in Kenya, victims of violence still do not understand how people with whom they had been living in peace for many years could suddenly attack them and their property. This sense of uncertainty usually makes it very difficult for people to go back to their original communities. Reconciliation is thus fundamental and can be achieved through accountability, which should aim at not fault finding but instead at producing a clear narrative of what happened. Of course, not all communities identified as responsible for the violence will be willing to apologize; in such cases,

acknowledgement of mutual hurt and violence may be the most appropriate course of action. Negotiations for a common future are possible only where the healing, truth and reconciliation process succeeds at the local more than at the national level, using a win-win approach based on the use of non-coercive measures and commitment that ensure peaceful coexistence (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:29).

Evidently, once the social contract is signed by the parties, local peace committees have the pivotal task of constantly monitoring the implementation of peace and recovery projects, as well as of engaging in early warning activities by closely collaborating with district peace committees. In case of micro-level and inter-personal conflicts, such as within households or among neighbours, peace negotiation meetings are organised in small groups of people living on the same street/square.

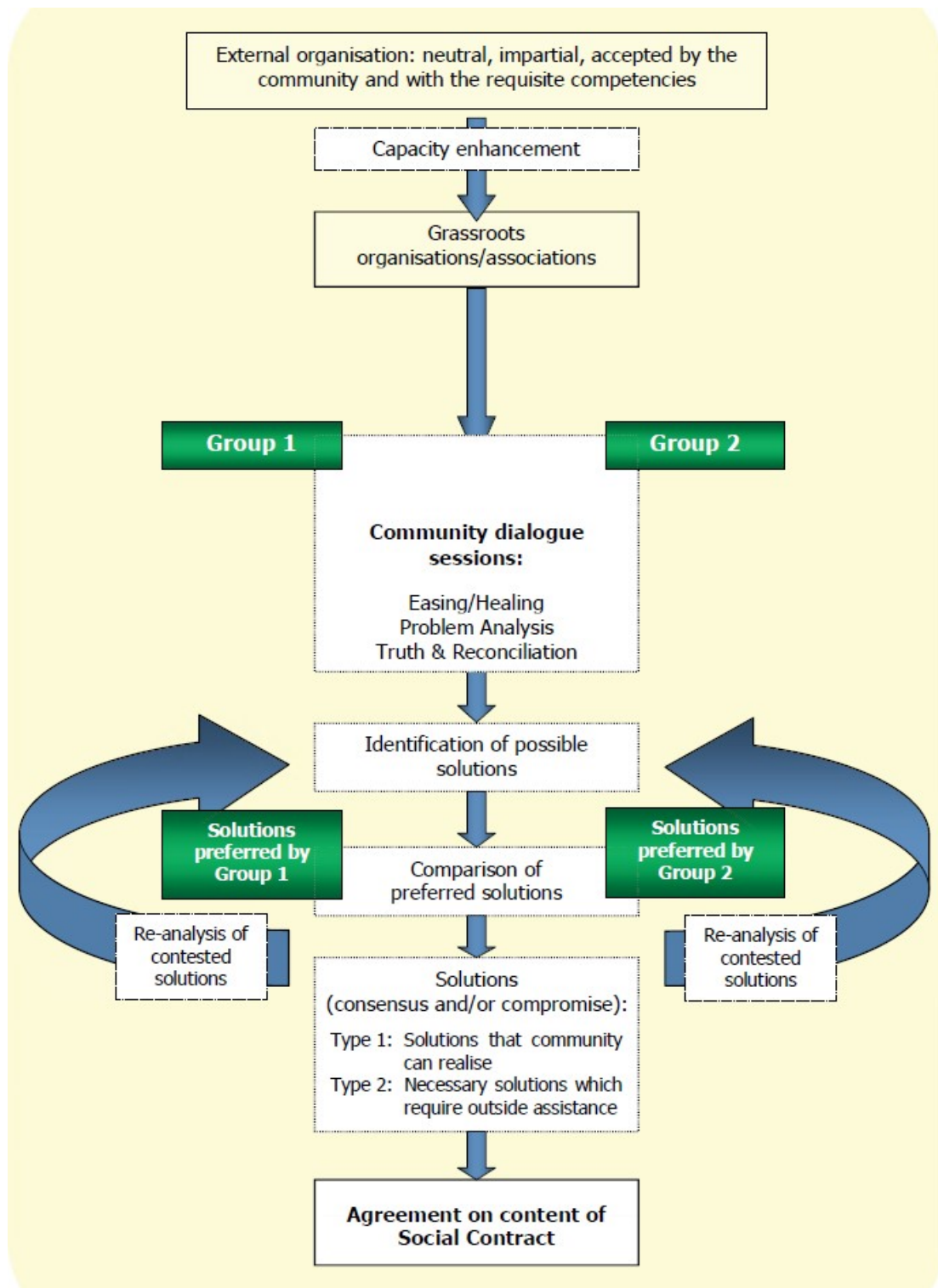The table below represents the model of community negotiation.

Table 7: Community negotiation model (ACORD, UNDP and NSC, 2011:56).

According to Odendaal (2010), Local Peace Committees can be differentiated in two different typologies: Formally mandated and informal, locally initiated. While

the first ones are established through a national-level mandate, by a national accord or another national process, therefore forming an infrastructure for peace at the national level, informal LPCs are established through local initiatives and are often civil society grown processes that can or cannot benefit from local or international non-governmental organisations (Mustasilta, 2015:6-7). Examples of formally mandated LPCs can be found in South Africa, Northern Ireland and Nepal, while LPCs established in Kenya are examples of informal ones.

Of course, as both van Tongeren (2011) and Odendaal (2010) report, although formally-mandated committees seem to benefit from more resources to be sustained, their integrity and local ownership might be at risk. The following paragraph will provide a deeper understanding of the challenges and strengths of LPCs.

4.8.1 LESSONS LEARNT, CHALLENGES AND THE WAY FORWARD FOR LOCAL PEACE COMMITTEES (LPCs)

Local Peace Committees (LPCs) have been, of course, subjected to analysis and critiques in terms of their efficiency as basis of a national infrastructure for peace. Oxfam-GB (2003) identified some of the main objections that have been raised:

- Local committee may exclude some stakeholders by creating a narrow group of named members, thus undermining the traditional process of an open council of elders.

- Committees may be formed too rapidly and with insufficient thought. In Wajir, for example, some criticised the creation of too many local committees that, thus lacking the necessary resources for in-depth mobilization and awareness-raising, were later found to be dormant or unrepresentative.

- Parallel and uncoordinated efforts between government and NGOs and between NGOs themselves might undermine the efficiency of such efforts.

- Protection and fair treatment of minorities being a key challenge for peace committees, some members of minority groups noted that the administration does not act as a guarantee of equal treatment within either the peace committee or the formal justice system.

- In some cases there has been opposition to women's inclusion in local committees, especially at the village level. In Garissa, for example, women play an active role in community peace-building and are involved in many of the interventions agreed upon by the Garissa Peace and Development Committee.

Odendaal and Olivier (2008) have highlighted the specific limitations to what Local Peace Committees can do. For example, LPCs have been criticised for failing to achieve outcomes that were never in their power to achieve. This, however, can be explained as, despite their difficult task, peace committees are often overloaded with naïve expectations such as being able to enforce peace, while their strength is the use of "soft approaches". Moreover, their ability to successfully implement peace agreements is strictly linked to the presence of political will at the national level, as they cannot address the root causes of a conflict if these are located in national constitution, laws and policies.

Furthermore, LPCs have been accused of facilitating "negative peace", as well as of addressing symptoms and not causes. Of course, Odendaal and Olivier (2008) argue that in a situation of deep polarization the concept of peace can assume different meanings for different people, as some may interpret it as a non-violent maintenance of the status, while others may aim at the establishment of a radically new order. Because of their nature, Local Peace Committees cannot define peace or the needed

policies on a national scale, but can only create the space at the local level to negotiate measures aimed at minimizing violence within a community while at the same time maximizing collaboration in dealing with the raising challenges.

Lastly, LPCs cannot substitute for local government or local policing, as they cannot assume political and financial responsibilities for which they have no mandate. In Kenya, the provincial administration has often accused peace committees of overstepping their "highly informal" mandate by meddling on issues of security. They can only facilitate better community-police/government relationships, but may not constitute an alternative, as this would generate political problems as it happened in Nepal, where there were no local government bodies other than the Chief District Officer and Village Development Committee officers. Criminals have also questioned the legality of peace committees, threatening to rush to courts to challenge the punishment prescribed by the peace committees because of the absence of a specific legal framework (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:18).

Adan and Pkalya (2006) provide further analysis on the key challenges faced by peace committees in Kenya. In particular, they stress how the work of peace committees, similarly to traditional approaches of preventing and managing conflicts, is based on volunteerism, as members are not salaried or offered any kind of remuneration. However, volunteers have started to demand allowances especially as they have been receiving some covering basic living costs like food, accommodation and transport by non-governmental organisations. So, this facilitation fee has been perceived as a benefit by some members, who have started asking for a "sitting allowance". This monetary approach has hence killed the philosophy behind the establishment of peace committees, as some individuals have been accused of causing

conflict in order to be called to solve it and in the process to earn an allowance (Adan and Pkalya, 2006).

The problem of funding and donor dependency is another important issue to be addressed. It is certainly important to recognize that peace activities, such as the rapid response teams, need financial facilitations, which should not be perceived as monetary gains but rather as facilitative mechanisms. However, although some committees were created by communities themselves without external support, many were established or have been supported by NGOs, thus becoming dependent on external funding while losing neutrality and objectivity by being proxy of the funding institutions (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:20). Moreover, such committees usually experience little stability as they are often disbanded and reconstituted according to the funding institutions' necessity rather than to the needs of the community, resulting in discredited legitimacy within civil society. Some committees have been forced by circumstances to change their structure in order to attract donor support. For example, the Wajir District Peace Committee formed a secretariat headed by a coordinator, the Wajir Peace and Development Agency (WPDA), which was then registered as an NGO in order to access external support. However, external funders are usually more interested in addressing emergencies rather than providing long-term funding for effective conflict management (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:20).

Structure is another important issue, as it defines the role, responsibilities, accountability and level of engagement of the various peace actors involved. Some are called district peace and development committees, others district peace committees or constituency peace committees. Confusion may occur like in pastoralist's districts in Kenya, where some of the committees can be confused with District Development Committee (DDC) or the District Steering Group (DSG).

Cosmopolitan districts can also face the challenge of ethnicity and leadership, as certain groups may use their numerical superiority to marginalise others. Consequently, some peace committees in Samburu, Tana River, Marsabit and Marakwet have made it mandatory that an identified number of members are from a given ethnic group, sometimes causing issues in terms of leadership, as one tribe could not trust the other one to chair the committee (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:27).

Poor leadership is a key factor in a committee's capacity to intervene in conflict situations, especially when decisions are driven by monetary gains or inclined towards a given political agenda. Informal agreements and goodwill of the various actors and institutions thus play a pivotal role in determining success, especially as customary conflict resolution mechanisms are heterogeneous. Inter-community peace agreements may, in fact, be received in different ways according to the specific context. The Modogashe Declaration, for example, has not been replicated in other districts as it entails compensation for women killed in conflict. However, according to Samburu customs, compensation for women and children killed during raids does not exist as customs and practices do not allow killing of women, children and the elderly during inter-community raids (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:29).

Moreover, some traditional practices have completely refused to recognize and collaborate with peace committees; particularly because of the inclusion of women, youth, political leaders, government officials and other "alien" characters that do not have respect to such traditions. In some communities, like Oromo speaking areas (Marsabit and Moyale), traditional institution have thus kept their leadership, forcing peace committees to play a subordinate role. In the Borana parliament, for instance, the Abagatha has to make the final decision on any commitment that is likely to bind the community (Adan and Pkalya, 2006:31).

Odendaal and Olivier (2008) report that, from a distance LPCs are seen indeed as imperfect bridges". However, despite the above-mentioned issues, which leave space for improvement at large, Local Peace Committees have certainly proved to be very effective conflict prevention, management and peace-building structures, especially for intra and inter-ethnic conflicts that require concerted efforts of multiple actors. As indigenous conflict management institutions have been unable to meet the challenges of contemporary pastoral conflicts because of various reasons such as weakened legitimacy and relevance, as well as proliferation and institutionalised of gun-culture, peace committees have provided a timely and useful alternative by using a hybrid approach that include community members. Very importantly, the new Infrastructure is finally gender and age sensitive, thus finally addressing basic human right issues. The justice system is therefore accessible and affordable, as most disputes are being addressed at the local level with no legal fee or travelling costs. Moreover, peace committees have also contributed to coordination and networking among organisations dealing with conflict prevention and management by creating a safe space for sharing and learning.

Because of their proven potential, Local Peace Committees should be strengthened through specific legal and policy frameworks and measures aiming at improving their legitimacy and capacity. By mobilizing local communities to forge their own peace through their own resources, empowering local actors to take leadership as peace-builders, and generating a new vision of possible co-existence, LPCs have saved lives, protected property, broken deadlocks, solved problems, and restored ordinary life.

4.9 THE ROLE OF AFRICAN MEDIA IN FACILATING GENDER PARTICIPATON IN PEACE-BUILDING

Since this dissertation is focused on African context, it analyzes briefly how the media is perceived in this specific region. Media in Africa need specific attention due to general governmental constraints, economic instability, poor management of media business, technological deficiencies and unstable political situations that characterise the continent and thus affect access to communication tools (Aho, 2004:24).

Within the African continent, except for countries with higher teledensity such as South Africa, Uganda and Senegal, intra-country communication between women who use ICTs is still severely restricted. Umbrella NGOs at national level can communicate with only a tiny fraction of their members, and regional NGOs are restricted to using their ICTs mainly in the form of e-mails for members in capital cities. For the majority of the population, and even more for women, technical problems, costs of access, lack of training and knowledge make the World Wide Web frustrating and inaccessible, further limiting people's access to useful and relevant information. The existing difficulty in collecting consistent data makes it arduous to consistently have updated figures (Primo, 2003: 20).

Efforts to establish and institutionalise free and pluralistic media in African societies today have rarely included a gendered perspective. For most African women, the exercise of the fundamental freedoms of expression and information is doubly constrained by patriarchal laws and practice, and by economic and political conflicts whose impact is also gendered. The failure to understand these rights from a gendered perspective compounds the situation, and also poses gender based difficulties for female media practitioners (Primo, 2003: 20-21).

Despite the difficult situation, however, organisations and institutions at the regional, national and local level are restlessly working to overcome such obstacles and take advantage of new communication tools to build active citizenship and better protect communities. Many initiatives have been developed and carried out.

In Senegal, the Multimedia Caravan Project provided rural women with the opportunity to develop their own ideas on how ICTs can be used to further their development needs and goals. In Uganda, the Uganda Media Women's Association established a radio program – Mama FM- where women can learn about development, human rights, governance, nutrition and health (United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women, 2005:13).

The African Platform on Access to Information (APAI) was initiated in 2009 in order to found a campaign to improve access to information in Africa in combination with the twentieth anniversary of the Windhoek Declaration on Press Freedom. Its main goals are: developing a campaign to educate government, civil society, media stakeholders and public citizens to know about their right to access information; creating and maintaining international and regional partnerships with organisations, civil and media stakeholders; creating a draft of regional declaration for principles of Access to Information; controlling national governments to ensure that national access to information is given; holding the Pan African Conference on Access to Information (APAI) to bring organisations and experts around the globe together and see the adoption and signing of a regional declaration (Pan African Conference on Access to Information (APAI), 2011). Of course, the platform includes also gender-related groups that dedicate their work specifically to using IT to achieve gender justice (African Platform on Access to Information Declaration, 2011).

Another important example is the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in Eastern Africa, which has developed a Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN) in order to respond to and prevent conflict in the region, which includes Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda. Similarly to the initiatives adopted by the Economic Community of Western African States (ECOWAS) within their Warning and Response Network, CEWARN has been working to assess how ICTs could be used in areas that generally have no access to communication technology. Areas that used to take days to travel to and review could be accessed by using high-frequency radios, satellite phones, and other technology (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:13-14).

Within Kenya, especially after the post-2007 election violence, few projects have been developed in order to use new communication tools to monitor conflicts and empower citizens to engage in peace-building. The NGO *Ushahidi* has, in fact, developed crowd sourcing platforms originally designed as a website to map reports of violence after the 2007 violent episodes. Reports were submitted via web and mobile phones, and then presented on a Google Map. The *Ushahidi* platform has now been developed as a tool to easily crowd source information using multiple channels including SMS, e-mail, Twitter and the web. Because of its success, *Ushahidi* has been used in a variety of different conflict settings including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gaza, and Afghanistan (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:15).

Thanks to open and decentralized information management systems, very different from typically closed and controlled traditional ones, the platform is adaptable to SMS, mobile phone usage, and internet posts. Such tools enable it to focus on user-generated information and allow empowerment and ownership at the local community level as collected information can be communicated directly to those

who most need to use it, not having to depend as much on external players. Moreover, the platform importantly provides guidance on how one can verify whether information received through ICTs is accurate or not (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:15).

Due to the extensive number of users, which quickly reached 45,000, the website soon encouraged the creation of subsequent platforms such as Swift River and Crowdmap. SwiftRiver is an open source platform that aims to democratize access to tools for filtering and making sense of real-time information, given the massive amounts of crisis data that tend to overwhelm in the first 24 hours of a disaster program. Crowdmap allows users to map reported events and visualize information ranging from elections, local resources, and crisis information (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:15).

In addition, due to the success of such platforms, new tools of communication for development and humanitarian responses on the ground have been developed and re-evaluated to adapt to the needs of peace-building and conflict prevention. For example, the Frontline SMS software was designed to help NGOs in developing countries, through a simple and cost effective system of SMS, to improve their communication skills and increase their capabilities at election monitoring and enhancing local radio programming (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:15).

In terms of proper and effective bottom-up communication strategies aimed at conflict prevention, a report produced by Nyheim (2009) identified few elements building a functioning early warning system. First of all, it must be based "close to the ground" or have strong field-based networks of monitor. Secondly, it must use multiple sources of information and both qualitative/quantitative analytical methods. Thirdly, it should capitalize on appropriate communication and information

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technology; fourth, it must provide regular reports and updates on conflict dynamics to key national and international stakeholders. Lastly, it should have a strong link to responders or response mechanisms (Search for Common Grounds, 2011:14).

Concerning women's initiatives, there are many examples of NGOs programs offering training in the use of media technologies for networking, information gathering and distribution, research and documentation. Most importantly, in social and cultural contexts where women's voices are hardly heard these tools offer them a new opportunity to raise their voices and play an active part in conflict prevention through attention to gender-sensitive indicators.

Initiatives have sprung up among civil society groups to campaign for the inclusion of a gender perspective within the so-called Information Society. The first World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), held in 2002, saw the creation of a gender caucus including about 12 organisations which responded to an invitation by UNIFEM to contribute to ensuring that gender dimensions were included in the process of defining and creating the Global Information Society (Primo, 2003:77). Born as a multi-stakeholder entity, the caucus included women from governments, private telecommunications services providers, UN agencies, as well as women in non- governmental organisations and other civil society bodies.

The WSIS gender caucus produced a statement at the Bamako Regional Preparatory Meeting in which they urged African states "to ensure better balance in ICT uses while instituting specific programs that address the needs of women, particularly those aimed at rural and disenfranchised areas." Notably, the group also made several recommendations that entreated African governments and all relevant stakeholders to ensure they build measures for African women's advancement into their policies and action plans. Similarly, women participating in the other Regional

WSIS Preparatory Meetings (LAC, Europe, Asia-Pacific, etc.) advocated for the inclusion of gender issues in the regional Declarations and Action Plans, reaching varying degrees of success (Primo, 2003:78).

Specific attention to gender and the ICT field was included thanks to a group of women's non-governmental organisations, which argued for the need of a separate but parallel gender caucus to make sure that particular concerns regarding gender and ICT activists located in NGOs were well represented.

> As a consequence, the NGO Gender Strategies Working Group developed the "7 Musts: Priority Issues for Gender Equality in the WSIS Process", aimed at creating digital opportunities within a gender centered conceptual framework which included: an intersectional approach taking into account the diverse needs of women located in different geo-political, historical, class-based, racial, ethnic and other contexts; a global consensus basis reaffirming commitments made at previous UN conferences and summits; people-centered development processes that embrace the principles of social justice and gender equality; respect for diversity that recognizes the role and importance of traditional and indigenous forms of media and communications; peace and human development based on the use of ICTs in the service of peace and in opposition to wars; a human rights framework where women's human rights instruments are strictly linked to fundamental communication rights; support to low-cost and open source local solutions (Primo, 2003:79).

Looking specifically at the African continent, McKay and Mazurana (2001:54-56) cite as an example of the implementation of the above-cited principles the Centre for Women in Bujumbura was created in Burundi in 1996 after the Women for Peace and Non-Violence conference was held during the period of escalating armed violence and acts of genocide. Since then, the centre has been playing a pivotal role in carrying out reconciliation programs using media technologies to distribute information and reaching out to women. Studio Ijambo, Burundi's first independent radio studio, has been a key partner in such an effort. Bringing together a team of Hutu and Tutsi men and women journalists, the radio focuses on issues like reconciliation, human rights, peace, women's rights and humanitarian initiatives. The

studio also broadcasts discussions form the Centre for Women, reaching out to many other women around the country (McKay and Mazurana, 2001:56).

In a nutshell, ICTs certainly have a strong potential for positive cooperation through a more plentiful public discourse and increased transparency. Despite the complex sub-Saharan context, due to artificial borders and legacies of ethnic strife, communication tools have lowered the barriers to participation and increased opportunities for many-to-many communication. As Shirky (2008:22) wrote: "The current change, in one sentence, is this: most of the barriers to group action have collapsed, and without those barriers, were free to explore new ways of gathering together and getting things done".

4.10 CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented an overview of the potential and capabilities of women in conflict prevention and management within the framework of the new national Infrastructure for Peace that has been recently developed in Kenya. In order to understand why women participated in peace-building, this chapter addressed the main characteristics of conflict in the history of Kenya, focusing not only on the key cross-cutting causes of violence such as land ownership, ethnicity and resources, but also on the core actors involved.

Furthermore, the role of women in the national struggle for independence in Kenyan was analyzed and one of the most significant organisations which stemmed from such initiative, Mandeleo ya Wanawake Organisation (MWYO) was presented. Findings indicate that women, despite great odds and challenges, have played an important role in the prevention and management of conflicts through inter-

community dialogue, mediation, civic education, as well as by helping women to start income generating projects to cushion them from the repercussions of conflicts.

Kenya being the case study of this research, it was deem essential to take into account the impact that the 2007 post-election violence had on the country and its society. This chapter particularly focused on the gendered impact of violence on women, showing how they have been largely affected in physical, political, economic and cultural terms. The analysis clearly showed how women's experience of conflict is profoundly different from men's and how, being so, it can offer great opportunities to bring key change to power relations and gender stereotypes.

The different aspects of conflict and conflict resolution methods that are available at the local and national level were examined to better understand the existing cultural approach to managing conflict. The investigation showed how such methods might vary from negotiation to arbitration, joint problem solving to search for integrative solutions or customary and traditional methods. However, despite their differences, all the above-mentioned approaches aim at identifying and addressing the perceived root causes of conflicts in order to come up with appropriate and shared solutions. Within such analysis, this chapter has highlighted the role of women as peace builders in conflict transformation in Africa in general, and in Kenya in particular. By adopting traditional ways of building peace, rural women peace builders have been able to talk a language understood by the community, leading and paving the way for sustainable peace.

This chapter also explored the main concept of this dissertation, Infrastructures for Peace, by describing the evolution, features and its challenges in Kenya. Despite the fact that multitude of local conflicts, are potentially capable of escalating, Kenya as a country was able to build a bottom-up process to establish a peace architecture.

Through the initiative of a group of women in the Wajir district, where a highly destructive cycle of violent conflict combined with very weak governance presence resulted in the failure of state institutions to regulate conflict and provide security, for the first time civil society actors' sensitized communities to the need for peace. The success of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee in bringing and maintaining peace to the district soon led to the spread of the model to other districts. Institutions rapidly understood the potential of this new tool, embarking on a process that, through the National Steering Committee (NSC) on Peace-building and Conflict Management, led to the adoption of a new Constitution, the National Cohesion and Integration Act and very importantly of a National Policy on Peace-Building and Conflict Management.

Focusing specifically on how the process has tried to ensure the fulfillment of the country's commitment to implement Resolution 1325 and related resolutions in mainstreaming gender in peace and security areas, the chapter presented the work done by the National Gender and Equality Commission Act in promoting the constitutional values of gender equality, inclusion, and participation. The Kenya National Action Plan (KNAP) was also examined in the context of the changing nature of insecurity and it was found out that for the first time, there was an elaborated national plan with clear programs, indicators and monitoring tools aimed at addressing social, economic, and environmental factors responsible of exacerbating women's vulnerability.

Additionally, the chapter was concluded by looking at the national peace architecture by examining how Local Peace Committees have proved to be very effective conflict prevention and management mechanism through inclusive,

concerted and engendered efforts on peace process, given the specific nature of conflict in Kenya.

Lastly, the role played by African media in facilitating gender participation in peace-building was highlighted by showing how ethnic–based violence and human rights campaigns can be promoted. Besides, lowering the barriers to participation and increasing opportunities for many-to-many communication, it can be argued that the media also offers the potential for a more inclusive discourse, increased transparency, and positive cooperation, especially in areas where the narrative is complicated.

In a nutshell, this chapter was developed in order to certainly compliment the institutional as well as the cultural steps taken forward by Kenya in providing security and justice to its communities by creating and incorporating the infrastructure for peace that was conceptualized by local women in Wajir. Other positive contribution to conflict prevention and transformation include the new constitution and bodies that have worked hard to build a timely and useful Infrastructure for Peace that is able to prevent and resolve tensions through a hybrid approach including traditional conflict resolution approaches and modern dispute resolution mechanisms. Despite the fact that there is still much to be done in order to create a strong and effective framework in which all significant actors are actively involved, the peace environment is now certainly more gender sensitive and there are evidently no more excuses to be put forth in order to eliminate women from the peace discourse because of the above-presented fruits of women's led peace initiatives.

Given that the strength of Infrastructure for Peace is inclusive and transparent multi-stakeholder civil participation, it is imperative that we do not ignore the needs of half the global population when it comes to negotiating peace settlements and building capacity to manage and prevent conflicts. Despite being an undervalued

resource, women have demonstrated their abilities and effectiveness in mitigating conflict with community mediation and signaling early warnings of unrest in fragile moments of relatively stable states like Kenya. They have also proved to be bold in holding actors to account for agreements made and in demanding transparency. Finally, it can be argued that if women are incorporated and recognized for their abilities and capacities in peace-building, then we will witness a further and steady increase in women's agency within the Infrastructure for Peace processes such as policy implementation.

CHAPTER FIVE: GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.0 CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the general conclusions reached throughout this doctoral dissertation, as well as the future research areas to be investigated and recommendations on the researched topic.

The main objectives of this investigation were to examine women's inclusion and contribution to the elaboration and building of sustainable peace, as well as to explore the successes, challenges and obstacles to an equal and inclusive implementation of Infrastructures for Peace through the specific case study of Kenya. Among the many available strategies, the potential key role played by communications for peace-building in enhancing effective and inclusive conflict prevention mechanisms has been given special attention.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned goals, the four main chapters of this theoretical desktop research have been elaborated to guide the reader in an itinerary that starts from a better understanding of the concepts of peace and conflict which ends with exploring how inclusive, locally-led peace planning and conflict prevention mechanisms can be implemented. Throughout such journey, this investigation has clearly shown the need for general rethinking of the meaning of peace and conflict in order to enhance women's peace-building capacities, as well as for a multi-pronged approach able to transform stabilization capacities from the grassroots to the top decision-making level.

The first chapter, besides stating the objectives, hypothesis and methodology of the dissertation, also importantly explained the reasons that motivated the choice of this specific research topic. Specifically, through the literature review, the author

revealed not only how widespread confusion on various terms within the extensive realm of peace and conflict studies that still exists, but also how the feminist understanding of peace has not yet been translated into practical implementation of inclusive peace planning and conflict prevention activities.

The second chapter included definitions of some basic terms and concepts that constitute the starting point of this research because of their potential. Common understanding of peace and conflict has of course transformed following the constantly changing nature of human and international relations. In particular, because of the increase in intra-state armed conflicts, civilians have become the main actors of armed confrontations as well as their main victims. Galtung's understanding of violence as a dynamic phenomenon that manifests itself not only in a direct and physical way, besides influencing all aspects of human security has been fundamental in subsequently changing the extremely linked perception of peace.

Peace consequently requires not only the absence of minimal levels of all types of violence, but also the removal of all major potential causes of future conflicts. Such notion, while referring to a dynamic and evolving process and not only to a temporary status, is paramount if aiming at building societies based on long-term and sustainable peace.

If the goal is therefore creating a culture of peace and rendering communities able to sustain it, action in pursuance of peace needs further rethinking towards a new preventive nature. The secondn chapter explored how conflict prevention, early warning mechanisms, peace-making, peace-keeping and peace-building have therefore been recently recognized as encompassing social justice, equality, meeting of basic needs and improved relationships.

Two theories, the Peace, Conflict and Development theory and the Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT) have been used in the difficult task of defining the very complex task of including women's experience in the realm of peace and conflict research. The first one relies on the assumption that peace and development are strictly linked. In fact, while development studies focus on meeting and developing basic needs, peace studies focuses on reducing structural and cultural violence. Therefore, social justice is pivotal in both areas of research where gender equality and women's empowerment assume new meaning. Gender stereotypes, unequal and limited access to resources, health and education limit women's ability to fully and equally participate in all aspects of life.

Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT), while strongly influenced by a biological versus a socially constructed concept of gender has importantly questioned patriarchal normative standards, developing a broader understanding of security issues that includes the gendered dimension and the interconnectedness of all forms of violence. According to women, in fact, sustainable peace requires not only the basic fulfillment of human needs, but also democratic and just institutions, as well as ongoing peace processes. Therefore, to feminist scholars building peace is a long-term process that needs to be adapted to the specific social, cultural, religious, political, economic and regional context.

Similarly, throughout this chapter specific attention has been given to communication strategies used as an empowering tool that, based on a bottom-up approach, have proved to effectively enable local communities to be active part of the prevention effort as well as to expand networks. Through the development of communication programs and systems, local and regional organisations have been

able to detect early signs of conflict by collecting real time information, and to finally give voice to those who did not have one.

The third chapter explored women's everyday contribution to the prevention of conflicts and the building of sustainable peace. Despite being poorly documented, women's local expertise in planning, participation and implementation is paramount, as no conflict can be solved if the solution does not take into account its victims' interests. Through this chapter, the author showed how women have been, since ancient times, engaged in ending conflicts through methods such as civil disobedience, nonviolence and networking. Women's participation in national liberation movements is a perfect example of how women have been invisible protagonists of the revolutionary movements. Seeing an opportunity to finally escape their stigmatization as victims, fight gender stereotypes and change patriarchal discriminatory power relations, women have used their different experience of conflict as an empowering tool. In particular, Zimbabwe has been provided as an example of how women played an important role as individuals both in the fight against a patriarchal society, as well as in the aftermath of national liberation.

However, evidence has demonstrated how often, once independence has been achieved, women have gone back to their traditional roles of being mothers and wives, being again excluded from political and public life. This is one of the main reasons why it is essential to bring societal change through a new culture of peace that entails inclusivity and social justice. International and regional organisations such as the United Nations, the European Union, and the African Union have therefore been working for decades now to elaborate a legal framework able to support nations in spreading such culture and translate it into national laws and mechanisms. In particular, the main resolutions concerning women, peace and security adopted by the

United Nations Security Council have been analyzed. Starting with UNSCR 1325, which firstly recognized the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women, as well as women's under-valued and under-utilised contributions to all activities in pursuance of peace while stressing the importance of the equal and full participation of women as active agents in peace and security, the subsequent resolutions were adopted to further develop the new legal framework and monitor its implementation by member states.

The United Nations also specifically recognized the impact of sexual violence in conflict adopting few other resolutions which explicitly identified sexual violence as an unacceptable and preventable war crime, crime against humanity, or act of genocide, consequently demanding protection and prevention measures from parties of armed conflict, as well as appropriate mechanisms to provide protection from violence in refugee and displaced person camps. Even if such documents constitute a milestone in the international effort to promote women's inclusion in the building of just and peaceful societies, and despite the fact that many countries have translated such dispositions in National Action Plans, findings show how gaps in implementation and good practice are still a reality. Much still needs to be accomplished at the national level as to ensure the centrality of women, peace and security issues at all decision-making levels. More consistent monitoring mechanisms based on clear set of meaningful indicators are still often missing, appropriate funding is seldom allocated, and financial as well as political support is hardly provided to prioritize, enable and strengthen women's participation in peace and security matters.

Finally, the analysis demonstrated how communication tools can be used to overcome isolation, improve governance, give women a voice and increase their power in terms of resources and participation in decision-making processes that shape

their communities and lives. Only in recent years the international community has started to acknowledge the increased opportunities for women in knowledge sharing and networking through Information and Communications Technology (ICT), as well as how poverty, lack of access to telecommunications infrastructure, language barriers, computer non-literacy and illiteracy constitute obstacles to women's quantitative and qualitative use of ICTs. As information is nowadays an essential form of power, access to as well as control over and sharing of knowledge are thus pivotal elements in women's participation and empowerment.

The fourth and final chapter analyzed the case study of the dissertation in order to fulfill its last objective: exploring the successes, challenges and obstacles to an equal and inclusive implementation of Infrastructures for Peace. Through a detailed analysis of the main characteristics, causes and actors of conflict in Kenya, the researcher provided an indispensable description of the specific cultural, social and political context of the country. Characterised by multifaceted challenges to its security, Kenya has in fact been experiencing widespread volatility in terms of peaceful stability due to many factors like weak institutions, elite power struggles and political exclusion on the basis of ethnicity; poverty, inequality and marginalization; scarcity and exploitation of national resources, and inadequate ownership provisions; easy access to small arms and light weapons; cultural practices like cattle's raiding. Conflict has been therefore manifesting itself in various forms, which include internal disputes between and within different groups, as well as cross-border confrontations.

Women have been very powerful but silenced actors in the country's history, starting from the national independence and liberation struggle. Through nonviolent forms of protest that used the female body as a powerful political instrument, they started to challenge both the colonial power as well as traditional male monopoly.

Due to their role within the Kenyan society, in which they were responsible for most of the management of the food production, women were able to earn the respect not only from other women but also from the entire community. Women also took part to active fighting such as during the Mau Mau rebellion, performing both domestic tasks as well as minor military duties. Such events led to the creation of the largest women's voluntary organisation in Kenya, which is called Maendeleo ya Wanawake Organisation (MYWO), responsible for improving women's living standards by empowering them socially, economically and politically.

The chapter also explored the consequences of conflict on Kenyan women, showing how they have been largely affected in their physical, political, economic and cultural security. Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) committed by various actors; health consequences in terms of Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs) and maternal mortality; violence-caused trauma; displacement and compromised education systems are only few of the main effects of conflict on women. However, conflict has also proved to potentially be a powerful occasion to bring radical change in pre-war gender stereotypes as well as in women's social and political awareness in terms of rights and opportunities, as their specific experience can also be a useful tool to prevent conflict.

When investigating the mechanisms of dealing with conflict, findings have demonstrated how new awareness has risen of the fact that successful peace architecture need to take into consideration the importance of elaborating mechanisms based on traditions and social structures, such as group status and identity, responsible for the elaboration of community customary principles of peace and conflict. Despite being often excluded in traditional conflict resolution methods, women have however

found a number of ways to effectively prevent inter-ethnic conflicts taking advantage of their role within communities and the significance given to their body as mothers.

Usually seen as marginal to the formal mechanisms and therefore seldom recognized, women's contribution to the building of sustainable peace has been importantly engendering conflict prevention, management and resolution despite the main obstacles faced. Women are, in fact, often accused of lacking experience and visibility, as well as political strength and vision. Evidence, however, has proved such discourses to be wrong.

It was women in the Wajir district, in fact, who took action to put an end to the highly destructive cycle of violent conflict in the region, starting a national process which led to the creation of a peace architecture. Taking advantage of traditional methods in order to sensitize the population on the need for peace and engage the elders of the different clans to start a mediation process. The success of this group of women provided innovative good practice in the field of conflict prevention. Local Peace Committees were, in fact, established to offer an opportunity to empower citizens and become venues for dialogue, reconciliation, trust-building activities, training and conflict prevention.

Through the use of the Community Peace, Recovery and Reconciliation (CPRR) model, which includes a community as well as impact assessment of the conflict to identify processes, factors, stakeholders and capacities for peace, followed by recovery projects that allow the consolidation of the negotiated peace, LPCs have proved to be powerful tools used to allow civil participation and incorporate women's roles and contributions such as the use of gender-sensitive indicators.

In terms of institutionalization process, few fundamental bodies such as the National Steering Committee on Peace-building and Conflict Management (NSC), the

National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC), and the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) have since then been created. As a result, a National Policy on Peace-building and Conflict Management has been recently adopted with the aim of harmonizing all the available tools as to create an Infrastructure for Peace. Moreover, the policy acknowledges that specific policy; legislative and programmatic interventions are required to overcome obstacle such as gender gaps and other inequalities, which influence women's access to and control of resources, economic opportunities, power and political voice.

Finally, the researcher has investigated the role of media in facilitating gender participation in peace-building activities. Many projects and programs have been developed in order to use new communication tools to monitor conflicts and empower citizens through, for example, training in the use of media technologies and networking platforms through which women could raise their voices and play an active part in conflict prevention through attention to gender-sensitive indicators.

To conclude, findings have demonstrated that, as violent conflict is more and more a widespread concern polarized along political or ethnic divides, it is essential to develop dialogue and relevant mechanisms to transform conflict skillfully and non-violently by bridging these divides and responding fast when violence erupts. Unfortunately, most countries lack structures, capacities and mechanisms to deal adequately with ongoing and potential conflicts.

Therefore, this research demonstrated through the example of Kenya that as outside intervention is frequently ineffective, the use of infrastructures that are in place within a country can be far more effective and timely, allowing societies to manage their own problems on their own terms and therefore promoting long-term stability. Through their collaborative nature, Infrastructures for Peace can help a

fragile, divided, post-conflict society to deal with recurrent conflicts and find internal solutions through multi-stakeholders dialogue.

This investigation has also showed how the establishment of a national Infrastructure for Peace entails not only the adoption of a cooperative and inclusive problem-solving approach to conflict based on dialogue and non-violence, but also the development of country-specific institutional mechanisms that work at local, district and national levels. No such architecture can be built without a pro-active, participatory, inclusive and transformative approach. Communities are therefore given a role in transforming conflicts through platforms and safe spaces where stakeholders at all levels can meet and engage.

In particular, Kenya provides a fascinating example of a bottom-top peace-building process started by a group of women and including civil society actors working together to sensitize the population on the need and possibility for peace. Women have in fact the potential and capacities to work for sustainable peace and build just societies, bringing their perspective and experience to the peace table

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS

The assumption of this research is that women are the most undervalued and untapped resource in stabilising fragile nations. As well demonstrated through the presented evidence, women have proved their effectiveness in mitigating conflict with community mediation and signaling early warnings of unrest, not only in fragile states but also in fragile moments of relatively stable states like Kenya. Consequently, more and more attention should been given to women's agency in the Infrastructures for Peace processes currently in place. Seventeen years on from UN Security Council Resolution 1325, as most processes remain exclusive and are failing to deliver on

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expectations, women shall continue their battle to have their voice heard, taking advantage in particular of the powerful tools offered nowadays by technology.

Unless women can participate at an early stage in voicing their needs and having these addressed in governing structures and constitutions, they have no legal basis for challenge and risk remaining economically, politically and socially marginalised. Crucially, women's inclusion in peace processes is the strongest determinant of attention to gender issues in the ensuing political, legal, social and economic reconstruction of that society. It is only by making a bold and visible commitment to the inclusion of women at all stages of planning and implementing peace programs that provisions on women, peace and security included in all the examined UN resolutions will find a concrete implementation.

Infrastructures for Peace must both be a model and set the benchmark for a real change in current peace frameworks. By embracing a new habitual thinking that encompasses gender awareness and recognition of women as partners with men in the struggles to build peaceful nations, they shall make it the norm and not the exception to include women. Operationally, this needs increased women's knowledge and skills to address conflict and security issues, while at the same time advancing their participation at dialogue and decision making tables to be able to influence security policy and practice.

Whilst there is strong research and plenty of anecdotal evidence of the positive impact the feminine approach has in negotiations, the often-used excuse is that there are not any suitably qualified and representative women available to participate. There are already lists in existence but they are generally buried in the bowels of government or institutions, not shared and little transparency or consultation as to how they were developed. Through their district and community platforms, that allow

fostering of networking and sharing of best practices, Infrastructures for Peace create opportunities for women to be exposed to issues such as constitutional and electoral inclusiveness, to meet policy-making experts and to take ownership of keeping the peace. The overriding principle is for women in-country to be empowered to be agents of stability, substantially increasing the likelihood of embedding learning.

The analysis has confirmed how women in Kenya continue to face daunting challenges such as poverty, marginalization, cultural and religious prejudices, illiteracy and low esteem. If these impediments remain unresolved, then efforts at prevention of conflicts as well as peace-building activities shall continue to be a pipe dream. Fortunately, women themselves have elaborated many practical ways of overcoming these challenges. As already explained in this dissertation, often the gap is not only one of capacity but also failure of specific allocations in budgets, starting from having almost no gender equity right from the early process of consultation at donor level through to commitment and transparency at government level to see funds allocated to gender programs and to safeguard their delivery. Priority needs to be given to women's inclusion in national peace architectures and funding should align accordingly. Moreover, financially empowering women and women groups through income generating activities would allow them to gain the necessary resources to conduct their activities.

Further recommendations include the development, through local peace infrastructures, of civic education programs promoting increased participation of women in politics, inheritance and ownership of land and property. Women should be aware of the elimination of discrimination in legislations, customs and practices related to land and property envisaged in the new constitution. Communities should

continue creating spaces in schools, health centers, churches and mosques for women to come together, enhance social interaction and identify priority projects.

Moreover, in order to ensure a socially cohesive society where citizens have a shared vision and sense of belonging alongside the recognition of their diversity, it is important to make sure that new provisions outlawing hate speech and incitement are severely enforced and that strategies and interventions continue being implemented towards national cohesion and integration. It is of course important to continue mainstreaming the use of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms and promoting local peace treaties in order deeply embed in societies the idea that peace-building is a community activity and that peace work is defined and initiated from the grassroots level. However, it is also imperative to bridge the gap between traditions and modernity by training peace committees on fundamental principles of customary jurisprudence, arbitration, monitoring of peace activities and rapid conflict assessment skills in order to enhance their effectiveness in delivering sustainable peace.

Finally, even if the Kenyan government has been bold in acknowledging and appreciating the role of peace committees in restoring stability in pastoral regions, it is pivotal to continue supporting and harmonizing them through a strong legal and policy framework that secures the work of communities and, of course, the inclusion of women through a minimum number in any peace committees as well as mechanisms under which they can contribute to the process of peace-building without obstacles.

In conclusion, Infrastructures for Peace are by no way perfect institutions guaranteed of success. They are mechanisms to build peace at local level under very trying circumstances. But they have certainly demonstrated their effectiveness in

building more stable, resilient nations because they have had the foresight to be truly inclusive.

5.2 FUTURE RESEARCH AREA

Women and peace-building, as a topic, is an overcrowded field and certainly highly researched on an academic level. However there is a lamentable lack of practical, gender disaggregated quantitative information of the sort that would really be of interest and use to those tasked with rebuilding a nation after conflict and more rarely, to those designing national conflict prevention and containment strategies. This is in part "chicken and egg" as there are relatively few instances where women have been present in negotiations in significant numbers. Despite the fact that a great deal of replicated information is available, not a lot of evidence of holistic and systematic programs that collaborate across diverse fields is available. It would be thus important to further explore the role of women in peace planning through specific data collection of what works and what does not, and especially how tools like 'new media' can enhance networking and advocacy. We will build on so much good experience and broaden the input, seeking economic, social and political perspectives on the topic and finding pragmatic solutions that include top-down and bottom-up initiatives. There will be no point in re-inventing the wheel. The type of and quality of data produced by this sort of systematic and holistic focus on women as peace-builders will be invaluable especially to inform those countries that have or intend to have, National Action Plans in response to UNSC1325 and in implementing I4P more broadly. An in-depth assessment of specific projects within selected contexts would allow a deeper understanding of those factors that determine success or otherwise.

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APPENDIX

I United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, Women, Peace and Security (25 October 2000)

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President and recalling also the statement of its President, to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled 'Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the twenty-first century' (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and recognizing the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision- making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard noting the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in

conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further* urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls* on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls* upon all parties to armed conflict to respectfully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls* on all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasises* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard, stresses the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls* upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;
15. Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all 45

Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council, progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matt*er*.

II United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820, Women, Peace and Security

Adopted by the Security Council at its 5916th meeting, on19 June 2008

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005) and 1674 (2006) and recalling the Statements of its president of 31 October 2001 (Security Council/PRST/2001/31), 31 October2002 (Security Council/PRST/2002/32), 28 October 2004 (SecurityCouncil/PRST/2004/40), 27 October 2005 (Security Council/PRST/2005/52),8 November 2006 (Security Council/PRST/2006/42), 7 March 2007 (SecurityCouncil/PRST/2007/5), and 24 October 2007 (Security Council/PRST/2007/40);

Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations,

Reaffirming also the resolve expressed in the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls, including by ending impunity and by ensuring the protection of civilians, in particular women and girls, during and after armed conflicts, in accordance with the obligations States have undertaken under international humanitarian law and international human rights law;

Recalling the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action(A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000:Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-first Century"(A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning sexual violence and women institutions of armed conflict;

Reaffirming also the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Optional Protocol thereto, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocols thereto, and urging states that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to them,

Noting that civilians account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict; that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, including as a tactic of war to humiliate, dominate, instill fear in, disperse and/or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group; and that sexual violence perpetrated in this manner may in some instances persist after the cessation of hostilities;

Recalling its condemnation in the strongest terms of all sexual and other forms of violence committed against civilians in armed conflict, in particular women and children;

Reiterating deep concern that, despite its repeated condemnation of violence against women and children in situations of armed conflict, including sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and despite its calls addressed to all parties to armed

conflict for the cessation of such acts with immediate effect, such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic and widespread, reaching appalling levels of brutality,

Recalling the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Deeplyconcerned also about the persistent obstacles and challenges to women's participation and full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts as a result of violence, intimidation and discrimination, which erode women's capacity and legitimacy to participate in post-conflict public life, and acknowledging the negative impact this has on durable peace, security and reconciliation, including post-conflict peacebuilding,

Recognizing that States bear primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of their citizens, as well as all individuals within their territory as provided for by relevant international law,

Reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of affected civilians,

Welcoming the ongoing coordination of efforts within the United Nations system, marked by the inter-agency initiative "United Nations Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict," to create awareness about sexual violence in armed conflicts and post-conflict situations and, ultimately, to put an end to it,

1. *Stresses* that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security, affirms in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security, and expresses its readiness, when considering situations on the agenda of the Council, to, where necessary, adopt appropriate steps to address widespread or systematic sexual violence;

2. *Demands* the immediate and complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence against civilians with immediate effect;

3. *Demands* that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence, which could include, inter alia, enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the

categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual violence against civilians, debunking myths that fuel sexual violence, vetting armed and security forces to take into account past actions of rape and other forms of sexual violence, and evacuation of women and children under imminent threat of sexual violence to safety; and requests the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to encourage dialogue to address this issue in the context of broader discussions of conflict resolution between appropriate UN officials and the parties to the conflict, taking into account, inter alia, the views expressed by women of affected local communities;

4. *Notes* that rape and other forms of sexual violence can constitute a war crime, a crime against humanity, or a constitutive act with respect to genocide, stresses the need for the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes, and calls upon Member States to comply with their obligations for prosecuting persons responsible for such acts, to ensure that all victims of sexual violence, particularly women and girls, have equal protection under the law and equal access to justice, and stresses the importance of ending impunity for such acts as part of a comprehensive approach to seeking sustainable peace, justice, truth, and national reconciliation;

5. *Affirms* its intention, when establishing and renewing state-specific sanctions regimes, to take into consideration the appropriateness of targeted and graduated measures against parties to situations of armed conflict who commit rape and other forms of sexual violence against women and girls in situations of armed conflict;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Security Council, the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations and its Working Group and relevant States, as appropriate, to develop and implement appropriate training programs for all peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel deployed by the United Nations in the context of missions as mandated by the Council to help them better prevent, recognize and respond to sexual violence and other forms of violence against civilians;

7. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and urges troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including pre-deployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel;

8. *Encourages* troop and police contributing countries, in consultation with the Secretary-General, to consider steps they could take to heighten awareness and the responsiveness of their personnel participating in UN peacekeeping operations to protect civilians, including women and children, and prevent sexual violence against women and girls in conflict and post-conflict situations, including wherever possible the deployment of a higher percentage of women peacekeepers or police;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to develop effective guidelines and strategies to enhance the ability of relevant UN peacekeeping operations, consistent with their mandates, to protect civilians, including women and girls, from all forms of sexual violence and to systematically include in his written reports to the Council on conflict situations his observations concerning the protection of women and girls and

recommendations in this regard;

10. *Requests* the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations agencies, inter alia, through consultation with women and women-led organisations as appropriate, to develop effective mechanisms for providing protection from violence, including in particular sexual violence, to women and girls in and around UN managed refugee and internally displaced persons camps, as well as in all disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration processes, and in justice and security sector reform efforts assisted by the United Nations;

11. *Stresses* the important role the Peacebuilding Commission can play by including in its advice and recommendations for post-conflict peacebuilding strategies, where appropriate, ways to address sexual violence committed during and in the aftermath of armed conflict, and in ensuring consultation and effective representation of women's civil society in its country-specific configurations, as part of its wider approach to gender issues;

12. *Urges* the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys to invite women to participate in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peacebuilding, and encourages all parties to such talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;

13. *Urges* all parties concerned, including Member States, United Nations entities and financial institutions, to support the development and strengthening of the capacities of national institutions, in particular of judicial and health systems, and of local civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to victims of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations;

14. *Urges* appropriate regional and sub-regional bodies in particular to consider developing and implementing policies, activities, and advocacy for the benefit of women and girls affected by sexual violence in armed conflict;

15. *Also requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Council by30 June 2009 on the implementation of this resolution in the context of situations which are on the agenda of the Council, utilizing information from available United Nations sources, including country teams, peacekeeping operations, and other United Nations personnel, which would include, inter alia, information on situations of armed conflict in which sexual violence has been widely or systematically employed against civilians; analysis of the prevalence and trends of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict; proposals for strategies to minimize the susceptibility of women and girls to such violence; benchmarks for measuring progress in preventing and addressing sexual violence; appropriate input from United Nations implementing partners in the field; information on his plans for facilitating the collection of timely, objective, accurate, and reliable information on the use of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, including through improved coordination of UN activities on the ground and at Headquarters; and information on actions taken by parties to armed conflict to implement their responsibilities as described in this resolution, in particular by immediately and completely ceasing all acts of sexual violence and in taking appropriate measures to protect women and girls from all forms of sexual violence;

16. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

III United Nations Security Council Resolution 1888, Women, Peace and Security

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6195th meeting, on 30 September 2009

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation of resolutions 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1820 (2008) and 1882 (2009) and all relevant statements of its President,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 16 July 2009 (S/2009/362),but remaining deeply concerned over the lack of progress on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children, notably against girls, and noting as documented in the Secretary-General's report that sexual violence occurs in armed conflicts throughout the world,

Reiterating deep concern that, despite its repeated condemnation of violence against women and children including all forms of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and despite its calls addressed to all parties to armed conflict for the cessation of such acts with immediate effect, such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic or widespread,

Recalling the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action(A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000:Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century"(A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict, Reaffirming the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Optional Protocol thereto, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocols thereto, and urging states that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to them,

Recalling that international humanitarian law affords general protection to women and children as part of the civilian population during armed conflicts and special protection due to the fact that they can be placed particularly at risk,

Recalling the responsibilities of States to end impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and other egregious crimes perpetrated against civilians, and in this regard, noting with concern that only limited numbers of perpetrators of sexual violence have been brought to justice, while recognizing that in conflict and in post conflict situations national justice systems may be significantly weakened,

Reaffirming that ending impunity is essential if a society in conflict or recovering from conflict is to come to terms with past abuses committed against civilians affected by armed conflict and to prevent future such abuses, drawing attention to the full range of justice and reconciliation mechanisms to be considered, including

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national, international and "mixed" criminal courts and tribunals and truth and reconciliation commissions, and noting that such mechanisms can promote not only individual responsibility for serious crimes, but also peace, truth, reconciliation and the rights of the victims,

Recalling the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

Stressing the necessity for all States and non-State parties to conflicts to comply fully with their obligations under applicable international law, including the prohibition on all forms of sexual violence,

Recognizing the need for civilian and military leaders, consistent with the principle of command responsibility, to demonstrate commitment and political will to prevent sexual violence and to combat impunity and enforce accountability, and that inaction can send a message that the incidence of sexual violence in conflicts is tolerated,

Emphasizing the importance of addressing sexual violence issues from the outset of peace processes and mediation efforts, in order to protect populations at risk and promote full stability, in particular in the areas of pre-ceasefire humanitarian access and human rights agreements, ceasefires and ceasefire monitoring, Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), Security Sector Reform (SSR) arrangements, justice and reparations, post-conflict recovery and development,

Noting with concern the underrepresentation of women in formal peace processes, the lack of mediators and ceasefire monitors with proper training in dealing with sexual violence, and the lack of women as Chief or Lead peace mediators in United Nations-sponsored peace talks,

Recognizing that the promotion and empowerment of women and that support for women's organisations and networks are essential in the consolidation of peace to promote the equal and full participation of women and encouraging Member States, donors, and civil society, including non-governmental organisations, to provide support in this respect,

Welcoming the inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions in civil, military and police functions, and recognizing that women and children affected by armed conflict may feel more secure working with and reporting abuse to women in peacekeeping missions, and that the presence of women peacekeepers may encourage local women to participate in the national armed and security forces, thereby helping to build a security sector that is accessible and responsive to all, especially women,

Welcoming the efforts of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to develop gender guidelines for military personnel in peacekeeping operations to facilitate the implementation of resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008), and operational guidance to assist civilian, military and police components of peacekeeping missions to effectively implement resolution 1820 (2008),

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 16 July 2009(S/2009/362)

and stressing that the present resolution does not seek to make any legal determination as to whether situations that are referred to in the Secretary General's report are or are not armed conflicts within the context of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols thereto, nor does it prejudge the legal status of the non-State parties involved in these situations,

Recalling the Council's decision in resolution 1882 of 4 August 2009(S/RES/1882) to expand the Annexed list in the Secretary General's annual report on Children and Armed Conflict of parties in situations of armed conflict engaged in the recruitment or use of children in violation of international law to also include those parties to armed conflict that engage, in contravention of applicable international law, in patterns of killing and maiming of children and/or rape another sexual violence against children, in situations of armed conflict,

Noting the role currently assigned to the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues to monitor implementation of resolution 1325 and to promote gender mainstreaming within the United Nations system, women's empowerment and gender equality, and expressing the importance of effective coordination within the United Nations system in these areas,

Recognizing that States bear the primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of their citizens, as well as all individuals within their territory as provided for by relevant international law,

Reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of affected civilians,

Reiterating its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security and, in this connection, its commitment to continue to address the widespread impact of armed conflict on civilians, including with regard to sexual violence,

 1. *Reaffirms* that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war in order to deliberately target civilians or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security; affirms in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security; and expresses its readiness, when considering situations on the agenda of the Council, to take, where necessary, appropriate steps to address widespread or systematic sexual violence in situations of armed conflict;

 2. *Reiterates* its demand for the complete cessation by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence with immediate effect;

 3. *Demands* that all parties to armed conflict immediately take appropriate measures to protect civilians, including women and children, from all forms of sexual violence, including measures such as, inter alia, enforcing appropriate military disciplinary measures and upholding the principle of command responsibility, training troops on the categorical prohibition of all forms of sexual violence against civilians, debunking myths that fuel sexual violence and vetting candidates for national armies and security

forces to ensure the exclusion of those associated with serious violations of international humanitarian and human rights law, including sexual violence;

4. *Requests* that the United Nations Secretary-General appoint a Special Representative to provide coherent and strategic leadership, to work effectively to strengthen existing United Nations coordination mechanisms, and to engage in advocacy efforts, inter alia with governments, including military and judicial representatives, as well as with all parties to armed conflict and civil society, in order to address, at both headquarters and country level, sexual violence in armed conflict, while promoting cooperation and coordination of efforts among all relevant stakeholders, primarily through the inter-agency initiative "United Nations Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict";

5. *Encourages* the entities comprising UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, as well as other relevant parts of the United Nations system, to support the work of the aforementioned Special Representative of the Secretary-General and to continue and enhance cooperation and information sharing among all relevant stakeholders in order to reinforce coordination and avoid overlap at the headquarters and country levels and improve system-wide response;

6. *Urges* States to undertake comprehensive legal and judicial reforms, as appropriate, in conformity with international law, without delay and with a view to bringing perpetrators of sexual violence in conflicts to justice and to ensuring that survivors have access to justice, are treated with dignity throughout the justice process and are protected and receive redress for their suffering;

7. *Urges* all parties to a conflict to ensure that all reports of sexual violence committed by civilians or by military personnel are thoroughly investigated and the alleged perpetrators brought to justice, and that civilian superiors and military commanders, in accordance with international humanitarian law, use their authority and powers to prevent sexual violence, including by combating impunity;

8. *Calls upon* the Secretary-General to identify and take the appropriate measures to deploy rapidly a team of experts to situations of particular concern with respect to sexual violence in armed conflict, working through the United Nations presence on the ground and with the consent of the host government, to assist national authorities to strengthen the rule of law, and recommends making use of existing human resources within the United Nations system and voluntary contributions, drawing upon requisite expertise, as appropriate, in the rule of law, civilian and military judicial systems, mediation, criminal investigation, security sector reform, witness protection, fair trial standards, and public outreach; to, inter alia:

(a) Work closely with national legal and judicial officials and other personnel in the relevant governments' civilian and military justice systems to address impunity, including by the strengthening of national capacity, and drawing attention to the full range of justice mechanisms to be considered;

(b) Identify gaps in national response and encourage a holistic national approach to address sexual violence in armed conflict, including by enhancing criminal accountability, responsiveness to victims, and judicial capacity;

(c) Make recommendations to coordinate domestic and international efforts and resources to reinforce the government's ability to address sexual violence in armed conflict;

(d) Work with the United Nations Mission, Country Team, and the aforementioned Special Representative of the Secretary-General as appropriate towards the full implementation of the measures called for by resolution1820 (2008);

9. *Encourages* States, relevant United Nations entities and civil society, as appropriate, to provide assistance in close cooperation with national authorities to build national capacity in the judicial and law enforcement systems in situations of particular concern with respect to sexual violence in armed conflict;

10. *Reiterates* its intention, when adopting or renewing targeted sanctions in situations of armed conflict, to consider including, where appropriate, designation criteria pertaining to acts of rape and other forms of sexual violence; and calls upon all peacekeeping and other relevant United Nations missions and United Nations bodies, in particular the Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict, to share with relevant United Nations Security Council sanctions committees, including through relevant United Nations Security Council Sanction Committees' monitoring groups and groups of experts, all pertinent information about sexual violence;

11. *Expresses* its intention to ensure that resolutions to establish or renew peacekeeping mandates contain provisions, as appropriate, on the prevention of, and response to, sexual violence, with corresponding reporting requirements to the Council;

12. *Decides* to include specific provisions, as appropriate, for the protection of women and children from rape and other sexual violence in the mandates of United Nations peacekeeping operations, including, on a case-by-case basis, the identification of women's protection advisers (WPAs) among gender advisers and human rights protection units, and requests the Secretary-General to ensure that the need for, and the number and roles of WPAs are systematically assessed during the preparation of each United Nations peacekeeping operation;

13. *Encourages* States, with the support of the international community, to increase access to health care, psychosocial support, legal assistance and socioeconomic reintegration services for victims of sexual violence, in particular in rural areas;

14. *Expresses* its intention to make better usage of periodical field visits to conflict areas, through the organisation of interactive meetings with the local women and women's organisations in the field about the concerns and needs of women in areas of armed conflict;

15. *Encourages* leaders at the national and local level, including traditional leaders where they exist and religious leaders, to play a more active role in sensitizing communities on sexual violence to avoid marginalization and stigmatization of victims, to assist with their social reintegration, and to combat culture of impunity for these crimes;

16. *Urges* the Secretary General, Member States and the heads of regional organisations to take measures to increase the representation of women in mediation processes and decision-making processes with regard to conflict resolution and peace building;

17. *Urges* that issues of sexual violence be included in all United Nations sponsored peace negotiation agendas, and also urges inclusion of sexual violence issues from the outset of peace processes in such situations, in particular in the areas of pre-ceasefires, humanitarian access and human rights agreements, ceasefires and ceasefire monitoring, DDR and SSR arrangements, vetting of armed and security forces, justice, reparations, and recovery/development;

18. *Reaffirms* the role of the Peace building Commission in promoting inclusive gender-based approaches to reducing instability in post-conflict situations, noting the important role of women in rebuilding society, and urges the Peace building Commission to encourage all parties in the countries on its agenda to incorporate and implement measures to reduce sexual violence in post-conflict strategies;

19. *Encourages* Member States to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities;

20. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that technical support is provided to troop and police contributing countries, in order to include guidance for military and police personnel on addressing sexual violence in pre-deployment and induction training;

21. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance of sexual exploitation and abuse in United Nations peacekeeping operations; and urges troop and police contributing countries to take appropriate preventative action, including predeployment and in-theater awareness training, and other action to ensure full accountability in cases of such conduct involving their personnel;

22. *Requests* that the Secretary-General continue to direct all relevant United Nations entities to take specific measures to ensure systematic mainstreaming of gender issues within their respective institutions, including by ensuring allocation of adequate financial and human resources within all relevant offices and departments and on the ground, as well as to strengthen, within their respective mandates, their cooperation and coordination when addressing the issue of sexual violence in armed conflict;

23. *Urges* relevant Special Representatives and the Emergency Relief Coordinator of the Secretary-General, with strategic and technical support from the UN Action network, to work with Member States to develop joint Government United Nations Comprehensive Strategies to Combat Sexual Violence, in consultation with all relevant stakeholders, and to regularly provide updates on this in their standard reporting to Headquarters;

24. *Requests* that the Secretary-General ensure more systematic reporting on

incidents of trends, emerging patterns of attack, and early warning indicators of the use of sexual violence in armed conflict in all relevant reports to the Council, and encourages the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, the Emergency Relief Coordinator, the High Commissioner for Human Rights, the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, and the Chairperson(s) of UN Action to provide, in coordination with the aforementioned Special Representative, additional briefings and documentation on sexual violence in armed conflict to the Council;

25. *Requests* the Secretary-General to include, where appropriate, in his regular reports on individual peacekeeping operations, information on steps taken to implement measures to protect civilians, particularly women and children, against sexual violence;

26. *Requests* the Secretary-General, taking into account the proposals contained in his report as well as any other relevant elements, to devise urgently and preferably within three months, specific proposals on ways to ensure monitoring and reporting in a more effective and efficient way within the existing United Nations system on the protection of women and children from rape and other sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, utilizing expertise from the United Nations system and the contributions of national Governments, regional organisations, non-governmental organisations in their advisory capacity and various civil society actors, in order to provide timely, objective, accurate and reliable information on gaps in United Nations entities response, for consideration in taking appropriate action;

27. Requests that the Secretary-General continue to submit annual reports tithe Council on the implementation of Resolution 1820 (2008) and to submit his next report by September of 2010 on the implementation of this resolution and Resolution 1820 (2008) to include, inter alia:

(a) a detailed coordination and strategy plan on the timely and ethical collection of information;

(b) updates on efforts by United Nations Mission focal points on sexual violence to work closely with the Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator (RC/HC), the United Nations Country Team, and, where appropriate, the aforementioned Special Representative and/or the Team of Experts, to address sexual violence;

(c) information regarding parties to armed conflict that are credibly suspected of committing patterns of rape or other forms of sexual violence, in situations that are on the Council's agenda;

28. *Decides* to review, taking into account the process established by General Assembly resolution 63/311 regarding a United Nations composite gender entity, the mandates of the Special Representative requested in operative paragraph 4 and the Team of Experts in operative paragraph 8 within two years, and as appropriate thereafter;

29. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

IV United Nations Security Council Resolution 1889, Women, Peace and Security

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6196th meeting, on 5 October 2009

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation, in a mutually reinforcing manner, of resolutions 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1820 (2008), 1882 (2009), 1888 (2009) and all relevant Statements of its Presidents, Guided by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and bearing in mind the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Recalling the resolve expressed in the 2005 United Nations General Assembly World Summit Outcome Document (A/RES/60/1) to eliminate all forms of violence against women and girls, the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women and the Optional Protocol thereto, the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocols thereto, recalling also the commitments contained in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Having considered the report of the Secretary General (S/2009/465) of16 September 2009 and stressing that the present resolution does not seek to make any legal determination as to whether situations that are referred to in the Secretary-general's report are or are not armed conflicts within the context of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols thereto, nor does it prejudge the legal status of the non-State parties involved in these situations,

Welcoming the efforts of Member States in implementing its resolution 1325(2000) at the national level, including the development of national action plans, and encouraging Member States to continue to pursue such implementation,

Reiterating the need for the full, equal and effective participation of women at all stages of peace processes given their vital role in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peace building, reaffirming the key role women can play in re-establishing the fabric of recovering society and stressing the need for their involvement in the development and implementation of post-conflict strategies in order to take into account their perspectives and needs,

Expressing deep concern about the under-representation of women at all stages of peace processes, particularly the very low numbers of women in formal roles in mediation processes and stressing the need to ensure that women are appropriately appointed at decision-making levels, as high level mediators, and within the

composition of the mediators' teams,

Remaining deeply concerned about the persistent obstacles to women's full involvement in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and participation in post conflict public life, as a result of violence and intimidation, lack of security and lack of rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatization, including the rise of extremist or fanatical views on women, and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education, and in this respect, recognizing that the marginalization of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation,

Recognizing the particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, physical security, health services including reproductive and mental health, ways to ensure their livelihoods, land and property rights, employment, as well as their participation in decision-making and post conflict planning, particularly at early stages of post-conflict peace building,

Noting that despite progress, obstacles to strengthening women's participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building remain, expressing concern that women's capacity to engage in public decision making and economic recovery often does not receive adequate recognition or financing in post-conflict situations, and underlining that funding for women's early recovery needs is vital to increase women's empowerment, which can contribute to effective post-conflict peace building,

Noting that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in addressing and resolving situations of armed conflict and stressing the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peace building,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of situations of armed conflict on women and girls, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, adequate and rapid response to their particular needs, and effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process, particularly at early stages of post-conflict peace building, can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Welcoming the United Nations initiative to develop a system similar to that pioneered by the United Nations Development Programme to allow decision-makers to track gender-related allocations in United Nations Development Group Multi-Donor Trust Funds, Welcoming the efforts of the Secretary-General to appoint more women to senior United Nations positions, particularly in field missions, as a tangible step towards providing United Nations leadership on implementation of its resolution1325 (2000),

Welcoming the upcoming establishment of a United Nations Steering Committee to enhance visibility and strengthen coordination within the United Nations system regarding the preparations for the 10th anniversary of resolution1325 (2000),

Encouraging relevant actors to organise events during 2009-2010 at the global,

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regional and national levels to increase awareness about resolution 1325(2000), including ministerial events, to renew commitments to "Women and peace and security", and to identify ways to address remaining and new challenges in implementing resolution 1325 (2000) in the future,

1. *Urges* Member States, international and regional organisations to take further measures to improve women's participation during all stages of peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peace building, including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes, through inter alia promoting women's leadership and capacity to engage in aid management and planning, supporting women's organisations, and countering negative societal attitudes about women's capacity to participate equally;

2. *Reiterates* its call for all parties in armed conflicts to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls;

3. *Strongly condemns* all violations of applicable international law committed against women and girls in situations of armed conflicts and post-conflict situations, demands all parties to conflicts to cease such acts with immediate effect, and emphasises the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for all forms of violence committed against women and girls in armed conflicts, including rape and other sexual violence;

4. *Calls upon* the Secretary-General to develop a strategy, including through appropriate training, to increase the number of women appointed to pursue good offices on his behalf, particularly as Special Representatives and Special Envoys, and to take measures to increase women's participation in United Nations political, peace building and peacekeeping missions;

5. Requests the Secretary-General to ensure that all country reports to the Security Council provide information on the impact of situations of armed conflict on women and girls, their particular needs in post-conflict situations and obstacles to attaining those needs;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that relevant United Nations bodies, in cooperation with Member States and civil society, collect data on, analyze and systematically assess particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including, inter alia, information on their needs for physical security and participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, in order to improve system-wide response to those needs;

7. *Expresses* its intention, when establishing and renewing the mandates of United Nations missions, to include provisions on the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in post-conflict situations, and requests the Secretary-General to continue, as appropriate, to appoint gender advisors and/or women-protection advisors to United Nations missions and asks them, in cooperate on with United Nations Country Teams, to render technical assistance and improved coordination efforts to address recovery needs of women and girls in post conflict situations;

8. *Urges* Member States to ensure gender mainstreaming in all post-conflict peace building and recovery processes and sectors;

9. *Urges* Member States, United Nations bodies, donors and civil society to ensure that women's empowerment is taken into account during post-conflict needs assessments and planning, and factored into subsequent funding disbursements and programme activities, including through developing transparent analysis and tracking of funds allocated for addressing women's needs in the post-conflict phase;

10. *Encourages* Member States in post-conflict situations, in consultation with civil society, including women's organisations, to specify in detail women and girls' needs and priorities and design concrete strategies, in accordance with their legal systems, to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education, income generating activities, access to basic services, in particular health services, including sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights and mental health, gender-responsive law enforcement and access to justice, as well as enhancing capacity to engage in public decision-making at all levels;

11. *Urges* Member States, United Nations bodies and civil society, including on-governmental organisations, to take all feasible measures to ensure women and girls' equal access to education in post-conflict situations, given the vital role of education in the promotion of women's participation in post-conflict decision-making;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflicts to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and ensure the protection of all civilians inhabiting such camps, in particular women and girls, from all forms of violence, including rape and other sexual violence, and to ensure full, unimpeded and secure humanitarian access to them;

13. *Calls upon* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to take into account particular needs of women and girls associated with armed forces and armed groups and their children, and provide for their full access to these programmes;

14. *Encourages* the Peacebuilding Commission and Peacebuilding Support Office to continue to ensure systematic attention to and mobilization of resources for advancing gender equality and women's empowerment as an integral part of post conflict peace building, and to encourage the full participation of women in this process;

15. *Request* the Secretary-General, in his agenda for action to improve the United Nations' peace building efforts, to take account of the need to improve the participation of women in political and economic decision-making from the earliest stages of the peace building process;

16. *Requests* the Secretary-General to ensure full transparency, cooperation and coordination of efforts between the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Children and Armed Conflict and the Special Representative of the Secretary General on sexual violence and armed conflict whose appointment has-been requested

by its resolution 1888 (2009);

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit to the Security Council within6 months, for consideration, a set of indicators for use at the global level to track implementation of its resolution 1325 (2000), which could serve as a common basis for reporting by relevant United Nations entities, other international and regional organisations, and Member States, on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) in 2010 and beyond;

18. *Requests* the Secretary-General, within the report requested in S/PRST/2007/40, to also include a review of progress in the implementation of its resolution 1325 (2000), an assessment of the processes by which the Security Council receives, analyzes and takes action on information pertinent to resolution1325 (2000), recommendations on further measures to improve coordination across the United Nations system, and with Member States and civil society to deliver implementation, and data on women's participation in United Nations missions;

19. *Requests* the Secretary-General to submit a report to the Security Council within 12 months on addressing women's participation and inclusion in peace building and planning in the aftermath of conflict, taking into consideration the views of the Peacebuilding Commission and to include, inter alia:

a. Analysis on the particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations,

b. Challenges to women's participation in conflict resolution and peace building and gender mainstreaming in all early post-conflict planning, financing and recovery processes,

c. Measures to support national capacity in planning for and financing responses to the needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations,

d. Recommendations for improving international and national responses tithe needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including the development of effective financial and institutional arrangements to guarantee women's full and equal participation in the peace building process,

20. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

V: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1960, Women, Peace and Security

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6453rd meeting, on 16 December 2010

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation, in a mutually reinforcing manner, of resolutions 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1820 (2008), 1882 (2009), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1894 (2009), and all relevant statements of its President,

Welcoming the report of the Secretary-General of 24 November 2010(S/2010/604), but remaining deeply concerned over the slow progress on the issue of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict in particular against women and children, and noting as documented in the Secretary-General's report that sexual violence occurs in armed conflicts throughout the world,

Reiterating deep concern that despite its repeated condemnation of violence against women and children in situations of armed conflict, including sexual violence in situations of armed conflict, and despite its calls addressed to all parties to armed conflict for the cessation of such acts with immediate effect, such acts continue to occur, and in some situations have become systematic and widespread, reaching appalling levels of brutality,

Reiterating the necessity for all States and non-State parties to conflicts to comply fully with their obligations under applicable international law, including the prohibition on all forms of sexual violence,

Reiterating the need for civilian and military leaders, consistent with the principle of command responsibility, to demonstrate commitment and political will to prevent sexual violence and to combat impunity and enforce accountability, and that inaction can send a message that the incidence of sexual violence in conflicts is tolerated,

Recalling the responsibilities of States to end impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, and other egregious crimes perpetrated against civilians and, in this regard, noting with concern that only limited numbers of perpetrators of sexual violence have been brought to justice, while recognizing that in conflict and in post-conflict situations national justice systems may be significantly weakened,

Welcoming the progress made in rendering operational the team of experts to assist national authorities to strengthen the rule of law in accordance with resolution1888 (2009); reaffirming the importance of deploying it rapidly to situations of particular concern with respect to sexual violence in armed conflict, working through the United Nations presence on the ground and with the consent of the host government and in this regard, appreciating the voluntary contributions to support its work,

Recognizing that States bear the primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of all persons within their territory and subject to their jurisdictions provided for by international law,

Reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to take all feasible steps to ensure the protection of civilians,

Recalling that international humanitarian law affords general protection to women and children as part of the civilian population during armed conflicts and special protection due to the fact that they can be placed particularly at risk,

Reaffirming that ending impunity is essential if a society in conflict or recovering from conflict is to come to terms with past abuses committed against civilians affected by armed conflict and to prevent future such abuses, drawing attention to the full range of justice and reconciliation mechanisms to be considered, including national, international and "mixed" criminal courts and tribunals and truth and reconciliation commissions, and noting that such mechanisms can promote not only individual responsibility for serious crimes, but also peace, truth, reconciliation and the rights of the victims,

Recalling the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

Reaffirming the importance for States, with the support of the international community, to increase access to health care, psychosocial support, legal assistance, and socio-economic reintegration services for victims of sexual violence, in particular in rural areas, and taking into account the specific needs of persons with disabilities,

Welcoming the proposals, conclusions and recommendations included in the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/64/19) on the need for adequate capabilities and clear and appropriate guidelines to enable peacekeeping missions to carry out all their mandated tasks, including prevention of and response to sexual violence; stressing the importance of ensuring engagement by senior mission leadership on protection of civilians, including the prevention of and response to instances of sexual violence in armed conflict, with a view tonsuring that all mission components and all levels of the chain of command are properly informed of and involved in the mission's mandate and their relevant responsibilities; welcoming progress made by the Secretary-General in developing operational tools for the implementation of protection of civilians mandates; and encouraging troop- and police-contributing countries to make full use of and provide feedback on these important materials,

Recognizing the efforts of the Secretary-General to address the underrepresentation of women in formal peace processes, the lack of mediators and ceasefire monitors with proper training in dealing with sexual violence, and the lack of women as Chief or Lead peace mediators in United Nations-sponsored peace talks; and encouraging further such efforts,

Welcoming the inclusion of women in peacekeeping missions in civil, military and

police functions, recognizing that their presence may encourage women from local communities to report acts of sexual violence,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General of 24 November 2010(S/2010/604) and stressing that the present resolution does not seek to make any legal determination as to whether situations that are referred to in the Secretary General's report are or are not armed conflicts within the context of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols thereto, nor does it prejudge the legal status of non-State parties involved in these situations,

1. *Reaffirms* that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a tactic of war or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate and prolong situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security; affirms in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts of sexual violence can significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security; and expresses its readiness, when considering situations on the agenda of the Council, to take, where necessary, appropriate steps to address widespread or systematic sexual violence in situations of armed conflict;

2. *Reiterates* its demand for the complete cessation with immediate effect by all parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence;

3. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to include in his annual reports submitted pursuant to resolutions 1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009) detailed information on parties to armed conflict that are credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for acts of rape or other forms of sexual violence, and to list in an annex to these annual reports the parties that are credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict on the Security Council agenda; expresses its intention to use this list as a basis for more focused United Nations engagement with those parties, including, as appropriate, measures in accordance with the procedures of the relevant sanctions committees;

4. *Requests* the Secretary-General, in accordance with the present resolution and taking into account its specificity, to apply the listing and de-listing criteria for parties listed in his annual report on sexual violence in armed conflict consistent with paragraphs 175, 176, 178, and 180 of his report A/64/742-S/2010/181;

5. *Calls upon* parties to armed conflict to make and implement specific and time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence, which should include, inter alia, issuance of clear orders through chains of command prohibiting sexual violence and the prohibition of sexual violence in Codes of Conduct, military field manuals, or equivalent; and further calls upon those parties to make and implement specific commitments on timely investigation of alleged abuses in order to hold perpetrators accountable;

6. Requests the Secretary-General to track and monitor implementation of these commitments by parties to armed conflict on the Security Council's agenda that engage in patterns of rape and other sexual violence, and regularly update the Council in relevant reports and briefings;

7. *Reiterates* its intention, when adopting or renewing targeted sanctions in situations of armed conflict, to consider including, where appropriate, designation criteria pertaining to acts of rape and other forms of sexual violence; and calls upon all peacekeeping and other relevant United Nations missions and United Nations entities, in particular the Working Group on Children and Armed Conflict, the Special Representative of the Secretary General for Children and Armed Conflict, and the Special Representative of the Secretary General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, to share with relevant United Nations Security Council Sanctions Committees, including through relevant United Nations Security Council Sanction Committees' monitoring groups and groups of experts, all pertinent information about sexual violence;

8. *Requests* the Secretary General to establish monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements on conflict-related sexual violence, including rape in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict and other situations relevant to the implementation of resolution 1888 (2009), as appropriate, and taking into account the specificity of each country, that ensure a coherent and coordinated approach at the field-level, and encourages the Secretary-General to engage with United Nations actors, national institutions, civil society organisations, health-care service providers, and women's groups to enhance data collection and analysis of incidents, trends, and patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence to assist the Council's consideration of appropriate actions, including targeted and graduated measures, while respecting fully the integrity and specificity of the monitoring and reporting mechanism implemented under Security Council resolutions 1612 (2005)and 1882 (2009) on children and armed conflict;

9. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue to ensure full transparency, cooperation and coordination of efforts between the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict;

10. *Welcomes* the work of gender advisers; looks forward to the appointment of more women protection advisers to peacekeeping missions, in accordance with resolution 1888 (2009); notes their potential contribution in the framework of the monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements to be established pursuant to OP8of the present resolution;

11. *Welcomes* the elaboration by the Secretary-General of scenario-based training materials on combating sexual violence for peacekeepers and encourages Member States to use them as a reference for the preparation and deployment of United Nations peacekeeping operations;

12. *Underlines* that, in order to carry out their mandate, missions must communicate effectively with local communities; and encourages the Secretary General to improve their capacity to do so;

13. *Expresses* its intention to give due consideration to sexual violence in mandate authorizations and renewals and to request the Secretary-General to include, as appropriate, gender expertise in technical assessment missions;

14. *Encourages* the entities comprising United Nations Action Against Sexual

Violence in Conflict, as well as other relevant parts of the United Nations system, to continue to support the work of the aforementioned Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict and to enhance cooperation and information-sharing among all relevant stakeholders in order to reinforce coordination and avoid overlap at the headquarters and country levels and improve system-wide response;

15. *Encourages* Member States to deploy greater numbers of female military and police personnel to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training on sexual and gender-based violence, inter alia, to carry out their responsibilities;

16. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance on sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations peacekeeping and humanitarian personnel, and further requests the Secretary-General to continue to provide and deploy guidance on addressing sexual violence for redeployment and inductive training of military and police personnel, and to assist missions in developing situation-specific procedures to address sexual violence at the field level and to ensure that technical support is provided to troop and police contributing countries in order to include guidance for military and police personnel on addressing sexual violence in redeployment and induction training;

17. *Invites* the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict to continue to provide briefings on sexual violence, in accordance with resolution 1888(2009);

18. *Requests* that the Secretary-General continue to submit annual reports tithe Council on the implementation of Resolutions 1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009) and to submit his next report by December 2011 on the implementation of Resolutions1820 (2008) and 1888 (2009) and the present resolution to include, inter alia:

 (a) a detailed coordination and strategy plan on the timely and ethical collection of information;

 (b) information on progress made in the implementation of the monitoring, analysis, and reporting arrangements mentioned in paragraph 8;

 (c) detailed information on parties to armed conflict that are credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for acts of rape or other forms of sexual violence, and an annex with a list of parties that are credibly suspected of committing or being responsible for patterns of rape and other forms of sexual violence in situations of armed conflict on the Security Council agenda;

 (d) updates on efforts by United Nations Mission focal points on sexual violence to work closely with Resident Coordinator/Humanitarian Coordinator (RC/HC), the United Nations Country Team, and, where appropriate, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict and the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict and/or the Team of Experts, to address sexual violence;

 19. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

VI: United Nations Security Council Resolution 2106, Women, Peace and Security

Adopted by the Security Council at its 6984th meeting, on 24 June 2013

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation, in a mutually reinforcing manner, of resolutions 1265 (1999), 1296 (2000), 1325 (2000), 1612 (2005), 1674 (2006), 1738 (2006), 1820 (2008), 1882 (2009), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1894 (2009), 1960 (2010), 1998 (2011) and 2068 (2012), and all relevant statements of its President,

Thanking the Secretary-General for the report of 12 March 2013 (S/2013/149) and taking note of the analysis and recommendations contained therein, but remaining deeply concerned over the slow implementation of important aspects of resolution 1960 (2010) to prevent sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations and noting as documented in the Secretary-General's report that sexual violence occurs in such situations throughout the world,

Recognizing the Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict adopted by G8 foreign ministers in London on 11 April 2013, and the commitments it makes in this regard,

Recognizing that consistent and rigorous prosecution of sexual violence crimes as well as national ownership and responsibility in addressing the root causes of sexual violence in armed conflict are central to deterrence and prevention as is challenging the myths that sexual violence in armed conflict is a cultural phenomenon or an inevitable consequence of war or a lesser crime,

Affirming that women's political, social and economic empowerment, gender equality and the enlistment of men and boys in the effort to combat all forms of violence against women are central to long-term efforts to prevent sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations; and emphasizing the importance of the full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) while noting the ongoing work on a set of indicators for the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent resolutions on women and peace and security, and recognizing UN-Women's efforts in this area,

Noting with concern that sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations disproportionately affects women and girls, as well as groups that are particularly vulnerable or may be specifically targeted, while also affecting men and boys and those secondarily traumatized as forced witnesses of sexual violence against family members; and emphasizing that acts of sexual violence in such situations not only severely impede the critical contributions of women to society, but also impede durable peace and security as well as sustainable development,

Recognizing that States bear the primary responsibility to respect and ensure the

human rights of all persons within their territory and subject to their jurisdictions provided for by international law; and reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to ensure the protection of civilians,

Reaffirming its respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of all States in accordance with the Charter, Recalling the inclusion of a range of sexual violence offences in the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) and the statutes of the ad hoc international criminal tribunals,

Noting the provision in the Arms Trade Treaty that exporting States Parties shall take into account the risk of covered conventional arms or items being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children,

Further recalling that international humanitarian law prohibits rape and other forms of sexual violence,

Recalling the Human Rights Due Diligence Policy on United Nations Support to non-United Nations Security Forces as a tool to enhance compliance with international humanitarian, human rights and refugee law, including to address sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations,

Having considered the report of the Secretary-General and stressing that the present resolution does not seek to make any legal determination as to whether situations that are referred to in the Secretary-General's report are or are not armed conflicts within the context of the Geneva Conventions and the Additional Protocols thereto, nor does it prejudge the legal status of non-State parties involved in these situations,

1. *Affirms* that sexual violence, when used or commissioned as a method or tactic of war or as a part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, can significantly exacerbate and prolong situations of armed conflict and may impede the restoration of international peace and security; emphasises in this regard that effective steps to prevent and respond to such acts significantly contribute to the maintenance of international peace and security; and stresses women's participation as essential to any prevention and protection response;

2. *Notes* that sexual violence can constitute a crime against humanity or constitutive act with respect to genocide; further recalls that rape and other forms of serious sexual violence in armed conflict are war crimes; calls upon Member States to comply with their relevant obligations to continue to fight impunity by investigating and prosecuting those subject to their jurisdiction who are responsible for such crimes; encourages Member States to include the full range of crimes of sexual violence in national penal legislation to enable prosecutions for such acts; recognizes that effective investigation and documentation of sexual violence in armed conflict is instrumental both in bringing perpetrators to justice and ensuring access to justice for survivors;

3. *Notes* that the fight against impunity for the most serious crimes of international concern committed against women and girls has been strengthened through the work of the ICC, ad hoc and mixed tribunals, as well as specialized chambers in national

tribunals; reiterates its intention to continue forcefully to fight impunity and uphold accountability with appropriate means;

4. *Draws attention* to the importance of a comprehensive approach to transitional justice in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, encompassing the full range of judicial and non-judicial measures, as appropriate;

5. *Recognizes* the need for more systematic monitoring of and attention to sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations and other women and peace and security commitments in its own work and, in this regard, expresses its intent to employ, as appropriate, all means at its disposal to ensure women's participation in all aspects of mediation, post-conflict recovery and peace building and to address sexual violence in conflict, including, inter alia, in the establishment and review of peacekeeping and political mandates, public statements, country visits, fact-finding missions, international commissions of inquiry, consultations with regional bodies and in the work of relevant Security Council sanctions committees;

6. *Recognizes* the need for more timely, objective, accurate and reliable information as a basis for prevention and response and requests the Secretary General and relevant United Nations entities to accelerate the establishment and implementation of monitoring, analysis and reporting arrangements on conflict related sexual violence, including rape in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict and other situations relevant to the implementation of resolution 1888(2009), as appropriate, and taking into account the specificity of each country;

7. *Calls for* the further deployment of Women Protection Advisors (WPA)in accordance with resolution 1888 to facilitate the implementation of Security Council resolutions on women and peace and security and calls upon the Secretary General to ensure that the need for, and the number and roles of WPAs are systematically assessed during the planning and review of each United Nations peacekeeping and political mission, and to ensure that these experts are adequately trained and deployed in a timely manner; and recognizes the role of UN Action against Sexual Violence in Conflict in facilitating coordinated responses of relevant peacekeeping, humanitarian, human rights, political and security actors and emphasises the need for enhanced coordination, information sharing, analysis, response planning and implementation across these sectors;

8. *Recognizes* the distinct role of Gender Advisors in ensuring that gender perspectives are mainstreamed in policies, planning and implementation by all mission elements; calls upon the Secretary-General to continue to deploy Gender Advisors to the relevant United Nations peacekeeping and political missions as well as humanitarian operations and to ensure comprehensive gender training of all relevant peacekeeping and civilian personnel;

9. *Acknowledges* the efforts of United Nations entities in ensuring United Nations Commissions of Inquiry in armed conflict and post-conflict situations have, where necessary, sexual and gender-based crimes expertise to accurately document such crimes and encourages all Member States to support these efforts;

10. *Reiterates* its demand for the complete cessation with immediate effect by all

parties to armed conflict of all acts of sexual violence and its call for these parties to make and implement specific time-bound commitments to combat sexual violence, which should include, inter alia, issuance of clear orders through chains of command prohibiting sexual violence and accountability for breaching these orders, the prohibition of sexual violence in Codes of Conduct, military and police field manuals or equivalent and to make and implement specific commitments on timely investigation of alleged abuses; and further calls upon all relevant parties to armed conflict to cooperate in the framework of such commitments, with appropriate United Nations mission personnel who monitor their implementation, and calls upon the parties to designate, as appropriate, a high-level representative responsible for ensuring implementation of such commitments;

11. *Emphasises* the important role that can be played by women, civil society, including women's organisations, and formal and informal community leaders in exerting influence over parties to armed conflict with respect to addressing sexual violence;

12. *Reiterates* the importance of addressing sexual violence in armed conflict whenever relevant, in mediation efforts, ceasefires and peace agreements; requests the Secretary-General, Member States and regional organisations, where appropriate, to ensure that mediators and envoys, in situations where it is used as a method or tactic of war, or as part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, engage on sexual violence issues, including with women, civil society, including women's organisations and survivors of sexual violence, and ensure that such concerns are reflected in specific provisions of peace agreements, including related to security arrangements and transitional justice mechanisms; urges the inclusion of sexual violence in the definition of acts prohibited by ceasefires and in provisions for ceasefire monitoring; stresses the need for the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution processes;

13. *Urges* existing sanctions committees, where within the scope of the relevant criteria for designation, and consistent with resolution 1960 (2010) to apply targeted sanctions against those who perpetrate and direct sexual violence in conflict; and reiterates its intention, when adopting or renewing targeted sanctions in situations of armed conflict, to consider including, where appropriate, designation criteria pertaining to acts of rape and other forms of serious sexual violence;

14. *Recognizes* the role of United Nations peacekeeping contingents in preventing sexual violence, and, in this respect, calls for all redeployment and in-mission training of troop- and police-contributing country contingents to include training on sexual and gender-based violence, which also takes into account the distinct needs of children; further encourages troop- and police-contributing countries to increase the number of women recruited and deployed in peace operations;

15. *Requests* the Secretary-General to continue and strengthen efforts to implement the policy of zero tolerance on sexual exploitation and abuse by United Nations personnel and urges concerned Member States to ensure full accountability, including prosecutions, in cases of such conduct involving their nationals;

16. *Requests* the Secretary-General and relevant United Nations entities to assist

national authorities, with the effective participation of women, in addressing sexual violence concerns explicitly in:

(a) disarmament, demobilization and reintegration processes, including, interlaid, by establishing protection mechanisms for women and children in cantonment sites, as well as for civilians in close proximity of cantonment sites and in communities of return, and by offering trauma and reintegration support to women and children formerly associated with armed groups, as well as ex-combatants;

(b) security sector reform processes and arrangements, including through the provision of adequate training for security personnel, encouraging the inclusion of more women in the security sector and effective vetting processes in order to exclude from the security sector those who have perpetrated or are responsible for acts of sexual violence;

(c) justice sector reform initiatives, including through legislative and policy reforms that address sexual violence; training in sexual and gender-based violence of justice and security sector professionals and the inclusion of more women at professional levels in these sectors; and judicial proceedings that take into account the distinct needs and protection of witnesses as well as survivors of sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, and their family members;

17. *Recognizes* that women who have been forcefully abducted into armed groups and armed forces, as well as children, are especially vulnerable to sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations and as such demands that parties to armed conflict immediately identify and release such persons from their ranks;

18. *Encourages* concerned Member States to draw upon the expertise of the United Nations Team of Experts established pursuant to resolution 1888 (2009) as appropriate to strengthen the rule of law and the capacity of civilian and military justice systems to address sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations as part of broader efforts to strengthen institutional safeguards against impunity;

19. *Recognizing* the importance of providing timely assistance to survivors of sexual violence, urges United Nations entities and donors to provide on-discriminatory and comprehensive health services, including sexual and reproductive health, psychosocial, legal, and livelihood support and other multi-sectoral services for survivors of sexual violence, taking into account the specific needs of persons with disabilities; calls for support to national institutions and local civil society networks in increasing resources and strengthening capacities to provide the abovementioned services to survivors of sexual violence; encourages Member States and donors to support national and international programs that assist victims of sexual violence such as the Trust Fund for Victims established by theorem Statute and its implementing partners; and requests the relevant United Nations entities to increase allocation of resources for the coordination of gender based violence response and service provision;

20. *Notes* the link between sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations and HIV infection, and the disproportionate burden of HIV and AIDS on

women and girls as a persistent obstacle and challenge to gender equality; and urges United Nations entities, Member States and donors to support the development and strengthening of capacities of national health systems and civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to women and girls living with or affected by HIV and AIDS in armed conflict and post-conflict situations;

21. *Underlines* the important roles that civil society organisations, including women's organisations, and networks can play in enhancing community-level protection against sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations and supporting survivors in accessing justice and reparations;

22. *Requests* that the Secretary-General continue to submit annual reports tithe Council on the implementation of women and peace and security resolutions and the present resolution, and to submit his next report by March 2014;

23. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

VII United Nations Security Council Resolution 2122, Women, Peace and Security

Adopted by the Security Council at its 7044th meeting, on 18 October 2013

The Security Council,

Reaffirming its commitment to the continuing and full implementation, in a mutually reinforcing manner, of resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010) and 2106 (2013) and all relevant statements of its President,

Recalling the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action and reaffirming the obligations of States Parties to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Optional Protocol thereto, and urging States that have not yet done so to consider ratifying or acceding to them,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security, and noting the focus of this resolution is, in this regard, the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda,

Reaffirming that women's and girls' empowerment and gender equality are critical to efforts to maintain international peace and security, and emphasizing that persisting barriers to full implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) will only be dismantled through dedicated commitment to women's empowerment, participation, and human rights, and through concerted leadership, consistent information and action, and support, to build women's engagement in all levels of decision-making,

Taking note with appreciation the report of the Secretary-General of 4 September 2013 and the progress and emergence of good practice across several areas, including in prevention and protection, and the significant heightening of policy and operational focus on the monitoring, prevention and prosecution of violence against women in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, but remaining deeply concerned about persistent implementation deficits in the women, peace and security agenda, including in: protection from human rights abuses and violations; opportunities for women to exercise leadership; resources provided to address their needs and which will help them exercise their rights; and the capacities and commitment of all actors involved in the implementation of resolution 1325(2000) and subsequent resolutions to advance women's participation and protection,

Expressing concern at women's exacerbated vulnerability in armed conflict and post-conflict situations particularly in relation to forced displacement, as a result of unequal citizenship rights, gender-biased application of asylum laws, and obstacles to registering and accessing identity documents which occur in many situations,

Expressing deep concern at the full range of threats and human rights violations and abuses experienced by women in armed conflict and post-conflict situations,

recognizing that those women and girls who are particularly vulnerable or disadvantaged may be specifically targeted or at increased risk of violence, and recognizing in this regard that more must be done to ensure that transitional justice measures address the full range of violations and abuses of women's human rights, and the differentiated impacts on women and girls of these violations and abuses as well as forced displacement, enforced disappearances, and destruction of civilian infrastructure,

Recognizing the importance of Member States and United Nations entities seeking to ensure humanitarian aid and funding includes provision for the full range of medical, legal, psychosocial and livelihood services to women affected by armed conflict and post-conflict situations, and noting the need for access to the full range of sexual and reproductive health services, including regarding pregnancies resulting from rape, without discrimination,

Reiterating its strong condemnation of all violations of international law committed against and/or directly affecting civilians, including women and girls in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, including those involving rape and other forms of sexual and gender-based violence, killing and maiming, obstructions to humanitarian aid, and mass forced displacement,

Recognizing that States bear the primary responsibility to respect and ensure the human rights of all persons within their territory and subject to their jurisdictions provided for by international law, and reaffirming that parties to armed conflict bear the primary responsibility to ensure the protection of civilians,

Reaffirming that sustainable peace requires an integrated approach based on coherence between political, security, development, human rights, including gender equality, and rule of law and justice activities, and in this regard emphasizing the importance of the rule of law as one of the key elements of conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution and peace building,

Recognizing the need for more systematic attention to the implementation of women, peace and security commitments in its own work, particularly to ensure the enhancement of women's engagement in conflict prevention, resolution and peace building, and noting in this regard the need for timely and systematic reporting on women, peace and security,

Taking note of the critical contributions of civil society, including women's organisations to conflict prevention, resolution and peace building and in this regard the importance of sustained consultation and dialogue between women and national and international decision makers,

Recognizing the need to address the gaps and strengthen links between the United Nations peace and security in the field, human rights and development work as a means to address root causes of armed conflict and threats to the security of women and girls in the pursuit of international peace and security,

Recognizing that the economic empowerment of women greatly contributes tithe stabilization of societies emerging from armed conflict, and welcoming the Peace

building Commission's declaration on women's economic empowerment for peace building of 26 September 2013 (PBC/7/OC/L.1),

Acknowledging the adoption of the Arms Trade Treaty and noting the provisions in Article 7(4) of the Treaty that exporting States Parties shall take into account the risk of covered conventional arms or items being used to commit or facilitate serious acts of gender-based violence or serious acts of violence against women and children,

Looking forward to the important contribution that implementation of the Arms Trade Treaty can make to reducing violence perpetrated against women and girls in armed conflict and post-conflict situations,

Welcoming the efforts of Member States, and recognizing the efforts of regional and sub regional organisations, in implementing resolution 1325 (2000) and subsequent women, peace and security resolutions at the regional, national and local levels, including the development of action plans and implementation frameworks, and encouraging Member States to continue to pursue such implementation, including through strengthened monitoring, evaluation and coordination,

1.*Recognizes* the need for consistent implementation of resolution 1325(2000) in its own work and intends to focus more attention on women's leadership and participation in conflict resolution and peace building, including by monitoring progress in implementation, and addressing challenges linked to the lack and quality of information and analysis on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution;

2.*Recognizes* the need for timely information and analysis on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution for situations on the Council's agenda, and therefore:

(a)   *Welcomes* more regular briefings by the Under-Secretary-General/Executive Director of UN-Women and the Under-Secretary-General/Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict on issues of relevance to women, peace and security;

(b)   *Requests* DPKO, DPA and relevant senior officials, as part of their regular briefings, to update the Security Council on issues relevant to women, peace and security, including implementation;

(c)   *Requests* the Secretary-General and his Special Envoys and Special Representatives to United Nations missions, as part of their regular briefings, to update the Council on progress in inviting women to participate, including through consultations with civil society, including women's organisations, in discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of conflict, the maintenance of peace and security and post-conflict peace building;

(d)   *Requests* DPKO and DPA to systematically include information and related

recommendations on issues of relevance to women, peace and security, in their reports to the Council;

(e)   *Invites* all United Nations-established Commissions of Inquiry investigating situations on the Council's agenda to include in their briefings information on the differentiated impacts of armed conflict on women and girls, especially emphasizing recommendations to advance accountability, justice and protection for victims, during armed conflict and in post-conflict and transitional contexts;

3. Expresses its intention to increase its attention to women, peace and security issues in all relevant thematic areas of work on its agenda, including in particular Protection of civilians in armed conflict, Post-conflict peace building, The promotion and strengthening of the rule of law in the maintenance of international peace and security, Peace and Security in Africa, Threats to international peace and security caused by terrorist acts, and Maintenance of international peace and security;

4.Reiterates its intention when establishing and renewing the mandates of United Nations missions, to include provisions on the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women in conflict and post-conflict situations, including through the appointment of gender advisers as appropriate, and further expresses its intention to include provisions to facilitate women's full participation and protection in: election preparation and political processes, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs, security sector and judicial reforms, and wider post-conflict reconstruction processes where these are mandated tasks within the mission;

5.Requests United Nations peacekeeping mission leadership to assess the human rights violations and abuses of women in armed conflict and post-conflict situations, and requests peacekeeping missions, in keeping with their mandates, to address the security threats and protection challenges faced by women and girls in armed conflict and post-conflict settings;

6.Recognizes the importance of interactions of civil society, including women's organisations, with members of the Council at headquarters and during Council field missions and commits to ensuring that its periodic field visits to conflict areas include interactive meetings with local women and women's organisations in the field;

7.Recognizes the continuing need to increase women's participation and the consideration of gender-related issues in all discussions pertinent to the prevention and resolution of armed conflict, the maintenance of peace and security, and post-conflict peace building, and in this regard, the Council:

(a)   *Requests* the Secretary-General's Special Envoys and Special Representatives to United Nations missions, from early on in their deployment, to regularly consult with women's organisations and women leaders, including socially and/or economically excluded groups of women;

(b)   *Encourages* concerned Member States to develop dedicated funding mechanisms to support the work and enhance capacities of organisations that support women's leadership development and full participation in all levels of decision-making, regarding the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), inter alia through increasing contributions to local civil society;

(c)   *Requests* the Secretary-General to strengthen the knowledge of negotiating delegations to peace talks, and members of mediation support teams, on the gender dimensions of peace building, by making gender expertise and gender experts available to all United Nations mediation teams; further requests the Secretary-General to support the appointments of women at senior levels as United Nations mediators and within the composition of United Nations mediation teams; and calls on all parties to such peace talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;

8.*Stresses* the importance of those Member States conducting post-conflict electoral processes and constitutional reform continuing their efforts, with support from United Nations entities, to ensure women's full and equal participation in all phases of electoral processes, noting that specific attention must be paid to women's safety prior to, and during, elections;

9. *Encourages* troop- and police-contributing countries to increase the percentage of women military and police in deployments to United Nations peacekeeping operations, and further encourages troop- and police-contributing countries to provide all military and police personnel with adequate training to carry out their responsibilities, and relevant United Nations entities to make available appropriate guidance or training modules, including in particular the United Nations redeployment scenario-based training on prevention of sexual and gender-based violence;

10.*Stresses* the need for continued efforts to address obstacles in women's access to justice in conflict and post-conflict settings, including through gender responsive legal, judicial and security sector reform and other mechanisms;

11.*Urges* all parties concerned, including Member States, United Nations entities and financial institutions, to support the development and strengthening of the capacities of national institutions, in particular of judicial and health systems, and of local civil society networks in order to provide sustainable assistance to women and girls affected by armed conflict and post-conflict situations;

12.*Calls* upon Member States to comply with their relevant obligations toned to impunity and to thoroughly investigate and prosecute persons responsible forward crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity or other serious violations of international humanitarian law; and further notes that the fight against impunity for the most serious crimes of international concern against women and girls has been strengthened through the work of the International Criminal Court, ad hoc admixed tribunals, as well as specialized chambers in national tribunals;

13.*Recalls* in this regard applicable provisions of international law on the right to

reparations for violations of individual rights;

14.*Urges* Member States and United Nations entities, to ensure women's full and meaningful participation in efforts to combat and eradicate the illicit transfer and misuse of small arms and light weapons;

15.*Reiterates* its intention to convene a High-level Review in 2015 to assess progress at the global, regional and national levels in implementing resolution 1325(2000), renew commitments, and address obstacles and constraints that have emerged in the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000); further recognizes with concern that without a significant implementation shift, women and women's perspectives will continue to be underrepresented in conflict prevention, resolution, protection and peace building for the foreseeable future, and as such encourages those Member States, regional organisations as appropriate, and United Nations entities who have developed frameworks and plans to support the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000) to start reviewing existing implementation plans and targets and for Member States to assess and accelerate progress and prepare to formulate new targets, in time for the 2015 High-level Review;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General, in preparation for the High-level Review to commission a global study on the implementation of resolution 1325 (2000), highlighting good practice examples, implementation gaps and challenges, as well as emerging trends and priorities for action, and further invites the Secretary General to submit, within his annual report to the Security Council in 2015, on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17.*Expresses* its intention to make the implementation of the Council's women, peace and security mandate a focus of one of its periodic field visits in advance of the 2015 High-level Review;

18.*Requests* that the Secretary-General continue to submit annual reports tithe Council providing a progress update on the implementation of resolution 1325(2000) and to submit his next report by October 2014 and to include in that report an update of progress across all areas of the women, peace and security agenda, highlighting gaps and challenges;

19. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.