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TASK: ACCESS THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN PEACE PROCESSES WITH A FOCUS IN MEDIATION: A CASE OF HORN OF AFRICA, KENYA NAIROBI COUNTY.

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has never been presented for any other award in any other University.

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my parents and family for their undying support and guidance throughout the entire period.

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ABSTRACT

Kenya and the larger Horn of Africa Region face complex and long standing conflicts, and many of the solutions that have been tried have not worked as they were intended. Being the most affected population by conflict especially in the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic, there is everything to gain by including youth who bring new ideas to peacebuilding processes. The country should continue looking to youth for creative ways to solve conflict, and promote lasting peace in cognizance with the traditional means of resolving conflicts. Participation of the youth in all the governance affairs has remained abysmal in African countries such as Kenya. However, through numerous self-initiated programmes, young people have played a critical role in promoting peace and security. As a member state of the UN, Kenya should carry out and accept decisions of the UNSC, and promote youth engagement in peace and security processes.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU   African Union

CSO   Civil Society Organization

DDR   Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration

EAC   East African Community

IGAD   Intergovernmental Authority on Development

INGO   International Non-Governmental Organization

KeYPP   Kenya Youth Peace Platform

HLRF   South Sudan High- Level Revitalization Forum

LPC   Laikipia Peace Caravan (LPC)

NGO   Non-governmental organization

SSR   Security Sector Reform

SDGs   Sustainable Development Goals

YPS   Youth Peace and Security

WPS   Women Peace and Security

UN   United Nations

UNSCR   United Nations Security Council Resolutions

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUTION AND BACKROUNG TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background to the Study

The Security Council in December 2015 adopted resolution 2250 on youth, peace and security, marking a significant shift towards recognizing the role of young people as agents of peace as opposed to often being stereotyped as perpetrators of violence . Subsequent, in April 2016, the twin resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and Security Council on the review of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture echoed resolution 2250 by emphasizing young people's role and contribution to the inclusiveness and sustainability of efforts to build and sustain peace. This is the first resolution that is fully dedicated to the important and positive role youth play in the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security.[1]

According to Furlong and Cartmel young people as a social group are often defined more by "who they are not" than by who they are. There is no consensus on an age-based definition of youth, and a wide variety of definitions are used in different organizations and regions. The Resolution 2250 defines youth as 18– 29 years, but it notes the variations that exist on the national and international levels.

The youth are considered to be the largest population especially in the current population. United Nations World Population Prospects statistics estimate that there are approximately 1.3 billion youth aged 15-24 years in the world and nearly one billion live in developing countries where conflict is more likely to have taken place. Africa has the youngest, largest and fastest growing population in the world. In the Horn of Africa which comprises of eight countries namely Kenya, Somalia, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Eritrea, Uganda, Sudan and South Sudan the population of youth is estimated to be approximately 104 million.[2]

According to the UNFPA State of the World Population 2017, Kenya's 49.7 million population makes it the 6th largest population in Africa. More importantly, it is right in the middle of a youth bulge persons aged 0-14 years make up 40%, those aged 10-24 years account for 33%, and people age 15-64 years are 57% of the

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[1] Graeme Simpson, " The Missing Peace: Independent Progress Study on Youth Peace and Security,:" https://www.youth4peace.info/system/files/2018-10/youth-web-english.pdf accessed 05 June 2020
[2] Population Pyramid https://www.populationpyramid.net/world/2019/ accessed 08 June 2020.

population, respectively. With a fertility rate of 3.8 per woman and an annual population increase of 2.6%, the 'youthbulge' trend of Kenya's overall population is projected to continue on an upward curve in the short to medium term.[3]

Kenya's national youth policy, which was drafted in 2006, defines youth as 15- 30 years.This definition reflects the socio-economic peculiarities of Kenya, especially the nature and length of transition into adulthood. This explains its variation with internationally adopted definitions by the UN (15-24 years); the East African Community, EAC (15-35 years); the African Union (15-35 years); and the World Bank (12-24 years). This definition is gendered and it emphasizes a dichotomized classification of youth as either male or female. Furthermore, while age is crucial in understanding the demography of youth, it is important to recognize that young people are not a homogenous group particularly with regard to the transitory opportunities as well as socio-economic and cultural dynamics in society.[4]

There is important need to recognize the needs of the youth, and the influence they have as critical demographic for sustainable peace and security. Young people are a major force for social, economic and demographic change, and their wellbeing and meaningful participation is fundamental to achieving a peaceful and secure society. Steps should be taken to facilitate meaningful youth participation in peace and security interventions.

The public perceptions of youth are a mix of opportunities and threats, it is almost always the case that popular narratives see them more as threats by virtue of the risk factors associated with the violent actions of a handful of youth. Such perceptions presume that young people are easily lured into participating in violent actions in the context where widespread unemployment and socioeconomic vulnerabilities are on the rise. The less acknowledged flipside is of course that the continent's young population are at the forefronts of positive innovation and social change that contribute to economic growth and development. The continent, invariably, faces a double-edged situation: whereas the weight of evidence tilts towards the conclusion that young Africans represent an opportunity, as unique and successful peacebuilders, the popular fixation is still with a

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[3] UNFPA (2017): 126.
[4] Government of Kenya (2006): 1.

small percentage of them that engage in unwholesome activities that contribute to undermining the same peace.

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has continued to call on member states, regional organizations and the UN institutions, including peacekeeping and special political missions, to coordinate and increase their engagement in the implementation of resolutions 2250 (2015), 2419 (2018) and 2535 (2020) on Youth Peace and Security. The resolutions importantly recognize the role that young people play in security processes and are integrated into five pillars, namely: Participation, Protection, Prevention, Partnership, Disengagement and Reintegration.

Additionally relevant to the Youth, Peace, and Security agenda is also UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women Peace and Security that was passed in 2000 with its 20th Anniversary celebrated on 2020, specifically addresses how women (including young women and girls) are differently impacted by conflict. Specifically, UNSCR 1325 highlights the critical role that women and girls can (and already) play in peacebuilding efforts. Resolution 1325 also is important in the way that it affirms that peace and security efforts are more sustainable when women are equal partners in the prevention of violent conflict, the delivery of relief and recovery efforts and in the forging of lasting peace.[5]

On the other hand African Union (AU) recognizes the important roles and contributions of the continent's youth in the promotion of peace, security and stability within the framework of the AU Master Roadmap of Practical steps to Silence the Guns in Africa by the Year 2020 and beyond, as well as Aspirations number four of Agenda 2063, A peaceful and secure Africa. Other important efforts on behalf of the AU include the adoption of the Continental Framework on Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) in 2020, and the continuation of the process of implementing the 10 years Implementation Plan for that framework, as well as a study on the Roles and Contributions of Youth to Peace and Security in Africa.[6]The youth play and lead different roles in peace and security ranging from; Conflict prevention, conflict management and resolution, demobilization

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[5] Search for Common Ground, Policy Brief Promoting Youth Participation in Peace and Security. Pg 3.
[6] African Union Commission (AUC), Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want, 01 Background Note (Addis Ababa: AUC, 2015).

and reintegration (DDR) and security sector reform (SSR) to raising awareness and prevention of Sexual and Gender Based Violence.

The promotion of sustainable peace and security in Kenya is enshrined in the constitution and Kenya's economic blue print Vision 2030. Equally important, youth development is anchored in the constitution. In 2016, the Government of Kenya initiated the review process of the Kenya National Youth Policy to align it to the 2010 constitution and factor in new and emerging youth challenges and opportunities. The new national youth policy has key provisions on youth peace and security. The policy recognizes that peace, security and sustainable development can only be achieved through meaningful engagement of youth, and by comprehensively tackling issues that affect young people. The policy seeks to involve the youth in security and peace building processes as stakeholders and decision makers.

The Kenya Youth Development Policy provides a framework for youth engagement in peace and security processes at the national and county levels. Kenya is a young nation. Nearly 80% of the country's population is aged 35 years and below with the median age being 19 years old. Supporting the inclusion of youth as specific stakeholders in community driven security and peace building initiatives is vital as they are both largely affected by conflict and instrumental to peace building. The youth in Kenya often arranges peace meetings in strategic locations such as markets, churches and schools to bring warring communities together to dialogue about conflict issues, after an analysis of the conflict issues. The Kenya Youth Peace Platform (KeYPP) and Laikipia Peace Caravan (LPC), operates as a platforms for young people from different ethnic groups to travel as a group to volatile and conflict-affected areas to promote peace in Kenya. Also the inclusion of youth in South Sudan High- Level Revitalization Forum (HLRF) proved to be effective to the implementation of the peace agreement and address of youth issues and representation in the country.

Kenya face complex and long standing conflicts such as election violence, violence extremism and inter-communal conflicts, and many of the solutions that have been tried have not worked as they were intended. Being the most affected population by conflict especially in the outbreak of COVID-19 pandemic, there is everything to gain by including youth who bring new ideas to peacebuilding processes. The country should continue looking to youth for creative ways such as the use of art in peacebuilding for example, (Picha

Mtaani) Sports for peace, embrace and promotion of youth peace ambassadors among others to solve conflict, and promote lasting peace in cognizance with the traditional means of resolving conflicts. Participation of the youth in all the governance affairs has remained abysmal in African countries such as Kenya. However, through numerous self-initiated programmes, young people have played a critical role in promoting peace and security. As a member state of the UN, Kenya should carry out and accept decisions of the UNSC, and promote youth engagement in peace and security processes.

On matters peace process and peacebuilding in Kenya specifically Nairobi County the approach mostly considered is a top-down approach despite the unrecognized peace youth- led efforts and initiatives at grassroots and community levels. In addition the youth often feel that their ideas and recommendations are not included or lost in the implementation process. Especially with the policy frames adopted that portray youth as being at risk and in need of management hence limiting their participation in peace processes. [7] Low prioritization of youth and youth issues that affect them in peace processes specifically during negotiation and mediation processes, , mainstream governance as well as disconnection between the Youth policy is the everyday reality of the youth in Nairobi Kenya.

Conflicts are considered to be a reality of social life and exists at all levels of the society. Individuals, villages, tribes, political parties, nations and other types of groupings engage in conflicts. Conflicts exists when there is an interaction between two or more individuals, groups or organizations where at least one side sees their thinking, ideas, perceptions, feelings or will contradicting with that of the other side and feels that they cannot get what they want because of the other side. According to Burton (I987) conflict management is an attempt to manage the dispute, or to avoid escalation of the conflict. On the other hand conflict resolution refers to dealing with or removing the cause of the conflict.[8]

When the disputants are unable or unwilling to handle the conflict, third parties are apt to become involved and expected to assist in the conflict resolution process. Mediation is the most common form of conflict resolution. It involves an independent, impartial person helping two individuals or groups reach a solution

[7] .Ritchie, Daisy, and Jon Ord., (2017) "The experience of open access youth work: the voice of young people." Journal of Youth Studies20.3 (2017): 269-282.
[8] Buron, J.W.(1987) Resolving Deep Rooted Conflict, Virginia, Centre for Conflict Resolution.

that is acceptable to everyone. Mediation is not prescriptive. It helps the parties involved to make progress in resolving their differences. It does not make judgments or determine outcomes. Mediators do not have any formal authority. Success of mediation depends on both parties level of trust on mediator.[9] In most cases, the formal mediation processes are not open to young people participation, considering such process are often political related, and we have few youth political leaders. In other cases the youth are considered to be young persons whom do not understand conflict dynamics or the underline causes of the conflict.

Young people can be involved in mediation processes in different ways including; direct representation at the negotiation table, as part of mediation teams, as observers, in official and informal consultative forums, in post-agreement mechanisms, and in public participation as part of 'pressure groups'. They can also be witnesses and signatories to peace agreements. Another avenue for engagement is being as informants (often referred to as insider mediators), as experts and/or as advisors to the mediators/mediation teams/negotiation teams. There are other contexts where the youth can be mediators and lead negotiators, like in conflicts involving their peers or at the community level. While formal processes have been largely closed to youth evidence shows that young people have effectively created space for their engagement "off the high table" through informal or indirect participation.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Incidences specifically of political and election-related violence, radicalization and violent extremism, inter-ethnic and inter-communal clashes, pastoralist violence, and state-led violence has threatened Kenya's peace and security in the last 10 years. While most of these peace and security issues prelude the last decade, their scale, spread, intensity and impacts are unprecedented. Most research such as the World report on Violence and Health of 2002 and Sexual Violence Against Women: The Scope of the Problem of 2013 as well as policy like the Feminist Mobilization and Progressive Policy Change attention have focused mostly on the role of young women and men largely as victims and perpetrators of violence, respectively.

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[9] Robbins, S.P. (2005) Organisational Behaviour (11th ed.) New Jersey: Pearson Education, Inc.423. De Dreu, C. & Van de Vliert E. (1997) Using Conflct in Companies, London: Sage Publications.

However, the crucial role and contribution of young people to preventing violence, responding to violence and rebuilding peace, and informed contributions to the security and stability of communities go undocumented. Additionally most youth are often involved in formal peace processes despite them being the most affected population. If involved they are often play the role of a "rubber stump" and there meaningful participation and recommendations are hardly included in the peace agreements that are meant to address youth issues. In Nairobi County female and male youth on their own and/or in collaboration with other stakeholders, actively contributes to conflict prevention, reconciliation and peacebuilding in Kenya. Nairobi is the largest city in Kenya, its capital, and an international hub in East Africa. It has been subject to rapid urbanization for decades and while modern and cosmopolitan in its outlook. Nairobi displays significant inequality and separation between the wealthy and poor, hosting large informal settlements, where living conditions are dire.[10]

Youth participation in peace and security efforts lead to effective policy responses to the threats. Across the Horn of Africa Region, Kenya specifically young people are rolling up their sleeves, introducing innovation, serving the needs of the affected populations, and building hope, resilience and social cohesion in their communities and nations. Youth are fundamentally contributing to the discussions on key peace and security issues. They are identifying solutions for and indicators of progress for the Youth, Peace and Security agenda at the community and local levels.

Youth often faces different levels of marginalization and discrimination often perpetuated by patriarchy, culture and socialization that peace is a masculine affair, and often for older people. The adoption UNSC Resolutions; 2250 (2015), 2419 (2018) and 2535 (2020) on Youth Peace and Security of calls on Member States and all stakeholders to ensure the meaningful participation of youths in decision-making at all levels (grassroots national, inter-governmental) and spaces and recognition to youth to prevent all forms of violence (direct, cultural and structural) and in conflict transformation.

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[10] Author interview, journalist, Nairobi, 11 March 2018; Kimani, '"Nairobi sio Gatundu, We Own Nairobi NOT You"'; Mugendi and Karanja, 'Nairobi Past and Present.

In Kenya its evident that most of the Youth and Peace and security stakeholders are unaware of such provisions and other local laws and regulation that give the youth mandate to effectively and meaningful participate in peace process specifically mediation. Additionally the UNSCR on Youth peace and security have not yet been localized in Kenya hence often implemented at the Track I and Track II levels and little of its employment at the Track III and grassroots levels.

Violent conflicts in Nairobi Kenya is fierce and ranges from political, criminal violence to electoral violence and even large-scale terrorist attacks. Conflict in Nairobi, are all connected to broader political dynamics and they include: urban land conflict; election-related violence; state repression and extrajudicial violence; and terrorism and radicalization.[11] Kenyan politics is closely connected to ethnic networks which determine access to power and resources, and violent conflicts in the urban informal settlements as well as in the rural areas can often be traced to the national political arena and the divisions between parties and politicians who mobilize along ethnic lines. Nairobi has become a focal point for violent mobilization around and after elections. While electoral violence takes place in both rural and urban areas, it has also been spurred on by urban processes, making cities vulnerable to such violence, vastly escalated in informal settlements such as Kibra, Mukuru, Kawangware and Mathare areas.[12] The 2007–2008 violence was particularly severe, but electoral violence and the use of militant youth gangs has a long history in Kenya, and also in Nairobi.[13]

Despite some of the youth being present during the Kenya based mediation and negotiation talks that preceded the 2007/2008 post-election violence (PEV) led by the then UN Secretary General Kofi Annan which resulted in political stability in the country, youth issues on matters peace and security were not clearly articulated in the peace agreement. This just saw the role of the youth in the mediation process as just mere observers and signatories to drive implementation of the peace agreement.

Youth being the most affected population play a critical role in conflicts, as victims, perpetrators, survivors, activists, combatants, and advocates. Nonetheless the role they play in peace processes is not highlighted and

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[11] Büscher, Karen, and Koen Vlassenroot. "Humanitarian Presence and Urban Development: New Opportunities and Contrasts in Goma, DRC." Disasters 34, no. 2 (2010): S256–S273.

[12] McMichael, G., 2014. 'Rethinking Access to Land and Violence in Post-War Cities: Reflections from Juba, Southern Sudan'. Environment and Urbanization 26(2), 389–400.

[13] Østby, G., 2016. 'Rural–Urban Migration, Inequality and Urban Social Disorder: Evidence from African and Asian Cities'. Conflict Management and Peace Science 33(5), 491–515.

so is their long involvement in the process of mediation from the negotiations up to the implementation of the peace agreements. negotiators and advocates in conflicts and peace processes, they remain underrepresented in formal decision-making and implementation of the decisions made.

The study seeks to understand the importance, crucial role and contribution of young people in peace process specifically mediation, preventing violence, rebuilding peace, and informed contributions at all Track levels to the security and stability of Nairobi, Kenya and Horn of Africa region at large.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to establish the role and meaningful participation of youth in peace processes specifically mediation in Nairobi Kenya. The specific aims and objectives entail of:

i.) To investigate causes and impact of youth exclusion and marginalization in peace process in Nairobi Kenya.

ii.) To establish the localization of UNSCR 2250 and other institutional frameworks and policies in supporting youth participation in formal peace process.

iii.) To examine effectiveness meaningful youth participation in peace process and impact in implementation of peace agreements.

1.4 Research Questions

The research seeks to answer the following questions:

i.) What are the causes and impact of youth exclusion and marginalization in Peace process in Nairobi Kenya?

ii.) Is the localization of UNSCR 2250 and other institutional frameworks effective supporting youth participation in formal peace process?

iii.) How will youth participation in peace process impact peace and security and implementation of peace agreements?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The reason of this study was to explore the importance, crucial role and contribution of young people in peace process specifically mediation, preventing violence, rebuilding peace, and informed contributions at all Track levels to the security and stability of Nairobi, Kenya and Horn of Africa region at large.

The research study has both academic and policy justification in that it will assist policy makers as well as youth to adopt and implement the best policy which will address the issues of youth exclusion and marginalization in peace process at all Track levels for the maintenance of lasting peace and security despite them being the most affected population by conflicts.

The research will also assist scholars in further research on matters youth inclusivity and meaningful participation in peace processes at all Track I,II and III levels and their impact in owing processes as well as implementation of the peace agreement. It will also give a clear perspective to the general public on issues that lead to exclusion and marginalization of the youth in peace process and what hinders their meaningful participation. Thus the study would assist to build capacity of the youth themselves on their role peace process and the adopted institutional frameworks that mandate them.

1.6 Literature Review

This section will provide relevant and extensive review of literature that is key to familiarize the problem under study.

Youth as Threats

Young people are often the majority of the population in countries with ongoing peace processes in the Horn of Africa. Their political, social and economic exclusion frequently exacerbates the collective mistrust in governments and multilateral institutions meant to serve and protect them.

 Majority of the literature on youth portray their role as active perpetrators in conflict contexts. The language of youth who resort to violence differs in the literature. Some apply to peace spoilers (Kemper, 2005), while others refer to troublemakers (McEvoy-Levy, 2001 & 2006), perpetrators of violence (Schwartz, 2010) or threats (Sommers, 2001b; Kemper, 2005). There are several theories as to why young people , especially

young men, turn to violence. Youth, as has already been described, are both fluid and unpredictable, rendering them simple targets for external interference. They risk being exploited by people with intentions that are not advantageous to them or to the society in which they live (Sommers, 2001).

The literature about young people and violence are indeed divergent. Some see youth as the main driving force behind conflict, while others see unrest as a product of state disregard of the needs of young people. Collier and Hoeffler's (2004) models of greed and grievance provide a framework for youth, particularly young people, to turn to violence. Schwartz, 2010 describes youth violence as a response to being exempted from political, social and economic growth.

Youth as victims

Most young people that have been through conflict often have slowed social progression into adulthood, they remain young longer. It ensures that elderly young adults will even be the perpetrators of violence. Kemper (2005) refers to the adverse implications of adopting a rights-based strategy, such as the lack of involving young people above the age of 25. Victimization of young people overlooks their role in the promotion of violence or their potential role as heads of household after the war. Youth may have multiple roles before and after confrontation. It is therefore very important not to standardize their roles, but to recognize that each context and each person or group identification differs. Victims are treated as passive participants, but young people may shift roles based on the effect they are subjected to. The view of youth as powerless victims hinders the likelihood of having them as protagonists and in the front line for achieving peace.

Inclusion has become a key principle for designing and implementing peace processes. Research shows that the inclusion of civil society actors, women and business actors increases the sustainability of peace agreements. However, young women and men continue to be marginalized, excluded and unrecognized for their capacity to build peace.

Youth's in Peace Processes

Johan Galtung is amongst one of the first scholars to write on peace building . According to Sommers, young people are often seen as resilient, imaginative, open, energetic and resourceful. Because of these

characteristics, others claim that they are the possible leaders of effective peace building and the key enablers of social progress. There is definitely a longing to alter negative perceptions of young people if they want to be accepted into the culture (Kemper, 2005). The socio-political approach offered by Kemper aims to change human relations. This calls for a shift in the relationship between young people and civil society. He argues that community members need to appreciate youth as actors, partners, and even as leaders inclusive in peace processes such as mediation.

Schwartz (2010) suggests that the presence of a youth bulge does not automatically imply that violence is more possible. When the interests of youth are resolved in a post-conflict environment, they will become key players in the peace processes specifically mediation. Giving young people the chance to participate is therefore crucial similarly argues for the inclusion of young people's own experiences and identification of problems that affect them during a mediation process.

Youth are an important constituency for the stability of peace and prevention of violence and must be considered as such, in that it is estimated that 408 million youth live in a state or province affected by armed conflict.[14] Adoption of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security (2015), there has been a normative shift in the way young people are recognized in the international peace and security platforms. Over the last three years, this normative shift brought a rapid growth in research and discussions on young people's positive capacities in mediation processes and inclusive societies.

The Missing Peace: Progress Study on Youth, Peace and Security, mandated by the UNSCR 2250,

was the first study to comprehensively document peacebuilding and violence prevention activities by young people globally, and their important contribution to sustaining peace. The Missing Peace study determined that realizing the meaningful political inclusion of young people is a key vehicle through which to prevent violence and maintain peace in all phases of peace and conflict cycles.[15]

Young people's contribution to peace processes include monitoring the implementation of ceasefire agreements, mediating intra-ethnic disputes, supplying legal and logistical support for peace negotiations,

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[14] Hagerty, T. (2017) Data for Youth, Peace and Security. Institute for Economics and Peace.
[15] UNFPA - UN/PBSO. (Simpson, G.) (2018) The Missing Peace.

providing psychosocial support for former combatants, and using mass media and online social platforms to promote peace messages to the broader public constituencies. These positive roles of young people are usually well-known by the negotiating or mediating parties of armed conflicts; however, limited efforts have been invested to systematically map and understand how young people shape and influence the sustainability of peace processes and agreements.

Emerging evidence shows that youth participation can increase the legitimacy and sustainability of peace processes. But to move from exclusion to meaningful inclusion, we must transform norms, practices, approaches and attitudes, and recognize young people as equal and powerful actors who can positively contribute to all steps and all aspects of peace processes.[16]

Young people in the Horn of Africa Region are actively working to build peace and prevent violence. They are actively calling for a space to be heard in ongoing peace negotiations. While over 1,000 peace agreements have been signed globally in the last two decades, no comprehensive studies have assessed the role and impact of young people during and in the lead up to these peace agreements. Young people constitute the majority of the population in conflict affected countries in the Horn of Africa.[17] The Youth, Peace and Security agenda furthermore regenerates and has strong linkages to the Women, Peace and Security agenda. Addressing young women's exclusion is an overlapping concern, as young women are often excluded from peace efforts due to both their age and gender. The Youth, Peace and Security agenda build upon the two decades of experiences from the Women, Peace and Security agenda.[18]

1.6.1   Empirical Literature

In 2016, the Government of Kenya initiated the review process of the Kenya National Youth Policy to align it to the 2010 constitution and factor in new and emerging youth challenges and opportunities. The new national youth policy has key provisions on youth peace and security. The policy recognizes that peace, security and

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[16] Policy paper, "We Are Here: An integrated approach to youth-inclusive peace processes; 2020
[17] 72% of South Sudan's population is under the age of 30; 81% of Somalia's population is under the age of 35; 63% of the Afghan population are under the age of 25.
[18] UN Women. (2018) Young Women in Peace and Security.

sustainable development can only be achieved through meaningful engagement of youth, and by comprehensively tackling issues that affect young people the policy seeks to involve the youth in security and peace building processes as stakeholders and decision makers. The Kenya Youth Development Policy provides a framework for youth engagement in peace and security processes at the national and county levels.[19] Supporting the inclusion of youth as specific stakeholders in community driven security and peace building initiatives is vital as they are both largely affected by conflict and instrumental to peace building.

Inclusiveness in a peace process is critical for the achievement of a more sustainable peace. Debates relating to inclusion, in general, and on participation of youth and women in peace processes, particularly, have evolved considerably in the last few years in the area of mediation.[20] Practitioners have become more conscious of the significance and benefits of inclusive mediation, and recognize that a more inclusive approach especially of the youth to peace processes has the possibility of achieving innovative and resilient results.

The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR), under the auspices of Kofi Annan and the African Union (AU) Panel of Eminent African Personalities, sought to resolve the violent dispute over the results of the Kenyan presidential elections of December 2007. After 42 days of negotiations, Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga signed a power-sharing agreement, bringing an end to the violence and political stalemate. The mediation process then went on to negotiate a series of agreements on the longer term issues of the root of the conflict.[21] As such, the Kenyan mediation case represents a strong example of inclusion in mediation processes. However, this focuses only on the numbers, rather than how representation of specifically youth issues played out, serving to reduce the complexities of young women and men representation.

In Kenya meaningful contribution and inclusion of youth and women in peace processes as mediators, negotiators, independent civil society, official observers and technical experts has remained low. Those who hold power seek control over the entire peace process that is; controlling the power dynamics, resources and

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[19] Search for Common Ground, Policy Brief Promoting Youth Participation in Peace and Security.

[20] Kwasi Tieku, Thomas. "Perks Diplomacy: The Role of Perquisites in Mediation." International Negotiation 18, no. 2 (May 2013): 245-263

[21] Moore, C The Mediation Process: Practical Strategies for Resolving Conflict, 2nd ed., (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1996).

discourses. These power holders are not prepared to address the security issue, something that youth and would be very willing to do, because they are the most affected by conflicts. Studies provide some evidence that this is because of the challenges youth and women face in Kenyan and larger Horn of African peace mediation. They are not given the chance to provide their views and perspectives in peace processes. A lot needs to be done in confronting the challenges which prevent effective participation of youth at the negotiating table. As such, they are not seen as being capable of taking such powerful positions as lead mediators.

1.6.2 Gaps in the Literature

Considering that the youth are the most affected population by conflict in Kenya and lager Horn of Africa region literature from the past studies and publications mainly focused and examined the role of various state and non-state actors in mediation processes. This study seeks to evaluate the role youth in meditating conflicts at all Track levels. Despite youth led peace initiatives mostly at the grassroots and community levels little has be documented or published that could assist in building capacity and influence policy. As the discourse is gaining momentum over the last few years there is need for further research on meaningful participation and inclusion of youth in peace process in the achievement of lasting peace and security as well as addressing underline causes of conflict.

Additionally there is need to critically localize and increase publications on UNSCR 2250 and other institutional frameworks and legislative frameworks that guide and mandate youth inclusivity in peace process from international and regional levels up to the grassroots and community levels. Young people are vital resource in creating innovative strategies in addressing root causes of conflict. Their personal knowledge gives them a unique perspective on conflict context and innovative ideas and solutions which can influence policy.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The research study will be mainly guided by conflict theory.

Conflict theory, as coined and suggested by Karl Marx, is anchored on the assertion that society is in a state of perpetual conflict because of competition for limited resources among different groups, which can be tribal communities, government agencies and regions as well as states.[22] The main proponent of conflict theory is Karl Mar, in which he used the theory to explain the social and economic struggles between the bourgeois and proletariats. Another key proponent of conflict theory is Max Weber who refined the approach taken by Karl Marx.

Rather than sticking to Marx's notion that conflict only occur between the bourgeois and proletariats, Webber includes emotional and psychological aspects in the theory. Weber's conclusion on the conflict theory is similar to those reached Sigmund Freud that above emotionality, there are other specific forms of interactions creating strongly beliefs resulting into solidary of each member different groups. When beliefs of different groups clash during intergroup interactions, conflict is likely to arise.[23]

The theory is relevant in this study in the sense that it explains the reason behind the numerous conflicts around the world specifically Horn of Africa, which have existed over the centuries. The conflict theory also acts as a basis of initiating mediation and negotiation because its application will help the mediators understand the reasons of conflict, or in which ways are the communities, societies or states are struggling and competing for resources. The youth being the most affected populace by conflicts in Horn of Africa, Nairobi Kenya, their inclusivity and participation in peace process is essential in addressing the underline causes of conflicts during the mediation process. Also recognition of youth led and women peace process from the community level to national and international levels guided by the theory in order to effectively articulate the conflict issues.

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[22] Strasser, H. (2014). The Normative Structure of Sociology (RLE Social Theory): Conservative and Emancipatory Themes in Social Thought. Routledge.

[23] Milios, J., & Dimoulis, D. (2018). Karl Marx and the classics: An essay on value, crises and the capitalist mode of production. Routledge.

1.8 Study Hypothesis

The study hypothesis entails of:

i) The exclusion and marginalization of youth in peace process has hindered the achievement of lasting and innovative solutions to address conflict issues Ho: ?

ii) Most youth and peace stake holders are not fully aware of UNSCR 2250 and other institutional frameworks supporting youth participation in formal peace process Ho:

iii) Meaningful participation of youth in peace process will ease and ensure effective implementation of peace agreements H1:

1.9 Research Methodology

This section entails of specific stages and phases that will be followed in conducting the research. They include: research design that will be applied, reliability and validity of data collection instruments, the target population, sampling technique, data collection process, instruments of research triangulation, ethical consideration and final data analysis.

1.9.1 Research Design

This study will be carried out in Kenya Nairobi County. The sample design will be based on a population with fairly accurate statistics in the collection of accurate data. This study will use mixed method design where it will include application of both but largely qualitative and quantitative design in a concurrent technique with different samples.[24] This will enable the researcher to cautiously identify the reasons of youth exclusion and marginalization in peace process in Nairobi Kenya and the impact of their participation and inclusion.

1.9.2 Target Population

According to Braton a population can be described as any set of persons or objectives that posses at least one common characteristic. The study will be conducted in Nairobi Kenya where it will involve respondents

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[24] Robinson, S (2002).Research methodology. Washington D.C: National Academic Press.

from; civil societies, youth leaders and youth peace led organizations, government stakeholders, youth and experienced and season mediators. Nairobi County contains people from diverse background, and thus it acts as a neutral ground for the respondents as well as victims/survivor's of conflict especially the youth living in informal settlements that is Kibra, Mathare and Mukuru.

1.9.3   Research Triangulation

Triangulation in the field of research is a combination of two or more methodological approaches, theoretical perspectives, data sources, investigators and analysts. The study will use more than two data sources especially the one related to time as usually data tend to change over a period of time and on collaboration any weakness in the first data will be validated in the second data further increasing reliability of the results. The study will also use multiple methodological triangulation of discourse analysis that is qualitative methodology and a survey data quantitative methodology, to study the effects and impact of youth in peace processes in Kenya Nairobi County, being the most affected population by conflicts.

1.9.4   Sampling Technique

The study will use non-probability, purposive sampling technique to select the respondents for qualitative data collection. Purposive sampling also known as judgmental, selective or subjective sampling reflects a group of sampling techniques that rely on the judgment of the researcher when it comes to selecting units that is people, case, events or piece of data that are to be studied.[25] The respondents will be selected on their basic understanding of peace process specifically mediation, associated conflicts and the underline causes of the conflicts in Kenya as well as the roles the youth and women play.

1.9.5   Data collection method

The study will use a social science method of collecting data from both primary and secondary sources. Secondary sources will include literature on subject of peace process, role and impact of youth inclusivity and associated conflict issues inclusive of books, internet websites, government and international organizations reports, newsletters, scholars reports and reports from regional and local civil societies and organizations.

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[25] International Journal of Applied Research 2017;3(7):749-752.

Primary sources will entail use of questionnaires and key informant interviews. The researcher intends to pilot test the questionnaire on 20 initial participants for feedback.

1.9.6   Data Analysis

Data analysis usually start immediately after the data collection and ends at the point of interpretation of data collected. The nature of the data collected will be both qualitative and quantitative. Hence the information collected from the questionnaires and interviews as well as documents received from stakeholders will be analyzed using standard statistical methods and sorting methods with the aim of presenting an accurate and unbiased assessment of the issues within the sampled population. It will additionally capture the concerns, ideas attitudes and feelings, through the qualitative process as well as enable the researcher to come up with a scholarly judgment on youth inclusivity and meaningful participation in peace processes. Critical to this study will be the assessment UNSCR 2250 laws, polices, institutional frameworks and practices and how they impact of youth inclusion in peace process up to implementation of peace agreements.

1.9.7   Chapter Summary

This chapter has clearly given the background to the study including the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, the literature review, theoretical framework, justification of the study, hypothesis and methodology. In the next chapter the researcher investigates causes and impact of youth exclusion and marginalization in peace process in Nairobi Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

UNSCR 2250, INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS AND POLICIES ON YOUTH IN PEACE PROCESSES

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the implementation and localization of the UNSCR 2250 in the Horn of Africa Region, Nairobi Kenya. This chapter also reviews legal/institutional frameworks and policies in supporting youth participation in formal peace processes guided by the principle of international law with dire respect for human rights. The chapter also tosses the position of the Government in relation to youth participation in peace processes.

2.1. Implementation and Localization of UNSCR 2250

2.1.1 Understanding UNSCR 2250

The United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2250 on Youth, Peace and Security (YPS), adopted in 2015, is a milestone in the recognition of the positive and crucial role young women and men play in the promotion of sustainable peace. By promoting youth as key participants in processes at all levels to achieve peace, UNSCR 2250 offers a framework, and guidance, for ensuring meaningful participation for these traditionally-excluded actors.[26]

The first ever Resolution on Youth Peace and Security, was UNSCR 2419 (2018) on the inclusion of young people in mediation and negotiation processes. Earlier to the adoption of UNSC Resolution 2250, the Working Group on Youth and Peacebuilding (WG-YPB) developed the Guiding Principles on Young People's Participation in Peacebuilding in 2014 to inform strategies and programmes promoting the meaningful participation of young people in peacebuilding. This document laid the foundations for the recognition of young people's meaningful contribution to peace and was referenced in Resolution 2250. To

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[26] UNSCR 2250: Introduction," youth4peace.info, accessed 16 September, 2017.https://www.youth4peace.info/UNSCR2250/Introduction.

complement these guiding principles, a practice note was developed to provide evidence of successful programming on YPS.

The working group, which forms part of the broader United Nations Inter-Agency Network on Youth Development and which is co-chaired by the United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office, Search for Common Ground and the United Network of Young Peacebuilders, is now called the Global Coalition on Youth, Peace and Security and continues to play an instrumental role in the implementation of the YPS resolutions.

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women Peace and Security emphasizes the important role of women in peace and security efforts. It calls for equal participation and the inclusion of women in conflict resolution, peace processes, humanitarian response and post-conflict decision-making, and urges actors to apply a gender lens in policies and programmes. The YPS agenda has learnt from the achievements and challenges of the promotion and implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325. In the 20 years since the adoption of the resolution, the work of the global WPS movement to ensure women's participation and inclusion has provided an insight into strategies to support the implementation of Security Council Resolution 2250 on YPS, and potentially useful mechanisms to include youth in decision-making and peacebuilding work at different levels, from a local level to an international level. The linkages between the two agendas also offer opportunities for partnership and strengthening.

YPS and the WPS agendas should not result in youth being equated with women or the employment of tokenistic and unenhanced approaches to both agendas. Instead, the bridge between the implementation of the resolutions should be built by understanding the gendered experiences, challenges and opportunities of young people in peace and security matters, and the implications of age dynamics in the WPS agenda.[27]

Promoting meaningful youth participation and involvement in peacebuilding and conflict transformation requires understanding of young women and men's specific challenges, and obstacles to their inclusion across a variety of contexts. In addition, insights on their unique position and ability to shape peace processes

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[27] United Nations Security Council (2000). Security Council Resolution 1325. 31 October 2000. S/RES/1325. Available at https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/files/res_1325e.pdf.

in ways that break with traditional thinking are necessary in order to support those working on peace and security to develop strategies, programmes, and policies that allow young women and men to take part in efforts to achieve inclusive peace in relevant, sensitive, sustainable and innovative ways at all levels.

UNSCR 2250 (2015) identifies five key pillars for action: Participation, Protection, Prevention, Partnerships and Disengagement and reintegration. This landmark resolution urges Member States to give youth a greater voice in decision-making at the local, national, regional and international levels and to consider setting up mechanisms that would enable young people to participate meaningfully in peace processes.

Youth, Peace and Security, prepared in response to Security Council resolution 2250 (2015), offered a unique opportunity to listen to them and learn about the multiple ways they work for peace and security. Their work promises the potential of a tremendous peace and security dividend for their societies, governments and international actors. The momentum around the YPS agenda grew in conjunction with the shift of the United Nations peacebuilding architecture towards a greater focus on conflict prevention. The resulting sustaining peace approach has been intrinsically linked to the goals of the YPS agenda since the beginning. Security Council Resolution 2282 explicitly mentions Security Council Resolution 2250 and "calls upon Member States and relevant United Nations organs and entities to consider ways to increase meaningful and inclusive participation of youth in peacebuilding efforts.[28]

The five pillars of Security Council Resolution 2250:

Participation – Take youth's participation and views into account in decision-making processes, from negotiation and prevention of violence to peace agreements.

Protection – Ensure the protection of young civilians' lives and human rights, and investigate and prosecute those responsible for crimes perpetrated against them.

Prevention – Support young people in preventing violence and in promoting a culture of tolerance and intercultural dialogue.

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[28] United Nations Security Council (2016). Security Council Resolution 2282. 27 April 2016.

Partnership – Engage young people during and after conflict when developing peacebuilding strategies, along with community actors and United Nations bodies.

Disengagement and reintegration – Invest in youth affected by armed conflict through employment opportunities, inclusive labour policies and education promoting a culture of peace.[29]

The Security Council has adopted two other resolutions dedicated to YPS that is: In 2018, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 2419, calling for the meaningful inclusion of young people in peace processes.[30] Following after in 2020, the Council adopted Resolution 2535, laying out concrete steps for the operationalization of the YPS agenda, including a request for the United Nations to improve capacity-building and technical guidance related to YPS, to which this handbook responds.[31]

2.1.2. Implementation and Localization of UNSCR 2250 in the Horn of Africa

Years after the adoption of the Resolution, most of the work needed to translate norm into practice remains. Despite a growing emphasis on youth as peace actors and the important role youth already play in conflict prevention and resolution, young women and men tend to remain absent from formal and informal peace processes, or their inclusion is tokenistic with their present and potential leadership in building lasting peace remaining largely untapped.

In the Horn of Africa region, young women and men tend to be excluded from formal politics and decision-making processes. At the national level, in particular in Sudan, South Sudan and Ethiopia, high-entry barriers to formal politics persist with high-level positions mostly held by older generations. This generational blockage prevents the majority of young people from accessing not only the political spheres, but also formal and informal decision-making processes at national and local levels. Traditional and cultural values and norms tending to associate authority and power with age are still deeply entrenched across the three countries'

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[29] United Nations Population Fund and United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office (2018). The Missing Peace: Independent Progress Study on Youth and Peace and Security.

[30] United Nations Security Council (2016). Security Council Resolution 2282. 27 April 2016. S/RES/2282. Available at https://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/RES/2282(2016)&referer=/english/&Lang=E.

[31] United Nations Security Council (2018). Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace: Report of the Secretary-General. 18 January 2018. S/2018/43

diverse cultures, and fall within a global tendency to associate youth with immaturity and do not understand the underlying causes of the conflict.

Political co-option of youth is widespread, particularly around elections and youth's limited participation in decision-making or political processes tends to be channeled and controlled, thereby strengthening top-down approaches that consider that youth should do as told. Tightly regulated national political space, or narrower civic space, by older generations makes it challenging for young women and men, across socio-economic backgrounds, ethnic groups, and other identity markers, to access resources, exercise their rights, and generate the required legitimacy to be active in the public space.

socio-political exclusion, in the broad sense of the term, young people across the Horn of Africa region tend to face a socio-economic exclusion, contributing to an extended and increasing phase of uneasiness and "waithood"3. This uncertainty is especially visible when it comes to under/unemployment, particularly affecting young women and men. In Kenya for instance, at least 20% of the youth population are unemployed and underemployment.[32]

Intra- and inter-state conflicts in the region have been exacerbated and reinforced by complex webs of causes and drivers comprising governance challenges, militarization of violence, and regionalization of conflict dynamics, ecological crisis, socio-economic crisis and inequitable socio-economic development. Youth have been viewed as key protagonists in conflicts as participants and recruits in military forces, militias, insurgent forces and as levies in inter-communal conflicts. Youth are also associated with other forms of insecurity in the region such as piracy, illegal migration and various forms of criminality. However, a reductionist and simplifying logic tends to limit the discussion on youth and violent conflicts, viewing youth as either perpetrators or victims.[33]

In the Horn of Africa region Sudan, South Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea specifically have been characterized by violent conflicts and significant political instability for more than two decades. They are real examples of this form of a polity that is not properly inclusive of youth, by virtue of failing implement UNSCR 2250. Most

[32] World Bank. 2016. 'Kenya Country Economic Memorandum. From Economic Growth to Jobs and Shared Prosperity.
[33] Morten Bøås. 2007. 'Marginalized Youth' in African Guerrillas: Raging Against The Machine. Morten Bøås and Kevin C. Dunn (Eds.). Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder. Jon Abbink. 2005. 'Being Young in Africa.

countries in the region lag behind in reasonably establishing national policy frameworks that mainstream the content of two key United Nations resolutions that recognize and promote the positive contributions of youth to peace and security: UNSCR 2250 and UNSCR 2419. This clearly shows that they do not properly recognize the potential, efforts and participation of youth in realization of national and regional peace, security and development. They are not well prepared to positively harness the demographic dividend from their youth. There is more investment in negative exploitation of the potentials of their youth. Those that attempt to, do so symbolically, not substantially.

Two major political conflicts that began in South Sudan in 2013 and 2016 necessitated the intervention of IGAD as a regional bloc to help the parties negotiate and sign a truce in 2015and 2018 respectively, and place the country back on the path to peace and stability. The first instance resulted in the signing of the Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS) in August 2015, but there was no salient recognition of youth as key stakeholders in negotiating it. Instead, civil society groups in the country that cared to integrate some youth in their accredited delegations to the peace talks took the initiative to leverage their individual invitations to ensure that the ARCSS captured some youth-responsive provisions.

These include the representation of youth as stakeholders to mechanisms of the ARCSS as well as envisaging establishment of the Youth Enterprise Development Fund. At the time, UNSCR2250 had not been adopted yet. Attempts to implement the ARCSS witnessed the eventual participation of youth in mechanisms of the peace agreement such as the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission, to which I was the designate youth representative and member. Collapse of the ARCSS in July 2016 resulted in the need for a High Level Revitalization Forum (HLRF) in December 2017, with the express mandate of including estranged groups as additional and new actors, with consequent revitalization of the ARCSS. The HLRF happened after the advent of UNSCR2250 and widespread global advocacy for more inclusive peace processes that guarantee meaningful youth participation.

Weak economic growth, uneven access to development, and burgeoning populations have led toan explosion of informal settlements in Nairobi, most notably Kibera, Mathare, and Mukuru. These disadvantaged, low-income settlements are densely populated: more than 2.5 million people live in about two hundred informal

settlements across the city, representing some 60 percent of Nairobi's population yet occupying just 6 percent of its land area. Most households live on less than $1 per day. Because service delivery by the government is poor, employment, health, education, and security are not enough to meet the needs of these growing populations. It is evident that most youth and policy makes in Kenya are an aware or know little about it UNSCRC and its localization of the polices at all Track levels of inclusion and participation of youth in peace processes.

Policymakers in the Kenya that is both the legislative arms at national and county levels inclusive of various peace stake holders, should capitalize on the persistence of conflicts fragility especially as a resounding premise to nudge for the creation of and tangible reliance on national policy frameworks that mainstream precedents set in regional and international frameworks on youth, peace and security. But this must start with the adoption and ratification of the existing relevant regional and international policy frameworks on the subject of youth, peace and security. With this, the issue of youth as a cross-cutting identity will be addressed better and will indirectly result in resolving grievances of other identities in which youth are inherently always existent. Good budget allocations for funding the implementation of legislative frameworks on youth peace and security are critical. This means that policymakers such as regional institutions should not only demand the compliance of member states, but also support them with necessary resources where there is deficiency. Implementation of the same should also mainstream the women, peace and security agenda among youth.

2.2 legal/institutional frameworks and policies on youth participation in formal peace processes

The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has continued to call on member states, regional organizations and the UN institutions, including peacekeeping and special political missions, to coordinate and increase their engagement in the implementation of resolutions 2250 (2015), 2419 (2018) and 2535 (2020) on Youth Peace and Security. An essential element of the implementation of UNSCR will be its ability to align with existing policies, protocols, and instruments that seek to promote young people and gender equality participation and representation in decision making, creating a common framework.

At the international level, the Government of Kenya has adopted the UNSCR 2250 (2015). At the regional level, the African Union (AU) recognizes the important roles and contributions of the continent's youth in the promotion of peace, security and stability within the framework of the AU Master Roadmap of Practical steps to Silence the Guns in Africa by the Year 2020, and Aspirations number 4 of Agenda 20631,a peaceful and secure Africa. Additionally the UN Security Council Resolutions 2250 (2015), 2419 (2018) and 2535 (2020). [34] The AU also recognizes the adoption of the Continental Framework on Youth, Peace and Security (YPS) in 2020, and the continuation of the process of implementing the 10 years Implementation Plan for that framework, as well as a study on the Roles and Contributions of Youth to Peace and Security in Africa.

These polices and institutional frameworks aim to strengthen youth participation and leadership in conflict prevention and peace and political processes, and to mainstream gender in all its processes. Such instruments provide a guiding framework to move from debate to action and advocacy of polices.

2.2 .1 Sustainable Development Goals

The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) fall in the category of international instruments that Kenya is party to and that are part of the country's development agenda. For the purposes of localization and implementation of UNSCR 2250, the focus will be on enhancing young women and men capacity in line with four SDGs entailing of:

- SDG 1: On ending poverty

- SDG 5: On promoting gender equality

- SDG 16: On promoting peace, justice, and inclusive institutions, and

- SDG 17 : Creating partnerships for the achievement of the SDGs.

2.2 .2 African Union 2063 Agenda

In September 2018, the AU Commission's Peace and Security Department launched the Youth for Peace Africa (Y4PAfrica) Program in Lagos, Nigeria. Y4PAfrica's objective is to effectively involve African

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[34] African Union Commission (AUC), Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want, 01 Background Note (Addis Ababa: AUC, 2015), accessed at https://au.int/ sites/default/files/documents/33126-doc-01_background_note.pdf.

youth in promoting peace and security, with special consideration to the AU's target of silencing the guns by 2020.

The African Union Agenda 2063 has one of its priorities as 'silencing the guns by 2020', which most recently has been revised to beyond 2020. It also seeks to end all wars, civil and violent conflicts, and gender-based violence, and to prevent genocide. Youth inclusion and participation as well as gender equality is a key element of the AU 2063 Agenda, which is closely aligned with the SDGs. The progress of the youth, peace, and security agenda is undertaken through the AU results framework on youth, peace, and security. As a member of the African Union, Kenya is obliged to report on the progress and achievements in line with the African Union results framework and align its implementation with some of the key indicators developed by the African Union.[35]

2.3 Kenya's National Policies and Legislative Frameworks

2.3.1 The Constitution of Kenya

The Constitution of Kenya (2010) clearly states that women and men inclusive youth included have the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural, and social spheres (Article 27:6). The provisions articulated in Articles 10, 29, and 81 of the Constitution are among the enacted laws with reference to gender equality and quotas to reduce barriers to young men and women's participation in leadership and governance institutions. The two-thirds rule in the Constitution, for example, aims at enhancing gender parity in legislative bodies at both county and national levels.

2.3 .2 The Vision 2030

Vision 2030 and the Medium-Term Plan III (2018–2022) can provide a strategic direction for the implementation of UNSCR 2250. The plan states that the Government of Kenya is working towards 'a nation of peace and stability and a society free from danger and fear'. The importance of security, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution for sustainable development is highlighted. National security, the

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[35] African Union (2015). Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want – A Shared Strategic Framework for Inclusive Growth and Sustainable Development. The First Ten-year Implementation Plan (2014–2023).

protection of individuals and property, peacebuilding, and conflict resolution are cross-cutting themes of Vision 2030, and will continue to be of paramount importance to the Government of Kenya. These thematic areas can will ensure that there is complementarity in the implementation UNSCR 2250.

During the Medium-Term Plan III implementation period, key programmes being implemented include the following:

• Gender mainstreaming

• Promotion of national, regional, and international peace

• Early warning and conflict prevention

• Monitoring of regional elections and implementation of Kenya's obligations under the Peace and Security Commission framework

• Promotion of maritime security and establishment and operationalization of the regional Youth Secretariat under the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region

• Capacity development on conflict resolution, negotiation, and mediation

• Development and implementation of a conflict mediation strategy and a post-conflict reconstruction and recovery strategy.[36]

2.3.3 The Kenya National Peacebuilding Policy

Another key policy framework that are in line with the implementation of UNSCR 2250 is the National Policy on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management. The policy provides direction on the mainstreaming of peacebuilding and conflict management in development policies, plans, and projects, and enables communities and peace structures to operationalize their commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts. The policy also provides a common understanding of and approach to the process of integrating peace-building and conflict management within development approaches at the local, national, and sub-

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[36] The Presidency, Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender (2019). Towards a High Impact Kenya National Action Plan: A Review of the Kenya National Action Plan 2016–2018.

county levels, thereby having peacebuilding and conflict management become an integral part of sustainable development in Kenya. It also provides that membership in County Peace Committees is based on the two-thirds gender rule in the Constitution of Kenya 2010.[37]

2.4 Conclusion

The UNSCR 2250 is considered by the Security Council under Chapter 7, Article 39 of the UN Charter. Security Council resolutions under Chapter 7 are legally binding. While this constitutes a powerful tool, it should be noted that it is the individual responsibility of each member state to implement the resolutions at the national level. National Action Plans (NAP) as requested by the Security Council through Presidential Statements (S/PRST/2004/40 and S/PRST/2005/52) on the Women, Peace and Security agenda have not yet been requested for the Youth, Peace and Security agenda.[38] This means that Security Council resolutions 2250 is greatly dependent to be used as an instrument by young people who are already building peace on the ground or who are aspiring to contribute to peacebuilding in Kenya and larger Horn of Africa region. They can be used to advocate, lobby, build partnerships, mobilize resources and to build momentum for national implementation from the bottom up.

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[37] Government of Kenya (2015). National Peacebuilding Policy.
[38] Independent Progress Study on Youth, Peace and Security, Independent lead author: Graeme Simpson, 2018, Available at: https://www.youth4peace.info/system/files/2018-10/youth-web-english.pdf.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPACT OF YOUTH EXCLUSION AND MARGINALIZATION IN PEACE PROCESS IN NAIROBI KENYA.

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, the impact of youth exclusion and marginalization in mediation and peace processes is explored. The section covers; conflict; and conflict management; mediation and peace processes; role of youth in mediation; challenges to inclusion; and addressing the challenges to inclusion. Inclusiveness in a peace process is critical for the achievement of a more sustainable peace. Discussions relating to inclusion, in general, and on participation of youth in peace processes, particularly, have evolved considerably in the last few years in the area of mediation.

Practitioners have become more conscious of the significance and benefits of inclusive mediation, and recognize that a more inclusive approach to peace processes has the possibility of achieving innovative and resilient results. Inclusion suggests a critical role played by youth in mediation and peace processes. Young people possess enormous wealth of knowledge and have different perspectives obtained through major efforts in various peace processes at the grassroots and national levels. It is necessary that these perspectives and needs of youth are represented during negotiations.[39]

3.1 Conflict

In human societies conflicts are considered to be inevitable. Youth have been known to play different roles during conflicts with young men often perceived as perpetrators of violence and young women as victims as well as playing active roles in conflict. The number of state-based conflicts has increased in Africa over the past five years. In 2017 Africa experienced 18 state-based conflicts. While this is a decrease from the all-time high of 21 in 2016, it is substantially higher than ten years ago, with 12 conflicts in 2007.

In everyday life, we tend to experience conflict as something painful which we would rather avoid, neglect or forget about. Sometimes, for these reasons, we accuse others of "disturbing the peace" mainly the youth

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[39] Nnoli, O. (ed.) (1998). Ethnic Conflict in Africa Dakar: CODESRIA Book Series, p19.

when they try to protect their interests and needs. A good example is the conflict between the civil society and the government which lead to demonstrations. In other cases Conflicts are used to confront others with our ideas, our own interests or use our power to impose these ideas on them. Rarely are conflicts perceived or used as an opportunity to reach a higher degree of satisfaction in relationships. Knowledge about the nature of conflict is used to develop systems, instruments and skills that can help us gain a better understanding of conflicts and deal with them more satisfactorily.

Conflicts are often classified as either as: Intra-personal conflicts; inter-personal conflict, intra-group conflicts; inter-group conflicts or inter-national, inter-state conflicts. Intra-personal conflicts are conflicts within a person, psychological conflict, decision making conflict in one person. Though these conflicts may play a part in social conflicts, they are not the subject matter of conflict transformation work but more of a concern of therapy or counselling. Inter-personal conflict are between two or a small number of people without groups building up around one side. Intra-group conflicts are within smaller (team, organization, family) or larger groups (religious community, within elites in a country). Here group dynamics add to the normal dynamics of inter-personal conflicts. Inter-group conflicts are between groups, like organizations, ethnic groups, political parties. Inter-national, inter-state conflicts are between two or more countries, states.[40]

Sources of Conflict

There are a number of sources out of which conflicts arise. The most common are:

• Political sources -power struggles, differences in ideologies.

• Religious sources - power struggle, differences in doctrine.

• Cultural conflict - when two cultural traditions compete for dominance.

• Economic privileges-where some people feel marginalized.

• Natural resources - e.g. land and minerals.

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[40] GTZ- Forum for Dialogue and Peace (undated), Handbook for Trainers and Practitioners in Conflict Resolution, Parts I-III.

The sources of conflict provided above can be interlinked in many cases, that is political power easily makes people have control over resources mainly the natural resources and economy. On the other hand violence and conflict are not identical in that violence is very often an expression of conflict, a way of carrying out conflicts. Violence in conflicts usually exists when; an instrument of repression by a more powerful conflict party, wishing to force their interests upon others; as an instrument for the articulation of interests by the weaker conflict parties, especially if they do not know other ways and when conflict parties fail to find other means of carrying out conflicts *et al*.

Violence affects human beings and occurs amongst human beings. People affected by violence are limited in the satisfaction of their basic human needs specifically: survival needs, well- beings needs, identity and meaning needs, freedom needs, inclusion needs among others.

Before a conflict can be managed or resolved conflict analysis in order to understand the conflict context in a specific situation has to be conducted in that conflicts are dynamic in nature. Conflict analysis usually entail of attaining critical awareness about the conflict issue or understanding the issue more deeply. It's considered to be a tool that deeply examine an issue in a given situation to understand its root causes, connections and consequences. After a conflict analysis, the main issues or generative themes should become clear. When it comes to conflict resolution or management, it is such issues or themes that will be specifically targeted.

3.2 Conflict Management

The conflict parties involved in a conflict are the core players in addressing and intervening the situation. According to Burton (I987) the significant feature of conflict management is that it is an attempt by the status quo to manage the dispute, or to avoid escalation of the conflict. Conflict resolution refers to dealing with or removing the cause of the conflict.[41] The purpose of conflict management, whether undertaken by the parties in conflict or whether involving the intervention of an outside party, is to affect the entire structure of a conflict situation so as to contain the destructive components in the conflict process that is; hostility, use of violence and help the parties possessing incompatible goals to find some solution to their conflict. Conflict

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[41] Buron, J.W.(1987) Resolving Deep Rooted Conflict, Virginia, Centre for Conflict Resolution.

management to be considered effective, should succeed in minimizing disruption stemming from the existence of a conflict, and providing a solution that is satisfactory and acceptable to parties in conflict.

Interveners need to be clear and transparent about their own mandate. When the disputants are unable or unwilling to handle the conflict, third parties are apt to become involved and expected to assist in the conflict resolution. Anybody who negotiates on someone's behalf or listens to their pleas and then in a way decides the fate fits into the third-party negotiator role. There are four basic of third party negotiator roles that is: mediator arbitrator, conciliator, and consultant. Each of these specific third-party negotiator roles provides a specific service for the parties in conflict.

(1) Mediator- Mediation is the most common form of conflict management/ resolution. It involves an independent, impartial person helping two individuals or groups reach a solution that is acceptable to everyone. Mediation is indeed not prescriptive. It helps the parties involved to make progress in resolving their differences. It does not make judgments or determine outcomes. Mediators do not have any formal authority. Conflict parties using a mediator must be motivated to settle the issue, or mediation will not work. Success of mediation depends on both parties level of trust on mediator.

(2) Arbitrator- Arbitrator can employ any techniques or strategies used by a mediator. Arbitrator has option of dictating the solution of the conflict. Arbitration can be voluntary or forced on the parties of a negotiation by law or contract. The arbitrator's power contrasts according to the rules set by the negotiators. The Arbitrator might be limited to choosing one of the party's offers and enforcing it, or he may be able to freely suggest other solutions. Often in arbitration, there is always a settlement.

(3) Conciliation - Conciliators often engage in fact finding, interpreting messages, and persuading parties to develop an agreement. A conciliator is a trusted third party who provides communication between the negotiating parties in conflict. Conciliators usually act only as a communication channel between the parties and don't actually perform any specific negotiation duties.

(4) Consultation- Rather than mediating or arbitrating the third party can provide consultations. A consultant often will assist the parties learn to understand and work with each other, so this approach has a longer-term focus to build bridges between the conflicting parties. A consultant will help parties

learn to understand and work with each other, so this approach has a longer-term focus to build bridges between the conflicting parties. It is considered to be less formal than mediation or arbitration and are more voluntary. According to Fisher there is evidence that consultation and conciliation do help to manage conflict due to their non- assertive nature.[42]

3.3 Conflicts in Kenya

Kenya has witnessed various forms of violence ranging from inter-communal violence, election violence, and violent extremism where the young men and young women have been considered to play a big role either as perpetrators, victims or as peacebuilders

Analyzing **Election Violence**, the pursuit for independence, based on the articulation of the indigenous communities, resulted in colonial resistance. In the period from 1952 to 1958, Kenyans under the Mau liberation banner successfully defeated the imperial powers and regained their sovereign rule when they acquired independence in 1963. However, the structural inequalities initially entrenched by the colonialists were accentuated by the newly inaugurated native rulers.[43]

According to Mutua (2008), the distribution of political resources after independence established a politically motivated resource distribution, which culminated into grievances that caused political divisions. In specific, the colonial constitution, and the government institutions that were created thereof, advanced imperialist interests through neo-colonial power brokers. Nonetheless, the political leaders in the Kenyatta administration would have known too well that the inequitable distribution of resources, both economic and political, was a recipe for violence given the overlap of ethnic and regional identities in the country. Thus, through domination and manipulation of the political institutions, Kenyan political leaders turned elections into structures for rewarding loyalists and punishing opposing voices.[44]

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[42] Fisher, R.J. (1990). The social psychology of intergroup and international conflict resolution. New York:: Springer-Verlag. For an extended discussion of these units of analysis as actors in conflict, see: K.£. Boulding, Conflict and Defense: A General Theory (New York: Harper and Row, 1962).

[43] Wamwere, K. (2008). Towards genocide in Kenya. The Curse of Negative Ethnicity. Nairobi: Mvule.

[44] Ajulu, R. (2008). Kenya's 2007 elections: derailing democracy through ethno-regional violence. Journal of African Elections, 7(2), 33-51.

The purposive re-introduction of the democratic multiparty politics in Kenya in 1991 was considered to have led to the embattled history of electoral conflicts in the country. Democratic politics occasioned the creation of a multiplicity of political parties, most of which were conceived without substantive political ideologies and served solely as political instruments to acquire political power. In this context, Ajulu argues that these parties were established by regional kingpins who made their ethnic positioning the basis for their power with the backing of the youth political leaders and as members.

Kenya had historically managed its domestic instabilities without drawing much international attention until the outbreak of major episodes of violence following the contentious 2007/2008 elections. Elements of election-related violence continued after the 2008 episodes largely due to subsisting local and intercommunal contestation as it was witnessed in the 2013 and 2017 elections. Violence and conflicts remains a visible denominator in electoral competitions and contests for political power in Kenya. The Nairobi and the Rift Valley was the epicenter of electoral violence in 1992, 1997 and 2007 and afterwards. In the lead up to the 1992 elections for example, pre-election violence broke out in the Rift Valley, Nyanza and Western provinces, mostly targeted at the Kikuyu, Luhya and Luo, all associated with opposition groups. The violence ended in 1993 with 1500 dead and 300,000 displaced.[45]

Correspondingly in the run up to the 1997 elections, the Moi regime is purported to have instigated the pre-election violence in the Coastal province in August 1997 as a way of avoiding or minimizing electoral losses.[46] Cumulatively, the electoral violence of 1997 is estimated to have resulted in 2000 deaths and displacement of over 500,000 persons. By the 2007/8 elections, political violence had become normalized acts of political violence are observed and reported without any expectation that prosecution or other consequences might arise. The 2007 election violence is estimated to have led to the internal displacement of over 350,000 persons, and at least 1300 deaths.[47]

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[45] Africa Watch. (1993) Divide and Rule: State Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya. Publication. United States of America: Human Rights Watch.

[46] Human Rights Watch, (11 April 2014) 'Kenya: Hal crackdown on Somalis', Press Release, 11 April 2014.

[47] Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) (2008), 'Government of Kenya. Commission of Inquiry into the Post Electoral Violence. Report. GOK, 2008.

In examining electoral violence in Kenya, it is clear that violence does not start and end with an electoral cycle but it is a continuous process in part because of the established root causes, including its overlap with several forms and layers of local and communal contestations, its ethno-religious underpinnings, and the zero-sum nature of politics and contestations for power. Election violence in Kenya relates to; all forms of organized acts or threats- physical, psychological and structural- aimed at intimidating, harming, blackmailing a political stakeholder before, during or after an election with the view of determining, delaying or influencing an electoral process.[48]

A set of cross-cutting dynamic forces underpin election-related violence in Kenya, namely, the ethnic nature of the violence manifested in mass displacement of communities in the name of 'ethnic cleansing' of non-supporters in both the opposition and the ruling party 'strongholds'; the intimidation and harassment of non-supporters; and state sponsored or induced violence through the activities of formal (state) and informal (non-state) security actors including youth groups. Another cross-cutting observation is the instrumentalization and institutionalization of violence, involving youth militias, by the state and opposition groups in order to 'build electoral influence.' Throughout the Moi's regime, youth groups, including youth wings of political parties, were co-opted and used to intimidate and repress critics and opposition groups. For example, under the cover of government protection, the KANU youth wing is said to have used and perfected the culture of political terror and extortion. This translated into the formation of several youth militias and created a violent career pathway for young people in Kenya. One high profile manifestation of this was Mungiki Sect, originally formed as a counter youth group along with other ethnic oriented vigilante groups.[49]

The role of young people in election violence in Kenya, ethnic-communal and political identities were mobilized and instrumentalized for goals that transcend political power. For most young Kenyans involved, it represented a tool for survival for them and their communities, and it was useful in the protection of acquired socio-economic and material privileges.

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[48] Omotola, S. (2010) "Explaining electoral violence in Africa's 'new' democracies*." African Journal on Conflict Resolution10, no. 3 (2010).

[49] Kagwanja, P. (2003) "Facing Mount Kenya or Facing Mecca? The Mungiki, ethnic violence and the politics of the Moi succession in Kenya, 1987–2002." African Affairs102, no. 406 (2003): 25-49.

On **Violent Extremism,**is this a conflict? Kenya and the larger Horn of Africa region is a reference point in the analysis of Global War on Terror. Kenya specifically suffered violent extremism well before the September 2001 Al-Qaeda attacks on specific targets in the United States. In August of 1998, U.S. embassies in Nairobi , Kenya and in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania were car bombed that resulted in the death of 248 people in Kenya and 12 in Tanzania, while the number of the wounded was estimated at 5,000.[50] Kenya's struggles with violent extremism have not stopped since then. For instance, in spite of the series of internal and cross-border security operations by Kenya, extremist groups, specifically Al-Shabaab, continued to carry out attacks such as Malindi and the Technical University of Mombasa (2017); Garissa University College attack (2015); Mpeketoni massacre (2014); Westgate Mall attack (September 2013); and Eel Adde attack, where hundreds of Kenyan combatants and non-combatants were killed.[51]

Kenya's Coast region, Northeastern region and Nairobi Eastleigh area, are made up of communities who perceive rightly or wrongly, to be marginalized in Kenya's socio-economic and political power structures. The two regions also have common history of violent conflicts linked to ethno-religious identities. These existing schisms provide important context for understanding the attraction of violent extremist ideologies and groups, especially Al-Shabaab. Youth radicalization is a hot and heated topic in Kenya because of Al-Shabaab's relative success in recruiting and radicalizing young men and women, some of them university students and the government's well-documented failure to prevent youth radicalization.

The explanation of why and how young Kenyan Muslims join Al-Shabaab exceeds indoctrination and the appeal of Islamist ideology. It includes existing and continuing feelings of alienation and marginalization, and socio-economic vulnerabilities, and the broader logic and utility of violence in the politics of Kenya. In fact, Al-Shabaab formed a close relationship with the Mombasa Republican Council (MRC) which actively projected the demand for independence by coastal communities. Al-Shabaab is thought to have fomented a

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[50] Anon., (September 1998) 'NEWS: US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania Bombed', International Journal on World Peace, 15, 3 (September 1998), pp. 75-80.
[51] Anon., (20 January 2016) 'Kenyan police kill "four terror suspects" in Malindi', BBC News, 20 January 2016.

close collaboration with the Al-Hijra, which derived from the Muslim Youth Centre (MYC) or the Pumwani Muslim Centre.[52]

Kenya's counter-insurgency/counter terrorism operations since 1998 and more recently against Al-Shabaab attacks targeted and alienated Kenyan Muslims, especially young Muslims. It was not uncommon for Kenyan police to invade Somali neighbourhood in Eastleigh in Nairobi to arrest and detain young Somali men at Pangani prison. Once in prison, only those who could 'buy' themselves, a euphemism for bribing the police, can regain their freedom. On April 2014, Eastleigh was the scene of a major security crackdown. The Operation Usalama Watch which rounded up nearly a thousand Somalis. Many felt wrongly targeted for arrest and detention in the campaign against Al-Shabaab.[53] In such contexts, radicalization and violent extremism became attractive proposition for some young people as platforms for affirming individual and collective rights and interests of communities.

Intercommunal violence in Kenya relates to violent conflicts between non-state groups that are organized along a shared communal identity. Such conflicts may revolve around issues such as access and ownership of land or water resources, cattle raiding, or support for opposing political parties. The scale of intercommunal violence in Kenya has risen and intensified since the advent of multi-party politics in 1992. Intercommunal violence has produced visible internal and cross-border impacts such as the loss of lives and properties; the displacement of persons and communities; rise in inter-group tensions and distrust; and destruction of socio-economic infrastructures and processes.[54]

The precise triggers of intercommunal violence in Kenya vary across regions and counties, however the underlying dynamic is often similar, specifically contestations over access to resources. The superimposition of ethnoreligious identities of communities on intercommunal violence tend to color and misinform the causes and character of most intercommunal conflicts in Kenya. In virtually all cases, the ethno-religious identities of communities are only mobilised and instrumentalized in the intense competition for resources.

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[52] Nzes, F. (2014) 'Al-Hijra: Al-Shabab's affiliate in Kenya', CTC Sentinel, 7, 5 (2014), pp. 24-26.
[53] Telephone interviews with confidential sources, 22 July 2017. See also Kajee (2014); Human Rights Watch, (20 July 2016).
[54] Evfersson, E. (2017) Third Parties, the State, and Communal Conflict Resolution ... pcr.uu.se/digitalAssets/66/c_66983-l_1-k_emma-elfversson---third-parties--the-state--and-communal-conflict-resolution.pdf. Accessed 24 July 2017.

The resources in question do vary depending on the local political-economy system; it ranges from contestation over access to rangeland, farmland, and pastoral land, to water and livestock raiding.[55]

Intercommunal conflict most often occurs in certain hotspots in Kenya such as the Rift Valley, the North and the Coast. The Rift Valley experienced the first major incidence of communal violence in 1991 and recurrently since then in 1998 and 2007 over historical grievance over land.It pitches the Kalenjin community against the Kikuyus and other ethnic groups; the Kalenjins claimed ancestral ownership of land in the Rift Valley, however the lands were usurped initially by white settlers, and subsequently by the Kikuyus, and other ethnic groups.

In Mount Elgon in the Western region of Kenya, bordering Uganda, recurring cases clashes between sub-groups of the Sabaot, the Soy and the Ndorobo, and between the Sabaot and the Bukusu. In the North-eastern region, intercommunal violence has been recorded among pastoralist communities within Kenya and across the border with Ethiopia. For instance, the Gabra and Borana communities in Marsabit county clashed from 2006 over water and grazing land. In the Coast, cases of intercommunal violence have been recorded between the Pokomo and the Orma around the Tana River Delta over grazing issues.

Youth occupy multiple roles in intercommunal violence: as belligerents, victims and targets of violence, and as actors for peace. The culture of 'Moranism' in some parts of Northern Kenya means that young men can be more easily mobilized to engage in violent confrontation either as a source of pride and/or in defense of their community. Age sets are a key component of the social and political life of pastoralist communities in the North Rift. They can be found among the Samburu, Turkana, and Kalenjin sub-groups. Men in these communities are delineated into a number of age sets with a cyclical pattern. Of these different age sets, the warrior set (comprising of young males from late teenage years up to age 25 years) is one of the most important. The exclusively male warrior set, or the Morans for the Masai and Samburu traditionally play important roles in the socio-cultural, economic and security systems of communities in the North Rift.[56]

[55] Mbugua, J. (2013) "Inter-Communal Conflicts in Kenya: The Real Issues at Stake in the Tana Delta." International Peace Support Training Centre, 2013,
[56] Van den Broeck, J. (2017) Conflict motives in Kenya's north rift region - KU Leuven.
lirias.kuleuven.be/bitstream/123456789/472964/1/20110919_Conflict_Motives_in_North_Rift.pdf.

There is also a gendered element to the role of youth, for during conflict young women are often targeted as victims of abductions and sexual and gender based violence during raids. It is arguable that the same rhetoric that infuses Moranism with ethno-communal pride and a commitment to defend the community is inherently masculinist, privileging the status of young male warriors over others, and unwittingly diminishing the value, worth, and bodies of young women.[57]

On the other hand Youth are also actively involved in various initiatives as actors for peace including: peace brigades, Youth for Peace, Tuelewane and the Tegla Laroupe foundation, etc. some of which are explored in subsequent sections of this report. Even in that complex web of intercommunal violence, the agency of the young people that participate can hardly be denied. Many young people in their respective roles as perpetrators and victims of violence, and as arrowheads of peace and reconciliation have their motivations and interests linked to their individual and collective socio-economic, cultural, civic and ideological agendas.

3.4 Mediation and Peace Processes

Mediation is considered to be a process in itself entailing of setting up conditions that are conducive to the cultivating of harmonious co-existence. It is a process used to reconcile warring parties with the aim of building long lasting peace. Mediation is also considered as an important aspect of peace building and, if properly utilized could achieve not just a settlement of conflict but facilitate a full transformation of relations. Peace building is defined as identifying and supporting those structures that can strengthen and solidify peace in the aftermath of peacemaking and peacekeeping then peace building. It incorporates a range of activities and structures before, during and after formal peace agreements between parties are signed.

Mediation is a dynamic process of resolving conflict and rebuilding societies involving mechanisms and structures that can prevent, terminate, transform or resolve conflict. It additionally involves mechanisms and structures that can strengthen the capacity of a society to manage change without violence. This may involve addressing the root causes of conflict through long-term economic and social provisions as well as policies of reconciliation. The OECD emphasized the role of mediation in strengthening the resilience capacity of states,

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[57] Young, L. (2012) "Challenges at the Intersection of Gender and Ethnic Identity in Kenya (December 2012)."

non –state societies and state-society relations. Mediation therefore is an important element to managing the transition from war to peace. Their engagement during a peace process can help create a new vision of the economy and society that convinces parties that it is worthwhile to stop fighting. If a future without armed conflict becomes a more viable reality, the parties to a peace process may increase their commitment in negotiations as companies commit to post-conflict economies before the signature of a peace agreement. In addition, development actors can marshal important financial flows into conflict countries that could be used as incentives for peace.

Among those identified are mediation and negotiation strategy and style are personal and professional characteristics of mediators and teams mediated, nature and characteristics of the conflict itself such as ripeness, intensity, and objects of disputes. These aspects of conflict should be by the mediators to ensure that the approach they take during the mediation and mediation processes fairly solve the impasse. It explains why mediation, in many instances, depends on the above factors, which are often referred to as preconditions to the success of mediation. However, mediators, in many cases entirely ignore, the various events that take place as a consequence of mediation failure.[58]

On the other hand according to Beardsley (2008), even successful mediation and negotiation can, in the long term, increase the probability of a renewed outburst of violent conflict if the implementation of agreements is not supported by third parties, which in this case are not only mediators but also the international communities, government, and people. In the context of renewed outburst and conflict, the splintering of groups is one of the possible unintended consequences. The main dispute is usually when the stronger party, often the incumbent government, refuses to implement the agreement within the stated timeframe. Failed mediation and negotiation, on the other hand, could easily induce renewed conflicts, especially when the weaker party concludes that dialogue has failed to benefit them and that dispute is the only remaining solution.[59]

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[58] Cooke, J. G. (2009). Background on the Post-Election Crisis in Kenya. Center for Strategic & International Studies (CSIS).

[59] Bercovitch, J. (2011). Mediation in international conflicts: theory, practice and development. In Theory and Practice of International Mediation (pp. 81-108). Routledge.

International non-governmental organizations such as the Carter Foundation which made several efforts to mediate in the conflict prior to the involvement of IGAD, the stalemate reached by both the SPLM/A and acceptance of IGAD, especially Kenya, to lead the mediation process gave the process legitimacy. The IGAD spearheaded the case of South Sudan since December 2013 over the two warring factions. However, the mediation process initially failed because of the lack of approach to formulating an enforceable ceasefire agreement or a negotiated political settlement, thereby compounding on the problems bedeviling the people.

Some of the significant factors that have limited IGAD's mediation process in South Sudan include regional rivalries and power struggles; exclusion of women and youth ;centralization of decision-making at the HoS-level and related lack of institutionalization within IGAD. These included challenges in expanding the peace process beyond South Sudan's political elites. For the mediation to be successful in the South Sudan context there is a need to show that IGAD is no longer a neutral and credible body to promote peace in South Sudan. Security must be provided to protect the mediation actors and proposed government of national unity from creating conducive environment for the implementation of reforms proposed during the mediation processes.

Kenya's conflict-resolution undertakings displayed a clear, unresolved tension, characterized by mutual suspicion, alliance-building and power play among states, the regional organization seeking to develop the institutional capacity to improve peace and security and give practical assistance towards conflict resolution.[60] It is with no doubt Kenya's reconciliation activities had in enhancing peace in the Horn of Africa region, among states as well as such as Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia.[61]

The 2007/2008 post-election violence was the one with the larger magnitude to have happened in Kenay, and as such, it attracted the attention of the regional and international community. The mediation and negotiation process began on 22nd January 2008, three weeks after the post-election violence erupted across Kenya. The first mediation and negotiation process was led by the Panel of Eminent African Personalities, consisting of

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[60] G. L. Khadiagala. Eastern Africa: Security and the Legacy of Fragility. (New York: International Peace Institute, 2008a).

[61] S. Healy. _Lost Opportunities in the Horn of Africa: How Conflicts Connect and Peace Agreements Unravel', Chatham House Report. (London: RIIA, 2008).

former President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, former South African First Lady Graça Machel, and retired United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan as Chairperson.[62]

The mediation and negotiation process was mandated by the AU and had the technical support of the United Nations (UN), United States, as well as the Department of Political Affairs (DPA), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and United Nations Office in Nairobi (UNON). The Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue also supported the process, and the role of the international community in giving pressure to the political functions played a more significant role in resolving the conflict. Before the arrival of the mediators sent by the AU, the conflict was rampant throughout the country, with instances of killings, destruction of properties, rape, vandalism, robbery, and insecurity. Despite all this, Kibaki and Odinga continued to refuse to engage in dialogue to end the conflict.

The signing of the Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation (KNDR) agreement following the post-election violence of 2007–2008 marked the beginning of the first national political dialogue on issues affecting national cohesion in Kenya. The agreement, which was designed to promote and facilitate an environment conducive to building mutual trust and confidence, involved representatives of the two competing political formations (the Orange Democratic Movement, or ODM, and the Party of National Unity, or PNU), together with the African Union Panel of Eminent African Personalities.

The efforts by the African Union were instrumental in the beginning of mediation to end the violence. This was also made possible due to the increasingly intense domestic and international pressure. The principled response of Kenya's civil society and, eventually, private sector together with that of the diplomatic community and the rest of the world, worked effectively in bringing an end to the violence. The AU's clear reaction to the situation in Kenya was unprecedented — and stands out as one of its finest successes to date, with the full yet quiet logistical and technical support of the United Nations. The youth role was mainly of representation/rubberstamping as the youth issues were not clearly and extensively articulated.[63]

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[62] Odallo, B. N. (2012). An Analysis of the Post 2007 General Election Conflict Mediation Process in Kenya. LLM Dissertation, University of Pretoria, South Africa.

[63] Schuler, John. "A Post-Election Perspective: whither Information Policy? Part Two." Journal Of Academic Librarianship 31, no. 1 (January 2005): 63-66

Main Stages in Mediation Process

1. Preparation and preliminary agreements

This stage includes all those activities that take place before the around-the-table negotiations. It is helpful to state right at the outset that the negotiation process predates the around-the-table negotiations and does not usually end there. It is very necessary because it ensures that all the necessary preparations are done before the parties come to the table for negotiations. Hence parties will thus determine why they want to negotiate.[64] The parties parties consider that their dispute can be resolved by negotiation and hence communicate their intention to negotiate to one another. This stage ends when parties agree to around-the-table negotiations or formal negotiations or on the other hand when one party considers that negotiation is not the best alternative for the resolution of their dispute. During this phase parties agree to negotiate and to arrange on how those negotiations are going to be held.[65]

2. Mediation meetings

This the stage at which parties discuss and make bargains over the issues they may have framed during the previous stage. Parties discuss the issues in their conflict to either agree or disagree. Additionally parties to conflict develop the foundation of their agreement by outlining the conflict issues. The core issues of the conflict are put together so as to understand the basic concept of the agreement parties are seeking. Conflict parties deliberate the creative solutions or options and discuss concerns. There is often advance proposals and counter-proposals, back and forth, until some manner of tentative agreement or either a deadlock is reached.[66] The Kenya's Nakuru County Peace Accord is considered a good example

3. Implementation

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[64] Craver, C.B., "The Negotiation Process", available at www.negotiatormagazine.com, [Accessed on 9/08/2018].;
See also Fischer, R., & Ury, W., Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement without Giving In, (Penguin Books, New York, 1981), pp. 13-20.
[65] Saunders, H.H., "We Need a Larger Theory of Negotiation: The Importance of Pre-negotiating Phases." Negotiation Journal, Vol.1, No. 3 (1985), pp. 249-262.
[66] Horst, P.R., "Cross-Cultural Negotiations," A Research Report Submitted to the Faculty In Partial Fulfillment of the Graduation Requirements (2007)

This is a very important stage also considered as Post- Negotiation where the parties discuss on how they can codify the agreement arrived at by formulating an action plan with specific timelines for effective implementation of the agreement. Commitment of the conflict parties towards the negotiated agreement is tested at this phase. It is aimed at making the agreement realistic so that it is not only viable but also workable. If an agreement cannot be acceptable to the conflict parties in the negotiation process then the agreement becomes impossible to implement and acceptable to the populace. The implementation phase involves critical processes such as ratification of agreements, memorandum of understanding treaties signifying the parties intention to be fully bound by the treaty they have negotiated over a good example being the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of conflict in Republic of South Sudan .[67]

1. Preparation of mediation meetings

• Select a mediator

Ordinarily, in a mediation process is initiated when a conflict party contacts a mediator and expresses interest in a mediation. Subsequently, the mediator gets in contact with the other conflict party and clarifies whether and under which conditions this party would also be willing to participate. The mediator has to be acceptable to both parties. Additionally the mediator should be impartial and knowledgeable on the conflict context.

• Mediator to study the issues through a research

Since each conflict is different the mediator through extensive research should conduct a conflict analysis in order to understand the conflict dynamics from all concerned parties. The research should not only focus on the two main conflicting parties but inclusive of all parties affected by the conflict.

The mediator

• Meet parties differently to get their views

The mediator should first conduct preliminary talks with the conflict parties provide an excellent first opportunity for the mediator to win the conflict parties' trust and to build his or her credentials as a

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[67] artman, I. W. & Berman, M. R., The Practical Negotiator, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 42-87; Mwagiru, M., Conflict in Africa; Theory, Processes and Institutions of Management, op. cit, pp.113-114.

trustworthy third party. The best way to achieve this is by displaying empathy, credibility, integrity and, above all, neutrality. Additionally , the mediator must give no indication of prejudgment or lack of interest and must not comment favorably or unfavorably regarding the statements of any party. This meetings will assist the mediator to learn more about: the conflict parties and the relationship between them, the causes of the conflict from each perspective, the involvement of other people in the conflict, the actions taken and the statements made in the course of the conflict, the legal aspects of the case and the reasons that lead the conflict parties to seek a resolution through mediation.

• Motivate all parties involved to participate in the process

The mediator should first assess the willingness of the conflict parties to commit to a mediation process and further encourage them of the possibility of addressing the underline causes of the conflict. Also should bring out the reasons that lead the conflict parties to seek a resolution through mediation.

• Identify a neutral place for the meeting

The meeting place for the meeting should be neutral where neither of the conflicting parties don't have an advantage and minimum interruptions of the negotiations. Also the best choice is a venue that is comfortable and supports good interaction. Additionally a room that is too big makes people just as uncomfortable as one that is too small. There should also be a room for private meetings in case the mediators will have to separate the two conflict parties at some point during the mediation process or the different mediation teams would like to consult discretely.

• Mediator and participants plan the procedures

The setting and procedures can decide over success or failure of a mediation, hence it has to be chosen very carefully. The mediator should establish if there any other persons beyond the two main conflict parties that should be involved in the mediation process. Also at what point should they be invited to participate. Ideally the process should be inclusive and without any form of marginalization or exclusion.

2. Mediation meeting

A mediator's role at this stage should thus be essentially one of aiding the parties to negotiate and come to agreeable, creative and acceptable solutions that they are happy to live with. This is the essence of autonomy and voluntariness in the mediation process. Mediators are encouraged to have the ability to get the parties to talk to each other.[68]

Meeting process

Opening

The mediation opens with a general introduction to the mediation process. When the parties arrive for the first session, they are often anxious and tense, suspicious of the other party and its motivations, fearful of being manipulated or taken advantage of, uncertain about what to expect from mediation and the mediators and afraid that things will escalate out of control. It is absolutely essential that the mediators are in charge from the moment the parties arrive so that there is no question that they are in control of the situation. One aspect of this is that the mediators decide in advance who will sit where, and when the parties arrive they show them where to sit.

• Welcome the participants- It is important for the mediator to recognize each participant in the mediation room as well as the titles they carry with them and welcome them to the process.

• Create a conducive atmosphere- The purpose is to deal with and dispel fears and that the conflict parties feel comfortable enough to participate and trust in the mediation process. Also, getting things off on the right foot is a critical first step in mediating.

• Introduce the mediator and participants-The mediator should further again introduce him/herself despite the previous preliminary meetings as well as introduce each participant in the mediation room despite the role such as observers they play.

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[68] See article by Federation of Women Lawyers, 'Mediation in Kenya', published in the Daily Nation newspaper at page 42 on 20/06/2012

• Present the state of affairs- it is essential to make sure that the conflict parties understand why they are in that particular room and what they can expect from the process.

• Explain the mediation process- The mediator should describe mediation in their own words and explain the principles of consensus-orientation, self-determination of the conflict parties, neutrality of the mediator, voluntary nature of the mediation process and confidentiality.

• State the expectations of the mediation meeting-The mediator lays out the expectations of the mediation meeting be it ceasefire or addressing the underline causes of conflict highlighted by each conflict parties.

• Agree on agenda and procedure-With guidance from the mediator the parties agree on an agenda and procedure of the process from; Introduction to the mediation, identification of conflict issues, clarification of issues, interests and needs and sharing of perspectives, search for options, assessment of options, to, agreement and monitoring.

• Explain the cause and purpose of the meeting objectives and expected results-

• Agree on rules and norms for the meeting- It is necessary to set some ground rules to ensure an orderly discussion in an already tense atmosphere between the conflict parties. They should be worked out in cooperation with the conflict parties and should include that they may not interrupt each other and that they will follow the lead of the mediators.

• List the topics for discussion- In agreement with the conflict parties, these issues are listed. In doing so, the mediators should; Use a list format, phrase conflict issues in a neutral, value-free way, be as specific as possible and always get the consent of the relevant conflict party.

• Communicate logistical arrangement The mediation team in consultation with the conflicting parties should consider logistical arrangements inclusive of: transportation, accommodation, food, stationery supplies among others.

The Task of the Mediator

• State the issue and put it into perspective- Mediators are responsible for the mediation process and structure the discussion between the conflicting parties. Hence it is essential to make sure that the conflict parties understand what they can expect from the process and the mediators.

• Give the state of affairs at this point in time- The mediator provides a clear understanding of the mediation process based on the facts of the conflict issues by both parties, the ground rules, and their legal rights, as the foundation for the actual mediation process.

• Relate the issue to participants' situation, their interests- The mediator should focus on the interest rather than the position of the conflicting parties. This can be drawn from the results of the conflict analysis to help the parties in discussing their interests and issues.

• Structure the issue into sub-topics- The conflict parties often think that the divisions between them and the other party are and more numerous than they actually are. Structuring the conflict issues into sub-topics often helps to make the conflict seem more manageable.

Viewpoints of the participating parties

• In a conflict situation two people or groups have different objectives, opinions, motives, perception concerning an important issue.- If necessary, the mediators will have to remind them of this commitment from time to time in the mediation process.

• Each side tends to see only their side of the issue- Each party explains the situation from their perspective while the other party listens. It may be difficult for a conflict party to listen, in particular if their understanding of the situation is very different from their own.

• Both sides tend to see the other side as enemies – short sighted or stupid. They tend to make negative assumption of the other side as was witnessed in the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan.

• Each participating party presents their views- While the conflict parties tell their stories, the mediators listen actively, paraphrases facts, interests and needs and mirrors feelings. To encourage the conflict parties, it might also be helpful to ask some questions.

• Establish the different views points- When the conflict parties have finished their narration, the mediators assist them in identifying the conflict issues: What are the main issues that the conflict parties disagree about?

• Bring out the pre-conceived ideas, prejudices and negative assumptions of the other side- Mediators assist conflict parties in identifying the conflict issues: What are the main issues that the conflict parties disagree about? What issues will have to be addressed in order to solve this conflict?

• Bring both sides to understand the other side's point of view, arguments and motives- The mediators should enable the conflict parties to express their perspective of the conflict and strengthening their sense of self, this stage is about slowly directing their focus towards the other party and their perspective.

• Help both sides to see all of the problem- While the conflict parties tell their stories, the mediators listen actively, paraphrases facts, interests and needs and mirrors feelings from both parties.

• They should mention how they experienced the situation, what they would wish to happen and how-The ultimate goal is for the parties to undergo a change of perspective. That is, the conflict parties cognitively and emotionally understand how the other party views and experiences the conflict and what the other's interests, needs and feelings, or how different it could have gone.

• They ask clarifying questions and give mutual feedback on the presentations- The mediators lead the parties to a recognition of the other party's subjective truth (his/her truth). It is often very effective if the mediators quickly summarize what has been achieved so far and allow and encourage conflict parties to ask and clarify questions. It is also quite effective to ask a number of reflective questions.

• They identify areas of consensus, differences- Before advancing to a following stage the mediator should always identify areas of consensus or differences and further allow the parties to deliberate on.

Analysis of the Conflict Issues

• Select problem areas for analysis - The mediators review the list of conflict issues worked out. Make a suggestion about which issue should be discussed first. It is advisable to start with a small, relatively easy issue. Often success on small items creates momentum for larger ones and makes discussing other items easier. Taking turns, the parties now discuss the first issue and interests in detail.

• Analyze with instruments and methods in plenary or in small groups- This is essential to conduct mini mediations especially when a deadlock is reached and parties do not want to search for options.

Identification of an agreement on solutions

• Premature judgement- together with the conflicting parties it's the task of the mediator to ensure that a premature judgement is not reached. Nothing is so harmful to inventing options as a critical sense waiting to pounce of the disadvantages of any new idea. Judgment often hinders imagination.

• Searching for the single answer- Once the conflict parties have determined that they have found enough possible solutions, these options have to be assessed. This process serves the purpose of finding out which options are equally satisfactory to both conflict parties guided by the mediator.

• Assumption of a fixed pie- it is considered to be one of the most damaging assumptions where it is believed that the interest of ones conflict parties are opposite of the other often leading to a win-lose outcome. It is the task of the mediator and conflicting parties to break the assumption of a fixed pie.

• Thinking that solving their problem is their problem.- In order for the mediator to achieve an agreement they should assist the conflict parties come up with solutions which appeals to the interest of either side.

Coming up with solutions

• Ensure that the environment is safe and stress free, friendly, no tensions nor frictions- It is the task of the mediator to ensure that there are no tensions and always remind the conflicting parties of their commitment to the process. Also the venues should always be a neutral place.

• Find out the level at which both groups are in agreement-The mediators should in particular work out what the conflict parties have understood about each other and what they have said about their own role and behavior in the conflict. If there have been statements of regret and remorse, apologies and commitments to refrain from repeating negative behavior in the future, these should also be highlighted.

• Ask group A how they can integrate the concerns of group B in their strategy and vice versa- The mediators lead the parties to a recognition of the other party's subjective truth and concerns.

• Let both groups negotiate under which conditions they could agree with the other- The goal is to work out as many options as possible from which a, win-win-solution can be created. Hence the mediator should guide on which conditions they could agree with the other suggested by the conflicting parties.

Solution

• Let both elaborate a strategy that integrates their concerns, objectives and conditions- Mediators and conflict parties have to make packages to create win-win-solutions. The conflicting parties discuss the available options and strategies the fits all their interests and concerns.

• Together, they come up with suggestions and resolutions (with the assistance of the facilitator)

collection of ideas and options.- Together, mediators and conflict parties categorize these options, that is they bundle all options that fall under the same theme and come up with the most suitable solutions.

• Analyse options and select the "best"- Win- win solutions take a maximum of interests and needs on both sides into consideration and debilitate a maximum of the fears held by the parties. Win-win solutions are the most feasible and sustainable solutions of all. The mediators and the conflict parties check whether there are any options that are popular with both conflict parties

• Formulate agreement- Once the best solutions have been identified, they need to be carefully crafted into an agreement. To prevent misunderstandings and ensure that the agreement will be viable, each part of the agreement has to be tested according to the SMART rule. SMART stands for Specific, Measurable, Achievable, Relevant and Time-Bound.

• Let each side sign on the agreement document. Each party gets a paper- The purpose of this is to concretize the outcome of the assessing options stage and to ensure that any agreements reached are clear, specific, realistic and viable. This process is very critical. Sometimes this conflict can be resolved with another round of mediation, but all too often the agreement breaks down entirely, with the parties bitterly blaming each other for failure to keep promises.

3. Implementation

• Decide on the procedures- The intention is that eventually conflict-parties find the optimum set of options which is both viable and fully acceptable to them. They youth are key in the implementation of any peace agreement.

• Plan follow up meetings- It is important to ensure that any agreement reached is truly viewed as balanced and mutually satisfactory by both conflict parties and that they willingly and freely agree to it. Hence a series of follow up meetings are planned and conducted to ensure the parties are committed to implement the agreement.

• Monitor and report on the steps- Any agreement is only as good as its implementation. For this reason it is essential that the mediators and the conflict parties to monitor and report in detail, as outlined in the monitoring plan on how the agreement will be implemented and what to do in the event that one party does not keep the promises it made.

The inclusion and meaningful participation in each and every step mentioned up to the implementation stage to give it a sense of ownership and easily accepted. Also youth show be allowed or take initiatives to lead such peace process. Often this is not the case as the youth are usually engaged in the implementation phase or as observers where most of the issues affecting them are not entirely highlighted in the agreement.

3.5 Youth in Peace Processes

It is evident that young people today, globally and collectively, comprise the largest demographic, often constituting the majority population in countries with ongoing peace processes. Youth as a social construct refers to a transitionary phase of life between childhood and adulthood. The beginning and the end of this

period is often defined by rite of passages from childhood to youth and from youth to adulthood, which vary significantly depending on cultures and contexts. Although the notion of youth as a social construct does not suggest any chronologically uniform age-based category, most governments and international organizations employ age-based categories for statistical reasons.

There are several meanings of youth that have been identified by various individuals and organizations. Others classify young people according to their age demographic, whereas some identify them on the basis of their opinions and behaviors. Many of them have even identified young people according to their obligations. The word "youth" is thus of a rather heterogeneous type, encompassing citizens of varied origin, culture, sex , gender, class and age.[69] In Kenya, youth is described as 18-35 years of age (Kenya Constitution 2010). The Government of Ethiopia finds citizens between the ages of 15 and 29 to be young (National Youth Policy 2004). The UNSCR 2250 defines the youth age category as 18-29 years but notes that "variations of definition of the term that may exist on the national and international levels, including the definition of youth in the General Assembly resolutions.

Over the last three decades, the nature of armed conflict has significantly evolved. Armed conflicts are increasingly intra-state spreading across national borders and involves more non-state armed groups and international actors than ever. Armed conflicts are also protracted, and violence in its multiple forms has moved from rural to urban settings which brings higher human and financial costs on Governments and civilians. Despite these changes highlighting the necessity of including civil society actors in peace negotiations, political and military elites still play an important role: While elite pacts will not necessarily deliver peace, peace without them is often impossible. Mechanisms for peacemaking during armed conflicts have also become more complex: the expansion of multilateral actors and non-state actors have exerted tremendous pressure on the UN's capacity and regional bodies to manage and resolve conflicts.[70]

There is a growing realization that a state-centered approach alone is insufficient to gain political leverage and maintain stability; greater attention and investment is required to synchronize bottom-up and top-down

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[69] Felice, Celina Del and Wisler, Andria (2007). The Unexplored Powers and Potential Fortna, Virginia Page. 2008. Does Peacekeeping Work? : Shaping Belligerents' Choices After Civil War. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
[70] Bell, Christine quoted. (2019) Accord 28, Negotiating inclusion in peace processes, Conciliation Resources, London.

peacebuilding approaches. Peace processes have become highly complex, multi-dimensional, and interconnected political processes. There is no single definition of a peace process, which may comprise of high-level negotiations, ceasefires, national dialogues, political settlements, and encompass a mixture of politics, diplomacy, changing relationships, negotiation, mediation, and dialogue in both official and unofficial arenas. Peace processes span across multiple nonlinear phases from pre-negotiation to implementation and along formal and informal tracks for different levels of societal engagements.[71]

The chronological, non-linear and cyclical dimensions of peace processes indicates that youth inclusion in peace negotiations have both short and long-term implications for the sustainability of peace agreements. Preventing youth involvement in political, criminal or extremist violence, listening to the demands of young people dissident to peace processes, and addressing immediate post-war needs of young combatants are critical short-term concerns for the stability of negotiations and agreements, necessary for building negative peace. The long-term impacts of youth inclusion and participation in peace negotiations need to be considered from a positive peace angle. Young women and men play a critical role in the implementation of peace agreements due to their inevitable engagement in (re)building societal trust, social cohesion, and leading reconciliation across generations.[72] Young people should not be unrepresented and excluded from decisions that will directly impact their present and future prospects for peace.

While current approaches to civil society and women's inclusion offers important insights to understand the participation of young people in peace processes, young people often challenge the ways in which these approaches are applied in practice. A seat alone does not constitute effective youth participation rather than a rubber stamp. Different forms of participation matter and are meaningful for young people, who seek an equal voice to other actors. Similar to civil society inclusion, young people define their participation as part of technical committees, formal and informal consultation processes, and engage through mass mobilization platforms. Many young people further view their inclusion and participation through supplying logistical, resource or legal support for negotiation parties inside negotiation rooms, monitoring and reporting ceasefire

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[71] Saunders, Harold H. (2001) Pre-negotiation and Circum-negotiation: Arenas of the Multilevel Peace Process. US Institute of Peace, Washington DC (pg 483).
[72] Galtung, Johan. (1967) Theories of Peace: A Synthetic Approach to Peace. Thinking International Peace Research Institute, Oslo.

violations, or spreading peace messages and lobbying via social media activism. Participating in political parties and expressing political views additionally mattered for young people's engagement.

Although peace processes are conceptually divided in the literature into three distinct tracks referring to: elite dialogues Track I, dialogue amongst those with influence on these elites Track II, and grass-roots dialogue, Track III, the dynamic ways in which young people participate in peace processes as a social group has a bridging effect across these three tracks. Examining inclusion and participation through a youth lens reveals that young people and youth-led initiatives, networks or organizations regularly traverse across the tracks and organically build relationships between the segregated tracks. Youth as a cross-cutting social and political constituency naturally build connections and relationships between the formal and informal.[73]

Youth participation have been assessed in terms of proximity to the formal peace negotiations and peace agreement. The layers should be understood as a mapping tool to understand where and how young people engage in peace processes. While the diagram illustrates this concept, it does not suggest that there is a hierarchical relationship between the layers in terms of youth power and influence over the peace negotiations and agreement. Youth power and influence is not always correlated to proximity to the table. youth participation in protest and dissent takes place outside the room (layer 3) yet, depending on the context, it can be more influential over the peace process than passive youth observers in the peace negotiation room (layer 1). Similarly, youth consultations organized around the peace negotiations rooms (layer 2) might only have a decorative function, while youth advocacy for peace in social media platforms (layer 3) can greatly contribute to the acceptance and legitimacy of peace negotiations.

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[73] See also Mubashir and Grizelj. (2018). The youth space of dialogue and mediation: An exploration. Berlin: Berghof Foundation for a discussion on young people's agency between formal and informal divides in peace and mediation processes.

Mapping young people's engagement in peace processes:
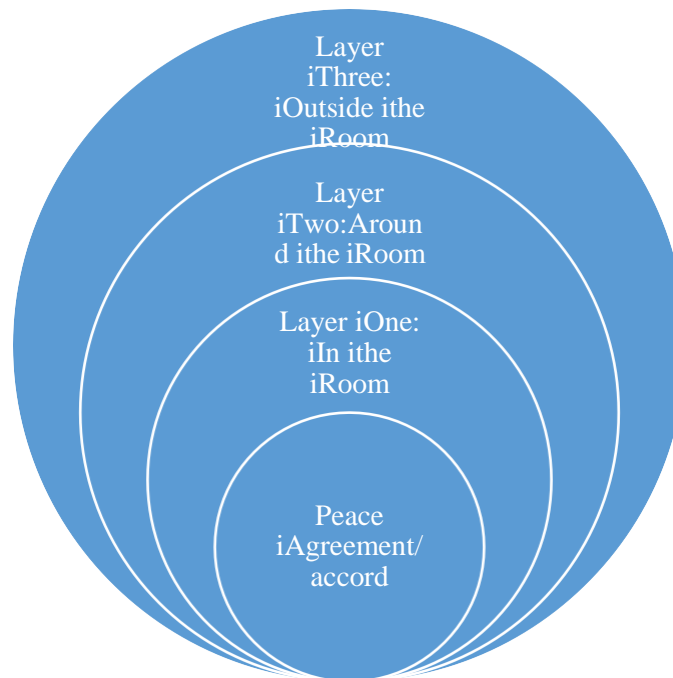
Layer 1 - In the room:

Youth participation within formal peace architecture and structures, inside the room during negotiations and political dialogues.

Layer 2 - Around the room:

Young people not directly in the room, but close to the peace agreement and connected (able to get in the room) through formal or informal mechanisms.

Layer 3 - Outside the room:

Young people who engage and participate through informal and alternative approaches.[74]

Young people rarely participate at formal negotiation tables in peace processes. In recent years however, there have been cases where young people were present at the table in different capacities. This was at times motivated by a recognition of young people's peacebuilding and conflict prevention roles. Inclusion of youth representatives in South Sudan's High- Level Revitalization Forum (HLRF) is a case in point. The HLRF

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[74] The 'room', of course, is not necessarily a physical space, but where peace agreements are usually negotiated, shaped, and signed.

youth representatives shared a position paper with political parties that highlighted that the beneficiaries of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs were mostly youth. This helped to encourage a more youth sensitive approach in the DDR program design. The effective advocacy of young people in the room furthermore secured a place for young people in South Sudan's broader governance structures, through affirmative quota systems applied within political parties. For example, the Minister of Youth was guaranteed to be a person younger than 40 years.

Youth are not often a stakeholder represented during these power sharing processes, despite the fact that "young women and men are key stakeholders in criminal justice and security system reform processes that are instrumental in the (re)building of state–society relations", as well as the main beneficiaries of DRR processes on the ground. Young people often comprise the majority of military and armed groups. Recognizing and including youth as stakeholders at the peace negotiation table is critical to ensure the integration of their needs and interests during these power-sharing processes.

The participation and engagement of young people through thematic committees on issues key to the peace negotiations translates into young people having the opportunity to draft the laws and policies during peace negotiations shaping the very substance of a peace agreement. Several peace accords have featured young people as witnesses and observers both in the negotiation phase and as signatory observers to the peace agreement. Kenya's Nakuru County Peace Accord for example, signed in 2012, was an effort to end several cycles of electoral violence that had been experienced during the 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2008 election years. The Peace Accord highlights youth as part of the signatories to the agreement, following recognition by the elders that young people are key to stability in the region.[75]

South Sudan Civil Society Forum (SSCF) used social media platforms to put pressure on parties to the conflict as outside observers. The SSCF launched a social media campaign on the first day of the South Sudan High Level Revitalization Forum. Young people wore sunglasses, took photos of themselves, and then shared them on social media platforms with the hashtag #SouthSudanIsWatching. Although this type of participation did not have a direct impact on the discussions inside the room, it was symbolically powerful in sending a

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[75] Limo, Irene (2017). Mediation in Africa Is there Space for the Youth? ACCORD.

message to the conflict parties on the unity among civil society members of South Sudan. Youth, civil society and women representatives who were participating in the peace talks inside the negotiation rooms also used the internet and social media as an important tool to inform broader constituencies. While the inclusion of young people as observers or witnesses to peace agreements may be a powerful symbol in promoting ownership of the accord, and an easy mechanism through which to include young people, there is little impact if young women and men's voices are not reflected in the agreement itself.

In late 2016, the Mudug Youth Peace and Integration Forum was created as an all-inclusive permanent forum for young Somalis from both Puntland and Galmudug states to brainstorm ways to resolve the prolonged clan- based tensions the region. Without a formal mandate to influence the ongoing peace process,

on 2 October 2017, youth from both sides of Galkayo organized a large school walk-out to build

pressure and demand sustainable peace.[76]

With limited structured formal mechanisms for youth within peace processes, young people take initiatives to influence peace negotiations through informal, often creative, avenues. Young people can be advocates in the promotion of human rights, democracy and peace messages, garnering nationwide media attention through peaceful demonstrations and campaigns, the use of online social media platforms to influence public awareness and opinion including around issues within the peace process negotiations. This is particularly notable through mass mobilizations in the form of protests or street demonstrations, and closely intertwined with social media.

3.6 Conclusion

Young people always want to be the part of change makers. They endeavor to bring changes in social and structure in the society. In many ways, young people are working for peacebuilding but their contribution is seldom mentioned by the researcher and scientists of peace and conflict studies. As all human beings, youth want the basic human needs of 'security, identity, recognition' and space for development. They turn or go for

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[76] Puntland News Agency. Ardayda iskuulada Waqooyiga Iyo Koonfurta Gaalkacyo Oo Maanta Socod ku maray Magaalada Gaalkacyo. 2 Oct, 2017.

violence when they do not get such kind of opportunity in their life. Carrying the perspectives of youth on conflict and peacebuilding can generate new notion and ideas for peacebuilding and inclusion in the peacebuilding process.

Overall, youth in Kenya don't lack the spaces to engage in peacebuilding and there is evidence of agency and creativity in how young people have leveraged their talents to advocate for good governance, and build social cohesion in communities.

CHAPTER FOUR

YOUTH PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESS AND IMPACT IN IMPLEMENTATION OF PEACE AGREEMENTS.

4.0 Introduction

Chapter four critically analyzes the role and meaningful participation of youth in peace process in Kenya and larger horn of Africa region. This chapter will further discuss the hindrance of youth to participation in formal peace processes. It will also examine the importance and role of the young women and men play in the implementation of the peace agreements after a successful conflict management mediation processes.

4.1 Meaningful Participation of Youth in Peace Process

Confirming the strong, coordinated and substantive involvement of young people in peace and security problems is a social and political necessity that seeks to prevent violent conflict. Youth have been viewed as key protagonists in conflicts as participants and recruits in military forces, militias, insurgent forces and as levies in inter-communal conflicts. Youth are also associated with other forms of insecurity in the region such as piracy, illegal migration and various forms of criminality. However, a reductionist and simplifying logic tends to limit the discussion on youth and violent conflicts, viewing youth as either perpetrators or victims.

Young people rarely participate at formal negotiation tables in peace processes. In recent years however, there have been cases where young people were present at the table in different capacities. This was at times motivated by a recognition of young people's peacebuilding and conflict prevention roles. Young people additionally largely constitute the majority of foot soldiers and may have specific expectations from the peace agreement that are separate and unique from their seniors. In cases such as South Sudan and Mali, mediators have reflected on their experience of negotiating with elder members of armed groups, while younger members demanded their share of power.

Tensions and violent conflicts at the grassroots level are usually in a reciprocal relationship with the conflicts at the national or regional levels. Conflicts between the political elite at the national level, in many countries,

seek to manipulate small scale, community-level tensions for self-interested agendas. While manipulation by ruling elites can harm peace at the community level, these ground-level, small scale skirmishes can also contribute and spiral into national and regional-levels of violence. Neglecting the interactions of violence that takes place between different geographical scales can undermine ongoing peace processes. Young people's organic conflict analyses within their environments often anticipates that violence at community-levels can escalate to national or international levels and thereby put peace negotiations at risk or delay conflict parties to reach agreement.[77]

In emergencies and post-conflicts, young people carry out research, advocacy and engaged in humanitarian program and peace process: to distract themselves from thoughts of war and loss, make friends, connect with the international community, gain status and a sense of belonging/ inclusion as part of a group, help themselves and their communities, and develop leadership, research and other work and similarly they come up with increased self-esteem, communication and social skills, knowledge about themselves and their peers and community, solution and ideas for action, connection to one another and key adults, improved community status, a sense of identity and direction, and sense of being better understood by some adults.[78]

The young people in Horn of Africa specifically Kenya often come up with youth- led new and innovative ways in their participation in peace processes and overall peacebuilding. They include initiatives through use of art, music and drama; sports; dialogue and reconciliation; and technology as opposed to the traditional methods of mediation specifically at the grassroots level. Kenyan youth have been known to respond and relate to local music as it often speaks directly to their lived marginal socio-economic and political experiences that are often left out in broader national governance processes. [79] Furthermore Young Kenyans continue to leverage their pivotal role in the development and use of ICT tools to address governance issues and in peace processes.

[77] Autesserre, Séverine. (2016) The responsibility to protect in Congo: the failure of grassroots prevention, International Peacekeeping.
[78] Peacebuilding Initiative, 2008.
[79] Mwangola, M. (2007). "Leaders of Tomorrow? The Youth and Democratization in Kenya - Mshai S. Mwangola." In Kenya: The Struggle for Democracy. Zed Books.

Young Kenyans have incorporated activities that promote dialogue, mediation and reconciliation into their peace advocacy across local communities. Dialogue and reconciliation are particularly crucial in Kenya given the multi-layered nature of security challenges, especially the intersection of ethnic, political, religious and gender identities. Youth-led interventions range from those working nation-wide or across several ethno-communities, to those working in specific contexts. The Peace for Africa and Economic Development (PAD) initiative, which works in ethnically sensitive and low income communities to mutual understanding and constructive participation in democratic processes. The PAD is a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding as empowers young people across ethno-political lines through entrepreneurship and economic development in order to foster mutual understanding, tolerance, cooperation and unity.

Additionally the Kenya Youth Peace Platform (KeYPP), which is a nation-wide community platform for Peace and Civil Society actors promotes a common vision and synergize the efforts of all Kenya youth peace actors to tackle underlying causes of conflict and to create a platform for sustained interactions, shared experiences, concerted efforts and seamless coordination of Kenya Youth Peace Actors. Similarly, the Laikipia Peace Caravan (LPC) operates as a platform for young people from different ethnic groups to travel as a group to volatile and conflict-affected areas to promote peace in Kenya. [80]

The youth in Kenya usually organizes peace meetings in strategic locations such as markets, churches and schools to bring warring communities together to dialogue about conflict issues, after an analysis of the conflict issues. It is evident that youth-led interventions often promote dialogue mediation and reconciliation in specific contexts meant to address specific conflict contexts.

4.2. Hindrance of Youth Participation in Formal Peace Processes

It is known that social isolation is a significant element that causes a regression into violent violence. Young people in Kenya face challenges in their spaces to engage in peace processes. There is indeed evidence of agency and creativity in how young people have leveraged their talents to advocate for good governance, and build social cohesion in communities. Despite youth and youth-led organizations engaged in peacebuilding in

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[80] https://kenyayouthpeaceplatform.wordpress.com/

Kenya and larger Horn of Africa Region face challenges as highlighted below , they have as well achieve important milestones.

In Kenya in urban informal settlements in the capital, Nairobi, diverse young women and men face compounded, entrenched socio-political and socio-economic dynamics of marginalization. This deep-seated exclusion further hinders youth's meaningful inclusion and participation in decision-making processes, and specifically in peace processes. At the national level, in particular in Horn of Africa Region, high-entry barriers to formal politics persist with high-level positions mostly held by older generations. This generational blockage prevents the majority of young people from accessing not only the political spheres, but also formal and informal decision-making processes at national and local levels. Traditional and cultural values and norms tending to associate authority and power with age are still deeply entrenched across the countries' diverse cultures, and fall within a global tendency to associate youth with immaturity.

Difficulties for young people to engage in peace processes lies in the stereotypes around youth and how societies understand them. As an example, the "youth bulge-violence" nexus conflates a surging male youth population with violence and insecurity, thus oversimplifying other variables and building on stereotypes about youth as inherently 'dangerous subjects' with a higher propensity for violence than any other population category.

In the Horn of Africa region especially Kenya is no exception with international and national, state and non-state stakeholders having the tendency to view youth as a problem, and to reduce them and their actions to a simplified construct as either 'perpetrators', 'vulnerable' and/or 'victims'. While youth are often economically vulnerable, and targets of political co-option, this generalization is grounded in a supposed high degree of receptivity to messages and narratives, among young men, and to a lesser extent, young women.[81]

Youth are often perceived as constitute key obstacle to their meaningful inclusion in decision-making processes, including in peace processes. On the one hand, most of these stereotypes can be mobilized to

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[81] LPI is not focusing this submission on experience and practice in Preventing/Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE), it is worth mentioning here that the P/CVE framework is also grounded on this same rationale of youth's supposed higher receptivity to narratives and messages, be they negative or positive/alternative.

restrict the access of youth to the decision-making spheres; on the other hand, these stereotypes contribute to shaping the policies and actions on/for youth, in a way that does not consider their inherent complexity and diversity. These stereotypes and structural exclusion contribute to preventing youth from enhancing their confidence in their own capacities as change agents and actors of the society in their own right.

Structural, social, political, and economic exclusions contribute to reinforcing prevailing negative stereotypes about youth, which, themselves, nurture narratives and practices of exclusion. Stereotyping of youth is both a cause and a result of youth socio-political and socio-economic exclusion. Negative stereotyping of youth seems to be fueled, exploited and relayed at all levels of the society, from grassroots-level community members to decision-makers at the local and national levels.

Most youth effort remains unrecognized and unsupported and represents a huge missed opportunity of support. Youth are eager and interested in engaging and implementing peace and security initiatives, but they lack adequate finances and technical support. Donors place stringent procedures that hinder youth from getting funding to implement peace and security programmes. On the other hand, both national and county governments fail to provide sufficient resources for youth to engage in peace and security interventions.

Despite the intense interventions by the Government, religious organisations, non-state actors and many other stakeholders to curb the problem of drug abuse in Kenya especially in the coast region, the menace seems to be escalating by the day. Most drug abuse among the youth starts in school. Lack of awareness amongst the youth regarding the harmful effects of drug abuse is cited. as one of the main reasons for the youth getting involved in this harmful behavior. Also, extreme poverty in conjunction with childhood behavioural problems are factored for increased risk for drug abuse. There is a close relationship between drug abuse and crime. Drug abusers commit crimes to pay for their drugs and this inflicts damages to the society.

In some cases youth lack capacity and expertise to effectively participate in peace and security processes. Those in authority intentionally fail to provide capacity building opportunities to young people because they are afraid that youth with high skills may surpass and eventually dethrone them. Information and knowledge are critical for effective youth participation. When people are informed they get involved.

Youth should be included in initiatives aiming to address broad societal issues, and not only on 'youth issues' based on stereotypes and assumptions about what youth are interested in and can speak on. Youth, in their plurality, should also have the space to define their issues and act upon them not just sit at the table, but also shape the agenda. This would avoid reinforcing the perception that youth's participation be limited to a narrow agenda, predetermined by non-youth stakeholders. In relation to agenda-setting around prevention and peacebuilding, young people's diverse visions of positive peace in their respective communities, countries and worldwide should co-shape the overall direction of peace processes at all levels.

It is thus critical for actors that is primarily governments to facilitate safe space by providing a conducive enabling environment and striving to avoid designating strong youth initiatives. Co-option, even for formal authorities, is often counterproductive as it makes the initiatives less credible and attractive for young people, and thus less effective as peacebuilding measures. It is not only governments who should take heed on how they engage with young people. At times, efforts to support young people's engagement, initiatives and leadership should initiated by the youth and youth-led organizations themselves at all levels.

4.3 Importance and Role of Youth in the implementation of the peace agreements

Meaningful inclusion of young people in peace processes can enable youth to be recognized as key stakeholders of a peace agreement increasing the perceived legitimacy of the agreement in the eyes of young people and overall population. Several peace accords have featured young people as witnesses and observers both in the negotiation phase and as signatory observers to the peace agreement. Kenya's Nakuru County Peace Accord for example, signed in 2012, was an effort to end several cycles of electoral violence that had been experienced during the 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2008 election years where youth were not included. The Peace Accord highlights youth as part of the signatories to the agreement, following recognition by the elders that young people are key to stability in the region.[82]

On the other hand, observer and witness status may also exacerbate feelings of marginalization. Youth representatives just attending signing ceremony as observers of the agreement often do not make no

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[82] Limo, Irene (2017). Mediation in Africa Is there Space for the Youth? ACCORD.

reference or mention to 'youth' as a key stakeholder. Hence the youth lack a sense of ownership in implementation of the agreement at all levels.

Sustaining peace requires rebuilding relationships and trust between people who were affected by the conflict, and also between people and the institutions of the State. These critical components of societal trust building activities are foundations for positive peace, which are found in young people's engagement in reconciliation efforts. Young people play key roles in raising public awareness and understanding of conflict dynamics within their country promoting the urgency for rebuilding relationships communities marginalized due to harmful impact of violent conflict.

By far, the most visible and formal engagement of non-armed youth in peace process in the Horn of Africa region is in the context of the implementation of South Sudan's Revitalized Peace Agreement which specifically provided for the broaden of spaces for more youth participation at all tracks of dialogue and mediation. The Agreement recognizes the need to expose them to technical skills and capacities to contribute to peace processes, but also to involve them more often in formal peace processes. Addressing youth issues such as unemployment is evident in agreements like Kenya's 2008 agreement.[83]

While the inclusion of young people as observers or witnesses to peace agreements may be a powerful symbol in promoting ownership of the accord, and an easy mechanism through which to include young people, there is little impact if young women and men's voices are not reflected in the agreement itself. Since the youth are the most affected populace and are considered to be both actors and victims in conflicts they are the most capable force to implement the peace agreements.

4.4 Conclusion

Youth should be seen as agents of change both now and not only tomorrow, and be trusted enough to lead and own their peace initiatives. Youth need to be meaningfully included in long-term processes, in particular due to the transitional stage they experience while they are leaders within their communities now, they may also go on to more formal leadership roles. Young people's present-day leadership is rarely seized upon in a

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[83]http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/KE_080523_Kenya%20National%20Dialogue%20and%20Reconciliation%2C%20Statement%20of%20Principles%20on%20Long-term%20Issues%20and%20Solutions.pdf

proactive fashion, and most policies are developed reactively and therefore fail to anticipate contemporary youth challenges, in the face of a constituency that represents the 'moment'. As such a sense of urgency should be strengthened among diverse stakeholders, at all levels.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter mainly focuses on the findings and interpretation of data in accordance with the objectives of the research study. Also there is a detailed presentation of the data collected from the specific respondents

5.1 Methodology

The study was carried out in the city of Nairobi. The sample design was based on a population with fairly accurate statistics in collection of accurate data whereby they reside in the city. The sampling methods applied the respondents were drawn from different areas of Nairobi that is: Kibra, Mathare and Mukuru.

5.2 Details of How Information was Collected

The data collection exercise entailed the use of social science methods of collecting data that is from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data exercise involved use of administered questionnaires and interviews with youth themselves, youth leaders, government stakeholders, civil societies, seasoned and experienced mediators. Most of them were administered through mobile phones due to COVID 19 pandemic outbreak, some face to face depending on the availability of the respondent. The most experienced limitation was on the interviews through mobile phones due to the resources and connectivity issues. The census was made up of 30 representatives from the civil society and 9 key informants who participated in the interviews. The access to the respondents was challenging due to restrictions upheld by the government to curb COVID-19. although some respondents withheld information, the targeted number of respondents

was 40 participants, the number of successful interviews conducted was 35. This was enough to consider because according to (Mugenda & Mugenda,2009) a 50% rate response is enough for making evaluation and reporting; 60% rate is better, 70% response rate is excellent. Meaning the response rate of the study was 97.5% which was sufficient for data interpretation and analysis.

Secondary data was obtained from the analysis of scholars, publications, government and INGOS reports, journals, internet websites and newsletters.

response rate of the study was 97.5% which was sufficient for data interpretation and analysis.

Figure 1: Respondent Rate

Respondents	No. of respondents	Interview percentage (%)
Male	10	28.6
Female	10	28.6
Youths (both male and female)	15	42.9
TOTAL	35	100

Table 1: showing respondent rates.

5.3 Demographic Information

This study also wanted to determine the gender distribution of respondents. The outcome on table Figure: 2 implies that most of the respondents at 59.5% were male and women respondents were 40.5% specific key informants were also included on the gender demographic information. The difference in percentage was not much thus it did not influence the outcome of the study towards any gender. The findings are illustrated in the table below.

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Figure 2 : Demographic Information

Gender of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Male	23	59.5
Female	12	40.5
Total	**35**	**100**

Table 2: demographic information

5.4 Interviews Age Bracket

The respondents required entering their age brackets, with the majority of respondents between the ages of 18-25 representing 25.7 percent, followed by 20 -30, which represented 45.7 percent, then between the ages of 31-40 representing 17.1 percent, while those aged 41-50 contributed 11.4 percent. The youngest respondent in the interview were the 2 youths. This shows that most respondents are youth in 20-30 age bracket. The older persons from 42-50 age bracket respondents proved to be well informed and had rich experiences on peacebuilding.

Figure 3: Percentages of all the Age Gaps

Age bracket (in years)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
18-25	16	25.7
20-30	9	45.7
31-40	6	17.1
41-50	4	11.4

Total	35	100

Table 3: Age gaps of the respondents

Figure 4: Youth Participation in Violence and Peacebuilding Processes
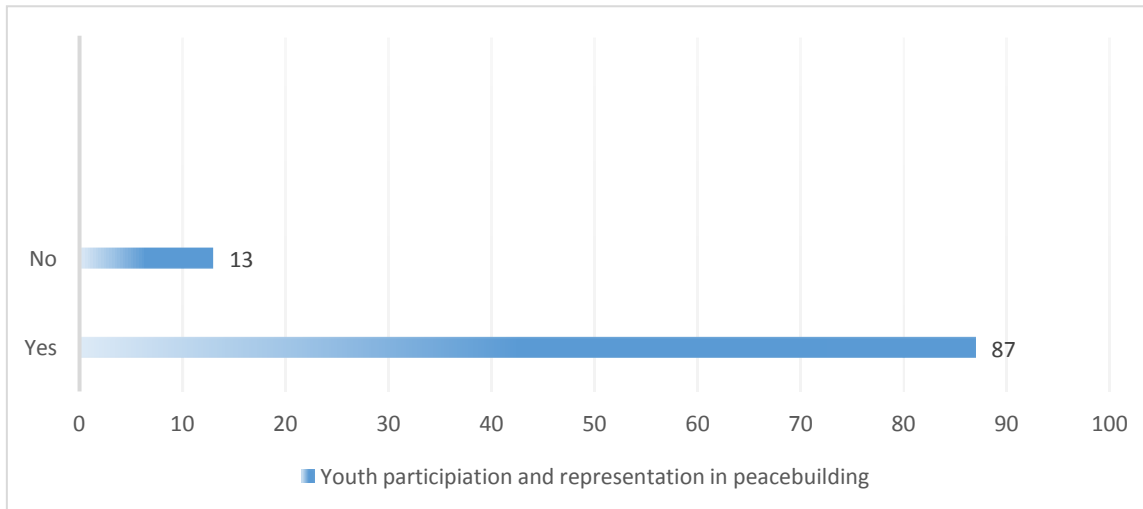
With regard to youth participation in peacebuilding, the respondents were asked if they have participated in peacebuilding initiatives or meetings. Eighty-seven percent of the respondents were likely to participate in peacebuilding. It was evident that majority of the youth are not involved in violence but rather in peacebuilding.

According to the study, at the community levels already there are Peace Ambassadors who play an active role in local peace dialogue committees. They bring youth leaders, government, and security officials together to discuss youth role in security and peacebuilding efforts. The community dialogues may include sports for peace events, music and dance, drama, and advocating joint youth peace initiatives that promote dialogue and reconciliation. Additionally the

youth led peace organization at the community and national level promote youth awareness and active participation in peacebuilding activities through its peace outreach activities. These organization also seeks ways to strengthen youth voices and participation in advocating peaceful coexistence, and conflict management.

5.5 Barriers to Youth Participation in peace process

There are actual barriers that stand in the way of actual youth participation in mediation and formal peace process in Kenya according to the research. These barriers can be classified into political, social and economic barriers. Despite the youth being creative, energetic, willing to act and can be great change-makers, there are some hindrances that they face with regards to participation in peace processes. They include: Social marginalization where young women and men who are closer to authorities and at the centre are more likely to receive greater access and support, whereas many who are involved in initiatives at the very local level away from the centre and authorities are less known or recognized. Also, marginalized young men and young women may not have access to resources to have their voices heard and make contributions in peace process both formal and their communities getting further marginalized.

Another hindrance is of Intergenerational gap. There are often misunderstandings between the youth and adults, with conditions made unfavourable for youth to have a voice and make positive contributions in formal peace process and in the communities. Young women and men are culturally perceived as not being capable of holding decision-making responsibilities and are ignored because adults and elders dominate with the idea that they know best. Some leaders exhibit low tolerance for dissent and actively marginalized youth, who may respond by forming their own youth led peace organizations or communities.

Technical and financial support is another barrier for youth participation in peacebuilding according to research. Young people are eager and interested in engaging and implementing peace and security initiatives, but they lack adequate finances and technical support to do so. Additionally most of the youth effort remains unrecognized, undocumented and unsupported and represents a huge missed opportunity of support. Donors place stringent procedures that hinder youth from getting funding to implement peace and security programmes either at the grass root or national levels. On the other hand, both national and county governments fail to provide sufficient resources for youth to engage in peace and security interventions.

Majority of youth a politically disengaged especially in decision making processes. Long-term disengagement of youth can negatively impact the social cohesion of communities as well as their meaningful participation in peace and security. If youth are not politically engaged, often they are more likely to feel disenfranchised and frustrated. Also, efforts to engage youth fail to acknowledge that the youth is not a homogenous group as often treated and that individuals experience different obstacles and opportunities that uniquely affect their civil, political, and socioeconomic rights.

Young women and men lack capacity and expertise in some cases to engage and participate in matters peace and security particularly peace processes. Peace and security stakeholders intentionally fail to provide capacity building opportunities to young people because they are afraid that youth with high skills may surpass and eventually dethrone them. Information and knowledge are critical for effective youth participation. When people are informed they get involved. Most youth are unaware of existing polices and legal framework that mandated them to participate in peace processes. Additionally youth are often marginalized and excluded in peace

processes specifically mediation but on the other hand they are expected to implement the peace agreements.

Barriers to Youth Participation in Peace Process
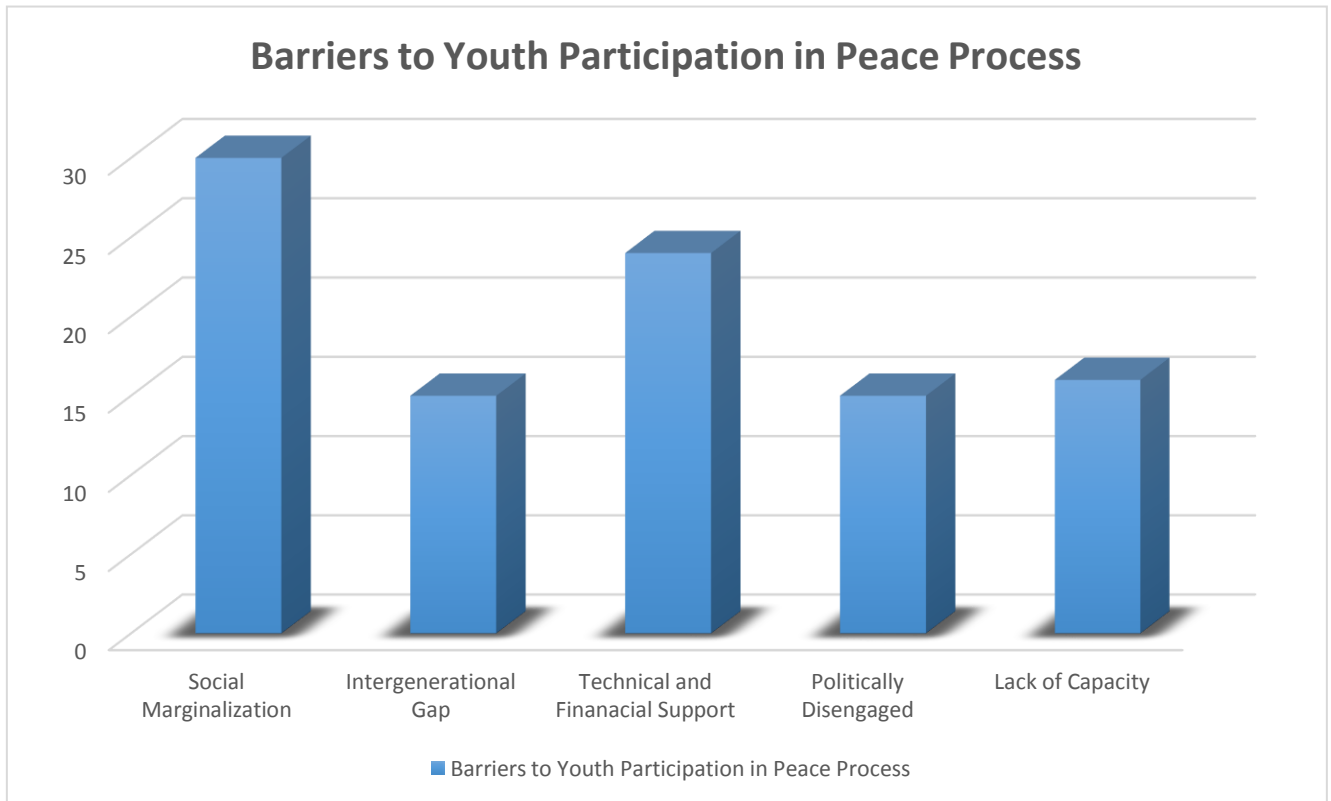
5.6 Ways to Youth Participation in peace process

The study established the role and meaningful participation in peace process especially in through the uses of new innovative and creative mechanisms in peace processes. The youth are seen as trail blazers and vital source of information in matters peace processes. This justifies the need to give youth space and opportunities to engage meaningfully in peace processes since the youth have first-hand experience in the current challenges that they face being the most affected population. It was evident that the inclusion and meaningful participation in peace processes especially in mediation is crucial for the achievement of sustainable peace as well as implementation of peace agreements.

The respondents highlighted means and key issues to advancing and advocating for youth inclusion and meaningful participation in peace processes. They include: Provision of Capacity Development and Technical Support to the Youth. Young people recognize and do seize opportunities for peacebuilding. It is necessary to provide youths with training opportunities to take an active part in peace processes. With their youthful energy and capabilities, and ability of adaptation to new technological trends, for example, youths could act as lead -mediators, community mobilisers, humanitarian workers and peace brokers. Like any particular conflict affected population group, the mobilisation of youths' capacities requires a targeted and long-term approach. However, greater support could be provided in supporting implementation of strategies, coordination, and programming to youth-led peace initiatives. Providing support structures for actors in peace and security processes can substantially enhance their influence and quality contributions to negotiations.

Advocacy, awareness raising and documentation of in peacebuilding efforts. Meaningful inclusion of young men and young women in peace and security processes efforts requires generation and strategic dissemination of research and resources highlighting their instrumental role in building sustainable peace and security from the inception to implementation of Peace agreements. Advocacy and awareness raising regarding the positive impact that young men and women have in peace and security efforts need to be considerably enhanced and widely disseminated, to mitigate the pervasive stereotypes that lock out youth. Efforts should be made to sensitize all and sundry to ensure understanding and buy into the importance of inclusion of youth from diverse backgrounds in advocacy and decision making spaces.

Localization and implementation of UN Security Council Resolutions on Youth Peace and Security and other legislative polices and frame works was highlighted as a means. National and

county governments should localized and implement UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 2250, 2419 and 2535 on youth, peace and security, securing the necessary financial and other resources, and developing long-term national and county action plans, with the involvement of young people and youth organisations in their design, implementation and evaluation. Additionally, implementation of resolution 1325 on women peace and security is crucial as well.

Development of a Framework for Youth Engagement in Peace and Security Processes was also point out during the study. The need for county frameworks to guide efforts to enhance youth participation in building peace and promoting security in Nairobi county cannot be overstated. The policies should put in place infrastructure for effective youth participation in peace and security processes, taking into account unique county and conflict contexts. The infrastructure should propose systems for youth representation and engagement in peace and security platforms. Equally important, county youth policies should align to the Kenya National Youth Development Policy and include provisions on youth peace and security.[84]

An interviewee stressed that:

"*There is need for the youth themselves to support their on peace lead initiatives as well as collaborate rather than compete and most importantly support peer-to-peer mentorships*"

5.7 Conclusion

Young Kenyan's in Nairobi Country roles and contributions to peace and security are largely localized, focused on specific issues and contexts. From the study majority of the respondents were male at 59.5%. It was evident that the imbalance is of the result of women especially young women based on stereotypes and cultural/traditional roles assigned to them. Despite this in Kenya

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[84] Kenya National Youth Development Policy.

there are signs of increasing young women participation and representation in youth-led peacebuilding processes. In most cases, youth-led peacebuilding interventions are sub-national, rather than a top-down exercise. This has its positives, and perhaps possible drawbacks. Of importance is that it makes the majority of youth-led initiatives to be fairly sustainable, even in the context of limited finances, context-specific, and reflects local needs and expectations at all track levels.

CHAPTER SIX

DISSCUSION, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to represent the study in terms of the findings, provide a consequent conclusion and recommendations based on the research objectives and questions.

6.1 Summary of Findings

The findings of the study denotes youth as agents of positive change and demands both National and County government, mediators, regional and international organizations, and civil society to move from normative commitments to operational action on youth inclusion and participation in peace processes. Additionally Youth-led organizations and young peace builders should take greater ownership and leadership roles to build partnerships, conduct advocacy, and undertake participatory research to strengthen youth inclusivity in peace processes.

It is evident from the study that youth have been at the forefront in fostering peace using various new innovative and creative methods, particularly mediation, dialogue, and peace workshops specifically at the community level. Conflicts recur because of the adoption of ineffective methods of peace building and reconciliation, ethnic animosity and lack of youth involvement, political incitement and poverty. Conflicts disrupt the social fabric that holds the society together. The study also established that inclusion of youth and their meaningful participation in mediation and peace building is inevitable if long lasting peace is to be attained. In a multi-ethnic society, all actors should ensure that they use a comprehensive approach that appreciates the diversity of cultural worldviews.

Analyzing the roles and contributions of youth to peacebuilding in Kenya is not without conceptual and empirical limitations. There are limited knowledge and whereabouts on resolutions on youth peace and security such as UNSCR 2250 as well as other polices and legal frameworks that mandate and give direction on youth participation in peace and security. Hence the governments and security stake holders as well as youth-led peace organizations should localize, create awareness and build capacity of such existing polices and legal frameworks on youth peace and security.

Based on the findings youth are often excluded and marginalized in peace processes, and if included there often engaged as "rubber stamps" and often do not get the opportunity to articulate youth issues that affect them or even lead mediation processes despite being the most affected population. In spite of all these the youth are the ones whom are expected to implement the peace agreements being the majority population despite not being engaged during the dialogue and mediation processes. Hence it is important to include the youth and enable them to meaningful participation from the inception consultative stage to the signing and implementation of peace agreements. This will enable bring a sense of ownership in implementation of the agreement amongst the youth themselves, as well as facilitate the achievement of sustainable peace.

However, the respondents pointed out the challenges that hinder youth participation in peace process in Kenya which include: Social marginalization; unwillingness by decision makers to institutionalize youth issues; Intergenerational gap; Lack of Technical and financial support; lack capacity and expertise and; Political disengagement of the youth.

6.2 Conclusion

Following a detailed study and analysis of the role and meaningful participation of youth in peace processes specifically mediation in Nairobi Kenya, several conclusions can be drawn.

The stereotype on youth as perpetrators of violence often overshadows their potential as actors of positive change. Cultural practices downplay the role of the youth in peace processes and decision making. More experienced peace stake holders and older members of community are mainly obligated with decision making. For young women, a patriarchal society and retrogressive cultural practices hinders their participation in decision making.

In order to achieve sustainable peace and legitimization in implementation of peace processes there young women and men ought to be included and meaningful participate in the processes at all stages up to the implementation stage. Furthermore youth should be accorded the space or rather create the spaces to led peace processes. There is great need to provide technical and financial support to youth led initiatives in peace building as well as capacity building amongst the youth.

Young peacebuilders are hindered by inadequate capacity or training in peace processes in Kenya. There are systemic barriers in legal mechanisms that obstruct youth inclusion and participation in peacebuilding. Moreover, the lack of critical information pertaining to peacebuilding both at community, national and regional level delinks track I peace initiatives implemented by government and track III peace initiatives implemented by young peacebuilders. There is need to improve channels of communication hindering important dissemination of information.

6.3 Recommendations

The youth in Kenya don't lack the spaces to engage in peacebuilding and there is evidence of agency and creativity in how young people have leveraged their talents to advocate for good governance, and build social cohesion in communities and national levels.

Much of existing literature are focused on civil society groups, especially international peacebuilding organizations; the role of government and the UN systems; and macro-level (strategic level peacebuilding involving high-level diplomats and mediators). Hence there is need as well to document youth led peace initiatives that builds capacity and shows the works of the in peace process at the Track I, Track II and Track III levels. Although youth have been working with different organizations which are the stakeholders of peacebuilding, the contributions of youth never got evaluated separately which fade their contributions and increase the contributions of organizations with whom they work. Therefore the documentation of youth peace works is paramount.

There is need for peace and security stake holders in Kenya and seasoned mediators to embrace the many avenues for youth's meaningful participation and representation in peace processes. The various efforts in the country trying to build a culture of community mediation and peaceful existence should be recognized and encouraged. Peace meetings, exposure tours and exchange visits are some of the ways to achieve this objective. Grass root partnerships are better placed to bring on board a broad and representative participation especially the youth and women, whose potential in prevention of conflicts remain untapped.

There is a policy void in relation to the roles and contributions of youth to peacebuilding in Kenya. The National Youth Policy only tangentially recognizes and covers the potential and actual roles of youth peacebuilding in Kenya. Worse still, it is implementation is lacking. A new national policy framework for youth in peacebuilding is required to articulate, recognize and provide legal protection to youth groups involved in peacebuilding in Kenya. This will be in addition to reviewing and updating, and implementing the national youth policy. The recommended policy framework will also highlight legally-binding obligations on a variety of stakeholders, including

the government of Kenya (national and county levels), private sector, civil society groups, development agencies. Also they will be tasked with the localization and implementation of resolutions on youth peace and security such as UNSCR 2250 and other regional and nation policies and legislative frameworks.

There is need to promote youth inclusivity in formal decision-making processes and institutions to ensure prioritization of youth issues in Kenya being the most affected population. The reality of inaction of the draft national youth policy reflects its minimal prioritization, as well as the lack of voice and representation by young people in formal processes and institutions of decision-making across Kenya. Additionally there is need for establishment of a trust fund specifically for youth in peacebuilding. This will address the high degree of uncertainties, as well as the limitations imposed by the lack of funding on youth potential contributions to peace and security in Kenya.

Governments and partners should address the social and economic grievances faced by youth whether they are in the areas of social services, education, employment opportunities, or security and justice. Much more attention has to be paid to the youth by increasing opportunities for education, employment and political participation.

Indeed for sustainable peace to be achieved there is need for meaningful participation of young women and men in formal peace processes from the inception meetings and consultative meeting stage to the implementation of the peace agreements rather than just being used as "handymen/women" for implantation. Additionally it is important to change the narrative of young people as perpetrators and victims of violence "youth-bulge" rather as agents of positive change in attainment of sustainable peace and security.

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APPEDIX I

TOOL 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE ON:

THE ROLE OF THE YOUTH IN PEACE PROCESSES WITH A FOCUS IN MEDIATION: A CASE OF HORN OF AFRICA, KENYA NAIROBI COUNTY.

Dear Sir/Madam

The researcher is carrying out a study on the Role of Youth in Peace Processes with a focus in Mediation: a case of Horn of Africa, Kenya Nairobi County.

Your positive and constructive in answering the following questions will greatly assist in making the study a success in terms of obtaining reliable data and recommendations. The research findings is intended to build capacity, facilitate the formulation of polices and legislation as well as well as point out the areas of intervention that will increase youth participation in peace processes.

Please fill in the appropriate answer against each statement.

Demographic

Sex (tick) 1 = Male   2 = Female

Age Bracket 1 = (18 -25)   2 = (26 – 35)   3 = (36 – 45)   4= (46 – 55)   5 = 56+

Occupation (Please specify) …………………………………………………………………..

What is your understanding of youth? …………………………………………………………..

What is the youth age bracket in this country? ………………………………………………….

Level of education attained a. Primary [ ] b. Secondary [ ] c. Post-Secondary Training [ ]

A. Youth as Important Actors in Peace Processes

1. Do you think youth should be represented and participate in peace processes ?

   Yes ☐   No ☐   It does not matter   ☐

   If Yes, why? ………………………………………………………………………

   If No, why? ………………………………………………………………………..

2. In what capacities have youth been involved in mediation involving conflicts?

   As mediators ☐   As lead negotiators   ☐   As part of mediation teams   ☐

   As Observers ☐   As Signatories   ☐   As part of negotiation teams   ☐

   As informants to mediators   ☐   As part of pressure/lobby Groups   ☐

   As part of implementation committees/commissions   ☐   I do not know   ☐

3. Do you know any youth who have been part of peace processes or talks in your area ?

   Yes ☐   No ☐

   If Yes, please give us more information like;

   a. How many youth were involved? …………………………………………..

b. What were their exact roles?

    1 = Mediators

    2 = Facilitators

    3 = Participants

    4 = Parties to the conflicts

    5 = I do not know

    6 = Other roles (Specify) …………………………………………….

4. Do you think there is adequate documentation and information/data of youth representation and participation in peacebuilding in the country?

Yes ☐   No ☐

If Yes, give some examples of documents capturing the youth participation

If No, why?

5. In your opinion, what would you recommend as the best approach for youth involvement and participation in peace processes?

Yes ☐   No   ☐

B. Awareness of UNSCR 2250 and other institutional frameworks effective supporting youth participation in formal peace process

1. In your country, what is the general view of youth in peace and conflict contexts?

   1 = Agents of peace

   2 = Agents of conflict protagonists.

   3 = No role in peacebuilding

   4 = Never thought about it

   5 = Other (Specify) ……………………………

2. Are you aware of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 2250 (2015) on Youth Peace and Security and its provisions?

   Yes   No ⬭

   It does not matter   ⬭

3. Do you know if your government has adopted UNSCR 2250 (2015) on Youth Peace and Security ?

   Yes ⬭   No ⬭

   If Yes, what has been its impact in youth inclusion in peace process?

   a. At the National level

      i. Very significant [ ] ii. Significant [ ] iii. Moderately [ ] iv. Low [ ]

   b. At the grassroots level

      i. Very significant [ ] ii. Significant [ ] iii. Moderately [ ] iv. Low [ ]

4. Are youth aware of any national polices and institutional frameworks that support youth participation in peace processes?

Yes ☐   No   ☐

Please give examples:

 Yes …………………………………………………………………………

 No …………………………………………………………………………..

5. Do you that youth lack capacity to participate in formal peace processes?

Yes ☐   No ☐

Please give examples:

 Yes …………………………………………………………………………

 No …………………………………………………………………………..

6. In your opinion, what are the challenges that youth face in their participation in formal Peace Processes?

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

……………………………………………

………………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………..

7. In your opinion, what opportunities do you think are there for youth to take part in decision making in peace processes and in the agreements?

……

………………………………………………

……

………………………………………..

C. Role of Youth in Implementation of Peace Agreements

1. In the country, do you think youth issues are included in the peace talks and in the peace agreements reached?

Yes☐   No☐

If Yes, which issues? ………………………………………………………….

If No, why? …………………………………………………………………………..

2. Are there any issues that youth find it hard to bring to the peace talks?

Yes☐   No☐

If Yes, which issues?

8. What is the impact of inclusion of youth issues in peace talks and agreements?

………………………………………………………………………………………

6. Do you think having youth or youth groups or youth-led organizations as signatories to peace agreements in the country help in enhancing participation of youth in the implementation of peace agreements?

Yes☐   No☐

7. Do you think peacebuilding initiatives by youth-led and youth-focused organizations are effective?

Yes☐   No☐

8. Do you think youth issues are adequately implemented during implementation of agreements?

Yes☐   No☐

9. Are there follow up mechanisms to ensure youth issues in peace agreements are implemented or adhered to?

Yes☐   No☐

9. In your opinion, what would you recommend as the best approach for youth involvement and participation in peace building?

    …….

    …….

10. What are some of the possible ways of ensuring meaningful participation and inclusion of youth in peacebuilding?

    ……

    ………..

Thank you for your time and cooperation. I appreciate your feedback.

APPEDIX 11

TOOL 2: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE

This tool will be administered to: government stake holders civil, societies, youth leaders and youth led peace organization as well as seasoned and lead mediators. This guide will also allow to probe/ask additional questions to seek clarity.

The researcher considers your input very important in ensuring inclusion and meaningful role that youth play in peace processes.

1. How do you understand the efforts of youth in mediation process?

   ....
   ....
   ....

2. How do you enact/localize the mediation policies on peace building?

   ....
   ....
   ....

3. Kindly describe the challenges faced by youth during peace process?

   ....
   ....
   ....

4. Your understanding of the UNSCR 2250 (2015) on Youth peace and security within your country?

....

....

....

5. Is youth participation and inclusion essential in ensuring sustainable peacebuilding process?

....

....

....

6. Ways to build capacity of Youth in matters peace processes and their role?

....

....

....

7. Briefly describe the complimentary approaches effective in peace building?

....

....

....