UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACE BUILDING IN SOMALIA

BY

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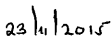
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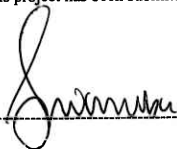
This research study is my original work and has not been presented for any award to any other institution.

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Balqesa Abdi Yussuf   **Date**

This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as The University supervisor.

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Dr. Anita Kiamba   **Date**

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DEDICATION

With love to My Parents and my entire family members whom we have tested the depths of this water together. Thank you and God bless you!

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I take this earlier opportunity to thank Allah who guided me all through, I appreciate the role, guidance and the scholarly input of my supervisor. I also feel indebted much to acknowledge the collective efforts and prayers from my family members and friends who have motivated me in one way or the other, I appreciate your encouragement, love and financial support and most importantly prayers without which I wouldn't have come this far

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All Glory is onto the ALMIGHTY ALLAH.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIAI	Al Ittihad Al Islamiya
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AQ	Al-Qaeda
CfW	Cash for Work
COPA	Coalition for Peace in Africa
CR	Cash Relief
DDR	Disarm, Demobilize and Reintegrate
EU	European Union
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
GECPD	Galkayo Education Center for Peace and Development
HR	Human Resources
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
ICM	International Conflict Management
ICWPP	First World War by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace
IDIS	Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies
IMF	International Monetary Fund,
IT	Information Technology
LPI	Life and Peace Institute
MISP	Minimum Initial Services Package
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
OAS	Organization of American States
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PWPI	Puntland Women Peace Initiative
SSN	Social Safety Nets
SWWB	Somali Women without borders
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNOSOM	United Nations Operation in Somalia
WAWA	We Are Women Activist
WB	World Bank
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

ABSTRACT

Peace building has become increasing important as a means of preventing continuing hostilities among previously warring factions. However, peace building strategies or designs have not fully recognized the particular needs of women and have not acknowledged the significance of women's contributions to peace building in war torn communities. In Somalia, women responded to this marginalization by initiating unique peace building mechanisms and making space for themselves during the process of rebuilding. This report therefore looks at the role women in Puntland play in peace building framework including security, governance, relief and development and reconciliation. It further looks at the traditional peace building effort taken by women and the importance of women during peace building, and outlining some of the concerns, problems and limitations that plague the peace building process in the post-war setting. It then turns to an examination of women's role in peace building in one case study, namely Galkayo, Bosaso and Garowe of Puntland region of Somalia. The study is significant because it demonstrates the integral role women play in the peace building process in Somalia. While marginalized from traditional peace building processes, women's experiences and knowledge of building peace in post-conflict have the potential to contribute to and improve a more inclusive peace building design that may result in increased effectiveness for future operations.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

Peace building means initiative taken during the post conflict period in order to rebuild societies and prevent a repeat of violence. During the peace building process, efforts are made to achieve sustainable human security[1] through rebuilding institutions and infrastructure. This allows for communication and diplomacy to develop and reinforce societies' abilities to manage conflicts without necessarily going into violence. The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security defines 'Human security' as the "vital core of all human lives in ways that enhances human freedoms and fulfillment," and also states that, "human security is far more than the absence of violent conflict. It encompasses human rights, good governance and access to economic opportunity, education and health care. It is a concept that comprehensively addresses both "freedom for fear" and 'freedom for want, design strategies for accomplishing successful peace building in societies which had endured years of conflict focus on five main areas. These are: security, governance, relief and development, reconciliation, and international support.[2] The first, security, entails ending violence, protecting those affected by violence, and enforcing human rights. The second, governance, requires building institutional capacities, transparency, judicial reforms and policy development.

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[1] The United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security defines 'Human security' as the "vital core of all human lives United Nations Trust Fund for Human Security, "Human Security," www.ochaonline.un.org/default.aspx, Date (accessed July 10th, 2015).
[2] David Last, "Organizing for Effective Peace building, "Peacekeeping and Conflict Resolution (Oregon: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 85; group.org/home/index.cfm? Id=3771&1=1 (Date Accessed: May 19, 2015).

The third, relief and development include building economic, market, and social infrastructures. The fourth, reconciliation addresses the reintegration of displaced persons and refugees, peace education, and trauma support for communities[6] and finally, the fifth, international support must be provided through financial and logistical assistance during these peace building efforts outlined above. Through a focus on the first four of the areas mentioned above (the fifth category of international support is omitted as this study is more narrow and local in scope),[7] this project will illustrate women and peace building in Somalia and their role that may have positively or even negatively impacted the process of managing the conflict in Somalia. It will focus on or draw on case studies from Puntland state of Somalia, specifically Bosaso, Garowe and Galkayo district to illustrate the great role women play in each of these areas as far as managing conflict and peace building effort is concerned.

Peace building missions and efforts have focused on emphasizing factors as security and governance to prevent these potentially volatile situations from erupting into full-fledged conflicts. This approach, however, has neglected the gendered dimensions of peace building. That is, it does not recognize the particular needs of women during the peace building phase, nor does it acknowledge their role in contributing to effective peace building.

Demographically, the civil war has altered the clan settlement patterns in Somalia. Strong clans have occupied valuable urban and agricultural real estate by force.[5] The patterns of clan settlements have changed mainly in the urban and arable areas such as Juba Valley, Lower

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[3] Ibid
[4] Ibid
[5] Urban land is sought as it brings wealth due to real estate development, business opportunities, etc., while rich agricultural land is desired due to its potential for cash crop cultivation.

Shabelle, and Mogadishu. These areas have undergone substantial changes due to heavy infusions of non-resident clans supported by their militias[6]. In South Central Somalia, for example, valuable agricultural land, urban real estate and seaports, have been taken over by armed clans for economic gains.

These strong clans have grabbed rich plantations and real estate owned by agricultural clans and indigenous groups, often leading to their displacement, or worse still, their enslavement. The displaced are forced to move out of traditional lands into new areas, thus changing demographic constitutions. In addition, labor migrants, hurt by worsened pastoral livelihoods mainly due to the livestock ban, have fled their homes to seek economic opportunities in new areas. While the displaced and impoverished were initially resented by resident populations in the areas in which they sought refuge, over a period of time, they have settled into their new homes and contributed to the improvement of the economy, these clan groups, particularly those that originally came from Puntland, voluntarily migrated to their traditional clan territories to escape conflict. A significant number of clan members from Puntland transited through Yemen to settle in America, Australia and Scandinavia, but an equally large number became increasingly involved in local businesses and trade in Puntland.[7] Thus, competition for control of power and resources has significantly changed clan boundaries in many parts of the country with new clans consolidating their position on occupied lands. It is likely that one of the difficult issues a new government will have to address is the impact of the changed structure of clan distribution on state and societal relations, which could potentially fuel several forms of conflict groups."

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[6] ICG Africa Report No. 59: "Negotiating a Blueprint for Peace in Somalia," March 6, 2003.
[7] Roland Marchal, The Private Sector: Its Role in Governance, UNDP, Nairobi, August 2000.

1.2 Problem Statement

The study investigates role of women in peace building in Somalia and in the specific region of Puntland Somalia. For a long time, women have been sidelined in the decision making process a situation attributed to age old cultural practices in the Somali society. The marginalization of women grew with the outbreak of the war in 1991 and since then no significant effort has been made to promote their participation in the ongoing efforts to restore peace in the country. In addition, their efforts are neither recognized nor appreciated in the patriarchal society regardless of the effort they have shown in bringing peace in Somalia.

The peace processes to manage the conflict have not yielded an effective control of the conflict because the main actors that participated were the warlords who in the eyes of the Somalis were responsible for their misery and perpetual continuation of the conflict and gave little attention to other actors such as the civil society because the conveners of the process thought that those wielding power in the conflict will be the best people to chart the destiny of the country. However, these initiatives have failed to bring peace to the Somali conflict.

The study therefore asks what mediation and reconciliation step the women played in managing the Somalia conflict and building long term relationship through women in the war torn country of Somalia

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 Overall Objective of the Study

The overall objective of the study was to examine how women take their role in peace building in Puntland Somalia during the study period of 1994-2014

1.3.2 Specific Objectives of the Study:

The study's specific objectives was to:

1. Provide an overview of the Somali conflict and the role of women in peace building

2. Analyze the role women play and the strategies they use in peace building process in Puntland, Somalia.

3. Explore the traditional methods of peace building in Puntland, Somalia

1.4 Literature Review

The purpose of literature review was to gain a deeper understanding of the concept of peace building and conflict management. The report made a review of past studies, examined capacity of women to build peace, methods used by women to build peace and manage conflict, the impact of women's peace conflict management and building efforts, a critical review and a summary of the review. The review will be done by seeking relevant literature from libraries and the internet.

Discourses on women, war and peace advance two schools of thoughts: essentialism and constructivism. Skjelsbaek and Smith argue that when dealing with areas of gender roles, the two opposing views provide a starting point.[8] The field of war, peace-making and conflict resolution from a gendered perspective requires us to think of core individual and social identities irrespective of behavioral stereotypes and generalizations about people by nationality, social class, ethnicity or gender.[9]

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[8] IngerSkjelsbaek and Dan Smith, eds. Gender, Peace and Conflict (London: SAGE Publication, 2001),47.
[9] Dan Smith, "The Problem of Essentialism" in Gender, Peace and Conflict, 33.

Smith argues that essentialists base their argument on the notion that some objects possess static characteristics and that the behaviors and values · of men and women are different by nature[10]Skjelsbaek argues that essentializing gender will mean that men are exclusively masculine and women are exclusively feminine. According to this thought, the relationship of women to war and peace can be looked at along gender lines using the gender lenses. The perception that it is men who fight wars, and so it is men who should make peace, however, does not reflect the realities of war and peace, but rather reinforces gender stereotypes of women, as a weaker sex in need of a male's protection. Women have been invisible for a long time on issues concerning conflict/war and peace-making. They have been seen as victims or relegated to the role of mothers, sisters, and wives, or even the role of nurse.[11] However, looking at peace building and conflict resolution from a critical gendered perspective, it is clear that women have been and are active participants in issues of peacemaking and conflict resolution.[12] Apparently, geopolitical changes have altered wars and conflicts over time.

According to Enole, men are persuaded to participate in conflict generally, as well as in the militarization of ethnic nationalism through the assertion that their manhood, that is the masculine ideal, can only be validated through military participation.[13] Thus, the notion of militarized men or rather, masculinity, is termed positive while the feminine is understood as negative. This is reflected in traditional theories regarding gender and conflicts. Gender roles are dichotomized: men, viewed as soldiers or warriors, exercised power over women not only during wars and during conflicts but also in other times. Women, seen as civilians, contrary to men,

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[10] IngerSkjelsbaek and Dan Smith, eds. Gender, Peace and Conflict (London: SAGE Publication, 2001),47.
[11] Dan Smith, "The Problem of Essentialism" in Gender, Peace and Conflict, 33.
[12] Ibid. , 49
[13] Mariam Cooke and Roshni Rustomji-Kerns, eds. Blood into Ink: South Asian and Middle Eastern Women Write War (San Francisco: Western Press, 1994), 4.

were to stay at home.[14] This explains the reason why men feminize the enemy and commit rape against women symbolically, and too often literally. They use gender psychologically to symbolize domination in order to assume a masculine and dominant position during wars and conflicts.[15] However, there have been men who perform duties that are socially constructed as belonging to females and vice versa. Thus, essentialism does not have room for change and relies on the idea that people remain essentially unchanged throughout their lives. The constructivists' theorists use this fact. Skjelsbaek, in "Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful?" in Gender, Peace and Conflict, sees the world and individuals as constantly transforming and not fixed. Skjelsbaek argues that individual characters are products of social construction. In other words, individuals are shaped by certain historical and cultural phenomena[16]. Thus the social constructivist's gives room for change in our evolving world making it possible for women to assume male roles socially and politically.

A specific example of this is discussed by Handrahan, She confirms that during conflicts, despite their ethnic differences, women have been capable of bonding with others and relate well to each other. She writes, "Women are willing to cross ethnic boundaries and work together in situations of ethnic conflicts."[17] According to Handrahan, women have had more sense of their gender identity than their ethnic identity. They understand ethnicity differently from men whose understanding is more inclined to the concept of "citizenship" and political "representation."

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[14] Mariam Cooke and Roshni Rustomji-Kerns,
[15] Cynthia Enole, *Does Khaki Become You? The Militarization of Women's Lives* (London: Pandora Press, 1998),
[16] Jean Elshtain, "The Cultural Construction and Reconstruction of the Maternal Image" in *Representations of Motherhood*, eds. Donna Bassin, Margaret Honey and Meryle Mahrer Kaplan (New Haven: Yale University Press 1994), 9.
[17] Sheila Meintjes, Annu Pillay and Meredeth Turshen, eds. *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transformation* (London: Zed Books, 2002), 39.

Therefore, women are less attached to the concept of ethnicity than men. Perhaps, these two factors have made women better peacemakers.

In order to contextualize African women's role in peace building, it is important to understand its history. According to Targs the history of women's involvement in war and peace as pioneered in the U.S and Europe can be traced back to 1915, to protests against the First World War by the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace (ICWPP).[18] The organization later changed its name to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).[19] Women in Europe and the U.S. started working for peace in the early twentieth century, but scholarly consideration of women, war and peace took shape in the 1970s with the growth of women's history, peace studies and women's studies.[20] Some of these works include Rupp's work[21]. Rupp discusses international women's movements from their origins in the early twentieth century. Like Targ, she confirms that the WILPF was one of the radical, internationally recognized women's organizations. About early women activists, Rupp argues that they referred to "themselves as 'mother-hearts, guardians, nurses and preservers,' 'mothers of the human race,' 'carriers of life,'... [they] assumed that their gender united them behind the cause of peace."[22] However, her focus on only women in North America and Europe leaves women's agency in the Third World unexplored. Marx and Mari did another important study on women's movements.[23] Drawing from post-colonial and traditional feminist scholarship, the authors

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[18] Inger Skjelsbaek, "Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful?" in *Gender, Peace and Conflict*, 50-52.
[19] L.M.Handrahan, "Gendering Ethnicity in Kygyzstan: Forgotten Element in Promoting Peace and Democracy," *Humanitarian Work* 9, no.3 (2001), 74.
[20] Marlene Targ, *Women for Peace* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1997), 67.
[21] Targ, 72.
[22] Anne Marie Pois, "Perspective on Twentieth Century Women's International Activism: Peace, Feminism and Foreign Policy," *Journal of Women's History* 11, no.3 (1999), 213.
[23] Leila Rupp, Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

vividly analyze the connections between feminism and globalization, national women's movements, transitional politics, as well as activism in the twenty-first century. The authors, for example, unlike Rupp's shed light on African women's movements, particularly in the chapter by Adams, [24]

Another compelling addition to the growing literature on global feminism is Alexander et. al[25] Who argues that although the growth of African women's history is recent, the African women's involvement in peacemaking is not a new idea. Contemporary ideas about women's involvement in such roles, considered exclusively male- oriented, were challenged as long as 2,500 years ago by the ancient Egyptians. Isis, the Egyptian goddess of wisdom, is credited with teaching Egyptians how to communicate by developing a writing technique.[26] In the twentieth century, the growth of this field of women's history had a different context in Africa as compared to Europe and the US. Mainstream African history grew in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The newly independent African states were pre-occupied with nationalistic historical writing and did not recognize the role of women as significant in historical inquiry despite their varied contributions throughout the continent. However, there were pioneer studies that restored African women to history, including Boserup's Women's Role in Economic Development,[27] and Berger and White's Women in Sub-Saharan Africa.[28]

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[24] Rupp, 86.

[25] Myra Marx and Aili Mari, eds. Global Feminism: Traditional Women's Activism, Organizing and Human Rights (New York, New York University Press, 2006).

[26] Melinda Adams, "Regional Women's Activism: African Women's Network and the African Union." in *Worlds of Women.*

[27] Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Talpade, eds. Feminist *Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[28] Targ, 15.

The growth of peace building in the mid-twentieth century has generated ample literature on African women. The existing literature provides examples of how women have been influential in peace building and conflict resolution, especially after the regaining of independence; for example, Meintjes et.al,[29]

In their collection provide a classic understanding of women's roles in post conflict reconstruction and their experiences in South Africa, Eritrea and Niger. Other studies address the role of women in settling disputes in the context of traditional African society. A good example of this is Amadiume who argues that based on age seniority, patrilineage daughters had great power especially in matters of peace building.[30]

The role of the Igbo women in peacemaking is also depicted well in Achebe's Things Fall Apart. He vividly elucidates how the Igbo polygamous marriage is central not only to the peace of the family, but to the Igbo community and beyond. The love for peace is demonstrated not only through Okonkwo, who paid a penalty for beating his wife during peace week but also through the role played by women at a family level. For example, the women in his novel played important roles as primary educators of children through story telling which socialized children into acquiring good social values.[31] The same view is also discussed by Agatha's Role of

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[29] Ester Boserup, Women's *Role in Economic Development* (New York: St.Martin's Press. 1970).
[30] Iris Berger and Frances White, *Women in Sub-Saharan Africa: Restoring Women to History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999).
[31] Codou Bop "Women in Conflicts, Their Gains and Their Losses" in *The Aftermath: Women in Post Conflict Transformation*, eds. Sheila Meintjes, Anu Pillay and MeredethTurshen (New York: Zed Books, 1999).

Women in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution in African Traditional Societies: A Selective Review.[32]

In African tradition and culture, women are central to the upbringing of children and socialization of children into acquiring values such as responsibility, honesty and loyalty. Women also inculcate in their children the importance of humanity. This makes women be looked upon as peace builders by the society. Ngwane also makes a thoughtful contribution to African women's role in peace building.[33]

Mathey discusses the role played by elder, women were valued for their efforts in conflict resolution. In particular, elderly woman were respected, recognized for their advisory roles behind the scenes, and on some occasions, for they would utilize their creativity and go to a greater length to solve conflict in their community.[34] All of these scholars give women agency in one way or the other in peacemaking and conflict resolution. The research is an attempt to contribute to this existing literature. Specifically, it will explore the role African women played in peace-building and conflict resolution, using the example of the women in Somalia more specifically in Puntland.

Literature on African women and the issue of war and peace explores various other themes. Some provide depictions of the types of war-time human rights violations committed against

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[32] Rose Acholonu, "Igbo Women and the Tradition of Peace: The Dynamics of Change and Continuity" in *Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa*, ed. Ernest E. Uwazie (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2003); Ife Amdiume, *Male Daughters, Female Husbands: Gender and Sex in African Society* (London: Zed Press, 1987), 59.
[33] Chinua Achebe, *Things Fall Apart*(New York: Fawcett Crest, 1969), 89.
[34] *Role of Women in Peace Building and Conflict Resolution in African Traditional Societies: A Selective Review* by Miriam Agatha ChinweNwoye, Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies, Kenyatta University, Nairobi Kenya. Accessed online on March 5, 2012. http://www.afrikaworld.net/afrel/chinwenwoye.htm

women; for example, Turshen,[35] Others lay a groundbreaking narrative on the relationship between women and war in the context of World War II, for example, Cock's Colonels and Cadres.[36] Argues that some are activism oriented and deal with the experiences of African women in socio-economic and political situations; for instance, Maloba[37] Talpade et al[38] Galtung, defined peace as not only the mere absence of war or conflict but also the absence of structural violence.[39] Turshen contextualizes this. She explains that conflicts and wars destroy the very patriarchal structures of society that for a long time have confined and degraded women. Turshen suggests that wars and conflicts bring a new beginning for women by giving them voice in the midst of turmoil that destroys morals, traditions, customs, and community. Experiences women go through during wars and conflicts have been positively converted by women into learning skills, and women have obtained social, economic, and political exposure and strength.[40]

However, in war and conflict situations, the representation of women in decision-making is still problematic not only because of the Somali conservative culture but because of lack of total inclusion and gender representation. It is evident in the Somali culture that 'mother as peace builder' where women actively prepare and train the young boys who are one day going to be adult men of the society. They teach the boys the rules of the game, particularly norms relating to

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[35] George Ngwane, *Settling Disputes in Africa: Traditional Bases for Conflict Resolution* (Yaounde, Republic of Cameroon:BumaKor House Publishers, 1996).
[36] Ernest Uwaze, ed., Conflict Resolution and Peace Education in Africa (Boulder: Lexington Books, 2003); M. J. Mathey, T. Dejan, M. Deballe, R. Sopio, A. Koulaninga& J. Moga, "The Role Played by Women of the Central African Republic in the Prevention and Resolutions of Conflicts" in UNESCO, *Women and Peace in Africa* (Paris: UNESCO Workshop, 2003), 35-46.
[37] Meredith Turshen and ClotildeTwagiramariya, eds. What *Women Do in Wartime: Gender and Conflicts in Africa* (London: Zed Books, 1998).
[38] Jacklyn Cock, *Colonels and Cadres: War and Gender in South Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).
[39] W.O. Maloba, *African Women in Revolution* (Asmara: Africa World Press, 2007).
[40] Chandra Talpade, Ann Russo and Lourdes Torres, eds., *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991).

the wild animals that can be hunted and those that cannot and should not be touched. Among the animals that cannot be hunted are the ones that are pregnant and those with calves.

There is a saying among the Somali, which states that 'Mother is a school'. "mothers always strive to bring up their children with positive norms and ethos, with a view to building a family equipped to contribute to the foundation of a decent society. They make every effort to lay the foundation for a healthy, confident society that can take charge of its destiny." This same view is echoed in the words of the famous Somali poet, Arays Isse Karshe who in celebrating the contributions of Somali mother in peace building points out that: "The language with which we speak the fundamentals, of our behaviour and conduct, she taught us with great skill, Mother is indispensable for being and learning" When a family is built, women are the foundation and the fundamentals of learning and values ultimately lead to decency. Somalis say: 'The values with which children are brought up precede their actual birth'. Indeed, before becoming adults, we attend a basic school, and that school is mother.[41] The Somali study demonstrates that when clans fight and there is death, steps are taken to organize the collection and payment of blood money.

A marriage or marriages involving the two parties immediately follow this. This kind of marriage occurs between a man who lost a brother or close relative and a girl from the opposing side. The main objective of the marriage is to heal the wounds and to cement the agreement/settlement reached by the two parties. In the support of the above practice, the Somalis say: 'Where blood is shed, it must be soaked with birth fluids'. And the point is that the

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[41] Johan Galtung, *Specific Contribution of Peace Research to the Study of Violence, Typologies, Violence and its cause*, (UNESCO PUBLICATION, 1980), 85-99..

married woman will give birth to sons who will fill the void created by the men who perished in the battle. In addition, the marriage is designed to bond the two groups, and thus to minimize the possibility of another conflict erupting between them.

In the Somali context, not only have women been absent from the histories of decision-making but also the existing work is insufficient both in scope and ethnographically. The voices of less privileged and illiterate women, in particular, have not been captured well, and call for historical inquiry. This report attempts to do so by using oral history interviews, supported by the work of historians, anthropologists, sociologists, and political scientists to explore a specific example of Somali women's agency in peace-making and conflict resolution.[42]

1.4.1 Women and Peacebuilding

In 2005 at the World Summit, World leaders reaffirmed the important role of women in Conflict Prevention, resolution and peacebuilding. They called for the full and effective Implementation of the Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. In making gender equality the Peacebuilding Commission's only thematic mandate, a new doctrinal imperative was created for ensuring systematic attention and resources to advancing gender equality within transitional recovery, reintegration and reconstruction efforts A statement by the former United Nations Secretary-General, Koffi Annan, proves that at the decision-making level, women are still under represented. He described women's roles in Africa: "Women, knowing the price of conflict, often are better equipped than men to prevent or resolve it. They also have been "peace educators" over many generations, preserving social order when communities collapse under the pressure of conflict. He therefore regretted that women still are grossly underrepresented in

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[42] Turshen, 20.

Decision-making, from conflict prevention to conflict resolution to post-conflict reconciliation."[43] Somali women have played a critical part in maintaining equilibrium in their society by bringing up their children as responsible members of the community. Women taught their daughters and sons, proper behavior and the ethos of society, and impressed on them the importance of such values as honesty, uprightness and the necessity to compromise.

1.5 Literature Gap

The above review of existing literature focused on the Somali conflict and the role women play in peace building. From the above literature, mothers in the Somali culture are considered very important 'peace builder' and actively prepare and train the young boys who are one day going to be adult men of the society. Why are they not actively involved in the peace process? Many researchers have neglected the gendered dimensions of peace building and do not acknowledge women effective role in peace building.

1.6 Justification of the Study

There is neglecting of gendered dimensions of peace building. That is, there is no recognition of the particular needs of women during the peace building phase without acknowledgment of their role in contributing to effective peace building. This study therefore aimed at investigating those issues by identifying and discussing the role women in Somalia played in peacebuilding in Puntland state of Somalia thus narrowing the literature gap and recommending measures that can be taken to enhance peace building in Puntland state of Somalia, this will also guide other researchers on similar topic and field of research as well as policy makers.

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[43] Ibid

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study will be based on feminist theory. In feminist theory, the analysis of war and conflict is essential. Its approach ranges from historical accounts of women in war to psychological scrutinizing of gendered upbringing of children.[44] The existence of armed conflict appears to be a distinctive feature of the international scenario of the twentieth century and this trend seems to be continuing in the beginning of the twenty-first century.[45]

Analyzing armed conflicts without taking the gender dimension into account means carrying out partial, incomplete analyses, leaving causes and consequences to one side, and taking the experience of only part of the population (men) and universalizing it. Many Feminist theorists, particularly those from the area of post-colonial studies, have highlighted the need to analyse gender discrimination alongside other types of exclusion.[46]

The issues of violence and peace have always been central to feminism. A feminist account of the world can hardly be imagined without considering the impact that violence has had in women's lives throughout history. As Tickner states, "the key concern for feminist theory is to explain women's subordination"[47]

The belief that women should be at the center of peace building, and reconciliation processes is not based on essentialist definitions of gender (the idea that the term "gender" refers to only to

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[44] European Union (2013) Efforts of women in peace building: a comprehensive approach

[45] United Nations, Adoption of Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 2000. Accessed on May 20, 2015 *http://* www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf

[46] Feminist peace and conflict theory, Routledge Encyclopaedia on Peace and Conflict Theory, written by Annette weber April 2006.

[47] The Uppsala Conflict Data Program gives the figure of 36 conflicts (2008). The Heidelberg Institute for International Conflict Research accounts 39 conflicts(wars and severe crisis) in its Conflict Barometer 2008. The school for a culture of peace considers that during 2008, 31 armed conflicts were active

women). There is a distinction between sex, the biological differences between males and females based on genes and physical characteristics, and gender, the socially learned behavior and expectations that distinguish masculine and feminine social roles. Human beings are not born "men" or "women." Masculinity and femininity must be learned, rehearsed and performed daily.[48] Boys and girls experience strong social pressure to learn and practice different ways of communicating, acting, thinking and relating according to an idealized image of what it means to be a "man" or a "woman" in their cultures.

It would be naïve to assert that all women respond in a similar manner in a given situation or that women are "natural peace builders." Gender identity is performed differently in different cultural contexts. Sex and gender identity must always be viewed in relationship with an individual's other identities such as his or her race, class, age, nation, region, education, religion, etc. There are different expectations for men and women in the home, marketplace, or government office. Gender roles also shift along with social upheaval. In times of violent conflict, men and women face new roles and changing gender expectations.

Both biological and sociological differences affect violence and peacebuilding. In particular, what matters about the biological and social differences is that most individuals, communities, businesses, religions and government structures value men and masculinity more than women and femininity. The preference for men and maleness is widely called "sexism" or "patriarchy." Sexism can be seen in the exclusion of women from leadership roles in business, government,

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[48] Cock burn, Cynthia. 2007. From where we stand: War, wommen's activism and feminist analysis. London: Zed.

cultural, or religious institutions. It is also the attitude that allows women's bodies to be physically abused, raped, or to be used as tools of advertisement.

Women in every culture experience sexism, although in vastly different ways and at different levels. The common experience of a disadvantaged social position in a patriarchal society often weaves women's perspectives into a tapestry that reflects a common pattern of concerns and responses. In fact, this would hold true in many regions of the world where the historical experience of patriarchy and power imbalance brings a different dynamic to the roles women play in peacebuilding.[49] There are some widely accepted reasons why women are important to all the peace building processes listed above. These reasons respond to the questions "Why should women be involved in peace building?" ;

Because women are half of every community and the tasks of peace building are so great, women and men must be partners in the process of peace building. Because women are the central caretakers of families in many cultures, everyone suffers when women are oppressed, victimized, and excluded from peace building. Their centrality to communal life makes their inclusion in peace building essential.

Because women have the capacity for both violence and peace, women must be encouraged to use their gifts in building peace. Because women are excluded from public decision-making, leadership, and educational opportunities in many communities around the world, it is important to create special programs to empower women to use their gifts in the tasks of building peace.

[49] Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict, issue paper on The Role of Women in Peacebuilding Co-Written by Lisa Schirch, Conflict Transformation Program, Eastern Mennonite University, USA *and* Manjrika Sewak, WISCOMP (Women in Security, Conflict Management and Peace), IndiaRevised January 2005

Because women and men have different experiences of violence and peace, women must be allowed and encouraged to bring their unique insights and gifts to the process of peacebuilding. Because sexism, racism, classism, ethnic and religious discrimination originate from the same set of beliefs that some people are inherently "better" than others, women's empowerment should be seen as inherent to the process of building peace.

Because violence against women is connected to other forms of violence, women need to be involved in peace building efforts that particularly focus on this form of particular form of violence.

The significance of this theory is that it emphasizes the important role women play in peace building. It is based on the fact that women's agency for peace is connected to their exclusion from the public sphere and from war, rather than their biological nature or their experiences as mother or care-givers. It is on this basis that the study utilizes the feminist theory in order to analyze the study.[50]

1.8 Hypotheses

The study tested the following hypotheses:

1. Women play major role of mediation, reconciliation in Somalia's peace building efforts

2. Peaceful Somalia will grant women a greater say in decision-making processes.

3. Successful peace-building efforts will lead to socio-economic development in Somalia.

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[50] Tickner, J. Ann. 2001. Gendering world politics: issues and approaches in the post-cold war era. New Yor: Columbia university.

1.9 Research Methodology

The study was developed around the belief that living experiences of individuals offer a valid approach in studying the histories of less voiced-group. As an old student of history, I used oral history to get a chance in engaging with the past so as to know more about the experiences of underrepresented and less voiced groups in mainstream of Somali culture. For women in Puntland state of Somali, this is especially true because of the many barriers and obstacles they face including poverty and illiteracy. Through the use of oral history, the study gatherd vital information about living experiences of fifteen Somali women in Puntland State of Somalia. The data was collected for an estimated duration of two months with in the year 2015

According to Thompson and Slim in Listening for a Change: Oral Testimony and Development, oral histories, in general, have proved very effective in understanding how people cope with disasters like conflicts and wars.[51] Oral history is also very relevant understanding experiences of women in male dominated fields more especially in Somalia, for example, peace and wars.[52]

Semi-structured open-ended interviews was administered to a sample of approximately fourty respondents purposively who are peace builders in the society, they were selected from the Somali women in Galkayo, Garowe and Bossaso of Puntland region. All the participants were asked the same fifteen questions. The choice of open-ended questions was preferred in order to gain in-depth perspectives from the participants.

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[51] Ibid
[52] Hugo Slim and Paul Thompson, *Listening for a Change: Oral Testimony and Development* (London: Panos Publications, 1993), 54.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: Provides the Background of the Study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature review, justification of the study, Theoretical framework, hypothesis of the study and the research methodology.

Chapter Two: Theoretical review of the concept peacebuilding and women's role in enhancing peace building

Chapter Three: Provides overview of peace building measure

Chapter Four: Presents a critical analysis of the research findings in order to answer the research objectives.

Chapter Five: Outlines the summary, conclusions of the study, gives recommendations and provides suggestions on areas for further study

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACEBUILDING

2.1 Introduction

Peace building operations have grown more important as a response to wide spread civil wars experienced in many countries. Such conflicts leave a legacy of social upheavals and violence which if not addressed can ultimately destroy the ability of the societies to progress post-conflict. Thus, peace building works to improve a population's security and quality of life and to ensure that it can and function in a sustainable manner after the conflict. International experience in the past has demonstrated that attempting to institute peace without rebuilding sustainable social, political, and economic institutions in a war-torn country will leave it highly susceptible to future violence.

This chapter serves to broaden the understanding of the complexities of peace building by introducing and explaining why and how peace building efforts target certain areas when attempting to build peaceful and sustainable societies. By providing the necessary background for understanding how peace building operates, the inherent difficulties in such processes, and outlining four of the central themes within the current peace building framework, this chapter will provide a useful framework for studying the three case studies to be examined in chapter three. This chapter presents a brief historical overview of peace building, proposes an interpretation of peace building and introduces the four themes that outline the concerns,

problems, and limitations that plague the peace building process in the post-war setting. And lastly offer a few observations of the peace building process to date.[53]

2.2 Background of Peace building

Global efforts possess significant promise for improving the quality of life in post-conflict areas as peace building. However, it has its roots in peacekeeping, the process whereby the international community, namely the UN, sought to keep warring parties at bay. While peacekeeping initially involved only maintaining the peace between warring states, it evolved to also include civil conflicts.[54] However, as social repercussions of civil conflicts and complexities became apparent, peacekeeping took on a wider range of tasks. These more comprehensive missions to install peace and forestall a return to violence became commonly referred to as 'peacebuilding.'[55]

In the post-cold war period of the 1990s peace building missions gained prevalence as numerous civil wars raged around the globe accounting for 94 per cent of all armed conflicts during this period.[56] Regarding the civilian loss of life during this period, Paris notes "...an estimated 90 percent of those killed in armed conflicts were civilians.[57] During this period fourteen peace building efforts were carried by the UN to a variety of war-shattered countries, including

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[53] Tom Keating and Francis K. Abiew "Outside Agents and the Politics of Peacebuilding and Reconciliation," International Journal, Vol. 55, Iss.1 (Winter 1999/2000), 3.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Robert Paris, At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict, (Colorado: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1.
[56] Paris Ronald (2004). At War's End: Building peace after civil conflict, University press.
[57] "The United Nations and Somalia -- 1992-1996"; Blue Books Series, Volume VIII, with an introduction by Boutros-Boutros Ghali, Secretary General of the United Nations, is available (United Nations Publication Sales No. E.96.1.8)

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Somalia through United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I, April 1992-March 1993) and (UNOSOM 11, March 1993-March 1995)[58]

The peace building field experienced extensive growth and development with these early trial missions with the establishment of implementation frameworks, peace building centers, and the involvement of non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Despite the fact that it has been almost two decades since peace building missions were first inaugurated current missions are still considered experimental because they are prone to breakdowns and seldom proceed as planned.

Paris offers a discussion of the origins of peace building in At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict. He states that prior to the end of the Cold War the United Nations had opted for a lesser role in the domestic politics of countries.[59] However, as conditions changed with the end of the Cold War, the United Nations became more inclined to respond to the "'demand' for new multilateral peace operations." While some operations still resembled traditional peacekeeping missions (with tasks that included verifying cease-fires and troop movements), other missions were "more complex" and comprised of "less familiar tasks." For example, the United Nations' first post-conflict peace building efforts in Namibia (1989) consisted of monitoring the conduct of local police, disarming former fighters, and preparing the country for its first democratic election – tasks not traditionally performed by the United Nations.

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[58] Paris provides a four reasons for this, "First, the United Nations Charter...expressly prohibited the organization from intervening in matters "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." Second, expanding the role of peacekeepers beyond the relatively limited task of monitoring a cease-fire would have required a more intrusive role for international personnel than the parties to a conflict were normally willing to accept. Third, the permanent members of the Security Council – including the Cold War.
[59] Paris, At War's End, 16-17. Paris Ronald (2004). At War's End: Building peace after civil conflict, University press.

It was new to the United Nations to supervise democratic elections, assisting in the preparation of new national constitutions, providing human rights training and in one case (Cambodia) temporarily taking over the administration of an entire country.[60]

Paris provides a four reasons for this, "First, the United Nations Charter...expressly prohibited the organization from intervening in matters "essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state." Second, expanding the role of peacekeepers beyond the relatively limited task of monitoring a cease-fire would have required a more intrusive role for international personnel than the parties to a conflict were normally willing to accept. Third, the permanent members of the Security Council – including the Cold War, Paris further notes that the complexities of these peacebuilding missions required that the UN partner with other international actors to help countries rebuild post-conflict. These organizations include, but are not limited to, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), the Organization of American States (OAS), the European Union (EU), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), and various International Non-Governmental Oganizations.[61]

Generally, the United Nation's peace building efforts to date were deployed after the signing of formal peace accords or agreements that have warring factions laying down their arms and agreeing to some form of a truce and a strategy for future power sharing, usually the formation of political parties and the contesting of elections. These peace agreements typically mark the formal end of an armed struggle and symbolize the participation of belligerents in a political

[60] Paris, Roland. At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict. Colorado: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
[61] Ho-Won Jeong, Peace building in Post-conflict Societies: Strategy and Process, 21.

process.[62] However, Jeong warns that peace agreements do not always satisfy all parties, "peace agreements do not simply mark the end of an old conflict, and sometimes they contain the seeds of their own destruction."[63] Therefore, depending on the particular context, there have been occasions when peace building missions have been allowed to operate before and during peace accord processes.

In the following section, the various components of the peace building framework are examined in order to demonstrate the areas many theorists have highlighted as integral to the success of peace building missions.

2.3 The Peace building framework

Peace building includes post-conflict initiatives to rebuild societies and forestall a return to violence and conflict situations. However, the process of peace building is rife with complexities and as a comprehensive concept it: encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards more sustainable, peaceful relationships. It simultaneously seeks to enhance relationships between parties and to change the structural conditions that generate conflict. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords.[64]

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[62] Ibid., 6
[63] John Lederach, 1997, 20., cited in Mary Hope Schwoebel and Erin McCandless, "Toward the Theory and Practice of Appreciative Inquiry in Complex Peacebuilding and Development Contexts," in Cynthia Sampson, Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Claudia Liebler and Diana Whitney (eds), Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding: A Resource for Innovators, (Washington: Pact Publishers, 2003), 194.
[64] Last, 85; Gareth Evans, "Peacebuilding: Six Golden Rules for Policy Makers," International Crisis Group, (2005), www. crisisgroup. org/home/index.cfm?id=3771&1=1, Date Accessed: January 19, 2015.

The complexities inherent in peace building are reflected in the various concerns which these efforts must incorporate in their design. In general, peace building missions focus on four main interrelated areas: security, governance, relief and development, and reconciliation.[65] A discussion of the four central areas of concern will reveal the paramountcy of each interrelated process and the inherent challenges within the broader peace building framework.

2.3.1 Peace building and Security

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

Demobilizing soldiers and reintegrating them into civilian life is one of the single most important goals of the larger project of peace implementation. Call and Stanley argue, Reconfiguration of military and police forces after civil wars is central to the stability of any negotiated settlement, as well as to the prospects for long term consolidation of a democratic framework.[66] Because ongoing violence will continue to devastate economies, exacerbate underdevelopment, and increase desperation and frustration among immiserated populations, ensuring that there is an

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[65] Charles T. Call and William Stanley, "Military and Police Reform after Civil Wars" in John Darby and Roger MacGinty (eds), Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 221.
[66] Stephan John Stedman, "Peace Processes and the Challenges of Violence," (2003) 109.

effective police force that has the trust of the civilians and is accepted by former combatants is an early priority.[67]

When promoting security, there is need to convince competing armies to lay down their weapons, demobilize their soldiers, and reconstruct their lives in a more peaceful manner. Usually members of opposing factions are integrated to form a national military merger in an effort to establish a legitimate state monopoly over the use of force in society. This may require rewarding ex-combatants with economic and material benefits for abstaining from violence and their re-entry into society.[68]

Demobilization steps are important militarily and symbolically and should be accompanied by monitoring and verification mechanisms to ensure that these initial steps towards stabilization occur. In addition to military reforms, a strong civilian police force is required to protect the institutions of democracy and act as a counterweight to military strength in areas where atrocities have previously occurred at the hands of the military. Such a force must be provided with appropriate training, educated about their mandate, and have the relevant mechanisms for internal oversight in order that it can operate in such a way that it respects the rule of law and individual rights, and selectively employ the use of force.[69] Within peacekeeping missions, civilian police forces are often initially assisted by international civilian police and peacekeeping forces that monitor the peace and provide the necessary training.

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[67] Jeong Ho-won .., Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005)..., 49.
[68] Call and Stanley, "Military and Police Reform (Macmillan 2003) edited 2004 and 2005 ...," 213.
[69] Kirsti Samuels, "Sustainability and Peace building: A Key Challenge," Development in Practice, Vol.15, No.6 (November 2005), 733.

2.3.2 Governance

Governance is another area that has to be addressed within peace building. Long-term security extends beyond reforming military and police forces and is also contingent upon the conversion of warring factions into political parties that can work to manage conflicts in a manner that is conducive of positive change. Peace building operations are susceptible to breakdown when societies have a poor governance framework that exacerbates social fault lines, aggravates divisions and tensions, entrenches conflict, or provides a basis to contest the government.[70] Governance in peace building designs requires the development of institutional capacities such as the judiciary, the electoral system, and other agencies that work to advance policy reforms, enhance transparency, and increase representation and accountability. For example, in many peace building contexts, plans for elections are often outlined, agreed upon and signed into the peace agreements between opposing factions.

Electoral based on democratic systems are favored by the international institutions that orchestrate peace building missions because they have the potential to affect positive changes in societies where political transitions have been fraught with military coups, revolutions and destructive patterns of violence. The role of an election during peace building is significant for numerous reasons. Non-violent and successful political transitions become a critical test to determine whether new relationships can develop among former adversaries – the party that loses needs tangible, symbolic and even material benefits from their participation in the new governance system in order for it to be embraced by those who do not gain full political power.[71]

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[70] Jeong, Ho-Won Peace building in Post-Conflict Societies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005)..., 49..., 115.
[71] Ibid.

Furthermore, successful elections can contribute to national unity and reconciliation by fortifying a renewed political process and reinforcing the termination of armed conflict.[72] Elections become symbolic of the first steps toward establishing a functioning political system and a multiparty democracy where power sharing models are negotiated among former adversaries. Also critical to effective governance is the role of the judiciary. Failure to respond to past and continued violence through a fair judicial system will only impede progress towards justice, accountability and reconciliation.[73] The stability of these systems, however, cannot be achieved without the participation of former adversaries in the democratic political processes and socio-economic reforms.[74] Strengthening the institutions of governance then is critical to ensuring the establishment of democracy which in turn is essential if future conflicts are to be avoided.

2.3.3 Relief and Development

Relief and development policies are an integral part of the broader peace building process because where poverty and inequality endure after internal conflict they serve to undermine peace by breeding further discontent and anger.[75] Civil war devastates livelihoods through the destruction of production capital and displacement of peoples and loss of skilled labour. The relief and development process can be viewed as two stages — the immediate (the relief aspect) and the longer term (the development component).

During peace building immediate humanitarian assistance is necessary to alleviate the human suffering that accompanies war and violent conflict. Significant portions of populations become

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[72] Ibid
[73] Ibid.,
[74] Jeong Ho-Won , Peace building in Post-Conflict Societies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005) 123.
[75] Sean Deely, "War, Health and Recovery," cited in Barakat, After the Conflict..., 124-129.

uprooted and services that are otherwise used to tend to their suffering are either destroyed or did

not previously exist. Staggering statistics verify the numbers of people killed, injured, displaced

and affected by violent conflict in warring societies. The increased need of these populations is

compounded by the reduced capacity of health services which further devastates those

disproportionately affected, namely women and children. They frequently fall victim to

preventable infections and diseases, develop HIV and AIDS, experience mental health problems,

suffer from substance abuse or die in childbirth.[76]

The longer term strategy involves promoting economic growth and development. Reforming and

redesigning economic programs and policies is paramount for bringing about stability and equity

because social tension is often created by perceived and real imbalances in income and wealth.[77]

Violent conflict during civil war effectively halts development by destroying infrastructure and

institutions such as the systems of transport, education, agriculture, and communication. It also

leaves societies with massive human resource deficits in terms of general education and

professional skills as farmers, artisans, and skilled workers are among those conscripted into war

and often die as soldiers or flee the country.[78]

Although civil wars may come to an end, Stedman warns that if former combatants lack jobs and

skills and if weapons are easily available, then violence and crime may increase and rob citizens

of their security and their hopes for a robust peace dividend.[79] Peace building efforts stress that

[76] Jeong, Ho-Won , Peace building in Post-Conflict Societies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005) 17.
[77] Sultan Barakat, "Seven Pillars for Post-War Reconstruction," cited in Sultan Barakat, After the Conflict: Reconstruction and Development in the Aftermath of War, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 266.
[78] Stedman, in Darby and MacGinty, Contemporary Peacemaking 103.
[79] Last, David "Organizing for Effective Peace building," (Routler and Taylor francis group, 2007) 84.
[80] Barakat Sultan , "After the Conflict" (I.B. Tauris ed, 2007) 255.

effective development strategies must incorporate the participation of local communities taking into account local capacities and solutions. This will increase the likelihood of more satisfactory developmental outcomes and at the same time empowers communities.

2.3.4 Reconciliation

The final dimension of peace building discussed in this chapter will be reconciliation. Where deep social inequalities are common and populations are divided, impoverished, and devastated by war, institutional and policy reforms aimed at repairing and rebuilding corrosive justice systems cannot alone bring about healing. Policies and programs aimed at reconciliation are vital. These generally involve policies which stress compassion, forgiveness, restitution, psychological and social healing, all of which are designed to help communities live and work together.[80]

Reconciliation mechanisms include dialogue between former adversaries, story sharing, compiling records of human rights violations and Truth Commissions. These actions also serve to deter former abusers and provide a lasting legacy and reminder of the atrocities that have occurred. In Sultan Barakat's Seven Pillars of Post-War Reconstruction, he states: "The healing of bitter memories and restoration of trust is a delicate, highly complex process that cannot be rushed and which may take generations to achieve."[81]

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[80] Keith Krause and Oliver Jutersonke, "Peace, Security and Development in Post-Conflict Environments," Security Dialogue, Vol. 36 (4), (2005), 448–449
[81] Sampson Cynthia, Mohamed Abu-Neimer and Claudia Lieber "Positive Approaches to Peace building" (October 30 2009…, 381.

2.4 Limitations of Peace building

Given the nascent nature of the peace building field, there are numerous complexities and flaws in the design frameworks that contribute to the inability of sustainable peace relations to be attained. To put the challenges into perspective, one needs to contemplate the stark reality that Krause and Jutersonke put across: "About half of all peace support operations (including both peacekeeping and more expansive peace building operations) fail after around five years...Perhaps this is a function of the difficulty of the task of [post-conflict peace building]: a 30-50% success rate might actually be considered high."[82]

This low success rate reflects the inherent complexities that face the process of peace building – a process that is said to be diverse beyond comparison.[83] Moreover, the presence of leaders, neighboring countries, and factions opposed to peace are often willing to use violence to undermine the rebuilding process.[84] These 'defectors', also known as 'spoilers' will require specific attention to mitigate the chances that these factors will contribute to the breakdown of such an extremely fragile process.[85] Given the inability to control these destabilizing spoilers, there are numerous breakdowns in the peace process that effectively contribute to the low success rate of peace building operations.

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[82] Stedman Stephen J. In Derby and MacGinty, Contemporary peacebuilding, Conflict and Conflict Resolution in Africa: A Conceptual Framework, Conflict Resolution in Africa; Brookings Institutions (1991) Washington D.C. USA.
[83] David Last, "Organizing for Effective Peace building," cited in Tom Woodhouse and Oliver Ramsbotham, Peacekeeping and ConflictResolution, (Oregon: Frank Cass Publishers, 2000), 80.
[84] *Robert Ricigliano, "Networks of Effective Action: Implementing an Integrated Approach to Peacebuilding," Security Dialogue, Vol.34, No.4, (2003), 445.*
[85] *Jeong, Ho-Won Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005), 19.*

2.5 Conclusion

Peace building is not only complex, but each dimension (Security, Governance, Relief and Development, and Reconciliation) within the peace building framework is comprised of its own complexities. Nonetheless, each is important and essential for the successful rebuilding of war-torn societies. To complicate things further, these dimensions are intertwined; breakdowns in one jeopardize advances in the others. Each aspect within the framework can only be successful when supported by actions to improve and rebuild individual dimensions of the others. For example, security, often a top priority for peace building, is susceptible to breakdown from an impaired governance framework and poor policy decisions. If development issues are not addressed, socioeconomic inequalities can result in a relapse to violence and a breakdown of security; if groups are not reconciled, tensions will unravel the social fabric required to sustain peace. Hence, each is part of the broader peace building process and cannot be disentangled from the others.

Literature on peace building is rife with recommendations to increase the viability of peace building frameworks which are prone to breakdown. Many of these authors call for more integrated approaches that cut across the traditional boundaries and dimensions of peace building. Robert Ricigliano is one such proponent who believes that integration is more important now that ever: "We are currently at a critical moment in the development of the peacebuilding field."[86] Ho-Won Jeong also calls for this integrated approach: "Given all the complexities involved in rebuilding societies...it is important to develop a clear understanding of

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[86] Author Unknown, *"Gender Profile of the Conflict in Somalia,"* United Nations Development Fund For Women, www.womenwarpeace.org/somalia_pfv.pdf, Date Accessed: October 16, 2007

the diverse dimensions of peacebuilding and how various strategies can be put together to achieve a sustainable peace."[87]

The complications surrounding the high-risk endeavor of peacebuilding requires that coherent approaches to the multiple domains be synchronized to achieve the sustainable human security required for peace. Demobilizing ex-combatants, reintegrating refugees and displaced persons, (re)building civil society institutions, creating conditions for economic and social development, establishing political institutions, and minimizing social and political tensions all contribute to the complexities inherent in the fragile peacebuilding process. Integration is becoming increasingly acknowledged as having the potential to improve peacebuilding because experience has shown that various dimensions within the framework are interrelated; breakdowns in one area have detrimental impacts on the others. Also, given the diversity and contextual variables of post-conflict situations, designs must leave room for flexibility.

These four central dimensions of the peacebuilding process and the discussion of some of the inherent complexities surrounding operations to rebuild war-torn societies set the background for an analysis of the case study. The following chapter examines the role of women in the peacebuilding process in Puntland, a semi-autonomous state of Somalia. By investigating the role of women during the peacebuilding process information will be provided from which to analyze where and how women fit into the peacebuilding framework.[88]

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[87] Lesser Blumberg, "*Risky Business: What Happens to Gender Equality and Women's Rights in Post-Conflict Societies? Insights from NGO's in El Salvador*," International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society, Vol. 15, No. 1, Risks and Rights in the 21st Century: Papers from the Women and Gender in Global Perspectives Program Symposium, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, October 2000 (Fall,2001), 163.
[88] The CTC at West Point, Al-Qaida's (Mis)Adventures in the Horn of Africa, op. cit., pp. 38-40, 138, 189-190.

OVERVIEW OF PEACEBUILDING MEASURES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines overview of women involvement in peace building. The objective of this chapter is to examine Puntland women's role in peace building, contributing significantly to post-conflict re-building and development in these war-shattered state.

This chapter is organized into three sections. The first will provide a brief history, arranged thematically. The second examines women's role in the four peace building areas of security, governance, relief and development and reconciliation. It too is organized thematically. Discussion of each of these areas addresses the following themes: the post-conflict reforms implemented in each of the four categories addressed by traditional peace building, the problems associated with those reforms, women's response to these problems and the significance of their response, as well as the recommendations proposed to address these weaknesses and enhance reforms. The final section of this chapter, the conclusion, will provide a brief overview of the chapter.

3.2 Root causes of the Conflict in Puntland

It should be noted that women were not peripheral to these conflicts. In the case study women were active participants during the conflict, assuming revolutionary and counter-revolutionary combat roles alongside their male counterparts, as well as supportive roles for combatants.[89]

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[89] Lawrence Wright, The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), pp. 163-198; and the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 2004, pp. 57-70.

The social context of human development and the cause of conflict in Puntland state and Somalia in general cannot be understood without reference to the role played by the Said Barre's regime. The security of the region was hampered by internationalization of the conflict and brought in diverse players without resolving the pertinent concerns in the neighboring countries or Somalia itself.

To explain the complexity of the Somalia conflict, we need to put in mind the following: First, the conflict is complex in nature and has been going on for hundreds of years when we explore the role of ethnicity in its initial formation. This as Goodwin argues, is the essence of the problem and the solution abounds in the rubric of clanism, which welds and moulds the people in their respective sub-clans and clans. However, the challenge as pointed out is how the clans, which have been slaughtering each other, can achieve lasting peace. The clan system has played a major part in social, economic and political interactions. It has acted both as a cause of social cohesion and paradoxically as a cause of political conflict in Puntland and larger Somalia. This has degenerated into a governmental crisis, which has eventually led to generally militarised social conflict throughout the country''. [90]

The past governments have used the clan democracy and clan politics as a military tactic both to prevent unnecessary civil war and to ferment it. This exploitation has mostly generated conflict between various clan leaders and has resulted to the present conflict. Clan system is a major cause of the conflict because the governments have always based promotions in the army and recruitment of civilian state functionaries on clan criteria. For example during Siad Barre's

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[90] Lawrence Wright, The Looming Tower: Al Qaeda and the Road to 9/11 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2006), pp. 163-198; and the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, The 9/11 Commission Report: Final Report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States, 2004, pp. 57-70.

regime, public officers from the Marehan and Darod clans were recruited to important posts in the government and in the Army. This resulted into opposition from other clans that were left out, leading to the continued conflict." Secondly the collapse of the nation-state left no single group strong enough and capable of taking a central role to deal with the conflict. The debacle experienced by the American intervention and UN forces emanates from this problem of lack credible internal actors to deal with. The third level of thinking and inter-related with the above is the personalisation of the conflict.

The clan structure protects and dictates the conflict of the moment. Hence an attack on a rival clan's interests by an outsider can make sworn enemy clans agree momentarily to fight the external influence. This is what happened in the case of Aideed. When Americans offered a prize for his capture, it revived colonial memory. This compounded the problem rather than resolving it. Lewis captures the same thoughts by averring that outsiders cannot understand this interlocking value of the clan system which underlies the lack of resolving the conflict in the process. In a nutshell, the existence of clans and sub-clans had an implication in nurturing the conflict.

The fight for scarce resources in the harsh environment influenced the thinking, security and the mode of relationships among the people. The term used by Fukui, 'situational perspectives' are factors which accelerate conflict in a given situation. These can include competition for resources, and how the state allocates the same.[91]

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[91] The 9/11 Commission Report, op. cit., p. 68. Some reports suggest that the Al Ittihad leadership had prior knowledge of the attacks. ICG, Counter-Terrorism in Somalia: Losing Hearts and Minds?, Africa Report No. 95, July 11, 2005.

The chaos led to complete failure of Somalia as a state as declared by the then UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, in 1992. Looting, rape and murder occurred indiscriminately. Infrastructure was destroyed and government property, archives and records looted. The judiciary and civil services became non-existence and the representation of the state at the international level disappeared. All aspects of running the peoples affairs, from security to provision of essential services, were left at the hands of the warlords. They however cared less about such things. Their main driving force was personal enrichment through looting, imposition of illegal taxes, protection fees and gun running. This had the net effect of breaking the very fibre of the people in Puntland and Somali society at large.

3.3 Women's Role in Conflict

It should be noted that women were not peripheral to these conflicts. In each of the case studies women were active participants during the conflict, assuming revolutionary and counter-revolutionary combat roles alongside their male counterparts, as well as supportive roles for combatants[92]. According to Mahamuud, the "rate of women's participation in armed combat in Puntland was remarkably high and despite the loss of their men and children they always stood high to support their daily leaving, they also came up with movements that rose up against regime through repressive terrorism by private and governmental death squads and an aggressive counterinsurgency campaigns[93]

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[92] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2007, 96.
[93] Charles T. Call and William Stanley, "Military and Police Reform after Civil Wars," in John Darby and Roger MacGinty, Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Violence and Peace Processes, New York:Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, 203.

3.4 Adopted Role of Women in Peace building

The first and most important contribution of Puntland Women in restoring peace to their communities is the Galkayo Peace Accord of 1993, which ended the fighting between two rival resident clans within Galkayo of Mudug Region. The fighting broke between militias from these two rifle clans and had left more than 1,000 people dead in one night, while hundreds of residents had been displaced, carrying their injured militias and family members on their backs with nowhere to go, there were no safe health services to access. Realizing that exclusivity could not help attain sustainable peace, women embarked on peace campaigns aimed at defusing tensions and bringing the warring communities together. Women from both North and South Galkayo organized processions demanding peace and cessation of hostilities, defying the green line that has been drawn by opposing militias from the two rival groups, dividing the town. The fruition of the campaigns was peace talks that led to the signing of the Peace Accord between Col. Abdullahi Yussuf and the late Gen. Mohamed Farah, including their Clan Elders and militia men signing The Peace Accord with them. The result has been the relative peace enjoyed in Galkayo to date.[94]

The Hufan Initiative of 1994 was yet another demonstration of women's ability in bringing about peace. There was a split in the (SSDF) Somali Salvation Democratic Front militia group leading to an upsurge in cases of robbery and other crimes in the port city of Bossaso, then the capital of the North Eastern of Somalia region. This period of lawlessness precipitated unprecedented violations against Women and the unarmed groups who in big numbers escaped from Mogadishu and other places in Somalia.[95]

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[94] Anderlini, Sanam Ngarahi *Women Building Peace: What they do, what it matters....* (Lynne Riener : 2007) ..61

The poorest and unarmed groups being tired of frequent harassment, rape and looting of business women as a result of the deteriorated security situation, Women movement led by Lady Hufan Artan organized and united women groups and individuals to confront the male leadership of Bossaso, in particular those manning and managing the port, collecting taxes.

Hufan and other women lay flat on their faces, deliberately placed their bodies on ground, one next to the other, carpeting themselves on the grounds where the docking and other port activities were going on. They lay there for one working day refusing to free the port till they was negotiation and security funds were released from the funds reaped from port. The Women also raised more money to boost their security. The Women group first recruited youth groups composed of men and women who helped the women who did not want to carry and use guns, unless necessary. The women led the patrolling teams while the youth groups supported. They made rounds in the city streets at night disarming gunmen of their guns and other lethal weapons. They later worked with men to establish a police unit -of which the women movement was a part- to patrol the town during nights. This was the first signs of Governance in Puntland and it was founded by women.[96] The police unit later took full control of Bossaso town before being handed over to a trusted commission. In the final end, the women group managed to persuade the rival SSDF factions to negotiate and started some kind of relative governance in Bossaso and surrounding areas.

The formation of Puntland Police with thousands of trained individuals initiated by the Hufan Movement, later on became one of the unrecognized founders of Puntland State and the stability it enjoys. Regrettably women still remain vulnerable and not significantly given space in police recruitments. Hufan Movement has suffered of lack of support and remains effective but weak, as an institution.[97]

The Puntland Peace Mission In July 2001, the Puntland state plunged into political uncertainty following the expiry of the term of the interim administration. When it was formed in 1998, the interim administration had been charged with the responsibility of conducting a population census, drafting a constitution, conducting a referendum on the draft constitution, setting up a constitutional court and producing law for holding elections. But at the expiry of its term, the administration had not realized any of the objectives occasioning a constitutional crisis. The resulting political developments and tensions degenerated into a military confrontation between forces allied to the Interim President Abdullahi Yusuf and opposition leader General Adde Muse who later became the second term president of Puntland during the subsequent nine months of conflicts and political instability. Puntland Women from all the regions united to be at the forefronts of peace negotiations between the two opposing groups.

Women activists organized a series of activities to popularize the holding of the "Isimada Peace Conference", during all the three phases of the Puntland Peace Mission. They organized peace

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[97] Fernandez Poncela and Steiger, "The Disruptions of Adjustment," 49-60; Paula Godoy-Paiz, "Women *in Guatemala's Metropolitan Area: Violence, Law, and Social Justice," Studies in Social Justice, Vol.2, No.1 (2008): Special Issue: Gender and Violence in Guatemala, http://ojs.uwindsor.ca/ojs/leddy/ index.php/SSJ/article/ view RST/667/577, Date Accessed July 22, 2015, 27-28; MADRE, "Guatemala: Country Overview," www.madre.org/index. php?s=9&b=22, Date Accessed June 11, 2015;*

forums for the women, youth and professionals in various parts of Puntland, where they implored the need to support dialogue as the only means out of the constitutional crisis.[98]

Another attempt organized Puntland women activists led by Hawa Aden who organized a series of forums and processions, including the famous night Vigils and Peace Forums at the Galkayo Education Center for Peace and Development (GECPD), Main Center in Galkayo. The activities culminated into the drafting of an appeal that was circulated for the collection of signatures in support of the Isimada Conference. A total of 11,400 signatures were appended to the appeal. The women efforts together with those of supportive men later on compelled rebels, led by Adde Muse, to a ceasefire leading to the agreement of a power sharing arrangement that finally ended the war.

A general conference was called in Garowe after the Isimadda peace Conference to discuss and come up with a practicable solution to the crisis. Delegates had been chosen on the basis of their clans by the clan leaders. As usual, none of the clans nominated women to be part of their delegations, the result being that women were left out. The only 3 who had been nominated were assigned peripheral roles of being cheer leaders and composers of poems about peace and not participants in the deliberations. But although they were denied representation at the conference, women did not let their right to participate in the peace making process go unchallenged. [99]

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[98] *Anderlini, Women Building Peace : What they do, what it matters....* (Lynne Riener : 2007) ..., *103.*
[99] Author Unknown, "United Nations study on disarmament and non-proliferation education," United Nations, General Assembly document, August 30, 2002, United Nations, 2002, http:///odsddsny. un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N02/456/ 87/PDF/N0245687.pdg>. cited in Vanessa Farr "The Importance of a Gender Perspective to Successful Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Processes," Women, Men, Peace and Security Disarmament Forum.

The Burtinle peace initiative of 2007 was another demonstration of efforts by the Puntland women to sanitize and restore peace in their community. Fighting between the two rival native clans of Puntland had claimed many casualties on both sides. The fighting continued unabated with efforts by elders, chieftains, Islamic scholars and Puntland ministers miserably failing to get the two sides to the negotiation table. The intervention of the Puntland Women Affairs Ministry played a crucial role in complementing other efforts to get leaders of the warring clans into earnest search for peace. The ministry dispatched a delegation of 38 women to the war fields in clash torn areas, amid threats and warnings not to go. The delegates reached out to the elders and leaders of the warring clans under very difficult circumstances to implore the need for dialogue. Even when warned not to go, members of the women delegation risked their lives for the sake of peace.[100] They only fed on dates and water and had to shield their bodies behind trees against the bullets from the rival factions; however women continued conflict resolution by tracing and leading strayed animals back to the owners, building trust. After 48 days of intense lobbying and persuasion, the women delegation together with some men managed to amalgamate the masses into pressuring their leaders to dialogue with their rivals and reach a peaceful and permanent settlement.

3.5 Insecurity

Violence is the single most dangerous threat to peacebuilding. Therefore, it is important that any peacebuilding efforts bring an end to violence and protect vulnerable populations. The purpose of this section is to explain what traditional peacebuilding says about security reforms post-conflict, outline challenges associated with current security policies, demonstrate women's

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[100] *Anderlini, Women Building Peace : What they do, what it matters.... (Lynne Riener : 2007) ..., 103.*

responses to security concerns and the significance of their efforts, and lastly, present reforms and recommendations to strengthen security post-conflict.[101]

3.5.1 International Terrorism.

Although Al-shabab is currently a threat in Somalia, Al-Qaeda (AQ) and affiliated groups have had a presence in East Africa for almost 23 years, Al- shabab is now gaining strength in the terror world, although the extent of their operations has varied over time. The region's porous borders, proximity to the Arabian Peninsula, weak law enforcement and judicial institutions, pervasive corruption, and, in some cases, state complicity in terrorist activities, combined with the almost 23-year absence of central authority in Somalia, have provided an enabling environment for AQ and other violent extremist groups. Some regions in the Somalia have served at various times as terrorist safe havens, staging areas, or transit points. U.S. and allied interests have been periodically targeted, prompting the United States to enhance security measures in the region and engage regional partners to strengthen their own counterterrorism capabilities.[102]

During this time AQ claimed responsibility for arming and training the Somali factions responsible for killing 18 U.S. soldiers in Mogadishu in October 1993, although the extent of AQ ties to the actual perpetrators is unknown.14 Bin Laden's stated grievances against the U.S. military presence in Saudi Arabia and against American culture have been widely documented, but according to some analysts, the AQ leader and his colleagues also saw the U.S. military's

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[101] *Anderlini, Women Building Peace : What they do, what it matters.... (Lynne Riener : 2007) ..., 103.*

[102] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2007, 96.

engagement in Somalia as a threat to AQ's presence in the region. Sudan's refusal to hand over individuals implicated in an AQ-linked plot to assassinate Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak led to U.N. Security Council sanctions in April 1996. To the east, along the Somali coast, another militant Islamist movement, Al Ittihad Al Islamiya (AIAI).

AQ's initial interest in Somalia, according to declassified internal AQ documents, was as a possible alternate to Afghanistan as a base of operations.[103] Senior AQ military commander Mohammed Atef, also known as Abu Hafs, made several trips to the country, beginning in 1992. AQ operatives reportedly established training bases in Ras Kamboni, a Somali town near the Kenyan border, and other Somali sites, as well as in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia, but operational challenges appear to have led AQ to view Somalia as more useful as a trans-shipment point for operations elsewhere in the region, particularly Kenya.[104] Reports suggest that AQ began planning for a large-scale terrorist attack against American targets in East Africa in 1993, scouting for "soft" targets and establishing a cell in the Kenyan capital, Nairobi.[105]

3.5.2 Traditional peace building and security reforms.

Current security reforms, usually included within peace agreements, require that previously warring factions be disarmed, demobilized, reintegrated (DDR) into civil society, and that ex combatants be compensated for their participation. Compensation, or benefits packages could include vocational training, land, agricultural supplies, credit, and employment within new police

[103] Farr, Venessa "The Importance of a Gender Perspective to successful disarmament , Demobilization and reintegration Process…,(2004)" 28.
[104] Conaway and Martinez, "Adding Value…," 6.90 Ibid.91 "In collaboration with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the United NationsDevelopment Fund for Women (UNIFEM) developed a pilot project aimed at increasing women's role inthe 'Weapons for Development Programme' (1998–2002) in the Albanian districts of Gramsch, Elbasanand Diber." See Farr, "The Importance of a Gender Perspective…," 29.92 Ibid.93 Ibid.29
[105] *Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace : an independent experts's assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building UN WOMEN (2002) Newyork*

or security forces, among others, and they are typically used as incentive to encourage ex combatants to participate in DDR programs and processes. Vanessa Farr notes that such DDR processes are practical as well as Symbolic. They are practical because they provide skills for reintegration and serve to rebuild a civilian police force to help implement and protect democracy, act as a counter weight to military strength and demonstrate a country's commitment to positive change.[106] Training civilian police forces in areas that include the rule of law, human rights, and the selective use of force enables a country to move forward with the goal of attaining general security for all residents. DDR processes have symbolic value because they offer ex combatants a new identity that is compatible with peaceful development and sustainable growth post-conflict.[107]

3.5.3 Challenges of security reforms and peace building.

The difficulties of achieving general security cannot be overemphasized, but when it comes to women, the problems become even more complex as women have their own set of unique challenges related to security reform. However, current security reforms to date do not address these in any significant way. For example, as discussed in the cases below, women ex combatants are rarely able to participate fully in the various DDR phases for a variety of reasons. Either they are not recognized as combatants, or because of overall gender discrimination, or because of their limited mobility due to their familial responsibilities. In addition, the psychological impact of war also has a unique impact on women's security post-conflict.

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[106] *Jeong, Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005).... *31*
[107] Amnesty International, June 2006, http://www.amnestyinternational.be/doc/IMG/article_PDF/ Article 8170.pdf, Date Accessed June 13, 2015.

3.5.4 Women's response to challenges of security reforms.

While the formal security reforms have been weak in terms of addressing the security needs specific to women, women themselves have been finding ways to address their concerns and promote their efforts. Many organizations have been active in response to women's inability to benefit from DDR programs as well as their unmet security concerns. They have publicly made known women's security concerns by drawing attention to their on-going experience of victimization post-conflict[108]. Their efforts are significant, demonstrating the deficiencies of DDR policies and the prevalence of violence and impunity despite the good intentions of current security reforms.

The picture is not entirely grim for women, however, as there have been benefits to their return to the traditional sphere[109]. With reference to Puntland women, though they were often unable to participate in DDR programs, they note that their return to the private sphere had significant and positive results as it helped to create a more stable environment for male reintegration. They note that post-conflict societies are often ridden with men unskilled in anything other than warfare, which upon their return home from war find that women have learned to live without them. While this realization frequently results in an increased incidence of domestic violence, consumption of miraa, and drug abuse, they nevertheless believed that women's voluntary DDR facilitated the reintegration of men and helped many communities move towards peace.

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[108] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace: an independent experts assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women's role in peace building United Nations Development Fund for Women (2002)
[109] Mohammed Abu-Nimer, "Toward the Theory and Practice of Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding," in Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding: A Resource for Innovators, Edited by Sampson et al., Washington: Pact Publishers, 2003, 18.

This view is supported by Anderlini's research on women's post-conflict reintegration which found that: Upon reflecting on their experiences a decade later, female ex-combatants in El Salvadorat first felt they had made no contribution to the reintegration effort. With more reflection, however, they acknowledged that their sacrifices and willingness to step back into domesticity were critical contributions to the reintegration of the male ex-combatants and in many instances, husbands or partners.[110]

Meanwhile, in Puntland women's efforts centered on making known their unique security concerns. Specifically, their efforts have focused on highlighting the excessive amount of gender-related violence post-conflict. Additionally, the We Are Women Activist (WAWA) network was instrumental in establishing women's own way of handling and enhancing security.

The steps taken by Puntland women have been significant in addressing violence against women in the country. Their efforts to demystify gender-specific violence highlight the prevalence of domestic and sexualized violence post-conflict despite security reform initiatives during peace building. While these actions have been met with backlash at times,[111] women persistently challenge the government to protect women from violence and impunity post-conflict and are continuing to work to bring about societal change in attitude when it comes to gender specific violence. For the case of Puntland women have WAWA network through which they bargain with the state regarding their needs.

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[110] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace UN WOMEN (2002)..., 92.148 Ibid., 92-94
[111] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace : an independent experts's assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peacebuilding. New York UN WOMEN (2002)

3.5.5 Way forward in Enhancing Security Reforms.

Several Suggestions have been put forth to improve the traditional approach to security outlined within peace building. Security reform recommendations advocate the inclusion of a gendered perspective during security reform discussions and decision making on post-conflict, increasing the efficiency of DDR to incorporate women's needs, and defining and addressing security in light of women's specific concerns. Generally speaking, recommendations suggest that security should not be determined by military agents alone. Many groups are peripheral to traditional or militarized security concerns and are neglected during military considerations. These groups are disproportionately comprised of women. As combatants, wives, widows and dependents of ex-combatants, women must be explicitly included in security initiatives as they have a vested interest in ending the cycle of violence and building a safer society for their families.[112]

Moreover, proponents of women's active involvement in security reform stress the important social role that women have during all stages of DDR. UN Study on Importance of gender found out that : Women as the primary educators of their families and communities need to participate in decision-making on DDR Programmes and other disarmament and non-proliferation education and training efforts. Women have an essential role in helping to create the conditions for the cessation of violent conflict, in such activities as monitoring the peace, dealing with trauma among the victims and perpetrators of violence, collecting and destroying weapons and rebuilding societies.[113]

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[112] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2007, 96.

[113] Interagency Manual on Reproductive Health for Refugees. United Nations High Commission for Refugees (2009)

For these reasons, programs and pilot projects that provide further evidence of the value of women's contribution to security reform and DDR should be encouraged, supported, and documented.

While the general mechanisms of security initiatives must be reformed to be more inclusive of women, so too must the specific DDR programs. Conaway and Martinez stress that, "one of the most effective, yet difficult, means to ensure that the needs, concerns and ideas of women combatants and non-combatants alike are included in a DDR process is to have women included, and a gender perspective incorporated, in peace negotiations".[114] They further argue that current security reforms neglect the many complex roles that women play during war and peace [and] may lead to a less effective, less informed DDR that does not fully extend to the community level and may not lead to long-term or sustainable peace.

3.6 Governance

Another critical component of peace building involves governance. Governance reforms outlined in traditional peace building contain measures to implement democratic institutions, free and fair elections and functioning judicial systems with the goal of increasing transparency, representation and accountability. The purpose of this section is to explain what traditional peace building prescribes with respect to governance reforms, outline problems associated with current governance reform policies, demonstrate Puntland women's response to their governance concerns as well as the significance of their efforts, and lastly, present governance reform recommendations that may strengthen reforms outlined in peace building.

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[114] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace : an independent experts's assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peacebuilding. New York UN WOMEN (2002)

3.6.1 Traditional peace building and governance reforms.

The traditional peace building framework includes policy and institutional reforms that are intended to promote democratic institutions by increasing participation, representation and accountability in governance. For example, the holding of regular elections is considered the primary method of advancing participatory democracy during peace building. Proponents claim that the stability of governing systems cannot be achieved without the participation of former adversaries in democratic political processes post-conflict.[115]

Elections are also used to promote open and fair competition post-conflict because they present the opportunity to resolve conflict non-violently. With the help of international assistance and monitoring, fora for rational debates are encouraged throughout this election process. Building a legitimate government post-conflict also requires that judicial system reform occurs in tandem with efforts to reinforce participatory decision-making. The literature repeatedly cites the importance of strengthening judicial systems by removing corrupt officials and (re)building institutions intended to protect the public. Failure to respond to past and continued violence through a fair judicial system will only impede progress towards justice, accountability, and reconciliation and will jeopardize the entire peace building process.[116]

Establishing a working court system and having officials of the system (judges, lawyers and police) who uphold the rule of law is all essential for a functioning judiciary. Judicial reform

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[115] Farr, *"The Importance of a Gender Perspective to successful disarmament, demobilization and reintegration process 2003*
[116] Ibid, 33-34.

efforts must also include protecting and enforcing a constitutional structure that defends human rights and provides accountability.

3.6.2 Traditional Peace Building and Problems within Governance Reforms.

However, promoting good governance in post-conflict societies, that is encouraging increased participation, representation and accountability, is an immensely difficult and complex task. One of the most significant challenges is the integration of marginalized populations, in these case women, into the decision-making processes. Overcoming this challenge is important because when groups are excluded from participation in governance, the resulting decisions do not reflect the concerns of the entire population.[117]

While this research deals specifically with the issue of women, this problem of group marginalization is not unique to them but is also experienced by others such as the indigenous and rural populations. Often times, as is the case in Puntland and other Somali states like Somaliland, exclusion is embedded in a male-dominated Somali culture that limits women's participation in decision-making and in politics in general. Not surprisingly, peace building strategies in the region reflect this exclusion. Despite the value of women's actual contributions during the peacebuilding process they remain under-represented in decision making and rebuilding efforts post-conflict. What is even more problematic is that there has been little effort to include women in these processes. In Puntland, Somalia this oversight has not only limited women's participation in politics, in decision-making, and in areas of civil society, but it has reinforced the culture of impunity that exists with regard to violence against women i.e rape and

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[117] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2007, 96.

other domestic violence. The value of women's participation is now being recognized by some peace building theorists and in some countries.[118]

3.6.3 Way Forward in enhancing security reforms in Governance

Several recommendations have been put forth to improve the traditional governance approaches outlined within peace building. Generally speaking, recommendations suggest that post-conflict reforms must go beyond implementing 'free and fair' elections to include efforts that increase the level of political participation among even the most marginalized populations. Governance and judicial reforms recommend increased gender-awareness, support for women's participation, inclusion of women in all levels of policy and decision-making.

Proponents of Women suggest that increasing support for women's political participation will result in heightened awareness of women's concerns among governing institutions. The recommendations also stress that these governance reforms be emphasized at the onset of peace building efforts. For example, proponents of women's inclusion insist that all efforts be made to make room for women during the transformation from combatant forces to political parties. They suggest that women's active participation in these initial stages of party formation may increase the likelihood that their concerns will be discussed throughout the peace building process.[119]

Rehn and Sirleaf state that gender equality must be recognized in all agreements and transitional governance structures and argue that gender quotas (beginning with 30 percent) must be

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[118] Ibid, 34
[119] Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 2007, 96.

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established within national electoral law in order to work towards achieving gender equality.[120] In addition, Rehn and Sirleaf advocate international electoral assistance to achieve gender parity in decision-making positions. Moreover, they argue that women's participation in governance is necessary so that all involved in governance reform can be made aware of the gender-specific concerns that limit women's participation in the public sphere.

Rehn and Sirleaf also recommend that women's organizing efforts be supported and funded so that women's participation in the peace process, in new governments, and in rebuilding judicial and civil infrastructure is enabled. They state that it is necessary to promote, encourage and assist women's committees and groups in forming partnerships so that they may address their policy concerns through participatory democracy. And, in order to help create space for women in politics, they recommend that women's participation be enhanced by providing them with space for women-only gatherings, also argue for monetarily supported gender-awareness campaigns, leadership training, education programs, and workshops that promote democratic participation.

Supporting women's abilities to improve and advance their leadership capabilities is necessary in Puntland semi-autonomous state if women are to become more active leaders in politics. The learned skills will not only benefit women in the short-term, but will be passed on to other women and generations. Assistance and training can include improving gender consciousness, critical thinking, and information about lobbying and policy platform development. These skills are necessary to ensure that policy considerations and decisions that may have a negative impact on women are put into words and presented to political parties for consideration and action.

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[120] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace: an independent expert's assesment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building ... United Nations Women Development Fund(2002)

Lastly, because impunity can jeopardize the peace building process, proponents of reform argue that actual and perceived injustice must be addressed and mitigated during governance reform.[121] Impunity diminishes the publics' perception of government accountability and can foster suspicion and distrust towards newly forming systems of democracy. Thus the problem needs to be addressed so that, "the society that was affected by the conflict can invest in peace."[122] Rehn and Sirleaf suggest that reform requires more than punishing perpetrators – it requires establishing the rule of law and a just social and political order. Women, often underrepresented in judicial processes, must be consulted about the form, scope and models for seeking accountability. A combination of non-judicial methods, including truth and reconciliation commissions and traditional mechanisms can also play an important role in establishing accountability for crimes against women during war.

3.7 Relief and Development

While security and the stability of governing systems is of utmost importance, relief and development policies are also an integral part of the broader peace building process. These policies are aimed at mitigating the influence of 'spoilers', such as poverty, inequality and discontent post-conflict. The purpose of this section is to explain what traditional peace building says about implementing relief and development policies, outline problems associated with current initiatives, demonstrate women's response to their relief and development concerns as well as the significance of their efforts, and lastly, present reforms and recommendations that may strengthen relief and development policies outlined in peace building.

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[121] Author Unknown, *"An Examination of Challenges Facing Women..."*International Center for Research on Women, 1.
[122] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace: an independent expert's assesment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building ... United Nations Women Development Fund(2002)

3.7.1 Traditional Peace Building and relief and Development.

Traditional peace building efforts include relief and development initiatives intended to address poverty and inequality as these conditions have the potential to undermine peace and breed discontent and anger post-conflict. Relief policies serve to address the needs of populations suffering from the physical, social and psychological effects of war, mental health problems, preventable infections and diseases, maternal mortality and morbidity, and HIV and AIDS.[123] Meanwhile, both social and economic development policies are implemented to assist populations in overcoming poverty, unemployment, educational decline and inequality. This often includes steps to stimulate economic growth and development through investment in human resources and infrastructures. Traditional peace building theorists recognize relief and development policies as necessary first steps towards transforming deep-rooted conflicts and overcoming development challenges.

3.7.2 Traditional peace building its challenges in relief and development reforms.

While traditional relief policies recognize the many problems societies confront post-conflict, the effectiveness of the policies is generally limited because the aid provided to deal with the problems is inadequate. In addition, there is the very high likelihood that aid may not even reach some of the most vulnerable populations. Importantly, when it comes to women, traditional relief and development policies are unable to ease the suffering that women experience. These problems are often closely related to deficiencies in other areas of peacebuilding, including the inability to ensure that women are safe from violence and health-related suffering post-conflict.

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[123] Bayard de Volo, "Analyzing Politics and Change in Women's Organizations...," 107. 203 Cupples, "Counter-Revolutionary Women..." 12. 204 Ibid., 13-14.

As discussed earlier, post-conflict development policies often fail to include women in training programs and workshops despite the fact that women can significantly contribute to community development. And, while development policies espouse the value of education and training for ex-combatants, the ability of women to participate and take advantage of these opportunities is limited due to a variety of factors such as limited mobility due to familial obligations or unawareness of their rights.

3.7.3 Way Forward for Enhancing Relief and development reforms.

When it comes to relief and development, several recommendations have been suggested to improve the design of this component of traditional peacebuilding. Firstly, peacebuilding theorists and critics argue that post-conflict relief and development policies must address the suffering of all marginalized populations and encourage development in general. Reforms also call for changes that will affect women in particular, that will maximize women's individual and collective ability to contribute to relief delivery as well as social and economic development post-conflict.[124]

Secondly, it is essential that those populations in need of relief are identified during the earliest stages of the peacebuilding. Early identification can help ensure that marginalized, rural and remote populations are not neglected during relief efforts. Moreover, because women are highly represented among these groups, these efforts will help ensure that women are provided with much-needed services specific to their reproductive needs. Women in these areas may also be

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[124] Gay Rosenblum-Kumar, An Analysis of Strategic Processes for Conflict-Sensitive Reconstruction of Governance and Public Administration, in United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs,

helpful in identifying other groups in need, as they are often left to care for those injured or ill post-conflict.

Thirdly, because many governments lack the human resources necessary to identify these populations and provide relief and health services, Puntland being a semi-autonomous state of Somalia, it lack both Human resources and logistics to support this. It is important that innovative health-delivery models and pilot projects be supported during the peace building process. Supporting travelling health services and workshops may help provide services to marginalized, remote and rural populations. Moreover, supporting community-based initiatives, such as those led by women, may also require that these organizations be provided with the necessary resources, supplies, tools and medicines to allow them to continue to provide much needed relief services whether related to health delivery or infrastructure repair so that health services can be delivered to communities in need. Fourthly, it has been suggested that emergency assistance and reconstruction efforts include the provision of psychosocial support and reproductive health services for women affected by conflict.[125]

Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Sirleaf propose that the health needs of women who have experienced war-related injuries should be recognized as special health needs. Furthermore, they argue that protection against HIV/AIDS and the provision of reproductive health services should be offered through the implementation of the Minimum Initial Services Package (MISP).[126] Other theorists state that relief reforms should include basic education about sexually transmitted infections, reproductive health, and the dangers of illicit abortions, as well as the immediate provisions of

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[125] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace: an independent expert's assesment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building ... United Nations Women Development Fund , 2002
[126] Ibid

emergency contraception and treatment for sexually transmitted infections among rape survivors to prevent unwanted pregnancies and protect the health of women.[127]

Fifthly, peacebuilding advocates also stress the importance of educating women about their rights and developing their capabilities. According to Farr,"social transformation after war requires...harnessing women's capacity as peacebuilders through training them as...supporters of reintegration."[128] She states that women should be trained in economically profitable skills, and, in order to take seriously the capacity of women, there must be a focus on the best means to build and use that capacity.[129] Not only will this encourage women's development, it will facilitate "the smooth flow of DDR processes"[130] as discussed earlier in the security section. Rehn and Sirleaf also stress the importance of developing women's capabilities, stating that training and education are essential to many of the peace building recommendations they present.[131] In order for peace to be sustained in the long term, women must participate in and benefit from development policies and programs.[132] For example, Rehn and Sirleaf argue that women should not only be guaranteed access to land, resources and jobs, but should also be encouraged to pursue their capabilities to their full potential.[133] Sixthly, many theorists support increased efforts to inform women of their rights during peacebuilding.

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[127] Kaye, "The Role of Truth Commissions in search for justice, reconciliation and democratization Journal of Latin America...," 693-716.
[128] Rehn and Sirleaf, Women War Peace: an independent expert's assesment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building ... United Nations Women Development Fund (2002)
[129] Jeong, Ho- Won Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies: Strategy and Process (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005) ..., 155.
[130] Although amnesty may be provided during the limited amnesty period, it should be noted that amnesty should never be offered for instances of genocide, torture or as outlined by the United Nations. 63
[131] Hamara Kulmiye, interview by Balqesa Abdi, 20th July 2015.
[132] Amina Ali, interview by Balqesa Abdi, 20th July 2015.
[133] Khadija Salat, interview by Balqesa Abdi, 20th July 2015.

The most commonly recommended means of achieving this is through education initiatives and workshops focused on women's rights. Public awareness campaigns can also play a role in educating the greater community about women's rights. Moreover, rights education may give individuals and groups the confidence to participate more actively in the public sphere. For this reason it is imperative that access to information about rights be made widely available, specifically to marginalized populations. Encouraging women to address adversity collectively is also important if they are to strengthen their ability to demand respect for their rights. As with previous peacebuilding recommendations, this too will require that women are provided with safe and secure spaces to meet and discuss their rights and concerns. Finally, while there are many ways in which women's development can be encouraged and improved, practical supports, such as the provision of childcare, must be in place to allow them to participate in programs that increase their capabilities. The benefits of encouraging women's capabilities should also be promoted publicly as having greater benefits for the entire community. This will allow for more women to attend workshops and develop the necessary skills to increase their quality of life. Implementing programs that specifically encourage women's capabilities can serve to foster socioeconomic change and development that has the potential to benefit society as a whole.

3.8 Reconciliation

Closely intertwined with security, governance, and relief and development, post-conflict reconciliation is fundamental to the broader goals of peacebuilding. Preventing the recurrence of violent conflict through reconciliatory efforts is the most desirable means for resolving past wrongs among divided populations.[134] The purpose of this section is to explain what traditional

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[134] Kaye, "The Role of Truth Commissions in search for justice, reconciliation and democratization Journal of Latin America...," 693-716.

peacebuilding says about reconciliation reforms, outline problems associated with current reconciliation policies, demonstrate women's response to their reconciliation concerns as well as the significance of their efforts, and lastly, present reforms and recommendations that may strengthen current reconciliation frameworks outlined in peace building.[135]

3.8.1 Traditional Peace Building and reconciliation reforms.

Reconciliation efforts under current peace building initiatives are carried out through a variety of means, including the use of high-profile truth commissions that document the crimes of the conflict and/or assign responsibility for them, governmental apologies, local peace commissions, and grassroots workshops. Traditional reconciliation efforts also encompass the reintegration of displaced persons and refugees, peace education, and trauma support for communities. The goal is to provide mechanisms for conflict resolution and, of course, to deter future abuses. While the goal of reconciliation to date has been to help restore moral order through psychosocial healing, for many victims reconciliation is also strongly associated with the pursuit of truth and justice. Truth, mercy, and justice are all important aspects of the reconciliation processes because reconciliation often requires confronting the violence of the past as well as the perpetrators of that violence, and addressing the needs of victims. Reconciliation involves the participation of perpetrators and victims in a process of truth telling, apology, and forgiveness. It is not just a process of addressing problems in the government, flaws with the military, or weaknesses in the judicial system. Rather the process of reconciliation must involve the construction of a new moral order that incorporates political, cultural, psychological, and spiritual strategies.[136]

[135] Kaye, "The Role of Truth Commissions in search for justice, reconciliation and democratization Journal of Latin America...," 693-716.
[136] Raxa Madhar interviewed by Balqesa Abdi 20[Th] July 2015.

3.8.2 Traditional peace Building and problem of reconciliation reforms.

Reconciliation efforts under current peace building initiatives are carried out through a variety of means, including the use of high-profile truth commissions that document the crimes of the conflict and/or assign responsibility for them, governmental apologies, local peace commissions, and grassroots workshops. Traditional reconciliation efforts also encompass the reintegration of displaced persons and refugees, peace education, and trauma support for communities. The goal is to provide mechanisms for conflict resolution and, of course, to deter future abuses. While the goal of reconciliation to date has been to help restore moral order through psychosocial healing, for many victims reconciliation is also strongly associated with the pursuit of truth and justice. Truth, mercy, and justice are all important aspects of the reconciliation processes because reconciliation often requires confronting the violence of the past as well as the perpetrators of that violence, and addressing the needs of victims. Reconciliation involves the participation of perpetrators and victims in a process of truth telling, apology, and forgiveness. It is not just a process of addressing problems in the government, flaws with the military, or weaknesses in the judicial system. Rather the process of reconciliation must involve the construction of a new moral order that incorporates political, cultural, psychological, and spiritual strategies.[137]

3.8.3 Feedback of women to reconciliation reform challenges.

When it comes to the reconciliation concerns of women, many organizations have been active in pursuing truth, justice and reconciliation. Their actions have centered on two areas. First, women have worked to bridge the divide with former adversaries and fostered long-term social transformation. Second, they have supported the implementation of truth and reconciliation

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[137] Zeynab Mohamed interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 20th July 2015.

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commissions as well as ongoing investigations into past events. While their efforts have had differing levels of success, the impact of their actions has been significant during peace building.

Women's actions also had an impact on long-term social transformation, For instance, upon realizing the detrimental impact of hatred, women in the community worked to socialize their children in ways that helped to ensure that the past hostilities and hatred would not continue by setting a more positive example for their children:"If [the children] see that we are filled with hatred, they'll grow up with the hatred…most important thing is that the children of mothers and widows…love each other, that they play together, that they are never going to have this hatred."[138]

By strengthening social bonds among themselves and fostering relations among their children, women have helped develop the social foundations necessary for previously warring factions to move towards peace.

3.8.4 Way forward to enhancing reconciliation reforms.

When it comes to reconciliation reforms, many recommendations have been presented for improvement. Recommendations focus on the necessity of including all parties to the conflict in the peace process and in the development of initiatives to unravel the truth about crimes committed during the conflict. The recommendations also speak of the need to address issues of amnesty and impunity. First, proponents of reform recommend that divided factions be encouraged to participate in peace building and reconciliation efforts through increased

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[138] Samira Warfa, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 20th July 2015.

communication and interaction. These groups include persons of different ethnicities, languages, religions, geographical areas, genders, age categories, and socio-economic levels.[139]

Gender-specific reconciliatory efforts may help open discussions between rival groups. Identifying women leaders on either side of the divide and training them to play a lead role in local, regional and national reconciliatory efforts can be beneficial in moving divided factions towards more peaceful relationships. Encouraging discussions at the local level and providing safe spaces for women's interaction is also vital for advancing cross-divide participation.

Secondly, peacebuilding critics recommended that International Truth and Reconciliation Commission or Special Courts be gender-sensitive and promote women's participation. This will help women feel they are welcome to speak the truth about past events without fear of reprisal.[140]

Rehn and Sirleaf argue that these institutions could also be dedicated to unearthing the truth about impunity and violence against women in armed conflict, thereby establishing accountability for crimes against women.[141] The application of justice is critical during the reconciliation process. In the context of a post-conflict community, there is a need to ensure legal and moral responsibilities with an honest assessment of the existing balance of power.[142] While the implementation of a truth commission is an important step towards promoting justice, reconciliation and democratization, impunity will continue to plague the peace process if deficiencies among judicial systems are not address

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[139] Safia Suleiman, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 21ˢᵗ July 2015.
[140] Asia Hussein, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 21ˢᵗ July 2015.
[141] Ajaba Abdi, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 21ˢᵗ July 2015.
[142] Somali Bantu

effectively. Therefore, it is necessary that personnel within judicial institutions be required to take sensitivity training so that they may uphold the rule of law and human rights without discrimination post-conflict. Rehn and Sirleaf also stress the importance and role of non-judicial methods during peacebuilding and state that "a combination of methods may be appropriate in order to ensure that all victims secure redress."[143]

In addition, civil society and governments must be made aware of continued abuses and impunity. Focusing on recording past abuses alone is not sufficient. The prevalence of violence, lack of security, and existence of impunity post-conflict must be brought into the public sphere by organizations working to encourage peace through the delivery of justice. Individuals must feel that they can safely step forward to make known human rights infractions, and be protected from reprisal. Local initiatives to uncover continuing abuses should be undertaken by governments, mosques, NGOs, and community groups dedicated to ending impunity as these groups can serve as a venue for recording acts of violence post-conflict. These initiatives should be encouraged in tandem with full, independent and impartial international investigations into past and post conflict abuses.

Thirdly, because envisioning a new future would not be possible without truth and accountability for past acts, crimes of the past must be acknowledged and punished to prevent future violations.[144] Therefore, while the role and significance of forgiveness has been encouraged as part of reconciliation initiatives in commissions and judicial hearings, the application of amnesty laws should be re-examined. The application of amnesty laws should be limited in time and

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[143] Fatuma Haji, Interview by Balqesa Abdi, 21st July 2015.
[144] J.P. Lederach, Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies (Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 42.

scope.[145] In other words, amnesty laws should have an 'expiration-date.' A period of two-years

may provide an acceptable initial expiration period that could be used to pilot the application of

the time-sensitive amnesty. For example, amnesty may be granted if an offender readily

participates in the process of truth commissions and investigations, admitting to their

wrongdoings during the limited amnesty period.

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[145] Hayat Dahir, interviewd by Balqesal Abdi,21ˢᵗ July 2015.

3.9 Conclusion

Traditional peace building focuses on four main areas: security, governance, relief and development and reconciliation. However, reforms in these areas fail to make room for women, as this chapter has demonstrated drawing from the study shows Security measures have failed to incorporate women fully into disarmament, demobilization and reintegration schemes as well as failed to recognize women as victims of ongoing gender-specific violence. Governance measures neglect to outline best practices for women's inclusion in politics and the institutions of governance, as well as fail to provide them with justice for abuses perpetuated against them. Relief measures overlook the inadequacies of health delivery and the resulting impact on women's health while development measures neglect to incorporate and enhance women's capabilities through training and education initiatives. Lastly, reconciliation measures disregard the value of capitalizing on women's similar experiences of suffering as a venue for reconciliation and social transformation. However, in these post-conflict societies, as discussed in this chapter, women have actively responded, directing their efforts towards addressing voids, problems and inefficiencies with the current reforms. Had women not collectively initiated movements to respond to their concerns, these needs would have arguably been otherwise ignored. As a response to their efforts, many recommendations have been advanced for enhancing peace building post conflict.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN PEACEBUILDING IN PUNTLAND, SOMALIA

4.1 Introduction

Women are the major creators of peace not only in Somalia but across the globe, they are mothers of the young boys in the society and husbands to men who are mostly seen in participating in conflict, violence and other clashes that may have resulted due to scarcity of natural resources, interethnic clash that erupts from past grudges, greed for power among others, this chapter however, analyses the role women played and the different strategies they used in building peace in puntland, somalia

4.2 Peace in the Community and Family

After personal questions such as name, marital status, education etc., each participant was asked one opening question. The question tested the women's understanding of the term "peace." This question provided a starting point from which women stressed the importance of peace in their communities, and particularly of their involvement in achieving and maintaining it. One of the elderly women interviewed, Hamara Kulmiye, had much information to narrate. According to Hamara, history telling ensured the continuity of past events and practices of her Somali community.[146] Much has changed; for example, in the olden days people used to see their grandchildren always but now, because of schooling, grandparents have little time with their grand daughters and sons. Although she does not seem to dislike the idea of schooling, she is disappointed that some of the traditions that strengthen moral values are disappearing.

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[146] Hamara Kulmiye Interviewed By Balqesa Abdi 21ˢᵗ July 2015

When asked the meaning of the term "peace," Hamara regarded peace as absence of war. To her, peace is an important aspect of any community's well being. She also defined peace as living in harmoniously with one another. To her understanding, the absences of such qualities can be likened to conflicts.

In Somali culture, Hamara explained that the word "peace," known as *nabad*, was an important element of Somali daily lives. She went on to explain that peace comes from good relations with family members, community and neighbors; and as a mother she taught her children the importance of greetings, and still does that now as a grandmother; she socialized her grandchildren and her neighbors' children into the practice of such greetings. She further explained the meaning and the significances of greetings among the Somali as follows:

Every morning, I greet my neighbors and community in general…Daily greetings are the first sign of peace in my community and a greeting symbolizes Allah's, God's blessings…Somali start their day with morning greetings… "Manabad barideen?" And the person greeted responds "nabad." Failure to respond to such greetings is a sign of unhappiness or conflict in my community;[147]

The Somali morning greetings, Manabad barideen? meaning, "Did you spend your night peacefully?" The person greeted should respond, *nabad* [peace, peace].This is an indication of well-being and sets the tone for how the day will go. Similar meanings of peace resonated through all the interviews with other older women.

[147] Samira Warfa interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 21st July 2015.

A 72 year-old Amina Ali offered a similar explanation when I asked her understanding of the term "peace." She asserted that Somali women have been involved in peacemaking from time immemorial. Below is her explanation of the meaning of peace: Me, I'm a peace loving personality... In the Somali history and cultures, peace means harmony, health and well being. Harmony provides nomads with the chance to look after their animals... smooth way of life means peace at homes and families and the entire community.[148]

Young women's understanding of peace differed from that of the older women. Khadija Salat, a 38 year-old NGO worker, said that peace means not only absence of war or conflict but equality in our community, and in particular, when the rights of women are safeguarded.[149]

4.3 The Role of Women's Traditional Institutions

The question on the women's traditional institutions and their roles received a remarkable and well-detailed account from the majority of interviewees specifically the elderly women. Both the older and the younger women recounted the changes and continuity they experienced or learned from their mothers and grandmothers in the colonial and post-colonial eras. The theme of the women's traditional institutions tied in well with the role played by elderly women during pre-colonial times. For example, in the case of a misunderstanding between a husband and a wife, the elder women would go to visit the couple with the objective of facilitating reconciliation and bringing back harmony in the family. According to Ambara Ali, older women were typified as specialists in conflict resolution and were always consulted on the matters of conflict both in their families as well as in their communities. The respondents revealed that these roles were

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[148] Malyun Adan, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 22ⁿ July 2015.
[149] Seytuun Hashi, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 21ˢ July 2015.

mostly advisory, as the decisions were taken by men, but women played an important background role and influenced policy through their husbands, brothers and sons to discourage hostilities.

The elderly women interviewees saw their traditional institutions as one of their strongest traditional legacies before the introduction of colonialism in early 1920s. One such institution was Xeer Abay. (Women way of solving issues) According to Hamdi Sharif, the Xeer Abay played a significant role in the lives of the married women. They have a symbolic function, socially and culturally, and women used this institution as a venue to articulate their interests. Hamdi also added that the institution had no official leaders but that elderly women normally thought of as wise and with excellent oratory skills, presided over the practice of such institutions. Since the Somali society based respect on age, adult women performed various ritual functions associated with the Xeer Abay institution.

On the matters of peacemaking, from what their mother told them, some of the young women revealed that in the pre-colonial period "older women monopolized everything."[150] When I asked how this changed over time, a 32-year-old Raxa Madhar, explained that: In my generation I can say something to an older woman or man and they would listen to me but not during my grandmother's period. In those days, young women were thought of as inexperienced and were not involved in something like settling disputes…With changes, I mean the modern education, and young people have chances now and are involved in their communities' development… And

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[150] to Hamdi Sharif Interviwed by Balqesa Abdi 21st July 2015

that is why I am involved in peace-building in my community and I work with NGO to support my community.[151]

When asked if they possessed any characteristics that made them especially suited to peacemaking and conflict resolution, the older women interviewed collectively explained that a balance existed between the power of a man and woman in every aspect of their lives during the pre-colonial period. This is important, but for this to occur, they remarked that peace is a prerequisite as explained below: Thus, the white colonial system abolished these traditional systems of governance and directly or indirectly demobilized and subjugated both the power and authority of the Somali women, especially in their roles in peace-making.

We are a peace-loving community. As women, because of our life bearing capabilities, our traditions and culture regards us highly. Prayers in general and particularly peace prayers conducted through us [women] are always full of blessings. We use to have prayer meeting every Friday. But, this tradition has faded in this new generation; we know this defines us, it is our role, a gift bestowed to us by Allah, God, practiced by generations before us...[152]

A respondent, Samira Warfa described how the area of domestic conflict has changed in the post-colonial period. She narrated her experiences of settling disputes in her own paternal family: In this era things have changed, a woman can settle disputes regardless of age unlike the pre-colonial period. Myself, I do make peace in my family. I remember one incident in my family

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[151] Nooleen Heyser, UNIFEM Executive Director's comments to the United Nations Security Council on October 2, 2000. Cited in Henry F. Carey, "'Women and Peace and Security': The Politics of Implementing Gender Sensitivity Norms in Peacekeeping," International Peacekeeping, Vol. 8, No.2, London: F.Cass, 2001, 49.
[152] Chineze J. Onyejekwe, Women, War, Peace-Building and Reconstruction, UNESCO, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2005, 281.

where my ability to settle disputes was most successful. When my father died at age 85, there was a dispute between my two brothers over land. My father died abruptly and he did not leave his will. My elder brother wanted to have all the plots left by my father in his name and this did not go well with my younger brother. I had to intervene as their sister, although at first it was not easy for me. My eldest brother in particular, was not ready to listen to me, "you are just a woman, what do you have to tell me?"But I did not give up, I kept on talking to them; when finally one day, they agreed to meet in my house to settle the land dispute… I tell you, I was very happy. After the first meeting, we met for almost a week until my eldest brother finally decided to share the land equally with my younger brother…[153]

When I asked Samira if the elder brother's resistance to listening to her was because of her sex, the response was yes. She confided that this happened in her community when it came to crucial decision-making processes, but she never gives up. She said she fights back when necessary.

4.4 The Role of Traditional Education and Artistic Expression

Both the elderly and young respondents saw education and storytelling as one of the important strategies to promote peace and understanding in their community. This was conducted from childhood, and individuals underwent an endless process of socialization, with the mothers and grandmothers as a role model for girls, while the boys looked up to their fathers and grandfathers. Children were taught their community's customs and traditions, for example, on morality, ethics and aesthetics as well as how to live with other children peacefully.

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[153] Maria Hadjipavlou, "No Permission to Cross: Cypriot Women's Dialogue Across the Divide." Gender, Place and Culture, August 2006. Vol.13, No.4, 336.

Children's education can be understood in relation to women's greater contribution in socializing children into acquiring such values. Safia Suleiman, a 65-year-old woman in Galkayo described how traditional education was conducted in her community during the pre-colonial period. She commented that at various stages in life, her Darood clan conducted initiation ceremonies for both boys and girls, and it was during the seclusion period that both girls and boys were trained: Girls at puberty are specifically trained in their duties and responsibilities by their mothers... But when the girls are about to be married, the responsibility is transferred to an elderly woman. This could be a grandmother, and if the grandmother is not alive, any well respected elderly woman in the village can take on this responsibility. Girls are taught how to conduct themselves in their matrimonial homes, and especially how to be a role model for stability and peace.[154]

The question of artistic expression tied in with the theme on the education of children on peace issues. In traditional African societies, storytelling, songs and proverbs were used as education tools. Most women interviewed confirmed this. The songs, stories, and proverbs were used as a medium of communication between the adults and children. For example, the women in their interviews mentioned many stories that described greed and individual interests as major sources of conflict. These stories revolved around wild animals, like the hyena, known mostly for greediness. Many stories told to children were meant to inculcate values such as fairness, responsibility and even punishment for those who break community norms out of greed or self-interest. Such stories were also told to discourage conflict and hostilities as a 60-year-old Asia Hussein recalled: Modern education of today has taken children's time away and it is difficult to get a child to listen to you...I remember when we were young children, my mother and

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[154] Farr, "The Importance of a Gender Perspective...," 32; Henry F. Carey, "'Women and Peace and Security': The Politics of Implementing Gender Sensitivity Norms in Peacekeeping," International Peacekeeping, Vol. 8, No.2, London: F.Cass, 2001, 50-52; (2000).

grandmother telling my siblings and me about long ago stories. We used to huddle together in front of the evening fire, listening carefully. Some of those stories were about animals like hyenas. We were told that hyenas were greedy, and those people who behaved like hyenas were frowned at in the community. If you are greedy you want everything to be yours, you are selfish and this is a bad vice that can create conflict, and we were warned not to be like hyena. Stories we were told as children emphasized values like honesty. Now it is the same stories I tell my grandchildren, although most of today's children are no longer interested in the stories of long ago and they are interested in playing football and going to school.[155]

Women used songs to pass messages to men folk. Ajaba Abdi, a 65 year-old woman explained: Women were never invited to men's meetings. But whenever the signs of wars and conflict are noted, we have our way of signaling each other. Indirectly, we made our feelings known about the subject by singing songs that ridiculed and criticized unwise decisions taken by men. However, sometimes we used songs to support and call men for war to fight the enemy clan.[156]

4.4.1 Marriage between different clans and sub-clans as a way of promoting peace

Most interviewees commented that women always related well to one another regardless of their clan background, and most of them do so even in the situation of conflict. A 36-year-old Fatuma Haji, commented: Modern times are not like the times of our ancestors who were used to marrying only from a certain culture, I mean, an ethnic group (clan) of their own. Nowdays different people marry from different cultures; we as Hawiye, today we marry from Dir, Darood,

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[155] Sirkku K. Hellsten,
"Ethics, Rhetoric and Politics of Post-conflict Reconstruction: How Can the Concept of Social Contract Help Us in Understanding How to Make Peace Work?" United Nations University: World Institute for Development Economics Research, November 2006. 17-18.
[156] Paris, At War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict. Colorado: Cambridge University Press.

Digil & Mirifle and even *Jareer*.[157] Although the most important factor in marriage is love, I view marriage as a link to break hostilities because it is through women that a strong kinship is established across different cultures.[158]

4.4.2 The Role of Women's Organizations: Galkayo Education Centre for Peace and Development (GECPD)

Galkayo Education Centre for Peace and Development (GECPD) is a grassroots organization formed in 1999 to strengthen women's capacity to seek, defend and promote their access to basic education and health service as well as access to political participation. GECPD also promotes peace and reconciliation among communities. Hawa Aden, an educator and activist, organized community and international resources to rebuild the adult Education center in Galkayo to provide primary education for girls and awareness, literacy and skills for women. GECPD has over 400 girls in their primary education classes. Over 3,000 women are attending an innovative literacy and awareness learning circles based on participatory action research related to issues such as family relations, health, education for girls and women, women's work load, and natural resources management.

GECPD is a center for women's and girls' human rights including awareness and advocacy against the practice of Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). GECPD has been one of the leaders of the peace and reconciliation movement in Galkayo which has insured that Galkayo is ONE (*Galkayo waa mid*) and has not allowed it to be divided along clan lines.

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[157] Bodomo, A. 2011. The Globalization of Investment in Africa: Europe, China and India in Tandem" (Los Libros de la Catarata, Madrid, Spain).
[158] Ibid

Grassroots leaders, according to J.P. Lederach, Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies, are those who use existing networks to incorporate new programs and projects to encourage peace and conflict resolution.[159]

The organization's major challenge, according to the chairlady, was lack of finance which inhibited the women's activities. She also added that some areas were difficult to access because of poor road situations, as has been the case with some countries in Africa, and that is why they advocated for peace and played a major role in negotiations for peace at the grassroots level. Like the older women, who revealed that during the colonial period, their roles in peacemaking were compromised, the younger women also lamented that they were not consulted in decision-making in the post-colonial era. A 34-year-old Hayat Dahir commented: I love peace and that is why I volunteered to be a member of Galkayo Education Center for Peace and Development (GECPD). However, most women are normally not engaged in the actual decision- making process. We participate only at the grassroots level, which, of course, is the most crucial phase. It would have been good if the Puntland state and community-based organizations involved us in the decision-making process during and after conflict. I personally feel that the current political culture tends to marginalize women when it comes to decision-making and the official negotiation of peace.[160]

When I asked the participants how they managed household chores and peace activities, all the young women responded that it was always challenging to balance the two. This was not the case with the older women and most commented "all our children are now grown-ups, we have less

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[159] Ibid
[160] Ibid

responsibilities.[161] When I asked the women how their husbands reacted to their peacemaking roles, most young women responded that their husbands supported them to participate in peace-building activities.

4.4.3 The use of *Bun Abay* (coffee ritual) as a symbol of peace

The use of coffee ritual as a symbol of peace among the Somali women was emphasized by the women interviewed. Coffee, referred to as *bun* in the Somali language. The respondents associated coffee with women. According to the oral traditions of the Somali as narrated by Malyun Adan, the use of coffee in peace prayers was a part of traditions and customs they have been practicing over years.[162]

I must confess that I grew up watching my grandmother preparing coffee rituals for prayers, and the Somali women rekindled my childhood memories when they demonstrated to me how they prepared and used coffee rituals to pray for peace. The women prepared the coffee berries by roasting them in some cooking oil to which later some water and fresh milk or porridge were added. This mixture, was sweetened by adding a little sugar. However, coffee ritual prayers for peace were solely women's ritual specializations. An elderly woman in the group recited some special prayers generally and specifically for peace. Special incense, called *lubaadin* in the local language, was burned using a charcoal fire in a traditional earthen ware vessel called *idin*.

Seytuun Hashi recited these prayers as: "Ilaahayoow nabad nasii, Ilaahayow nabad nasii, Ilaahayow sanad kan sanad kiisi nagaarsii"[163] meaning, "May God give us peace, May God give us peace, May we get the chance to reach next year safely". She also said that coffee rituals

[161] Malyun Adan, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 22st July 2015.
[162] Malyun Adan, interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 22st July 2015.
[163] Seytuun Hashi interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 22st July 2015.

bring peace and makes the community a peaceful and blessed one. These ceremonies with coffee and the accompanying prayers symbolized peacemaking practices among the Somali women, and were as important as their literal peacemaking interventions.[164]

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[164] Seytuun Hashi interviewed by Balqesa Abdi, 22st July 2015.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSION

Peacebuilding has become increasingly important as a means of preventing continuing hostilities in countries emerging from civil war and violent conflict. As such, the post-Cold War period saw extensive activities in this area with UN-sponsored peacebuilding missions and reconstruction initiatives taking place in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. This research focused on Puntland, a semi-autonomous state in Somalia and specifically Galkayo, Garowe and Bossaso districts. This final chapter focuses on summary of the findings, recommendation and conclusion of the report.[165]

This research has been organized in such a way as to provide a discussion of the four central areas addressed in traditional peacebuilding, (security, governance, relief and development and reconciliation), to illustrate how women have been marginalized from the design of peacebuilding, and to examine how women have made room for themselves during peacebuilding efforts in the countries studied. This analysis demonstrates that women have played a central role in the peacebuilding process despite being marginalized from the structural design of peacebuilding. Women have responded to this marginalization by initiating unique peacebuilding mechanisms and making space for themselves during the process of reconstruction.

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[165] *Anderlini, Women Building Peace :What they do, what it matters....* (Lynne Riener : 2007) ...,*103*.

Women have been active in each of the four peacebuilding areas explored in this report, focusing their efforts on identifying, responding to, and fostering awareness of women's unique needs and concerns post-conflict. While they experienced differing levels of success within each of these four areas, the challenges they faced and successes they have made were, and continue to be, contingent upon the Somali cultural, social, political and economic setup. [166]

With regard to governance, women in Puntland faced similar challenges related to the prevalence of a traditionally patriarchal culture of Somali community that resulted in their exclusion from politics, governance structures and decision making processes. While this led to an ignorance of women's needs and concerns, women's organizations mobilized to make their demands known by identifying their needs and concerns, establishing organizations, developing political platforms and lobbying for increased representation, women were able to achieve relative successes and have laid the foundation for continued action that may encourage women's efforts and participation in the future. [167]

The study identified and responded to their relief and development concerns in post-conflict. With a focus on the delivery of emergency and reproductive health service, women provided assistance to many communities, including those rural and remote areas where traditional relief efforts have been limited. In addition, women mobilized to foster development where traditional peacebuilding efforts yielded unequal benefits or were otherwise absent.

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[166] *Anderlini, Women Building Peace : What they do, what it matters....* (Lynne Riener : 2007) ..., *103.*

[167] *Jeong, Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies (*New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005).... *31*

Encompassing a broad range of activities, women's development initiatives in Puntland included providing education and training in the areas of human rights, women's rights, literacy, technical skills, gender awareness, women's empowerment, leadership and political action. While the women's peace organizations were formed more than a decade now, the fact is that women participants did not understand the importance of their gendered-participation. Had they had some sense of gender consciousness, the resulting agreements and accords may have reflected women's needs and concerns.[168]

Unfortunately, where women lack the knowledge or initiative to address their own concerns post-conflict, there is often no prescribed course of action. Traditional peacebuilding to date does not provide measures for responding to women's specific needs in the post-war setting. It is imperative that reforms be implemented in order to incorporate women as well as mitigate the likelihood that spoilers will jeopardize peacebuilding efforts. Reforming the current framework is of utmost importance so that women can begin to participate more fully in peacebuilding.

Although this report has presented numerous recommendations for reform, the barriers that hamper the implementation of these reforms deserve mention. The first barrier lies within the inherent complexity and limited timeframe of peacebuilding operations. Given the monumental task of rebuilding war-torn regions and the nascent nature of peacebuilding operations, these complexities have resulted in numerous problems and oversights within traditional

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[168] *Jeong, Peacebuilding in Post-Conflict Societies (*New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2005).... *31*

peacebuilding. It is precisely for this reason that current peacebuilding missions are still considered experimental.[169]

The second barrier to implementing peacebuilding reforms is the context-specific nature of each peacebuilding mission or scenario. In any region where peacebuilding initiatives are implemented, there exist numerous context-specific variables that require the development unique policies in response. For this reason, how women are incorporated into peacebuilding on a case-by-case basis will vary depending upon the local context. Other barriers include a lack of focus on women's education, the prevalence of violence, and insufficient funding. For example, in order to fully participate in decision of the problems associated with traditional peacebuilding models to date is the lack of provisions for women in both peace agreements and accords. Even where women were involved in the negotiation process, as was the case in Puntland i.e Galkayo, gross deficiencies in the final agreements and accords had a negative impact on women ex-combatants ability to access reintegration benefits packages.

It should be noted that the United Nations has recently made attempts to ensure women's participation in peacebuilding as per the critiques and recommendations of many journalists, academics and peacebuilding theorists. As Noeleen Heyser, Executive Director to United Nations Development Fund for Women, said to the United Nations Security Council in 2000: Without international action, women caught in conflict will have no security of any kind, whatever the definition. And without women's participation, the peace process itself suffers, for there will be neither peace nor development. In your own words [Security Council Members]

you have said that women are half of every group and community. They are therefore not half of any form of solution. How can we in all conscience bring war lords to the peace table, but not women?[170]

The United Nations Security Council recognized the need to address women's concerns and include them in peacebuilding with the passing of Resolution 1325 in October of 2000.[171] Resolution 1325 reaffirms the significance of women's needs and concerns as well as calls for their inclusion in peace process that seek to resolve and prevent conflicts and in peacebuilding.[172]

Resolution 1325 calls for gender awareness, urges women's informed and active participation in disarmament, requires that states increase women's representation in conflict resolutions and initiatives to support local women's peace initiatives, and insists on women's right to carry out post-conflict reconstruction in an environment free from threat and sexualized violence.[173]

Nevertheless, women are still marginalized from participating in peacebuilding processes that continue to be top-down,[174] and there remain challenges to ensuring women's participation at the bargaining table during peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. For this reason, many have criticized the U N, arguing that the implementation of 1325 has been insufficient and calling for increased monitoring of women's integration into peacebuilding. Participating in

[170] Noeleen Heyser, Executive Director to United Nations Development Fund for Women, said to the United Nations Security Council in 2000
[171] United Nations Security Council
[172] Ibid
[173] Gender Awareness Report UN Women, 2002.
[174] Ibid

peacebuilding processes that continue to be top-down, and there remain challenges to ensuring women's participation at the bargaining table during peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction.

Roland Paris argues that "any opportunity to increase the effectiveness of future [peacebuilding] operations should be vigorously pursued."[175] Lessons learned in Puntland demonstrate that there is much room for improving upon traditional peacebuilding. There is no shortage of reform recommendations that may contribute to increasing the success of peacebuilding initiatives. Given the nascent nature of peacebuilding, reforms that incorporate and encourage women's role in peacebuilding should not be discounted. Continued research into the efforts of women's organizations during post-conflict reconstruction in Puntland and in other parts of Somalia will offer useful information and insights into women's capabilities post-conflict.

The oral interviews conducted with the Somali women of Puntland demonstrated that women in peace-making were not stereotypes. Men and women played a complementary role that signifies power possessed by both. Each woman had a strong sense of how peacemaking should be done, and of how it was done in her mother's or grandmother's days. The lived experiences of the 20 women interviewed offered insights into the roles women played to minimize conflicts, and thus the interviews supported my assumption that despite socio-cultural issues that affect gender relations in traditional African societies, women played a significant role in the peacemaking and conflict resolution processes.

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[175] Roland Paris 2000, War's End: Building Peace After Civil Conflict. Colorado: Cambridge University Press.

Their individual and collective experiences not only paint a picture of how they were active participants in peacemaking in their communities, but also how women's roles in peacemaking and conflict resolution changed over time. Each of the women interviewed, narrated her roles in peacemaking and conflict resolution, and each of their stories highlighted changes they witnessed, and also some continuities. In the colonial period, the older women told of how their roles in peacemaking changed, women's roles were not appreciated. The elder women, as indicated by the interviews, lost their powers in traditional peacemaking and conflict resolution during the colonial period. In the post-colonial era, the interviews with the young women also revealed changes. Raxa Madhar's stories showed that young women witnessed a breakthrough in terms of their active participation in peacemaking unlike the pre-colonial period, where older women "dominated" peacemaking and conflict resolution roles and the rituals involved.

Also, change is reflected in the stories women narrated on the education of future peacemakers (children). In Safia Suleiman's story, in the pre-colonial period, the education of children especially girls in the matters of peacemaking and conflict resolution was mainly informal, and verbal; children learned from the previous generation. Also, the education of children was a communal affair, not only done by parents, but also by grandparents and other elders in the village. It is also evident from her story that the roles that children learned were sex specific. For example, girls were socialized to become good mothers and wives. They were also expected to have abilities in peace-making and conflict resolution All of the women I interviewed agreed on the education of children as an essential component of peacemaking. Mothers socialize children to acquire a culture of peace and to reject conflict and hostilities. The education of children was conducted both by the parents and the grandparents. In the pre-colonial period, the women's

traditional institutions like *Bun Abay*, played a significant role in the evolution of the culture of peace.

The women's stories revealed the roles grandmothers and mothers played in socializing girls into acquiring family peace values and in encouraging social solidarity among women. This was the biggest and most positive single factor of continuity, women's solidarity with one another. The interviews showed that in these women's lives, there was a high level of interactions in terms of networking. Their stories speak to the nature of peace-building activities. Their collaborations, solidarity, connection with families and communities were all important factors in developing an environment of peace.

When speaking of their experiences, especially the older women did not describe themselves as being marginalized but saw themselves as social actors within their domain and specialized rituals. From the interviews, the important roles such organizations played were exemplified by GECPD. The organization acted as a venue through which the women participated in and practiced peacemaking in their communities. It also gave the women the opportunity to express themselves when, as so often peace-making and conflict resolution. While these organizations and their efforts are mentioned throughout numerous sources, there is a room for continued research into the day-to-day functioning of these groups, their objectives and goals, the activities they pursue, the concerns they have currently, and the challenges they face to name a few. This research is potential for contributing to the success of peacebuilding and is much too valuable to ignore.[176]

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[176] Mohammed Abu-Nimer, "Toward the Theory and Practice of Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding," in Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding: A Resource for Innovators, Edited by Sampson et al., Washington: Pact Publishers, 2003, 18.

5.2 RECOMENDATIONS

Women playing major role in Somali'a peace-building efforts has been confirmed because having excluded from the all-male arena of clan-based politics, women have directed their collective political acumen and agency into the civil society space that opened up after state collapse. Within the somewhat inchoate definitions and boundaries of civil society, Somali women have operated as key players and shown keen leadership.

Indeed some women would argue that Somali civil society organizations' engagement in peace work did not start until women took a dedicated leadership role. An example of women civil society organizations in Puntland includes Galkayo Education Center for Peace and Development (GECPD), an adult Education Center in Galkayo that provides primary education for girls and awareness, literacy and skills for women. However, there challenges are dragging behind their efforts of peace building and if supported well then they can be significant peace agents in the region and even beyond

Peaceful Somalia granting women a greater say in decision-making processes has also be confirmed. The recent draft constitution recognizes Somali women's rights and grants more equal participation in future Somali governments by designating a 30% quota. The inclusion of women in the constitution is a welcome sign that has ignited excitement and hope among Somali women who are geared to take part in the decision-making process of their country's affairs. Consequently, women's movement among Somali women has just begun, both inside and outside of the country, as more Somali women are speaking out and taking center stage in the affairs of their country.

The issues and concerns over the gender divide, and biases have also came to the surface in every region in Somalia, as witnessed by the recent demonstrations all over the country and the public outcry in which women demand their rights be respected, and that they be allowed to take their rightful place in the socio-political and economic development of the country.

Successful peace-building efforts will lead to socio-economic development in Somalia has also been tested. It is evident that, despite this grim scenario, necessitating heroic acts from Somalis and Africans themselves but also from benevolent, charitable outside individuals and organizations, all is not lost for Somalia. Rather surprisingly, Somalia has maintained a booming informal economy, in the circumstances, garnered mainly by remittances from Diasporan Somalis, livestock transactions, and telecommunications. Somalia is a country with substantial endowments of minerals such as uranium, iron ore, and natural gas that can be profitably mined in a post-conflict environment. Given China's excellent track-record in taking risks with conflict and immediate post-conflict economies[177] there is potential for Chinese involvement in mining Somali uranium, iron ore, and natural gas, among other minerals to turn Somalia into an investment paradise.

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[177] Ibid

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Demographic Statistics:

Name: ……………………………………………………………………………………

Age: ……………………………………………………………………………………

Occupation: ……………………………………………………………………………

Marital Status: ……………………………………………………………………

1. What do you understand by the word "peace"?

2. Do you remember any incidences of conflicts between clans/sub-clans in the area? If yes, explain.

3. Were you ever involved in peacemaking in your community or family?

4. Are there any traditional women's institutions in your community that are involved in peacemaking and conflict resolution? If yes, could you describe some of these institutions and how they function? Do these institutions still exist?

5. Do you have any symbols of peace in your community? If yes, could you describe them?

6. Do you educate your children about peace? If yes, explain some of the ways you use to educate children in your community?

7. Do you have any peace ritual(s) performed especially during peacemaking in your community? If yes, could you describe them?

8. During the old period or colonial times, were women involved in peacemaking? If yes, explain how they carried out this role? Were there any changes? If yes, explain.

9. In the post-colonial era, do women get a chance to participate in decision making during peace building in your community?

10. Does westernization/modernization affect the role women play in peacemaking? If yes, how?

11. As a peacemaker what are the specific activities that you perform which contribute to peace building?

12. How do women from two conflicting communities during ethnic conflicts relate?

13. In your own opinion, do marriages from different cultures minimize conflict? If yes, please explain?

14. Do you think gender bias undermines you as a peacemaker? If yes, what methods did you use to cope with this problem as a peacemaker?

15. Do you have any other conflict resolution and peacemaking idea or thought you would like to share with me?

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEWS

Hamara Kulmiye on 20th July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Amina Ali on 20th July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Khadija Salat on 20th July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Raxa Madhar on 20th July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Zeynab Mohamed on 20th July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Samira Warfa on 20th July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Safia Suleiman on 21st July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Asia Hussein on 21st July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Ajaba Abdi on 21st July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Fatuma Haji on 21st July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Hayat Dahir on 21st July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Malyun Adan on 21st July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Seytuun Hashi on 21st July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Halima Osman 22nd July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Jamila Abdullahi 22nd July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Hawa Dahir 22nd July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Maryan Aden 22nd July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Hamdi Shariff 22nd July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Qali Osman 22nd July 2015, Puntland, Somalia

Deqa Salah 22nd July 2015, Puntland, Somalia