

TITLE PAGE

**GENDER AND PEACEBUILDING INITIATIVES IN NIGERIA: THE
CASE OF THE WOMEN WING OF INTERFAITH MEDIATION
CENTRE, KADUNA STATE.**

BY

**RUKAYYATU MAGAJI
SPS/11/MPS/00018**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE, BAYERO UNIVERSITY, KANO, IN PARTIAL
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF A
MASTERS DEGREE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE.**

APRIL, 2016

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work is the product of my research efforts undertaken under the supervision of Professor Aisha Abdu-Ismael and has not been presented anywhere for the award of a degree or certificate. All sources have been duly acknowledged.

Signature.....Date.....

Rukayyatu Magaji
SPS/11/MPS/00018

CERTIFICATION

This is to certify that the research work for this thesis and the subsequent write-up (Rukayyatu Magaji SPS/11/MPS/00018) were carried out under my supervision.

Signature.....

Date.....

Professor Aisha Abdu-Ismail

Signature.....

Date.....

Head of Department (HOD)

APPROVAL

This thesis titled 'Gender and Peacebuilding Initiatives in Nigeria: The Case of the Women Wing of Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna State' has been examined and approved for the award of Masters in Political Science.

.....
External Examiner

Signature.....Date:

.....
Internal Examiner

Signature.....Date:

.....
Supervisor

Signature.....Date:

.....
Head of Department

Signature.....Date:

.....
Representative of board of SPS

Signature.....Date:

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I wish to extend my profound gratitude to Allah (SWA) for making this thesis a reality. I wish to appreciate the efforts of my supervisor, Prof. Aisha Abdu-Isma'il, who took her time to put me through the entire process of writing the thesis. I also extend my heartfelt gratitude to my husband- Malam Umaru Ibrahim Yakubu for his moral and financial support.

I will never forget my father, late Malam Ishaq Jibril Magaji who so much believed in girl-child education and was instrumental in making this thesis a reality. To my family members, I say thank you all!

My appreciation goes to the entire academic and non-academic staff of the Department of Political Science, Bayero University, Kano. They are Prof. Mahmoud Lawal, Prof. Habu Muhammad, Prof. Shehu Dalhatu, Prof. Sule Kano, Prof. Kamilu Fagge, Dr. Fatima O. Ibrahim, Malama Hafsah Yakasai, Dr. Aliyu Jibiya, Dr. Bawa Gusau, Mal. M. M. Yusuf, Mal. Mu'azzam Ibrahim to mention but a few. My heartfelt gratitude goes to Dr. Abdulmalik Auwal.

The Co-executive Directors and the entire staff of Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna State and the Women Wing are appreciated particularly Mr. Samson Auta, Hajiya Ramatu Adamu, Mrs. Jane Obi and all the research assistants, I say thank you. I appreciate the contribution of NSRP Programme Officers of Kaduna and Kano states.

I won't forget my friends and course mates such as Mal. Abbare, Ibrahim Bula, Maimuna, Firduasi, Johnson, Abubakar, Sani, Aminu, Riya'uddeen and Jamilu.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my husband, Mallam Ibrahim Umar Yakubu and daughter, Rahma Ibrahim Umar for their immeasurable support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title page	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	i
Declaration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ii
Certification	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iii
Approval page-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	iv
Acknowledgment	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	v
Dedication	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vi
Table of contents	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	vii
List of tables	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ix
Abstract	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x
Acronyms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	xi

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1	Background to the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
1.2	Statement of Research Problem	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
1.3	Research Questions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
1.4	Objectives of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
1.5	Research Assumptions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1.6	Significance of the Study	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
1.7	Methodology	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1.7.1	Method of Data Collection/Analysis-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1.7.2	Target Population, Sample Size and Sampling Techniques	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
1.8	Scope	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8
1.9	Limitations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1	Literature Review	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
2.2	Conceptualizing Peacebuilding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	9
2.2.1	Dimensions of Peacebuilding and Preconditions for Sustainable Peace.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	13
2.2.2	Approaches to Peacebuilding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15
2.3	Civil Society and Peacebuilding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	19
2.3.1	The Role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Peacebuilding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20
2.4	Women and Peacebuilding	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	25

2.5	Theoretical Framework	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
-----	-----------------------	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WOMEN WING OF IMC

3.1	Introduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	40
3.2	Formation of the Interfaith Mediation Centre				-	-	-	-		40
3.3	Structure of the Interfaith Mediation Centre	-			-	-	-	-		42
3.4	Interfaith Mediation Centre's Strategies for Peacebuilding				-	-	-	-		43
3.5	Women Wing of Interfaith Mediation Centre-				-	-	-	-		45
3.5.1	Some Achievements of the Women's Peace Building Efforts						-	-		45
3.5.2	Some Challenges faced by the women wing of IMC	-					-	-		46
3.6	Conclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	46

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN WING OF IMC AND PEACEBUILDING INITIATIVES IN KADUNA STATE

4.1	Introduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47
4.2	Respondents Bio-data	-			-	-	-	-	-	47
4.3	Women's Involvement in Policy Making				-	-	-	-	-	50
4.4	Women and Peacebuilding Initiatives				-	-	-	-	-	54
4.5	Challenges to Women's Participation in Peacebuilding Initiatives						-	-		64
4.6	Conclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	69

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1	Introduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
5.2	Summary of Findings.-				-	-	-	-	-	70
5.3	Conclusion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	73
5.4	Recommendations	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	73
	Bibliography	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
	Appendix 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	80
	Appendix II	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	84
	Appendix III	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	85

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Title	Page
4.2.1:	Sex of Respondents	47
4.2.2:	Age of Respondents	48
4.2.3:	Respondents' Marital Status	49
4.2.4:	Respondents' Highest Educational Qualification	49
4.3.1:	Women's Involvement in Policy Making in the State	50
4.3.2:	Level of women's' Involvement in Policy Making in the State	52
4.3.3:	Women's Role in Policy Making in the State	53
4.4.1:	Efforts Aimed at Peacebuilding in Your Communities	54
4.4.2	Who Initiated the Effort?	55
4.4.3:	Women Participation in Peacebuilding Initiatives in Your Communities	56
4.4.4;	The Composition of the Peacebuilding Team in Your Communities	57
4.4.5:	Women Participation in Peacebuilding in Your Communities.	58
4.4.6:	Women's Contribution to Peacebuilding in Communities	59
4.4.7:	Women's Participation in Peacebuilding Activities will ensure Lasting peace in Nigeria	60
4.4.8:	Trauma Counselling as Role Women Play in Peacebuilding.	60
4.4.9:	Humanitarian Activities as Role Women Play in Peacebuilding.	62
4.4.10:	Advocate for Peace as Role Women Play in Peacebuilding	62
4.4.11:	Mediation as Role Women Play in Peacebuilding	63
4.5.1:	Lack of Fund as Challenge for Women in Peacebuilding	64
4.5.2:	Cultural Factor as Challenge for Women in Peacebuilding	65
4.5.3:	Religious Factor as Challenge for Women in Peacebuilding	65
4.5.4:	Poor Skills as Challenge for Women in Peacebuilding	67
4.5.5:	Inadequate Representation as Challenge for Women in Peacebuilding	68

ABSTRACT

The role of women in peacebuilding cannot be over-emphasized. This study examines the issues of gender and peacebuilding in Nigeria, with particular reference to the contribution of the Women Wing of Interfaith Mediation Centre (IMC), Kaduna State. Using the John Lederach's Peacebuilding Framework as its theoretical framework, the study showed that the women wing works within the middle-range and grassroots leaderships and carry-out peacebuilding approaches such as training workshops on conflict resolution and psycho-social trauma counselling. The study made use of both questionnaires and in-depth interviews. With the help of research assistants, 320 questionnaires were administered on randomly selected respondents from 3 selected Local Government Areas (LGAs) representing the 3 senatorial districts of Kaduna State. The LGAs selected were Sabon Gari, Kaduna North and Jama'a. The data were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) and presented on frequency distribution tables. The research findings revealed that women contribute a lot to peacebuilding particularly, at the grassroots level. However, they are being marginalized in formal conflict prevention, conflict management and post-conflict reconstruction mechanisms. As such, their contribution to peacebuilding has not been able to enhance sustainable peace in Nigeria even though they have the potentials to do so. The study recommends among other things, the urgent domestication of the National Action Plan for the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 as well as the removal of cultural barriers that inhibit women from active engagement in decision-making bordering on peacebuilding in Nigeria.

ACRONYMS

IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
NSRP	Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
LGA	Local Government Area
IMC	Interfaith Mediation Centre
NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations
ECOWAS	Economic Community Of West African States
ECOMOG	Ecowas Monitoring Group
UN	United Nations
WARN	West African Early Warning and Early Response Network
MARWOPNET	Mano River Union Women Peace Network
WIPNET	Women in Peacebuilding Network
WANEP	West African Network for Peacebuilding
KWP	Kup Women for Peace
LWPM	Liberian Women's Peace Movement
NDR	Niger Delta Region
AAP	Academic Associates Peace Network
FOMWAN	Federation Of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria
DFID	Department For International Development
CAN	Christian Association of Nigeria
NACOMYO	National Council of Muslim Youth Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The need for effective conflict resolution strategies has increased since the end of the Cold War in the early 1990s, particularly, with the emergence of numerous regional and sub-regional conflicts around the world. Africa is known to be characterized by various forms of violent conflicts ranging from civil wars to communal crises. Nigeria has also experienced many violent conflicts involving different groups over time. The effects of such conflicts have been enormous to the lives and property of communities.

The experience of men and women in situations of tension, war and post-conflict reconstruction is significantly different. Although wars may be mostly fought by men, women are of course deeply affected by war, for instance, the displacement of civilians, leading to the disintegration of communities, the breakdown of mutual support mechanism, and to reduced access to food and shelter (El Bushra and Lopez, 1992).

Approximately 80% of today's civilian casualties in violent conflicts are mostly women and 80% of all refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) worldwide are women and children (Abdulkadir, 2006). Women suffer violations of human rights in situations of armed conflict such as systematic rape, forced prostitution, abductions, family separation, perpetual fear, economic incapacitation as well as social and psychological traumas among others. Women experience torture, forced pregnancy and forced abortion, sexually transmitted infections as well as death (from HIV/AIDS, or assault because of the stigma attached to rape survivors.). They suffer most, during the deaths of sons, husbands, lovers, brothers and fathers.

Women are thus, caught-up in a vicious paradox: while they are the most victims of conflict, they are often powerless to prevent them, excluded from negotiations during conflict resolution and confined to marginal role in post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation efforts. Therefore, the general exclusion of women in decision-making positions prior to, during, and in the aftermath of violent conflict reinforces their victimization (Abdulkadir, 2006).

As the face of conflict has changed so has the discourse around it with a paradigmatic shift away from more state centric measures, which have had little success in bringing about sustainable peace. Hence, civil society and its role in conflict resolution has come to the fore in recent years, largely due to the failure of more state-led alternatives. An active civil society can play a positive role in maintaining sustainable peace as civil society is a critical space where diversity and pluralism can be cherished and fostered. Civil society can create social capital that is, trust, and cooperation over ethnic, religious, and other divisions, inclusiveness, and open debate which is conducive to peace and harmony between sections of society.

There are opportunities for women to claim spheres of influence within civil society and use its growing importance to demand for recognition and participation in peace-building initiatives. Many areas of civil society are sympathetic to the empowerment of women and others form a powerful platform to have the ideals of equal participation aired in a public, sub-state space.

Women are essential components of civil society. As Reardon (1993) advances, the possibilities for peace rest in large measure on the possibilities for women, for their full emancipation and for the realisation of their visions of peace and security. Civil society has boosted official efforts to seek peace and women have been involved in the de-escalation of conflict at local level. Indeed, women are heavily involved in civil society organisations (CSOs), collectives and local groups. Their influence is only hindered by their lack of political power to complement this (cited in Potter, 2004).

There are strong connections between women and peacebuilding processes. And it is based on this that the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed a Resolution (1325) on women, peace and security in the year 2000. The resolution represents the first formal and legal document from the UNSC that enjoins parties in a conflict to respect women's rights, and to support women's equal participation in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction.

Nigeria is a signatory to the UNSC Resolution 1325. However, women in Nigeria have continued to play marginal role in public spheres and in most cases, excluded from decision-making in post-conflict peacebuilding.

1.2 Statement of Research Problem

Women's profiles in peacebuilding, as in many other areas of life, have been low and undervalued. There are many examples where women have courageously intervened in battles to force peace, for instance, in Ethiopia, Somalia, Liberia and Sudan. Women have also taken up opportunities for peacemaking between groups of warring men (www.cities-local-governments.org). Despite the presence of a number of global legal frameworks such as the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 which calls for the entrenchment of

gender perspective into the policy and practice of reconstruction and peacebuilding. Yet, most efforts aimed at peacebuilding have either ignored or marginalized issues of gender and women. Women consistently remain a minority of participants in peacebuilding processes and also in many of the new political institutions that are created after violent conflicts.

The UN Security Council Resolution 1325 recognised the fact that women and men are affected differently in armed conflict. That there are aspects of women's and girls' experience of armed conflict which are not shared by men (Sweetman, 2004). Women and girls have special vulnerabilities to many forms of violence and bear many consequences of wars. They suffer violations of human rights in situations of armed conflict such as systemic rape, forced into prostitution, abductions, family separation, subjected to perpetual fear, economic incapacitation as well as social and psychological traumas among others.

Although, women suffer most in conflict situations, they have not been adequately recognized as major stakeholders in peacebuilding initiatives. In 2012, a study conducted by the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) on conflict mapping in 8 conflict-prone states in Nigeria revealed that young men and all women and girls are almost totally excluded from decision-making forums in general and peacebuilding mechanism in particular (NSRP, 2012).

It should be noted that women have important roles to play in peacebuilding. As activists and advocates for peace, women have seen the need to stem-down the violent attitude and build culture of peace among the world population through promotion of principles of democracy and human rights. Women get involved in peacekeeping initiatives and humanitarian activities. They also serve as mediators, trauma healing counsellors, and policy makers for

meaningful conflict transformation and are very prominent in socialization processes (Kasali et al, 2006). Hence, even though the study is on gender and peacebuilding, more emphasis is given to women.

This issue raises a number of other challenging concerns for women peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria, namely; What are those factors that hinder women in their peacebuilding efforts in Nigeria? How can women be empowered to participate effectively alongside men in peacebuilding processes in Nigeria? It is against this backdrop that this study explores the role of women in peacebuilding and examines the underlying factors responsible for the exclusion of women in peacebuilding initiatives with particular reference to the Women Wing of Interfaith Mediation Centre (WWIMC) in Kaduna State.

1.3 Research Questions

The study attempts to provide answers to the following questions:

- i. What role do women play in peacebuilding in Nigeria?
- ii. Why are women not adequately involved in peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria with particular reference to the women wing of IMC in Kaduna State?
- iii. How can women be empowered to participate effectively alongside men in peacebuilding processes in Nigeria?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

- i. To examine the role women play in peacebuilding in Nigeria.
- ii. To find out why women are not adequately involved in peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria.

- iii. To find out how women can be empowered to participate effectively in peacebuilding processes.

1.5 Research Assumptions

- i. Adequate involvement of women in policy making will strengthen the peacebuilding process.
- ii. Adequate involvement of women in peacebuilding initiatives will lead to sustainable peace in Nigeria.
- iii. Women's marginal role in policy making leads to their less involvement in peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria.

1.6 Significance of the Study

Although women and women's group are at the forefront of peace-making efforts at the community level, this does not always translate to the inclusion of women as participants at state and national level debates, mediation processes and peacebuilding activities. Women have a strong commitment to the cessation of violence and the maintenance of long-term peace, often constituting a highly motivated and able group of stakeholders in all aspects of the processes leading to sustainable peace. Hence, for sustainable peace to be achieved in Nigeria, existing peacebuilding strategies must address the exclusion of women in peacebuilding processes; lack of attention to women's post-conflict needs; and the marginalisation of gender analyses. This is in line with the notion that positive peace can only be achieved when the needs of the marginalised groups are catered for. This study is significant in the sense that it shows the impact of women's participation in peacebuilding process on the success of peace efforts. Secondly, it helps to show the extent to which women's inadequate participation in decision making culminate in their marginal

involvement in peacebuilding especially at formal peace processes. It will serve as an eye-opener to policy makers on the role women play in peacebuilding and the need to entrench gender issues in all peace processes for sustainable peace to be achieved in Nigeria. More so, the study adds to the existing body of knowledge on gender and peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria.

1.7 Methodology

1.7.1 Method of Data Collection/Analysis

The data for the study were collected using a combination of methods-both quantitative and qualitative approaches. 320 questionnaires were administered on randomly selected men and women from across Kaduna State. Sabon-Gari, Kaduna North and Jamaá local government areas (LGAs) were randomly selected to represent the three Senatorial districts of the state. The questionnaires were distributed among the selected senatorial districts. In each selected LGA, 2 wards were selected randomly and each selected ward was further divided into three specific locations for questionnaire administration. In addition, 6 individuals were selected purposively from among civil society organisations for in-depth interviews.

The quantitative data collected were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). The data were presented on simple tables. The qualitative information was used to complement the quantitative data in order to provide more insight into issues addressed in the study.

1.7.2 Target Population, Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

The target population for the study is mainly women and men who are at least 18 years old. A total of 320 men and women were sampled randomly from across Kaduna State for questionnaire administration. The study adopts a multi-stage sampling technique. 3 local

government areas (LGAs) were selected from the three Senatorial districts in the state. In each LGA, 2 wards were selected and then specific locations where respondents were sampled randomly. The questionnaires were distributed proportionately among the three Senatorial districts. Also, 6 in-depth interviews were conducted among major stakeholders drawn from the civil society.

1.8 Scope

The scope of the study is on the Women Wing of Interfaith Mediation Centre, Kaduna State and the extent to which their peacebuilding initiatives impact on sustainable peace in Kaduna State. It places emphasis on the activities of women in peacebuilding with particular reference to the women wing of IMC, Kaduna State from 1997 to 2014.

1.9 Limitations

The study is limited by the inability to get past data on the peacebuilding activities of the women wing of IMC. This is mainly due to the frequent change in personnel as most of the staffs are new as such, they are not well acquainted with some past projects. However, available data used in the study provide a lot of insights into the activities of the organization. Hence, the limitations faced did not in anyway invalidate the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review

This chapter features the review of relevant literatures on the concept of peacebuilding and the theoretical framework adopted in understanding the role women play in the peacebuilding process.

2.2 Conceptualizing Peacebuilding

The term "peacebuilding" originated in the field of peace studies more than thirty years ago. In 1975 Johan Galtung coined the term in his pioneering work "Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding. Where he defined peacebuilding as one of the approaches to peace. According to Galtung:

Peace has a structure different from, perhaps over and above, peacekeeping and ad hoc peacemaking... The mechanisms that peace is based on should be built into the structure and be present as a reservoir for the system itself to draw up... More specifically, structures must be found that remove causes of wars and offer alternatives to war in situations where wars might occur.....(Galtung,1976)

Peacebuilding goes beyond peacemaking and peacekeeping. Peacemaking usually refers to diplomatic efforts to end violence between parties involved in conflict and to achieve a peace agreement. International or national peace agreements may contain demobilisation commitments or regulations on the future status of conflict parties. As stated in the United Nations Charter, peace-making strategies range from negotiation, mediation and conciliation, to arbitration and judicial settlement. Sometimes economic sanctions or even military interventions to end the use of force in a conflict are considered as part of peace-making. Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) involved in peace-making mostly rely on non-

violent strategies such as negotiation and mediation (www.Berghof glossary-2012). An example of peace-making process was the Camp David Accords on September 17, 1978, which was facilitated by former American President, President Jimmy Carter. The Accord was a conflict transformation effort by Mr. Jimmy Carter to commit Mr. Menachem Begin, the then Prime Minister of Israel and Mr. Anwar Sadat, the then Egyptian President to the path of enduring peace (Kasali et al, 2006:4).

The term peacekeeping in the traditional sense describes the deployment of armed forces to intervene as a buffer zone between adversaries, to enforce a ceasefire agreement and monitor peace processes in post-war societies. Most common are the peacekeeping operations undertaken by the United Nations and some regional organisations such as the ECOWAS Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). The activities mandated under the peacekeeping label have constantly been enlarged and nowadays also contain various post-war peacebuilding measures. Since the 1990s, Peacekeeping mandates expanded and include for example the organization of elections or training of the national police force. Sometimes international organizations even take over state functions, as is the case in Kosovo (Purkharthofer, 2002).

Some civil society organisations also practice unarmed “civilian peacekeeping” as a counterpart to military peacekeeping by monitoring ceasefire agreements or providing protective accompaniment. While peacemaking and peacekeeping processes are an important part of peace transitions, they are not enough in and of themselves to meet longer-term needs and build a lasting peace. In recent times, the concept of peacebuilding has become one of the United Nations cardinal models of peace process which came to limelight in the pioneer paper of the then UN-secretary general, Boutros-Boutros Ghali "An Agenda for Peace" in

1992. The concept was associated with preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and peacemaking. Boutros-Ghali defined peacebuilding as "an action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict". This can be achieved by rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations torn by civil war and strife; and building bonds of peaceful mutual benefit among nations formerly at war; and in the largest sense, to address the deepest causes of conflict. Boutros-Ghali categorized peacebuilding into- pre-conflict and post-conflict peacebuilding.

Pre-conflict peacebuilding includes such measures like 'demilitarisation, the control of small arms, institutional reform, improved police and judicial systems, the monitoring of human rights, electoral reform and social and economic development (Boutros-Ghali, 1992 cited in Kasali et al, 2006). Similarly, Kasali et al view pre-conflict peacebuilding as a kind of early warning mechanism to monitor conflict triggers or catalysts and address the underlying root causes of conflict, which may be considered as latent or a conflict situation that is still in "sleeping phase" (2006). On the other hand, post-conflict peacebuilding is more associated with peacekeeping, focusing more on demobilization and reintegration programs, and immediate reconstruction needs (Doyle and Sambanis cited in Kasali, 2006).

Onyido (2011) however provides an explicating definition of post-conflict peacebuilding as the effort to strengthen the prospects for internal and sustainable peace and prevent the recurrence and continuation of armed conflicts by using a wide range of political, development, humanitarian and human rights mechanism. Its ultimate aim is to lay the basis for sustainable peace in a war-torn society.

According to Muhammed (2006), peacebuilding is the process of restoring normal relations between people. It requires the reconciliation of differences, offering apology and forgiveness on past harms. Most literatures on peacebuilding tend to see it as applicable only to post-conflict situations by emphasizing on peacemaking and peacekeeping as well as on measures at averting a relapse into conflict. Such restrictions may undermine the prospects for sustainable peace. Lederach (1997) posits that peacebuilding is more than post-accord reconstruction and is understood as a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches and stages needed to transform conflict toward more sustainable peaceful relationships. In a similar vein, Reyhler (2000: 12) perceives peacebuilding as all the efforts required on the way to the creation of a sustainable peace zone: imagining a peaceful future, conducting an overall needs assessment, developing a coherent peace plan, and designing an effective implementation of the plan.

The overall objective of peacebuilding is to transform conflicts constructively and to create a sustainable peace environment. Transforming a conflict transcends problem-solving or managing conflict. It addresses all the major components of the conflict: fixing the problem, which threatened the core interests of the parties; changing the strategic thinking; and changing the opportunity structure and the ways of interacting.

Through peacebuilding, the conflict is not merely resolved, rather, the whole situation shifts. Peacebuilding tries to make the world safe for conflicts.

In corresponding to the three conflict phases, Paffenholz and Spurk (2006:16) identified three phases of peacebuilding: (a) the prevention phase aiming at preventing armed conflict; (b) the conflict management or peace-making phase aiming to end armed conflict and reach a peace

agreement; and (c) the post-conflict peacebuilding phase, the immediate aftermath of armed conflict (1-5years) and the period after (5-10years).

2.2.1: Dimensions of Peacebuilding and Preconditions for Sustainable Peace.

Peacebuilding is based on the conviction that violent conflicts do not automatically end with the signing of a peace accord or the deployment of peacekeeping forces. It is not a rapid response tool but a long-term process of ongoing work which takes place in the following dimensions:

Altering Structural Contradictions: This is widely regarded as essential for lasting peace. Altering structuring contradictions centres on tackling those conditions (root causes) that promote violent conflicts. Important elements are state-building and democratisation measures, the reform of structures that reproduce the conflict, economic and sustainable development, social justice and human rights, empowerment of civil society and constructive journalism.

Relational Dimension: This is an integral part of peacebuilding to reduce the effects of war-related hostilities and disrupted communication between the conflict parties. This dimension focuses on non-material effects of violent conflicts such as reconciliation, trust building, forgiveness and future imagining aimed at the transformation of damaged relationship.

Changing Individual Attitude and Behaviour: Otherwise known as personal dimension. This entails strengthening individual peace capacities, breaking stereotypes, empowering formerly disadvantaged groups, and healing trauma and psychological wounds of war. One

frequently used measure for strengthening individual peace capacities is training people in non-violent action and conflict resolution. More so, through trauma healing techniques, victims are assisted in putting behind their experiences about the armed conflict thereby, starting a better life. For peacebuilding to have a greater impact, it should encompass all the three dimensions ([www.Berghofglossary](http://www.Berghofglossary.org),2012).

Other peacebuilding dimensions as identified by Peinado(2002) are as follows:

Political and Institutional Dimension: This dimension to peacebuilding entails democratization, state reform and good governance, respect and the upholding of human rights and national reconciliation.

Military and Security Dimension: This involves demobilization, disarmament, reintegration of the former combatants and de-mining.

Social Dimension: The social dimension has to do with the return and reintegration of displaced and refugee populations, rehabilitation of basic social services, attention to the needs of the most vulnerable groups (women, children, groups in situation of extreme poverty, those handicapped by the war), reactivation of the social fabric.

Economic Dimension: This is done to overcome the distortions of the "economy of war ", how to re-establish a stable macro-economic framework, reconstruct the basic productive infrastructure, reactivate the production, demand and the local markets, strengthen food security, promote structural reforms such as fiscal reform and agricultural reform that allow for the situation of poverty, inequality and exclusion to be overcome, which in many cases instigated the war and worsened during it.

Environmental Dimension: This can be achieved by ensuring a sustainable management of natural resources as well as equal access to these resources.

2.2.2 Approaches to Peacebuilding

Conflict Management School: The approach of the Conflict Management School is to end war through different diplomatic initiatives. This is the oldest school of thought, closely linked to the institutionalization of peacebuilding in international law. The peacebuilders within the logic of this school are external diplomats from bilateral or multilateral organizations. Its theoretical approach is referred to as outcome-oriented approach, which aims to identify and bring to the negotiating table leaders of the conflict parties. Its main focus is on the short-term management of the armed conflict. Key actors are governments and multilateral organizations, mostly the UN, sometimes supporting their mediation efforts by threat of force (power mediation). Power mediation is a special form of conflict management, with the same criteria as the outcome-oriented approach but including the possibility of applying external power, including financial carrots and/or military sticks, on the parties. Traditional conflict management approach was used in the negotiations for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1995. Another example is Haiti, when former US President Jimmy Carter mediated an agreement while American troops were ready to intervene.

The Conflict Management School has been criticized because mediators tend to concentrate solely on the top leadership of the conflicting parties who are not always neutral in internal conflicts. And the approach overlooks deep causes of conflicts and thus cannot guarantee long-term stability of the peace agreement. Conflict Management approaches

have recently moved beyond an exclusive concern with securing a peace agreement and now also focus on the conditions for successful implementation of post-conflict peacebuilding. Thus it is now possible to distinguish between traditional and modern approaches to conflict management (Paffenholz and Spurk, 2006:20).

Conflict Resolution School: The Conflict Resolution School emerged as a result of the shortcomings of the conflict management school. Its approach is to solve the underlying causes of conflict and rebuild destroyed relationships between the parties. Under this logic, relations need to be rebuilt not only between the top representatives of the conflict parties, but also within society at large. This school was established in academic research in the 1970s, adopting strategies from socio-psychological conflict resolution at the interpersonal level. In the early conflict resolution school, peace-builders were mainly western academic institutions carrying out conflict resolution workshops. The principle of these workshops is to bring individuals from the conflict parties together that are close to or can influence their leaders. Workshops are designed to rebuild relationships between the representatives of the conflict parties and work with them to solve the causes of the conflict. As the approach evolved, additional participants entered the field, such as international or local NGOs, as well as individuals and communities. The common features are that all actors work to address the root causes of conflict with relationship-building and long-term resolution-oriented approaches, and they do not represent a government or an international organization. Approaches and tools used include: dialogue projects between groups or communities, and conflict resolution training to enhance peacebuilding capacity of actors perceived as agents of change (Paffenholz and Spürks, 2006).

The key drawback of conflict resolution approaches in the views of Forster and Mattner is the long time frame, which can appear out of touch in situations of acute violence, and the fact

that improving communications and building relationships does not necessarily result in an end to armed violence. It may result in better relations between the parties involved, but had little impact on the peace process at large as witnessed in the ‘people to people peace program’ funded by Norway following the 1994 Oslo peace agreement between Israel and Palestine (2006:8).

The Complementary School: This school focuses on the complementarity of the conflict management and resolution schools, with three different approaches. The first is what Fisher and Keashly (1991) refer to as the ‘Contingency model for third party intervention in armed conflicts’, which aims to identify the appropriate third party method and the timing of interventions. Based on Glasl (1990) conflict escalation model, the approach is to de-escalate the conflict from phase to phase. The escalation phase is the appropriate time for resolution-oriented approaches, while power mediation should be used when the conflict escalates. After a peace accord has been reached, it is time to revert to resolution-oriented approaches.

Bercovitch and Rubin (1992) developed an approach similar to the contingency model, but shifting the perspective from approaches to actors. In this approach it is not important which mediators are the most effective, but who is more effective at different stages of the conflict. The results are similar to those of Fisher and Keashly—the more the conflict escalates, the more powerful the third party should be. A weakness of this approach is that it does not fully address the issue of coordination or the possibility of simultaneous application of all approaches.

The third strand of this school is the Multi-Track Diplomacy approach by Diamond and McDonald (1996), which while recognizing that different approaches and actors are needed to reach peace, it seeks to make a clearer distinction between the different approaches and actors

by adopting a 'track' concept. Track 1 involves diplomatic peacebuilding initiatives by governments and is in line with the Conflict Management School. Track 2 represents the original conflict resolution school, while the other tracks try to cluster other relevant actors.

The Complementary School has not been subject to a broad critique nor has it resulted in major debates within mainstream research. This is likely due to the evolution of the Conflict Transformation school that absorbed the results of the Complementary school and was taken over by mainstream research and most of all by practitioners (Paffenholz and Spinks, 2006).

Conflict Transformation School: This approach focuses on the transformation of deep-rooted armed conflicts into peaceful ones, based on a different understanding of peacebuilding. It recognizes the existence of irresolvable conflicts, and therefore suggests replacing the term conflict resolution with the term conflict transformation (Rupesinghe 1995). John Paul Lederach (1997) developed the first comprehensive transformation-oriented approach. Building on the Complementary school, Lederach also sees the need to solve the dilemma between short-term conflict management, and long-term relationship building and resolution of underlying causes of conflict. His proposal is to build 'long-term infrastructure' for peacebuilding by supporting the reconciliation potential of society. In line with the Conflict Resolution School, he sees the need to rebuild destroyed relationships, focusing on reconciliation within society and the strengthening of society's peacebuilding potential. Third party intervention should concentrate on supporting internal actors and coordinating external peace efforts. Sensitivity to the local culture and a long-term time frame are necessary.

Using the conflict transformation perspective, Lederach divided conflict-affected societies into three levels along with different peacebuilding strategies appropriate to each level. Top leadership can be accessed by mediation at the level of states (track 1) and the outcome-oriented approach. Mid-level leadership (track 2) can be reached through more resolution-oriented approaches, such as problem-solving workshops or peace-commissions with the help of partial insiders (i.e. prominent individuals in society). The grassroots level (track 3), however, represents the majority of the population and can be reached by a wide range of peacebuilding approaches, such as local peacecommissions, community dialogue projects or trauma healing. This is where civil society tends to be most active (Reychler and Paffenholz, 2001).

From the aforementioned approaches, Peacebuilding covers all activities aimed at promoting peace and overcoming violence in a society. Although most activities on Track 2 and 3 are carried out by civil society actors, the establishment of links to Track 1 is considered essential for sustainable transformation of societies. While external agents can facilitate and support peacebuilding, ultimately it must be driven by internal actors, often called agents of peaceful change. It cannot be imposed from the outside. Some peacebuilding work done by international or western organisations is criticised for being too bureaucratic, short-termist, and financially dependent on governmental donors and therefore accountable to them but not to the people on the ground. It thus seems to reinforce the status quo instead of calling for a deep transformation of structural injustices. Transformative peacebuilding thus needs to address social justice issues and should respect the principles of partnership, multi-partiality and inclusiveness.

2.3 Civil Society and Peacebuilding

Until the 1990s, conflict management approaches had centred on the top leadership level of conflict parties, based on the assumption that a limited number of actors involved in peace negotiations facilitate negotiated settlements. However, with the subsequent shift to conflict transformation approaches attention is now focused on the key role played by civil society. The growing importance attributed to civil society initiatives goes hand-in-hand with the recognition that peacebuilding entails numerous societal reconstruction tasks that official diplomacy and technical reconstruction programmes can hardly achieve.

Forster and Mattner advanced a broad range of members of civil society involved in peacebuilding work at the local, national and international level subsumed under the notion of civil society are as follows:

- NGOs, especially those directly supporting peace process or capacity building;
- Human rights organizations, social justice advocacy groups and peace networks;
- Special or collective interest groups organizations such as faith-based organizations, women's groups, youth's and professional associations, trade unions;
- Communitybase organizations, institutions and initiatives including women and youth groups, farmer associations, traditional self-help groups, traditional leaders, informal networks and associations;
- Information and educational CSOs for example, independent media, journalists associations, research and academic institutions and think tanks (2006).

2.3.1 The Role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Peacebuilding

Civil Society is perceived as a critical sector in peacebuilding. Using a functional perspective, Paffenholz identified seven civil society functions in peacebuilding as thus: protection; monitoring and accountability; advocacy; intermediation and facilitation; service

delivery; socialization; and social cohesion. The relevance and/or effectiveness of each of the seven functions differs according to the phases of conflict. The phases of conflict are: (1) war phase, (2) armed conflict phase (3) windows of opportunity for peace negotiations, and (4) post-large scale violence. Paffenholz argues that not every function carried out by civil society in peacebuilding is relevant to all phases of conflict. Each phase has specific functions peculiar to it for effective peacebuilding. She explains further:

During phases of war, the space for civil society is reduced drastically; the main goal during this phase is to lessen violence. Civil society can monitor human rights violations, advocate and facilitate a dialogue for the protection of civilians, and ultimately protect people from suffering due to the wars. As such, the functions of protection, monitoring, advocacy and facilitation are of particular relevance within this phase. However, service delivery can also be of high relevance, when used as an entry point for the functions earlier mentioned.

During phases of armed conflict: Here, the level of violence is lower compared to the phase of war. The functions of monitoring, advocacy, facilitation, protection and service delivery are relevant but, there is the increased relevance of the socialization and social cohesion functions.

During a window of opportunity for peace negotiation: In this phase civil society can take up very important and in some instances crucial roles in facilitating the onset of negotiations, or in advocating for the inclusion of pertinent issues into a peace agreement. While the relevance of all other functions remains the same to the phases of conflict, the relevance of advocacy is higher in this particular phase. To further elucidate, Paffenholz categorized advocacy function into two:

- Mass mobilization in support for the agreement or for system change, often in the form of large-scale street agitations, as seen in countries like Nepal, Northern Ireland and Cyprus.
- Agenda setting through targeted advocacy campaigns for the inclusion of relevant issues into the peace agreement as seen in Guatemala, Northern Ireland and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

After large-scale violence comes to an end, the role of civil society in monitoring continues to be relevant, as does facilitation and service delivery. Social cohesion and socialization increase in relevance as people are able to focus on issues other than their immediate survival, thus, the relevance of protection function declines.

Therefore, a sound assessment of conflict phases and the corresponding relevance of functions of the civil society is the starting point of any decision regarding the types of initiatives that should be implemented or supported in peacebuilding (2009).

Civil society organizations are involved in broader peacebuilding processes in a number of capacities. In addition, it is a pillar of democratic and good governance for pre and post-conflict societies. Civil society also contributes in a number of other areas of the peacebuilding agenda, including facets of economic and psycho-social recovery, justice and the rule of law, and security and public order. In specific term, CSOs may serve as intermediaries between outsiders and local communities. In many cases, they operate as sub-contractors for international agencies (such as oxfam, DFID, UNDP etc.) CSOs sponsor activities that can build bridges across divided societies, they participate in the effort to (re)build trust within and between communities, as well as to re-establish the state-society relationship and renegotiate a social contract.

The involvement of CSOs in peacebuilding initiatives serve to enhance local participation, capacity and ownership, which is a key factor in the sustainability and success of peacebuilding processes. CSOs accomplish this function through the implementation of field projects, to ensure local ownership and sustainability. Secondly, by serving as advocacy agents, to bring important issues to the peacebuilding agenda that might otherwise be forgotten.

CSOs serve key functions in service of democracy and good governance in peacebuilding scenarios. The civil society is envisaged as one of the pillars of any democratic structure, and thus is a paramount institution in restoring and consolidating democracy particularly in conflict-prone environment. CSOs provide a check on political power, as well as pressing for better governance on behalf of the citizenry. In addition, bolsters elections by providing voter education and encouraging turn-out and participation in related processes.

Civil Society are also involved in crucial components of post-conflict economic recovery by engaging in discussion on poverty reduction strategies, engagement in the preparation and implementation of plans to promote employment among youth. CSOs are increasingly involved in monitoring public finance in order to ensure transparency and accountability.

Civil Society also engage in post-conflict integration of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), as well as the reintegration of former combatants into the post-war society.

CSOs carry-out important role in psycho-social recovery by providing crucial trauma support services for victims of armed conflict. They also participate in reconciliation process in addition to providing training in skills that contribute to mutual respect, coexistence and mutual tolerance through workshops, dialogue circles, and other structured experiences.

CSOs contribute to justice and rule of law by providing access to justice, drawing global attention to specific cases of human rights abuses in conflict situation and, provide alternative traditional and informal justice mechanism ([www.Peacebuilding initiative](http://www.Peacebuildinginitiative)).

Haye discussed the important role CSOs play in early warning. He defined early warning as the communication of information on a crisis area, analysis of that information and the development of a potential, timely, strategic response options to the crisis. That conflict escalate not because of the absence of early warnings, but because, effective response to warning has received much less systematic attention from the government international and regional organizations due to lack of political will. Haye identified examples of CSOs involved in early warning initiatives such as the FAST Early Warning Mechanism from Swisspeace; The International Crisis Group (popularly known as Crisis Group); West Africa Early Warning and Early Response Network (WARN); and Conflict Early Warning and Response Mechanism (CEWARN). These important role informed the strategic collaboration between European Union (EU) and CSOs which culminated in the adoption of long-term policy commitments among which was the EU programme for the prevention of violent conflict in Guthenburg in 2001 (2007:1-6).

Sugden (2011) proves that CSOs actions have the potential to be successful in laying the foundation for cognitive changes and introducing new options for the resolution of conflict. For many years, politicians have failed to resolve the deep ethnic divide that characterised the Israeli and Palestinian relationship. Civil Society initiative like the Football 4 peace (F4P) project succeeded in bringing together Jews and Arab children to interact peacefully on the football field without the usual stereo-types. Sugden however, expressed concern over the sustainability of such relationship.

Kontehavers on the collaborative role of civil society organizations and Economic community of West African States (ECOWAS) in peacebuilding in the sub-region. According to Konteh, CSOs have been active in mediation, reconciliation and post-conflict

recovery efforts. Moreover, they have complemented the efforts of governments, the international community and other stakeholders through advocacy, lobbying and enlightening the masses on the effects of war and the need for peace and reconciliation. Prominent among the CSOs engaged in peacebuilding initiative in West Africa are the Mano River Union Peace Network (MARWOPNET), the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET), the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP), International Alert, West African Network on Small Arms (WASA), Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD) as well as the inter-religious and inter-faith councils of the Mano River Union Countries and Nigeria.

In spite of the prominent role civil society play in conflict prevention and peacebuilding in West Africa, they are often viewed with scepticism particularly by the government who perceives CSOs as 'de facto' opposition. This often places them at odds with the power that be hence, detrimental to effective partnership and collaboration. Konteh also identified ECOWAS lack of proactive measures as a challenge to its conflict prevention approach (278-284).

2.4 Women and Peacebuilding

Gender is a term used in contrast to sex, to draw attention to the social roles and interactions between women and men, rather than to their biological differences. Gender relations are social relations, which include the ways in which men and women relate to each other beyond that of personal interaction. They include the ways in which the social categories of male and female interact in every sphere of social activity, such as those which determine access to resources, power and participation in cultural and religious activities. Gender also denotes the social meanings of male and female, and what different societies regard as normal and appropriate behaviour, attitudes and attributes for women and men. Although the details vary from society to society, and change over time, gender relations always include a strong

element of inequality between women and men and are strongly influenced by ideology(www.cities local governments.org).

The study concentrates more on women rather than men and women due to fact that women tend to be in a disadvantaged position in the peacebuilding processes. Involvement of women in peacebuilding is an undisputed phenomenon. And it was in recognition of women's role in peace that the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 in 2000. The Security Council expresses concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements. And recognizes the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation, reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building.

It also stresses the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution. To increase the need to mainstream gender perspective in peacekeeping operations(UNSC, 2000).

Different explanations have been offered on the connection between women and peace building. Some attribute it to the biological make-up of women while others attribute it to the social role of women as mothers. According to Galtung (1996), women have innate qualities that make them more peace-loving. High in empathy, their characters are horizontal and centripetal, making them more prone to peaceful relationships, combined with the chemical programming of the cyclical and complex oestrogen and high levels of mono amino oxidase, the chemical responsible for controlling violence. This is in contrast to the low empathy, vertical, centrifugal, expansionist character of men which is why 95% of direct violence is committed by men (Potter, 2004:8).

Similar views were expressed by Alonso(1993), Skjelsback and Smith (2001) that almost every group has portrayed women as more sensitive, more caring, more thoughtful and more committed to producing a more humanistic and compassionate world than men as a whole. Some of the violent acts perpetrated by men have become convinced that is the way to show their masculinity.

However, these notions portraying women as victims rather than actors in wars and men as perpetrators of wars were highly criticized by Clonan(2002). Clonan writes that there are numerous examples of women taking a full and active part in combat, from terrorist groups such as Baader-Meinhoff, to military participation in national struggles as the case of 40% of the North Vietnamese Army(NVA) being women. In corroboration with the above, Bennette et al (1995) cited in Sorensen (1998) posits that the history of internal wars also provides contrasting evidence about women's active involvement as combatants. Countries like Angola, El Salvador, Eritrea, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Nicaragua, Sri Lanka, Uganda, and Vietnam all had female fighters, in some cases even holding high-level positions. And in Rwanda women shocked the world by actively supporting and participating in the genocide.

The involvement of women in peace initiatives, if not innate, may derive from women's experience. Violence is not gender neutral, it is a gendered phenomenon. Existing inequalities between women and men, and patterns of abuse meted to women and girls, tend to be exacerbated in armed conflict. Adeniyi (2003: 353) argues that male formulate and finance crises but women bear the brunt. Males are usually the targets of attacks in political conflicts. Males fight; they kill and get killed leaving their widows, offspring and mothers behind. Male folks maim and get maimed, saddling women with the responsibility of nursing both the wounded and the young ones, and assuming the post of family headship for which

they are unprepared. Violence and warfare leave social, physical and emotional devastations on women. Women experience murder, torture, systematic rape, forced pregnancy and forced abortion. They suffer most, during the deaths of sons, husbands, lovers, brothers and fathers.

Naraghi-Anderlini (2011) points out that sexual violence can be used as a war tactic either as a means of displacement and ethnic cleansing as seen in Bosnia and Darfur. Similarly, sexual violence and oppression of women can be a strategic component of warfare and a key element of political and religious ideology of armed actors or state as perpetrated by the Taliban and some insurgency groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan. During Rwanda's 100-day genocide, an estimated 300,000-400,000 women were raped (Rwandan Ministry of Social Affairs in Naraghi-Anderlini, 2011).

At this point it is important to see women beyond victims or perpetrators of violence but as veritable agents of change. In the words of Sorensen (1998) there is the need to supplement the image of women as vulnerable victims with an image of women as a highly differentiated group of social actors, who possess valuable resources and capacities and who have their own agendas. Women influence the course of things, and their actions are constitutive of post-war societies. The reduction of women to targets and beneficiaries both fail to recognize their contributions and contribute to their marginalization.

Women play active roles in building peace and tend to centre their peacebuilding actions upon non-violence; recognition of, and respect for, human rights; promotion of intercultural tolerance and understanding; trauma healing and women's empowerment in economic, social, cultural and political spheres. According to McKay and Mazurana (2007) Women's grassroots peacebuilding frequently adopts personal, interpersonal, creative and political approaches. It may use imaginative activities to protest violence and advocate peace such as the wearing of black attires to protest violence, employing street theatre, holding demonstrations, vigils,

peacecamps and peace walks. Similarly, grassroots women's organisations often emphasize reconciliation, combating militarism, women's participation in decision-making and stopping domestic violence.

Women indeed play crucial roles in conflict prevention, management, resolution and post-conflict reconstruction. In post-war situations, whether in groups or individually, formally or informally, women probably contribute more than government authorities or international aid to reconciliation, reviving local economies and rebuilding social networks. However, their marginality in high level decision-making, including those decisions regarding war and peace, constrain their ability to decisively influence and impact on conflict prevention, and attainment of sustainable peace (Sorensen, 1998 and Animashaun, 2013).

Abdu-Ismael (2006), Sewell (2007) and Olaifa (2010) showed how women and youth were instrumental in the restoration of peace to countries like Liberia, Sierra-Leone and Guinea through the Mano River Union women's peace network (MARWOPNET) and West African Youth Network (WAYN). Through detection of early warning signs, MARWOPNET adopts strategic response plan so as to prevent the escalation of violence or armed conflict. Other strategies were social mobilization and awareness raising initiatives, peaceful demonstrations, prayers, persuasions and hunger strikes. MARWOPNET recorded success as they were able to bring relative peace as well as set the stage for peace by bringing the leaders of Liberia and Guinea to negotiation table. These giant strides of the MARWOPNET earned them international recognition by the United Nations and won the UN Human Right Prize for 2003 which was a major milestone because it recognized that women can be essential and important actors in the peacebuilding process.

Hinton et al also extolled the significant role played by the Kup women for peace (KWP) in the conflict ravaged area of Kup sub-district in Papua New Guinea. For 20 years, insecurity, violence and unrest characterised daily life in Kup. Women experienced displacement, rape, harassment, food shortages and economic hardship. Informed by these devastating impact, Kup women mobilized themselves along with other women from rival tribes, and ventured into peacebuilding process. KWP's peacebuilding agenda, is much broader than simply preventing or ending conflict. It seeks to address the structural causes of conflict, and the relationships to other types of violence, such as violence against women, interpersonal violence, as well as involvement in activities as community law and justice, youth mentoring, HIV- care and counselling among others.

KWP played an outstanding role in conflict prevention during the 2007 elections where it check-mated any form of electoral irregularities thereby, prevented recourse to violence(2008:523-531).

Cupples (2008) narrated the experience of two women group separated by conflict in Waslala, north- west of Nicaragua. In the early 1990s, at the end of the civil war, 'Sandinista' and 'Contra' women united under an organisation called the Association of Mothers and Victims of war so as to end the political polarization within their community and promote development. By 1993, the organisation became part of the National Commission of Reconciliation, and had managed to secure funding from donor agencies for a number of projects. Among which was the construction of 52 houses for both mothers of the Resistance and the Sandinista women under the project known as 'Elprogreso'. Other peacebuilding approaches embarked by the women were the construction of art classes for street children, training courses for women with disabilities in beauty therapy, floristry, bakery, and dressmaking.

While women in Northern Ireland were able to reconcile their sectarian and political allegiances by emphasizing their common gender identities as mothers, wives, and widows. Women in Nicaragua however, could not reconcile due to the difficulty of separating gender identities of motherhood and widowhood from political allegiances in Nicaragua. As such, these gender identities have been manipulated by political forces on the left and the right (2008: 9-16).

Women exclusion from formal conflict management and peacebuilding initiatives and mechanisms reflects their exclusion from public life in general. Nigeria has some of the worst statistics across sub-Saharan Africa for women's inclusion in public institutions and this is worse in the northern zones. It is widely believed that, because women are not the main perpetrators of violence, they are not relevant in the peace and security discourse. Hence, women's contribution is often relegated to the trivial, cosmetic or logistical – reflecting their role as 'wives and mothers' rather than as full citizens. Nevertheless, women are active in peacebuilding and conflict management in all areas of Nigeria. Their type and level of engagement and the effectiveness of their involvement depends on the local context, level and nature of the violence and social norms (Nwadinobi and Maguire, 2013).

Gbowee (2006) opines that women are not getting positions of authority due to social and economic discriminations. And that the unique skills of female peace practitioners were under-utilized in male-dominated organisations, and women's roles were usually relegated to logistics. For peacebuilding to succeed, women needed not only to be represented, but also to be educated in both theoretical and practical peacebuilding skills.

Sewell (2007) narrates the peacebuilding efforts of the Liberian women's peace movement (LWPM). Angered by the senseless killings and sexual violence carried out by the warring groups, Liberian women decided "enough was enough" and took it upon themselves to end the horrendous societal conditions. The LWPM worked under difficult circumstances that sometimes risked their lives. They adopt strategies ranging from street demonstrations (even when demonstrations were banned), sit-ins, prayers, and persuasion of both warlords and the government to ceasefire, and attending peace conferences even where they were uninvited. Through the movement's activism, women were able to mobilize and become empowered, which in turn led to the creation of a powerful voice and the opening of the women's political space. This culminated in the 2005 election of Liberian President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, Africa's first female head of state.

Oruwari in her study of the activities of some women's groups in peacebuilding in specific areas that had witnessed violent conflicts in the Niger Delta Region showed the efficacy of the intervention strategies of women groups in resolving conflicts in the NDR which is in contrast to the intervention strategy of the government. The women group act as third party between warring communities by brokering peace, some organise prayers such as the Ogbakiri women's peace forum as a strategy for peace while others such as the Academic Associates Peacework (AAP). AAP is an NGO which engages in awareness campaign in conflicting communities on the consequences of violence and the need for peace. They also provide capacity training on peacebuilding and early warning signs and responses.

While the government intervenes, Oruwari writes:

Government intervention into conflict situations takes three successive steps. The first act of government is to ignore or play down the violence until it escalates. It then sends in state security agents who cause more damage by using force of arms. Secondly, in its extreme

form, the Nigerian army has been known to physically occupy entire communities for months, as was the experience of the Ogonis, and the navy in some oil producing Ijaw lands. The third step usually taken by government is the setting up of a judicial commission of inquiry headed by a judge of the high court. Following the submission of the Commission's Report, the government publish white paper. It is on record that this process has not been effective as the conflict continue after the investigation (2006:17).

In spite of women's lack of resources- capacity training and logistics at the community, however, they were able to use their meagre resources to bring lasting peace to their communities. The challenge for women is to improve their traditional techniques of peacemaking to meet the challenges of post-conflict peacebuilding.

Ekine(2009) narrates the kinds of violence and violent situations that women in the Niger Delta Region were confronted with and their responses to the violence. Following the destruction of the ecosystem and means of livelihood by oil spill, the dispossessed communities demand corporate responsibility, environmental, economic and social justice and proper compensation, their protests have been met with violence including extrajudicial killings and mass murder, torture, rape, the burning of homes and property, and increased military presence. In the Niger Delta, rape and other forms of sexual violence such as forced prostitution have taken place repeatedly in communities that have been invaded by the Nigerian army, where paramilitary forces have been used to quell demonstrations, or simply to make a particular town or village an 'example' of what would happen should the people assert their human rights. Therefore, as a way of showing resistance, the women respond to the violence through demonstrations and strikes, testimonies, silence and where their demands are ignored, they resort to using the "curse of nakedness" as a cultural weapon to exert their demands.

The United Nations commission for the status of women, resolution on women and armed conflict argued that the most obvious way to support women's activity in peacebuilding is often identified as supporting women's organisations. There are many different types of women's organisations that have overlapping and changing agendas and which have contributed, or have the potential to contribute to peacebuilding. They have tended to take different forms in different countries and at different times.

Some women's organisations have developed the capacity to work openly to protect and extend human rights especially in many Latin American countries. Other women's organisations have extended the work they took on during conflict to ensure that the social fabric did not collapse, through various forms of community organisation and welfare provision, especially where groups were established in camps of refugees or displaced people during conflict, such as in El Salvador, Guatemala, Rwanda and Burundi.

Others directly focus more on the need to talk about, and take action on, strengthening peace in the name of women (such as in Israel / the Occupied Territories, the former Yugoslavia, the Federation of African Women's Peace Networks and Femmes-Africa-Solidarite in Africa.) Finally there are those women's organisations that explicitly attempt to challenge women's oppression and gender inequality in post-conflict situations (such as those which facilitate women's participation in war-crimes tribunals and truth processes).

Many of these organisations also attempt to build bridges between groups of women with very different experiences of conflict, who might otherwise be separated by their ethnic, regional or political identities. Women organisations encounter problems which tend to affect their effectiveness in peacebuilding. Such problems often range from chronic under-funding;

inadequate training in the areas of management, leadership, and lobbying skills; marginalisation and stigmatisation by powerful government and non-government organisations; as well as direct physical harassment from local men and security forces particularly during post-conflict situations where gender tensions are usually already running high ([www. cities-local government.org](http://www.cities-local government.org)).

Studies have been conducted on the peacebuilding activities of numerous women group. However, the peacebuilding initiatives of the women wing of IMC have not been studied. Hence, the need for this work.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

Various theories have been advanced by scholars on the most effective approach towards building peace in fragile societies. One of such scholars is John Paul Lederach who devises the peacebuilding model. With the aid of a pyramid, Lederach described three key actors otherwise known as levels of leadership and the approach they employ in peacebuilding. On the left-hand side of the pyramid are the type of actors and the sectors they represent while their peacebuilding approaches are described on the right-hand side of the pyramid (Paffenholz, and Reyhler, 2001)

At the apex of the pyramid is Level 1 that is, the top leadership which comprises key military, political and religious leaders with high publicity and profile. They engage in top-bottom peacebuilding approach and focus on high level negotiations, emphasize on ceasefire and mostly in level 1, the conflict management process is led by a highly visible and single mediator. Peace makers such as international organizations, regional actors or civil society organizations tend to act as mediators in order to bring principal contenders in the conflict to

the negotiation table and, if the leaders in the conflict manage to agree, then this will hopefully lead to the framework of imprinting peace agreement and ending wars (Lederach, 1997:45).

Level 2, also known as the middle-range leadership represents highly respected leaders in various sectors of the society ranging from ethnic or religious leaders, academics or intellectuals as well as leaders of humanitarian NGOs. The middle-range approaches to peace include problem -solving workshops, training in conflict resolution, peace commissions and insider-partial teams. The middle-range has an important role in peacebuilding according to Lederach because it connects the top and bottom levels. The middle-range level has therefore the greatest potential to bring people together in building peace. The middle-range peacebuilding activities come in varied forms ranging from efforts directed at changing perceptions and proposing new ideas among actors proximate to the policymaking process to training in conflict resolution skills and to the establishment of teams, networks, and institutions that can play an active conciliation role within the setting(Lederach,1997;50).

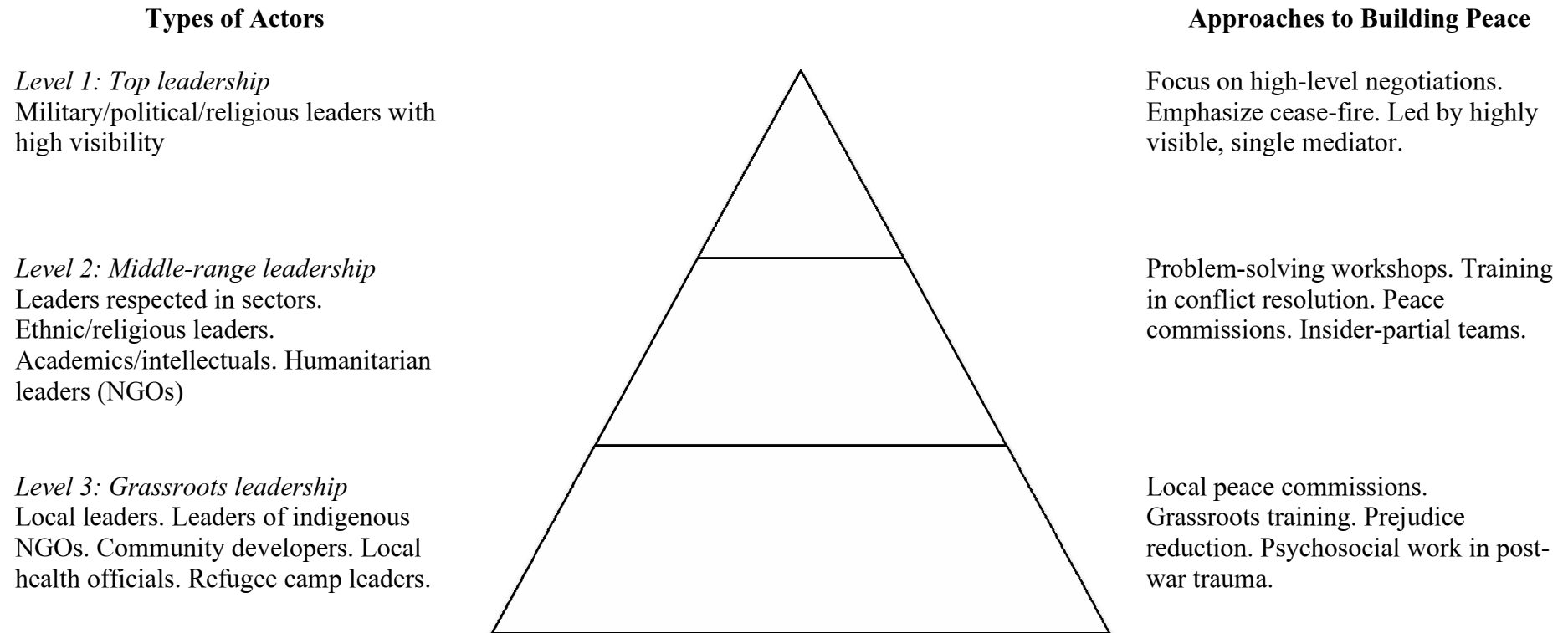
At bottom of the pyramid is the level 3 leadership or grassroots leadership which represent the masses and the base of the society. The actors in level 3 are local leaders, leaders of indigenous NGOs, community developers, local officials and refugee camp leaders. The bottom-up approach to peace features a number of approaches targeted to the general population such as local peace commission, grassroots training, prejudice reduction, and psychosocial work in post-war trauma. Because local communities often are split into several groups, sometimes hostile, grassroots initiatives often deal with deep-rooted hatred and animosity between actors in a conflict. Factors such as social and economic insecurity, political discrimination and human rights abuses are mostly experienced at the grassroots

levels. In fact, scores of transitions towards peace are driven basically by pressure from the grassroots level (Lederach, 1997:52). As such actions carried-out at the grassroots level is decisive at decreasing the destructive nature of conflict.

Lederach's peacebuilding framework is relevant in explaining the peacebuilding approaches of the women wing of interfaith mediation centre. Working within the realm of civil society, women organisations such as the women wing of interfaith mediation centre contribute significantly to peacebuilding as leaders in both middle-range and the grassroots levels. As grassroots leaders, women organizations engage in post-conflict trauma counselling services to victims of violence thereby, providing tangible benefits to their communities and incentives to move beyond a violent past towards a more peaceful future. As middle-range actors, women interfaith mediators organise problem solving workshops and provide training in conflict resolution.

Lederach's model of peacebuilding has been criticized on the grounds that it applies to specifically to intensive conflict and post-conflict stages ignoring preventive conflict measures. Secondly, that the framework does not explicitly explain which type of organizations and leaders are better suited to activities within each of the levels (Umar,2006). Despite the aforementioned drawback of Lederach's peacebuilding framework, it has been adopted for this study because it serves as a lens through which sustainable peace can be built using unique approaches by different levels of leadership.

Figure 1.1: Lederach's Actors and Approaches to Peacebuilding



Source: Lederach, 1997.

In conclusion, this chapter explored the different connotations given to the concept of peacebuilding. Peacebuilding is a dynamic process that involves a wide spectra of activities ranging from conflict prevention, conflict resolution and conflict transformation. The chapter also showed the important peacebuilding roles of women as well as the challenges that impede their successful entrenchment of peace in the society.

CHAPTER THREE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE WOMEN WING OF IMC

3.1 Introduction

Chapter three presents the historical background of IMC with emphasis on its formation, objectives and functions, strategies of achievement, and the peacebuilding activities of the women wing of IMC in Kaduna State.

3.2 Formation of the Interfaith Mediation Centre

Interfaith Mediation Centre is a non-governmental, non-profit making organisation established in 1995 by Imam Muhammad NuraynAshafa and Pastor James Movel Kuye to address contemporary issues around religious, political and ethnic motivated conflicts; and emerging issues that borders on peaceful co-existence, conflict transformation and social development. The establishment of the centre was informed by the strong religious intolerance which has continued to claim scores of innocent lives in Nigeria and Kaduna state in particularly. The Imam and the Pastor were once sworn enemies bent on killing one another however, the aftermath of the 1992 religious crisis in Kaduna State changed the situation.

The motivation that led to the formation of IMC was a chance meeting, where a radio broadcaster with name Idris Musa (works with the Kaduna State Media Corporation, KSMC) who noticed the youth from the two faith attacking one another in a way to defend their places of worship and its people. The incessant hostilities have created a vacuum of hate among the two faiths. The first meeting point was in 1995 when the duo were invited to the government house by the wife of the then military administrator of Kaduna State col. Lawal Ja'afaru Isahfor a discussion on immunization, which was a controversial issue all over the Muslim World.Both represented their constituencies, the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) was represented by Pastor James; While Imam Ashafa represented the National

Council of Muslim Youth Organization (NACOMYO). In an interview with Imam Ashafa, he recounted events that led to their meeting as thus;

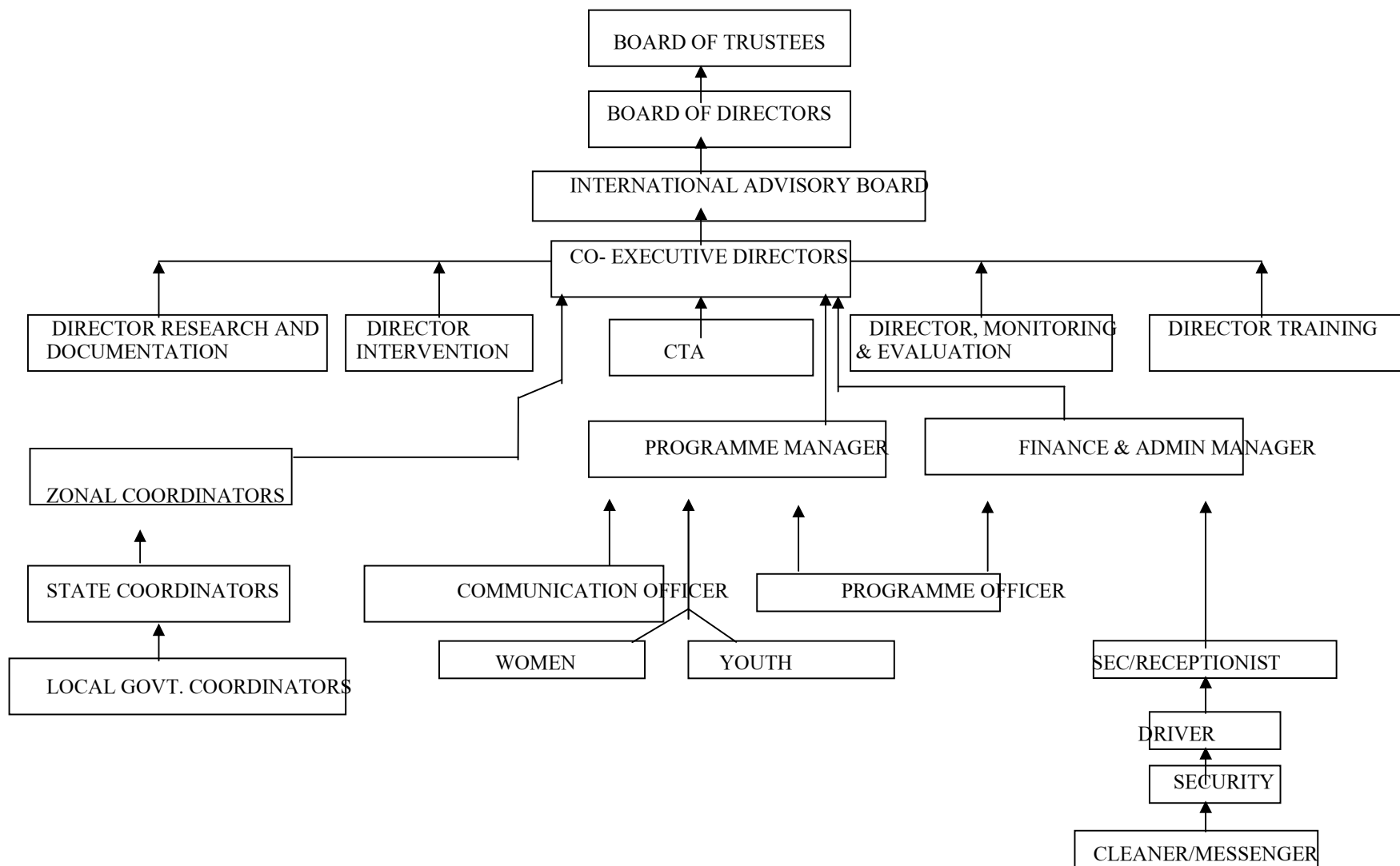
During tea break, one journalist, who was also invited and knew me very well, held James' hand, came to where I was standing and tapped me on the shoulder. He joined our hands together and said; the two of you can keep Kaduna together if you want. So, please talk (The Nation Newspaper, November 30, 2013).

After the meeting in government house, it took them time to really get along, but when the Pastor's mum was admitted in a hospital, the group from Imam Ashafa went to see her, although she later died, which the group still went back to commiserate with the Pastor over the demise of his mum. That single act help to douse the tension between the two, but gradually meeting to discuss about the two faith, which initially was done using debate but later on they realized that this won't be helpful as such, they resolved to discuss on common ground in the Bible and Qu'ran which made it possible to continue to see reasons why they need to come together to promote peace.

The objective of the centre is to achieve peaceful coexistence through non-violent interfaith dialogue and strategic engagement in Nigeria and beyond. IMC is supported both locally and internationally. It is supported locally by Kaduna State government; Plateau State Government; Chikun Local Government Area; Taraba State Government; Borno State Government and Bauchi State Government. While it's international support are gotten from sources such as the US Embassy Abuja; Christian Aid, UK; Islamic Relief Worldwide; Norwegian Embassy, Nigeria; Threshold Foundation, Germany; Peace Support Network, Germany; USAID, Nigeria; Japan Embassy, Nigeria; Embassy of the Netherlands; British High Commission Abuja; and European Union among others.

3.3: Structure of the Interfaith Mediation Centre

IMC ORGANOGRAM



The IMC is structured in such a way that allows for effective performance of its activities. It consists of Board of Trustees, Board of Directors, an International Advisory Council, the Co-executive Directors and other key offices. A unique feature of its structure is the existence of two co-executive directors; a Muslim cleric and a Pastor. This is to ensure that the two major religions; Christianity and Islam, in Nigeria are adequately represented in the activities of the Centre.

3.4 Interfaith Mediation Centre's Strategies for Peacebuilding

In addressing peacebuilding challenges, IMC uses Alternative Dispute Resolution, where those in dispute are reconciled and requested to work hand in hand to address their issues at the local level. More so, they employ what they call 'Ladder of Tolerance' which stipulates that to promote peace, you need to Acknowledge, Examine, Respect, Learn, Value and Celebrate with others, which will help foster cordial working relationship and promote peaceful coexistence.

In addition, the centre uses faith-based approaches to promote acceptance of differences (religion, cultural, gender and other social differences) that exist in society and the use of non-violent methods in addressing religious differences that could trigger conflict. In other words, IMC uses scriptural texts that promote peace and collaborate with other peace practitioners and institutions. More so, IMC undertakes peacemaking initiatives that establish frameworks for achieving peace at both high policy and community levels. IMC undertake and promote healing and trust building activities in Nigeria and across the globe. It uses participatory training and learning workshops and symposiums; multi-track approach using scriptural texts; networking; media advocacy; learning sharing; courtesy and advocacy visits. The center also uses programs that are designed according to the needs of its target communities and faith group towards realizing its set goals and objectives in building a just

world. The Centre's goal is to achieve peaceful coexistence through inter-faith dialogue and strategic engagement in Nigeria and beyond.

IMC has worked extensively in Nigeria. In Kaduna, IMC facilitated the famous Kaduna Peace Declaration of Religious Leaders in 2002, Yelwan-Shendam Peace Affirmation, deprogrammed over a 100,000 violent youths selected from over 100 conflict prone communities across Nigeria, and have set up Conflict Mitigation and Management Regional Councils in 6 northern states among others.

IMC has community peace observers stationed across the northern part of Nigeria. It also partners with other faith-based organizations such as Federation of Muslim Women Association of Nigeria (FOMWAN), Women wing of Christian Association of Nigeria(WOWICAN), Women Interfaith Council (WIC), Jama'atulNasrul Islam (JNI), Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN) among others. IMC's work spread beyond Nigeria to Northern Ghana, Sudan, Burundi, Chad, Sierra Leone, Kenya, and is the subjects of an award-winning documentary film *The Imam and the Pastor* (FLTfilms, 2006), launched at United Nations headquarters in New York and broadcast from Nigeria and Al Jazeera Arabic to Sweden and Switzerland, see <http://www.iofc.org/imam-pastor-news>. IMC's mediation work in Kenya, following post-election violence of 2007/8, is depicted in *An African Answer* (FLTfilms,2010) described by Kofi Annan as 'a very important film,' see www.fltfilms.org.uk

IMC's work has earned numerous accolades including; First Prize UN World Interfaith Harmony Week Award 2013 by the Royal Islamic Strategic Study Centre in Jordan, 2013 German Africa Peace Award by the German Africa Foundation Berlin, 2013 Hessian Peace Prize granted by the Albert Osswald Foundation, Mattie J.T. Stepanek Peace Maker Award

2010, Jack Chirac Conflict Prevention Award 2009, Peace Makers and Preventing Inter Religious Conflict Award by Nigerian Peoples Forum USA 2005 among others.

3.5 Women Wing of Interfaith Mediation Centre

The Interfaith Mediation Centre Women Wing also known as the women of core of mediators' network was established in 1997. Its peacebuilding activities are targeted at issues bordering on women, youths and people with disabilities. Just like IMC (main body), the women wing is also headed by two Coordinators, each representing the two major religions in Nigeria, Islam and Christianity. The women wing of IMC has a national spread across the six geo-political zones in Nigeria and undertakes the following activities:

- Interfaith conflict transformation and trust building workshops for women leaders.
- Organizes conflict transformation and trust building workshops for Islamic Madrasas and Christian Religion Instructors.
- Trauma counseling and healing workshop.
- Women training workshop on conflict resolution, early warning and early response and civic education.
- Training on leadership and networking.
- Training on dialogue for community peacebuilding.
- Workshop on facilitative mediation process for women.
- Media programs on the importance of women in peacebuilding.

3.5.1 Some Achievements of the Women's Peace Building Efforts

The WWIMC Organizes capacity building training workshops for women on conflict management and peacebuilding, and those women that acquired the knowledge have in turn trained young girls, which also has helped in more and massive awareness to their peers in promoting peace and harmony.

The women have through IMC's early warning and early response system sent information of the situation in their communities, so that preventive measures will be taken to address those emerging trends that could escalate into violence. More so, the media dialogue programme has enabled the women to voice out issues of concern that affect them and how best to address them. In some of their intervention, they have been able to ensure that women are being represented in some traditional council at the community level such as in Sanga and Zangon Kataf LGAs.

3.5.2 Some Challenges faced by the women wing of IMC

Women have not been given the privilege to participate in the same manner as men in some of the programs organized by IMC. The number of women participating in a mixed program is marginal. Secondly, the non-inclusion of women in the traditional council in some communities in the state also constitutes a challenge in their effort to build peace at the grassroots. More so, there is the problem associated with bad patriarchal culture, harmful traditional/religious norms which tend to inhibit women to actively contribute in peace processes.

3.6 Conclusion

The women wing of IMC has laudable peacebuilding approaches and plays important role in creating interfaith understanding among women and youths in Kaduna state and environs. The challenges facing them need to be tackled so as to harness their peacebuilding efforts.

CHAPTER FOUR
WOMEN WING OF IMCAND PEACEBUILDING INITIATIVES IN KADUNA
STATE

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is the presentation and analysis of data gathered on women and peacebuilding initiatives in Kaduna State. The quantitative data are mainly presented in tables, while the qualitative information is used to complement the quantitative data.

4.2 Respondents Bio-data

Table 4.2.1: Sex of Respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percent
Female	137	43.4
Male	179	56.6
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.2.1 above shows that 43.4% of the total respondents are female, while 56.6% are male. Therefore, male make up the majority of the respondents. More males than females were interviewed in the study due to the difficulty experienced in reaching female respondents in some parts of the state, particularly in the Northern parts of the state. The difficulty was as a result of cultural and religious factors that restrict women and girls from talking to strangers.

Table 4.2.2: Age of Respondents

Age	Frequency	Percent
Below 20	9	2.8
20-25	70	22.2
26-30	91	28.8
31-35	51	16.1
36-40	49	15.5
41-45	26	8.2
46-50	12	3.8
50 and above	7	2.2
No response	1	0.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

On table 4.2.2 above, 91 respondents representing 28.8% were between 26 and 30 years old, while 22.2% were between 20 and 25 years old, 16.1% of them were 31 and 35 years old and 15.1% fall between the age of 36 and 40. Hence, the majority of the respondents fall between the age of 20 and 35. This suggests the youthfulness of majority of the population in the state.

Table 4.2.3: Respondents' Marital Status

Status	Frequency	Percent
Single	170	53.8
Married	144	45.6
Divorced	1	0.3
Widowed	1	0.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted January,2015

Table 4.2.3 shows the marital status of the respondents, 53.8% representing 170 respondents were single, while 45.6% of them were married. Therefore, majority of the respondents were single.

Table 4.2.4: Respondents' highest Educational Qualification

Education	Frequency	Percent
Qur'anic/ Islamic	7	2.2
Vocational	12	3.8
Primary	52	16.5
Secondary	141	44.7
Tertiary	100	31.6
Other	1	0.3
No response	3	0.9
Total	316	100

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January,2015

Table 4.2.4 above indicates that 141 representing 44.7% of the respondents had secondary education, 31.6% had tertiary education and 16.5% had primary education while only 2.2%

and 3.8% had Qur'anic/ Islamic and vocational education respectively as the highest level of education attained. The data shows that majority of the respondents had attained one form of education or the other.

4.3: Women's Involvement in Policy Making

Table 4.3.1: Women's involvement in policy making in Kaduna State

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	63	19.9
No	215	68.0
Don't know	38	12.0
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

On table 4.3.1, 68% of the respondents said women are not involved in policy making in Kaduna state, and 19.9% said women are involved, while 12% however showed lack of knowledge on that aspect. In congruence with the data above, Nwadinobi and Maguire (2013) argued that Nigeria has some of the worst statistics across sub-Saharan Africa for women's inclusion in public institutions and this is worse in the northern zones.

In corroboration with the above view, in an interview conducted with one of the programme officer of the Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP), which is a DFID-supported programme meant to mitigate violent conflict in Nigeria, she opined that women are generally under-represented at all levels of policy making. Also, she said that even at the local level, women's opinions are never sought for talk more of the national level. Women's role in policy making in Kaduna State is poor. There were only two women in the executive council during the last administration.

The Programme Officer went on to say that at the state ministries, there are very few women compared to men. Women are rarely given strategic ministries such as security, finance, economic planning etc. to head. Likewise in the legislature, due to their insignificant number, women have not been instrumental in the passage of bills in the assembly. Even in the ministry for women affairs, they are very weak in terms of being at the forefront in advocating issues that concern the disadvantaged condition of women in the state. However, these may not be unconnected with the fact that the ministry is confronted with weak capacity and is being under-staffed.

In the words of NSRP programme officer in charge of output 3 in Kaduna State, Output 3, is one out of the 5 outputs in which NSRP is working on in 8 conflict-prone states in Nigeria. It seeks to increase participation of women in peacebuilding initiatives, and reducing violence against women and girls.

Disadvantaged groups can better be represented only if they are present in elected assemblies. In fact, Kaduna state like other Northern states is far from achieving the 35% affirmative action as set in the National Gender Policy. It is like doing women a favour by giving them 2 or 3 positions in the executive council.

Table 4.3.2: Level of Women's involvement in policy making in Kaduna State

Involvement	Frequency	Percent
Highly involved	29	9.2
Moderately involved	55	17.4
Marginally involved	124	39.2
Not involved	38	12.0
Don't know	33	10.4
No response	37	11.8
Total	316	100

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.3.2 above shows the level of involvement of women in policy making in Kaduna state, 39.2% of the respondents indicate that women are marginally involved in policy making in the state. 17.4% representing 55 respondents said that women are moderately involved while 12.0% said women are not involved. Only 9.2% of the respondents said that women are highly involved in policy making in Kaduna state. Hence, the data indicate that women are marginally involved in policy making in the state.

The responses from the interviews corroborate the opinions of a significant percentage of the respondents (39.4%) that said women are marginally involved in policy making in the state. In an interview with the coordinator of the women wing of IMC, it was revealed that women are not included in the traditional councils of some communities in the Kaduna State. This suggests that such communities do not value the role of women in issues affecting the communities. This includes peacebuilding activities.

In a similar vein, Mrs. Maria Dogo Makeri of Ministry of Women Affairs, Kaduna State adds thus:

The number of women in such government institution is too undersized since the coming of the democratic dispensation, which shows that the women have not been given the opportunity to bring about any meaningful impact in terms of policy issues. From 1999 till date, only 8 women have been permanent secretaries, 7 directors, 12 commissioners, 11 legislatures and 6 Judges (14th September, 2015).

Table 4.3.3: Women's Role in Policy Making in the Kaduna State

Role	Frequency	Percent
Very effective	44	13.9
Effective	160	50.6
Not effective	97	30.7
Other	1	0.3
No response	14	4.4
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

In table 4.3.3 above, 50.6% of the respondents said women play effective role in policy making in the state, 30.7% on the other hand disagreed while 13.9% said women play very effective role in policy making in the state. The responses gotten from the interview however, show that women's role in policy making in Kaduna state has not been effective largely due to their insignificant numbers in positions of authority. This notion was incongruence with the findings made by the Kaduna State Peace and Reconciliation Committee which states that, there is gender imbalance in Kaduna State because of discrimination on the basis of gender and marginalization of women in the political and socio-economic affairs of the State. While women constitute almost half the State's population, but they are under-represented in employment, politics, and the public and civil services. The report further states that, out of 70 members of the Peace and Reconciliation Committee (PRC), only 3 were women. There are only 2 women out of 34 members of the State House of Assemble (presently, in 2015, the

Kaduna State House of Assembly has no female legislature). Only 3 women have been local government council chairpersons between 1999 and 2011. Currently, out of 24 Commissioners in Kaduna state, only 2 are women. There are very few female Councillors and just 2 female Permanent Secretaries (KSPRC,2013).

The study shows that women play marginal role in policy making in Kaduna State and this inturn results in their less involvement in formal peacebuilding activities such as conflict prevention and management, post-conflict mediation, negotiation and reconstruction. And this is a justification to the research assumption that asserts that women's marginal role in policy making leads to their less involvement in peacebuilding initiatives. If more women are represented in decision making forums, those factor that act as impediments on the path of women's peacebuilding activities would be tackled at the level of policy making. And these would strengthen the peacebuilding process.

4.4: Women and Peacebuilding Initiatives

Table 4.4.1: Awareness on Effort aimed at Peacebuilding at Community Level

Role	Frequency	Percent
Yes	242	76.6
No	73	23.1
No response	1	0.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.4.1 above shows the level of awareness of the respondents on efforts aimed at building peace in their communities. 76.6% of the respondents were aware of peacebuilding efforts in their communities, while 23.1% of the respondents were not aware. Hence, majority

of the respondents were aware of one effort or the other aimed at peacebuilding in their communities.

Table 4.4.2: Initiators of Peacebuilding Efforts at the Community Level

Initiator	Frequency	Percent
Government	39	12.3
Non-governmental organisations	107	33.9
Religious institution	42	13.3
Traditional Leaders	6	1.9
Women group	40	12.7
Youth group	13	4.1
Private individuals	11	3.5
Other	1	0.3
No response	57	18.0
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.4.2 shows that 33.9% representing 107 of the respondents said that efforts aimed at peacebuilding in their communities were initiated by non-governmental organisations, 13.3% said such efforts were initiated by religious institutions, 12.7% were of the opinion that women groups initiated such efforts. 12.3% said the efforts were initiated by the government, 4.1% said youth group were behind such initiatives in their communities and only 3.5% and 1.9% of the respondents said efforts were initiated by private individuals and traditional leaders respectively.

The data indicates that majority of the efforts aimed at peacebuilding were initiated by non-governmental organisations. In the view of the administration officer of IMC, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play key role in the sustainability and the success of the

peacebuilding process. They have the capacity to enhance local participation and their activities have the potential of building bridges across warring factions.

Table 4.4.3: Women's Participation in Peacebuilding Initiatives at the Community Level

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	255	80.7
No	57	18.0
No response	4	1.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

From table 4.4.3, as shown above, a significant majority that is, 80.7% of the respondents said women participate in peacebuilding initiatives in their communities, while only 18% of the respondents disagreed. According to the Coordinator of the women wing of IMC, women are active in peacebuilding and conflict management in all areas in Nigeria. In Kaduna state in particular, the centre is engaged in a range of activities aimed at building peace in the society. For instance, the centre trains women regularly on conflict prevention and transformation; early warning and early response strategies; organises women exclusive meetings where issues that concern domestic violence, developmental issues and the right of women to peace are discussed.

In addition, the women wing conducts trauma healing counselling to victims of abuse, rape or domestic violence, and women faced by conflict. More so, their interfaith activities have helped in fostering interfaith understanding among the adherents of the two major religions (Islam and Christianity) in the state.

Table 4.4.4: The Composition of Peacebuilding Teams at the Community Level

Composition	Frequency	Percent
Men only	30	9.5
Women only	1	0.3
Both in equal proportion	77	24.4
More men than women	168	53.2
More women than men	25	7.5
Don't know	13	4.1
No response	2	0.6
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.4.4 above, shows the composition of the peacebuilding team, 168 respondents representing 53.2% said the peacebuilding team were composed of more men than women, while 24.4% said both in equal proportion, 9.5% said men only, and 7.9% said more women than men. Only 0.3% said the team was composed of only women. Therefore, peacebuilding team in the communities of the majority of respondents were composed of more men than women. The interfaith mediation centre (IMC) presents a typical example to buttress the above response on table 4.4.4. The centre is made up of a total of 21 staff and 12 volunteers out of which 14 staff and 10 volunteers are males while the remaining 7 staff and 2 volunteers are females.

Table 4.4.5: Adequacy of Women's Participation in Peacebuilding at the Communities Level

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	164	51.9
No	132	41.8
I don't know	20	6.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.4.5 shows that 51.9% of the respondents agreed that women participation in peacebuilding in their communities were adequate, while 41.8% had a contrary notion. Hence, majority of the respondents said women participation in peacebuilding is adequate. The programme officer of NSRP in Kaduna State disagrees with the above assertion that women's participation in peacebuilding is adequate. She argued that even though women and girls are the most vulnerable whenever there is outbreak of violent conflict and constitute the majority in internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps in Kaduna state, yet they play minimal role in peacebuilding. Their role is basically that of providing support to IDPs.

The Programme Officer further stated that...

We would have wished to see them play more significant and purposeful roles like being on the negotiating table. When women participate in negotiation, gender issues are brought forward (29th January, 2015).

Table 4.4.6: Women's Contribution to Peacebuilding at the Community Level

Contribution	Frequency	Percent
Very effective	58	18.4
Effective	173	54.7
Not effective	67	21.2
Don't know	17	5.4
No response	1	0.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

On table 4.4.6 above, 54.7% of the respondents said women's contribution to peacebuilding has been effective, while 21.2% of the respondents said women's contribution has not been effective in their communities; only 18.4% said their contribution has been very effective.

In the submission made by the Kaduna State Peace and Reconciliation Committee, that women's contribution in conflict prevention, mitigation and resolution is tremendous, due to their roles in education, health care, food distribution, care for the family and IDPs. Women are organised across religious and ethnic lines, in networks. However, these contributions have not been maximized owing to exclusion of women in policy formulation and implementation. Likewise, the cooperation of women has been taken for granted, and capacity development programmes in conflict management do not pay attention to the strategic and practical needs of women and youth (KSPRC, 2013: 111-112)

According to the NSRP Programme Officer, Kano State,

Women are effective in peacebuilding using their informal leadership role as mothers, wives and care-givers but are passive in the formal peacebuilding forums (28th January, 2015).

The Director Women Affairs, Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development also expressed similar view;

Women continue to be poorly represented in formal peace processes, although they contribute in many informal ways to conflict resolutions (www.fmwasd.gov.ng)

Table 4.4.7: Women's Participation in Peacebuilding Activities and lasting Peace in Nigeria

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	267	84.5
No	24	7.6
Don't know	24	7.6
No response	1	0.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.4.7 above indicates that 84.5% of the respondents said women's participation in peacebuilding activities would ensure lasting peace in Nigeria, while only 7.6% of the respondents do not share in that opinion. Therefore, a significant majority of the respondents agreed that participation of women in peacebuilding activities would ensure sustainable peace in Nigeria.

Table 4.4.8: Trauma Counselling as a Role Women Play in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	98	31.0
No	218	69.0
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

From table 4.4.8 above, 69% of the respondents do not see trauma counselling as a role that women in peacebuilding initiatives, while 31% of the respondents agreed that women carry-out trauma counselling role in peacebuilding. Hence, majority of the respondents do not see trauma counselling as a role women play in peacebuilding.

However, the responses from the interviews conducted do not corroborate the views expressed above by the respondents. In the views of the IMC women wing coordinators, women play the role of trauma counselling on people traumatized by violent conflicts and gender-based violence. The women wing in particular have carried-out series of trauma counselling for victims of violence in some communities and LGAs in southern senatorial zone of Kaduna State. They also train other women on how to conduct trauma counselling in their localities in Kaduna State. In fact, their work stretch beyond Kaduna state to states ravaged by insurgency and violent conflict such as Yobe, Bauchi, Borno and Sokoto states.

According to Mrs Jane Obi (Christian Coordinator, WWIMC);

.....victims of violence may be traumatized either physically or emotionally or both. When a person is suffering from trauma, his or her identity, safety, and meaning and purpose in life are often severely threatened or taken away...(15th January,2015)

The women wing employ verses from the religious scriptures to counsel women and girls traumatized by one form of violence or the other as well as those suffering from stigma. For victims who belong to the Christian faith, we implore nerve calming verses such as 'let Jesus carry it and do the hurting instead' Isaiah 53:4; 'cry your tears into the ear of God'. He understands and feels our pain'; 'reach out to God for grace to forgiveness'. Unforgiveness will be like chains around your heart.

Likewise, verses from the Qur'an are also used to help victims allay their fears, relinquish them of their anger and urge for vengeance. Verses such as 'do not pay evil with evil Qur'an 41:34-36; 'be patient and in pain and adversity as did prophet Ayuba' are used.

Table 4.4.9: Humanitarian Activities as a Role Women Play in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	177	56.0
No	139	44.0
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.4.9 shows that, 56% of the respondents said women carry-out humanitarian activities as a role in building peace in their communities, while 44% however expressed contrary opinion. Hence, majority of the respondents see humanitarian activities as one of the roles women carry-out in peacebuilding. To buttress the above assertion, as part of their humanitarian activities, the women wing of IMC engage in trauma counselling of victims of abuses, rape or domestic violence, and women faced by conflict. In addition, the centre links the aforementioned victims to relevant organisations that empower them to attain self-sufficiency and to improve their livelihoods.

Table 4.4.10: Advocate for Peace as a Role Women Play in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	199	63.0
No	117	37.0
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.4.10 above indicates that 63% of the respondents said women play the role of peace advocates in their communities, while 37% of the respondents do not see women playing the role of peace advocates. Therefore, a significant number of the respondents agreed that women are advocates for peace in their communities. This assertion is also seen in the activities of the women wing of IMC. As part of their advocacy work, the women wing are advocating for women participation in leadership role in both the traditional and political setting; advocating for women participation in decision making at the local community, federal and state level; working with the traditional and religious to speak on the dangers of harmful traditional practices and working with the religious and traditional leaders on the Rights of Women as supported by the two (2) faiths. Also, they are working to see that women participate fully in conflict prevention and working in the area of early warning and early response systems, because women are always in the community and have a feel of what is happening around their homes and the society in general.

Table 4.4.11: Mediation as a Role Women Play in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	93	29.4
No	223	70.6
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

In table 4.4.11 above, 70% of the respondents do not see mediation as a role women play in peacebuilding, while only 29.4% of them agreed that women engage in mediation as a role in the resolution of conflict. Thus, the data indicate that majority of the respondents do not see women as mediators. IMC and its women wing in 2014 mediated in the conflict between

pastoralists and locals in Sanga LGA. In addition, the women wing facilitated mediation training for traditional rulers and women in Zankua, Zangon Kataf LGA.

From the above findings, the women wing play active role in building peace in Kaduna state however, their efforts alone are not enough to bring about sustainable in Kaduna in particular. More women group need to be empowered to actively participate in peacebuilding because only a woman better understands the plight of her fellow woman. More so, the less involvement of women in peacebuilding initiatives invariably leads to a failure to adequately address women's concerns such as sexual and gender-based violence, women's rights, the special needs of women in IDP camps, as well as the prosecution of perpetrators of violence and abuses against women

4.5: Challenges to Women's Participation in Peacebuilding Initiatives

Table 4.5.1: Lack of Fund as a Challenge to Women in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	169	53.5
No	147	46.5
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.5.1 above shows that, 53.5% of the respondents see lack of fund as challenge that hinders their active participation in peacebuilding, while 46.5% however do not see lack of fund as a challenge for women in their peacebuilding activities. Obviously, majority of the respondents agreed that lack of fund poses a great challenge for women in their peacebuilding activities. In fact, almost all the people that were interviewed shared similar view expressed above. The coordinator of the women wing of IMC has this to say...

[Lack of]funding of the organization for continuous projects and programs after the initial funding from the donor has closed or the project/program cycle has elapsed constitutes a serious challenge to our work. We need fund to carter for our new staff and to sustain the day-to-day running of the office. In fact, Board of Directors and Board of Trustees are not able to meet regularly due to funds that are needed to carter for their upkeeps during their meetings.

Table 4.5.2: Cultural Factor as aChallenge toWomen in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	177	56.0
No	139	44.0
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.5.2 above indicates 56% of the respondents see cultural factor as an impediment to women in peacebuilding, while 44% of them do not. Likewise,those interviewed attribute women's inadequate involvement in conflict management, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction to cultural factors. Culturally, the acts of conflict resolution and peacebuilding are seen as the domain of men. Since they did not start the war, they have no say in its resolution. Cultural factor is thus really contributing to women's under-representation in decision making forums and particularly in peacebuilding initiatives.

Table 4.5.3: Religious Factor as a Challenge toWomen in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	167	52.8
No	148	46.8
No response	1	0.3
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.5.3 above, shows that 167 respondents representing 52.8% said religious factor act as challenge to women in their effort to bring about peace in their communities, while 46.8% of the respondents do not agree that religious factor act as obstacle to women's peacebuilding efforts. Therefore, the data indicates that majority of the respondents see religious factors as challenge that inhibit women's contribution to peacebuilding process. In attestation to the above finding, Nwadinobi and Maguire (2013) said thus:

Religious interpretations are often used to justify women's secondary position and their exclusion from public life. Although the Islamist radical groups in the northern zones promote extreme versions of women's marginalisation in the name of religion, it is the conservative religious interpretations that maintain women's marginalisation. Conservative Christian ideologies, too, create an environment where women are expected to behave in certain ways which do not include adopting leadership roles. This is despite the fact that both major organised religions feature examples of women playing a role in peace efforts, sometimes for entire nations.

This view was also corroborated by the coordinators of the women wing and the NSRP programme officers. They remarked that cultural and religious factors have continued to act as stumbling blocks on the path of women's contribution to peacebuilding. In most cases, it has further entrenched the culture of impunity on the part of perpetrators of gender-based violence and abuses against the human rights of women, and has exacerbated the culture of silence on the part of victims of violence. The victims prefer to keep silent under the guise of protecting family name or avoiding being stigmatized. In addition, Mrs. Maria Dogo Makeri and the Co-Executive Directors of IMChave also attributed problems facing women in peacebuilding processes to cultural and religious factors. To buttress the above, Mrs. Maria said that women are marginalized due to many factors which have been given political, cultural, societal and religious coloration by certain groups that felt women have their limitations. She further stated that the society where we are today give little or no space for

the women to exercise their strength and potential, thereby making the women to also lose the energy and confidence to match the men.

Table 4.5.4: Poor Skills as a Challenge to Women in Peacebuilding

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	207	65.5
No	109	34.5
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.5.4 above shows that, 65.5% of the respondents see poor skills as a challenge for women in peacebuilding, while 34.5% do not. The data above shows that poor skills constitute a challenge to women in peacebuilding. This finding tends to tally with the views of the people that were interviewed. They remarked that women are very effective in the informal peacebuilding process such as prayers, wearing of black attires to protest against violence, sit-ins or peace camps, demonstrations as well as the use of their traditional roles as wives and mothers to press for peace. However, when it comes to formal peace processes such as negotiation, dialogue, and mediation, most women tend to be passive because they lack the requisite knowledge and skills to undertake such functions. Also, their lack of skills and knowledge result to their lack of capacity to project gender-based issues confronting them and marshalling these issues whenever they have opportunity to participate in peacebuilding. Hence, in the words of Gbowee (2006), ‘for peacebuilding to succeed, women needed not only to be represented, but also to be educated in both theoretical and practical peacebuilding skills’

Table 4.5.5: Inadequate Representation in Decision Making Positions as aChallenge

Response	Frequency	Percent
Yes	192	60.8.
No	124	39.0
Total	316	100.0

Source: Survey Research Conducted in January, 2015

Table 4.5.5 above, indicates that 60.8% of the respondents said inadequate representation of women in decision making constitute an impediment to their contribution to peacebuilding in Kaduna State, while only 39% of them expressed contrary view. The data therefore, indicates that inadequate representation of women in decision making constitute an obstacle to their peacebuilding process. This finding tends to corroborate with the opinion expressed by all the resource person that were interviewed.

According to Director of Women Affairs of the Federal Ministry of Women and Social Development, women have continued to be poorly represented in formal peace processes, although, they contribute in many informal ways to conflict resolution. In recent peace negotiations, women have represented fewer than 8 percent of signatories, and no woman has ever been appointed chief or lead mediator in UN-sponsored peace talks. Such failures invariably lead to a failure to adequately address women's concerns, such as sexual and gender-based violence, women's rights and post-conflict accountability.

In a similar vein, NSRP Programme Officer, Kaduna State said;

In the last peace and reconciliation committee that was constituted by the former late Governor Yakowa, we only had 3 women out of a group of 70 members. Moreso, under the present administration, there are only 2 women in the entire executive council unlike during the time of Yakowa where he appointed more women in decision making forums (29th January,2015)

The coordinator of the women wing adds thus:

That women involvement in decision making or women taking up leadership position may take the form of active participation of women in public institutions such as the legislature, executive council, panels of inquiries, traditional institutions. It worth saying that Justice Rahila H. Cudjoe was the only woman to have headed a panel of enquiry in Kaduna state (15th January, 2015).

This follows therefore that, women contribute immensely to the peace process in Nigeria however, they are confronted by certain impediments that militate against their effective contribution to and entrenchment of sustainable peace particularly in Kaduna state and Nigeria at large.

4.6 Conclusion

The research assumptions have been validated as the study has shown that there is a relationship between inadequate representation of women in decision making forums and less involvement of women in peacebuilding initiatives coupled with other factors such as lack of fund, illiteracy, bad patriarchy, religious misinterpretation, lack of economic empowerment and poverty. If more women are represented in policy making, more gender issues would be brought forward. And would invariably create a platform where women's concerns such as sexual and gender-based violence, women's rights, the special needs of women in IDP camps, as well as the prosecution of perpetrators of violence and abuses against women, would be adequately addressed.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This is the concluding chapter of the work and comprises of the summary of the research findings, conclusion and some recommendations.

5.2 Summary of Findings.

Although women and women's group are at the forefront of peacemaking efforts at the community level, this does not always translate to the inclusion of women as participants at state and national level debates, mediation processes and peacebuilding activities. This is in spite of the fact that women are the most vulnerable during and after violent conflicts. This study sets out to achieve the following objectives:

- i. To find out why women are not adequately involved in peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria and Kaduna State in particular.
- ii. Examine the role women play in peacebuilding with particular reference to the women wing of interfaith mediation centre, Kaduna State.
- iii. To find out how women can be empowered to participate effectively in peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria.

With regards to the first objective, findings show that women's contribution to the peacebuilding process is being hindered by a range of challenges, one of which was funding. Funding poses a serious challenge to women in their peacebuilding process as shown in table 4.5.1 above. Most women organisations involved in peace initiatives and particularly the women wing of IMC depend on donors for funding and in most cases donor tend to prioritize projects to suit their needs. It is a situation of he who pays the piper dictates the tune. Another challenge identified was harmful cultural and religious factors as indicated in tables 4.5.2 and 4.5.3 respectively. The marginal contribution of women in formal peace processes; increase in culture of impunity and silence as well as the under-representation of women in decision making forums have all been attributed to cultural factors and religious misinterpretations.

In addition, poor skills in formal peace process have also been identified as a challenge for women in peacebuilding process. This finding was in congruence with the view of Oruwari (2006) where she remarked that the challenge for women is to improve their traditional techniques of peacemaking to meet the challenges of post-conflict peacebuilding. Likewise, Gbowee (2006) asserts that for peacebuilding to succeed, women needed not only to be represented, but also to be educated in both theoretical and practical peacebuilding. Furthermore, women peace activists and organisations lack access to information and resources although; they have the skill and ability to work at grassroots level. Women's organisations are often distant and disconnected from developments and processes under way at regional and international levels. There is a dire need to bridge the gap and provide information and tools needed to enable their systematic inclusion in peacebuilding processes (Akpan, et al, 2014).

Moreso, the study discovered that women lack empowerment in various aspects of life particularly economic empowerment. Just as the UN emphasize that inequality and discrimination against women and girls in social and economic opportunities can constitute obstacles to effective peacebuilding and post-conflict recovery (UN, 2013). Therefore, economic empowerment of women would greatly contribute to the effectiveness of post-conflict economic activities and economic growth, and lead to improving the quality and social outcomes of economic recovery measures and policies as well as to sustainable development.

Another challenge bedevilling women in their peacebuilding activities as stated by the IMC administrative officer was competition and rivalry among faith groups and organisations working on peace and conflict management.

The study has also shown that 80.7% of the respondents acknowledged that in spite of the challenges that women encounter in the peace process, they still play tremendous roles in peacebuilding. Though, some respondents do not agree that Women carry-out such roles as mediation, trauma counselling and humanitarian activities in the state, this may not be unconnected to the insignificant number of women carrying-out such roles.

Women play active role in building peace and tend to centre their peacebuilding actions upon non-violence, recognition of, and respect for, human rights; promotion of intercultural tolerance and understanding; and women's empowerment in economic, social, cultural and political spheres.

The IMC women wing have carried-out series of peace work within and outside Kaduna State such as trauma counselling and healing workshops; they have also carried-out interfaith conflict transformation and trust building workshops for women leaders and Islamic Madrasas and Christian Religion instructors. In addition, the women wing are involved in humanitarian activities; training women on conflict resolution, early warning and early response.

The study shows that women are under-represented in decision making forums in Kaduna State. Women have continued to be poorly represented in political positions and formal peace processes, even though, they contribute in many informal ways to conflict resolution. Thus, the marginalization of women in high level decision making including those regarding war and peace, constrain their ability to decisively influence and impact on conflict prevention, and attainment of sustainable peace.

5.3 Conclusion

The role that women play in peacebuilding cannot be over-emphasized. This stems from the fact that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements. Out of the 38,976 IDPs after 2011 post- presidential election crisis in Kaduna State, 90% were women and children. Incidences of violence and fatalities against women and girls have continued to increase.

The women wing of IMC play crucial role in peacebuilding in Kaduna State and its environs. However, their contribution to peacebuilding is being impeded by some challenges as such; there is a dire need to empower women in all facet of life. Women's contribution to peacebuilding though not adequate, but if harnessed, it has the potential to bring about sustainable peace not only in Kaduna State but in Nigeria at large.

5.4 Recommendations

The study recommends the following:

- The domestication and implementation of the National Action Plan on UNSC Resolution 1325. This will increase women's visibility, representation and participation, leadership and decision making in national mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict in Nigeria. The Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development have domesticated the document at the national level; however, Ministries of Women affairs at the State levels are yet to domesticate it.
- The Government and other Stakeholders need to provide particular support to women in rural areas in post-conflict situations, including inter-alia through vocational training, training on income-generating activities, access to land, long- and short-term

credit facilities, productive resources and other business support services, including agricultural extension services.

- Women organisations and group involved in peacebuilding should devise other sustainable means of generating their funds and stop relying on donor funding. By engaging in business ventures and by so doing, it enhances local ownership of the peace process.
- Government and other stakeholders need to continue the funding of peacebuilding projects when donor funding ends.
- Faith groups involved in peacebuilding activities in Kaduna State should eschew all forms of unhealthy rivalries and competition among themselves for the best interest of peace.
- Priority should be given to the education of women and girls in Nigeria. Although, the Government and other Stakeholders are trying but more effort is needed to checkmate the high level of illiteracy among women and girls particularly in the northern region. According to the Kaduna State School Census Report for 2010, 57% of primary school enrolment is taken by males, while females take 43%. The gap widens with higher levels of education, as females constitute only 38% of senior secondary school in Kaduna state. While in Soba, Kudan and Birnin Gwari LGAs, female children make up less than 20% of senior secondary school enrolment. This is to show the level of imbalance in access to education between males and females at all levels of education in Kaduna State.
- Continuous enlightenment so as to break those harmful cultural barriers militating against women's progress in public domain.
- Professionals in the art of peacebuilding should build the capacity of more women in formal peacebuilding processes so as to augment their traditional skills

Bibliography

Books

- Abdu-Ismail, A. (2006), *Women and Youth in Peacebuilding: The Case of the Mano River Basin Peace Initiative*, In Habu Muhammed (ed) *Basic Concepts and Issues in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution*. Kano: General Studies Unit Bayero University Kano.
- Adeniyi, E. F. (2003), *Effects of Political Crises on Women: Towards the Management and Peaceful Resolution of Conflicts*, In M. Kwanashie (ed) *Politics and Political Power Relations in Nigeria*, Lagos: Dat and Partners Logistics Ltd. P.353
- Animashaun, R. O. (2013), *Women in peacekeeping and Peacebuilding*. In Albert, I. O. and Eselebor, W. A. (eds) *Managing Security in a Globalised World*. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd. pp. 256-266.
- Ayindo, B. Et al (2001). *When you are a Peacebuilder: Stories and Reflections on Peacebuilding from Africa*. USA: Eastern Mennonite University, Harrisonburg.
- Clonan, T. (2002), *In Demand: Women in the Irish Times* in Potter, M. (2004), *Women, Civil Society and Peacebuilding: path to Peace Through the Empowerment of Women*. Belfast: Training for Women Network (TWN).
- Diamond, L., and McDonald, J. (1996), *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A systems approach to peace*, In Forster, R. and Mattner, M. (2006), *Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Potential, Limitations and Critical Factors*. Document of the World Bank Report No. 36445-GLB, June, 19.
- Galtung, J. (1996), *Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding*, in *Peace, War and Defence: Essays in Peace Research*, Vol. 11.
- Galtung, J. (1997), *Peace by Peaceful Means: Peace, Conflict Development and Civilisation*, London: Sage.
- Kasali, M. A. et al. (2006), *Concepts and Practice of Peacebuilding*. Lagos: National Open University of Nigeria.
- Konteh, R. (), *Responding to Conflicts: The Role of Civil Society in West Africa*. In Shedrack, G.B. (ed) *Introduction to Peace and Conflict Studies in West Africa: A Reader*. Ibadan: Spectrum Books Limited.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997), *Building Peace. Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lederach, J. P. (2001). *Levels of Leadership* in Paffenholz, T. and Reyhler, L. (eds) *Peacebuilding: A field guide*. USA: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. Pp 145-155.

- Mckay, S. and Mazurana, D. (2007), Gendering Peacebuilding. In Christie, D. J., Wagner, R. V., and Winter, D. A. (eds) *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:Prentice-Hall.
- Mohammed, H. (2006), *Basic Concepts and Issues in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution*. Kano: General Studies Unit Bayero University Kano.
- Olaifan, T. (2010), Preventive Diplomacy and Ethnic Conflict: The Role of Women in Perspective. In Isaac Olawale Albert and Olaniyi N. O. (eds) *Trends and Tensions in Managing Conflicts*. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd,p.241.
- Olarinde, N. O.(2010), West African Network in Peacebuilding and Early Warning Systems in West Africa. In Isaac O. A. and Olaniyi N. O. (eds) *Trends and Tensions in Managing Conflicts*. Ibadan: John Archers Ltd, pp. 217-232.
- Paffenholz, T. (2001). Western Approaches to Negotiations and Mediation: An overview in Reyhler, L. and Thania, P. (eds) *Peacebuilding*, pp. 75-80.
- Peinado, M.M. (2002). The Role of NGOs and The Civil Society in Peace and Reconciliation. Spain: Centro de Investigacion Para La Pas,Madrid. pp. 2-3.
- Reychler, L. (2001). From conflict to sustainable peacebuilding: concepts and analytical tools. In L. Reyhler and T. Paffenholz (eds), *Peace-Buuilding: A Field Guide*. USA and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc
- Umar, A. M. (2006). Periscoping: Conflict and the Role of NGOs in Conflict Resolution in Habu Muhammad (ed) *Concepts and Issues in Peace Studies and Conflict Resolution*. Kano: General Studies Unit of Bayero University, Kano. Vol. 1.

Journals

- Akpan, F.Et al (2014). Women and Peacebuilding in Nigeria. United Kingdom: Sacha and Diamond Academic Publishers. *Africa Journal of Social Sciences*, Vol. 4, No. 1.
- Cupples, J. (2004), Counter- Revolutionary Women: Gender and Reconciliation in post-war Nicaragua in Caroline Sweetman (ed) *Gender and Development: Peacebuilding and Reconstruction*. United Kingdom: Oxfam GB,Vol.12, No.3, November.
- Forster, R. and Mattner, M. (2006). Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Potential, Limitations and Critical Factors.Document of the World Bank Report No. 36445-GLB, June,19.
- Hinton, R., Et al. (2008). The Kup Women for Peace Approach to Peacebuilding: Taking the lead in the Papua New Guinea National Elections. In Caroline Sweetman (ed) *Gender and Development*. United Kingdom: Routledge Oxfam. Vol. 16:3,November.
- Sewell, E. K.(2007). Women Peacebuilding: The Liberian Women's Peace Movement. In Women Narratives, Wars and Peacebuilding, *Critical Half Bi-annual Journal of Women for Women International*, Vol. 5, No.2.

Conference/Seminar Papers

- El-Bushra, J. and Piza-Lopez, E, (1994b). Development in Conflict: The Gender Dimension, workshop report, Thailand, February 1993, OXFAM Discussion Paper No. 3, Oxford, OXFAM.
- Haye, J. D.R. (2007). A Strategic Peacebuilding Partnership - From Early Warning By Civil Society To Early Response By the European Union. Paper Presented at the Pax Christi International Offices a Peace Net Meeting November.
- Klot, F. J.(2007). Women and Peacebuilding. Social Science Research Council, January 29.
- Oruwari, Y. (2006), Post-Conflict Peace Building and Democracy in An oil Region: The Role of Women's groups in the Niger Delta, Nigeria. Faculty of Environmental Science, Rivers State University of Science and Technology, Port Harcourt. Working Paper No.13.
- Onyido, O.(2011). The Failure of Policies Supporting Gender Mainstreaming in Post-Conflict Peacebuilding.Centre for Ethnic and Conflict Studies, University of Port Harcourt, Port Harcourt, Rivers State, Nigeria.
- Paffenholz, T. (2006).Civil society and peacebuilding: Summary of Results for a Comparative Research Projects. Switzerland: Centre on Conflict, Development and Peacebuilding (CCDP).CCDP working paper 4 p.5-25.
- Paffenholz, T. and Spurk, C. (2006), Civil Society, Civil Engagement and Peacebuilding. Washington: Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Social Development paper no. 36 October pp1-54.
- Potter, M. (2004), Women, Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Path to Peace Through the Empowerment of Women. Belfast: Training Women for work(TWN).
- Purkarthofer, P.(2002), Gender and Gender Mainstreaming in International Peacebuilding Department of Political Science, University of Vienna, Austria.ISA Conference Panel: Gendering PeaceMarch 22-25, 2006.
- NaraghiAnderlini, S. (2011), World Development Report Gender Background Paper.
- Nwadinobi, E. A. and Maguire, S. (2013), The Role of Women and Girls in Peace Initiatives in Nigeria. Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP), January, 2013.
- Skjelsback, I. and Smith, D. (2001), Gender, Peace and Conflict, in Potter M. (2004), Women, Civil Society and Peacebuilding: Path to Peace Through the Empowerment of Women. Belfast: Training Women for work(TWN).
- Sorensen, B. (1998), Women and Post-conflict Reconstruction: Issues and Sources. United Nations Research Institute for Social DevelopmentProgramme for Strategic and International Security Studies.WSP Occasional Paper No. 3, June.

Report

The Kaduna State Peace and Reconciliation Committee Report on the 2011 Post-election Violence submitted to the Governor in 2013.

Unpublished Thesis

Sujden, J. (2011), Civil Society and Peacebuilding in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: Football for Peace and the view from the Bottom. An M.A. Thesis.

Newspaper

The Nation Newspaper, Saturday, November 30, 2013.

Internet source

Abdulkadir, T.H. (2006), Conflict Prevention and Post-Conflict Peace Building in Nigeria: Gender Perspective. Department of Electrical Electronics Technology, College of Education, Minna. Retrieved From www.humanityknights.net/pdfs/conflict.

Ekine, S. (2009), Women's Responses to State Violence in the Niger Delta: Violence as an Instrument of Governance. Retrieved from <http://pambazuka.org/en/category/features/54174>

United Nations Commission for the Status of Women, Resolution on Women and Armed Conflict 1998.

Isike, C. (2009). Feminising the Peace Process: A Comparative Analysis of Women and Conflict in the Niger-Delta (Nigeria) and Kwa-Zulu Natal South Africa.

Isike, C. and Uzodike, U. O. (2010). Towards an Indigenous Model of Conflict Resolution: Reinventing Women's Roles as Traditional Peacebuilders in Neo-colonial Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.ajol.info/index>

United Nations Security Council, Resolution 1320(2000) Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000, S/RES/1325 (2000).

United Nations General Assembly Security Council Peacebuilding Commission. 7th Session: Organisational Committee on Women's Economic Empowerment for Peacebuilding, 26th September, 2013

Peace, peacebuilding, Peacemaking Retrieved from www.Berghof-glossary_2012_peace.

Mainstreaming Gender in Peacebuilding- Framework for Action retrieved from [www.cities-local governments. org](http://www.cities-localgovernments.org).

Nigeria Stability and Reconciliation Programme (NSRP) First Quarterly Report November, 2011- January, 2012.

www.peacebuildinginitiatives.org.

Rwandan Ministry of Social Affairs, 2007 census estimates the number to be 309,368 (<http://www.hirondellenews.com/content/view/2328/182/>). IBUKA (the umbrella body of survivors' organizations in Rwanda) estimates the number to be nearer to 400,000.

APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

I am Rukayyatu Magaji, a Post Graduate Student of the Bayero University in Kano. I am conducting a research on ‘Gender and Peacebuilding Initiatives in Nigeria: A Study of the Women Wing of Interfaith Mediation Centre in Kaduna State. The research is a requirement for the award of an M.Sc. in Political Science. You are assured that your responses will be treated with strict confidence.

1	Questionnaire Number	
2	Location	
3	LGA	
4	State	
5	Name of Interviewer	
6	Date of Interview	

Section 1: Personal Details

101. Respondent's Sex

- 1. Female { }
- 2. Male { }

102. Age

- 1. Below 20 { }
- 2. 20 – 25 { }
- 3. 26 – 30 { }
- 4. 31 – 35 { }
- 5. 36 – 40 { }
- 6. 41 – 45 { }
- 7. 46 – 50 { }
- 8. 51 and above { }

103. Marital Status

- 1. Single { }
- 2. Married { }
- 3. Divorced { }
- 4. Widowed { }

104. Highest Educational level attained

1. Qur'anic/Islamic Education { }
2. Vocational Education { }
3. Primary { }
4. Secondary { }
5. Tertiary { }

Other

Section 2: Women Involvement in Policy Making

201. Are women involved in policy making in the state?

1. Yes { }
2. No { }
3. Don't know { }

202. If yes in 201, how would you describe the involvement of women in policy making in the state

1. Highly involved { }
2. Moderately { }
3. Marginally involved { }
4. Not involved { }
5. Don't know { }

203: How would you describe the role women play in policy making in the state?

1. Very effective { }
2. Effective { }
3. Not effective { }

Other

Section 3: Women Participation in Peacebuilding Initiatives

301. Are you aware of any effort aimed at peacebuilding in your community?

1. Yes { }
2. No { }

302. If yes in 301, who initiated the effort?

1. Government { }
2. Non-Governmental Organization { }
3. Religious Institution { }
4. Traditional Leaders { }
5. Women group { }
6. Youth group { }
7. Private Individuals { }

Other

303. Do women participate in peacebuilding initiative in your community?

1. Yes { }
2. No { }

304. If no in 303, why?

.....

305. How would you describe the composition of the peacebuilding team in your community?

1. Men only { }
2. Women only { }
3. Both in equal proportion { }
4. More men than women { }
5. More women than men { }
6. Don't know

Other

306. Do you think women's participation in peacebuilding initiatives in your community is adequate?

1. Yes { }
2. No { }
3. I don't know { }

307. How would you describe women's contribution to peacebuilding initiatives in your community?

1. Very effective { }
2. Effective { }
3. Not effective { }
4. Don't know { }

Other

308. What role do women play in peacebuilding initiatives? **(Multiple option)**

- 1. Trauma counselling { }
- 2. Humanitarian activities { }
- 3. Advocate for Peace { }
- 4. Mediation { }

Other

309. What challenges do women face in their peacebuilding efforts ? **(Multiple option)**

- 1. Lack of funds { }
- 2. Cultural factors { }
- 3. Religious factors { }
- 4. Poor skills { }
- 5. Inadequate representation in decision making positions { }

Other

310. Do you think women participation in peacebuilding activities will ensure long lasting peace in the country?

- 1. Yes { }
- 2. No { }
- 3. I don't know { }

311. If yes in 310, explain

.....
.....

312. Suggest three ways through which women can participate effectively in peacebuilding initiatives in Nigeria.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Thank You

APPENDIX II

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- What role do women play in peacebuilding?
- How effective have these roles been in entrenching peace in Kaduna State and Nigeria at large?
- Is women's participation in peacebuilding initiatives adequate?
- What obstacles or challenges militate against their successful participation and/or contribution to the peace process in Kaduna State?
- Do you think the involvement of more women in policy making would strengthen the peacebuilding process?
- How would you describe women's role in policy making in the state?
- How can women be empowered to participate actively alongside men in peacebuilding process in Nigeria?

APPENDIX III

LIST OF INTERVIEWEE

Mrs. Jane Obi (IMC Women Coordinator 1) interview conducted on 18th January, 2015

Hajiya Ramatu Adamu (IMC Women Coordinator 2) interview conducted on 15th January, 2015.

Mr. Samson Auta (Administrative Officer of IMC) interview conducted on 19th January, 2015.

NSRP Programme Officer (output 3, Kano State) interview conducted on 28th January, 2015.

NSRP Programme Officer (output 3, Kaduna State) interview conducted on 29th January, 2015.

Mrs. Maria Dogo Makama (Kaduna State Ministry of Women Affairs) interview conducted on 14th September, 2015.