

CHARLES UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
Institute of Political Studies
Department of Security Studies

**Transforming conflict at the local level:
Women peace mediators in Burundi**

Master's thesis

Author: Bc. Anna Vodičková

Study programme: Security Studies

Supervisor: PhDr. Kateřina Werkman, Ph.D.

Year of the defence: 2018

Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.
2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.
3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on

Anna Vodičková

References

VODIČKOVÁ, Anna. *Transforming conflict at the local level: Women peace mediators in Burundi*. Praha, 2018. 52 pages. Master's thesis (Mgr.). Charles University, Faculty of Social Sciences, Institute of Political Studies. Department of Security Studies. Supervisor PhDr. Kateřina Werkman, Ph.D.

Length of the thesis: 95.036 characters with spaces.

Abstract

Armed conflict affects men and women differently due to their previous roles in the society. For instance, it often crucially changes the status of women and enhances their emancipation. Therefore, women should be included in conflict resolution as well as in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction, to ensure sustainable peace. Examples from many African countries driven by conflict denote that women are not automatically included in these processes. This single intrinsic case study documents the work of women peace mediators in Burundi. At the theoretical level, the study argues for an elicitive endogenous approach to peacebuilding, embedded in the conflict transformation theory by John Paul Lederach. Nevertheless, theoretical concepts are not emphasized because they tend to limit the mediators' agenda which actually involves a wide range of conflict handling mechanisms. The main part of the study is based on semi-formal questionnaires filled out by women peace mediators in Bujumbura. The goal of the research is twofold: First, it is aimed to introduce the mediators and to understand their motivations to mediate. Second, it documents their everyday work by analysing official reports. The findings show that an "average" mediator is a married woman, with children, with at least secondary school completed, working in the social sector, and is human or women's rights activist. Furthermore, given the local character of the conflict in Burundi, the study shows that peacebuilding at the grassroots level has crucial implications for national security because it prevents community-based conflicts from spilling over to higher levels.

Abstrakt

Ozbrojené konflikty ovlivňují muže a ženy rozdílně, v závislosti na jejich předchozí roli ve společnosti. Například, konflikt často změní postavení žen ve společnosti a umožní větší emancipaci. Proto by ženy měly být zahrnuty do řešení konfliktů stejně jako do mírových jednání a post-konfliktní rekonstrukce, aby byl zajištěn udržitelný mír. Příklady z řady afrických zemí zasažených konfliktem ukazují, že ženy do těchto procesů nejsou zahrnovány automaticky. Tato vnitřní případová studie dokumentuje práci žen mediátorek míru v Burundi. Na teoretické úrovni studie argumentuje pro odvozený endogenní přístup (elicitive endogenous approach) k budování míru, který je zakotvený v teorii transformace konfliktu podle Johna Paula Lederacha. Teoretické koncepty

nicméně nejsou ve studii akcentovány, protože svými definicemi spíše limitují agendu mediátorek, která ve skutečnosti zasahuje do řady mechanismů zvládání konfliktu. Hlavní část studie je založená na polostrukturovaných dotaznících, které vyplňovaly mediátorky v hlavním městě Bujumbura. Cíle výzkumu jsou následující: Zaprvé, přestavit mediátorky a porozumět jejich motivacím práci vykonávat. Zadruhé, zdokumentovat jejich každodenní práci, a to na základě analýzy oficiálních reportů. Výsledky ukazují, že “průměrná” mediátorka je vdaná žena, mající děti, s minimálně dokončenou střední školou, pracující v sociálním oboru, a aktivistka za lidská práva nebo práva žen. V kontextu lokálního charakteru konfliktu v Burundi, studie poukazuje na fakt, že budování míru na lokální úrovni má zásadní vliv na bezpečnost na úrovni národní, protože předchází rozšíření komunitního konfliktu do vyšších úrovní.

Keywords

women, peacebuilding, Burundi, conflict transformation, mediation

Klíčová slova

ženy, budování míru, Burundi, transformace konfliktu, mediace

Title

Transforming conflict at the local level: Women peace mediators in Burundi

Název práce

Transformace konfliktu na lokální úrovni: Ženy mediátorky v Burundi

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Goretti Ndacayisaba from the association *Dushirehamwe* who provided me information and contacts to mediators in Burundi. I am very grateful to peace mediator Rosalie for sending me recent reports and patiently answering all of my supplementary questions. Last but not least, I thank my supervisor PhDr. Kateřina Werkman, Ph.D. who understood my goal and helped me to follow it.

Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS	2
LIST OF ACRONYMS	4
1 INTRODUCTION	5
1.1 Research aim.....	6
1.2 Methodology.....	7
1.3 Structure of the study.....	8
2 TRANSFORMATIVE PEACEBUILDING: STATE OF THE FIELD	9
2.1 The elicitive endogenous approach to peacebuilding.....	11
2.2 Actors and levels of peacebuilding.....	12
2.3 Women in conflict transformation.....	14
2.3.1 <i>Women, Peace and Security Agenda</i>	16
3 WOMEN IN BURUNDI	18
3.1 The societal situation of Burundian women	18
3.1.1 <i>Tradition and customary laws</i>	19
3.1.2 <i>Access to education</i>	19
3.1.3 <i>Legal and economic status</i>	20
3.1.4 <i>Women and traditional conflict management</i>	22
3.2 Burundian women and conflict.....	23
3.2.1 <i>Historical background of the conflict</i>	23
3.2.2 <i>Women during the conflict</i>	24
3.2.3 <i>Women's political participation through civil society</i>	25
3.2.4 <i>Burundian women at the Arusha Peace Negotiations</i>	26
4 WOMEN PEACE MEDIATORS IN BURUNDI	28
4.1 Who are the mediators?	29
4.2 What do the mediators do?	33
4.3 Impact of the mediators' work.....	37
5 CONCLUSION	39
6 SUMMARY	42

7 LIST OF REFERENCES	43
7.1 Primary sources	43
7.1.1 Questionnaires, interviews.....	43
7.1.2 Primary literature.....	43
7.2 Secondary literature.....	44
7.2.1 Internet secondary sources	45
8 LIST OF APPENDICES	48

List of acronyms

AFWIC	African Women in Crisis
CAFOB	Collectif des Associations et ONGs Féminines du Burundi
DDR	disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration
IDP	internally displaced person
GAI	Global Acceleration Instrument
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	non-governmental organization
PFB	United Nations Peacebuilding Fund
SPPDF	Synergie des Partenaires Pour la Promotion des Droits de la Femme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	UN High Commissioner for Refugees
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UN Women	United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

1 Introduction

One of the most relevant reasons to study conflict in Africa is the fact that there are nowhere else as many casualties in consequence of civil wars. For decades, the continent is being tossed by brutal intra-state armed conflicts which typically last for many years, so-called low-intensity conflicts. Even after the formal ending of the conflict by signing a peace agreement, violence often continues in these countries and peace and stability are very fragile.

It is evident that civil wars and violent conflicts affect the whole society, both women and men. However, given their status before the conflict, men and women are affected in different ways and therefore, it is important to draw attention to both sexes individually. In practice, this means to include men and women in conflict resolution as well as in peace negotiations and in post-conflict reconstruction to ensure sustainable peace. Examples from many African countries driven by conflict denote that women are not automatically included in these processes which constitutes a fundamental problem. On closer observation, women often played an important role in ending conflicts and post-conflict developments.

Nevertheless, women and girls in conflict are often reduced to victims (passive objects) who have no control over their lives. Fact is that women (together with children and older people) belong to vulnerable groups of the population in most conflicts. As a result, most refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women and children, and women and girls often face gender-based sexual violence. However, women also take part in direct combat or collaborate actively with fighters. During and after the conflict many women find themselves in a new position because suddenly they have to provide for the family and for themselves economically (active subjects). Conflicts change the structures and roles in society and thus open a way to emancipation. Drawing attention to contributions of women in conflict resolution and peacebuilding is as important as continuing to point out gender-based violence.

Furthermore, there is more and more evident coherence between the number of women in national parliaments and successful post-conflict development and sustainable peace. However, there is still lack of research on the particular roles of women in peace processes (Hendricks 2011), especially at the grassroots level.

Burundi stands out in this context. The country experienced several armed conflicts and genocide during which thousands of people died and over a million people

were forced to leave their homes. Despite one of the highest female illiteracy rates, throughout the 1990s women of different ethnic backgrounds founded diverse women's organizations to strengthen their power and include women in the peace negotiations. Thanks to these women's efforts, a group of women was allowed to observe the negotiations in Arusha from 1998 to 2000. Back then, it was a ground-breaking moment because the international Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda was still not applied. The great number of women's organizations proves the determination to build sustainable peace in Burundi.

Women peace mediators (“*médiatrices de la paix*”) represent an example of women's participation in handling conflicts at the local level. Their work comprises a wide range of conflict handling activities: conflict prevention and early warning, mediation, management and resolution. The purpose of this study is not to strictly define and determine these terms because the mediators’ competencies intersect all of them. On the contrary, all of these conflict handling mechanisms are part of their broad agenda. Theoretically, peacebuilding is framed by the conflict transformation theory that became prominent during the shift from top-down to bottom-up approaches to dealing with conflict.

1.1 Research aim

The objective of this study is to describe the work of women peace mediators in Burundi. In this frame, it presents the mediators’ personal, educational background, motivations, and the working structures. Therefore, women peace mediators in the capital Bujumbura were asked to participate in semi-formal questionnaires. Besides, the study also documents their agenda according to recent official reports. Based on the results of the data analysis it is possible to set out the impacts of the mediators’ local efforts on the national stability and security. Lack of research on these women and their un-institutionalized character make them somehow “invisible” to many scholars. This study aims to set up the cornerstone for further research.

Within the introduction, the study presents an overview of the field of conflict transformation. It then argues for an elicitive endogenous approach as the most appropriate to describe women participating in local (community) conflict handling because it reflects the mediators’ day-to-day tasks. The approach takes into account local (endogenous) factors and puts local actors in the focus of the peacebuilding. The

mediators as well, treat every conflict in the community individually and within its particular context.

1.2 Methodology

The starting point for this study was secondary literature on gender and security in international politics. The literature mentioned activities of women at different levels and phases of peacebuilding, however, I did not find much research on women in local (and rather informal) peacebuilding. Authors who pointed out to the lack of literature and documents on women peace efforts at the local level inspired me to look more into conflict management at the grassroots. (Hendricks 2011) As violence broke out again in Burundi in 2015, I tried to find out how, if at all, women were involved in peacebuilding and conflict management. Secondary books, articles, and videos on Burundian history, society, culture, and women helped me to better understand the context. During this research, I found one article and one video about the work of women peace mediators published on the website of UN Women.

The absence of literature on women mediators was the main motivation for this study. The form of a single intrinsic case study was considered as the most appropriate methodology because its “(...) primary task is to come to understand the case. It will help us to tease out relationships, to probe issues, and to aggregate categorical data, but those ends are subordinate to understanding the case. The case is complex, and the time we have for examining its complexity is short. (...)” (Stake 1995, p.77) The aim is to introduce Burundian women peace mediators closer and to document their unique work within the local, unique context. Therefore, the aim is not to generalize the findings of this study to a bigger population or women peace mediators in other countries but, on the contrary, to describe and understand the actors by taking into account the particular context. This form also reflects the theoretical anchoring of this case study in the conflict transformation theory which accentuates the importance of the local context and bottom-up approach.

The core of this study is the data analysis, based on a semi-formal questionnaire asking about the women's social origin, motivation, and their mediation activities. All women responded in detail and even over the demanded frame. With many women, I had a very lively communication via email and the messaging application Whatsapp, and they were open to answering supplementary questions. The communication language was French.

In order to facilitate the communication, due to the complicated access to the internet in rural areas of the country, the location of the study was limited to the capital city Bujumbura. Additionally, most of the women's organizations headquarters are based in the capital so that they could provide me contacts more easily. Due to financial and time restraints, a field trip to Burundi was not possible.

Given the number of local NGOs working together with peace mediators, I did not contact all of them. The first contact was facilitated by the UN Women office in Burundi. The later contacted organizations were chosen based on whether they reacted to my request or not. Mrs. Goretti Ndacayisaba from the association *Dushirehamwe* finally provided me direct contact with the peace mediators in Bujumbura

However, I am aware of the study's limitations. The data from the questionnaires do represent only a little insight into the women's work and origin. However, since there is no other documentation focusing on women peace mediators in Burundi, the results of this study are aimed to serve as a basis for further research.

1.3 Structure of the study

The study is divided into three main parts. The first part is dedicated to the transformative peacebuilding theory and serves as an introduction to conflict intervention approaches. It also describes the three levels and their actors of peacebuilding which are important for the purpose of this study: top, middle-range, and grassroots. (Lederach 1997) Afterwards, particular attention is paid to women in conflict transformation and the adoption of the UN SC Resolution 1325.

The second part discusses the situation of women in Burundi in different spheres of life. Their today's status in the labor market, their access to education or decision-making follow on from traditions and customs, typically based on the patriarchal rule. However, there seems to be a tendency of change. The chapter also describes how armed conflicts influence women and their status in society.

The third part is the core of the study because it introduces Burundian women peace mediators. As an intrinsic case study, the data analysis serves as an insight into the women's personal lives in order to document their work. What may seem as a community issue, has significant implications for the top level within the particular Burundian context.

2 Transformative peacebuilding: State of the field

The theory of conflict transformation and transformative peacebuilding has been applied under different names throughout the 1960's by diverse academics and NGOs. However, both concepts evolved within the ideological stream of critical security studies two decades later. It incorporated a number of different discourses, all of which criticized the too narrow views of international security by traditional theorists. The security environment changed radically after the end of the Cold War as the world shifted from a bipolar to a multipolar system. The new world order fundamentally influenced the stability of many “developing” countries that used to be dependent on one or another superpower. Since then, the world witnessed a number of very brutal civil wars on political power, cessation, and resources, including many of non-state actors. These intra-state conflicts required a different, more complex and context-sensitive, approach. Given the internal character of these conflicts, some stressed the need for new, “unconventional” local solutions, actively involving the parties in situ. “(...) participatory approaches are preferable to imposed solutions from above, and although outside technical assistance can be helpful, lasting success may depend on giving local actors the final say“. However, in the field of international relations not much attention has been paid yet to practitioners’ experiences in implementing conflict transformation techniques in post-Cold War conditions. “Therefore, careful examination of what is known about the effectiveness of these techniques is particularly needed at this time.” (National Research Council 2000, p.5-6, 34, 10)

There are three influential schools conceptualizing the intervention in conflicts. Their approaches represent different understandings of the causes of conflict, however, they cannot be seen as separate. *Conflict management* theorists see conflict as a natural result of the difference in values within and between communities. Therefore, they do not focus on their resolution or on erasing their root causes. Instead, this approach tries to manage and contain the conflicts in order to enable a constructive discussion and cooperation between states. (Miall 2004, p.3)

Conflict resolution theorists, however, say that it is necessary (and possible) to identify the root causes of the conflict and help the conflicting actors to transcend the conflict. Emphasis is put on qualified third parties who endorse new perspectives and possible solutions. (Miall 2004, p.3)

Proponents of *conflict transformation* engage with and transform relationships, interests, and possibly even the society in the long term. People *within* the conflict site are crucial, outsiders only play a supportive role in terms of resources and material. (Miall 2004, p.4) The approach thus goes beyond the goals of conflict management and conflict resolution as it “aims to achieve a settlement of substantive issues raised by the needs and fears of the conflict parties.” (Reimann 2004, p.13) There are two main characteristics: First, to be successful, peace must be built from the bottom up, and therefore, local actors are in the heart of the process. As they are the most affected by the violent conflict, they know the context and the needs in situ. Second, the strategy follows the “logic of empowerment” with a number of different actors at different levels aimed to strengthen grassroots actors by external actors at higher levels. (Reimann 2004, p. 11)

The most influential theorists who conceptualized the conflict transformation theory were Johan Galtung, Adam Curle, and John Paul Lederach. Galtung offers a rich composition of main concepts. In his view, conflict is both “life-creative” and “life-destructive”. These contradictory aspects can provoke or worsen aggression as well as to lead the relationship on a positive, peaceful path. Based on this contradiction, conflict transformation is a varied, never-ending process of dis-/articulation, de-/conscientisation, complexification/simplification, de-/polarization, and de-/escalation. Galtung states that nonviolent conflict transformation takes place when the conflict is transcended. In other words, “(...) what looks incompatible, looks compatible in a new structure.” (1996, p.71-72, 90, 116)

Curle (1971) built on Galtung's approach but focused on the possible transformation, actually balancing, of asymmetric relationships through the stages of conscientization, confrontation, negotiation, and development. (Miall 2004, p.4)

The most prominent theorist in the field is John Paul Lederach who extended conflict transformation to peacebuilding. *Peacebuilding* is understood as “a comprehensive concept that encompasses, generates, and sustains the full array of processes, approaches, and stages needed to transform conflict towards sustainably peaceful relationships and outcomes. The term thus involves a wide range of activities and functions that both precede and follow formal peace accords. [...] Peace is a dynamic social construct.” (Lederach 1997, p.20) The aim of peacebuilding “is to prevent violent outbreaks of conflicts or to make a sustainable transformation of violent conflicts into peaceful actions.” (Paffenholz 2003, p.14)

Transformative peacebuilding builds on the idea that the local context offers all the necessary features for successful peacebuilding. Local actors and communities are “self-sufficient” in the sense that they are the source of useful knowledge. They are no longer passive recipients but on the contrary, they transform into active participants in the process, and thus shift to the center of peacebuilding. (Lederach 1995, p.31) Local actors are pivotal. However, transformative peacebuilding also includes outside actors who support the activities of the local actors. Nevertheless, they must not impose their perceptions of the “local” because such an intervention can be counterproductive.

The concept intentionally does not give a generally applicable plan for successful peacebuilding because it would go against its fundamental principles based on local communities and actors. It is always linked to a particular conflict in a particular local context and therefore, it cannot be transferred to another conflict. Transformative peacebuilding offers the most appropriate theoretical framework to understand and describe local institutions, actors, their motivations, and relationships by taking into account the nature of the armed conflict and specific local structures.

2.1 The elicitive endogenous approach to peacebuilding

Local conflict management provided by women is an inseparable component of building sustainable peace in Burundi. The attention to transformative peacebuilding applied on intra-state conflicts enhances the long-term results of peacebuilding. However, local conflict management institutions often overlook or marginalize certain actors who are also involved in peacebuilding. Therefore, the concept of transformative peacebuilding is extended through the endogenous approach that helps to bridge this gap by situating local actors who are involved in conflict transformation processes but are not necessarily included in traditional institutions; such as women. Based on the argumentation of Michèle Jacobs, the elicitive endogenous approach framed by conflict transformation theory should be the cornerstone of peacebuilding.

Generally, there are two approaches to peacebuilding: the elicitive and prescriptive. Both are seen as opposing each other because they present completely different opinions on how peacebuilding should be done. Even though originally developed to describe conflict resolution training, the framework can be equally applied to peacebuilding in a broader sense. (Lederach 2005)

The *prescriptive approach* is prescribed by an interventionist managing the peacebuilding process in a particular environment. Typically, methods and techniques are

being transferred and applied in different conflict settings without taking into consideration its particularities, such as culture, history, traditions etc. (Lederach 2005, p.51-53) The peacebuilding in the *elicitive approach*, on the other hand, is elicited from the nature of the conflict itself. The approach thus is participatory and circular, focusing on local actors who discover and develop their own models of conflict transformation considering the local context, resources and thus respond to particular needs. (Lederach 2005, p.61)

Following this distinction, Jacobs situates his understanding of *sustainable peace* within the latter. He defines four preconditions for a sustainable peacebuilding process: “taking away the root causes of the conflict” and “high level of legitimacy, self-sustainability and constructive conflict transformation.” However, it is not specified how exactly this process should look like because this “largely depends on and is determined by the context itself” and would, therefore, be contradictory to the approach. (Jacobs 2005, p.12, 19)

This study follows the argumentation line of Jacobs when he states that “the elicitive model, theoretically embedded in the conflict transformation discourse, indicates the relevance of endogenous conflict handling mechanisms for sustainable peacebuilding”. (Jacobs 2005, p.22) He thus emphasizes two general features of an elicitive *endogenous* approach enhancing the sustainability of peacebuilding:

- it strengthens the *feeling of ownership* of people within the conflict (local actors),
- and it empowers these people.

Both features derive from the discourse on participation in development projects, whether it is defined as a means to improve its sustainability or as an end in itself. (Jacobs 2005, p.23)

2.2 Actors and levels of peacebuilding

As the aim of this study is to analyze potential security implications of grassroots peace builders for the national (top) level, it is necessary to clarify these levels. For this purpose, I use Lederach's pyramid model¹ which helps to differentiate and understand the diverse approaches and actors to peacebuilding in societies. (Lederach 1997, p.37-61)

The model describes three levels of peacebuilding: top, middle-range, and grassroots leadership. The pyramid reflects the number of people active at each level; the

¹ See Appendix 2: John Paul Lederach's pyramid model (graph).

lower the level, the more people it comprises. The levels must be seen as complementary, rather than contradictory, as the different levels do not create conflicts. (Lederach 1997, p.37)

Top-level actors represent level I (or track I) which includes the highest representatives of the government and opposition movements. These leaders are visible and enjoy the attention to their actions and opinions by the media. However, public interest also limits their room for maneuvering as they are expected to maintain their position of strength. Level I includes high military, political, and religious leaders. Typically, representatives take a “top-down” approach to peacebuilding which anticipates that achievements at this highest level will translate to lower levels. (Lederach 1997, p.39-40, 44-45)

Level II, middle-range leadership, comprises people and leaders within a certain conflict who are not necessarily linked to or controlled by public authorities or the government. They are either highly respected individuals in diverse sectors such as education, health agriculture etc., or organizations or networks of institutions and groups in a particular field: religious groups, academics or NGOs as well as humanitarian organizations. Middle-range actors are well known by the top-level representatives but, at the same time, they have important connections to the local (grassroots) level. In numbers, there are more actors at level II, and they are interconnected through diverse networks. Concerning peacebuilding, the actors widely rely on the so-called “middle-out” and problem-solving approach based on the idea that the leaders at this level, each of them having a common location in the conflict, are crucial for creating an infrastructure for building peace. (Lederach 1997, p.41-42, 46)

At level III we find grassroots or local actors who represent the masses. Given the fact that these actors face day-to-day struggles for food, shelter, and safety, the leaders have to operate similarly, on day-to-day basis. Indigenous NGOs, community developers and local authorities represent this level as they are familiar with the suffering of local people, and have knowledge of local politics. Hence, peacebuilding efforts might be seen as superfluous in these difficult circumstances. Grassroots leaders typically take a bottom-up approach to peacebuilding, focusing on their daily struggles to achieve a change at higher levels. (Lederach 1997, p.42-43, 51-52) Peacebuilding at this stage is difficult to document from a top-down perspective because it comprises a wide range of activities crossing through different concepts such as conflict resolution, prevention, management, transformation, etc.

2.3 Women in conflict transformation

It is important to understand war and peace in a gendered dimension because of empirical, normative as well as conceptual reasons. From the empirical point of view, the access and the use of violence in societies are male-dominated. Most of the military staff, representatives, and defense ministers are men. However, women also experience war. By not taking them into account when discussing war and peace, means ignoring roughly 50% of the population. Conceptually, war includes men and women in particular ways, and therefore, it is necessary to rethink the traditional concepts of war, peace, state, and security in order to address these particularities. At the normative level, lack of female representation in domestic and international institutions dealing with war and peace, such as national governments, armies, UN etc., decreases the democratic character of these bodies. (Harders 2010, p.132)

In contrast to the operational perspective of conflict management, the transformative perspective of dealing with conflict relies on the elimination of the root causes within the society, rather than focusing on state actors and instruments. (Harders 2010, p.134) Feminist researchers have challenged this traditional, narrow thinking about war and peace- (building). Understanding security as the absence of military violence was thus widened to the inclusion of structural (from the realist perspective latent) violence, including gender inequality. (Tickner 1993)

Armed conflict and war have severe impacts on the population. Women struggle with all aspects of war such as lack of basic food, displacement, trauma from losing their beloved. On top of that, women often face gender-based violence. Given the structural marginalization of women in society, women typically experience the conflict even after a formal cease-fire is reached. (Baksh et al. 2005; Cahn 2006; Ogunsanya 2007) A lot has been done to incorporate women's particular experiences. However, there is still lack of academic literature and documentation of women in post-conflict situations.

In Africa, there is a number of examples of successful women's peace initiatives aimed to end the conflict and maintain peace after its end. Most of them share some common characteristics. First, they put women at the core of all peace and security issues in order to establish sustainable peace. Second, they see gender justice as an integral part of peace and incorporate a holistic approach to peace-building based on women's everyday life. Third, the initiatives draw attention to the community level as they promote the bottom-up approach to peace-building. In many African societies, women

traditionally adhered to the household and, therefore, women are in the middle of the family and clan networks. Through their traditional education, they have learned skills such as good communication, compromise, or trust-building. Fourth, the initiatives accentuate regional and national networking and information sharing. Fifth, they try to link their work to decision-making processes at different levels. In this regard, the UN SC Resolution 1325 is a great success. (Anderson 2009, p.193-95)

For instance, in the 11-years lasting civil war in Sierra Leone, most women got the worst of it as they were abducted, forced into combat and victims of sexual abuse. (Bangali 2011, p.47) In their peace efforts, some of Sierra Leonean intellectual women decided to break the culture of silence. They realized that collective action together with women at the grassroots level was necessary. Therefore, they were mobilized and sensitized to leadership and participation. Even though women were not allowed to be present during the official peace talks, they met with warring factions and were positively accepted by the rebels. Consequently, women became mediators and filters of communication to the government and had a direct influence on the negotiations. Through mass action (marches, sit-ins, articles, presented submission, radio sessions etc.) Sierra Leoneans attracted the attention of the international community. In the post-conflict period, women continue to advocate forgiveness and reconciliation through civil society organizations. (Ogunsanya 2007, p.28-29, 34-36)

In Uganda, recent conflicts that took place in the West of the country (2002 – 2007) and the LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) insurgency in Northern Uganda for almost 20 years, and other conflicts, mostly impacted the female population. Abductions, sexual abuse, physical mutilation, plus family losses and displacement, were among the main impacts. However, the conflict also opened a way to greater emancipation because the conflicts interrupted traditional social hierarchy. As in Sierra Leone, women were not allowed to attend the official peace negotiations. Nevertheless, organized in loose coalitions, they were present as observers and in this way, influenced the outcomes of the negotiations. (Rubimbwa, Mugisha 2010, p.8-9) Extraordinary contributions were made by peace-maker Betty Bigombe who mediated between Uganda's President Yoweri Museveni and LRA commander Joseph Kony. She even risked her life and went to the bush to talk to Kony. At first, the fact that she was a woman was perceived as a disadvantage but turned to be an advantage later (Kony called her “Mummy Bigombe”). (Boustany 2007)

Liberia experienced two civil wars at the turn of the century that lasted together 11 years. Arising from the strong civil society during the first war, women's movements took influence and pushed for their inclusion at the peace conference in Accra (Ghana). In 2003, Christian and Muslim women united in the peace movement *Liberia of Women Mass Action for Peace* and through nonviolent protests they stopped the violence and brought the conflicting parties to the negotiation table. (Pollock 2007, p.8-9)

Such peacebuilding efforts by women have shown that women are more than victims of conflicts and that women can also profit from the war in taking on traditionally men's roles and enhance women's emancipation. (Cahn 2006, p.337) Within the agenda on development and security, their roles become even more important *after* the conflict in regard to conflict prevention and mediation. (Williams 2006)

Peace accords and agreements end the conflict formally and actually let the crucial post-conflict period begin. Times before, during and after the conflict are linked to and influence each other. "Violence, particularly sexual violence, against women during the war also has to be seen in the context of violence against women in many societies in times of peace (...)." Through a structural approach, the opportunity to be listened to and to participate in decision-making instead of looking for one actor to blame creates a solid base for sustainable peace. "A conflict may arise and be sustained out of frustration at the lack of satisfaction of basic needs, and frustration may then lead to the creation of identity politics in disputes over resources or territory." (Baksh et al. 2005, p.23, 28)

Therefore, it is crucial to include women in post-conflict processes, such as, for instance, the so-called DDR (disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration) programs. They deal with a militarized population in post-conflict environments. To be truly effective in the long term, these should include a gender perspective (gender mainstreaming) in all three components. Given the different roles men and women play during the conflict, they also have different needs after the conflict. Women who supported their male counterparts in fighting but did not fight actively nor possess any arms to give back in the disarmament process, require a different approach by DDR programs. (Cahn 2006, p.340-350)

2.3.1 Women, Peace and Security Agenda

In the 1990s, the changing nature of conflicts from inter-state military based wars to more complex intra-state confrontations, involving non-state actors and increasing the number of civil casualties, led the international community to reconsider its approach towards

armed conflict. This shift was embodied in the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (hereinafter “Resolution”). As one of the first international documents on the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda, it reaffirmed the specific role of women in conflict and their important contribution to conflict management, particularly then conflict resolution, prevention, and peacebuilding. It also expressed concerns about the fact that women and children are the most affected by armed conflicts, often being refugees or internally displaced persons (IDPs). The resolution, therefore states the need to engender peacekeeping and to include women at all decision-making levels. Besides, the resolution also calls for support of local women's peace initiatives. The text emphasizes the “particular” and “special needs of women and girls”. (UNSC Resolution 1325 2000, p.2)

According to many scholars and women peacemakers, the Resolution was an important contribution to the inclusion of women in conflict management and a powerful tool for women peacekeepers because it gives women credibility and influence on their governments. It also urges UN member states to increase the number of women at all decision-making levels. (Anderson 2009, 195-6; Powell 2017, p.350)

However, critics claim that the Resolution is positioning women only in limited categories of either victims or peacemakers. As victims, women are presented as weak and vulnerable, and therefore to be protected. As peacemakers, women are supposed to have some natural and special abilities so that women are automatically affiliated with peace. According to Duncanson, this approach limits the understanding of what women peacemakers actually do and it further marginalizes women's potential in politics, by limiting their contribution only to “feminized tasks”. (Duncanson 2016, p.34-36)

Since the Resolution has no legal tools to impose its implementation, its realization depends on the willingness of the governments. Even though it was adopted *after* Burundian women participated in the peace negotiations, it still is an important document for inclusive security in Burundi. Since its adoption in 2000, 74 countries introduced the so-called National Action Plans (NAPs) aimed to implement the Resolution in practice. (Women Peace; Klot 2003)

Burundi launched its (first and last) NAP in 2011, for a period of 5 years. “Local women's organizations were key in pushing the government to begin developing a NAP and used Resolution 1325 to push for gender mainstreaming in local and national elections.” (National Action Plan: Burundi 2018) The plan creates a Steering Committee including a number of different actors at all levels: Ministries (especially the Ministry of

National Solidarity, Human Rights and Gender), international organizations such as UN agencies as well as representatives of civil society and local women's organizations. Burundi's NAP specifies 8 priority areas (“axes”) for action and gives a detailed timeline and expected results together with an expected cost table. The Burundian NAP confirms the importance of Resolution 1325 and underlines the specific role of Burundian women whose efforts during the conflict and the following peace negotiations inspired the Security Council to adopt the Resolution. Women's organizations and their determination were included in peace processes and decision-making during the reconciliation and peace consolidation preceding the first free election in 2005 and 2010 in Burundi. (NAP: Burundi 2018; Plan d'Action National 2011)

3 Women in Burundi

3.1 The societal situation of Burundian women

Burundi's formal efforts at the national level and the women's movements' internationally recognized success do not automatically reflect their real influence in everyday life. Many Burundian women are struggling with a number of gender-based barriers. (Minani Passy 2014, p.7-8) Due to the traditional perceptions of women as well as legislation based on traditional gender roles and customs, women in Burundi struggle with unequal access to land, money, and education. Women traditionally occupy the domestic sphere and are responsible for the household and taking care of the children, whereas men dominate the public sphere, including politics and business. (De Théus 2000, p.177; Falch 2010, p.8)

Furthermore, Burundi finds itself in a typical post-conflict situation where it is trying to consolidate peace and simultaneously respond to the basic needs of the population. Women, who represent more than 51% of the country's total population, and children are especially impacted by socio-economic problems, such as bad infrastructure, weak administration, and disorganization. (UNDP 2012, p.9)

The following section will describe the position of women in today's Burundi. Traditional gender roles in a patriarchal system discriminate women in the working market, in access to education and so decreases their political influence. The section will then cover the question of how the armed conflict challenges the role of women in Burundi.

3.1.1 Tradition and customary laws

The Burundian women's situation is based on cultural values which are similar to many other countries. These values created gender biases which marginalize women and resulted in generally accepted practices, such as amongst others involuntary marriage, hidden polygamy, the burden of reproduction, and economic discrimination. In Burundi, domestic violence is widely considered as a private issue and therefore sanctioned accordingly, or rather not sanctioned at all. Since the traditional culture does not enhance women to speak in public, it is still difficult for many of them to achieve real power among their male counterparts. As a consequence of gender-based images of women and men in society, women often occupy a subordinated and dependent social role. (Minani Passy 2014; Falch 2010, p.17)

Traditionally, women in Burundi are supposed to take the role of housewives, mothers, and caretakers and they are not encouraged to speak in public. The public sphere, such as politics, decision-making, as well as conflict management, and business, is traditionally dominated by men. (Falch 2010, p.17) As a result, many women do not even see themselves in politics, public service or decision-making positions. For the same reason, many women who actually participate in the government or other decision-making positions, are not supported by other women. Decisions that influence (improve and strengthen) women's lives and rights are usually dependent on the goodwill of men. According to Minani Passy, women are represented in “visible” positions at the national level but they are much less included in administration councils of big enterprises or in decision-making at the local level which can mostly be assigned to their poor education. (Minani Passy 2014, p. 77)

Despite the fact that women are marginalized in the public sphere, traditionally, they play an important role within the family as heads of households. Traditionally, they have a great impact on the children's education by bringing them up and teaching them “positive values” such as solidarity, willingness to work, honesty, modesty tolerance and others. To be able to marry and adapt to the life of her husband, a woman was expected to possess a range of moral strengths as well as to be open-minded and tolerant. (Ntahobari, Ndayiziga 2003)

3.1.2 Access to education

Unequal access to education is still one of the main obstacles for girls and women to take part in public life. Even though today, there are more girls attending school, there is still

unequal access to education due to traditional and economic reasons. “[...] These include family poverty and the need for child labor, son preference and privilege, early marriages and early pregnancies”. (Rwamo 2005, p. 4) Very poor families prefer to choose a boy to be sent to school rather than a girl. (Minani Passy 2014, p.69–70)

Even though a high number of Burundian women still suffer from bad access to education and from low literacy rates, there is a changing tendency. The gender gap concerning literacy and school (primary and secondary) enrolment is less significant nowadays. Between the years 2000 and 2015, the literacy rate of young females (15 – 24 years old) increased only from 70,4% to 75%. In contrast, young males’ literacy rate rose faster; from 76,8% to 85,35%. (Gender Data Portal 2016) In 2014, 83,12% of women aged over 15 years were literate in relation to 88,24% of literate men. (National Education Profile 2014)

There was a major shift in primary school enrolment for both female and male between 2000 and 2015: 42% more girls and 40% more boys were enrolled at primary school so that in 2015, 95% of girls and 93,3% of boys attended primary school. (Gender Data Portal 2016) The progress was enabled by the implementation of free primary education in 2005. (UNDP 2012, p.9) Almost 10% more girls than boys of the relevant age group completed primary school in 2015. Concerning secondary school enrolment in 2015, there were 28,4% of girls and 27% of boys enrolled. The completion rate was quite low for both sexes, however, slightly higher for boys (34%) than girls (30%). (Gender Data Portal 2016)

Obstacles to education lead to deeper discrimination and prevent women from knowing and exercising their human rights. Less educated or illiterate women are excluded from civil society organizations and even more from high-level politics. Poor education also lowers access to health care and relevant information, e.g. on AIDS/HIV. Last but not least, low education and illiteracy weaken women's chances at the working market because they do not possess required skills, do not know about relevant offers or simply cannot apply for them due to illiteracy. (Rwamo 2005, p.3; UNDP 2012, p.10; Minani Passy 2014, p. 69–70)

3.1.3 Legal and economic status

The constitution, adopted by a referendum in 2005, introduced a women quota of 30% in all national bodies which have been fulfilled. Even though nowadays women occupy many important positions in politics, their real influence is still limited because of several

factors. First of all, customary and traditional perceptions still play a role in women's real empowerment (e.g. women speaking in public). “Women’s presence in non-traditional sectors is very low compared to sectors such as education.” (UNDP 2012, p.14) Secondly, there is a tendency to exclude women from leadership in political parties. Not even cross-party women's organizations could bridge the difference along political lines. Thirdly, many women are perceived as “illegitimate politicians” because many of them (men as well) are elected through closed party lists or co-optation, Therefore, they lack a political agenda or constituency, and are thus widely seen as only appointed to fulfill the quotas. (Falch 2010, p.14) Further factors hampering or complicating women's participation and influence in politics are formerly mentioned: economic dependence, time constraints caused by their primary tasks in the household, limited access to education. (Falch 2010, p.14; Minani Passy 2014, p.69–74)

Economically, many women are still attached to their fathers, brothers or husbands. For instance, women and girls are not allowed to fully inherit land. (Minani Passy 2014) As a consequence women, who constitute 52% of the 90% rural population in Burundi, remain economically strongly dependent on and subordinated to their male counterparts. (Ndoricimpa 2017) Despite the fact that state law allows not married women to inherit land from their father, these rights are often not respected in practice. Traditionally, women can access land through marriage. In case that the husband dies, brothers in law reclaim the land. In these situations, women are in a weak position and often end up landless. Land disputes thus have a particular impact on the economic status of women because land means an opportunity for making a living. (Williams 2006; van Leeuwen 2010)

Massive migration waves caused by the different conflicts in Burundi complicated the land issue dramatically. After the civil war, as women were outnumbering men, polygamous marriages became more accepted. For security reasons, men often stayed longer in exile, and their women and children returned earlier. During this period, some men married another wife in the refugee camps. In these cases, polygamy often led to land disputes between sons of different wives or as a consequence of divorce when the divorced wife demanded her part. Many disputes are between relatives, not strangers. Orphans, women, and widows particularly, are among the most vulnerable concerning land disputes, who often lose the dispute. (van Leeuwen 2010, p.758)

After the formal ending of the civil war in 2000, many of the refugees decided to return to their homes. The land agenda was of high priority for the state. However, it was

not able to manage the responsibility so that it largely relied on traditional local dispute management – local NGOs as well as traditional institutions. (van Leeuwen 2010, p.754-55)

3.1.4 Women and traditional conflict management

After the end of the civil war in Burundi, framed by a discursive shift in international security politics recognizing the local factor in conflict management, a great number of Burundian jurists and politicians lobbied for a re-activation of traditional conflict management; namely, the *Bashingantahe*. The institution which has been abolished and re-invoked several times during the 20th century. In a deeply divided society, at the beginning of a process of reconciliation, these popular judges were supposed to continue preventing an escalation of familial and social conflicts at the grassroots from another spill-over to higher levels. (Lohse 2003)

Even though the *Bashingantahe* is an institution for all, the functionaries are Hutu or Tutsi *men* only (the Twa are traditionally excluded). A successful candidate has to be “at least 25 years old and married, fearless of telling the truth (...). [And] has to have a sense for honour and dignity.” Furthermore, he has to be debtless and to possess a certain wealth to prevent bribery. (Lohse 2003, p.602) Their approach is grounded in customary law and aimed to examine the conflict, negotiate orally, and then *settle* the conflict. The model is based on out-of-court settlement and reconciliation rather than repression and punishment. (Lohse 2003, p.601; Ntahobari, Ndayiziga 2003, p.14)

Women's influence went beyond their role of wives, even though marriage with one of the judges definitely enhanced their status in the community. This was recognized in the inauguration ceremony. Since public affairs were generally reserved to men, women played a major role “behind the scene”. Broadly, women strengthened solidarity and harmony in the society to facilitate genuine reconciliation of conflicting parties. (Ntahobari, Ndayiziga 2003, p.13)

More specifically, women contributed to facilitate peace within the female community. “They in fact set up their own council, similar to the *Bashingantahe* among men.” A group of older women, respected and considered as wise, was allowed to intervene in case of a conflict between women. They listened to all conflicting parties, then mediated between the sides, and finally passed a judgment. Instead of punishment, they gave a “course of behaviour” to the guilty. (Ntahobari, Ndayiziga 2003, p.17)

Concerning the role of women in management of violent or armed conflicts, it was rather invisible, in the form of supporting their husbands at home and as being trustworthy contact persons for other women. However, there are reports on women who actively participated in the settlement of armed conflicts. Women regents were called “queen mothers” because usually they reigned in place of their son who was too young to reign by himself. Some of them also took over political office to replace their brothers or husbands when they went to war. (Ntahobari, Ndayiziga 2003, p.21, 16)

Even though women were not completely excluded from traditional conflict management in Burundi, their influence was dependent on men. The *Bashingantahe* relied on and promoted customary law, putting women in a subordinated position. However, what women peace mediators share with traditional conflict management, is its peaceful character and the bottom-up approach. (Lohse 2003, p.601) Nevertheless, “[...] the *Bashingantahe* stopped their activities due to the crisis in 2015, others fled the country. You do not see their activities clearly anymore. Before the crisis in 2015, the *Bashingantahe* worked like us [women mediators] because they were represented in all provinces.” (Rosalie, questionnaire)

Despite the obstacles rooted in traditional society, women in Burundi found ways of participating in male-dominated institutions and some of them even in male positions. “Burundian women have historically played an important role as agents of peace, using their unique position in society to initiate mediation and reconciliation processes [...]” (GAI 2016, p.14)

3.2 Burundian women and conflict

3.2.1 Historical background of the conflict

Burundi is a small country in the Great Lakes region, sometimes called the “heart of Africa” because of the shape of its borders and its central position on the continent. Based on a census from 2008, slightly over 8 million people lived in Burundi. Today, the estimated number of inhabitants is around 10.5 million. Since its independence from former Belgian colonizers in 1962, Burundians experienced incredibly much violence in a small area and in a very short period of time. The conflicts throughout the past 50 years were affected by ethnic rivalry between the two main ethnic groups: Hutu and Tutsi. Even though Hutu build the numerical majority (85%), the political and economic power has been concentrated in the hands of the Tutsi minority (14%). Besides, there is a third ethnic

group called Twa which makes up around 1% of the population. (Tripp et al. 2008, p.209; Minani Passy 2014, p.24)

After Burundi's first elections in 1962, confrontations between Hutu and Tutsi groups escalated in violence. Under the first President Michel Micombero, genocide against Hutu took place in 1972 during which 100.000 to 200.000 Hutu were killed. The genocide continued in intellectual circles under the presidency of Jean-Baptiste Bagaza. After the first democratic elections in 1993, the first Hutu President Melchior Ndadaye was assassinated by Tutsi rebels a few days after his election. His successor Cyprien Ntaryamira was killed together with the Hutu President of Rwanda when their plane was shot down by unidentified attackers. The incident was followed by a 5-years lasting civil war with enormous massacres mainly against Tutsi civilians. The conflict was formally ended by the Arusha Peace Agreement signed in 2000. (McClintock, Nahimana 2008)

In 2005, for the first time since 1994, Burundians voted democratically in a referendum on a new constitution which was approved by 92.4% of voters. In the same year, democratic and peaceful legislative elections were held and some months later Pierre Nkurunziza (Hutu) was elected President. (Burundi 2017) Renewed tensions and violence re-emerged in 2015 when President Nkurunziza decided to run for a third term. Since then the country is facing a security crisis accompanied by violent confrontations between security forces and opposition. (Anon 2016)

3.2.2 Women during the conflict

War and armed conflicts challenge social roles of the whole society. Especially gender-related values undergo a major change because war influences men and women differently. For example, post-conflict countries prove to have statistically more women holding seats in governments and parliaments (on average 24%) compared to countries that did not experience conflict (on average 13%). (Tripp et al. 2008, p.195) Like in these countries, conflict changed women's traditional roles and so opened the way to greater emancipation. (Falch 2010, p.16; Atiri 2009, p.271; Ogunsanya 2007, p.13–19; Minani Passy 2014, p. 9-14; Burundi National Education Profile 2014)

During Burundi's civil war, women played different roles beyond being only victims. Women were combating directly or supporting men psychologically or physically, or they were informants. (Ndacayisaba 2001, p.124) Combating was also a way of emancipation of women. As one ex-combatant stated in an interview: “When we

were in the group of fighters, we wore trousers, the army uniform. When we came back home we needed skirts and blouses.” (“Female Ex-Combatants”, video 2013)

However, most women did not fight directly because they took care of the household and were among the vulnerable groups of people moving to find a safe place to stay. Most of the refugees and IDPs are women and children. (Ndacayisaba 2001, p.121; Tripp et al. 2009, p.209) Women often were victims of gender-based violence such as rape or forced prostitution which were used as weapons of war. The consequences of such crimes persist after the end of the conflict: deep psychological trauma, proliferation of sexually transmittable diseases and AIDS/HIV, undesired pregnancies, social marginalization, etc.

As many women non-combatants lost their husbands, fathers, sons or brothers, they became heads of the household and responsible for the economic survival of the family. In order to ease this new task, women strengthened their position by uniting themselves in associations where they could share experience and which allowed them to initiate small activities. (Ndacayisaba 2001, p.121-22) Networking and founding associations and movements unifying women with specific experience and ambitions became one of the main tools for Burundian women to make their voices be heard. Women's organizations' activities throughout the 1990's resulted in the presence of women at the political peace negotiations at the end of the century.

3.2.3 Women's political participation through civil society

A crucial event encouraging many women to unite and to create women's peace groups and associations across ethnic differences at the grassroots as well as the national level was the civil war that broke out in 1994. At the international level, these initiatives were mainly supported by the *African Women in Crisis* (AFWIC) and the UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM). (Tripp et al. 2008, p.195–216; Atiri 2007, p.293) At the national level, two umbrella organizations were established: in 1994 the *Collectif des Associations et ONGs Féminines du Burundi* (CAFOB) and the association *Dushirehamwe* (which literally means “Let's reconcile”) which until today facilitate the communication between women at the national and grassroots level. At the grassroots level, many smaller organizations were founded since then, adopting different strategies in order to enhance women's position in Burundi, including conflict mediation. (Falch 2010; Tripp et al. 2008, p.195–216; Atiri 2009, p. 293–94)

For instance, after the assassination of President Ndadaye in 1993, women founded the *Association des Femmes Burundaises pour la Paix* (Women's Association for Peace) which united women with the aim to stop the killings. Since peace marches did not succeed because women were afraid of violence against themselves, the association came up with a different approach, building on the women's traditional role as heads of households. Women were educated about their power and influence as wives and mothers to stop the violence. Representatives of the association first taught women that their silence about their husbands' and sons' activities (such as using their homes as a secret meeting point to plan violent acts) was consenting to what the men were doing. They recommended to women to deny men all their conjugal rights in order to hinder further violence. (Atiri 2009, p. 293–94)

Women organizations in Burundi addressed a number of issues reaching from empowering women in politics, strengthening women's rights, fostering education, to fighting against gender-based discrimination and violence against women. The role of women within peacebuilding was enhanced by the UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF). Burundi was chosen as one of the pilot countries since 2006. However, initially, women were not represented on the steering committee. After the intense lobbying of International Alert and the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security (based in New York City) the Burundian association *Dushirehamwe* was chosen to represent women's organizations from Burundi. (Falch 2010, p.17)

During Burundi's post-conflict reconstruction period many women's civil society organizations together with the Gender Unit of the UN Operation in Burundi (ONUB), embarked on a nationwide public awareness campaign against sexual violence aimed to change embedded attitudes towards the impunity of perpetrators. As a result, the Burundian government highlighted the need to provide immediate health care for rape victims, enact forceful laws against rapists, and tackle impunity by creating a positive environment to enable female victims to report rape cases without fear of reprisal. (Minani Passy 2014)

3.2.4 Burundian women at the Arusha Peace Negotiations

The major breakthrough in including women in high-level peace negotiations in Burundi was undoubtedly the Arusha Peace Negotiations which initiated in 1998 and led to the adoption of the Arusha Peace Agreement in 2000. It was a milestone for women peacemakers and peace activists that women were present at the talks a few months *before*

the adoption of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. (Diaz, Tordjman 2010)

The Arusha peace talks began in 1998 and Burundian women's organizations wanted to sit at the negotiation table. They received great support from the facilitator of the negotiations Tanzanian former President Julius Nyerere. He was later substituted by South Africa's President Nelson Mandela. After long lobbying, in February 2000, a women's delegation composed of 7 women, thereof 3 Hutu, 3 Tutsi, and 1 woman in exile gained permanent observer status. The most significant difference in the women's approach, in contrast to the men's, was that the women were able to unite and overcome political divergences and ethnic differences in order to lead a constructive discussion on peace. "Women rose above the endemic conflict in their country and became a force for positive change". (Ogunsanya 2007) In July 2000, one month before the agreement's signature, women were accepted in the peace process as observers. (Tripp et al. 2008)

What did the women aim to achieve? At first, their goal was to make the neighboring states to withdraw economic sanctions against Burundi. Later, they focused on pushing through a plan for how to address women's concerns in the peacebuilding process. The final declaration of the All-Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference held in July 2000 included amongst others following major demands:

- Women had to be represented in all aspects of the peace process,
- a gender perspective on all issues discussed,
- 30% quota for women in the legislature, judiciary, executive branches of government,
- rights to property, land, inheritance for women,
- recognition of the Burundi girls' and women's suffering from discrimination,
- equal access to education for girls,
- end to impunity concerning sexual and domestic violence,
- considering special needs of women refugees.

With the assistance of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and UNIFEM, all of the totals of 23 recommendations were included in the final declaration of the conference. (Tripp et al. 2008) An important gain was the development of a process allowing the participation of women at the grassroots level as opposed to other international peace efforts focusing on the elite. (Chinkin 2003)

Women's presence in the peace negotiations in Arusha proved how important it is to include women in peace talks in order to not only formally end the violence but also to include a gendered perspective in the post-conflict period. Internationally, “Burundian women are seen as pioneers in the application of the *Beijing Platform for Action*² adopted in 1995.” (Minani Passy 2014, p.29)

However, the repeated outbreaks of violence after Arusha showed that there has not been done enough in effective conflict prevention. Given the determining local character of the civil war in Burundi, early warning signals at the grassroots level are crucial in detecting latent violence that can easily escalate in mass violence at the national level. Local networks and NGOs need to be more included in such processes because they are attached to the communities and can prevent a spill-over of violence into political disputes and further destabilization of the country. (Atiri 2009)

Since renewed political and social instability broke out in April 2015 the work of women peace mediators became even more important for maintaining peace in the country. Their focus on familial and social conflicts in communities and their role in facilitating the communication between state institutions and the population deserves more attention. (GAI 2016, p.14; Anon 2016)

4 Women Peace Mediators in Burundi

In June 2016, there were 534 women peace mediators. The nation-wide Women Network for Peace and Dialogue program coordinates around 2.600 local networks throughout the country, in 18 provincial focal points and with 4 women per community who actively dealt with 6.000 conflicts during the first half of 2016. (GAI 2016, p.16) The network is constituted by more than 220 women's organizations residing in all 129 communities in Burundi. (Ndacayisaba, interview)

The main domains of the mediators' activity are networking, mediation, dialogue and advocacy, women's rights and leadership, and development. In praxis, the women are charged with the participation within conflict resolution and prevention in their communities: They mediate conflicts, they organize public debates to encourage dialogue on the communities' concerns, and they sensitize community members to peaceful

² The declaration laid foundations for the inclusion of women into policies and strategies of states and demanded commitments to the advancement of equality, development, and peace for all women.

cohabitation. Furthermore, they advocate for human rights, assist the most vulnerable and promote economic autonomy by encouraging savings groups and loans as well as solidarity chains. (Ndacayisaba, interview)

Besides the promotion of dialogue and non-violent conflict resolutions, they also prevent the spread of panic by countering rumors and “fake news” what became even more important after independent media sources have been closed down in May 2015. (Ndacayisaba, interview; GAI 2016, p.14)

Since 2015 women mediators are financially supported by the PBF which enables the cooperation between national authorities (mainly Ministry of Interior and Civic Education) and civil society organizations in order to prevent the escalation of local social conflicts. Since 2016 the project of women peace mediators is also supported by the Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI) on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action. (GAI 2016, p.16)

Even though the peace mediators follow similar goals, they officially work with different organizations and associations. Among the oldest is the *Mukenyenzi Menya*, starting its activities in 1998 by helping victims of war (mainly women and children). One of the most important networks was the *Synergie des Partenaires Pour la Promotion des Droits de la Femme* (SPPDF, Synergy of Partners for Promotion of Women's Rights), founded in 2004 and connecting 485 organizations in Burundi. However, in November 2015 the SPPDF had to stop its activities as it was among 10 non-governmental organizations which were suspended by a governmental decree.

One of the most significant civil society is the Association *Dushirehamwe* which coordinates the activities of mediators. Founded in 2002, it functions as a network with strong seats in the communities in 13 provinces (out of the total of 18) where it is represented by provincial and community committees. (Dushirehamwe 2018)

4.1 Who are the mediators?

The aim of this chapter is to draw attention to women peace mediators in Burundi who are contributing to peace in the country beside their day-to-day responsibilities. It is important to find out who these women are, what motivates them to participate in conflict mediation in their communities and to recognize their contributions to conflict prevention, management, resolution, and early-warning. Since their work is voluntary, irregular and sometimes dangerous, I was particularly interested in their motivations (both internal and external) to become a community mediator.

Since when the women are mediating seems very individual, depending on their personal experience and background. However, there is a link between the renewed political crisis since 2015 and the institutionalization of the mediators' work, accelerated by UN Women and the GAI. Their very recent institutionalization may explain the lack of literature on these women.

Women peace mediators are typically in their late thirties and forties. The youngest respondent was 38 years old. This statement is supported by the women's testimony that they do not know any mediators younger than 30 years. Given the age average around 45 years, the women are married or widows and have children. Being married and having children surely is common among women peace mediators but not the rule, as the 54-years old mediator Monique affirmed. "[...] at the beginning of our work there was a young girl but we replaced her because our focus within the project is on women." (Rosalie, interview) Another mediator, however, noted that even though she does not know any mediators under 30 years, "[...] the age does not count. It is sufficient to love others and to be capable to serve others, considering the fact that the work is unpaid." (Capitoline, interview)

The mediating activities are not their main profession and are being done voluntarily, not paid. Communication expenditures are covered by the organization. Since the women live in the communities and conflicts do not happen on a regular basis, the time they spend on mediating conflicts is hardly measurable. However, it mostly takes between approximately 5 and 10 hours a week besides their regular job which typically is in the public or education sector.

Concerning the mediators' educational background, it is above-average, reaching from secondary school to university degrees. All of them had a very good French level indicating a solid educational background. Concerning the specialization of their studies confirmed that the focus is on humanities. However, there is no basic level of education required to become a peace mediator; there are also illiterate women mediators. Nevertheless, the illiterate women's work is limited because they are asked to give written reports on the conflicts in French. Therefore, illiterate women, trained in leadership in non-violent communication, usually have to work together with literate mediators or as "noyaux de base" (it could be loosely translated as field informants; meaning mediators' assistants within the community who report cases of violence or potential conflict).

However, given the fact that the mediators not only mediate in the community, but they also need to report their activities to different partners, it is perceived as a

complication because they are not able to work individually. According to one of the mediators, there should be a minimum requirement of education. Illiterate women or women who do not speak French always need assistance. “(...) among the mediators of our zone [Buyenzi] we have one mediator who does not know to read nor to write. It is a serious problem we are facing with this lady. We go to the place of the conflict together and she speaks only and then we make the process.” (Rosalie, questionnaire)

Concerning the beginning of the mediators’ activities, most of them began their mediation work in 2014 or 2015. This correlates with the involvement of the UN Women, starting projects to empower women in local conflict prevention and peace mediation financed from the PBF since 2015 and the GAI since 2016. Some began mediating earlier, such as one mediator 4 who works as a peace mediator since 1994, motivated by the political crisis in 1993 “[...] and the familial injustice concerning women in Cibitoke [zone in Bujumbura] [...]” (Q4)

The women's motivations can be divided into two categories: inner, equal to personal, and external motivation, including the influence of their local organizations encouraged by UN Women. To the inner motivations count especially the feeling of injustice, fear, and instability in the society caused by different political crises led these women to take action. “[...] there is a lot of injustice in our society and there are many people in prison for minor conflicts which could have been resolved among us [...]” (Capitoline, questionnaire) Many women mention the different impact of conflicts, crises, and violence on women compared to men. One mediator's inner motivation was “the state of insecurity after the assassination of the first democratically elected President in 1993. Women were, as always, the first who suffered.” (Capitoline, questionnaire) However, being a woman peace mediator is an advantage rather than disadvantage since “[...] women are the pillars of the households in our society [...]” (Q5)

The institutional framework is significant as an external motivation to join the mediators. Most of the respondents said that it was their local association together with the support of UN Women who offered training opportunities in nonviolent conflict resolution. (Anon 2016; Ndacayisaba, interview) A mediator said that most recently there is a new project initiated by UN Women focusing on women's empowerment. (Rosalie, interview) Most of the addressed women were already active within human or women rights’ organizations asked to take part in the leadership training and workshops, conferences on women and peace in order to become peace mediators. However, there is an evident influence of UN Women projects motivating local organizations to recruit

women to participate in the supported training. Most of the addressed women were already active within human or women rights' organizations asked to take part in the leadership training and workshops, conferences on women and peace in order to become peace mediators.

The role of gender has been crucial for women to join the institution of mediators. Women became aware of their specific status within Burundian society and used this status to influence the situation. “What motivates me is to see girls and women from Buyenzi [zone of Bujumbura] breaking the silence to stop being treated like slaves. We have a lot of women here who possess diplomas of high education but their husbands do not allow them to find a job, and so they stay at home as cleaning ladies. This really shocked me and motivated me.” (Rosalie, questionnaire)

Most of the initiatives began in Bujumbura and were later “exported” to rural areas. In the beginning, the activities started in Bujumbura through sensitization sessions on peaceful conflict resolution. Nowadays, the activities expanded to other cities in the country. “Thanks to young people who are educated in conflict resolution techniques, they contribute to the sensitization of other young people in rural regions.” (Espérance, questionnaire) The responding women peace mediators work in zones of Burundi where they live so that they and their families are members of the community which is one their most important value-added. All of the addressed women were not born in the capital but elsewhere. Even though women peace mediators are community-based and work at the grass-roots level, the support of a network of Burundian associations and the cooperation with international organizations is crucial for their activities. The spread of their activities from Bujumbura to rural areas can be explained by the fact that most of the influential international organizations are based in the capital.

Burundian women peace mediators work together with a range of different actors and stakeholders at all levels reaching from local administrations, traditional authorities such as the *Bashingatahe*, as well as security forces up to national government institutions (Ministry of the Interior in particular) and international organizations (mainly UN Women, UNIFEM). Since the UN Women programs are focusing on the empowerment of women within peacebuilding and conflict resolution, there are no men peace mediators. Nevertheless, women peace mediators cooperate with men as well. The interviews highlight the important role of the field informants (“noyaux de base”) who are *men* and women, including young girls and women, who “help us [the mediators] to find out about

cases of possible violence.” (Capitoline, interview) “They help us in all the quarters of the zone and we meet them once a month for 2 hours.” (Monique, interview)

As mentioned above, women peace mediators are used to cooperate with the traditional conflict resolution institution *Bashingantahe* based on the common vision of peace in the communities by a local and nonviolent approach. However, not all women agreed. Although their shared objectives of peace and security in Burundi, some of the women mentioned the slightly different approach to conflict resolution and prevention“. The main difference is that *Bashingantahe* take decisions in the form of tribunals but mediators give advice and show the victims a way out. Mediators animate debate in the communities.” (Goreth, questionnaire) Another mediator highlighted the difference between men and women within the institution of *Bashingantahe*: “[...] Women mediators sensitize for the peaceful cohabitation in society; women mediators try to initiate productive activities.” (Q5) Male mediators may not work completely free of charge as the women do because they “[...] ask drinks for their job [...].” (Capitoline, questionnaire) Nevertheless, there is a certain degree of case-to-case cooperation, especially in sharing information and know-how. The dissimilarity on the responses on the cooperation with *Bashingantahe* may be dependent on the different strength and influence of the institution in different communities.

To sum up, an “average” peace mediator is a married woman, with children, with at least secondary school completed, working in the social sector (education, health, administration), and human (women's) rights activist. The mediation work is irregular and unpaid. The fact that they are members of the community where they mediate conflicts not only brings them more respect and credibility but it also increases the long-term effects because the women are in situ.

4.2 What do the mediators do?

All of the conflicts where women peace mediators intervene are of community character. 27% of the conflicts are political (Anon 2016) and most of them social, economic and familial (mainly between husbands/wives, parents/children, neighbors, employers/employees), including land disputes. However, a great part of their work is public enlightenment, informing and countering rumors.

This section is based on a sample of recent official reports from 2017 and 2018 aimed to inform the UN Women office about the mediators’ activities in Bujumbura's zone Buyenzi. The reports were written by the mediators involved, in French. However,

the language used is rather informal due to the language level of each mediator. The reports typically contain the following information: The zone, conflict type, date, and description of the current state of the conflict, recommendations to the recipients of the assistance, actions taken, and links to the national level. Furthermore, every report also contains a summary of the following debate between mediators, including the date, where it took place, the program of the meeting, the outcome, and the names of the participating mediators.

Women peace mediators were involved in the recent problem of the so-called “household books” (Cahiers de ménage). These books serve to monitor people's movements and they are obligatory in every household. Family members living in the house, as well as visitors, have to be signed in the household book which then has to be submitted to the municipality. “If, for instance, security forces come to a household and they find people which are not registered in the book, they will be arrested because they would be considered as criminals [...]” (Rosalie, interview) Since 2016 the regulation underwent a reform so that nowadays Burundians cannot buy the books anymore in whatever shop as they used to but they can only get it from the neighbourhood chief (“chef du quartier”). Now, they are very difficult to get. Discrepancies or absence of the books led to several arrests in Bujumbura. Since the lack of household books, people are afraid that they will be punished for not having them even though it's not their fault. Mediators together with the administration continue to encourage people to keep looking for the administrative document. Regarding implications for the national administration, the mediators suggested deeper promotion of peace education within households. (Report 1)

Another example of the mediators' activity in social matters is the issue of the distribution of mosquito nets by local authorities. Together with the mediators, they encourage people to take and *use* mosquito nets instead of selling them for individual profit because malaria still remains one of the most common illnesses in the zone Buyenzi. (Report 3)

To social conflicts that have a high escalation potential also counts the incident that was resolved in cooperation with women peace mediators in July 2017 concerning the fabrication of “forbidden drinks”. In the district of Kinogo, security forces, the neighborhood chief, and women mediators went to see the genesis of the conflict. When they arrived, the drinks were spilled and the material burned. Some of the producers were caught. The women mediated between authorities and the producers. As a result, the producers were not directly prosecuted. The neighborhood chief warned that if the

troublemakers will continue producing drinks illegally, they would be taken to justice. They were encouraged to search different and legal business activities. (Report 5)

Rumors about armed groups in the streets resulted in a general curfew after 10 pm imposed by the government since September 2016. The administration organized public meetings in order to denounce the criminals and to stress the importance of adhering to the curfew. (Report 1) Since there always were people who did not respect the curfew, the mediators are sensitizing the population of Buyenzi by explaining “[...] that the criminals still exist and that the security forces are insufficient to ensure the security of all households. Therefore, they [the inhabitants] need to stay at home in order to prevent [violent] incidents.” (Rosalie, interview)

A conflict, resolved in January 2017, was a consequence of the terribly high prices of groceries in Burundi. An errand boy went to the store and asked the owner for groceries (concretely 15 kg of rice, 10 kg of beans) saying that they are for a patron. Since the salesman was suspicious, he accompanied the boy. When he found out that the boy tried to betray him and that the groceries were for the boy himself instead of the patron, he has beaten the boy up until he lost consciousness. Women mediators were called by local authorities of the zone Buyenzi to help to resolve the conflict. They appealed to the shop owner and the local population that it is strictly forbidden to carry out self-justice because there are official instances responsible for justice. According to the report, the implication for national decision-making is the necessity of stronger sensitization for this issue in households. (Report 2)

An example of a familial dispute is the one from August 2017 between two sisters and their half-sister caused by a misunderstanding about the equitable inheritance from their grandmother. Both sisters wanted to give their half-sister less, just a little room and each of the sister would have a big room with a living room. The situation escalated when one of the sisters threw a rock at the half-sister and injured her arm. The woman directly contacted the chief of the accommodation to tell him about the conflict who called the neighborhood chief. He contacted the mediator Rosalie in order to arrange a meeting with the parties to the conflict. Mediator Rosalie recommended them to stop fighting, to listen to each other, and to, try to find a non-violent resolution. She also reminded them that it is strictly forbidden to carry out justice on their own and that they should report such disputes to the relevant instances. The neighborhood chief then appointed to the local administration to take a decision. According to the report, the women in conflict accepted the decision. (Report 4)

A recent conflict from February 2018 concerns a saleswoman selling clothes and a client who did not pay her debts on time. The client got a dress worth 150.000 FRS and the payback was supposed to be completed within 2 months. However, it had not been paid back. Therefore, the saleswoman went to the neighborhood chief in order to solve the problem. He contacted the women mediators working in the quarter asking their assistance. After hearing both women involved, the client denied that she did not take the clothes and stated that the saleswoman is lying. The saleswoman did not have any witnesses. She did not even have a receipt. Therefore, the mediators explained to her that it is necessary to always have a receipt. After we said this, the saleswoman left the reunion with saying a word. It has been recommended to the client to be supple compliant and to pay back the doubts. But the client refused that the saleswoman is cheating. In the end, no agreement has been reached because both women refused to collaborate or to give way to one another. “We [the mediators] recommended to the local administration to pursue the conflict because there is a chance that the client may take revenge. This could potentially provoke heavy conflicts since the two women are neighbors. (Report 6)

Peace mediators of the zone Buyenzi successfully resolved another conflict that broke out in January 2018, between brothers and sisters on the inheritance of their parents. One brother was opposed to dividing the inheritance equally among the siblings because there were 2 half-sisters – with the same father. The local administration and some neighbors reported the problem. The women mediators calmed the situation down and recommended the parties involved no to quarrel because it can easily lead to insecurity in the neighborhood. A meeting with the neighborhood chief was arranged where the parties to the conflict were asked to bring their birth certificated to prove the familial ties. Mediator Rosalie (signed the report) described this case as a success because the siblings reconciled. (Report 6)

Based on the reports, there is no evidence that women mediators would have a particular approach to conflict intervention fundamentally different from that of their male counterparts. As the reports illustrated, the mediators usually are called to help by other community members, which points out to a high level of respect and trust these women have. A typical characteristic of the women's approach is that they listen to all conflicting parties individually. Then they try to find a solution acceptable for all parties involved. By explaining the law they try to prevent (violent) escalation of disputes. “We are neither police nor judges. We mediate.” (Q5)

4.3 Impact of the mediators' work

The conflicts may seem banal and irrelevant for security at national level. However, the direct impact of the mediators' work in the communities, as well as the indirect consequences at higher levels, are enormous. "On average, the network of women mediators managed to resolve the conflicts in 62% of the cases." (GAI 2016, p.15)³ To better understand the mediators' contributions it is crucial to empathize with the Burundians' living situation. The recently published World Happiness Report 2018 may serve as an illustration. It ranked Burundi as the less happy country in the world based on monitoring the development of seven factors.⁴ (World Happiness Report 2018)

Considering the current tense political situation combined with serious social problems (inheritance, polygamy, domestic violence etc.), bad economic situation (unemployment, access to land, infrastructure), poor education, lack of reliable information, and especially the experience with high potential of local conflict spill-over, there are several important contributions of the women's day-to-day efforts in their communities to security at both local and national level.

First of all, women peace mediators help to prevent the escalation of social, economic or familial disputes at the community level from erupting into more serious conflicts, often involving more persons and with high spill-over potential to the national level. Lack of basic food caused by rapidly rising prices, as well as mistrust among people, disinformation, and political repression, create fertile soil for violent conflicts.

Secondly, women mediators enforce the establishment and functioning of the legal state at the grassroots by explaining to people that self-justice practices only undermine the state and also, that it leads to unnecessary punishment. Thanks to local conflict mediation many people are prevented from being arrested for minor crimes, and so from deterioration of their social problems. Also, land disputes and inheritance in Burundi are serious sources of conflict at the local level, usually between family members. Given the complex nature, the state's inability to effectively deal with them and the ethnic feature of land disputes, family, and local disputes can easily renew the ethnic rivalry.

³ For further information see Appendix I: „Success rate of conflict dealt with“.

⁴ Income, healthy life expectancy, social support, freedom, trust and generosity. (World Happiness Report, 2018)

Thirdly, women peace mediators positively shift the image of women in Burundian society. Since there are more women represented in national bodies, it is very important to strengthen women at the grassroots level. (Gender Data Portal 2016) Through their work, these women gain the respect of local administration, security forces and most importantly also of their neighbors and family members. By promoting peaceful conflict resolution they become active and indispensable members of the community life, instead of being passive observers. In this context, it is an advantage that women mediators work voluntarily because it confirms their genuine interest and personal motivations. At the same time, it also is a disadvantage because the women cannot spend as much time as necessary to conflict resolution. This can discourage many women from joining the institution.

Fourthly, the mediators' work positively contributes to the communication between institutions and actors at different levels: local administration (e.g. neighbourhood chief), population ("noyaux de base" –field informants), traditional conflict resolution (e.g. Bashingantahe), national bodies (e.g. Ministry of Interior) as well as international organizations (e.g. UN Women). "These networks aim at coordinating their actions, and identifying community concerns to prepare for dialogues at hill, municipality and provincial level." (GAI 2016)

Typically, the neighborhood chief or people from the community call for a woman mediator to help with the resolution of a conflict. The mediators listen to all the parties to the conflict which already is an important precondition of successful conflict resolution. Then they recommend a legal and for everyone acceptable solution. They try to avoid detention, repression, and further escalation. All the conflicts are reported to the UN Women office in order to document their activities to get support. These reports also serve as a guideline for further conflict resolution based on the past success or failure of applied strategies of conflict resolution. Besides, their work includes effective early warning and conflict prevention. (GAI 2016, p. 14; Atiri 2009)

Fifthly, women peace mediators adjust to the reconciliation in the society recovering from a conflict along ethnic lines. Women from different ethnic groups gather in organizations promoting peace. The unity of women from different ethnic groups serves as a positive example for others. "Women in Burundi have risen above the fighting and instability to become a force for change, advocating for a peaceful resolution to conflict especially." (Rwamo 2005, p.2) Given the local character of the civil war in Burundi where neighbors were mobilized against neighbors, family against family, local

conflict prevention, management and early warning systems from within the community are crucial to building sustainable peace in the country.

Women peace mediators also contribute to the creation of a peaceful environment and cohabitation by organizing cultural events. For instance, one of the debates in August 2017 was held in the form of a theatre piece organized by the “noyaux de base” in order to draw attention to family conflicts and primarily polygamy, often overlooked and marginalized. (Report 4) Cultural and sports events also present a tool of conflict prevention among the youth. Such events are aimed to connect people across ethnicities in the community and to promote unity. “[...] Tensions that were across the whole country [since 2015] and in Nyakabiga [zone of Bujumbura], especially between young affiliates of the ruling party and those of other political formations, tend to disappear thanks to women peace mediators.” (Espérance, questionnaire)

To sum up, women peace mediators play an important role in conflict prevention and resolution in Burundi. The fact that they are *women* is crucial because it is helping them to modify the traditional perception of women and gives them the opportunity to use their social and communication skills and their own approaches to conflict resolution. Based on the data, it cannot be claimed that women work differently than men. However, women mediators proved to be well-respected partners for actors at all levels: Not only as women but especially as active citizens, friends, and neighbors, important members of the community they work and live in.

5 Conclusion

There is no doubt that women play and will play a critical role in the WPS agenda as well as sustainable development and therefore, should be included in decision-making at all levels. However, in order to achieve this aim, the research gap on women in these positions must be bridged. This study tried to contribute to the fulfillment of this imperative by framing the work of women peace mediators in Burundi.

The results of the questionnaire accomplished throughout autumn 2017 and winter 2018 outlined a profile of an “average” peace mediator: a married woman, with children, with at least secondary school completed, working in the social sector (education, health, administration), and human (women's) rights activist. Their mediation activities are unpaid. It is not evident whether their approach to conflict intervention is different because they are women, however, the fact that they are women puts them in a

different position. These women enjoy a great degree of trust and respect in the community because they are being called to help by other people. This might be surprising, given the number of legal and customary obstacles women still face in Burundi.

The elicitive endogenous approach, embodied in the conflict transformation theory, enhances sustainable peacebuilding. Applied on women peace mediators in Burundi, it reflects their attachment to the community and underlines their status. Through the participation in conflict mediation in *their* community (feeling of ownership), they not only contribute to sustainable peace but they also improve the traditionally marginalized position of women in Burundian society (empowerment).

Lederach's concept of transformative peacebuilding is too broad as it covers local conflict management mechanisms. In regard to gender, the restoration of customary law, founded on patriarchal rules, is contradictory to the legal state and women often are excluded from decision-making and thus somehow “forgotten”. However, women have played and play an important role in peacebuilding and conflict intervention. Therefore, Jacob's narrower endogenous view of the concept frames the mediators' activities in a more appropriate way.

The main findings of this study are as follows. Firstly, women peace mediators prevent the escalation of conflicts at the community/local/grassroots level from spilling over onto higher levels. Secondly, the mediators strengthen the legal state by explaining the law, informing activities and countering rumors. Thirdly, they positively influence the image of women in the Burundian society. Evidently, they themselves are well respected. This may enhance the perception of women in middle-range and top decision-making as well. Fourthly, the women help to create and maintain functioning communication networks with diverse actors at all levels. Fifthly, in a deeply divided, post-conflict society such as Burundi, the mediators have a share in the ongoing reconciliation process by promoting unity through diverse cultural and sports events.

The analysis of the official reports on the conflicts in Bujumbura showed that women peace mediators focus on social, familial, and economic conflicts in their communities. The reports gave evidence of the broad agenda of women peace mediators. Their activities go far beyond conflict mediation and include conflict management, resolution, prevention as well as early warning systems. Given the bottom-up approach of transformative peacebuilding, it is nearly impossible to define the mediators' work by top-down theoretical concepts arising from a different context.

It is crucial to keep in mind that, as the conflict transformation foresees, the Burundian mediators' work cannot be transferred to another situation in another place or another time. Their approach is unique within the specific context of Burundi which witnessed a series of armed conflicts of *local* nature. Furthermore, since the renewed political crisis in 2015, many people struggle to satisfy their basic needs which only adds fuel to the potential fire. The bottom-up approach by the mediators enables tailored conflict resolutions taking into account the specific context of each individual party involved. These day-to-day efforts at the community level have a great impact on national security.

Even though many women in Burundi face marginalization by the society, a lot has already been achieved and women in decision-making positions seem to have more support among the population. For instance, according to the results of a study guided by the Government Activity Observatory (Observatoire de l'Action Gouvernementale, OAG) in 2008, there was strong support of women in leading positions of decision-making because it perceived as their right. The 30% women quota were endorsed. The respondents felt that women brought different approaches and thus strengthened good governance. (UNDP 2012, p.9)

The current crisis in Burundi was caused by a political decision and could not have been prevented by the mediators. However, it considerably destabilized the country at all levels and renewed insecurity and mistrust in the society. Now, more than ever, the mediators have to prove their skills and knowledge to prevent a full-scale escalation.

6 Summary

The master's thesis “Transforming conflict at the local level: Women peace mediators in Burundi” documented the contributions of women to peace at the local level. To understand the women's motivations and way of work, semi-formal questionnaires were filled out by mediators in Bujumbura. The study concludes with several findings. Women peace mediators prevent the escalation of conflicts at the community/local/grassroots level from spilling over onto higher levels. At the same time, the mediators strengthen the legal state by explaining the law, informing activities and countering rumors. They also positively influence the image of women in the Burundian society and so enhance the perception of women in middle-range and top decision-making. The women help to create and maintain functioning communication networks with diverse actors at all levels. Altogether, in a deeply divided, post-conflict society such as Burundi, the mediators have a share in the ongoing reconciliation process by promoting unity through diverse cultural and sports events. The analysis of the official reports on the mediators’ work showed that they focus on social and familial disputes. Given the local character of the conflict in Burundi, the study shows that peacebuilding at the grassroots level has crucial implications for national security because it prevents of community-based conflicts from spilling over to higher levels.

7 List of References

7.1 Primary sources

7.1.1 Questionnaires, interviews

Questionnaire 1: *Goreth*, peace mediator in Bujumbura, zone Kinindo

Questionnaire/interview 2: *Rosalie*, peace mediator in Bujumbura, zone Buyenzi

Questionnaire/interview 2: *Capitoline*, peace mediator in Bujumbura, zone Musaga

Questionnaire 4: Q4 (pseudonym), peace mediator in Bujumbura, zone Gihosha

Questionnaire 5: Q5 (pseudonym), peace mediator in Bujumbura, zone Musaga

Questionnaire/interview 6: *Espérance*, peace mediator in Bujumbura, zone Niyakabiga

Questionnaire/interview 7: *Caritas*, peace mediator in Bujumbura, zone Muha

Ndacayisaba, G. (2017). Gorette Ndacayisaba. Association DUSHIREHAMWE [email].

7.1.2 Primary literature

“Burundi National Education Profile: Education Policy And Data Center, P.1.”. 2014. Online. http://www.epdc.org/sites/default/files/documents/EPDC%20NEP_Burundi.pdf (Accessed 27. 4. 2018).

“Gender Data Portal: Burundi”. 2016. Online. The World Bank. Washington DC. <http://datatopics.worldbank.org/gender/country/burundi> (Accessed 9. 3. 2018).

“Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI) On Women, Peace And Security And Humanitarian Action: Annual Report January - December 2016”. 2016. Online. 1-30. New York City: UN Women. <file:///C:/Users/Anna/Downloads/GAI%202016%20Consolidated%20Narrative%20and%20Financial%20Report%20FINAL.pdf> (Accessed 22. 3. 2018).

Plan D'action National 2012-2016: Plan D'action Pour La Mise En Œuvre De La Résolution 1325 (2000) De Conseil De Sécurité Des Nations Unies. 2011.

“L'Association Dushirehamwe”. 2018. Online. Association Dushirehamwe. Burundi. <http://dushirehamwe.bi/lassociation-dushirehamwe/> (Accessed 2. 3. 2018).

Security Council Resolution 1325: On Women, Peace And Security. 2000.

“United Nations Development Programme (2012). Gender Equality And Women's Empowerment In Public Administration: Burundi Case Study”. Online. In: http://iknowpolitics.org/sites/default/files/burundifinal_-_hires_1.pdf (Accessed 22. 3. 2018).

7.2 Secondary literature

Anderson, Shelley. 2009. "We Wanted Peace: African Women's Initiatives For Peace.". In *Seeds Of New Hope. Pan-African Peace Studies For The Twenty-First Century.*, Matt Meyer and Elavie Ndura-Ouédraogo, pp.195-196. Trenton: Africa World Press.

Atiri, Judith. The Role of Gender in Conflict Prevention: An Examination of Four Conflict-Ridden Countries: Somalia, The Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi. In: MEYER, Matt and NDURA-OUÉDRAOGO, Elavie. *Seeds of New Hope. Pan-African Peace Studies for the Twenty-First Century.* Trenton: Africa World Press 2009, p.269-297. ISBN 1592216633.

Baksh, Rawwida, Linda Etchart, Elsie Onubogu, and Tina Johnson, eds. 2005. *Gender Mainstreaming In Conflict Transformation: Building Sustainable Peace.* London: The Commonwealth Secretariat.

Cahn, Naomi. 2006. "Women In Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Dilemmas And Directions." *William & Mary Journal Of Women And The Law* 12. GWU Law School Public Law: 335-378.

De Théus, Cyrille. 2000. *Quelques Lignes Tracées À La Craie.* Paris: Rotonde.

Duncanson, Claire. 2016. *Gender And Peacebuilding.* Cambridge: Polity Press. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fenichel Pitkin, Hanna. 1967. *The Concept Of Representation.* Los Angeles: Berkeley, University of California Press.

Galtung, Johan. 1996. *Peace By Peaceful Means [Electronic Resource]: Peace And Conflict, Development And Civilization / Johan Galtung.*

Hendricks, Cheryl. 2011. "Gender And Security In Africa. An Overview." Discussion Paper, Uppsala.

Jacobs, Michèle. 2005. "Endogenous Conflict Handling Mechanisms: Eliciting A Valuable Resource For Sustainable Peace Building". *Cahiers Internationale Betrekkengen en Vredesonderzoek* 70 (23): 1-48.

Klot, Jennifer F. 2003. "Women And Peace Processes – An Impossible Match?". In *Gender And Peace Processes – An Impossible Match?* Louise Olsson, 17-24. Uppsala: Collegium for Development Studies.

Lederach, John Paul. 1995. *Preparing For Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures.* New York: Syracuse University Press.

Lederach, John Paul. 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation In Divided Societies.* 6. ed. Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace.

van Leeuwen, Mathijs. 2010. "Crisis Or Continuity? Framing Land Disputes And Local Conflict Resolution In Burundi". *Land Use Policy*, no. 27: 753–762.

Lohse, Volker. 2003. "Bashingantahe — Traditionelle Gerichte In Burundi Mit Unterbrochener Tradition". *Verfassung Und Rech.* In: *Übersee / Law And Politics In Africa, Asia And Latin America* 36 (4): 590-609.

Miller, Barbara, Milad Pournik, and Aisling Swaine. 2014. "Women In Peace And Security Through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature Review, Content Analysis Of National Action Plans, And Implementation". Working Paper, Washington, DC.

Minani Passy, Pascasie. 2014. *Femmes En Politique Au Burundi. Leur Nombre, Leur Influence?* Paris: L'Harmattan.

National Research Council. 2000. *International Conflict Resolution After The Cold War.* Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Ogunsanya, Kemi. 2007. *Women Transforming Conflicts In Africa: Descriptive Studies From Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, South Africa And Sudan.* Occasional Paper Series 2 (3). Durban: ACCORD: p. 9-37.

O'Reilly, Marie, Andrea Ó Súilleabháin, and Thania Paffenholz. 2015. *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles.* In: *Peace Processes.* New York: International Peace Institute.

Paffenholz, Thania. 2003. *Community-Based Bottom Up Peacebuilding: The Development Of The Life And Peace Institute's Approach To Peacebuilding And Lessons Learned From The Somalia Experience (1990-2000).* Uppsala: Life&Peace Institute.

Reychler, Luc. 1999. *Democratic Peace-Building And Conflict Prevention: The Devil Is In The Transition.* Leuven: Leuven Univ Press.

Stake, Robert E. 1995. *The Art Of Case Study Research.* New York: Sage Publications.

Tickner, J. Ann. 1993. *Gender In International Relations: Feminist Perspectives On Achieving Global Security.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Tripp, Aili Mari, Isabel Casimiro, Joy Kwesiga, and Alice Mungwa. 2008. *African Women's Movements. Changing Political Landscapes.* Leiden: Cambridge University Press.

Williams, Harriette E. 2006. "Women And Post-Conflict Reconstruction In Africa". *Conflict Trends* 2006 (1). Sabinet: 30-35.

7.2.1 Internet secondary sources

Bangali, Florence N. 2011. "An Examination Of The Role Of Women In Conflict Management: Sierra Leone A Case Study". Master thesis, Malta.

Boustany, Nora. 2007. "The Woman Behind Uganda's Peace Hopes". Online. *Washington Post.* <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp->

dyn/content/article/2007/07/10/AR2007071001933.html?hpid=artslot (Accessed 28. 4. 2018)

Coomaraswamy, Radhika. “Coomaraswamy, R. (2015). Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing The Peace. A Global Study On The Implementation Of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325.”. Online, p. 13-17. [http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20\(1\)](http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/UNW-GLOBAL-STUDY-1325-2015%20(1)) (Accessed 29. 1. 2018).

Diaz, Pablo Castillo, and Tordjman, Simon. “Women's Participation In Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence And Influence.”. Online. <http://www.unwomen.org/~media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2012/10/wpssourcebook-03a-womenpeace negotiations-en.pdf> (Accessed 30. 1. 2018).

Chinkin, Christine. “Peace Agreements As A Means For Promoting Gender Equality And Ensuring Participation Of Women. [Online] Ottawa: United Nations. Division For The Advancement Of Women (Daw). Online. <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/peace2003/reports/BPChinkin.PDF> (Accessed 30. 1. 2018).

Falch, Åshild. 2010. “Women’S Political Participation And Influence In Post-Conflict Burundi And Nepal”. Online. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo, 1-15, 30-38. http://www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/partpol_postconburundinepal_falch_2010_0.pdf (Accessed 12. 3. 2018).

Nahimana, Elizabeth A., and Térence McClintock. “Managing The Tension Between Inclusionary And Exclusionary Processes: Building Peace In Burundi. International Negotiation, [Online] 13(1)”. Online, p.73-91.

Ndacayisaba, Goretti. 2001. “Impact D’Un Conflit Sur Les Relations Hommes-Femmes: Le Cas Du Burundi”. In *Hommes Armés, Femmes Aguerries: Rapports De Genre En Situations De Conflit Armé*, Fenneke Reysoo, 117-125. Geneva: Graduate Institute Publications. doi:10.4000/books.iheid.6123.

Harders, Cilja. 2010. “Gender Relations, Violence And Conflict Transformation”. Online. In *Berghof Handbook For Conflict Transformation*, 132-155. The Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. https://www.berghof-foundation.org/fileadmin/redaktion/Publications/Handbook/Articles/harders_handbook.pdf (Accessed 7. 4. 2018).

Miall, Hugh. 2004. “Conflict Transformation: A Multi-Dimensional Task”. Online. In *Berghof Handbook For Conflict Transformation*, 1-20. The Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. <https://www.berghof-foundation.org/ar/publications/publication/conflict-transformation-a-multi-dimensional-task/> (Accessed 17. 4. 2018).

Ntahobari, Josephine, and Ndayiziga, Basilissa. 2003. “The Role Of Burundian Women In The Peaceful Settlement Of Conflicts”. Online. In *Women And Peace In Africa. Case Studies On Traditional Conflict Resolution Practices.*, p. 11-26. Paris: UNESCO. <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001332/133274e.pdf> (Accessed 15. 3. 2018).

Pike, John. “Burundi 2000-2005”. Online. <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/war/burundi4.htm>. (Accessed 4. 5. 2017)

Pollock, Jennifer. 2007. “(En) Gendering Peace: Female Agency, Civil Society And Peacebuilding In Liberia”. Online. *Undercurrent* 4 (1): 1-15.

Reimann, Cordula. 2004. “Assessing The State-Of-The-Art In Conflict Transformation – Reflections From A Theoretical Perspective”. Online. In *Berghof Handbook For Conflict Transformation*. The Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management. <https://www.berghof-foundation.org/nc/de/publikationen/handbook/handbook-artikel/concepts-of-conflict-transformation/> (Accessed 5. 4. 2018).

Rubimbwa, Robinah, and Maude Mugisha. 2010. “Security Council Resolution 1325: Civil Society Monitoring Report: Uganda”. Online. 1-37. Cewigo: Centre for Women in Governance. http://www.cewigo.org/documents/reports/inside_1.pdf (Accessed 16. 4. 2018).

Rwamo, Alice. 2005. “The Role And Impact Of Graduate Women In Promoting Gender Equality And Women’s Rights In Burundi.”. Online, p. 1-6. <http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/SHS/pdf/Role-Graduate-Women.pdf>.

Sachs, Jeffrey D., Jeffrey D. Helliwell, and Richard Layard. 2018. “World Happiness Report”. Online. In World Happiness Report. New York City: Sustainable Development Solutions Network. https://s3.amazonaws.com/happiness-report/2018/WHR_web.pdf (Accessed 15. 3. 2018)

UN Security Council, Report Of The Secretary-General On Women And Peace And Security. Online. http://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2015_716.pdf (Accessed 24. 1. 2018).

“Women Mediators Promote Peace In Burundi”. Online. <http://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2016/1/women-mediators-promote-peace-in-burundi> (Accessed 30. 1. 2018).

Video

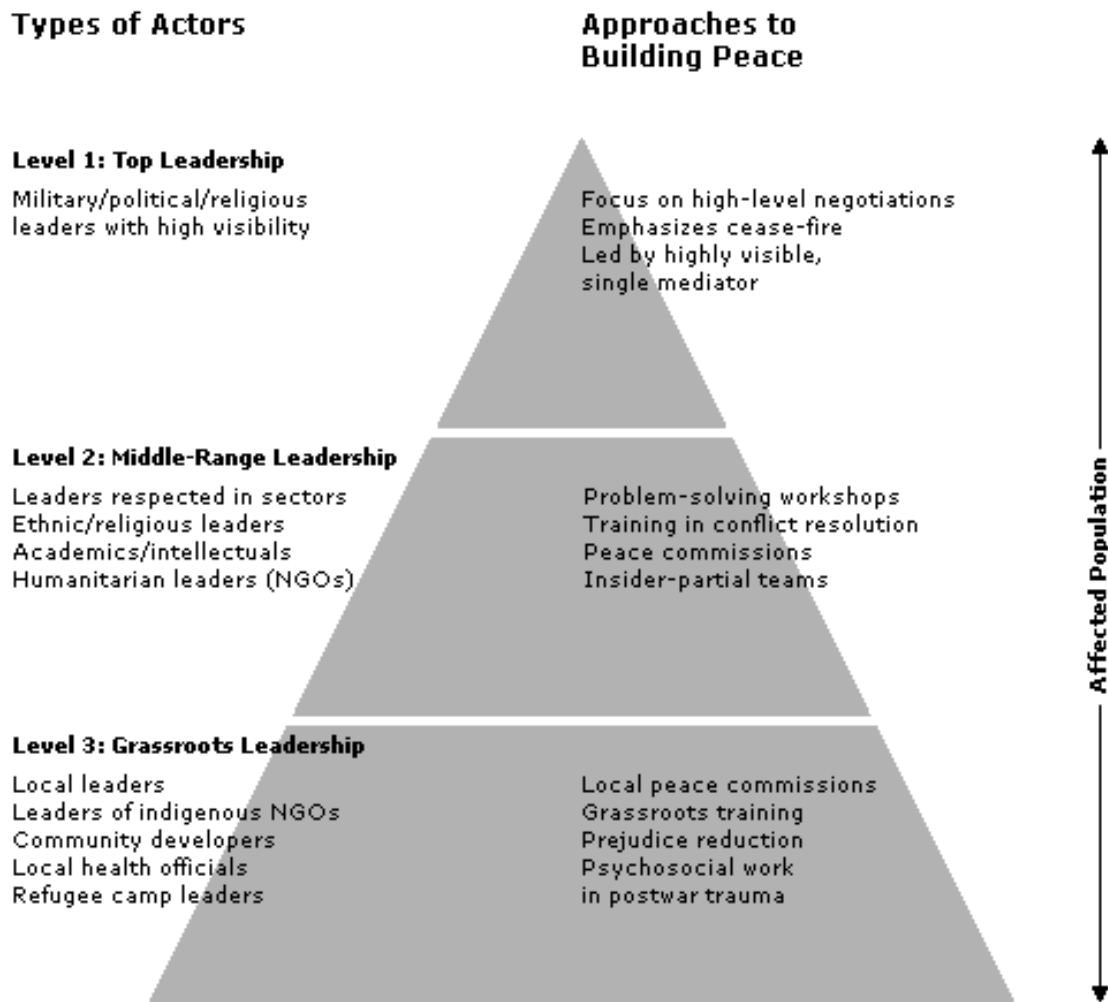
“Female Ex-Combatants Find Livelihoods And Acceptance In Burundi”. 2013. Online. The World Bank. In: The World Bank. <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/video/2013/09/19/burundi-s-female-ex-combatants-find-acceptance-livelihoods> (Accessed 29. 3. 2018).

8 List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Map of Burundi (image).

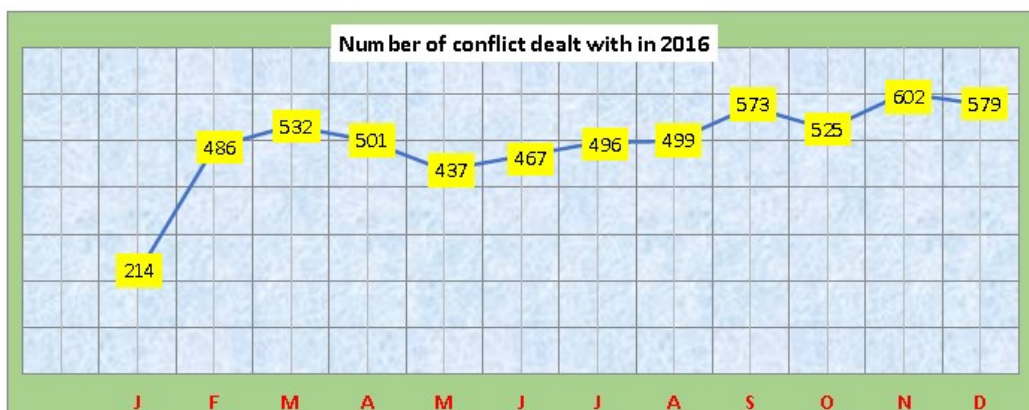


Appendix 2: John Paul Lederach's pyramid model (graph).



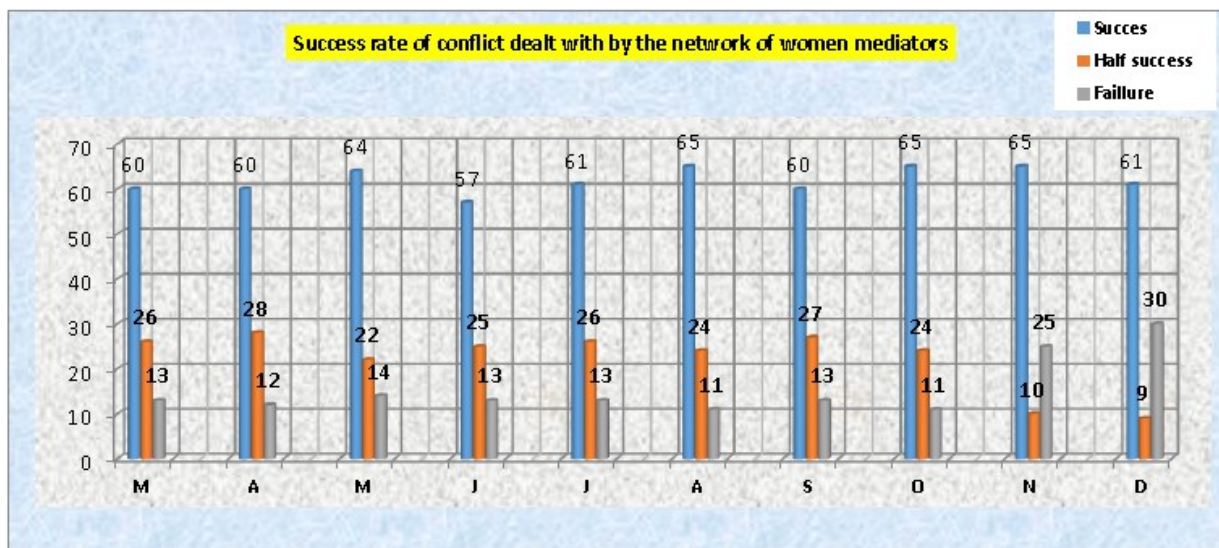
Derived from John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39.

Appendix 3: Number of conflicts dealt with by women mediators in Burundi in 2016 (graph).



(Source: GAI 2016)

Appendix 4: The success rate of conflict dealt with by women mediators in Burundi between March and December 2016 (graph).



(Source: GAI 2016)

Appendix 5: Key figures on women peace mediators in Burundi (Source: GAI 2016).

Key figures

3604 is the *number of conflicts* dealt with by the network of *women mediators* between January and July.

65% is their average rate of full *success*, 25% the average rate of half success and 13% the average rate of failure.

2600 is the number of *local networks* of actors constituted by women mediators *at the hill level* and 119 at the municipality level.

2505 is the *number of dialogues* that have taken place, including 18 dialogues at the provincial level, 215 at the municipality level, 2231 at the hill level and 41 in Bujumbura neighborhoods.

246 883 is the *total number of community members* who participated to these dialogues.

534 is the number of *women mediators* and provincial focal points that have been further *trained*.

501 522,70 USD is the *budget spent* since January 2016 out of the 700 000 USD invested by the GAI through its initial phase.

Projekt diplomové práce - Project of the thesis

Téma mé diplomové práce se má týkat progresivní role žen v Africe v kontextu post-conflict reconstruction. Cheryl Hendricks ve svém textu „*Gender and Security in Africa. An overview*“ poukazuje na existující mezery ve výzkumu genderu a bezpečnosti v Africe, konkrétně pak na nutnost „dokumentovat a analyzovat příspěvky žen, které byly součástí mírových procesů“. Při prvních rešerších se potvrdilo, že ženy v mnoha afrických státech prokázaly a prokazují progresivní roli nejen v rámci post-konfliktního vývoje. Příklad žen v Burundi mě zvláště zaujal a proto bych se mu chtěla věnovat blíže. Práce by tedy v první části měla odpovědět na otázku týkající se zahrnutí genderové perspektivy v rámci řešení konfliktů, tedy:

Proč je důležité zohlednit genderovou perspektivu v rámci post-conflict reconstruction? Dále je jisté zmínit kontroverzi kolem „bias“ žen v konfliktech (jejich role pasivních obětí versus role aktivních mírových bojovnic; limity spojení „ženy↔mír“). Dá se říct, že ženy mají jiný přístup k bezpečnosti a řešení konfliktů?

V druhé části bych se ráda zaměřila na případ aktivity žen v Burundi, které v mnoha ohledech potvrzují pozitivní přínosy žen při řešení konfliktů, ale i přínosy ukončení konfliktů pro postavení žen v burundské společnosti. Podle Harriette E. Williams v článku „*Women and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa*“ Burundi sice má zastoupení žen v parlamentu přes 30%, stále ale oproti jiným státům Afriky není na tak dobré cestě ve zdařilé rekonstrukci. (citace: “All of these countries [pozn.: Mozambique, South Africa, Rwanda], with the exception of Burundi, which inly conducted elections recently, are on a strong path to reconstruction and have reported immeasurable gains from women’s participation in government.”)

Podle Cheryl Hendricks se studie o konfliktech v Africe soustředily především na role žen během konfliktů, genderové konstrukce aktérů konfliktu, vliv konfliktů na ženy, rekonceptualizace bezpečnosti a na možnosti nerovnosti mužů a žen. Moje práce by jistě měla zmínit roli žen v Burundi během konfliktu, ale hlavně má za cíl zdůraznit jejich zapojení do mírových jednání, které si ženy prosadily i přes velký odpor, a následného post-konfliktního procesu. Velký počet ženských organizací dokazuje odhodlání k vytvoření udržitelného míru v Burundi. Hlavními otázkami této části tedy má být:

Čím je role burundských žen v rámci postkonfliktní rekonstrukce v Africe specifická? Jakou roli hrají burundská ženská hnutí aktuálně v kontextu obnovení konfliktu v roce 2015? (zde chci hlavně zdůraznit důležitou roli mediátorek) Může případ Burundi sloužit jako příklad pro další země, ve kterých probíhá konflikt?

Proč Afrika?

Jedním z hlavních důvodů věnovat se konfliktům v Africe je prostý fakt, že nikde jinde na světě nezemřelo a neumírá tolik lidí v důsledku občanských válek jako v Africe. Tento kontinent je již po desetiletí zmítán brutálním vnitrostátními konflikty, které jsou často dlouhodobého charakteru (tzv. low-intensity conflicts). I po ukončení dlouholetých konfliktů podepsáním mírových dohod, násilí v těchto zemích dále pokračuje a nově vzniklé demokracie jsou často velmi nestabilní.

Proč gender?

Je zřejmé, že válka a násilné konflikty postihují zástupce obou pohlaví. Muži a ženy jsou ale konfliktem ovlivňováni různě a proto je nutné věnovat pozornost obou pohlavím.

To v praxi znamená nutnost, zahrnout muže i ženy do řešení konfliktů (conflict resolution), stejně tak do mírových vyjednávání (peace negotiations) a do postkonfliktních rekonstrukce (post-conflict reconstruction). Mnoho případů afrických států ukazuje, že ženy nejsou do těchto procesů zahrnovány automaticky, což představuje zásadní problém. Přesto ženy hrály a hrají důležitou roli během mírových jednání a také během post-konfliktních procesů.

Obecně je role žen v konfliktech často redukována na roli pasivních obětí (objects), čemuž se nevyhnula ani důležitá UNSC Resolution 1325, která je nejen v tomto ohledu mezi feministkami kontroverzní. Případy mnoha afrických států dokazují, že ženy jsou aktivními aktéry (subjects), kteří ovlivňují mírové a post-konfliktní procesy na regionální i národní úrovni. Navíc je stále více zřejmá souvislost mezi počtem žen v národních parlamentech a úspěšným post-konfliktním vývojem státu a udržitelným mírem (sustainable peace).

Proč Burundi?

Burundi zažilo za posledních 50 let hned několik ozbrojených konfliktů, při kterých zemřely statisíce lidí, dalších přes milion lidí bylo nuceno opustit své domovy. I přes z jednu z nejvyšších negramotností u žen v Africe (70%), od počátku 90. let 20. století začala vznikat ženská hnutí, která sjednocovala ženy různých etnických skupin a politických názorů, která volala po ukončení konfliktů a inkluzi žen do mírových vyjednávání. Dnes má Burundi jedno z nejvyšších zastoupení žen v parlamentu a přes 500 burundkysch žen pracuje úspěšně jako mediátorky regionálních konfliktů.

Upozorňovat na pozitivní případy, ve kterých ženy v konfliktech a jejich řešení hrají aktivní roli je stejně důležité jako nepřestávat upozorňovat na násilí na základě pohlaví (gender-based violence).

Základní literatura

Cahn, Naomi, Women in Post-Conflict Reconstruction: Dilemmas and Directions. William & Mary Journal of Women and the Law, Vol. 12, p. 335, 2006; GWU Law School Public Law Research Paper No. 209; GWU Legal Studies Research Paper No. 209. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=905331>

Cheryl Hendricks, "Gender and Security in Africa: An Overview" Discussion Paper 63, Nordic Africa Institute, 2011.

Duncanson, C (2016). Gender and Peacebuilding. Cambridge. Polity Press.

Ogunsanya, K. (2007). Women transforming conflicts in Africa. Umhlanga Rocks, South Africa: ACCORD.

Tripp, A., Casimiro, I., Kwesiga, J. and Mungwa, A. (2008). African Women's Movements. Leiden: Cambridge University Press.

Women and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa

(Harriette E. Williams)