Strengthening Local Peace Building Infrastructure: A Gendered Perspective

Naomi Onyeje Doki

Department of Economics Benue State University, Makurdi

ABSTRACT

In the light of the current reality that every part of the world is experiencing some form of conflict and the fact that the effects of these conflicts are very destructive and retrogressive for economies, it is imperative to examine the structures for peace building. Because differences will always exist in the patterns of living and being for human beings, a culture of tolerance and allowing for other people's differences needs to be imbibed. The paper also examines a rationale for taking a gendered approach to peace building and discusses the roles that women can play at all stages of conflict in contributing to the peace building process. There is evidence that the taken a gendered approach will support the overall process. However, the local structures as they are not sufficient. The paper recommends that government will have to invest in peace building to sustain societies in the long run but while waiting for government, every woman can play a significant role in steering thought patterns of those within her circle of influence towards peace.

INTRODUCTION

What is Peace Building Infrastructure?

Conceptualising the term 'peace building' has played out interestingly among the variety of actors who use it. It looks as though no universal definition exists, and therefore academics, professionals, organisations, and activists involved in the field have used it differently to serve their different purposes. Originally coined in 1975 by Johan Galtung, the term 'peace building' intended to encompass a wider range of activities than the earlier notions of peace-making and peace-keeping, by acknowledging the importance of identifying and building structures which might militate against war and addressing the root causes of conflict. Barnett, Kim, Donnell and Sitea (2007).

The term was made popular in the international arena by UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his 1992 Report *An Agenda for Peace*, and its importance was reaffirmed in his 1995 *Supplement to an Agenda*

for Peace, though at the time peace building was referred to as 'post-conflict peace building', thereby limiting the application of the term to activities taking place when conflict had ended, or was coming to an end. This is where the main discrepancy in understanding of the term peace building lies today. Though Boutros-Ghali has since commented that peace building may refer to activities both pre- and post-conflict, a number of academics and organisations, including the UN Peace building commission, conceived peace building as only applicable to post-conflict situation (Barnett et al., 2007, p.40).

However, many actors working in peace building have adopted a much wider definition, linking it to Galtung's concept of 'positive peace' and the more recent concepts of 'human development and 'human security' as advanced by the UN (Strickland and Duvvury, (2003) In its broadest conception, peace building can be understood to include the promotion of sustainable economic development, and social and political justice, in order to create a more equitable society, which can find alternatives to violent resolutions of conflict and where all citizens are free from both direct and structural violence, Barnett et al., (2007). This conception of the term encompasses the traditional notions of peace-making, peace-keeping and conflict resolution, as well as peace building.

According to United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), one of the leading proponents, Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) is a dynamic network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, institution, resources, values and skills which through dialogue and consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peace building. This infrastructure builds resilience in societies by allowing for interactions among different groups to address potential causes of tension and conflict and to manage conflict when it arises and restore peace.

Peace building according to the Institute for Economics and Peace in its preventative focus is distinct from peacekeeping and peace-making activities — which broadly involve the activities aimed at ending violence and establishing security — peace building is a prerequisite for sustainable peace.

The idea behind I4P according to Giessman (2016) arose as the results of engagements in several countries by the UN in peace keeping projects that were transitioning from war to peace and/or from authoritarian to participatory regimes of government. The premise was that sustainable peace depends not only on political will but also on the availability of a structural capacity for peace support.

This paper employs the broad definition of peace building, considering the whole process from pre- through to post-conflict, including early warning systems, monitoring of instability, ceasefires and disarmament programmes, peace talks and agreements, and building positive peace and sustainable development. It also considers I4P as all the structures that support peace building in this way.

A gendered perspective to peace building is valid because according to Nia (1999), there are inequalities between women and men in addition to real and significant differences between the ways that women and men perpetrate and experience violence. This inequality is not only in violence related scenarios but it extends to income, work opportunity child care, domestic responsibilities and access to public spaces.

Speake (2013) states that the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 reaffirms the importance of women participation and involvement at all levels of peace and security agenda. The resolution underlined the gradual acknowledgements among international organisations that women and men may have differential experiences both during and post conflict and the set of challenges women face are unique.

Pratt and Richter Devroe (2011) state that informal contributions of women have been valuable to resolving conflict and building sustainable peace though it seems it might have been largely ignored. At a time when the international community's resources to international development and aid are under strain due to tightened national budgets and stress from humanitarian action, the need to understand and invest in the most cost-effective ways to build long term peace is more crucial than ever, even if it requires considering a gendered approach.

RATIONALE FOR PEACE BUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE

UNDP records that as at 2013 over 1.5 billion people around the world live in a community affected by war, violence or high levels of crime and over 526, 000 people die each year as a result of violence or conflict approximately 1 per minute.

The reality is that all over the world, these situations of conflict and violence are on the increase. No society is completely free of this and because the results and effects are devastating, it is an issue that cannot be taken lightly.

According to the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP) 2017, the world faces a historic decline in global peace; recorded a 25- year peak in violence and conflict in 2016. The past two years have seen the highest

number of global battle deaths for 25 years, record levels of terrorism and the highest number of refugees and displaced people since World War II. When this conflict and violence subsides the critical factor to maintain durable long-term peace aside from the will of warring parties, will be peace building activities — the broad set of activities targeted at reducing the risk of lapsing or relapsing into violent conflict.

Conflicts have different forms of manifestations. Among the manifestations of these conflicts are nationalist and religious identity-related conflict; denominational, sectarian, and ideological conflict; conflict between states and armed groups; conflict between occupation and resistance; and conflict between powers seeking partition and fragmentation and powers calling for unity. Another form of conflict emerges between revolution and counter-revolution powers or the veterans of the ousted regimes and new players seeking to establish new regimes. Conflicts wreck lives, it destroys the social fabric within and among communities, and it imposes economic burdens on countries and extinguishes hope of eliminating poverty for millions of people. Preventing conflict is not only to save lives, it is cost effective. UNDP estimates that the cost of conflict prevention is 10% of the cost of recovery after a war.

The issues that trigger conflicts and extremism all over the world are political transitions and regime changes, differences over the conduct and management of electoral processes, management of natural resources as well as social, cultural and religious differences. The UN rightly observes that reducing the probability of violence occurring requires a strategic approach, strengthening local and national institutionalised processes and the building of dialogue and mediation skills. Inherent in these requirements are the basis of peace building infrastructure.

The effects of conflict are generally more negative than they are positive as stated earlier. In a bid to examine these effects from a gendered perspective there is plenty of evidence to show that conflict:

- a) Deprives households of male heads and vibrant young men, leaving women in charge.
- b) Makes widows and orphans of women and children
- c) Displaces people and causes them to lose their homes, assets and livelihoods.
- d) Makes children fall out of school, interrupting their educational pursuits/advancement.
- e) Lead to hunger and several other forms of deprivation and makes women and children vulnerable to sexual and other forms of abuse.

f) Ensures poor hygienic condition in camps increases chances of spreading disease due to overcrowding.

While the causes and effects of conflict have been researched widely and documented, Giessman rightly observes that knowledge of the root causes, structures and catalysts of peace and peace building is less robust and what is known is insufficiently put into practice. The evidence of this insufficient practice is in "repeated cycles of violence" according to World Bank (2011).

If violence and conflict is the result of a distorted relationship between social actors driven by root causes, drivers and structures, it follows that peace building requires that the intrinsic fabric of peace be understood and the structures that will support it be strengthened. Certainly, this fabric cannot be one-size-fits all one and the peculiarities of culture/tradition, religion and ethnicity, political and economic factors have to be understood in each circumstance.

It is important to first of all understand what can be called "the drivers of peace" in such a manner that the appropriate local infrastructure is mobilised to achieve it. Peace according to this paper can be examined along two perspectives. First, general peace within a community or society exists when people are not afraid to go about their normal socio-economic activity because they are not living in fear of any kind. So, there is peace in Makurdi or Gboko or Agatu for instance, when there is no fear of thieves or herdsmen attacks. On the other hand is individual peace. There is a strong complexity in understanding what each individual in a community decides will give him or her peace. These complexities lie in the fact that human beings who are at the centre of relationship within a community may define their peace in different and sometimes conflicting ways. For instance in Ukum LGA, a Tiv farmer will say he is at peace when he can go to the farmer and cultivate his crops without fear. The Fulani man rearing cattle in the same area might define his peace based on his herd being very free to move about and graze. In this case, their individual sources of peace can lead to conflicts.

It is in this sort of scenario that the foundations of violent extremism might be found when points of compromise cannot be reached. Davies (2006) also argues along the same line that "when you do not allow for a different point of view, when you hold your views as being quite exclusive, when you don't allow for the possibility of difference and when you want to impose these views on others using violence if necessary, the stage is being set for trouble. This does not have to be the case. Peace building

infrastructure is about getting two different opinions and groups to be accommodating of each other's difference. The process of I4P should build tolerant and more understanding societies. I agree with Long (2014) who argues that humans can learn to build societies which are not founded on the expectation of organised violence. That is the job of building and strengthening I4P.

The Cost Effectiveness of Peace Building

As a rationale, peace building is good economics in the long run. This section holds a summary of IEPs findings on Peace Building in Rwanda. The findings are:

- 1. Increased funding for peace building would be hugely beneficial not only to peace building outcomes but in terms of the potential economic returns to the global economy. Using 20 years of peace building expenditure in Rwanda as a guide for establishing a unit cost, IEP estimates the cost-effectiveness ratio of peace building at 1:16. This means that if countries currently in conflict increased or received increased levels of peace building funding to appropriate levels estimated by this model, then for every dollar invested now, the cost of conflict would be reduced by 16 dollars over the long run. The total peace dividend the international community would reap if it increased peace building commitments over the next ten years from 2016 is US\$2.94 trillion.
- 2. Based on the assumptions in this model, the estimated level of peace building assistance required to achieve this outcome would be more than double what is currently directed toward peace building for the 31 most fragile and conflict affected nations of the world.
- 3. Only Afghanistan and Iraq have received peace building expenditures at levels higher than Rwanda on a per capita basis. These exceptions underline the importance of viable political settlements and peace agreements for successful peace building activities.
- 4. While every such model may rely on important assumptions, robustness testing illustrates that even if these assumptions are changed and the unit cost of peace building is increased, peace building is still extremely cost effective.

Building peace infrastructure is relevant for pre conflict, during conflict and post conflict periods. The structures and methods of engagement at each point may be differently strategic though strongly related. Within the purview of this paper, emphasis is on the role(s) that women play at each of these stages and well examine these roles one at a time. The paper will also identify areas that are pivotal for Local peace building infrastructure to harness.

Peace Building in the Pre-Conflict Stage

As the name implies, this period is the build up to a crisis or war. From provocation through tension build up. The UK government sets a very good example which can be used to understand the dynamics peace building at this level. Its counter terrorism strategy – CONTEST which was implemented in 2003in response to growing threats of terrorism across the globe is made up of 4 P's. The first P in the CONTEST strategy stands for Prevent. The UK Prevent Programme has been revised three times since then in 2006, 2009 and 2011 in a bid to increase its effectiveness. The most recent revision according to Huckerby (2016) has three main objectives, they are to: respond to the ideological challenge of terrorism and the threat from its promoters; prevent people from being drawn into terrorism and ensure that they are given appropriate advice and, provide support as well as work with sectors and institutions with risks of radicalization.

What is clear is that pre-conflict stage(s) influence seeks ways to stop conflicts from arising and that implies employing strategies that will maintain peace by steering minds of individuals away from conflict. The strategies that women are encouraged to apply locally at this stage are considered part of their routine activities.

- i) Observe family and friends for changes in behaviours.
- ii) Counsel and discipline where deviance is noticed.
- iii) Supervise and advice on a regular basis, about the evils of negative tendencies/behaviours which might have been observed.

UK's Prevent strategy relies heavily on the influence of mothers to prevent their children from travelling to join Jihad extremist groups or even supporting them from home. The influence of a mother on her children thinking is quite strong if she has been closely engaged in their lives but even if she hasn't, there is the potential to influence. The government has identified and supports women groups to engage actively with the youths. Non-extremist groups have also been identified in the UK to support this course of changing the minds of vulnerable groups to support and join extremists. The program has identified sectors with risks of radicalisation as the internet and the schools. Mothers in their numbers are trained in groups

to be vigilant and proactive about internet use and school activities their children engage in.

Locally, in our Nigerian spaces such structured attempts have not been identified. We rely on the informal and individual efforts to do this preventive work. The result is that young men and women have continued to join the ranks of Boko Haram and Fulani Herdsmen who have continued to terrorise Nigerians. The success these groups have achieved would not be possible without internal collaboration. This shows that there is room to improve preventive activities. IEP's argument is that the battle for peace building will be won at this preventive stage.

While seeking collaboration with women, we could note here briefly that the job is a difficult one because of the reality of the push, the pull and the contextual factors that they have to contend with. According to a UNESCO (2016) publication - a Teacher's Guide on the Prevention of Violent Extremism, the push factors which drive individuals into extremism marginalization, inequality, discrimination, persecution or the perception thereof, limited access to quality and relevant education, the denial of rights and civil liberties and other environmental, historical and socio-economic grievances. The pull factors nurture the appeal of violent extremism and include, well organised groups with compelling arguments and discourses, effective programmes that are providing services, revenue and or employment in exchange for memberships. Others are the promise of adventure and freedom or the offer of spiritual freedom and providing a "place to belong" providing some social support. Contextual factors provide favourable terrain for emergence of these groups such as fragile states, the lack of rule of law, corruption and criminality.

With close reflections on these push, pull and contextual factors which are the reality in the experience(s) of majority of Nigerians (and Africans), the task to disabuse the minds of young people at preventive stages is herculean even for women as they might seem justified in some cases. However, the word is herculean not impossible. Life experiences that women have gained can help them explain to the young people that the seeming benefits are only mythical are not useful in the long run as violence even retards any development that might already been achieved.

PEACE BUILDING DURING CONFLICT

The time of conflict is the time that fights, crisis wars are ongoing. Lives and property as well as assets and sources of livelihood are jeopardised. Men go to the war front and leave households in the care of women. In increasing numbers though, women are joining the fights (Nigerian Boko Haram scenarios) and are providing services of different kinds in fighter camps as cooks, sex slaves and or wives. In this period and generally, the role a woman plays might be related to the social, cultural and/or religious beliefs of the men in her household.

This view is upheld by Okenyodo (2016) in her report of research findings of the National Stability and Reconciliation Program (NSRP) aimed at understanding gender norms and female participation in radical movements in Northern Nigeria. She reports that the roles women play in the North East Boko Haram crisis are determined by the men in their lives and that women are victims of a bigger identity crisis in Nigeria. It implies that, the duties she performs are based on what her culture and religion expect of her as a woman, wife and mother and the "rightness" or otherwise of her actions on humanity do not count. The fact that in most cases, she does not choose her husband compounds the problem. This way, the choices of what and how to believe and behave do not lie with her. She reports that in cases where women loose spouses in the course of active participation in such extremist groups, membership is even more forced for them. The high level of dependence on men for life and livelihoods makes it almost impossible to do otherwise.

Women are rarely mere passive victims of conflict and should not be treated as such. A USAID publication on Women and Conflict (2007) affirms that women can play active roles in the events that lead to fighting and instability and even in the combat itself. USAID states that women's roles vary in every conflict situation but generally fall into the following categories – agents of change, active participants, (combatants), supporting participants (forced or voluntary camp followers cooks, wives, slaves), victims and spoils of war and newly responsible care providers. During a crisis, these roles are tied to managing households and engaging in different survival strategies for their children. Their comfort of predictable routines and expectations are shattered and they are left to deal with life on their own in less than normal conditions. In this period, they are survivors.

USAID also record that conflict could yield some positive outcomes for women. Their assertions is that as women's social and economic responsibilities increase, they are obliged to take over the task of supporting their households. Often, that requires learning new skills that enable women to perform jobs previously held by men or that prepare them for entrepreneurial income – earning activities which they might not have had the opportunity to get due to initial cultural and religious limitations. This

way, they can earn financial independence and a long – term change in gendered labour distribution can emerge. As true as this is, governments do not need to wait for periods of crisis to empower vulnerable women economically. There is evidence that shows that increased economic empowerment for women improves the quality of life of children and household (Doki, 2015). Children in better conditions are less vulnerable to the pull factors of violent extremism. This cost is much better to bear than the cost of post conflict reconstruction.

PEACE BUILDING POST- CONFLICT

The end of conflict leaves in its wake, destroyed physical infrastructure, lives and livelihoods, displaced communities, sick and malnourished people, fragmented families, emotionally and psychologically traumatised families, children whose schooling has been interrupted as well as frustrated and abused women. These negative consequences weigh heavily on women, and makes them interested in the peace process.

There is evidence from across the world that women have played important roles in post conflict reconstruction. USAID reports that Mothers of Russia, a Human Rights NGO founded by Mothers of Soldiers in 1989 handles complaints regarding human rights violation for families of draftees. They provide rights education to draftees and their parents and peacefully advocate adherence to human rights in Russia. They do all these in order to avert needless wars and encourage family members when a son or husband has to go to war or assist families devastated by war.

The report clearly states that Betty Biomgbe played a pivotal role in moving forward the peace process between the Lord's Resistance Army and the Government of Uganda. She negotiated directly, mediated between both entities in bringing Uganda closer to peace. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, a women political party program called "Win with Women" that allows women to take part in round table discussions and provide campaign skills training for female candidates was established. This provides a platform for women to influence decisions and ensure peace is sustained in the country. Similarly, the Mano River Women's Peace Network of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea successfully participated and influenced the peace process, in the post war reconstruction. Women as individuals and groups have been relevant during post war peace building initiatives at national levels in their respective countries.

Conflict and Post conflict periods have shown the tendency to increase the direct involvement of women in combatant forces. They have

specifically been associated with specialised assistance required during the process of disbarment demobilization and reintegration especially of their fellow women but according to Cahill (2003) they have often been overlooked. Being overlooked however does not automatically imply a lack of impact.

In Nigeria, following the kidnap of the 276 School Girls from Government Secondary School in Chibok, Borno State, several pressure groups around the world protested the devilish act. However one of the groups that sustained the campaign since April 15th, 2014 is the Bring Back Our Girls (BBOG) group, led by Obi Ezekwesili and whose membership is dominated by women. After three years a total of 163 girls have returned, 6 were reported to have died and 107 girls remain missing. Even though it might be difficult to ascribe the success entirely to the BBOG campaign, the role as a pressure group remains very significant.

In September 2016, one of the most brutal attacks in Benue State happened in Agatu. Many individuals condemned the act and members of the community dragged the Federal Government of Nigeria to the ECOWAS court. The presence of women pressure groups is not documented, though some individual efforts such as Linda Ochagla's, the Peace Ambassador and founder of Global Care for Kids NGO is identified through her media campaign against the Agatu massacre where she created the Hashtag #STOPTHEAGATUMASSACRE#. The details of the success of this and other protests against the killings might not be documented but the conflict though not completely resolved is much quieter these days.

In post conflict periods peace building takes the form of dialogues from the communities through to national levels, requires direct involvement in disarmament and rebuilding communities as well as continuous advocacy for understanding and tolerance by all the stakeholders. What is clear is that the role of women in peace building at all stages of conflict is obvious and cannot be called insignificant. There is evidence to show that they can work to avert conflict, support in different ways in times of conflict (positively and negatively), they are vital for human survival in times of crisis and are instrumental to reconstruction processes in post crisis periods.

What is required for Women's participation to be strengthened in Peace Building?

In order to understand what needs to be strengthened, the resources at the disposal of the women will be examined and areas for improvement will be

discussed. The question at the back of our minds is that, how can the capacity of mothers, leading ladies and women groups be enhanced?

First of all, women are mothers. Mothers are everywhere, in rural and urban areas, in rich and poor classes, either educated or uneducated. Mothers are biological, spiritual, emotional and others. Mothers are the first teachers of children. Every violent person, every understanding and peaceful one have a mother. The lessons that she teaches first are very important as they influence a child's future to a very large extent. For especially preventive measures to be effective, the mothers must take their nurturing responsibility very seriously. The struggle to survive should not replace the opportunity to share our positive thoughts and beliefs with our children in very definitive ways. This will reduce the possibility of "new" doctrines and ideas introduced and or imposed on them. However, mothers cannot give what they do not have and so they must learn to find their inner peace first, which will help them to work for peace in their homes and encourage their families to do the same. It is a call to be good examples that lead and teach by their actions in the eyes of their all- important students – their children.

Secondly, there are exemplary and Leading Ladies that can be a voice for and of Peace in the nation. There are women who have excelled and set very good examples and who have stood for peace (and development) over time. Their success can be leveraged upon by putting them in the frontlines of advocacy. This is because in our African patriarchal society (which might not regard women's opinions), that their voices will be more acceptable; they will be heard, listened to and acknowledged. Women like Charity Angya, Veronica Aluma, Margaret Icheen and Keziah Agundu to mention a few have stood out in academics, religious affairs, political and business respectively can be invited to lead the Peace campaign in Benue. The list can be expanded for every part of the country. In a discussion with a Professor from Benue State University, he opined that women's acceptability as a voice is synonymous with their increasing visibility in politics. He cites the just concluded APC primaries as an example of women's acceptability as even more women have joined the game. Successful women should be more deliberate in mentoring more women to achieve successes in their own endeavours so that as their numbers increase, their voices will get louder and stronger in the society.

Thirdly, women's groups exist in many diverse forms and can be harnessed as a very potent force in the peace building process. Women groups abound – they are family based, community based, faith based,

social based, economic and politically based groups. These groups can in addition to their primary objectives begin to engage and advocate and demand peaceful coexistence of their husbands, fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and generally their male relatives and counterparts in all spheres of life. There is need to sensitise women groups about the potency of their influence as a group on the issues of peace. The capacity of women to be effective advocates is somewhat tacit. This can be strengthened by deliberate economic empowerment which is itself determined by levels of education and opportunities. That is to say that opportunity for educational and entrepreneurial engagements must be maximised for and by women to strengthen voices in the process of building peace.

Fourthly, the Government has a fundamental role in tackling the push and contextual forces that make violence attractive to the people. It should engage especially the push and contextual factors in serious, deliberate and consistent ways. Government must recognise that their actions and inactions have the potential to encourage as well as destroy the efforts of women in peace building.

CONCLUSION

The need for peace building infrastructure is justified and the job/task though daunting is not unsurmountable. There are very relevant roles at the different stages of conflict that women can play as women and mothers to ensure and assure peace. Women groups should take up the challenge to drive the process as their strength lies in their numbers and diversity. Women are vital with or without existing structures in the process but their performances can be enhanced if a logical framework/strategy is designed. Government must prioritise investments in Peace building because it is the right thing to do in order to sustain peace in the society. This is part of its fundamental function as a state.

The inequality that exists and the patriarchal nature of the society notwithstanding, women should try and contribute their quotas to peace building. If we are to wait until we achieve equality or till we are certain, our voices are desired, there might be no society to live in, it would all be ravaged by conflict. One step at a time, one day at a time, one woman at a time, one group at a time, let our contributions to Peace building be sustained.

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