Nationally Initiated Local Peace Committees

On the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees in Kenya

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ABSTRACT

With the evolving concept of Infrastructure for Peace as a starting point, and its emphasis on local ownership of peacebuilding initiatives, I analyse the structure and functioning of Local Peace Committees (LPCs) with the focus on one county in Kenya. The thesis explores a gap in the knowledge of these committees by focusing on the friction between a nationally initiated LPC structure and the creation of local ownership of this peacebuilding operation. The case study analysis is conducted by exploring different perspectives regarding the mandate, role, composition and external support of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees with the aim to contribute to our knowledge of nationally initiated LPCs and their possibilities and challenges.
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INTRODUCTION

In the last 20 years the world has experienced an increase of intrastate conflicts, which usually derive from deep-seated causes that often reoccur if they are not addressed. As a result, between 80 and 90 percent of the conflicts that have been active during the last decade have been reoccurring ones. This has resulted in great challenges for the international community and forced the United Nations (UN) to conclude that peacekeeping operations alone cannot guarantee peace and security in the world. Today, approximately 1.5 billion people are living in fragile or conflict-affected situations that affect about 90 countries. According to a UN Secretary General report from 2009, we can also expect an increase in violent conflicts, due to growing competition over scares resources. This means that armed conflicts are becoming a central obstacle to creating sustainable development in our time. We therefore need to review the efforts that are conducted to manage conflicts, and try to develop and spread the efforts that are showing promising results.

*Infrastructure for Peace* (I4P) is a conceptual framework that was first established by John Paul Lederach during the 1980’s and is since then developing. It is based on the thought that a systematic effort and institutionalised mechanisms, grounded in the local context, can build the necessary capacity to handle conflicts and promote peace, before, during and after violent conflicts. There is a large amount of structures, tools and activities related to an I4P. One of the most common features of an I4P is Peace Committees. These committees can be created on local, regional and national levels but are often highlighted on the local level.

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Local Peace Committees (LPC) were originally constructed by local initiatives, but the external support for local I4P initiatives is becoming evident.\(^\text{10}\)

These peace initiatives stand in contrast to more traditional peacebuilding methods, focusing on formal mediation and negotiations, state institutions and sovereignty, taking the form of one-off efforts and interventions.\(^\text{11}\) The concept challenges the assumption that political elites and state representatives govern the development of conflicts, which results in that a majority of the peacebuilding activities taking place on the international level is focusing on the key military and political leaders.\(^\text{12}\)

**Problem**

Building I4Ps take time and it can therefore be hard to evaluate conducted efforts. However, as two decades now have past since the first I4Ps were implemented, evaluation is possible. Recent research claims that I4P initiatives, with LPCs as an important component, can have a positive effect on peacebuilding efforts by keeping the violence down, solving community problems and empowering local actors to become peace builders.\(^\text{13}\) Despite successful examples, the concept however still requires both conceptual and practical development. Therefore, it is important to learn more about the components of an I4P, in order to increase its quality, impact and efficiency, both in theory and practice.\(^\text{14}\) Trying to fill the knowledge gaps of this evolving concept is important, not only for theory developing purposes but in order to prevent or reduce violence and create sustainable I4Ps in vulnerable countries around the world. Better knowledge of the process would also help make the case for increased funds, which could further enhance the possibilities to combat conflicts.\(^\text{15}\) As the concept of I4P gets more recognition it will probably generate more interest. Donors and governments will then need to know how they can help and what kind of efforts they should support.

When the external interest increases, it is important to remember that the first initiatives to create LPCs came from within the local context. They were built without a model and were, as such, given the time to evolve slowly and gain local ownership. Today

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\(^\text{13}\) van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 39

\(^\text{14}\) Editors (2012) p. 6

\(^\text{15}\) Kuman, C & De la Haye, J (2012) p. 19
however, we see more committees that are initiated from the outside, by the government or as co-operations between national non-government organisations (NGOs), churches or international non-government organisations (INGOs). This means that the initiation of LPCs, in many cases, seems to have transformed from being a bottom up to a top down initiative. They usually also engage the national level to a greater extent today.\textsuperscript{16} This has lead to a new situation where the possibilities and challenges of a national involvement become visible. Van Tongeren argues that an I4P has more impact and weight when the government establishes it.\textsuperscript{17} Similarly, Odendaal and Olivier argue that a national LPC provides a natural link to the national level and more leverage toward other stakeholders.\textsuperscript{18} However, scholars also highlight some difficulties operating with a nationally initiated structure. Van Tongeren\textsuperscript{19} notes that government actors easily could influence the different I4P components and Odendaal\textsuperscript{20} talks about a contrary relationship between local ownership and imposed processes, and argues that nationally imposed processes stifles local ownership.

This contradiction is of great concern for scholars and the international community, but is also a pressing issue for nations around the world. Countries with some of the first locally initiated Peace Committees are now, in differing scale, trying to build on the success of the local initiatives. Kenya, which possesses one of the most developed and extensive I4Ps in the world, has spent ten years building its I4P around the original Peace Committees of the Wajir region. There, the success of the locally initiated Wajir Peace and Development Committee eventually lead to the decision to create LPCs in all of the countries regions.\textsuperscript{21} By learning from the Kenyan process of establishing nationally initiated LPCs, the international community and concerned governments hopefully can gain knowledge of how to handle the contradiction between a national initiation and local ownership. A better knowledge of this could mean that national governments and donors can gain a better understanding of how they can initiate functioning LPCs where there originally were none.

Therefore, this thesis argues that an increased focus on externally initiated LPCs is inevitable in order to spread the structure to conflict-affected regions around the world. There will always be situations were the local ability or knowledge is lacking, preventing populations from taking the initiative to create LPC structures. In this development, it is


\textsuperscript{17} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 56-57

\textsuperscript{18} Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) pp. 2-3

\textsuperscript{19} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 56-57

\textsuperscript{20} Odendaal, A (2010) p. 14

\textsuperscript{21} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 41-51
however important to maintain focus on the challenges with external initiation and remember
the importance of letting local ownership grow. Therefore, we need to gain a better
understanding of how this contradiction is manifested. This is a crucial aspect in the
development of the I4P concept that deserves studying, and where research on the existing
attempts to create nation-wide LPC structures could strengthen the theory of I4P.

Aim of the Study & Research Questions

With the previously stated problem in mind, the aim of this thesis is to contribute to our
understanding of nationally initiated LPCs by analysing the structure and functioning of the
nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees in Kenya. More specifically, I study the
responsibilities that are being assigned to the committees and the definition of how they
should be carried out. I also study the structure of the committees, along with the support and
recourses they have at their disposal. I will therefore use some factors that provide a focus on
these aspects of the committees’ structuring that have a presumed effect on the functioning of
a LPC’s operation. I will study the Nakuru Peace Committees by systematically analysing
perspectives of their (i) mandate, (ii) role, (iii) composition and (iv) external support. To
structure the research, three research questions are addressed:

1) What is the nature of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees?

2) How are the Nakuru Peace Committees’ structured and functioning in terms of their
mandate, role, composition and external support?

3) Which theoretical factors can help to explain the structure and functioning of the
Nakuru Peace Committees? And what impact does the findings indicate that the
factors have had on the Nakuru Peace Committees as nationally initiated Local Peace
Committees?

The thesis has descriptive and explanatory ambitions. I wish to describe the nature of the
nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees by putting these LPCs in the context of the
general development of the nationally initiated LPCs in Kenya. I also wish to describe the
structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace committees. Furthermore, my ambition is to
explore how their structure and functioning have affected the Nakuru Peace Committees.
Additionally, the study provides both empirical and theoretical contributions. Empirically, the
thesis improves our understanding of how nationally initiated LPCs can be constructed.
Theoretically, the conclusions drawn from the analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees
hopefully can contribute to our general understanding of the relation between a national
initiation and local ownership in LPCs by presenting initial indications that could be developed in future, more extensive, research.

It should be stressed from the outset that I have no ambition to analyse the functioning of the LPCs in regard to their ability to create peace. Instead my emphasis is on the functioning of the LPCs’ operation. In doing this, the study will only refer to the LPCs’ effect on the security level in relation to the contribution towards a more stable situation that LPCs can be assumed to have if they are well functioning. Furthermore, in order to gain a better understanding of the structure and functioning of nationally initiated LPCs I argue that it is necessary to gain a better understanding of how the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees is perceived by people working within the system. As the political legitimacy is argued to have a direct effect on the quality and success of a Peace Committee, these perspectives can provide important new insights into the committees’ legitimacy. I thus focus my research on exploring and analysing different perspectives of LPCs’ structure and functioning from people that are working within the system. Considering the relatively scarce research on the area of nationally initiated LPCs, this study therefore can develop an understanding of these committees by provide initial indications of the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees.

Limitations

For reasons of time and space, a number of subjects will not be covered in this thesis. Since it is designed to explore and analyse the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, I leave a more thorough account of the entire Kenyan structure of sub-national Peace Committees to another discussion. As Kenya is a country with a highly diverse and complex culture and historical context this means that I make no claim to provide general conclusions regarding all Kenyan LPCs, but rather try to indicate how the perceptions of the Nakuru Peace Committee coincide with perceptions of other Kenyan LPCs.

Furthermore, this thesis has a contemporary focus. A short description of the historical and contemporary account of the Kenyan LPC structure is presented, intended to provide an understanding of the Nakuru Peace Committees in the larger Kenyan context. It is not my intention to provide a comprehensive and detailed account of the history of the entire Kenyan I4P, or to preform a historic examination of the establishment of LPCs in the Nakuru County.

Finally, it should be stressed that this is not a ‘how to’ study on the construction of LPCs. I do not aim to give policy guidance on how governments should design their
committees. Even though I discuss some initial trends that are detected, I make no claim of being able to draw such extensive conclusions from this limited research project. Instead the purpose is to provide a deeper understanding of how LPCs can be structured and functioning, illustrating possibilities and challenges that LPCs may encounter.

**Outline of the Thesis**

This thesis is divided in five chapters. This introductory chapter has described the study’s ambitions and highlighted its relevance. Chapter 2 provides a more thorough account of the theoretical foundation of the study, the concept of I4P with a focus on LPCs. This chapter also specifies four key factors that will be used to guide the research. In Chapter 3, the thesis’ material and method is outlined, based on a qualitative case study research design. This chapter discusses why I focus on Kenya and the Nakuru Peace Committees and describes and discusses the study’s chosen method. Furthermore, it includes a critical discussion of the material that has been used. Chapter 4 then presents the empirical material, providing a general context and presenting the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, structured by the theoretical factors. In Chapter 5, insights from the case study culminates in an analysis of how the theoretical factors could be used to explain the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees and what impact they have had on the committees. The research is then brought together with some concluding remarks.
- Chapter 2 -

THEORY

In this chapter I outline the theoretical framework that will be used to study the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees. The chapter begins by providing a short description of some of the key concepts that are vital for this thesis. A thorough description of the theory and its key factors then follow, along with a description of why I focus on these factors and a discussion of how the framework will be used in my research.

Concepts & Definitions

When conducting research, it is important to consider the meaning of various concepts and outline how they are understood and will be used in the particular research. Since this thesis concentrate on a quite new and evolving area of peacebuilding, well-defined concepts are of even greater importance. There are two key concepts that are frequently used in this thesis that deserve special attention: (i) Infrastructure for Peace and (ii) Peace Committees. In this section I will therefore discuss these concepts, their definitions and how they are used in this thesis.

What is an Infrastructure for Peace?

Infrastructure for Peace (I4P) is described as a comprehensive peacebuilding approach that requires strategic engagement and commitment to sustainability. It emphasises the interdependence between the various levels of society and recognise the value of developing an infrastructure for peacebuilding.\(^\text{22}\) The concept refers to an emerging and quite defuse theory, which is still experiencing some variance regarding the term and what it may include. Some scholars call the concept Peace Infrastructure\(^\text{23}\) or Architecture for Peace\(^\text{24}\). However, the term that will be used in this thesis is Infrastructure for Peace, as it is the term that seems to have gained the most widespread recognition, with a lot of references being made in academic publications and with a newly developed international network bearing its name.\(^\text{25}\)

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\(^{22}\) Lederach, J (2012) p. 8

\(^{23}\) Unger, B & Lundström, S (2013) ‘On Framing, Setting up and Supporting Peace Infrastructures’ in Peace Infrastructures – Assessing Concept and Practice, Unger, B. et al. (eds.) No. 10, p. i


\(^{25}\) See for example: van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 54; Odendaal, A (2012); I4P international network (2013) What is I4P? (web page) 2013-10-10
Further, the I4P concept lacks a uniform definition. The definitions contain a mixture of basic principles, institutional modalities and desired outcomes. Many scholars and practitioners perceive an I4P as a method to establish institutions that are appropriate to the national context and its needs.\textsuperscript{26} Others, like Hopp-Nishanka\textsuperscript{27}, chose to delineate the boundaries by relating I4P to national initiatives with government involvement. Some instead see the need for complementary strengthening of institutions and capacities for peacebuilding at regional and global levels. There is also support for a broader definition, referring to the building of institutional capacities for peacebuilding, prevention of violent conflict and recovery from post-war violence.\textsuperscript{28} In 2010, government representatives, political parties, civil society and UN country teams from 14 African countries agreed on a common definition. They defined I4P as a:

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“...dynamic network of interdependent structures, mechanisms, resources, values and skills, which, through dialogue and consultation, contribute to conflict prevention and peacebuilding in a society.”\textsuperscript{29}
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Several scholars, such as Lederach\textsuperscript{30} and Tongeren\textsuperscript{31} highlight this definition, and it has been claimed to gain traction.\textsuperscript{32} It is also the one that is being used in this thesis, as it is my opinion that a definition agreed upon by a large number of countries, which have actually worked with its components, strengthens the definition. However, there seems to be a continuing debate regarding the meaning of the concept, as it continuously evolves as new experiences are being made. Depending on the definition, there are initiatives that could be considered as an I4P, as a component of an I4P or as falling outside of the concept all together.\textsuperscript{33} It is therefore important to continue to work on an international agreement on how to define the concept.

**What is a Peace Committee?**

Peace Committees are important features of an I4P. They can be created on local, regional and national levels. They also exemplify many of the I4P concept’s basic ideas as they are meant to be inclusive and participatory assemblies that emphasize dialogue in the hope of reaching

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\textsuperscript{26} Editors (2012) p. 2
\textsuperscript{27} Hopp-Nishanka, U (2012a) ‘Giving Peace an Address? Reflections on the Potential and Challenges of Creating Peace Infrastructures’ in *Peace Infrastructures – Assessing Concept and Practice*, Unger, Barbara et al. (eds.) No. 10, p. 4
\textsuperscript{28} Editors (2012) p. 2
\textsuperscript{29} Ryan, J (2012) pp. 15 & 24
\textsuperscript{30} Lederach, J (2012) p. 8
\textsuperscript{32} Editors (2012) p. 2
sustainable peace and reconciliation. The theory usually focuses on Peace Committees at the local level and they are suggested to promote mutual understanding, build trust and create constructive problem-solving and joint action to prevent violence in the community. In line with previous research, this thesis will focus on the Peace Committees at the local level.

The term Local Peace Committee (LPC) is an umbrella term that gathers a variety of names such as district peace advisory councils, district multi-party liaison committees, village peace and development committees and committees for inter-community relations. An LPC is defined by Andries Odendaal as an:

“... inclusive committee operating at sub-national level (a district, municipality, town or village). It includes the different community sections in conflict, and has the task of promoting peace within its own context.”

The LPCs have therefore been suggested to be suitable in situations where the local community experience, or are threatened by, violence or is being undermined by internal conflicts. The reason for implementing LPCs should be context specific, but is often applied as either a local effort in a national I4P, or as an answer to specific conditions at the local level that makes local processes necessary.

When discussing the defining characteristics of LPCs, it is also important to note what should not be expected of them. Odendaal argues that LPCs cannot coerce compliance as most LPCs only have the power of consensus, and not arbitration, and that they are dependent on the national political will to establish peace. Odendaal thus argues that they cannot be expected to be effective when there is a lack of political will at the national level. Finally, he argues that LPCs cannot be expected to address the root causes of a conflict if it includes political, social and economical causes outside of the local context.

**Peacebuilding from Below**

During the 1990’s, several traditional peacebuilding attempts were exposed to great trials. Experiencing these attempts, some scholars came to the conclusion that the focus of conflict resolution had to move from a neutral outside approach towards a partnership with the local actors. This perspective has been called *Peacebuilding from Below* and emerged as a lesson

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38 Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) p. 4
from case experience, but also as an explicit critique of earlier forms of conflict resolution theory.\textsuperscript{39}

Scholars such as Adam Curle and John Paul Lederach exemplify this perspective. Curle convey the importance of empowering the people, rather than elites, in conflict-affected communities to rebuild their own societies.\textsuperscript{40} Lederach also stresses the importance of this perspective. He suggests a comprehensive framework, including both short and long-term perspectives on conflict transformation.\textsuperscript{41} Based on the arguments and theory of these two scholars, Ramsbotham et al\textsuperscript{42} argues that a multi-layered approach is necessary in order to create successful and sustainable peacebuilding. Therefore, they suggest that efforts must be undertaken to coordinate efforts directed towards key military and political leaders with efforts directed at the regional and grassroots levels.

Peacebuilding from Below is however not a universally accepted concept. Even though the peacebuilding literature increasingly recognise the importance of working with conflict-affected people in their local context, Odendaal notes that it competes with an assumption that political elites and state representatives govern the development of conflicts. He also points to the fact that it is difficult to prove the impact of local peacebuilding. He notes that while most donors seem to see a value in the approach there is room for scepticism as research shows that there is no guarantee that transformed individuals or communities will lead to social transformation. It also seems difficult to achieve reliable impact assessments.\textsuperscript{43} Despite the concept’s contested status, Peacebuilding from Below has grown to become an important overarching theory formation in the peacebuilding literature. We therefore need a better understanding of how the perspective can be implemented in reality.

**Infrastructure for Peace**

Lederach began to formulate the concept of *Infrastructure for Peace* in the 1980’s. In 1997, he finally proposed the idea in his book *Peacebuilding: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, reflecting over the necessity to develop support over time, in order to create change in all areas of society. The concept can thus be seen as a part of the larger Peacebuilding from Below approach. He however stresses that I4P, in comparison to some other peacebuilding

\textsuperscript{39} Ramsbotham, O et al. (2005) pp. 217 & 220
\textsuperscript{40} Curle, A (1994) ‘New Challenges for Citizen Peacemaking’ *Medicine and War*, 10:2, pp. 96 & 104
\textsuperscript{42} Ramsbotham, O et al. (2005) p. 221
concepts, does not restrict its operations to the post-accord phase and thus require extensive engagement over time.\textsuperscript{44}

The I4P concept includes a large amount of structures, tools and activities, as well as a number of alternatives concerning how governments should be involved.\textsuperscript{45} The concept thus provides concrete suggestions as to how a peacebuilding approach could be conducted. The broad spectrum of efforts is however necessary in order to create context specific ones.\textsuperscript{46} In order to identify and gain knowledge of the concept’s main components, van Tongeren has used the peace policy documents from Kenya and Ghana.\textsuperscript{47} Table 1 provides a brief description of some of the essential components of an I4P, based on these documents. According to van Tongeren, the components are not a requirement since each process needs to be authentic and designed by, or in close collaboration with, the main stakeholders. They should simply be seen as possible pillars of an I4P.\textsuperscript{48}

**Table 1 – Some Essential Components of an Infrastructure for Peace**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structures</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace Committees</td>
<td>Peace structures on national, district and local levels that consist of highly respected persons of integrity and experience, who can bridge political divide.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A National Peacebuilding Platform or Forum</td>
<td>A platform for consultation, collaboration and coordination of peace issues by relevant actors and stakeholders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Analysis &amp; Early Warning &amp; Response Systems</td>
<td>Programmes that are a crucial part of dealing with the conflicts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Peacebuilding Support Unit</td>
<td>A government unit responsible for developing and implementing the government policy on peacebuilding together with the National Peace Committee and Platform.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tools</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insider Mediators</td>
<td>People from the context that are being trained in skills of negotiation and mediation. They can play an important part establishing relations of trust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional perspectives &amp; methodologies</td>
<td>Knowledge of tradition can provide both understanding of the problem and new solutions to conflicts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Budget</td>
<td>The interventions require long-term funding and resources.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A bill on I4P</td>
<td>The result of consulting the main stakeholders, at all levels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Activities</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Skills training</td>
<td>Training people that are working with peace issues in e.g. government, departments and peace committees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Promote a shared vision &amp; a culture of peace</td>
<td>Common values and a shared vision will be promoted and policies and structures established to implement them.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peace education</td>
<td>A tool to ensure that all citizens receive basic training, understanding and knowledge of peacebuilding.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{44} Lederach, J (2012) pp. 8-9  
\textsuperscript{45} van Tongeren, P (2013a) p. 94  
\textsuperscript{46} Hopp-Nishanka, U (2012b) ‘Infrastructure for Peace at the Height of Violent Conflict – Lessons from Establishing Peace Secretariats for Track 1 Negotiations’ *Journal of Peacebuilding & Development*, 7:3, p. 71  
\textsuperscript{47} See for example van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 56; van Tongeren, P (2013a) pp. 97-99  
\textsuperscript{48} van Tongeren, P (2013a) p. 99
Even as the I4P concept contains a large amount of possible components, and as all infrastructures varies in design, Peace Committees are often highlighted components. Out of these, Van Tongeren has lifted LPCs as a potential cornerstone of a national I4P.\textsuperscript{49} By way of representing a possible method to spread this I4P component, and connecting the effort with the national system, nationally initiated LPC systems can provide us with important understanding of the development of the I4P concept. As the research is limited in this field, and the findings indicate a contradiction between external initiation and local ownership, further research is needed in order to gain a better understanding of how functioning LPCs can be initiated.

**Local Peace Committees**

Even as the concept of I4P is still under development, and some question the capability and effect of LPCs, the world contains a substantial number of LPCs. Countries such as the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Colombia and Afghanistan have hundreds of these committees. Most LPCs are established locally because the community feels threatened and the national government, for whatever reason, fails to provide security, justice and development. The structure usually spread when successful committees are duplicated in neighbouring districts or regions.\textsuperscript{50} The main impact of LPCs, according to Odendaal, has been to solve community problems, increase local security, empower its members and develop some countervailing power to local government or to find ways to cooperate with them.\textsuperscript{51}

**Diversity of Types**

LPCs may differ both in terms of structure and execution. However, there are some main differences that scholars often emphasize. Many scholars distinguish between different types of committees depending on how they have been created and their mandate. Different scholars nevertheless use different criteria for making typologies. Van Tongeren, distinguish between four different types, focusing both on a committee’s mandate by distinguishing between formal and informal LPCs, and on the origin of the process by distinguish between locally grown and externally established LPCs.\textsuperscript{52} Odendaal and Olivier instead talk about two categories. The first category contains LPCs that receive their mandate from a national

\textsuperscript{49} van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 39
\textsuperscript{50} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 39 & 52
\textsuperscript{51} van Tongeren, P (2013a) p. 113
\textsuperscript{52} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 51-52
structure or process. This category shares the same characteristics as van Tongeren includes in the formal LPCs. The second category contains LPCs that have been formed by civil society initiatives. This category contains what van Tongeren includes in the informal LPCs but also mentions what he calls a locally grown process.\textsuperscript{53}

**Locally or Externally Initiated LPCs**

In this thesis I chose to base my distinction on van Tongeren’s distinction of how the committees are created. I distinguish between locally and externally initiated LPCs. **Locally Initiated LPCs** refer to structures established by local-level actors and are usually very independent from outside influence.\textsuperscript{54} **Externally Initiated LPCs**, on the contrary, include committees that are initiated outside the local community. These committees can be created as a part of a national process’ local peacebuilding structure and hold a formal mandate, in accordance with Odendaal and Olivier.\textsuperscript{55} This category thus includes the *nationally initiated LPCs* that will be the focus of this thesis. However, this definition also includes LPCs created as co-operations between national NGOs, churches or INGOs, as van Tongeren suggests.\textsuperscript{56}

The study acknowledges that the creation of LPCs, whether they are locally or externally initiated, is often intertwined with the committees’ mandate. The locally initiated processes are often accompanied by an informal mandate while the externally initiated processes are usually associated with a formal mandate, as they include the nationally initiated LPCs.\textsuperscript{57} Locally initiated LPCs could however gain national recognition with time. Likewise, the externally initiated LPCs include those that are initiated by NGOs, churches and INGOs, which means they do not automatically include a formal mandate.\textsuperscript{58} And as it seems to remain some confusion regarding the differences, this thesis will concentrate on the initiation of the committees. I however assume that the mandate is of central character to the structure and functioning of the locally and externally initiated LPCs, which I will elaborate on in the next section.

**Key Factors**

The theoretical discussion regarding LPCs is largely built on case studies from countries that have implemented such structures. Depending on the researcher, the list of the most important

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\textsuperscript{53} Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) pp. 9-10
\textsuperscript{54} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 51-52
\textsuperscript{55} Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) pp. 9-10; van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 52
\textsuperscript{56} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 51-52
\textsuperscript{58} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 42 & 52
characteristics varies. The key factors that are being presented below are selected because of their assumed effect on LPCs’ structure and functioning. The chosen factors have their origin in Odendaal’s theoretical arguments regarding design and planning issues that affects the level of success of National Peace Committees. The components of these factors are however also widely discussed, by both Odendaal and others, in regards to the structure and functioning of LPCs. The theoretical factors displayed below are therefore a combined version of theoretical material from several scholars. These factors are then used to structure the empirical material and the case study analysis, in order to explore and analyse the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees.

According to Odendaal, the effectivity and success of a Peace Committee is contingent on the quality of its political legitimacy. The legitimacy is primarily determined by the specific context it is working in. But he also argues that the committee’s (i) mandate; (ii) role; (iii) composition; and (iv) external support together determine its political legitimacy and that sufficient attention to these factors in the design of the Peace Committee might strengthen its legitimacy.

**Mandate**

The Mandate described in Odendaal’s theoretical argument refers particularly to “the allocation of responsibility to a specific institution or group of people”. It differs from one LPC to the next, but is mainly related to goals, such as opening a dialogue; solving or responding rapidly to conflicts; protecting community from violence; engaging with armed actors and organising/supporting the return of internally displaced persons to their communities. The mandate appears to have an important impact on LPCs political legitimacy as it influences the amount of power and degree of local ownership that committees can be expected to have.

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59 Odendaal, A (2012) p. 40 & 42

1 In his original version Odendaal calls his fourth factor 'Competence', where he argues that a technical support that is knowledgeable of good peacebuilding practice is crucial for creating a successful National Peace Committee. Research on LPCs suggests that the committees are dependent on external help to acquire this kind of knowledge. For the purpose of this thesis I have thus chosen to focus on the effects that external support can have on LPCs and I therefore argue that ‘External support’ is a more suitable title for this factor in this thesis.

60 Odendaal, A (2012) p. 45

61 van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 52

62 In his original version Odendaal focuses on different categories of mandates in relation to National Peace Committees. As this thesis instead focuses on nationally initiated Local Peace Committees, the categories of mandate are here presented in relation to LPCs.
Formal & Informal Mandate

LPCs with a formal mandate have received their mandate from the national level, through a national structure or process. They are a part of a national I4P, which gives them a formal role. LPCs with an informal mandate are independent and driven by the local community. Their role is informal since they are not formally recognised by the state. This type of mandate present a spectrum from Colombia, where the Peace Committees were openly opposed by the government and became a target for the security forces, to the Wajir Peace and Development Committee in Kenya, where the initiative eventually lead to a national process.

Impact of the Mandate

The different mandates bring different opportunities and provide some important benefits to the process. According to Odendaal and Olivier, LPCs with a formal mandate have the advantage that they operate in a coordinated manner. It can provide the LPCs with leverage and establish an important link between local and national peacebuilding. However, scholars such as Odendaal and Olivier, Odendaal and van Tongeren also recognise that a formal mandate could have negative effects. They argue that LPCs with a formal mandate risk being politicised or steered by the government, which jeopardise the local legitimacy. It might also limit the local ownership of the process as it is being imposed from above. Odendaal even mentions a potential contrary relationship between local ownership and imposed processes. Depending on the government’s functioning and intention, a formal mandate could therefore even be contra-productive for LPCs.

On the contrary, van Tongeren argues that LPCs with an informal mandate can co-operate closely with local or district authorities or be completely independent, working without any involvement from the government. These committees could be a way for people to build peace without political or financial support from their government. Additionally, the functioning of a LPC is not argued to be depending on a national mandate, as empirical evidence suggests that they can be effective without one. According to van Tongeren, a LPC with an informal mandate usually benefits from being less indebted to political and governmental actors and from holding local legitimacy. The potential negative effects are

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64 van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 40
65 van Tongeren, P (2013a) pp. 107-112
69 van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 56-57
however that they lack the influence to deal with the government and political leaders. They can also easily be stalled and may suffer from a lack of legal and policy frameworks.\textsuperscript{70}

Considering the potential benefits and problems with the different mandates Odendaal and Olivier\textsuperscript{71} has proposed an ‘ideal’ mandate where a national mandate creates a legitimate and credible framework, that still leave enough room for local communities to create their own ownership of the LPC structure. They however note that it is very difficult to find this balance in practice.

**Role**

The role is interrelated to the mandate since Odendaal defines it as referring to “the manner and means with which the responsibilities are carried out.” He notes that a clear role distinction, in relation to other institutions, is important for LPCs’ political legitimacy as it affects their relationship to other state institutions.\textsuperscript{72}

The relationship between LPCs and state institutions differ from context to context and has to be determined by the circumstances. Depending on the role, an LPC could work with questions closely related to those of the local government, the judiciary or the police. LPCs could be created in order to establish social cohesion that makes governance possible or it could have an advisory role, provided by the government. They could also be created with a clear conceptual distinction towards the government structures.\textsuperscript{73}

**Impact of the Role**

Besides stipulating how and with what resources the committees should carry out their work, the role also affects LPCs’ relationship to state institutions and their life span. If the role is not properly defined, LPCs could be perceived as a threat to, or as invading on, the legitimate terrain of state institutions.\textsuperscript{74} The relation to the judiciary could be particularly complicated since, as Chopra notes, they may rely on different views of justice. For instance, she argues that the pastoralist societies’ tradition of holding the entire kin group responsible for a crime and to compensate the entire kin group instead of the victim stands in contradiction to the judiciary’s notion of the responsibility of the individual perpetrator.\textsuperscript{75} Furthermore, Odendaal stresses that the role can affect LPCs’ sustainability. Depending on their role, LPCs could be

\begin{footnotes}
\item[70] van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 40 & 51-53 & 56 & 58
\item[71] Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) p. 3
\item[72] Odendaal, A (2012) p. 45
\end{footnotes}
designed as interim bodies or as permanent institutions. In order for LPCs to become long-term and sustainable, Odendaal stresses that they need a clear role that justifies their existence and defines their relationship to other state institutions. Otherwise, their existence could be questioned.\textsuperscript{76}

\textbf{Composition}

Another structural component that have an important impact on LPCs’ political legitimacy is their composition. It influences the means and methods of the LPC’s operation and therefore affects it’s functioning.\textsuperscript{77} The composition also depends on context, which means it can vary significantly from one situation to another. Elders, respected leaders of local community groups, educated youth and women are however often represented. Quite often, the local government is also represented and there are only a few cases were civil society has not been represented.\textsuperscript{78} Even if the LPCs’ composition varies, Odendaal has provided some key groups of participants that are important to include. He suggests that all successful LPCs ought to include the main protagonists; a core body of insider-partials; the civil society; and marginalised sections of the community.\textsuperscript{79}

\textit{Main Protagonists}

LPCs are intended to revolve around dialogue and discussions, in order to find tools in the local context that can give the community the ability to reach reconciliation. Odendaal therefore stresses the importance of making sure that the main protagonists are represented, as research show that it is not possible to build sustainable peace without engaging them.\textsuperscript{80}

\textit{Civil Society & Insider-partials}

In order to balance the protagonists’ objectives it is also important to have a core body of members that represent the middle ground. These people are often found in the civil society. Wehr and Lederach\textsuperscript{81} call them ‘insider-partials’, as they are not presumed to be impartial. On the contrary, they are useful because they are a part of the community and have to live with the consequences of a committee’s decision, which generates trust. According to Odendaal, including the civil society also adds different needs and interests to the process and helps

\textsuperscript{77} Odendaal, A (2012) p. 46
\textsuperscript{78} van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 52; Odendaal, A (2010) p. 19
\textsuperscript{79} Odendaal, A (2010) pp. 19-21
\textsuperscript{81} Wehr, P; Lederach J (1991) "Mediating Conflict in Central America", Journal of Peace Research, 28:1, pp. 87-88
coordination between peace initiatives in the informal and formal sectors. If it is possible, a trusted insider-partial, with the capacity to facilitate constructive dialogue and negotiations, should lead the committee.\footnote{Odendaal, A (2010) pp. 20-21}

**Marginalised Sections**

In order for a LPC to be successful it is also important to include marginalised sections of the community and particularly women. This is especially important when exclusion and marginalisation has been one of the main causes of conflict.\footnote{Odendaal, A (2010) p. 21} However, it is worth emphasizing that it is not enough to just include these groups, it is important to make sure that they are also listened to.\footnote{Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) p. 15}

**Impact of the Composition**

There is a general lack of research regarding the impact that the composition has on locally or externally initiated LPCs. However, since the subgroup of nationally initiated LPCs, which this thesis is focusing on, enjoys a formal mandate it is possible to use findings from research focusing on the effect of the mandate.

The theory shows that the composition in LPCs with a formal mandate, that thus include nationally initiated LPCs, often is prescribed by the national mandate. These committees normally include political parties, relevant government bodies, security forces and civil society. In other LPCs, with an informal mandate, the composition instead normally reflects a strong civil society presence. The participation of politicians, government workers and people from the security forces are here dependent on the LPCs own ability to attract the individual interest of such representatives. Compared with the nationally initiated LPCs, and other LPCs with a formal mandate, they are usually composed of people with a larger personal passion and capacity for peacebuilding.\footnote{Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) pp.2-4 & 9-10}

The composition also points to a couple of challenges that needs to be addressed. Odendaal recommends that all parties and major civil society actors should be represented in LPCs. In some cases it has however been hard to combine local selection processes with a successful inclusion of marginalised groups. However, if external forces push to hard to achieve inclusive committees, they risk seriously weakening the committees’ ability to resolve conflicts.\footnote{Odendaal, A (2010) p. 21 & 46} Odendaal therefore argues that the selection of true peacemakers should
preferably be left to the local level, in order to keep the committees functional. This gives the committees a composition relevant to the local process. However, he also stresses that efforts should be made to influence the process, to make them as inclusive as possible.\textsuperscript{87} Furthermore, Adan & Pkalya argues that inclusion alone does not automatically result in inclusive conflict resolution, as it can be hard for marginalised groups, such as women and youth, to participate meaningfully in the LPCs’ operations.\textsuperscript{88} A lack of volunteerism also presents a challenge according to van Tongeren, as it can be hard to fill the committees with competent people since they are not compensated for their work.\textsuperscript{89}

**External Support**

Both externally and internally initiated LPCs usually gain support from the outside, and the quality of the obtained support has an important impact on LPCs’ political legitimacy, as it affects their competence and incidence. National and international partners can help to establish new LPCs as well as to strengthen existing ones. Both new and old LPCs benefit from training, in form of workshops, capacity building etcetera. External funds can also be useful, paying for the initiatives’ running costs. The support that the LPCs need is however not primarily financial. Odendaal and Olivier have identified three main areas, where they argue that support is needed. They believe that LPCs primarily need help with basic orientation, facilitative support and access to national peacebuilding resources.\textsuperscript{90}

**Basic Orientation**

In many cases, post-conflict societies have experienced an authoritarian political culture. Inclusive problem solving is often known but seldom used as a political tool, which makes it important to get a basic orientation of LPCs’ methods. Support with role clarity is especially important, as ambiguity can have a negative effect on communities’ functioning.\textsuperscript{91}

**Access to Facilitation Support**

The local actors that are a part of LPCs can provide important features to the peacebuilding process as they are highly invested in the local conflict and have knowledge of the peoples’ needs. However, they often have insufficient knowledge of the larger conflict situation and peacebuilding processes. This means they either need intensive training, or to be served by

\textsuperscript{87} Odendaal, A (2010) p. 19; Odendaal, A (2010) p. 21
\textsuperscript{89} van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 53
\textsuperscript{90} Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) p. 4 & 22-24
\textsuperscript{91} Odendaal, A (2010) p. 16
professional staff. External help to facilitate or mediate problem-solving processes can therefore be needed.\(^92\)

**Access to National Peacebuilding Resources**

In order to gain value of the local process, and also with the intention to make the national process better informed of the local needs, it can be important for LPCs to be able to request assistance from national actors, or other relevant resources.\(^93\) Both Odendaal and van Tongeren argue that the technical assistance should preferably be positioned within the national peace architecture and not with international organisations.\(^94\) Officials working in this area also need to be supportive of the peacebuilding agenda and posses the basic knowledge of what good peacebuilding practices entails.\(^95\)

**Sustainable Support**

Even though Odendaal and Olivier argue that the need for support is not primarily financial, the training and support that the LPCs need requires funding. The largest budget items are usually for providing technical support, orientation and training of LPC members, and costs of establishing LPC offices.\(^96\) Despite the modest needs, LPCs often face problems securing sufficient and sustainable funding, as the normal funding pattern continues to provide funds for periods of two or three year at a time. A lack of support from national governments and limited support from INGOs can even lead to committees being dissolved. However, van Tongeren notes that many LPCs function without external support, which he argues is due to that the local communities acknowledge LPCs as important structures in building peace.\(^97\)

**Impact of the External Support**

In line with the composition, there is also a general lack of research regarding the impact of external support on the different types of LPCs. In accordance with the previous factor I will use findings from research focusing on the effects of mandate, as the nationally initiated LPCs enjoy a formal mandate. The theory shows that the external support in LPCs with an informal mandate are inevitably more depending on support from NGOs than nationally initiated LPCs, or other LPCs with a formal mandate, as the latter should be ensured access to national

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\(^93\) Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) p. 4
\(^94\) Odendaal, A (2010) p. 16; van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 52
\(^95\) Odendaal, A (2012) p. 47
\(^96\) Odendaal, A (2010) p. 17
\(^97\) van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 52-54 & 58
and other resources. This is true for both the initial facilitation and the ongoing logistical and financial support.\textsuperscript{98}

The external support also points to a couple of challenges that needs to be addressed. According to Odendaal, the external support is a potential threat to the LPCs local ownership. To avoid contra productive interference he argues that the support should aim to build capacity and strengthen local ownership. External support requires in-depth understanding of the demands and dynamics of peace processes, as well as the skills to manage them. By helping LPCs to obtain a high level of competence, external support can also strengthen the legitimacy of the committees.\textsuperscript{99}

**Relation to other factors concerning LPCs**

A lot of the existing literature on I4P is focusing on trying to analyse its key components and identify possibilities and challenges connected to LPCs. By using Odendaal’s key factors, extended with material from other scholars, this thesis gain access to a quite extensive theory, focusing on the structure and functioning of LPCs. By choosing to use these key factors some other factors are however excluded. The I4P litterature usually also include whether LPCs should have ‘teeth’ and if they should be seen as permanent mechanisms.

The question of ‘teeth’ regards how much formal power the LPCs should have.\textsuperscript{100} The research revolves around the committees’ legal power. And even if it in extension could affect the function of LPCs, it has less direct effect on the committees’ structure and functioning. Since most LPCs do not posses formal power the chosen factors also represent more pressing issues. Regarding the committees’ expected lifespan\textsuperscript{101}, it focuses more on the committees’ long-term influence than on the structure and functioning of the committees. These two factors are thus not included in this thesis. Otherwise most important functions and challenges mentioned in the I4P literature are included in the key factors that are used in this thesis.

Consequently, based on this thesis’ aim the theoretical framework focus on factors connected to the structure and functioning of a LPC. I will therefore use the four factors of mandate, role, composition and external support when I analyse the Nakuru Peace Committees.

\textsuperscript{98} Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008) pp. 2 & 9-10
Bringing the Pieces Together – a framework for analysing the structure and functioning of nationally initiated LPCs

This chapter has outlined the theoretical perspective of Peacebuilding from Below, with the theory of I4P as point of departure. Inspired particularly by Lederach\textsuperscript{102} the thesis builds on the assumption that sustainable peace comes from processes that are sufficiently anchored in the conflict-affected society and emphasises the interdependence between the various levels of society when it comes to peacebuilding. Further inspired by Odendaal’s\textsuperscript{103}, van Tongeren’s\textsuperscript{104} and Odendaal and Olivier’s\textsuperscript{105} work on LPCs, I emphasise the importance of creating LPCs with a relevance to the local context. In order to analyse this type of I4P structure I identified four key factors, with an assumed effect on the structure and functioning of LPCs. In order to systematically analyse the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees I focus on (i) mandate; (ii) role; (iii) composition; and (iv) external support. The theoretical framework has been used to structure the material and the analysis.

The first research question of this thesis is (1) What is the nature of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees? In order to answer this, and put the Nakuru Peace Committees in a national peacebuilding context, I focus my research on summaries of events, to provide a condense overview of the course of events that lead to the creation of the Nakuru Peace Committees. In order to answer the two final research questions I focus my research on how the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees are perceived by people working within the system. The second goal of the research is (2) How are the Nakuru Peace Committees’ structured and functioning in terms of their mandate, role, composition and external support? Accordingly, the second objective was to explore different perspectives of the structure and functioning of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees with a focus on the four key factors. The third and final research question is (3) Which theoretical factors can help to explain the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees? And what impact does the findings indicate that the factors have had on the Nakuru Peace Committees as nationally initiated Local Peace Committees? In order to answer this question I focused on looking for meaningful patterns among the perspectives and analysing characteristics, as well as possibilities and challenges, regarding the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees.


\textsuperscript{103} Odendaal, A (2010)

\textsuperscript{104} van Tongeren, P (2013b)

\textsuperscript{105} Odendaal, A & Olivier, R (2008)
The four key factors, and their indicators, have guided the collection of data and the analysis in this thesis. They have been benchmarks in the construction of the interview questions, whose answers have formed the majority part of the empirical material. The theoretical framework raised several questions that were used in the analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees. The following section will elaborate on how the key factors will be used in this thesis, in order to answer the research questions.

The first factor, mandate, is essentially addressing the effects that the mandate has on LPCs’ legitimacy. By breaking up the features that the theoretical framework suggests are connected to LPCs with a formal or informal mandate, it raises questions concerning how the mandate is perceived to affect the LPCs’ relations, ability to work and legitimacy. The theoretical framework also puts focus on the committees’ perceived legitimacy in the local context.

The second factor, role, has a close relationship to the mandate and involves exploring its potential to affect the functioning and lifespan of LPCs. It raises questions regarding how LPCs are defined in relation to other state institutions. It also raises questions regarding how their relationship towards local state institutions is perceived, as the theoretical framework suggests that this could be an indicator of how well the roles are clarified.

The third factor, composition, addresses the factors assumed influence on the means and methods of LPCs’ operation. The factor raises questions concerning which groups that are included in the committees and how the members’ passion and knowledge is perceived. It also raises questions regarding how the composition is seen and if the composition is perceived to have brought any challenges.

The forth factor, external support, explores the factors assumed affect on the quality and efficiency of LPCs, as well as the number of committees. It raises questions of how the external support is structured and who provides it. It also raises questions regarding if the support is perceived to be sufficient.

This approach enables a deeper understanding of how the committees are structured and functioning from the perspective of the people that are working in them. A more detailed description of how I carry out the analysis is presented in the next chapter. There I will elaborate on how I structured the empirical analysis by conducting interviews and documental research based on these four factors and their indicators, in order to analyse the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees.
METHOD & MATERIAL

In this chapter I discuss the choices I have made concerning the thesis’ method and material, in order to study the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees. The chapter initially provides an account of the study’s research design and motivates the chosen case. After that, I explain how this approach has been used to answer the research questions. I also explain how I conducted the case study analysis and describe the material that has been used.

Research Design

A Qualitative Case Study Strategy

This thesis uses a qualitative case study strategy, with the purpose to provide a detailed and intensive analysis of one case.\textsuperscript{106} I explore and analyse nationally initiated Peace Committees by focusing on the Peace Committees in the Nakuru County in Kenya. By choosing this approach, it becomes possible to provide an in-depth description, and a better understanding, of the Nakuru Peace Committees and their structure and functioning.\textsuperscript{107} In addition to generate understanding of the specific case, a case study design can be used to inform policy development, professional practice and civil or community action.\textsuperscript{108}

In this thesis, I conduct what can be described as explaining research, with the aim to be \textit{theory developing}, by conducting a case study analysis that can create a deeper understanding of LPCs and their possibilities and problems.\textsuperscript{109} This is conceivable as the approach makes it possible to explore the contemporary case and provide a better understanding of the context, which is important when dealing with peacebuilding.\textsuperscript{110} The use of qualitative data therefore goes beyond simple descriptions of the phenomenon and attempts to create understanding as well as to interpret and critically analyse data.\textsuperscript{111}

However, by choosing a single case design Yin\textsuperscript{112} argues that the research loses some analytical benefits associated with studies that use several cases, as the single case research

\textsuperscript{108} Simons, H (2009) p. 21
\textsuperscript{109} Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) \textit{Metodpraktikan}, 4\textsuperscript{th} edition. Stockholm: Norstedts Juridik AB, pp. 37 & 42
\textsuperscript{110} Simons, H (2009) p. 20
\textsuperscript{112} Yin, R (2009) pp. 47-48 & 61
does not have the opportunity to perform either direct or theoretical replications. The analytical conclusions are thus not as powerful as comparative case studies. However, he claims that a single case study is appropriate in some cases. Among others, he argues that it is preferable when working with what he calls revelatory cases. As these cases provides an opportunity to observe and analyse phenomena that have not previously been subject to social science inquiry they can form significant case studies, as few scientists have had the opportunity to investigate these issues. Considering the relatively scarce research on the area of nationally initiated LPCs this study can be seen as a revelatory case, and is thus viable as a case study, without comparative ambitions. Combining the scarce research on this field with the short duration of time and space that is provided, a case study with a single case design was therefore the most suitable approach for this thesis.

A potential vulnerability to the single-case design, according to Yin\textsuperscript{113}, nevertheless is that a case may turn out to be misrepresentative or that access to collect case study evidence is made impossible. He therefore suggests careful investigations before committing to a case, in order to minimise the risks. The next section is dedicated to this thesis’ chosen case, and includes explanations and a discussion regarding the possibility to generalise from the findings of the thesis.

**Why Kenya and Why Nakuru?**

In choosing which case to focus on I took into account theoretical, empirical and practical considerations. Priority was given to the theoretical considerations. I wanted to find what Esaiasson et al. would call a critical case, with favourable conditions for a well functioning LPC system.\textsuperscript{114} I thus found the Kenyan context interesting since van Tongeren has cited the country as an example of pioneers in establishing I4Ps. Furthermore, he stresses that Kenya has experienced one of the longest and most intense consultation processes to establish an I4P at all levels and sectors of society. Van Tongeren also states that Kenya represents a case were a locally initiated LPC managed to produce results that eventually even contributed to a national policy and peace infrastructure.\textsuperscript{115} With its highly developed nationally initiated LPC structure, and its early, extensive and successful I4P, Kenya represents a critical case and provides an interesting context for my thesis in relation to I4P in general, and nationally initiated LPCs in particular.\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{113} Yin, R (2009) pp. 49-50
\textsuperscript{114} Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) pp. 161-162
\textsuperscript{115} van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 41 & 55-56
\textsuperscript{116} Odendaal, A (2010) pp. 40-41
To be able to study nationally initiated LPCs within a short period of time and with limited space, a well-defined case was needed. In order to decide on a case, I applied the principle of most intensity in the sampling.\textsuperscript{117} I thus looked for a county with particularly intensive experience of the national initiation of LPCs. Since Kenya gave priority to the Rift Valley region when they implemented the committees, because of intense violence during the post-election violence of 2007/2008, I decided to use committees from that region.\textsuperscript{118} The process of selecting a specific county was then made with empirical and practical considerations. Based on the fact that there is a general lack of material regarding LPCs, I finally had to rely my decision on the availability of relevant and reliable contacts. The final decision to focus on the Nakuru Peace Committees was made because they represent an illustrative example of a nationally initiated LPC structure in Kenya. The decision was however made possible by the amount of contacts and commitment that I was able to gain from relevant persons in this specific county.

By focusing my research on the Nakuru Peace Committees it is possible to gain insight into the structure and functioning of a nationally initiated LPC structure and the chance to analyse the committees’ possibilities and challenges. However, since this is a single-case study it is hard to make, what Simons calls, formal generalisations, as cases in political science are not independent of place and context. It is nevertheless my aim that it should be possible to transfer the findings of this case to other cases and for them to be used by others, making what Simons calls \textit{conceptual generalisations} from the results. It should therefore be possible to use the conclusions from this research when examining nationally initiated LPCs in other contexts.\textsuperscript{119} I thus argue that this approach will provide viable information with support in Gerring’s\textsuperscript{120} argument that intense studies of a single case can shed light on a larger set of cases. By an intense study of the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, I therefore hope to contribute to the development of the knowledge of nationally initiated LPCs. This thesis thus aims to conduct an \textit{instrumental} case study, where the chosen case gain insight and understanding into something else.\textsuperscript{121}

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\textsuperscript{117} Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) pp. 259-260
\textsuperscript{118} Odendaal, A (2010) p. 41
\textsuperscript{119} Simons, H (2009) pp. 164-165
The Case Study Analysis

The theoretical insight presented in Chapter 2 suggests that four factors can be assumed to affect the structure and functioning of LPCs. The four factors that are used in this thesis are the committee’s (i) mandate; (ii) role; (iii) composition; and (iv) external support. Based on these factors, I have conducted my inquiry into the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees. The theoretical framework has thereby had a great influence on both the collection of material and the analysis of the case.

When performing the case study analysis I used the general analytical strategies that Yin\(^\text{122}\) recommends. I thus relied on theoretical propositions, as the theory helps to focus the attention to certain data and to ignore other data that is not relevant to the theoretical framework of this thesis. Accordingly, the key factors structured the construction of the questions for the interviews, as well as the case study analysis.

I used Yin’s\(^\text{123}\) advised process to ask questions to the material in order to analyse the thesis’ case study data. To be able to use the information retrieved from the questionnaires to answer the research questions I also followed the advice of Esaiasson et al.\(^\text{124}\) and summarised the interviews into short case reports but used the questions that the theoretical framework raised, previously discussed in the final section of the theoretical chapter, to structure the process. As Kvale\(^\text{125}\) suggests, I used categorisations to further sum up the material when it was possible to connect it to categories. For example, I connected the respondents’ perspective to the theoretical framework by using theoretical indicators connected to locally or externally initiated LPCs when it was possible to detect such indications in the material. By using the theoretical framework I was thus able to explore the accumulated material’s connection to the theory. The approach enabled me to explore different perspectives of the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, as well as the possibilities and challenges that the committees are facing regarding their structure and functioning. The following section will elaborate upon how this approach has been used to answer the questions raised by the theoretical framework.

For example, in order to connect the Nakuru Peace Committees’ composition to the theoretical framework’s suggested distinction between locally and externally initiated LPCs, I focused my analysis on if the committees include representatives from political parties,
government bodies and security forces or if it is predominated by civil society presence. It also encouraged me to explore the respondents’ perspective on the committee members’ personal passion and peacebuilding capacity. The material indicates that the committees contain representatives from all groups connected to an externally initiated committee. It also indicates that the committees are perceived to include competent members. By comparing the respondents’ perspectives to the theoretical frameworks categorisation, the case study analysis suggests that the groups that are included in the committees are consistent with what the theoretical framework connects to a nationally initiated, or other externally initiated LPCs. It also suggests that the Nakuru Peace Committees seem to have avoided the negatively effect of less passionate and knowledgeable members, that is attributed to externally initiated LPCs.

The case study analysis is primarily based on different perspectives on the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, provided by the interviews. Therefore, the material is able to provide new and insightful information about how the Nakuru Peace Committees are perceived from the inside. However, individual perceptions are subjective. While this means that they cannot be considers as wrong, it also makes it impossible to handle the information as facts. The respondents’ perspectives are thus seen as indications, used to gain a better insight into the Nakuru Peace Committees’ political legitimacy, by exploring the perspective of people working within the local peacebuilding structure. Additionally, as the approach makes it possible to display different perceptions of how the committees are perceived the approach is argued to provide interesting material and is argued to be viable for the purpose of this thesis.

In addition to facts and perspectives, the interview material also provides an opportunity to analyse how the respondents rationalise their perceptions. By exploring the examples and elaborations that the respondents choose, the interview material can bring a sense of the respondents’ positive or negative stances, by what they chose to emphasise. For example, by summarising how a respondent has chosen to describe the mandate’s effect and legitimacy, it is possible to provide an indication of the respondents’ general perspective of the LPCs mandate. As this type of efforts, trying to interpret latent meanings in the material, are argued to be more or less speculative by Esaiasson et al. I make no claim of being able to draw any extensive conclusions from these interpretations. Instead they are merely seen as speculative but interesting indications.

126 Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) p. 271
After analysing the interview material I asked the same questions and used the same approach analysing the primary sources in the written documentation. When all the material had been reviewed, I processed the information with the goal to find more general patterns as Esaiasson et al. puts it. Based on the gathered empirical material and this utilisation I have then been able to provide a comprehensive view of the respondents’ perspectives of how the Nakuru Peace Committee is structured and functioning in relation to its mandate, role, composition and external support.

**Material**

In order to carry out the case study analysis and find informative sources I have conducted interviews and used written documentation to describe the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees. The interview material includes interviews with a number of people with a profound insight in the work of the Nakuru Peace Committees, or other LPCs in Kenya. The written documentation includes primary sources, produced by the Kenyan government and the UN’s Development Programme (UNDP). It also includes secondary sources in the form of research articles and web based information.

**Finding Informative and Reliable Sources**

The process of finding informative and reliable sources encountered several obstacles. Distinguished scholars like van Tongeren and Odendaal stress that there is little independent LPC research and documentation available. They also argue that it is very hard to get information on the effect of LPCs. Thus, even if Kenya’s I4P is relatively well documented compared to other countries, the same problem is evident in regards to this case. The National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management (NSC), which has been responsible for the Kenyan LPCs since 2002, also has the rule that they require clearance from several agencies in order to assist researchers or students. Therefore, the empirical data that was possible to access was limited.

Additionally, the available documentation did not provide thorough documentation regarding the structure and functioning of specific committees and consequently did not enable a thorough analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees. The empirical material of this thesis therefore mainly consists of information retrieved from interviews with people directly involved in the Nakuru Peace Committees, or people working in other Kenyan LPCs.

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127 Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) p. 272
Available documentation from the government and other sources have also been used. They have mainly provided background and context to my research but have also, to a minor extent, been used to compare with information retrieved from the interviews. This thesis is thus conducted without field visits and further, field-based, research is desirable. Table 2 provides an overview of the material that has been used.

**Tabel 2 – Types of sources used**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Members of the Nakuru Peace Committees, as insider respondents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People involved in other LPCs, as outsider respondents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Standard Guidelines and Terms of References for Peace Structures in Kenya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The National Peacebuilding and Conflict Management Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNDP CPAP Outcome Evaluation 2012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Web based material</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The use of multiple sources has a positive impact on the materials reliability. By using the same questions, and cross-reference it with available documents, the findings are considered more reliable than findings based on a single source.\(^\text{129}\) Additionally, a critical approach has been adopted in relation to the sources and their reliability. Research that is focusing on the structure and functioning of nationally initiated local peacebuilding initiatives risk to encounter sources that wishes to project a certain picture, especially since these questions could be perceived as sensitive to powerful players, such as the government and large international donors. I have therefore been cautious and strived to avoid distorted or biased information, weighing different sources. Thus, in order to improve the gathering and analysis of information, source criticism has been a valuable tool.\(^\text{130}\) This includes both external and internal analysis of the sources. The sources used in this thesis have therefore been assessed by for example establishing their origin and intended audience, analysing their content and reliability and by trying to identify possible biases.\(^\text{131}\) In order to make these assessments and

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\(^{129\text{ Yin (2009) p. 116}}\)


\(^{131\text{ Dulić, T (2011) pp. 38-41}}\)
address the potential problems of unreliable and biased sources, I have used the methodological tool of source criticism methods.

**Interviews**

Interviews are the central source of information in this thesis. They have been described as one of the most common methods in qualitative research.\(^\text{132}\) Interviews can be used for different purposes, but they are in general used to provide new and insightful information, as well as to obtain different perspectives about the phenomenon that is being studied in a comprehensive and in-depth way.\(^\text{133}\) They provide an opportunity to gather information from the respondents’ perspective and focus on what they perceive as important. It becomes possible to gain insight into the respondents’ reflections and understanding of the phenomenon and also makes it possible to focus directly on the chosen topic.\(^\text{134}\)

**The Sample**

To create a comprehensive picture of the structure and functioning of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committee structure, the purpose of the interviews was to gain access to both the respondents’ knowledge of and their perspective on the committees. The interview participants are thus used as both informants and respondents, as Esaiasson et al.\(^\text{135}\) would call them, since both approaches provide important information about the theoretical factors that are used in this thesis. In order to avoid confusion, the participants will be referred to as respondents for the purpose of this thesis.

The sample was primarily based on the respondents’ central role in the work of the Nakuru Peace Committees, a principle that is often used in informative interviews.\(^\text{136}\) I therefore wanted to get insights from people with extensive knowledge and experience of the LPCs’ work. I however also tried to apply the principle of maximal variation, often used in respondent interviews.\(^\text{137}\) The chosen respondents consequently represent different background, gender and experience. By using this principle the sample therefore covers as many views and perspectives as possible considering the survey’s relatively small sample. In order to conduct my research, it was therefore crucial to establish contact with people that

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\(^\text{134}\) Ritchie, J & Lewis, J (2003) pp. 36-37

\(^\text{135}\) Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) p. 227

\(^\text{136}\) Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) p. 258

\(^\text{137}\) Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) pp. 261 & 264
could act as gate-openers. Once these initial contacts were made I got referred to the people that I wished to get in contact with, or other persons that they thought might be of relevance for the study. The final sample thus includes participants that are relevant for my research considering their involvement in the Nakuru Peace Committees or other Kenyan LPCs, but that differ in other prerequisites. Several of the respondents are also key persons in their LPC structures.

My initial plan was to interview both members of the committees and representatives of the NSC, which initiated the LPCs. When I tried to establish contacts that could give me the official perspective, I however came to understand that a clearance would be needed. This process would cost both time and money. I then decided to abstain from researching the government’s perspective of the LPC structure. I instead tried to obtain the view of international donors that are participating in the NSC. UNDP officials were then contacted, but they needed permission to be able to participate in my research and despite several inquiries, this never yielded any results. Therefore, the focus of this thesis is mainly local, extended by some official policy documents.

For this thesis, eight questionnaires were in the end sent out. Out of these eight, five recipients were working in or have experience from working with the Nakuru Peace Committees. In addition to them, two persons had experience from working with other LPCs in the Rift Valley region and one had experience from working in a LPC in another region. Out of the eight questionnaires, five were sent back to me. The final material therefore consists of three respondents working with LPCs in the Nakuru County, and they will be called insider respondents in this thesis. The two additional respondents, with experience from working with other Kenyan LPCs, will be called outsider respondents in this thesis. As I originally contacted several of the respondents through gatekeepers I could not promise them complete anonymity as they could be indirectly attributed to information or citations in the thesis. Therefore, their identity will not be revealed in the published material.

As the interview material mainly focuses on the respondents’ perspective on the structure and functioning of the LPCs it remains a viable source, despite the quite low number of received responses. However, it would have been beneficiary to retrieve additional questionnaires. But as the respondents provide quite consistent answers I argue that the interview material is useful in analysing the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees. The contradicting perspectives then further contribute to our knowledge of this scarcely researched area. Additionally, the outsider respondents also contribute to our knowledge of the nationally initiated LPCs since they provide some initial indications of how
the members of the Nakuru Peace Committees’ perspective coincide with the perspective of members of other committees.

Why this Approach?
When I decided to perform the interviews through a questionnaire, considerations were made to several factors that Esaiasson et al.\textsuperscript{138} have stressed as important. Priority was given to availability, and I thus focused on obtaining a good answering frequency. In contrast to the advice given by the authors, my initial inquiries however indicated that I would get the best answering frequency if I assembled my questions in a questionnaire. This approach also kept the costs down and is argued to be viable when using questions that can be perceived as sensitive, as it provides more anonymity and allows time for in-depth reflections. Furthermore, it limits undesirable interview effects, such as my unconscious impact, on the respondents by limiting my interactions with them. However, it is very hard to rule out that the respondents have adapted their answers considering for example my ethnicity and gender. As this is very hard to prevent, according to Esaiasson et al., this has not been compensated for, but is merely kept in mind. The predominately positive effects of the chosen approach meant that other factors, such as the number of respondents, that normally should have affected the decision, had little impact on my decision to use questionnaires.

However, there were also other factors that normally influence a decision to choose an interview approach that advice against my approach, which yielded some difficulties that had to be dealt with. Esaiasson et al.\textsuperscript{139} advocate that complex questions should be asked in personal interviews. My approach thus meant that I had to keep the questions as simple as possible. Furthermore, the respondents’ limited time meant that I had to hold the number of questions down in order to improve the answering frequency. The questionnaire thus had to ask simple and short questions about complex peacebuilding processes. In order to avoid misunderstandings I sometimes put information in brackets, to provide the respondents with an idea of how I intended the question. My intention was to make sure that the material stayed focused on the theoretical factors, without providing the respondents with predetermined answering alternative. See Appendix for examples. Esaiasson et al.\textsuperscript{140} also note that it is easier to have control over the answering situation in personal interviews. I therefore tried to establish a personal relation to the respondents, hoping that it would help to get the

\textsuperscript{138} Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) pp. 233-236
\textsuperscript{139} Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) pp. 234-36
\textsuperscript{140} Esaiasson, P et al. (2012) p. 235
respondents invested in my research. And as the control over the answering situation is not normally considered a serious problem I have not compensated for it.

**Written Documentation**

The other source of information that is used in this thesis is written documentation. Written sources play an important role in most case studies, and can include a variety of written texts. Yin argues that documents have the advantages that they for example can be reviewed repeatedly; often include detailed information about past events; and were not written with the research project in mind.\(^{141}\) I thus used the primary sources by studying the existing documents in order to understand what they say about the structure and functioning of the Kenyan LPCs. In this thesis the primary sources are used to complement, and to elaborate on, the information gained from the interviews. Furthermore, Simons note that documentary sources have the potential to add depth to the research by focusing on the context and contribute to an analysis of the issue. It could thus be a helpful precursor to interviews, in order to understand the context.\(^{142}\) In this thesis, large parts of the written documentation therefore have been vital in providing the larger historical and contemporary context, in which the Nakuru Peace Committees were built, and in answering the thesis first research question.

Yin\(^ {143}\) however also points out some weaknesses connected to documentary sources. In accordance with his assumptions, I have had problems finding relevant and available material regarding the Kenyan LPCs. The access to existing material has also been highly restricted by the rules and regulations of the Kenyan government and the UN system. I am also aware of my own role and have tried to avoid other weaknesses that Yin point out, such as bias selectivity and reporting from me as a researcher.

For this thesis, I have used documents from primary sources such as official documents, like the *Standard Guidelines and Terms of References for Peace Structures in Kenya*\(^ {144}\) and the *National Peacebuilding and Conflict Management Policy*\(^ {145}\), and an evaluation from the UNDP\(^ {146}\). The material also includes secondary sources in the form of research articles and some web bases material. I thus argue that the written documentation is useful in analysing the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees as it

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\(^{141}\) Yin, R (2009) pp. 101-103

\(^{142}\) Simons, H (2009) p. 63

\(^{143}\) Yin, R (2009) p. 102


complements the interviews by putting the committees in the context of nationally initiated LPCs in Kenya. The written documentation also contributes to the knowledge of this scarcely researched area by making it possible to explore some initial indications of how the Kenyan government envisions the national LPC structure and how the UNDP’s perspective on the committees can be compared to the respondents’ perception.

In the first three chapters of this thesis I have set the stage and narrowed the scope of the study and presented the analytical tools used to answer the research questions presented in the first chapter. In the next chapter I turn to the empirical part of the thesis, presenting a general context and then focusing on the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees.
- Chapter 4 -

LOCAL PEACE COMMITTEES

This chapter explores and analyses the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees. The chapter initially presents a short historic and contemporary account of the emergence of the national Kenyan LPC system, identifying some of the main actors and events since the early 1990’s, offering a deeper understanding of the Kenyan system and the events that lead to the creation of the Nakuru Peace Committees. Thereafter, the main part of the chapter focuses on the contemporary structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees. It explores different perspectives on the structure and functioning of Nakuru Peace Committees, structured by the theoretical framework.

The Road from Wajir to the Nationally Initiated LPCs

When Odendaal presented his list of key factors he was very careful to stress that the one thing that primarily determines the legitimacy of a Peace Committee is its specific context. The next section of this chapter will therefore provide a short description of how the Kenyan I4P, and its LPCs, came to be.

During the early 1990’s, a highly destructive and violent conflict raged in the district of Wajir, in the Northeast region of Kenya. The conflict was set between different clans and led to more than 1200 deaths over a period of four years. In 1993 a group of women met at the market place and started to work together to stop the violence. Their discussion resulted in an impressive peacemaking process. A group of civil society actors was created with the purpose to advocate peace. They engaged the elders of the different clans and started a mediation process. The process resulted in a code of conduct, which effectively stopped the violence. In order to formalise the initiative, the Wajir Peace and Development Committee was formed in 1995. The committee included representatives of the district administration, various peace groups, religious leaders, NGO representatives, traditional chiefs and security officers. This committee had the District Commissioner as chairperson.147

Van Tongeren argues that much of the success of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee was due to its ability to engage both traditional leadership and government representatives. The committee thus facilitated greater government responsiveness to the

147 van Tongeren, P (2013b) pp. 41-42
population’s needs. The success of the committee soon led to the spread of the model to other northern districts. International donors, NGOs and the National Council of Churches in Kenya became involved. They facilitated and supported the establishing of LPCs. However, the quite uncoordinated implementation process had negative effects. Sometimes, several peace committees were set up in the same district, using different models. The efforts were ad hoc and lacked a viable institutional policy framework to mobilize, coordinate and consolidate various initiatives. In 2001 the government of Kenya however established the NSC as an inter-agency within the Ministry of Interior and Coordination of national government, in the Office of the President. The objective was to formulate a national policy on conflict management and to coordinate various peacebuilding initiatives, including the LPCs. The NSC represents one of the four components of the Kenyan I4P and seeks to strengthen, co-ordinate and integrate various conflict management initiatives with the government and civil society organisations (CSOs), in Kenya and across the borders. The NSC gathers a quite extensive list of representatives from the government, UN agencies and international, regional and civil society organisations, as well as other development partners.

During the post-election violence in 2007/2008, communities with functional LPCs managed to rapidly gain control over the violence, or prevent the violence from escalating. The communities with functioning committees therefore experienced less violence than other districts. This was especially noticed in the northern part of Kenya. In response to the period of violence there was a growing recognition and institutionalisation of traditional and community based peace structures, like Peace Committees. After the violence the National Accord and Reconciliation Act of 2008 acknowledged the impact of local peacebuilding and sought to build on it. The national government then decided to implement the structure in all

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148 van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 42
149 Odendaal, A (2010) p. 40
150 NSC (2013a) History & Background. (web page) 2013-11-12
151 van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 42; NSC (2013b) NSC Secretariat. (web page) 2013-11-12

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districts, but with priority given to the Rift Valley region, where most of the violence had occurred.\textsuperscript{155}

As early as in 2004, the NSC had started the process of developing a national policy on peacebuilding and conflict management, with an initial framework.\textsuperscript{156} The final draft was published in December 2011.\textsuperscript{157} The national policy is envisioning a national I4P, including a National Peace Council and a complementary Secretariat, County Peace Secretariat, National and County Peace Forums, Local Peace Committees and a Mediation Support Unit.\textsuperscript{158} The process of formulating this national policy has however proven to be politically complicated and Kenya is still waiting for the parliament to formally adopt it. The process has however seen progress and the parliamentary adoption is now seen as a formality since the policy is currently being implemented, with the authority of the Cabinet.\textsuperscript{159}

Since the Implementaion of the Nationally Initiated LPC Structure

Since the post-election violence in 2007/2008 Kenya has experienced two calm elections. First, they had the constitutional referendum in 2010.\textsuperscript{160} Then there was the general election earlier this year. Kenya has managed to avoid a repeat of the post-election violence, despite various shortcomings, allegations of irregularities and similar inter-ethnic tension.\textsuperscript{161} A UNDP evaluation from 2012 indicates that the LPCs have had a positive effect on the conflict situation, due to their contribution to reduced frequency of conflicts, early detection of potential violence, as well as harmony and synergy in peacebuilding efforts among state and non-state actors. The same evaluation however also notes the difficulty to measure the effects, as there is a lack of cumulative figures to show progress towards the outcomes.\textsuperscript{162}

Kenya’s leading business association estimated the economic losses from the post-election violence in 2007/2008 at 3.6 billion US dollars. In comparison, the total cost of the UNDP-supported violence prevention efforts tallied to 5 million US dollars in the 2010 election. These efforts still managed to identify and prevent nearly 150 incidents of violence.\textsuperscript{163} Further, the UNDP evaluation indicates that the Kenyan I4P structure, with the

\textsuperscript{155} Odendaal, A (2010) p. 41; van Tongeren, P (2013b) p. 42
\textsuperscript{157} Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security (2011)
\textsuperscript{158} Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security (2011) p. 38-43
\textsuperscript{159} Interview (2014) Follow-up interview with a member of the Nakuru Peace Committees. January 2014
\textsuperscript{160} van Tongeren, P (2013a) p. 117
\textsuperscript{162} UNDP Kenya (2012) pp. 29 & 48
\textsuperscript{163} van Tongeren, P (2011) p. 50
NSC in charge, has managed to create a more coordinated process and has thus saved resources. The NSC has also managed to establish 150 LPCs around Kenya, exceeding the target of 50 new committees. However, Odendaal has raised concerns that the process of copying the successful Wajir Peace and Development Committee has resulted in weakened local ownership and effectiveness.\textsuperscript{164}

**The Nakuru Peace Committees**

The Nakuru Peace Committees are examples of nationally initiated LPCs in Kenya. As such, they are concrete examples of the Kenyan I4P efforts. Since Kenya is experiencing transition to a devolved government, the Nakuru County Peace Committee is yet to be formed.\textsuperscript{165} The Nakuru County however have functioning LPCs in all of the counties’ nine districts.\textsuperscript{166} The first LPC in Nakuru was established in 2008, and by 2009 the rest were established.\textsuperscript{167} This section of the chapter will elaborate on different perspectives of the specific case of the Nakuru Peace Committees, with references to the situation in the larger Kenyan LPC system.

**Mandate**

The Nakuru Peace Committees are nationally initiated LPCs with a mandate provided by the Kenyan government. The committees are as such examples of externally initiated LPCs with a formal mandate. The Kenyan government issued a set of *Standard Guidelines and Terms of References for Peace Structures in Kenya* in 2009, through the NSC. The guidelines are also referenced to in the final draft of the *National Policy on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management* from 2011 and include all Kenya’s Peace Committees, at various administrative levels, and provide them with an overriding mandate.\textsuperscript{168}

\begin{quote}
“The overriding mandate of Peace Committees is to coordinate, harmonize and facilitate peace and nation building programs in the respective administrative unit.”\textsuperscript{169}
\end{quote}

The mandate also includes a quite extensive list of more specific functions that the committees are expected to perform. The responsibilities range from promoting peace to monitoring, evaluating and reporting on peace and nation building programs with a variety of effort. The Kenyan Peace Committees should also support and oversee initiatives, mobilise

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\textsuperscript{164} Odendaal, A (2010) p. 14  
\textsuperscript{165} Interview (2013c) with a member of the Nakuru Peace Committees. November 2013  
\textsuperscript{166} Interview (2014)  
\textsuperscript{167} Interview (2013c) with a member of the Nakuru Peace Committees. November 2013  
\textsuperscript{168} NSC (2009); Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security (2011) p. 41  
\textsuperscript{169} NSC (2009) p. 12
resources, provide leadership and help develop peacebuilding components. The Standard Guidelines are being revised at the moment, in order to accord to the two-tied government levels of national and county governments. But they still impact the LPCs and are frequently referred to.

The Nakuru Peace Committees are perceived to work as non-political structures, with a mandate that makes it possible to deal with all issues regarding for example conflicts, early warning and early response. The outsider respondents also note that the relationship between the government and the Kenyan LPCs has improved significantly, compared with the relationship between the government and the first locally initiated LPCs in Kenya.

“In early 2000s, the government was unhappy with the work of DPCs because it argued that security (peace) matters are the matters of the government and not of “old men”... But after the PEV [post-election violence], the government is now receptive of DPCs partly because they play a greater role in resolving inter-communal conflicts, the very role the government should be playing.”

The Kenyan committees also seem to gain more legitimacy, as one outsider respondent express that they are “increasingly being seen as legitimate local peace building structures with connections to the grassroots.” Furthermore, they do no longer stand under the direct influence on the District Commissioner but are in fact perceived as autonomous.

In Nakuru, one insider respondent argued that the committees are legitimate since they are a “… recognized and trusted structure in peace building and conflict management.” They are also argued to be legitimate on the grounds that they can call meetings where they address conflict issues in public, with the help from communal power players. In general, the Kenyan LPCs seems to be regarded as legitimate peacebuilding structures as well, as the outsider respondents perceive them to be recognised by both the government and the community. The legitimacy also seems to be connected to the members and how they are selected, as one outsider respondent argues that LPCs have legitimacy in the local context because:

171 Interview (2013a) with a person involved in other Kenyan LPCs. November 2013
172 Interview (2013a); Interview (2013e)
173 Interview (2013c); Interview (2013e)
174 Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b)
175 Interview (2013a)
176 Interview (2013a)
177 Interview (2013b) with a person involved in other Kenyan LPCs. November 2013
178 Interview (2013c)
179 Interview (2013e)
180 Interview (2013a);
“… their election/selection/nomination is seen as a fair process, its membership in most cases represent the legitimate faces of the localities they come from and utmost also accessible.”\textsuperscript{181}

The perception is however not unanimous as one insider respondent argues that legitimacy is connected to the government’s efforts on the ground and thus find that the committees are not legitimate since the LPC system is not perceived to have received the government’s fully support.\textsuperscript{182}

A problem that affects the work of the Nakuru Peace Committees is that politicians are increasingly interfering with the committees. In some instances, politicians have tried to use the LPCs as platforms for political campaigning.\textsuperscript{183} This seems to be a widespread problem in Kenya as similar concerns are lifted in other accounts made by outsider respondents. One outsider respondent even describes how politicians have tried to disband LPCs that oppose them.\textsuperscript{184}

**Role**

The Kenyan LPCs are carrying out their mandate by peace dialogues, meetings, negotiation and mediation and their role also include rapid response.\textsuperscript{185} The work is carried out with the support from the national government, which is providing the committees with quarterly funds through the NSC. They are also supported through county governments, CSOs, international organisations such as UNDP, development cooperation agencies such as the US Agency for International Development and NGOs such as SafeWorld, PeaceNet and the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes as well as by business people, in need of a safe community to be able to manage their operation.\textsuperscript{186} In conformity with the nationally declared role, the Nakuru Peace Committees carry out their work by conducting meetings and creating dialogue, mediation and reconciliation. They also receive both government and non-government support.\textsuperscript{187}

In Nakuru, the insider respondents’ general perception was that the committees’ role is well defined.\textsuperscript{188} As one respondent puts is:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{181} Interview (2013a)
\item \textsuperscript{182} Interview (2013d) with a member of the Nakuru Peace Committees. November 2013
\item \textsuperscript{183} Interview (2013c)
\item \textsuperscript{184} Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b)
\item \textsuperscript{185} Interview (2013a); Interview (2013c)
\item \textsuperscript{186} Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b); Interview (2013d)
\item \textsuperscript{187} Interview (2013c)
\item \textsuperscript{188} Interview (2013c); Interview (2013d); Interview (2013e)
\end{itemize}
Another insider respondent yet refers to the National Peace Policy when arguing for a clear role stipulation. The peace policy however states that the Standard Guidelines should guide the committees’ operations.

The outsider respondents however show less confidence regarding the role of the LPCs in Kenya. Even if they perceive that the government is increasingly recognising the LPCs, they see remaining challenges in the relationship towards other state institutions.

One of them said:

“The National Government seems to be the only one recognizing the existence of DPCs. The Judiciary recognises councils of elders and the Police supports Community Policing activities. The County Government also seems to recognize Community Policing and even has a budget allocation of Community Policing Authority. In my opinion there is duplication in this processes.”

The raised concerns are supported by the UNDP evaluation, arguing that the role of the Kenyan LPCs is not sufficiently defined. The report raises examples where LPCs in some places have taken on the role of the local chiefs. It also argues that this has had an undesirable effect on the relationship between the provincial administration and the committees, with negative consequences for the peace work.

**Composition**

The Standard Guidelines state that the Peace Committees are hybrid institutions where traditional and formal mechanisms for conflict resolution merge. The guidelines stress that the composition should vary depending on local circumstances and that the principles of diversity and non-discrimination preferably should be taken into consideration. However, as a general guideline, the members should be drawn from community representatives, CSOs, women, youth, people with disabilities, representatives from the private sector and any other actors that can be useful in the peace process. Each administration unit have the authority to determine the number of members in each committee, but they may not exceed 15 members.

The Standard Guidelines also state that the Security and Intelligence Committees shall serve

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189 Interview (2013e)
190 Interview (2013c)
191 Ministry of State for Provincial Administration and Internal Security (2011) p. 41
192 Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b)
193 Interview (2013b)
194 UNDP Kenya (2012) p. 31
as Ex-Officio members of the Peace Committees and the District Commissioners and District Officers shall serve as the Patrons of the LPCs at the District and Divisional levels respectively.\textsuperscript{195}

In Nakuru the composition of the first LPCs originally included disputing parties, representatives of the middle ground, civil society, women, youth, political parties, government representatives, security forces and experts on peacebuilding. Then, later in 2008, the committees were restructured to make room for a relevant community representation. In 2010, the Nakuru LPCs were restructured again. The change was based on the experiences from constructing the committees and in preparation for the general election in 2013. This meant that the membership format changed, explicitly including youth, women, disabled and civil society/faith based organisations into the committees’ 15 members.\textsuperscript{196} The current composition includes civil society, women, youth, representatives for the government and security forces, experts on peacebuilding, business people, and representatives for religious communities and the academia.\textsuperscript{197} The residents decide the composition locally with help from the Provincial Administration, which includes the chiefs, assistant chiefs, Divisional Officers, the District Commissioner and County Commissioner.\textsuperscript{198} The composition is also based on the analysis of conflict triggers.\textsuperscript{199}

The outsider respondents support the insider respondents’ perspective on the LPCs’ composition. They describe the composition of other Kenyan LPCs with a focus on local representation, which provides a quite diverse composition by including government officials, women, youth, religious leaders and persons with disabilities. They also support the insider respondents’ perception that the selection of committee members is a local process with national regulations.\textsuperscript{200} However, the outsider respondents note that politicians have tried to manipulate the composition of LPCs, especially in committees established after the post-election violence.\textsuperscript{201}

"Where membership is decided through elections, some politicians also try as much as possible to push their cronies into DPC membership. This is particularly the case in DPCs that were established after PEV [post-election violence]."\textsuperscript{202}

\textsuperscript{195} NSC (2009) pp. 10 & 14-15
\textsuperscript{196} Interview (2013e)
\textsuperscript{197} Interview (2013c); Interview (2013d)
\textsuperscript{198} Interview (2013d)
\textsuperscript{199} Interview (2013e)
\textsuperscript{200} Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b)
\textsuperscript{201} Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b)
\textsuperscript{202} Interview (2013a)
Most of the Nakuru Peace Committees are led by representatives from the resident community. As an example, the leader in Nakuru Town was selected out of three names that were presented to the District Commissioner, as the patron of the Organisation, after being vetted for the Security Committee. The outsider respondents indicate that it is common to find locals as leaders, not only in Nakuru, but of LPCs in the rest of the country as well. One of the outsider respondents has experience from a committee headed by an elder.

The insider respondents’ general perception is that the public is content with the LPCs’ composition. The committees reflect the ethnic composition, as it is the general public that proposes the members to join. Most of the committees are also deemed as effective peacebuilding structure. As an insider respondent describes the Nakuru Peace Committees:

“Most of the DPCs’ have been very effective in bringing reconciliation in the community... DPC representation reflects the ethnic composition of the county and we identified some of the key triggers of conflicts in the county, including negative ethnicity. Members were trained on how to deal with them. This way, they have become an effective instrument of peace in the area they operate.”

There is also two Peace Monitors that ensures that the committees hold regular meetings and reports to the government. Furthermore, the current composition gets the support of insider respondents, as they perceive that it has the trust of the general public. They are generally content with the current composition but one insider respondent however would like to change the restrictions in the Standard Guidelines regarding the number or members. The respondent argues that the restrictions result in a difficulty to include all valuable actors, which could contribute to the operation.

The outsider respondents share the insider respondents’ perspective on how the committees’ composition is perceived by the public. Kenyan LPC members are perceived to be “…non-partisan when it comes to arbitration of disputes.” One of the outsider respondents however perceive that due to the elections, women are seldom elected which makes it hard to reach the national requirements that one third of the committee members should be women. However, the outsider respondents does not seem to be quite as content with the Kenyan

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203 Interview (2013e)
204 Interview (2013b)
205 Interview (2013c); Interview (2013d); Interview (2013e)
206 Interview (2013e)
207 Interview (2013e)
208 Interview (2013e)
209 Interview (2013b)
LPCs’ composition as the insider respondents seems to be. The respondents present several suggestions that they argue would improve the LPCs. One outsider respondent perceives that the devolution from the county government structure has brought challenges, particularly in multi-ethnic counties. Thus, an increased participation from the county government could facilitate the attempts to deal with devolving resources. The respondent also suggested that warriors should be co-opted in LPCs were cattle rustling is still a problem since they play a key part in those kinds of disturbances.\textsuperscript{210} Another respondent instead argues that the election system should change, as the current system is not bringing in enough peace builders.\textsuperscript{211}

Most insider respondents argue that the members of the Nakuru Peace Committees have the necessary personal engagement and knowledge of peacebuilding. They perceive that the members represent diverse interests, skills and competences and also receive training to enhance the capacity building.\textsuperscript{212} One respondent however notes that the members are not necessarily well educated, which has the consequence that the training needs to be kept simple.

\textit{“DPC members are well knowledgeable to the extent of enabling them to carry out their work well. Keep in mind that members of DPCs are community based and not necessary all educated to secondary or university grads. Some did not finish primary grades and we keep the training simple to enable them to understand the work of peacebuilding.”}\textsuperscript{213}

One of the insider respondents however holds a different perspective, arguing that the LPC members do not have the necessary qualifications. This respondent perceive that a lack of financial support “… affects the members’ participation, education forum and peacebuilding facilitation.”\textsuperscript{214}

The outsider respondents also provide different perspectives regarding the LPC members’ engagement and knowledge. One outsider respondent perceives that the members of other Kenyan LPCs are as well knowledge as most of the insider respondents argue that the Nakuru Peace Committees are.\textsuperscript{215} Another respondent however argues that the fact that there are no salaries has resulted in a lack of personal engagement in Kenyan LPCs. The same

\textsuperscript{210} Interview (2013a)
\textsuperscript{211} Interview (2013b)
\textsuperscript{212} Interview (2013c); Interview (2013e)
\textsuperscript{213} Interview (2013e)
\textsuperscript{214} Interview (2013d)
\textsuperscript{215} Interview (2013a)
respondent however notes that the members’ capacity for peacebuilding can be, and is strengthened by training provided by the NSC and other stakeholders.\textsuperscript{216}

Finally, the insider respondents perceive that the Nakuru Peace Committees’ composition suffers from some challenges. Several insider respondents have noted that it is impossible to include all communities in the committees, since Kenya consists of 42 ethnicities and is a religiously diverse country.\textsuperscript{217} However, one of the respondents perceives that the Nakuru Peace Committees have a good composition and adds that the Kenyan peace system in general contains many volunteers.\textsuperscript{218}

The outsider respondents provide more possible challenges for the composition of Kenyan LPCs. They mention that there is sometimes an unwillingness to volunteer and that certain ethnic groups sometimes dominate the committees, while it has been hard to include groups that consider themselves as minorities. One of the outsider respondents also perceives that there is a general problem to get women to participate meaningfully in peacebuilding activities.\textsuperscript{219} The UNDP evaluation however states that they find significant progress towards gender equality and that the committees now adhere to the national requirements of 30 % minimum gender ratio.\textsuperscript{220}

**External Support**

The Standard Guidelines state that peace work is a vocational activity that is built on volunteerism. They however encourage support from the government, civil society, Constituency Development Funds, local authorities, trade unions, the business sector, the private sector, other development partners and the general community.\textsuperscript{221}

There is a general agreement among the insider respondents that the Nakuru Peace Committees have received external support regarding training in the basic knowledge of the role that a LPC should play; facilitation or mediation of problem solving processes; and assistance and resources from the national peacebuilding resources. Both government and non-government actors provide the support. The NSC provides the Nakuru Peace Committees with 150,000 KES in total every quarter, which corresponds to approximately 2,000 US dollars. These funds are divided so that 50,000 is reserved for administration, meetings,  

\textsuperscript{216} Interview (2013b) 
\textsuperscript{217} Interview (2013c); Interview (2013e) 
\textsuperscript{218} Interview (2013d) 
\textsuperscript{219} Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b) 
\textsuperscript{220} UNDP Kenya (2012) p. 25 
\textsuperscript{221} NSC (2009) p. 18
traveling etcetera, while 100,000 is assigned to the LPCs.\textsuperscript{222} The committees have also received support from for example UN agencies, such as UNDP, the UN’s Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs and the UN’s Children’s Fund, church based organisations, the Kenyan Red Cross and national and international NGOs.\textsuperscript{223}

The outsider respondents support the perspective of the respondents from Nakuru regarding the received external support. They perceive that other Kenyan LPCs also have received support in the three main areas. However, one outsider respondent argues that the received support has been minimal. This perspective is supported by the UNDP evaluation, which argues that, despite training, the LPC members are not fully equipped to handle incidents. And due to insufficient funding, those that have received training cannot pass it on to others.

\textit{“Although training for the DPC members have been carried out, most are not fully equipped to handle incidents. Again those who have been trained lack funds to cascade the same to others.”}\textsuperscript{224}

Furthermore, the outsider respondents provide a more diverse description of the main donors. One outsider respondent highlights the work of CSOs in Kenya, providing LPCs with training in various aspects of peacebuilding, including in basic human rights.\textsuperscript{225} Another respondent instead argues that the NSC provides the main part of the received support.\textsuperscript{226}

The insider respondents perceive that it is the LPCs themselves, with the help from the NSC and the District Peace Monitor, which govern the support. And, beyond the quarterly resources from the NSC, it is usually the LPCs that make proposals directly to donor agencies in order to receive funds.\textsuperscript{227} One outsider respondent however provides a different perspective than the respondents from the Nakuru County regarding who have the power over the support. The respondent claims that it is the donors that normally decide over the support, highlighting that there are no guidelines or limits on the nature of support to the LPCs.\textsuperscript{228}

Generally, the insider respondents’ perceive that the external support is not adequate in the Nakuru Peace Committees. They argue that they lack adequate funds, especially considering the fact that the Kenyan Peace Committee structure is included in the government

\textsuperscript{222} Interview (2013a); Interview (2013e)
\textsuperscript{223} Interview (2013c); Interview (2013d); Interview (2013e)
\textsuperscript{224} UNDP Kenya (2012) p. 31
\textsuperscript{225} Interview (2013a)
\textsuperscript{226} Interview (2013b)
\textsuperscript{227} Interview (2013c); Interview (2013d); Interview (2013e)
\textsuperscript{228} Interview (2013a)
Several respondents stress that they believe that the government should allocate the funds to support the peace activities, in the same extent as they support other government institutions. One respondent also perceive that is impossible to create sufficient support even if they try to bridge the gap by using volunteerism.

“There will never be enough funds for peacebuilding in developing countries since every political change brings about conflict dimensions that entail management and resolution but Peace Committee members are volunteers and we use volunteerism as a means of bridging the gap between available funds and operationalization of DPC work.”

The external respondents agree with the Nakuru perspective that the received external support is insufficient. Even if the received support is of great use, especially concerning conflict prevention, they argue that the system needs more resources and timely distributed funds. The UNDP evaluation concurs, arguing that Kenyan LPCs are inadequately funded.

The evaluation also notes that the quarterly funds from the NSC are in fact irregularly distributed. It also highlights that UNDP have been accused of consistently distributing their funds late. Despite awareness, the issue has not improved. This has sometimes resulted in that members are forced to use their own money, paying for necessary things like logistics. The evaluation concludes that one explanation could be that there is a disconnection between the UNDP’s and the government’s fiscal year, which results in logistical delays.

Summary

This chapter has described and analysed the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, with the aim to answer the first two research questions of this thesis. First, it explored the nature of the Nakuru Peace Committees, within the context of the general development of the nationally initiated LPC structure in Kenya. The empirical analysis shows a national peacebuilding structure that seems to have its origin in the initiative of a few women at the market and a need to try new and promising measures after the post-election violence. Then, this chapter has focused on describing different perspectives on the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, also trying to put the committees in the

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229 Interview (2013c)
230 Interview (2013c); Interview (2013d)
231 Interview (2013e)
232 Interview (2013e)
233 Interview (2013a); Interview (2013b)
larger context of Kenyan LPCs by make some initial comparison to other Kenya LPC structures. This chapter has shown a local peacebuilding structure that illustrates many of the theoretical frameworks categorisations and cautions, but that also provides an insight into perceptions that seems to distinguish the county from what could be expected of nationally initiated LPCs. The next chapter will provide a more thorough analysis of the empirical material, structured by the thesis’ key factors.
ANALYSIS & CONCLUSION

This thesis began with concerns regarding the tension between a national initiation and local ownership for nationally initiated LPCs. Improving our understanding of the structure and functioning of nationally initiated LPCs is thus crucial in order to create functional LPCs in a larger scale. To make a contribution to this important research area, I have explored and analysed the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees in Kenya.

As stated in Chapter 2, the concept of I4P is the point of departure for this thesis. This means that the research builds on the assumption that strengthening the local peacebuilding capacity is important in order to create sustainable peace. It also relies on the assumption that local peace initiatives can have a positive impact if they are constructed and executed in the right way. Based on this approach, I developed a theoretical framework to guide and structure the empirical inquiry. I identified four key factors in the I4P literature that can be expected to influence the structure and functioning of LPCs. The theory, and the key factors, where then used to structure the empirical analysis. In Chapter 4, I described and analysed the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees, with the aim to answer the first two research questions.

In this, the last chapter of the thesis, I address the third research question: (3) Which theoretical factors can help to explain the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees? And what impact does the findings indicate that the factors have had on the Nakuru Peace Committees as nationally initiated Local Peace Committees? I will then summarise my conclusions and finally discuss my findings and makes suggestions for further research.

Understanding the Structure & Functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees – elaborating on the four key factors

Informed by the case study analysis of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees, this section discusses the importance of the four key factors’ influence. The four factors include (i) mandate; (ii) role; (iii) composition; and (iv) external support. By using these factors I will explore how they contribute to our understanding of the structure and functioning of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees.
**Mandate**

The theoretical framework indicates that LPCs with a *formal mandate* operate in a coordinated manner. The mandate is supposed to provide the committees with leverage and an important link to the national peacebuilding. However, it is also argued to limit the local ownership and expose the committees to the risk of being politicised or steered by the government, jeopardising their local legitimacy.

The case study analysis indicates that the committees’ broad national mandate, in accordance to theory, seems to have created a coordinated national LPC structure with committees that are working with the same peace and national building objectives. The case study analysis suggests that this is due to the Standard Guidelines that dictate the structure of all Kenyan LPCs. Furthermore, the case study analysis shows that the Nakuru Peace Committee structure is perceived to have the support of the national government, reinforced by the National Peace Policy and the Standard Guidelines, as well as with the financial support that the government provides through the NSC. The case study analysis further indicates that the national support could be strengthened by additional effort on the ground. Nevertheless, the analysis indicates that the Nakuru Peace Committees, as well as other Kenyan LPCs, in addition to the national legitimacy enjoy local legitimacy.

Concerning the issue of politicisation, the case study analysis suggests that the Nakuru Peace Committees are non-political and autonomous structures, which are no longer under the direct control of the District Commissioner. They also seem to enjoy a cordial relation with the national government, which seems to be a great improvement from the experience of the locally initiated LPCs from the early 2000’s. However, the analysis illustrates the theoretical framework’s suggested risk of politicised since it indicates that individual politicians have tried to use the Nakuru Peace Committees for their own political agendas. The case study also shows that this seems to occur in other counties as well, and thus appears to be a wider Kenyan problem.

Thus, the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees shows that the committees mandate coincide with many of the indicators of LPCs with a formal mandate. They seem to operate in a cooperative manner and have the national legitimacy to work on all relevant peace and nation building programs. However, the case study analysis also suggests that the committees have managed to avoid some of the negative aspects of a formal mandate. The analysis instead shows positive features, associated with LPCs with an informal mandate.
This as the case study analysis shows that the committees are perceived to be constructed as non-political structures and, above all, enjoy both national and local legitimacy.

**Role**

The theoretical framework indicates that there could be tension and diffuseness between the roles of nationally initiated LPCs and other state institutions, particularly the judiciary.

Concerning the issue of role clarity, the cases study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees shows that the committees are perceived to find enough support in the available guidelines. These committees seem to have managed to find their role quite well in the community, as there were no reports of duplicated activities or problems regarding their relationship to other state institutions in the county. Furthermore, the case study analysis shows that the Nakuru Peace Committees appears to have justified their role in the county. Thus, the role allocation seems to have created good conditions for the committees’ ability to carry out their operations and should not negatively affect the LPCs’ ability to become a permanent feature of the Kenyan I4P.

However, the case study analysis indicates that efforts still need to be made on a national level, helping the LPCs, the judiciary and the police to familiarise themselves with each other’s work. The analysis shows indications that this could get the other state institutions to recognise the LPCs and prohibit the committees from taking on responsibilities that are beyond their remit. Additionally, the case study analysis indicates that role clarity is an important issue, as the theoretical cautions become evident with experiences from other Kenyan counties were role ambiguity are perceived to have affects committees’ relationships and operations negatively.

**Composition**

The theoretical framework suggests that LPCs should include the main protagonists and insider-partials as well as representatives from the civil society and marginalised sections of the community. The theory also indicates that nationally initiated LPCs usually include both political and civilian representatives and could experience members with less passion and knowledge of peacebuilding than LPCs with a informal mandate do. Furthermore, the theory indicates that LPCs could experience a lack of volunteerism and that an externally imposed composition could weaken the committees’ peacebuilding capacity.

The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees illustrates the theoretical assumption that nationally initiated LPCs have their composition prescribed by the
government. The mandate provides guidelines for the composition of all Kenyan LPCs but provides each committee with the room to create a composition that have relevance in the local context. The case study analysis shows that this seems to have enabled the Nakuru Peace Committees to created a composition that reflects Nakuru’s ethnic composition quite well, with the help from the national guidelines and local elections. By being able to create local ownership of the committees’ composition the case study analysis suggests that Kenyan LPCs have gained local legitimacy. Additionally, the case study analysis indicates that the local ownership also has resulted in a composition that is regarded as legitimate by the members as they perceive that they have the trust of the general public.

Furthermore, the case study analysis also indicates that the composition of the Nakuru Peace Committees is consistent with what the theoretical framework attributes to nationally initiated LPCs, by combining members of the local government and security forces with representatives from civil society organisations. However, the case study analysis also provides a notable exception to that categorisation, as the members of the Nakuru Peace Committees are perceived to be skillful and competent. There are however also indications that the committees could benefit from improved funding, as this is assumed to enhance the competence further. Additionally, the case study analysis did not provide any indications regarding the use of insider-partials. Since the theoretical framework did not provide any other indications of the quality of LPCs’ leadership, the case study analysis did not analyse the leadership further either.

The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committee structure indicates that the reconstructions of the committees have been imposed from the national level. The analysis shows that the reconstructions seem to have lead to a shift away from focusing on conflicting parties towards a broader community representation, in response to experience and new challenges. Nevertheless, the analysis shows that, in accordance to theory regarding inclusion of the main protagonists, there still seems to be a need for a greater inclusion of conflicting parties in the larger Kenyan context, as warriors are perceived to be able to contribute to the LPC process in committees were cattle rustling is still a problem.

Furthermore, the case study analysis indicates that the issue of politicisation also seems to affect the composition of Kenyan LPCs, as outsider respondents perceive that politicians have tried to manipulate the composition of the committees to their own advantage. The analysis additionally suggests that this seems to be more common in committees established after the post-election violence, which indicates that it could be connected to a national initiation since the national initiative started at this time.
In contrast to the theoretical frameworks caution, the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees does not indicate a problem to get knowledgeable people to participate in LPCs, as people are perceived to volunteer. However, it is more difficult to analyse the larger Kenyan context as the case study analysis provides diverse perspectives. It contains perspectives consisting with the Nakuru perception but also a perspective that suggests that the Kenyan LPC system is challenged by an unwillingness to volunteer.

The issue of the Nakuru Peace Committees’ ability to balance nationally imposed guidelines with a locally decided composition was also investigated. The case study analysis shows that the government quite recently changed the directives regarding the LPCs’ composition to include marginalised sections of the community and that the Nakuru Peace Committees are perceived as quite inclusive committees. The analysis however indicates that members of the Nakuru Peace Committees, along with members of other Kenyan LPCs, perceive that it is very difficult to fulfil the guidelines requirement to include all relevant stakeholders. In contrast to the theoretical frameworks, the case study analysis however indicate that this problem is due to the restricted number of seats that the Standard Guidelines permit and should thus not be seen as a result of a local resistance to create inclusive committees. The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees instead indicates that the committees appear to have found a composition that abide by the national guidelines but that is also relevant to the local context, even if national guidelines are perceived to prohibit the committees from a truly inclusive composition.

Also relating to the issue of nationally imposed composition the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees indicates that the inclusion of women has lead to meaningful participation, with women being appointed as leaders in committees. However, the case study analysis also shows that it is still hard to get women included in committees through elections in the larger Kenyan context. Furthermore, the analysis suggests that it can be difficult to get representatives from marginalised groups, and especially women, to have meaningful roles in Kenyan LPCs. A problem that also coincides with the theoretical framework.

**External Support**

The theoretical framework indicates that LPCs often suffer from inadequate funding and that external support should be directed towards helping the committees with basic orientation as well as access to facilitation support and national peacebuilding resources. The framework also suggests that nationally initiated LPCs should be ensured access to relevant resources.
Furthermore, a well directed external support that is positioned in a national I4P could strengthen the committees’ legitimacy.

The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees shows that the committees have received external support in the three main areas that the theoretical framework emphasises as the most important in order to create and improve knowledgeable and well-functioning LPCs. The analysis further suggests that the Nakuru Peace Committees’ external support could be argued to position the assistance within the national I4P, as the committees receive financial support from a governmental inter-agency, the NSC. However, the analysis shows that Kenya has supplemented the national ownership with a presence of national and international organisations, as they have representatives in the NSC. The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committee structure also indicates that the government and non-government support supports the theoretical assumption that nationally initiated LPCs are usually guaranteed access to relevant resources. However, the analysis indicates that the committees’ position in the national I4P structure does not guarantee them the same level of funding that other state institutions acquire. Additionally, the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees, in line with the theoretical framework, suggest an attempt to create local ownership and legitimacy of the external support by letting the committees have the responsibility to govern the funds as well as to allocate additional funds, beside the support from the NSC.

Even if the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees indicates that the inclusive NSC and the additional work of the Nakuru Peace Committees have created a well-directed support, the financial support is perceived to be inadequate. The analysis also suggests that this is a reoccurring problem in other parts of the Kenyan LPC system as well. The case study analysis shows that it is perceived to be the government’s responsibility to handle this deficit. In line with the theory of external support, these externally initiated LPCs seem to lay less strain on NGOs and instead have higher demands on the government that created the committees. The case study analysis also emphasizes an additional problem with the external support, as the Kenyan LPC system seems to have been hampered by bureaucratic problems, causing problems in distributing the available resources sufficiently.

**Possibilities & Challenges**

The discussion above illustrates ways in which the four key factors can be used to explain the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees. It has also provided some indications for their impact on the committees. The case study analysis shows indications of
general trends in the material. However, it seems like the insider respondents’ perspective in general presents more positive perceptions of the Nakuru Peace Committees than the outsider respondents present regarding other Kenyan LPCs. It is difficult to analyse what caused this since it has not been possible to detect a clear pattern in the differences. One possible explanation could be that we find the respondents with the highest positions among the insider respondents. But the insider respondents also include respondents that are clearly comparable in regard to all known factors. It is thus possible that the Nakuru Peace Committees are better structured and functioning, but the differences could also reflect an attempt from insider respondents to provide a corrected version of the Nakuru Peace Committee structure or depend on other unknown factors.

In the following section, I however highlight some possibilities and challenges that the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees, and the broader Kenyan LPC structure, have indicated and discuss their connection to the larger I4P literature.

**What Has Worked?**
The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees indicates several possibilities connected to the structure and functioning of these nationally initiated LPCs, which could help to enhance the committees’ political legitimacy. The analysis indicates that the Standard Guidelines and the NSC have succeeded quite well, uniting the Kenyan peace initiatives, as the analysis provides a quite homogenous picture of the LPCs structure and functioning. The analysis shows that the formal mandate seems to have provided the Nakuru Peace Committees with national legitimacy and brought a connection to the national peacebuilding initiative. Furthermore, the case study analysis indicates that the Nakuru Peace Committees have managed to find a viable role to play in the local community. The analysis also suggests that the judiciary, at least in the northern part of the country, recognise the need for this type of alternative dispute resolution.

The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees also provides some other positive indications, affecting the committees’ structure and functioning. The reconstruction of the committees’ composition included a directive to include marginalised sections, which indicates that the government is aware of the difficulties to create inclusive committees. The reconstructed composition, with less focus on disputing parties, also suggests that it could be viable to retain LPCs, even when conflicts moderate, by transforming the focus of the composition. The material from the case study analysis also indicates that Nakuru is
experiencing a high level of volunteerism, which should be positive for the Kenyan I4P and its objective to create a ‘culture of peace’.

Finally, the case study analysis suggests that the Nakuru Peace Committees show examples of how it can be possible to create a LPC system that balances different structural components. The committees are perceived to be trusted peacebuilding structures that combined a national initiation and support with local legitimacy and ownership. Thus, by providing the committees with a mandate that places them in the national I4P structure while recognising that there has to be room for the local communities to create their own ownership the Kenyan government could be argued to provide something close to the theoretical framework’s suggested ‘ideal mandate’. The case study analysis suggests that the government’s recognition of the importance of context specific operations have positively affected the committees’ composition and external support. By being able to balance nationally provided guidelines regarding the composition, with room for local relevance, the analysis suggests that this composition has provided the committees with local legitimacy and the power to act.

Furthermore, the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees indicates that the NSC, which combines a role anchored in the national I4P with broad national and international participation, and the LPCs own responsibilities to manage their funds seems to have created well-informed and well-directed external support. By creating a support system that gain input from a diverse set of actors, the NSC is hopefully also gaining the in-depth understanding of the demands and dynamics of the peace process that the theoretical framework claims is important to avoid contra productive interferences. Finally, by empowering the committees to direct their own funds and strengthening their competence through financing capacity building, the NSC, according to theory, could help to further enhance the legitimacy of the committees.

What Have Been the Main Challenges?
The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees also provides some indications regarding challenges connected to the structure and functioning of nationally initiated LPCs that could negatively affect the committees’ political legitimacy. It both illustrates some of the challenges that the theoretical framework suggests and provides indications of some additional challenges worth noticing.

Even if the case study analysis does not provide any indications concerning the issue of women’s participation in the Nakuru Peace Committee structure, the analysis suggests that
it can be hard to get women elected, and for them to participate meaningfully, in other Kenyan LPCs. The perspectives provided in the case study thus indicate that social change is needed and since the current LPC system is nationally initiated, the Kenyan government could help to find a solution as the provided quotas does not seem to have created real inclusion in all Kenyan LPCs. Additionally, the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees illustrates the problem of LPCs to obtain sufficient and sustainable funds, suggested in the theoretical framework. The analysis shows that the members perceive that it is the government that should allocate more funds. This case study analysis thus indicates that nationally initiated LPCs seem inclined to request governmental help, in comparison to the theoretical framework’s claim that LPCs with an informal mandate are relying on NGOs for support.

The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees illustrates the problem of risking politicisation, which the theoretical framework addresses. The analysis suggests that it is important to be aware that individual politicians can wish to use the committees for their own gain, even if the committees have a good relationship with the national government. The case study analysis further indicates that this could be a widespread issue in Kenya and that it is perceived to be more frequent in LPCs created after the national directive to create LPCs. Further research is thus needed to increase our understanding of this problem, especially as it could indicate that a national initiation process enhances the problem.

The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees also indicates some additional challenges worth attention when considering the structure and functioning of nationally initiated LPCs. Regarding the issue of role clarification the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees suggests that more research is necessary regarding what makes the judiciary more cooperative in some areas than in others. Further research on this relationship could hopefully also provide a better understanding of how to create better relations between LPCs and other state institutions.

Additionally, the case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees shows that it seems difficult to include all relevant stakeholders, and especially minorities, in committees that the Standard Guidelines have restricted to 15 members. The nationally imposed restriction thus seems to restrain the local determination to create even more inclusive committees in Nakuru. The case study analysis therefore indicate that it is essential for Kenya to find a way to make sure that the membership is kept down without restricting the committees ability to create a composition that is relevant and inclusive in the local context, in order to create workable committees. Furthermore, the issue of electing committee
members is also raised in the cases study analysis. The analysis indicates that the public elections have generated trusted LPC members, which are perceived to have contributed to the perception of the Nakuru Peace Committee structure as an effective peacebuilding structure. However, the analysis also indicates that the elections do not always bring in real peace builders and that it brings in members with a quite low level of education. The case study analysis thus indicates a challenge, trying to make sure that the locally selected members become sufficiently equipped for peacebuilding assignments.

The case study analysis of the Nakuru Peace Committees also elaborates on challenges with the committees’ external support. The analysis indicates that the funding can have extensive effects on the structure and functioning of a nationally initiated LPC, as it is perceived to negatively affect the composition and training of the members. Finally, the case study analysis brings attention to another challenge, regarding how the available funds are distributed. The case study analysis indicates that there are bureaucratic and structural problems in the relation between the government and large donors such as the UNDP, resulting in irregular and insufficient distribution of peacebuilding support. Since the analysis shows that a lot of the external support is received through these channels, the dysfunctional relationship appears to present a great challenge that has to be addressed, especially as this case study previously have indicated the great financial responsibilities that the members put on the national government.

**Concluding Remarks**

This thesis took, as its point of departure, the evolution in which externally initiated LPCs could become a more important feature of the I4P concept. The research is grounded in the Peacebuilding from Below perspective and finds support in the I4P literature. I thus investigate how the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees are structured and functioning with the intention to contribute to the broader question of the possibilities and challenges of initiating LPC structures. Addressing this broader question, the aim of this thesis has been to advance our understanding of externally initiated LPCs by performing a qualitative cases study of the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees in Kenya. A theoretical framework was developed in order to allow thorough investigation and a deeper understanding of how nationally initiated LPCs could be structured and functioning. The thesis finally culminates in a case study analysis, which offers important insight into how the nationally initiated Nakuru Peace Committees are perceived to be structured and functioning, and illustrates examples of possibilities and challenges that nationally initiated LPCs can face.
The four key factors that I have identified in the I4P literature – (i) mandate, (ii) role, (iii) composition and (iv) external support – have proven useful for increasing our understanding of the structure and functioning of nationally initiated LPCs. The thesis demonstrates how these key factors have affected the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees and provided indications as to the impact that they have had on the committees. The thesis thus speaks to previous research that stresses the significance of the four key factors when designing Peace Committees. It has contributed to filling the gap in the research by developing insights about how specifically *nationally initiated LPCs* could be structured and functioning. It also provides support for previous research on LPCs by using an in-depth inquiry to discern the members’ perception of the Nakuru Peace Committees. By mainly basing the thesis on interview material it became possible to analyse the LPCs structure and functioning from the members’ perspective. In contrast to most previous research on I4P and LPCs, my focus has thus been on how the committees’ structure and functioning are perceived from within.

By analysing the members’ perspective on the structure and functioning of the Nakuru Peace Committees I have been able to explore the committees’ possibilities and challenges. The thesis supports the theoretical framework, to a large extent, illustrating examples of the possibilities and challenges that a nationally initiated LPC can face. Based on the insights of this study, the case study analysis also indicates new solutions and problems that could be useful to consider in the construction of other nationally initiated LPCs. Furthermore, the thesis supports claims indicated in the literature about the importance of finding a balance between national guidelines and opportunities to let local ownership grow.

While this thesis provides important initial insights into the structure and functioning of nationally initiated LPCs in one county, there are still many questions that need further exploration and analysis. Future studies should preform comparative field based studies, studying more Kenyan LPCs but also focusing on LPCs in different conflict settings, in order to develop the theory of I4P further in this area. In addition, the analysis of this study indicates that we should conduct further research regarding how to create a rewarding relationship between LPCs and other state institutions as well as a better cooperation between governments and donors. Furthermore, the analysis suggests that we should explore the probability that nationally initiated LPCs could be exposed to a greater risk of being politicised. Additionally, focusing on the power relations between the committees and the government could also extend our understanding of the nationally initiated LPCs.
In future research it can also be suggested that more attention should be given to the characteristics of, and changes in, national governments that are needed to initiate the creation of an I4P and a nationally initiated LPC structure. Thus, while this thesis has conducted research with a focus on LPCs in one county, and it’s functioning in its community, the results point to the importance of national policies and initiative. Finally, this study has focused on the members of the committees. Investigating how political stakeholders, international donors and the citizens that have experienced nationally initiated LPCs have experienced the structure and functioning of the committees would further enrich our understanding of nationally initiated LPCs in general. Such research would also offer opportunities to analyse additional possibilities and challenges in the structure and functioning of the committees.
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APPENDIX

Questionnaire

Introduction Letter

Dear participant,

My name is Helena Åkerdahl and I am writing my master thesis in Crisis Management and Peacebuilding at Umeå University, Sweden. I am writing my thesis on the subject of Infrastructure for Peace in Kenya and my research will focus on nationally initiated District Peace Committees (DPC). I will focus on the Nakuru County and my objective is to use some theoretical factors concerning the design and planning of peace committees and use them to look closer at the construction of these committees.

The participants of this study are chosen because of their direct involvement in the DPCs or because of their general knowledge on the subject of Infrastructure for Peace and the work of Peace Committees. Your participation in this survey is therefor highly appreciated and your answers and insights are not replaceable in my research. You will of course be able to remain anonymous in the published thesis as the questionnaire’s initial questions, containing some personal questions, are asked in order for me to uphold knowledge of the sample of the survey.

The questions are constructed from the perspective of the people that are directly involved in the DPCs. If you are not directly involved in a committee please answer the questions in a more general way, based on your experience.

When you have answered the questionnaire please send it back to me in an email as soon as possible. I would preferably like your answer by Friday November 15, to make sure that I can submit my thesis on time. You can find my email address at the bottom of this page.

If you have any questions regarding the questionnaire or my research do not hesitate to contact me. You will reach me best on my email address h.akerdahl@hotmail.com otherwise you can call or text me on +46 70 681 09 12.

Thank you for your participation!

Best regards,

Helena Åkerdahl
Questionnaire Regarding Peace Committees

Date:
Name:
Gender:
Age:
Region:
Your profession:

If you are a member of a peace committee, which one? And if you are not, what is your connection to the peace committees?

When was the DPC that you are working with established?

1. The Mandate of the District Peace Committee
   1a. Is the DPC’s mandate nationally determined?

   1b. Can you give some examples of how the DPC’s mandate has affected the committee’s legitimacy, ability to work and relations to political and government actors?

   1c. Do you feel that the DPC have legitimacy in your local context? Please elaborate your answer.

2. The Role of the District Peace Committee
   2a. How and with what resources do the DPC carry out its responsibilities?

   2b. Is the DPC’s role clearly defined in relation to other state institutions? (Local government, the judiciary system etc.) And if not, has that led to any problems?
3. **The Composition of the District Peace Committee**
   3a. Which groups are included in your DPC? (Disputing parties, people representing the middle ground, civil society, women, youth, political parties, government representatives, security forces, experts on peacebuilding etc.)

   3b. How was the composition of the DPC decided? (Nationally, locally or some other way) If locally, who in the local context was involved?

   3c. What group does the leader of your DPC represent and how was that person elected?

   3d. How would you say that the DPC’s composition is perceived by the general public? (good, discontented, okay etc.) Please elaborate.

   3e. Would you like to change the composition of the DPC in any way? If so, how and why?

   3f. Do you perceive that the DPC possess the necessary personal engagement and knowledge of peace building? Please elaborate.

   3g. Have there been any challenges, such as problems to include a group or getting people to participate in the DPC? If so, why?

4. **National, International and NGO Support**
   4a. Have the DPC received external support regarding:
      (a) training in the basic knowledge of what role a DPC should play?
      (b) facilitating or mediating problem solving processes?
      (c) assistance and resources from the national peacebuilding resources when needed?
   If yes, who provided the support? If no, do you feel that any of these types of support would have been of use? Please elaborate.
4b. If the DPC has gained external support, who decides over how the support is constructed?

4c. Do you feel that the DPC has sufficient support and funds in order to perform its duties? If not, what would you change?

Thank you so much for taking the time to answer my questions.
Your participation is highly valued!

Best regards,
Helena Åkerdahl