

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

**Exploring The Impact of Women's Organizations in Peace
building in Africa: A case study of Women's
Organizations in South Sudan**

Tolulope Jolaade Adeogun

2015

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Organizations in South Sudan**

Tolulope Jolaade Adeogun

Supervisor: Dr. Janet Muthoni Muthuki

Co-Supervisor: Prof. Ufo Okeke-Uzodike

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2015

Declaration

I, Adeogun Tolulope Jolaade, declare that:

- (i) The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated is my original work.
- (ii) This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- (iii) This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the loving memory of my late father Prof. David Alabi Jaiyeoba, an academic icon, a mentor to all his children and every other person he came in contact with.

Daddy I am following your footsteps and will forever treasure your memory.

ABSTRACT

At the center of the crisis within Africa's war-affected countries and regions, are similar causes of war such as the desire to acquire power and secure resources for one group of elites or one ethno-national group at the expense of others. These are few examples; Côte d'Ivoire was virtually split in half with government and armed resistance movements on opposite sides, in Uganda, the Lord's Resistance Army continues to abduct children and transform them into soldiers; in Sudan, ethnic militia violently confronted each other for about two decades, over resource allocations and other reasons as mentioned above.

Regrettably, women and children suffer the most severe consequences of conflicts. In lieu of this, African women decided to take up the challenges by organizing groups that will not only focus on women empowerment at the grassroots but also on how to get women involved in decision making policies especially when it involves peace building. Literature is replete in the area of women's organizations and peace building in Africa but as regards women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan there is a paucity of studies and the few studies executed in this regard, were carried out among foreign based women's organizations outside South Sudan because of the risks involved. But as far as women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan are concerned, this study is the only work so far carried out among the local women's organization and women at the grass roots within the four corners of Juba in South Sudan.

With the Lederach Moral Imagination and Molyneux organizing theories, this study interrogates the strategies employed by women organizations in South Sudan in building peace. Based on the findings of the study, women's organizations were able to strategize depending on each organization's programs on how to help women by involving men and youths in the society. That is, looking at the society and the effect of patriarchy, and also knowing the power these men have on their women to hold them back from participating in trainings, women's organizations were able to come up with a way out. With this way out they were directly or indirectly involving the society in the peace building role. This study also finds out that women were more involved in peace building at the grass roots than at the decision making level, which incapacitates the 'bottom-up' approach used by these women's organizations in South Sudan.

In the findings of this work it was realized that women's organizations are working hard to get women involved in peace processes of their country but there are some constraints in the way of their success, some of which include high level of illiteracy among South Sudanese women, lack of infrastructure, and exclusion of women in decision making bodies, patriarchy, lack of funds and so on. These constraints hinder the success of women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan.

This study concludes that for women's organizations to build peace successfully using the 'bottom up' approach in South Sudan, they must be effectively represented in decision making, peace processes and there must also be a kind of 'top down' effort corroborating their efforts.

Keywords: Women's organization, Peace building, South Sudan, 'bottom-up' approach and 'Top down'.

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Acronyms and Abbreviation

AI- Amnesty International

AU- African Union

CEDAW- Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women

CEWA- Central Equatoria Women's Association

CPA 2005- Comprehensive Peace Agreement

CSO- Civil Service Organisation

CSPPS- Civil Society Platform for Peace building and State building

CSW- Commission on the Status of Women

DFID- Department for International Development

FGM- Female Genital Mutilation

GAD- Gender and Development

GBV- Gender Based Violence

GNWP- Global Network of Women Peace builders

HAP- Hague Appeal for Peace

HIV/AIDS- Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

IA- International Alert

IDPS- International Dialogue on Peace building and State building

IGAD- Inter Government Authority on Development

IPU- Inter Parliamentary Union

NAP-National Action Planning

NGOs- Non Governmental Organisations

NGOWG- NGO Working Groups on women and armed-conflict

NPA- Norway People's Aid

NSCC- New Sudan Council of Churches

SANU- Sudan African National Union

SPLM- Sudan People's Liberation Movement

SPLM/A- Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army

SSHRA- South Sudan Human Rights Association

SSWEN- South Sudanese Women Empowerment Network

SSWGA- South Sudan Women General Association

SWIDAP- Sudan Women in Development and Peace

UN- United Nation

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF- United Nations Children's Fund

UNIFEM- United Nations Development Fund for Women

UNMISS- United Nations Mission in the republic of South Sudan

UNSCR 1325- United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

USIP- United States Institute of Peace

UNWOMEN- United Nations Women

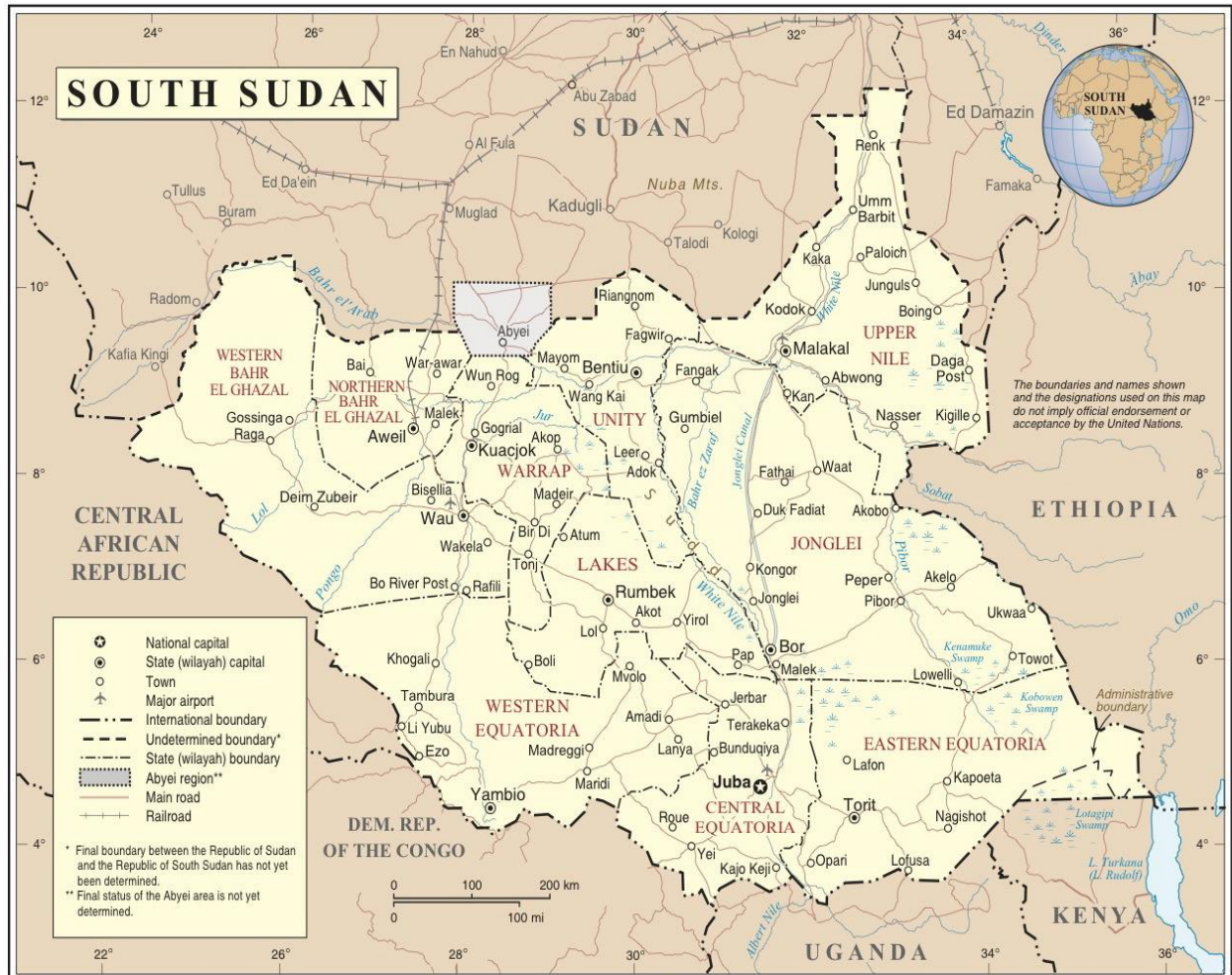
VFC- Vaccines for Children

WHO- World Health Organisation

WILPF- Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

APPENDIX I

Map of South Sudan



Source: Tine Bergli, Master's Thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation, Faculty of Humanities, social Sciences and Education UiT The Arctic University of Norway fall 2013.

Chapter One

Introduction to Women's Organization and Peace building

Preamble

This study aims to look at peace building in the African continent from the perspective of Gender. This means moving away from the traditional way of peace keeping by forceful means in post conflict zones to a more peaceful means of intervention, explored and articulated in a gender framework.

Since peace building from a gender perspective increasingly has become popular in the international realm, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) especially women's organizations, are becoming prominent in post conflict zones all over the world, including the African continent. There is prolific literature on women in peace building in post-conflict zones in Africa but most times this focus on women empowerment at the grass roots, and not on how empowerment and inclusion of women as policy makers can be more advantageous for women in peace building in post-conflict zones.

This study has chosen to focus on South Sudan for two reasons. Firstly, it is a newly independent state emerging from a long conflict as such; it has the dual task of nation building and peace building, which adds an extra dimension of urgency to conflict resolution and peace building in South Sudan. Secondly, the researcher wanted to increase her knowledge of the situation, for example, with regard to the kind of approach the country is using for peace building, whether women's organizations are allowed in peace processes and if so, the kind of impact they are making and the challenges such organizations are facing.

1.1 Background to the study

The African continent, like some other continents of the world, is confronted with numerous socio-economic and political challenges, including ethnic conflict, gender inequality, poverty, discrimination and religious conflicts. At the centre of the crises within Africa's war-affected countries and regions are similar causes of war such as the desire to acquire power and secure resources for one group of elites or one ethno-national group at the expense of others (Murithi, 2006). These conflicts have resulted in genocide, displacement of people, young and old, which in turn affect neighbouring and relatively peaceful countries.

Regrettably, women and children suffer the most severe consequences of the conflicts (Salah, 2005; Plumper and Neumayer, 2006). Given the context outlined above, Africa presents fertile ground for research associated with conflict and peace studies (Juma and Mengistu, 2002: 1; Candles et al, 2007:55; Doe, 2009:8).

For instance, women account for over 60 per cent of the population in South Sudan, the decades of war in Sudan has not only deprived these women of their dependants (husbands and sons) but the disturbing and conventional post-war society coupled with discriminatory cultures and abject poverty undermines the promotion of equal rights and the ability for women to actively participate in the development of the new born nation¹, over 90 per cent of South Sudan women are illiterate and 50 per cent of girls under age 18 are married and this contribute greatly to the high rate of maternal mortality which is considered to be the highest in the world.²

¹ Gender concerns.org/article.php?id_mr?=SouthSudan

² <http://www.binsidetv.net/2011/07/u-s-recognises-South-Sudan-president-barrack-obama-releases-statement>

It has been said that since the post-World War II era, women have opposed war more consistently than men (Conover and Sapiro, 1993) and clamoured for more peaceful ways of resolving conflicts. However, their efforts have been hampered by their exclusion from decision-making structures. This has led to campaigns in support of women's empowerment and equality at all levels.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security signed on 31 October 2000 reflected a commitment to women's peace activism. It committed member states to ensuring the full participation of women in humanitarian, conflict resolution, peace building and post conflict initiatives. The twenty-third special session of the United Nations General Assembly also known as Beijing +5 recognised the importance of women in peace building and urged regional organisations to incorporate a gender perspective into politics and programmes addressing armed conflict (1325 resolution, 2000; Afoke Isike, 2001; Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002:3; Metcalfe, 2010:7). This marked a change in global policy interventions regarding women's roles in conflict resolution and peace building.

Recent years have witnessed increased awareness of the status of women's rights and gender equality on the African continent at large (Adeogun and Isola, 2011:171). This awareness is reflected in the constitution of the African Union (AU) and, more significantly, in the 2003 adoption of an additional protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the rights of women in Africa (Rebouche, 2006: 235-236).

While the concept of gender equality has been endorsed on the African continent by means of constitutional and other provisions on the part of the AU and other intergovernmental institutions, women's participation in political life has been minimal (Wing and Smith, 2003:

33). Thus, women are adopting an increasingly proactive stance, seeking ways to respond to the challenges (and opportunities) of war by peaceful means. One of the main alternative routes to political action for women is through the establishment of organisations/grassroots groups (Marshall, 2001:10).

Speaking of women's organizations at the grass roots, South Sudanese women began forming groups right from the onset of war. Since they were not allowed to participate at the decision making level, they started meeting together to influence policies either directly or indirectly. The given reasons for the resistance encountered by South Sudanese women at this time are as follows. Firstly, they are not educated - the level of literacy among women was low and it is still low (H.E.Milly Michael 2011). Secondly, girls and women are handled like properties that are sold or bought. South Sudanese girls are married at the tender age of nine with exorbitant dowry (South Sudan Reflection, 2013). Nonetheless, South Sudanese women refuse to keep quiet. They started forming groups because they feel they are more victims of war than the general society and also they feel the conflicts can be handled in a nonviolent ways.

In South Sudan, after the two decades of war which resulted in independence, women's organizations like Central Equatorial Women Association, Voice for Change, St. Monica Women Association and human right associations like the South Sudan Human Rights Society for Advocacy, to name but a few, are working to transform the society. These organizations believe that by empowering women and implementing gender equality in all sectors in South Sudan, they will make their country a better place.

Why should women be involved in peace building? Is it because they are more vulnerable during times of war? Or is it due to their peaceful natures?³ It can be argued that neither of these are the real reasons why women should be involved in peace initiatives. Rather, since women are part of humankind, it is also their responsibility to respond to conflicts that threaten humankind. It has also been argued that because they lose their husbands and children to wars, women, with their inherent maternal impulses (Ruddick 1989, 161) seek non-violent, participatory ways to resolve conflict; this requires that they be involved in decision-making at all levels.

1.2 Research problems

Women's organizations have played critical roles in promoting inter-ethnic dialogue, providing innovative local solutions and ensuring that there are voices of reason and even protest when heightened pressure has been necessary. In the peace building arena, women are often more active through informal community structures that aim to ensure that women's rights and gender perspectives are incorporated into local programmes. The minimal representation of women within political structures and leadership positions (at local and national levels) has led women's organisations to rely on extensive networks, strong advocacy skills and resourceful means of achieving their objectives. The challenges confronting women include cultural barriers, traditional patriarchal structures, minimal legislative support and lack of resources. These are critical obstacles that inhibit the transfer of their learnt knowledge and first hand experiences to the recognised, formal peace making and peace building environment.

³Some feminists believe that men are violent by nature, and that women are naturally peaceful; this is why they seek to resolve conflict in a peaceful way rather than by violent means. Another feminist school of thought believes, however, that this is a subtle way of saying that women are inferior. See pages 4 and 17 of 'Women, Civil Society and Peace building' (www.potter04bpeacebuilding.pdf) and "Women and Peace". (www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf) respectively. Both accessed 20/02/2012.

Despite the campaign for peace and security across the globe, there are still many war zones in Africa. As soon as one country resolves its conflict situation, another takes up the baton, and civilians, especially women and children, suffer the consequences. The prolonged Sudan conflict has left an indelible mark on South Sudan. Undoubtedly, the present situation calls for peace building which could take a long while for the new state to roll out. While several studies have examined different aspects of women's organisations, these are yet to be thoroughly explored;

- The impact of the bottom-up approach on peace building in South Sudan
- The strategies put in place by women's organizations in South Sudan to build peace, as compared with Lederach's 'art of moral imagination' and Moleyneux's organizing theories.
- Are these strategies effective? If not, why?

Thus, the study aims to explore the above points and come to well-reasoned conclusions.

1.3 Research Hypothesis

Women's organizations can build peace in post-conflict zones if they are effectively represented in decision-making at all levels (local, national and international).

1.4 Research objectives and questions

Key Research Objectives

The objectives of this research are to:

- 1) Examine the nature and extent of peace building work done by women's organizations in South Sudan.
- 2) Demonstrate how patriarchal cultures prevent women from being active in peace building in South Sudan.
- 3) Illustrate the other factors that hinder women's organisations from advancing women's rights, during and after conflict situations.
- 4) Determine whether the relationship between women's organizations and the government has affected peace building in South Sudan.
- 5) Make recommendations for policy considerations based on the findings of the study.

Key Research Questions

This study seeks to find answers to the following research questions:

- 1) What is the nature and extent of peace building work done by women's organizations in South Sudan?
- 2) To what extent do patriarchal cultures in South Sudan prevent women from being active in peace building?
- 3) What other factors hinder women's organizations from advancing women's rights, during and after conflict situations?
- 4) How has the relationship between women's organizations and the government affected peace building in South Sudan?

- 5) Based on the findings of the study, what policy recommendations can one make to effectively mainstream women's organizations in all public decision making structures in South Sudan?

1.5 Scope of Study

The scope of this research is limited to South Sudan as the case study; the research examines peace building and the involvement of women/women's organizations in South Sudan. The bases of the conflict which led to South Sudan becoming an independent state are also examined. The study roughly covers the 60-year period between 1955 and 2014.

1.6 Justification for the Study

The reason for the choice of South Sudan as a case study is the fact that South Sudan has witnessed a century long (Edward, 2011) war that has severely damaged society. It is one of two nations (the other is Eritrea) in the post-independence period in Africa to secede from a parent state due to war. Since South Sudan joined the international community as an independent country on July 9, 2011, it is worth revisiting the international human rights instruments that govern this community. The Vienna Declaration, adopted in 1993 by the UN World Conference, "states that all human rights: civil and political as well as economic, social and cultural aspects should be implemented simultaneously and that neither set of rights should take precedence of others"⁴. As a result of the war, there are still relapses and instabilities in South Sudan, which single out South Sudan as a country where there is an urgent need to build peace. Women's organisations in South Sudan are seizing this opportunity to help build peace using a bottom-up approach. This research aims to assess the impact they are having.

⁴ See http://www.liberal-international.org/editorial.asp?ia_id=607

1.7 Research Methodology and Methods

Hart (1998:28) defines methodology as a system of methods and rules that facilitate the collection and analysis of data. It involves making choices from various approaches in order to ascertain which to use in analysing a given topic. . Mouton (1996:107) defines research design as a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing the research problem.

This study is based on empirical research methods that will give cogent answers to the key research questions. As rightly stated by Daniel Moody (2002:1), empirical research comprises a class of research methods in which empirical data are collected and used to answer particular research questions. Therefore, the study necessitated empirical data collection in order to answer the research questions as earlier outlined in this chapter.

Empirical research questions can be divided into two groupings (Moody, 2002:1):

- Quantitative research methods: such methods collect data in a numerical form and analyse it by using arithmetical methods.
- Qualitative research methods: such methods collect data in form of texts, images, sounds and so on, drawn from observations, interviews and documentary evidence, and analyse it based on qualitative data analysis techniques.

This study employs the second category as stated above, namely, qualitative. It uses qualitative methods in conjunction with an historical approach in order to show the link between this research and other literature in the same field. Qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspectives of the local population on which it focuses. ⁵.

⁵ See (<http://www.ccs.neu.edu/course/is4800sp12/resources>)

This has enabled the researcher to focus more on the chosen local population, that is, women's organizations in South Sudan in order to acquire answers to the research questions. .

Qualitative research generates non-numerical data; it focuses on gathering mainly verbal data rather than measurements. This gathered information is then analysed in an interpretative, subjective, impressionistic or diagnostic manner. This research focuses mainly on verbal data, through unstructured interviews and then analyse the data collected in an interpretative and diagnostic manner.

Qualitative research is used because of its ability to describe and understand rather than explain human behaviour (Babbie& Mouton, 2006:70). This research design is employed to elicit rich and valuable information pertaining to women's organizations and peace building in South Sudan. Neuman (2006:151) asserts that qualitative research emphasises detailed examination of cases that have to do with real life issues. It presents authentic interpretations that are sensitive to specific social historical contexts. An important aspect of qualitative research is that it emphasises respect for human beings as people and not just objects of study. (Denscombe, 2003:105). A significant strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide documentary information that is able to describe how people are experiencing a given research issue⁶, that is, Qualitative research provides information about the human side of an issue, even the misinterpreted actions of an individual. This is vital in my research since the study is about the experiences of women in post-conflict peace building. In sum, given that the research topic deals with human behaviour and lived experience, the qualitative method is the most appropriate. It is also useful in identifying effectively intangible factors like social norms, gender roles, ethnicity and religion, whose role may not be readily apparent. In the course of the

⁶ See <http://www.ccs.neu.edu/course/is4800sp12/resources>

data collection in the field, these factors had a significant effect on my research, both positively and negatively, as will later be narrated in my analysis.

Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The sample size is a minimum of 28 and purposive sampling technique was used. According to Wadsworth Cengage Learning workshop (2005:1) “purposive sampling targets a particular group of people. When the desired population for the study is rare or very difficult to locate and recruit for a study, purposive sampling may be the only option”. Purposive sampling is also referred to as non-probability sampling method which allows for the selection of participants whose qualities or experiences permit a proper understanding of the issue at hand (see Patton and Cochran 2002). In this study I targeted a particular group, this made purposive sampling appropriate. The various groups targeted were women’s organizations’ workers, grass roots activists, government officials and members of Academia. In order to approach these targeted groups in an unfamiliar terrain, I had to use snow ball sampling method; snowball sampling method is referred to as a method where researcher locates one or two key people and asks them to name others who are likely to participate in the research (see Patton and Cochran 2002). I interacted with a social worker who was also a government official and a leader of a national women group. This individual linked me up with other women organizations and government officials in Juba. Also, I interviewed some other key people especially academics who were able to link me up with UN Women, the Ministry of Justice and some other key participants. Before going to the field, I had thought I would be able to visit a few villages to meet with the grass roots. However, on getting to the field, I discovered that the area was still combative, so I employed purposive sampling at the University of Juba, targeting administrative staff and adult

students (who speak English) who come from various villages to work in the town. They shared their experiences of peace building as it pertains in their villages.

Below are the respondents that were interviewed with short biographies for proper understanding of the parameters of the empirical research. . Given the sensitivity of this study, pseudonyms are given to few of the respondents:

Respondent A: Mrs Sarah, She is by profession a Social Worker and one of the three national advisers for women, also the leader of South Sudan Women General Association (SSWGA). She was interviewed on the 7th of September, 2013.

Respondent B: Ms Deng is the Gender focal Point of Central Equatorial Women Association (CEWA). She was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent C: Ms Mabel. She is the Gender adviser on Gender Based Violence (GBV), Voice for Change (VFC) in South Sudan. She was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent D: Dr. Sirisio. He is the Director of Peace and Development Studies Department at the University of Juba. He was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent E: Mr. Oyet. A political scientist, who also teaches peace and development studies in University of Juba. He was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent F: Sister Santa. She is the Director of St. Monica Women Association. She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent G: Ms Margaret. She is one of the women at the grass roots level. She is from Acholi Village in South Sudan and also works as an administrative member of staff at the University of Juba. She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent H: Ms Marline. She is from Bari community in Juba. She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent I: Ms Kulang. She is from Torit Village. She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent J: Dr. Lemi. He is a lecturer in the Department of Political Science at the University of Juba. He was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent K: Ms Sarah John. She is one of the grass roots participants. She is from Ayidi Village in Jongolei. She was interviewed on the 10th of September, 2013.

Respondent L: Ms Agnes. She is one of the grass roots participants. She is from Liriya Village. She was interviewed on the 10th of September, 2013.

Respondent M: Chaplain Kenyi. He is a lecturer in the Department of Development and Peace Studies at the University of Juba. He was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent N: Ms Zaitun. She is one of the grass roots participants from Tore in Yei County, Central Equatoria state. She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent O: Mr Beny. He is a human rights Lawyer, a member of South Sudan Human Rights Society and the adviser on GBV.

Respondent P: Ms Koiti. She is a medical student at the University of Juba and also a volunteer member of South Sudan Democratic Engagement Monitoring and Observation Program (SSDEMOP). She was interviewed on 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent Q: Ms Jane. She is the Deputy Director (I) in the Ministry of Gender/child and social welfare. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent R: Ms Jackline. She is the Acting Director for Gender in the Ministry of Gender/Child and Social Welfare. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent S: Ms Jane T. She is The Deputy Director (II) in the Ministry of Gender/Child and Social Welfare. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent T: Aluat. She is one of the grass roots participants in Juba. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent U: Ms. Victoria. She is the only female lecturer at the Department of Peace and Development Studies, University of Juba. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent V, W, X and Y: Ms Along Louis, Ms Najhakhamis, Ms Bakhita, Deng, and Aisa are grass roots participants. . They were interviewed on 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent Z: Ms Mary Ajith. She is the first legal Counsel of the Directorate of Legislation of the Ministry of Justice. She was interviewed on the 13th of September, 2013.

Respondent Z1: Ms Cecilia She is the Gender Secretary at the United Nations Women (UN Women). She was interviewed on the 13th of September.

Respondent Z2: Mr Peter. He is a human right activist and a researcher. He was interviewed on the 13th of September, 2013.

A total of 28 stakeholders were interviewed: one respondent from United Nation Women (1) and one respondent from the National Women Organization in South Sudan; South Sudan

Women's Group Association (SSWGA) (1), one respondent each from three women's organizations and a human rights organization in South Sudan; Central Equatorial Women Association (1), Voice for Change (VFC) (1), St. Monica Women Association (1) and South Sudan Human Rights Society for Advocacy (1). Twelve grassroots women (12) from South Sudan's various counties were interviewed. Also, four government officials (4) and six respondents from South Sudan's academic community (6) were interviewed. Academic stakeholders were involved to establish the academic understanding of women's organisations. Women at the grass roots level were also involved to explore the impact of these organisations in peace building in South Sudan.

Data Collection

Primary and secondary sources of data collection were employed. The main sources of secondary data were text books, journals, published and unpublished articles, newspapers, bulletins and official documents, magazines and internet resources. These secondary sources provided extensive bibliographic and contextual information that supported the primary sources meaningfully. The primary data was collected through unstructured, open-ended interviews, which was conducted on the basis of interaction with relevant stakeholders in and outside South Sudan. This had enriched the study immensely through cross-examination of data. Unstructured interviews are appropriate due to the elasticity they afford researchers to generate valuable facts from respondents; in the words of Perelman and Curran (2006: 146), they "let the respondents tell their stories". Unstructured interview was chosen as the method for the collection of data for this research work, to give room for transparency, also for the participants to answer questions as comfortable as possible in their own way and the possibility of putting myself in their position to feel what they are going through in South Sudan. Many feminist researchers prefer

unstructured interview to structured interview, because they claimed that “it convey a deeper feeling for or more emotional closeness to the persons studied” (Lee Bryant, 2000: 1). The focus of this research work had been on peace building with Gender perspective and this makes unstructured interview appropriate for the study. The questions the researcher used as guide for the interview were not rigid type but flexible so as to allow openness during the interview.

Method of Research

In carrying out this research, a case study approach was employed. Case studies allow for an understanding of the bigger picture and also expose the researcher to new ideas. According to Denscombe (2003:38), using the case study approach helps the researcher to focus on one or a few instances and this allows him/her to deal with the intricacies of complex situations. It helps the researcher to grapple with relationships and social processes in a holistic way rather than based on social facts/theories. The researcher employed the case study method because it can act as a preliminary to a major investigation, as it has brought to light, issues that are deserving of further investigation in South Sudan. It has also enabled the researcher to study the phenomena deeply in order to establish generalisations about the wider population (Matin, 2004:83). In the case of African countries, there are similarities in the way conflicts start; these include ethnic rivalry, religious factors, boundaries, and so on. Since there are also similarities in the way wars escalate, peace building in each post-conflict zone could be similar; thus using South Sudan as a case study has enabled generalisation. Generalizability, according to Ian Falk and Joh Guenther (2006:3) refers to the extent to which research findings are applicable to other samples or populations. However, the issue of generalization in qualitative research is a debatable one; According to Ian Falk and John Guenther (2006: 2), there are three overlapping views in the research literature about qualitative research with regard to whether it can be

generalized or not. One is the general opinion that generalizability is not the major focus of qualitative research but that there are other good reasons why it is been used by researchers. A second view is that in qualitative research, agreed, you can generalise but you have to follow rules based on the construct of good research. The third view is the one that agrees that generalization can be done in qualitative research.

Ian Falk and John Guenther (2006: 2) were able to collect some works in support, partial support or against generalizations in qualitative research;

Since the 1990s, qualitative methods have become more common in disciplines such as education, social work, health services and evaluation research, with an increase in qualitative research studies in professional journals (Schofield 1993; Boulton and Fitzpatrick 1994; Blaxter 1996; Mays and Pope 2000). There is however considerable debate over the nature of the knowledge produced by qualitative methods and whether a term such as generalisability, derived from the quantitative paradigm, can mean the same when used to judge the rigour of qualitative research design, or whether a completely different term should be applied.

Some authors doubt that generalisability can be achieved in qualitative research. Lincoln and Guba (1985:110) say: 'the only generalization is: there is no generalization.' Others emphasize the context-specificity of qualitative research (Wainwright 1997), which limits generalization to other situations (Creswell 1998). Hammersley (1990:108) says that ethnographers are generally 'not very effective in establishing the typicality of what they report. And in the absence of such information we must often suspend judgement about the generalisability of their claims...

The above quotation shows variations in the write ups of scholars on the issue of generalization in qualitative research. Some believe that there can be no generalizations; others believe that the generalization in qualitative research should be limited to certain cases. Some groups of scholars contend that generalization in qualitative research and quantitative research can yield the same result.

Another section from Ian Falk and John Guenther's (2006:3) study shows how some scholars started to conceptualize generalizability:

It has been argued that qualitative research represents a distinctive paradigm and as such should not be judged by conventional measures of generalisability, or validity and reliability (Hammersley 1990). In qualitative research the focus, stemming from research traditions in the social sciences and the arts, is on discovery (Hamberg et al.1994). Cronbach (1975:124) concludes that social phenomena are too context-specific to permit generalisability. He suggests the priority of qualitative research is to 'appraise a practice or proposition... in context'. Denzin (1983:133) also rejects generalisability as a goal: 'every instance of social interaction, if thickly described, represents a slice from the life world' and is thus a proper subject matter. Donmoyer (1990) looks to schema theory and its concepts of assimilation, accommodation, integration and differentiation (Piaget 1971) for language to characterise how generalisability occurs in experiential learning. He believes that applying this language to qualitative research gives it 'far more utility for applied fields . . . than was traditionally believed' (p. 198). Patton (2002) finds another term instead of generalisability: 'extrapolations . . . modest speculations on the likely applicability of findings to other situations' (p. 584), which may be made from qualitative research. Creswell (2005:48) also uses another term: 'In qualitative research, the . . . interpretation consists of stating the larger meaning of the findings'. Metcalfe (2005) says priorities for generalising knowledge differ across the qualitative paradigm, and authors need to make their priorities explicit. In this way, he believes that 'the debate on the quality of qualitative research might be both improved and better appreciated relative to other epistemology'.

Under this section, some scholars came up with new terminologies other than generalization; they believe these terms could be used instead of the term generalization. Others believe that researchers using qualitative research should be explicit in their priorities in order to improve on the quality/validity of the results of qualitative research. However some scholars believe that generalization ought not to be the main thrust of qualitative research.

Looking at qualitative research Ian Falk and John Guenther (2006:3) were able to gather the views of scholars on how nature, reader and researcher can influence the result of qualitative research:

Qualitative research is ‘very much influenced by the researcher’s individual attributes and perspectives’ (Schofield 1993:202). Stake (1980:64) suggests that qualitative methods may provide a vicarious link with the reader’s experience and thus be a natural basis for generalization. As Lincoln and Guba (1985:217) say: ‘the final judgment . . . is . . . vested in the person seeking to make the transfer’. This process involves reciprocity as the researcher, too, ‘is always a subject in qualitative research’ (Hamberg et al. 1994:177). The grounded theory approach to data analysis (Glaser and Strauss 1967) suggests that all explanations or theories are derived from the dataset rather than from a researcher’s viewpoint, but elsewhere Strauss stresses the importance of researchers’ taking advantage of earlier experiences for enhancing ‘theoretical sensitivity’ (Strauss 1987: 21). Enhanced knowledge is gained through the active participation of the researcher in a process which has been described as a participating-inductive model (Hamberg et al. 1994). Other authors agree that all research involves subjective perception and that different methods produce different perspectives, but argue that there is still an underlying reality which can be studied (Kirk and Miller 1986; Hammersley 1992).

The above debate indicates that the researchers using qualitative methods may influence the final results of the search, but as stated by one of the scholars cited above (Hamberg et al. 1994), the participatory aspect of qualitative research enhances knowledge., The information in this study was gathered through a participatory approach which has enhanced the knowledge of the researcher and also contributed to academic researching order to prove that qualitative research can also generalize, from the perspective of design and validity Ian Falk and John Guenther (2006:3) cited a number of scholars:

Maxwell (1992) identifies generalisability as one of five types of validity emerging from qualitative research methodology. Generalisability aligns with other features, which are: descriptive validity (factual accuracy), interpretive validity (understanding of the perspective of the group under study), theoretical validity (the “fit” of data and theoretical explanation), evaluative validity (application of an evaluation framework).

Maxwell identifies an internal and external generalisability. Internal generalizability applies within the setting or group studied; external

generalisability applies beyond the group, setting, context, or time (Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005). It is elsewhere called external reliability (Kincheloe and McLaren 2000). Patton (2002:230) advises selecting information-rich study sites and participants: ‘those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry’.

Extrapolating from the above extracts, the argument is that generalization is only one aspect of validity in qualitative research. It is argued that there are other features that accompany qualitative research methodologies which are descriptive in nature, interpretative in nature, can easily be aligned with the theory, and can be applied in reality. Thus, it can be inferred that if a study has been adequately carried out, qualitative research can provide appropriate and relevant generalizations. .

Referring to generalizability derived from sampling, description and also mixed methods, Ian Falk and John Guenther (2006:4) cite the following scholars:

A degree of generalisability can be achieved by ensuring that the research report is sufficiently detailed for the reader to be able to judge whether or not the findings apply in similar settings (Mays and Pope 2000). Detailed description should reveal the social relations that underpin it (Wainwright 1997). Generalisability may be enhanced by choosing a research site on the basis of typicality, or by using a multi-site methodology, but thick or rich description is vital (Schofield 1993)—it shows ‘that the researcher was immersed in the setting and [gives] the reader enough detail to ‘make sense’ of the situation’ (Firestone 1987:16). Some authors (e.g., Firestone 1987; Mays and Pope 2000; Silverman 2001; Onwuegbuzie and Leech 2005) advocate combining qualitative research with quantitative measures of populations, purposive sampling and theoretical sampling.

Combining sampling strategies may be used within a single method or mixed method research design (Kemper et al. 2003).

This combination of methods—often referred to as ‘mixed methods’—does a lot more than ‘fill in the gaps’ of one method or the other. Methods can be combined in a variety of ways: a) through the ‘quantification’ (Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998) of qualitative data (for example collating and counting recurrent themes in the qualitative data) in order to add ‘legitimacy to the researchers’ conclusions’ (Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie 2003:356); b) by accessing complementary quantitative data from within the same sample (for example

through use of quantitative survey instruments complementing interview data) in what could be described as a ‘concurrent triangulation strategy’ (Creswell 2003) and may incorporate ‘multilevel mixed sampling’ (Kemper et al. 2003:287) and c) by drawing on data that comes from outside the purposive sample frame (for example using national or large sample surveys on related topics) to compare the ‘accessible population’ with a ‘target population’ possibly for the purpose of ‘identifying the population to which a finding can and cannot be made’ (Johnson and Christensen 2004:244-245). This approach uses what is sometimes referred to as ‘sequential mixed methods sampling’ (Teddlie and Yu 2007). While this may be an oversimplification of their uses—certainly the literature describes several other ways of looking at different mixed methods approaches (e.g. Tashakkori and Teddlie 1998; Miller 2003; Tashakkori and Creswell 2007), mixed methods allow researchers to on the one hand make deductions from empirical data (most often the quantitative data) while at the same time testing these deductions with the inferences that emerge (most often from the qualitative data)—and vice versa—to both test hypothesis and build theory (Erzberger and Kelle 2003). This combination effectively validates the findings of both data sources.

The above quotation connotes that once a study is carried out in a typical site, or a sample taken from a similar setting, then the result can be generalized by qualitative research. It also is noteworthy; however, that some of the scholars cited above believe that mixed methods or combination of sampling methods in qualitative research can go a long way to enable generalization.

Finally, on the issue of generalizability, Ian Falk and John Guenther (2006:3) addressed an argument based on the role of theory in generalization;

Generalization is closely involved with theory. Johnson and Christensen (2004) say, ‘A well-developed theory explains how something operates in general . . . and it enables one to move beyond the findings of any single research study’ (p. 19). Yin (2003b) says analysts should generalize findings to theory, ‘analogous to the way a scientist generalizes from experimental results to theory’ (p. 38). Indeed Johnson and Christensen suggest that the only difference between qualitative and quantitative researchers is the starting point of the research on a ‘research wheel’.... The theory then becomes the vehicle for examining other cases. Yin (2003b:32) calls this role of theory ‘analytic generalization’ (in contrast to statistical generalization). Maxwell (1992) also believes the generalisability of qualitative data occurs through the development of theory from the data—a theory that can be applied to similar persons in similar situations.

In the above extract, the scholars argue that generalization and theory walk hand in hand and that a well-developed theory should be able to give details on how it operates in general, and that the generalizability of qualitative data occurs only when a theory that can be applied to similar persons in similar situations is developed from the gathered information. Based on this argument, one can aver that, as a case study, South Sudan enables generalisations about post conflict zones in Africa. .

The case study method involved doing field work in the natural circumstances of the chosen case which means that researcher stayed within the settings of respondents in the search for recurring patterns and consistent regularities. The researcher recorded all interviews (both tape recorded and book recorded) for proper assessment that is, what is important and what is not while exploring the case study.

Ethical Issues

This study was approved by the higher degrees ethics committee of UKZN. The full consent of the respondents was sought at every level after the aims of the research had been explained to the respondents. The recording of the interviews was done with the interviewee's full consent and a consent form was signed, although some of them did not agree to participate in a taped interview, instead requiring that the researcher take notes. . After the interviewees were assured of confidentiality, they decided whether to participate in the interview or not. Many of the participants gave their real names and even signed informed consent forms after I had explained my intentions to them, but only one respondent; Ms Deng (pseudonym) did not give her real identity for security reasons and this is how the paper presents their identities.

Data Analysis

Based on the information collected, content analysis of the collected data was used to analyse the data. Qualitative content analysis has been defined as “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative materials and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (Patton, 2002: p.453). This brings consistency to the output of the research.

Manual process of coding was employed in the field; I made 28 copies of informed consent form, putting Alphabets A-Z2 on each of it. Once a given respondent had agreed to participate, s/he signed the form. Included with the alphabet was information regarding whether the interview had been recorded or whether the researcher had taken notes. After each interview, the researcher listened to the taped interview or read through the notes, and subsequently transcribed the interview. During the course of the interviews, each respondent answered the same questions differently. During the process of data analysis, the researcher interpreted the (accurately transcribed) answers provided by respondents.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The key limitations relating to this research study include the following: the unavailability of a few stakeholders for face-to-face interviews; difficulties in accessing people at the grass roots level owing to recurring outbreaks of armed conflict; a language barrier had to be overcome by utilising the services of an interpreter. Finally, a limitation was imposed by the researcher’s financial constraints. These limitations notwithstanding, the researcher was able to adequately access the data necessary for meaningful research findings and completion of the study. For example, in cases where the researcher could not reach respondents for face to face interviews,

the interviews were conducted via phone calls and internet facilities, I also made use of the safer academic environment provided by the University of Juba, where I was able to meet with women (including administrative staff) from various parts of the country who were able to provide answers to my research questions satisfactorily.

The researcher's financial constraints were partially obviated by assistance from relatives. In regard to the language barrier: on the occasions when the interpreter could not stay with me throughout the period of interview, I had to specifically look for a respondent who was able to communicate in English. This took time but was well managed.

1.9 Structure of dissertation

Chapter One: Introduction to Women's Organization and Peace building

This chapter discusses the background to the problem of the study on the impact of women's organizations in peace building in Africa and the research methodology. It also outlines the key questions, objectives the broad problems to be addressed and the significance of the study. Finally, this chapter shows the overview of the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter Two: Review of International Policy Landscape and Women's Peace Building Organisations

This chapter reviews prior studies on the area of women's organizations and peace building. The chapter discusses the issues of women's organizations and peace building in Africa; looking at women's rights in the light of human rights, women and war and the reasons for including for African women in peace building. It also provides an overview of women in political positions in the world in order to see the extent to which the world is yielding to the campaign of UN security's council resolution 1325 on the involvement of women as decision

makers. This chapter, apart from reviewing the literature also identify gaps which the study intends to fill.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Considerations for Women's Organizations and Peace building

This chapter outlines the theories that serve as the bases for the research study. These theories are Moleyneux's organizing theory and Lederach's theory of art of moral imagination theory; these two theories are combined for further conceptualization at the end of this study. These two theories were merged because of the topic of this work which combines women organizing with peace building work. Moleyneux's theory on women's organization is used as the basis for the exploration of women's role in peace building in South Sudan, and Lederach's Moral Imagination theory is applied to the involvement of women in peace building in South Sudan.

Chapter Four: Women's organisations in South Sudan

This chapter focuses on the historical facts of women's organizations in South Sudan. Some of the facts gotten from the field were also used to support the literature on the history of women's organizations in South Sudan. Also, part of the fieldwork data analysis is included in this chapter, namely, data relating to the strategies of women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan. In this chapter various activities carried out by women's organizations in South Sudan were divided under three categories of strategy, namely: Advocacy, Awareness Creation and Training and Capability Building. Under each category various activities carried out by the women/women's organisations are thoroughly analysed.

Chapter Five: Women's Organisations in Peace building in South Sudan; Their Strengths and Challenges

This chapter focuses on information acquired during interviews in regard to the opportunities and challenges of women's organizations. This chapter analyses various challenges women/women's organizations in South Sudan are tackling as they build peace; these challenges are believed to be sources of hindrance to the peace work in which these organizations are engaged. The chapter argues that if these obstacles remain unresolved, it could render the efforts of these organizations useless.

Chapter Six: Nature of the Relationship between Women's Organizations and the Government of South Sudan

The chapter discusses the kind of relationship that exists between the government of South Sudan and women's organizations in South Sudan. The discussion is derived both from relevant literature and the researcher's fieldwork. In this chapter, efforts of women in trying to lobby the government of South Sudan to involve more women especially in peace processes and policy making in accordance with the UNSCR 1325 are analysed and the political activities of South Sudanese women/ women's organizations are thoroughly dealt with. Also the issue of peace building and state building are discussed to show the correlation between the two and how this will later help in the journey towards a peaceful nation in South Sudan.

Chapter Seven: Summary of findings

In this chapter, I summarize my findings on the issue of women's organizations and peace building in South Sudan. Also, what the study has been able to contribute to knowledge is highlighted. Additionally, suggestions for further research are outlined. .

Chapter Six: Recommendations and Conclusion

This is the concluding part of the study which offers recommendations to South Sudan's women's organizations, society and government. .

Chapter Two

Review of International Policy Landscape and Women's Peace Building Organisations

Introduction

As discussed earlier, this study defines a women's organization as any organization that is formed for the purpose of pursuing women's rights and interests. Peace building on the other hand is seen as a process towards development in post conflict zones especially in Africa. There is a considerable volume of literature on Women Organizations/Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs) and peace building in post conflict zones, but there remains a dearth of studies on the convergence of women's organisations and peacebuilding.

Recently, with the help of United Nations Organizations, women's organizations have become more widely known and influential in peace building processes, at least theoretically. But in order to make it a reality, more organizations which focus on women's rights and interests are needed in post conflict zones, to empower women, and to involve them in a bottom up participatory peace building in their communities. How women's organizations are able to achieve sustainable peace by empowering women starting from the grass root and getting women's interest represented at the policy decision making arena as far as peace building is concerned is the at the centre of this research.

This chapter therefore reviews literature on the following themes: Non-Governmental Organizations; women's organizations and policy making in post conflict zones; women's political participation and peace building at the grass roots; women's organizations and peace building in Africa; human rights and women's rights; women and war and women and peace

building. By reviewing the literature according to the above themes, gaps in literature will be identified, and the significance of this study will be highlighted.

Finally this chapter of the thesis is important because it provides information on women in political positions, and on organizations working for sustainable peace and development at the grass roots, national and international levels. The chapter also illustrates the shifting nature of these roles can shift during the life cycle of conflict in post conflict zones in Africa.

There are key concepts that will frequent more often in this study and these are the definitions as they relate to the study

Definitions of Key Terms

Women's Organisations: In the context of this research, refers to any organisation focusing on women empowerment and equality.

Peace building: As defined in the UN Peacekeeping Capstone Doctrine (2008), peace building “involves a range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels of conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.” This research examines peace building from the angle of processes but not as a goal per se, since there are still relapses.

The concept of peace building was first introduced to the United Nations (UN) by the former UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in his 1992 report on “an Agenda for Peace”⁷, as “action to identify and support structures, which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in

⁷“ What is peace building?” cited in “ United Nations Peace building Fund; preventing relapse into violent conflict”. <http://www.unpbf.org/application-guidelines/whatispeacebuilding>. Accessed on 8th of May 2014, p1

order to avoid a relapse into conflict “⁸ that is peace building is meant to take place in places where conflict had halted after which rebuilding the institutions and infrastructures of nations destroyed by internal war and strife will take place, and also efforts are made to bring the parties involved in war together in harmony in other to reduce the risk of relapses⁹.

Another effort was made to clarify the issues of peace building by “The Brahimi Report (2000)”¹⁰ which stated that peace building comprises the “activities undertaken on the far side of conflict to reassemble the foundations of peace and provide the tools for building on those foundations something that is more than just the absence of war”¹¹ This refers to the provisions of some equipment to build on the foundation of peace something that goes beyond the physical absence of war; in other words peace building organizations could be seen as the agents to be used in providing the equipment to which Brahimi refers. .

The Secretary-General’s Policy Committee defines peace building thus;

A range of measures targeted to reduce the risk of lapsing or relapsing into conflict by strengthening national capacities at all levels for conflict management, and to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development. Peacebuilding strategies must be coherent and tailored to the specific needs of the country concerned, based on national ownership, and should comprise a carefully prioritized, sequenced, and relatively narrow set of activities aimed at achieving the above objectives.¹²

The above definition gave more opportunities to peace building organizations, and it was this report that brought women’s involvement in peace building into limelight¹³.

In the words of Necla Tschirgi (2003: 2),

⁸ Ibid

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid

¹² Ibid

¹³ Ibid

The core of Peace building aims at the prevention and resolution of violent conflicts, the consolidation of peace once violence has been reduced and post-conflict reconstruction with a view to avoiding a relapse into violent conflict. Going beyond the traditional military, diplomatic and security approaches of the Cold World era, Peace building seeks to address the proximate and root causes of contemporary conflicts including structural, political, socio-cultural, economic and environmental factors.

In the view of Tschirgi, peace building goes beyond what had been the traditional methods of conflict resolution, particularly during the Cold War era, to a more definite way of resolving conflict by tackling the root causes of conflict and other factors that do or can contribute to it. In other words, peace building is essential in post conflict zones to reduce renewals of war because physical absence of war does not necessarily mean that the bone of contention is amicably resolved. However, once the machinery of peace building is put in place, then this bone of contention can be settled peacefully using strategies that are peculiar to a particular post conflict zone.

Looking at the various ways peace building has been defined above, there is no doubt that agents/organizations will be needed to carry out peace building activities in post conflict zones. As earlier stated, many organizations/NGOs are getting involved in non-violent conflict resolutions and peace building, including women-led organizations on the ground in post conflict zones. Also, as noted above, the necessity to include women's organisations is increasingly recognized at the international level. . The following questions therefore come to mind: why are women getting involved in peace building? Is it because they by nature are more peaceful than men? Can women alone make the world a more peaceful place, or do they need partnership with their male counterparts? These questions will be addressed in the next section.

South Sudan This is a new country born out of decades of war. South Sudan was part of Sudan as a country before becoming independent in 2011. Despite attaining independence, the country's path to peace building and development has encountered obstacles and setbacks.

Bottom up Approach: In the context of this work, it is the focus on the efforts of women's organizations at the grassroots in the process of peace building in post conflict zones. It refers to the way and manner peace building is being handled at the grassroots and its effect on the post conflict community at large.

'Top Down': In the context of this study, this is the focus on the interaction between the Government's efforts in peacebuilding and grassroots efforts. It refers to the ways in which Governments in post conflict zones are interfacing with grassroots peace-building organisations.

2.1 Women's Political Participation in a Global Context.

This particular section is of notable relevance in regard to the study's hypothesis, namely that the effective participation of women in decision making at all levels (local, national and international) is a key element of sustainable peace building. (As noted in Chapter One, UNSCR 1325 on women's involvement in decision-making supports the hypothesis.)

The concept of 'participation' in a political sphere has to do with who takes part in a set of activities within society, how the activities are carried out, and in which sectors they occur. For instance, participatory activities range from formal sector employment, general and local elections, legislative work, and household work (Isola, 2014: 27). Consequently "participation can be seen as a measure of equality." (Ademiluyi and Adedamola 2010: 22). Political participation can serve as a medium through which women can express their decision-making

power and enhance their ability to influence matters pertaining to the maintenance of peace in post conflict zones.

Moreover, women's role in national development is an issue that cannot be over emphasized. The United Nations Declaration that the total development of any country requires the maximum participation of women in all aspects has proved to be an agent of change in the prominence women's role in development has come to acquire in recent times (Isola . 2014), Governments of the nations in the world, international agencies, non –governmental organizations and other key policy makers have all emphasized the importance for women to adequately participate in the economy, government and overall growth of their countries (Chukwuemeka and Eze, 2011: 24).

In every political system, there is a need for al citizenry, Male and female, to participate in the act of governance and this can only be achieved through effective political participation. Nwankwo (2009:11) argues that political participation should cut across other aspects of political process. For most people, political participation is confined to voting; however, political participation goes beyond voting. It includes all those activities in which the citizen engages in order to influence governance and decision-making. According to Okoosi –Simbine (2002:30) political participation refers to “those voluntary activities by which members of a society share in the selection of rulers and directly or indirectly in the formation of public policy” He further argues that participation is a civic duty; a participatory society is politically healthy. It also is evidence that citizens are capable of protecting their interests. . Furthermore, Anifowose and Enemu (2008: 12) say that “Democracy cannot be conceived in the theory or created in practice without the creation, recognition, encouragement, and expansion of the opportunities for participation”. To Anifowose and Enemu, political participation can exist in

various forms, for instance, elections or selection of representatives; routine individual or group involvement in the day to day affairs of the society or through the shaping of issues that affect public opinion, events and influential personalities.

Political participation is defined by Chukwemeka and Eze (2011: 4), as the inclusion of those legal activities by private citizens which are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and the actions they take. Chukwemeka and Eze (2011: 4), therefore conclude that political participation can either be direct in the sense of being involved in government, or indirect, by observing and making contributions to the act of governance. They support their definition by listing politically participatory activities and objectives:

1. Political participation is concerned with influencing the composition and conduct, personnel, policies of government.
2. Political participation is not limited to voting at elections but includes many other ways in which citizens try to influence governmental decisions.
3. For conceptual clarity, political participation is often defined as the activities of private citizens only. The definition excludes the behaviour of government and party officials who are more or less continuously involved in politics. In other words, these officials are regarded as the object rather than the source of political participation.
4. Although theoretically, political participation can include both legal and illegal attempts to influence governmental decisions, behaviouralist, and other analysts usually focus only on legal forms of participation and tend to treat as 'abnormal' illegal and often violent forms of participation such as riots and assassinations.

5. Participation is usually regarded as a desirable or positive process. It has been seen as a civic duty, as a sign of political health, as the best method of ensuring that one's private interests are not neglected and as a sine qua non of democracy.

In other words, political participation is a concrete form of behaviour and not simply a psychological orientation. . While psychological orientation may provide the basis for political participation, behaviourists are more interested in the actual behaviour of citizens in attempting to influence government than in the psychological sources of that behaviour (see Thompson 2001).

For the purpose of this study, political participation has to do with the active involvement of both men and women of South Sudan in the decision process of the state without any gender discrimination whatsoever.

2. 1.1. Overview of Women in Political Positions World-Wide

According to Akinyode-Afolabi (2003:112), despite the promotion of women's empowerment in all its ramifications by many international organizations, which has been championed by the United Nations and its agencies, the representation of women in government and other public decision making positions is still very low all over the world. Although the proportion of women's representation differs between regions, situational analysis still demonstrates that there is a huge gender gap between female and male representation in political leadership as well as other aspects of public life. A notable example of a region where voting restrictions are placed on women is the Middle East, especially the states of Brunei, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirate (Inter Parliamentary Union, 2010).

The issue of women's political participation and representation in public life should be seen from four perspectives, namely: Access, Participation, Representation and Transformation (Isola 2014: 27). Access to political institutions, participation (which has to do with control of power within such institutions), representation (that is, effective representation of women at the helm of affairs of the state) and transformation (this is where the work of women as peace builders can be situated). Looking at women globally, women's ministries remain concentrated in social areas (14%) rather than legal (9.4%), economic (4.1%), political (3.4%) and executive (3.9%) areas. Female Heads of Government constitute only 13 out of a global sample of 189 governments (Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU) 2010). The list (below) of Female leaders of governments includes advanced and developing countries. In 2010, out of 13 women Prime Ministers and Presidents, 5 belonged to developed countries, while 8 were from developing countries (World Bank 2011). However, in 2014, a lot of changes had taken place.

1. Angela Merkel, - Chancellor of Germany
2. Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, - President of Argentina
3. Ellen Johnson – Sir leaf, - President of Liberia
4. Gloria Macapagal – Arroyo, - President of the Philippines
5. Helen Clark, - Prime Minister of New Zealand
6. Luisa Diogo, - Prime Minister of Mozambique
7. Mary McAlees, - President of Ireland
8. Micheline Calmy – Rey – President of the Swiss Confederation
9. Michelle Bachelet, - President of Chile
10. Pratibha Patil, - President of India
11. Tarja Halonen, - President of Finland
12. Yulia Tymoshenko, - Prime Minister of Ukraine
13. Zinaida Greceanii, - Prime Minister of Moldova. (Inter Parliamentary Union (IPU), 2010).
14. Dilma Rouseff- President of Brazil

15. Atifete Jahjaga- President of Kosovo
16. Helle Thorning Schmidt- Prime Minister of Denmark
17. Portia Simpson Miller- Prime Minister of Jamaica
18. Park Geun-hye- President of South Korea
19. Alenka Bratusek- Prime Minister of Slovenia
20. Sibel Siber- Prime Minister of Cyprus (North)
21. Aminata Toure- Prime Minister of Senegal
22. Erna Solberg- Prime Minister of Norway
23. Laimdota Straujuma- Prime Minister of Latvia
24. Catherine Samba Panza- President of Central African Republic
25. Michelle Bachelet- President of Chile
26. Marie -Louise Coleiro Preca- President of Malta
27. Ewa Kopacz- Prime Minister of Poland
28. Simonetta Sommaruga- President of Switzerland
29. Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic- President of Croatia (Mcullough J.J. 2015: 1)

The number of women occupying positions in public decision-making all over the world is relatively few, but as the above list shows, there has been a sizable increase in their numbers between 2010 and 2015. . However, although numbers have increased in some countries, in most the leadership structure continues to favour men. (Olutayo, 2001: 69). According to Lindberg (2004) Women constituted merely 8.1 percent of members of parliament globally in 1965, by 2002, 165 countries had ratified the convention of the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDAW), except for the Nordic countries. Most of the women in government leadership positions in Nordic Countries are in ministries like education, culture, social welfare and women's affair. Hassim (2008) avers that women's representation is low in elected office in the world and it is quite depressing. Lindberg (2004) went further by saying

that even in advanced countries, under-representation remains large despite decades (in some cases, over a century) of women’s suffrage.

Table 2.1: WOMEN IN NATIONAL PARLIARMENTS BY REGION 2005

Region	Percentage Women
Nordic	40.1
Americas	18.6
Europe(OSCE excl.Nordic)	16.8
Asia	15
Sub Saharan Africa	14.8
Pacific	13.2
Arab states	6.5

SOURCE: Inter-parliamentary Union (IPU) “Women in National Parliaments: 2005 (<http://www.ipu.org>)

If one factors out the Nordic countries, it is evident that Europe and the Americas have made as little progress in the area of female representation in the legislatures as has Asia, a continent in which there supposedly are greater social barriers to women’s participation in public life. The Beijing conference set a target of 30 % of women in parliaments by 2005; this was adopted by Southern African Development Community (SADC). This target has had some effect, although not as spectacular as is often claimed. In 1995 women accounted for 11.3% of members of parliament worldwide, but by 2005 this number had increased to close to 16% Lindberg (2004)

Table 2.2: WOMEN’S REPRESENTATION IN AFRICAN PARLIAMENTS

Country	% of Women in National Legislature ,2003
Burkina Faso	11.7
Botswana	11.1 (2004)
Cameroon	8.9
Cote d’Ivoire	8.5
Djibouti	10.8
Malawi	13.9 (2004)
Mali	10.2
Mauritius	17.1 (2005)
Mozambique	30.0
Namibia	29.2
Nigeria	8.3
South Africa	29.8
Tunisia	11.5
Eritrea	22.0
Kenya	7.1
Morocco	10.8
Niger	1.2
Rwanda	48.8
Somalia	10.0
Sudan	9.7
Tanzania	22.3
Uganda	24.7

SOURCE: Adapted from Tripp, 2004, Dahlerup and Freidenwall, 2004: Dahlerup, 2006.

In the above table, in 2003, percentages of women in National Legislatures in different countries were as follows: Burkina Faso 11.7%, Botswana 11.1%(2004), Cameroon 8.9%, Cote d’Ivoire 8.5%, Djibouti 10.8%, Malawi13.9%. In 2004, percentages were as follows:

Mali, 10.2%, Mauritius 17.1%. In 2005: Mozambique 30%, Namibia 29.2%, South Africa 29.8%, Tunisia 11.5%, Eritrea 22%, Kenya 7.1%, Morocco 10.8%, Niger 1.2%, Nigeria 8.3% Rwanda 48.8%, Somalia 10.%, Sudan 9.7%, Tanzania 22.3%, and Uganda 24.7%. In 2005, of the African countries cited above, Rwanda had the highest number of women representatives in the National Legislature (48.8%) while Mozambique was runner-up with 30%.

Paxton et al, (2009) argue that women still remain highly under-represented in national politics. As of October, 2008, the average African percentage of women in parliament was only 18.3% (International Parliamentary Union 2008). However, female representation in parliaments around the world shows a substantial improvement from previous figures. Women made up only 2% of world parliaments in 1945, 5% in 1970 and 9% in 1990. As of 2000, women still had barely exceeded 10% of parliamentary seats (11.7%). Hughes et al (2008) say that there are variations over time in any given country's patterns of growth and levels of women's parliamentary representation. .

In the world classification of women in national parliaments in 2011 and 2013 (Appendix I and II), Rwandan women are first on the list on the World classification table, both at the Lower House and the Upper House (or Senate) levels. 56.3% of Lower House representatives were women, while 38.5% of Upper House representatives were women. .

Countries like Andorra (50%), Sweden (45.0%), Seychelles (43.8%), Cuba (43.2%), Iceland (42.9%), Finland (42.5%), Nicaragua (40.2%), Norway (39.6%), Mozambique (39.2%), Denmark (39.1%), Angola (38.6%), Costa Rica (38.6%), United Republic of Tanzania (36.0%), Uganda (34.9%), Nepal (33.2%), Ecuador (32.3%), New Zealand (32.2%), to mention a few,

elected women to the Lower House of their Parliaments. Percentages of Lower House female representation in these countries varies from 50% to 32.2% . .

Examples of both Lower and Upper House female representation can be found, for instance, in South Africa (44.5% and 29.6%), Belgium (39.3% and 36.6%), Netherlands (39.3% and 36%), Argentina (37.4% and 38.9%), Spain (36% and 33.5%), Germany (32.8% and 21.7%), Burundi (32.1% and 46.3%), and Belarus (31.8% and 32.8%). Percentages of female representatives in both Houses vary from 44.55 to 31.8%.

Again, at the level of both legislative Houses, 2011 percentages in other countries are as follows: Trinidad and Tobago (28.6% and 25.8%), Switzerland (28.5% and 19.6%), Austria (27.9% and 29.5%), Ethiopia (27.8% and 16.3%), Afghanistan (27.7% and 27.5%), South Sudan (26.5% and 10%), Mexico (26.2% and 22.7%), Bolivia (25.4% and 47.2%), Sudan (25.1% and 17.9%) , Australia 924.7% and 35.3%) Canada (24.7% and 35.9%), Namibia (24.4% and 26.9%), Lesotho (24.2% and 18.2%), Poland (23.9% and 13%), Senegal (22.7% and 40%), Pakistan (22.2% and 17%), Mauritania (22.1% and 14.3%), Philippines (22.1% and 13%).

Referring to Lower Houses only, an extended list of countries and percentages includes Macedonia (30.9%), Timor- Leste (29.2%), Portugal (26.5%), Tunisia (26.3%), Monaco (26.1%), Iraq (25.2%), Lao People's Democratic Republic (25%), Vietnam (24.4%), and Liechtenstein (24%) Croatia (23.5%), Kyrgyzstan (23.3%), and Singapore (22.2%).

Examples of countries where female representation in both Houses is comparatively low are countries like Czech Republic (22% and 18.5%), United Kingdom (22% and 20.1%), Uzbekistan (22% and 15%), Italy (21.3% and 18.4%), Cambodia (21.1% and 14.8%), Dominican Republic (20.8% and 9.4%), Tajikistan, (19% and 14.7%), France (18.9% and 22.1%), Kazakhstan (17.8%).

Examples of countries where Lower House female representation is relatively low are Eritrea (22%), Serbia (21.6%), Peru (21.5%), China (21.3%), Latvia (21%), Bulgaria (20.8%), Cape Verde (20.8%), Malawi (20.8%), Luxembourg (20%), Estonia (19.8%), Israel (19.2%), Lithuania (19.1%), El Salvador (19.0%), Mauritius (18.8%), Republic of Moldova (18.8%), Bangladesh (18.6%), Sao Tome and Principe (18.2%), Honduras (18%), Indonesia (18%), United Arab Emirate (17.5%), Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (17.4%). Even lower percentages in 2011 are demonstrated by Greece (17.3%), Venezuela (17%), Turkmenistan (16.8%), San Marino (16.7%), Albania (16.4%), Azerbaijan (16%), Slovakia (16%), Democratic People's Republic of Korea (15.6%), Burkina Faso (15.3%), Republic of Korea (14.7%), Turkey (14.2%), Cameroon (13.9%), Djibouti (13.8%), Niger (13.3%), Sierra Leone (13.2%) and Chad (12.8%) .

In regard to the representation of women in both Legislative Houses, further examples are United States of America (16.8% and 17%), Bosnia and Herzegovina (16.7% and 13.3%), Morocco (16.7% and 2.2%), Thailand (15.8% and 15.4%), Uruguay (15.2% and 12.9%), Ireland (15.1% and 30%), Zimbabwe (15% and 24.2%) and Gabon (14.7% and 17.6%), Slovenia

(14.4% and 2.5%), Chile (14.2% and 13.2%), Russian Federation (14% and 4.7%), Swaziland (13.6% and 40%), Grenada (13.3% and 30.e%) and Jamaica (13.3% and 23.8%).

Countries in which women have been elected only to the Lower House are Niger (13.3%), Sierra Leone (13.2%), Chad (12.8%), Central African Republic (12.5%), Dominica (12.5%), Syrian Arab Republic (12.4%), Montenegro (11.1%), Togo (11.1%), Zambia (11.1%), Cyprus (10.7%), Mali (10.2%), Equatorial Guinea (10%), Guinea Bissau (10%), Kenya (9.8%), Suriname (9.8%), Argentina (9.2%), Hungary (9.1%), Cote d'Ivoire (8.9%), Kiribati (8.7% and Malta (8.7%). .

Further examples of countries with low levels of female representation in both Houses are Colombia (12.7% and 15.7%), Madagascar (12.5% and 11.1%), Paraguay (12.5% and 15.6%), Bahamas (12.2% and 33.3%), Romania (11.4% and 5.8%), Japan (11.3% and 18.2%), Jordan (10.8% and 11.7%), India (10.8% and 10.3%), Antigua and Barbuda (10.5% and 29.4%), Bahrain (10% and 27.5%), Barbados (10% and 33.3%), Malaysia (9.9% and 28.1%), while Brazil had (8.6% and 16%), Bhutan (8.5% and 24%), Algeria (8.6% and 5.1%), Congo (7.3% and 13.9%), Myanmar (4.3% and 3.6%) respectively. Also, Haiti (4.2% and 3.3%), Nigeria (3.7% and 3.7%), Oman (1.2% and 18.1%), Yemen (0.3% and 1.8%), Belize (0% and 3.8%), and Palau (0% and 15.4%) respectively.

Reverting again to countries where women are represented only in the Lower Houses, more examples are Panama (18.5%), Benin (8.4%), Ghana (8.3%), Ukraine (8.0%), Botswana (7.9%), Kuwait (7.7%), Gambia (7.5%), Somalia (6.8%), Saint Kilts and Nevis (6.7%), Tuvalu

(6.7%), Georgia (6.5%), Maldives (6.5%), Sri Lanka (5.8%), Samoa (4.1%), Mongolia (3.9%), Tonga (3.6%), Lebanon (3.1%), Comoros (3.0%), Iran (Islamic republic of) 2.8%, Vanuatu (1.9%), Papua New Guinea (0.9%), Micronesia (0%), Nauru (0%), Qatar, (0%), Saudi Arabia (0%), and Solomon islands (0%). Finally, countries like Guatemala, Guyana, Liberia and Marshall Island have no record of women representation in their National Parliaments

In appendix I and II analysed above, one can indeed see that there are variations in the pattern of growth and change in women's representation overtime in the countries of the world. Recently, Michelle Bachelet, Executive Director of UN Women, spoke at a press conference on women in politics. Bachelet said that, in the year, 2013, UN women are placing special emphasis on women's political participation and economic empowerment. The reasons for this, according to her, are firstly, because women's participation in politics and the economy reinforces women's civil, political and economic rights. Secondly, according to Bachelet, women's participation strengthens democracy, equality and the economy. She further stated that the number of elected women Heads of Government in the world has increased from eight (8) in 2005 to seventeen (17) in 2012, and women parliamentarians from 14.2 percent in 2005 to 16.7 today.

Looking at the total percentages, we see that the Nordics have the highest percentage of women ministers at 48.4 %. The second highest percentage of women ministers is in the Americas at 21.4% up, 3 points from 2005. The region with the third highest percentage of women ministers is sub – Saharan Africa at 20.4 percent up 3 percent since 2005. In Europe, the percentage of women ministers is 15.3 percent. In the Pacific, the percentage of women minister is 11.5 percent, followed by Asia at 10.5% and the state 7 percent. Among the regions mentioned, only

three regions .i.e. Arab, Europe and Pacific have stayed virtually in the same terms of percentage of women ministers since 2005 (Isola, 2014).

The number of countries with more than thirty (30) percent of women in parliament has gone up from 26 in 2010 to 30 in 2011. Attaining thirty (30) percent of women in parliament which is a target in the Beijing Platform for Action from the fourth world conference on women, should be something that each country is pushing for in order to ensure women political participation world over. Quota system should be adopted in those countries that have not yet done so in order to accelerate women's political participation. Out of the fifty nine (59) countries that held elections in 2011, only seventeen (17) legislated quotas, women gained twenty seven (27%) of parliamentary seats in these countries compared to sixteen (16%) in countries without quotas (Isola A.A., 2014).

There are prominent women in Africa, such as Liberian president, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Zimbabwe vice president Joyce Mujuru, as well as many female parliamentarians like Ngozi Okonjo-Iweala. Finance minister. There was a Kenyan Nobel prize winning environmentalist Wangari Maathai. African women need broad status uplift.

Speaking on behalf of European Union and Associated States, Denberg (2006: 3) said that gender equality was not just an important goal in itself, but also a means to achieving and sustaining development indispensable for the achievement of all millennium Development Goals. No society could truly prosper if it left the talents of half its population behind; that is without the involvement of women in the governance of a country, there cannot be true prosperity or development. .

With the adoption of the Beijing platform for action, gender mainstreaming became a globally supported strategy for promoting gender equality and security, and the entitlement to all human rights by women and girls. Other summits also contributed to that cause. The two complementary approaches to achieving gender equality were mainstreaming gender and promoting women's empowerment. Men could play an important role in the realization of gender equality, and specific strategies could be developed in that respect. (Denberg 2006: 3).

A committee set up under the Beijing platform, was considering the combined fourth and fifth periodic report of Hungary in compliance with the convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, as it continued its three-week exceptional session, to reduce a backlog of country reports. Introducing the report, Kaponyi, head of delegation and an Associate Professor at the University of Economics and Public Administration in Budapest said that, some major changes had taken place in Hungary (Isola . 2014: 30). The number of women elected to Parliament was greater than ever before and there were three female ministers. Structural changes regarding the institutional framework dealing with women had also taken place in Hungary (Isola. 2014:30). Within the Ministry of Employment, Policy and Labour, a new Directorate-General for equal opportunities had been established to elaborate the policy for promotion of equality for women, rehabilitation of the disabled and employment of Romas (outcast) (Jayeoba . 2009) which started in India in 1974 but was later actualised in 2009.

Finally, looking critically at the number of women in South Sudan's national parliament, as shown in Appendix I and II, 2011 and 2013 respectively, one can see the maintenance of the same figure in the course of the two different years. This figure should be increased, not least in order to improve the proportion of women in peace building. Also, it shows that women's

political participation in South Sudan is yet to meet the 30 percent quota stipulated in their constitution.

2.2 NGOs, Women's Organizations and Policy Making in Post Conflict Zones.

The twentieth century has experienced an unprecedented global associational evolution, akin to the rise of the nation-state in the late nineteenth century (Lekorwe and Mpabanga, 2007:1). The role of development aid in this upsurge has been significant, aside from the fact that such developments have been adversely affected by the absence of a generally accepted transnational or trans-historical definition of these organizations (Chimanikire, 2003).

According to Mark Schuller (2007: 30), there have been several attempts to classify NGOs:

Pearce (1997: 259) distinguished membership from non-membership NGOs, international from indigenous NGOs, and service-delivery from advocacy NGOs. Farrington and Bebbington (1993) categorized NGOs according to role, history, funding, purpose, and structure. Dicklitch (1998; 5), argued that "NGOs can be categorized on the basis of the functions that they perform as well as the constituency that they target". Dicklitch (1998; 7-9) distinguished between voluntary organizations, people's organizations, and "briefcase NGOs" that are basically little other than an individual professional with a briefcase full of founding or other legitimizing papers. Bebbington and Thiele (1993; 204) contrast older pre-international funding NGOs from "opportunistic" or "yuppie" NGOs. Donor groups tend to distinguish NGOs by size and organizational capacity (Morton 1997; I-VI). Bailey (1998) analysed "civic" NGOs that deliberately work as "watchdog" groups against political corruption.

In light of these classifications, women's organizations/NGOs can be situated in Dicklitch's categorization that is, an organization that is based on the particular functions it performs. In the words of Willets¹⁴, though organizational structures and aims differ between NGOs, association and grass roots groups, they all represent millions of people to whom they are committed. Furthermore, the grass roots groups could be a first step towards legal, formal and well-structured organizations.

¹⁴ See it in UNESCO Encyclopedia of life support systems section 1, institutional and infrastructure resource issues. Article 1.44.3.7

Since there are various NGOs pursuing human rights as goal, why the enormous spread of women- oriented organizations/NGO in the 21st century? It is believed that, through the work of women-oriented, non- governmental organizations (NGOs), women are able to make their struggles visible and advocate for women's rights and empowerment. Tinker (2010), describes women-oriented organizations as non-profit organizations focusing on advancing women's lives by addressing their concerns and societal issues. Also, women's organizations devise development strategies and work towards their implementation. This is more easily achieved by women's organizations perhaps because of their autonomy. For instance, Hassim (2006:9), referring to women's organizations in Uganda, argues that autonomy allows women organizations to be able to determine their goals, and go for them even when these are in conflict with dominant political organizations.

Mari Fitzduff and Cheyanne Church (2004: 3), in their book titled *NGOs at the Table: Strategies for Influencing Policies in Areas of Conflict*, describe NGOs as an untidy community, with members ranging from international professional bodies to local grass roots organizations. These organizations according to them come in different sizes and shapes, focusing on distinct issues, with different expertise and approaches to executing their goals. In addition, Fitzduff and Church (2004) believe that in the contemporary world, NGOs are becoming more significant as political actors, making impacts at the local, national and international levels.

The above description of NGO clearly shows how NGOs differ in their goals and orientations and also the gradual movement of NGOs away from being critics of policy to playing the role of informed political actors, that is, the process of forcing decision makers to respond to the pressures in the political environment (2004: 1-2).

This brings us to the issue of NGO's/women organizations as political actors, influencing policy makers, especially in post conflict zones, The contribution of Marc Howard Ross and Hizkias Assefa (in Mari Fitzduff and Cheyanne Church, 2004: 23-55), reveals that involving NGOs in policy making in post conflict zones could be complicated especially if the agencies expect efficiency that could be at odds with the emphasis on fairness and empowerment from the policy makers. But on the other hand NGOs/ women's organizations are needed in post conflict zones to work together with Government agencies, to provide resources and solutions to the problems that people face in divided societies. Helping out in this way can put the society on a new path toward a peaceful future. Asseffa adds that NGOs/women organizations influencing policies in post conflict zones should not be handled carelessly because more harm than good could come as a result.

Hassim (2006: 129), when discussing the effectiveness of women's organizations in influencing government policies in South Africa especially during transition to democracy, attests that a lot of constitutional changes on the positive side were achieved especially for women. In other words, if women's organizations could have such impact on constitutions, then their efforts in influencing policies regarding peace building in post conflict zones should be encouraged.

2.3 Women's Organizations and Peace Building in Africa

In Africa, the concern for women as a specific group increased with the advent of western civilization and formal education as well as globalization. This global emphasis on women's struggle for equality and fairness has created a new awareness among women, particularly in developing countries. Both at the grassroots and national levels, more women's associations were formed immediately after independence and women took advantage of the new political

openings to assert their leadership roles (Jayeoba, 2009). These women's movements were founded with the objective of pressing for an expansion of women's political and social opportunities. The associations were also formed to discuss those common problems that have to do with the general economic well-being of their communities. The formation of these groups and organisations marked the beginning of movements by women with the aim of improving their lot (Adeleye, 2000; 3). Generally, some of the objectives of women's movements were to make visible their contributions to nation-building, improve their working conditions, give credit to their efforts as well as provide them with equal opportunities to operate on the same platform with their male counterparts. In a nutshell, the movements were aimed at creating equal opportunities and responsibilities for increased participation in nation-building (Adeleye, 2000:3).

Although most of these associations sprang up with different aims and objectives, they had one common feature, that is, to fight for the cause of women. The emergence of women's groups in Africa can be traced to the era of nationalist movements and the anti-colonial struggle (Afolabi and Arogundade, 2003; 17). At that time, most interest groups started agitating against colonial injustice, unfair treatment and undue imposition of unwarranted sanctions. During the colonial era, the visible women's movement were the market women's association that existed in most African countries (Afolabi and Arogundade, 2003; 17).

Also, since the early nineties, the issue of peace building has moved gradually away from the conference tables of diplomats to informal settings created by organizations and NGOs. The vast majority, if not all, of peace building policy argues for strengthening the local organisations as vehicles for peace (Hilhorst and Leeuwen, 2005; 537). Among these organizations, women's organization in peace building is globally prominent, especially in the African continent. The

inclusion of women's organizations in peace building was even recognised at the international level when the former United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Anan concluded that:

We can no longer afford to minimize or ignore the contributions of women and girls to all stages of conflict resolution, peace-making, peace-building, peacekeeping and reconstruction processes. Sustainable peace will not be achieved without the full and equal participation of women and men.¹⁵

Additionally, Security Council Resolution 1325 mandates that all United Nations (UN) bodies take steps to ensure gender parity in all aspects of peacekeeping and post-conflict situations. This has generated some arguments among scholars. The following section reviews the work of various scholars on women's rights, women and war, the concept of peace building and African women as peaceful agents in post conflict zones.

2.3.1 Human Rights and Women's Rights.

A great deal of human rights attention and some of the most vigorous international human rights efforts in recent years have focused on women. In other words, the enhancement of political rights and power of women is just one of the subjects that have become a focus of both international and national concern and action. Looking at women's rights in the light of human rights one can say that men and women ought to be treated equally.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights together form what is referred to as the international bill of rights (Roger Normand and Sarah Zaidi, 2008: xvii). In 1993, the United Nations held a world conference in Vienna on human rights and development that brought together governments and civil society forces to debate and discuss

¹⁵UN (2002). Report of the Secretary-General of Women, Peace and Security. Available at <http://www.iccnw.org/documents/S-2002-1154-E.pdf>

human rights (Roger Normand and Sarah Zaidi, 2008: xvii) as bases for development and global security. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, articles 1-30¹⁶ can be summarized as follows: right to equality; right to freedom; right to education right to races, classes or genders to be treated equally without discrimination; right to public fair hearing; right to political participation and so on.

In the light of the rights outlined above, one can argue that human rights/women rights cannot be discussed in isolation from democracy and development. As stated at the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights (1993); “Democracy, development and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms are interdependent and mutually reinforcing”¹⁷.

In the twentieth century, with the advent of communism and movements for independence from colonial rule, democracy emerged as a worldwide ideal (Bystydzienski and Sekhon, 1999: 2). It is widely embraced because of its many advantages such as promoting people’s participation in governance, giving people the opportunity to choose their leaders, and promoting accountability and transparency, if practiced as it should be (Jayeoba, 2009).

According to Roberts and Edwards (1991) Democratic governance involves popular participation and absolute respect for the rule of law, that is, a general guarantee of fundamental human rights which lubricate popular participation; periodic, competitive, free and fair elections with the vote of every citizen counting equally; respect for majority rule as well as the readiness of minorities to acquiesce in the decision of the majority; and accountability.

¹⁶ www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents?UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf

¹⁷ Savitri G and Rangita De Silva-De Alwis (2005) “women’s and Children’s Rights in a Human Rights based Approach to Development. UNICEF, NY

This means for there to be women's rights to political participation, equality, and empowerment there must be a system of government in place that recognises human rights along with women rights. Respect for women's rights is more likely to be demonstrated by democratic governments than by other forms of governance.

Furthermore, according to the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA: 2010: 55) "equality between women and men is a fundamental tenet of any democratic system of governance". It recognizes the ability of women and men to work together as equals in their engagement and shaping of the development of their societies (Isola, 2014: 40). It is noteworthy, however, that this tenet is rarely disputed as a statement of principle but in practice all over the world, women experience inequality in all areas of life and in order to reduce gender disparity, democracy needs to be imbued with policies, measures and practices. Democracy building initiatives must encourage the transformation of power relations between men and women in such a way that will indeed bring about equality in participation, representation and accountability (Isola, 2014: 40).

According to Wetzel (1993), human rights are challenged at different levels, and in relation to different spaces and spatiality (socially constructed spaces), with the human body being the basic 'territory' in the discourse. Physical violation, killing, imprisonment, torture and rape are only a few examples of human rights violations of the 'body'. Nevertheless, acknowledgement of bodily rights was not explicit in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which is the first UN declaration on human rights. This declaration recognizes the inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family as the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world. It does reaffirm the faith in fundamental

human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women.

In other words, it is explicit that the Declaration affirms the human rights of both men and women with no disparity but in the reality this is yet to be practised in full. After this declaration, a lot of documents, declarations, charters and covenants have been produced, such as Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declarations and Platform for Action of the Fourth World Conference on Women. All these intend to eliminate discrimination against women. For example Article 2 (e) of CEDAW¹⁸ directs that all appropriate measures must be taken by nation- states to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise. Article 10 also provides women with equal rights with men in the field of education and so on. One can say these have created a lot of awareness about women's rights but the reality on the ground is otherwise, because of various cultures, norms and laws (Hassim, 2006: 6). In similar vein, Josefa (2005) sees human rights as the area from which alternatives can be created. The problem, however, is that 'human rights' is a contested concept and rights themselves are contradictory. For example, the cognitive frameworks of cultural rights and women's rights often clash with each other.

Despite awareness in principle of women's rights, in practice they frequently are swept under the carpet when policies are made (Giles and Hyndman, 2004: 14).

Mahnaz (2001: 2) argues that,

The discourse of women's rights is intricately tied to the discourse of freedom and equality. At its centre is the course that individual consciousness takes. Individual consciousness, as distinguished from communal consciousness, is a discovery that comes with time as science and technology provide the

¹⁸ Ibid

foundation for doubt of communal law, that is, law that springs directly or indirectly from God or nature. In this sense, history moves from law to right as the individual begins to perceive that she has a right to participate in the making of the law rather than submit to the existing law as unchanging and eternal. In this, all societies that develop and change move in the direction. To the extent that feminism means anything, it must include the right of women to freedom of choice and equality in law.”

In the view of Mahnaz, women are beginning to challenge existing laws and tradition and instead of subjecting themselves to the existing ones, they realise that there is a need for them to be part of policy making in order to contribute their own quotas as part of ‘human family’.

Looking at it from the perspective of Pusey, Sunila and de Rivero, (2007: 31), human rights principles serve as guides/standards for the fulfilment of any rights to which an individual is entitled, and which states are expected to respect. These human rights principles, according to Lisa Pusey, Abeysekara Sunila and Julie de rivero, (2007: 31), are universality, inalienability, and indivisibility of human rights, equality and non-discrimination. The misinterpretations of these principles brought women to the arena of human rights, that is, if these principles would have been well interpreted to include women in the first place, perhaps it would not have been necessary to have anything like “women’s rights as human rights”. Women rose up to challenge some of the basic human rights practices, by making use of some mechanisms/instruments in order to make state as well as non-state actors be more accountable for human rights violations against women (Pusey, Sunila, and de Rivero, 2007: 31).

In the African context, according to Stone and Mireille (2006: 15), the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women provides an instrument against discrimination. It governs all aspects of women’s life such as education and training, marriage, protection against harmful traditional practices, and the rights to peace and security. The

document could have been described as a total instrument, if correctly implemented, for example, Act 78 (1) of the Ugandan constitution makes provision for constitutional Quota for National Parliament, namely that there be one woman representative for every district. Likewise several other articles in the constitution call for women's qualitative participation, but instead of this qualitative or substantive participation (in terms of power sharing and decision making), the civil/political rights of women in the reality were translated mainly in terms of participation of women through affirmative actions (quantitative participation) (Forti, 2005: 11-12). Moreover, Forum for Women in Democracy FOWODE research report states that out of the six women ministers that were appointed in the 1996-2001 cabinet, none of them were close to the centre of decision-making. They were mainly in charge of small budgets. Furthermore, many women in the parliament are not necessarily concerned with advancing and advocating for women's rights; those that are courageously speaking on women rights issues are being silenced indirectly (Forti, 2005: 13).

Another example of a country where constitutional provisions do not necessarily correspond with practice is Nigeria. According to Section 42 of the Nigerian constitution:

“A citizen of Nigeria of a particular community, ethnic group, place of origin, sex, religion shall not, by reason only that he is such a person-- (a) be subjected either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any executive or administrative action or administrative action of the government, to disabilities or restrictions to which citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religious or political opinions are not made subject; or (b) Be accorded either expressly by, or in the practical application of, any law in force in Nigeria or any such executive or administrative action, any privilege or advantage that is not accorded to citizens of Nigeria of other communities, ethnic groups, places of origin, sex, religious or political opinions.” (Nigerian constitution, 1999:54)

The above section suggests that ethnic, sex and religion should not serve as bases for discrimination. It means that if the constitution is practised as written, it will minimise discrimination in the society.

With respect to the newest state in Africa, South Sudan, Human rights practices for 2011,¹⁹ stated that the most severe forms of human right violations in South Sudan included extrajudicial killings, torture, rape, and other inhumane treatment of civilians as a result of the conflict that broke out between opposing forces. Apart from this, people were displaced, abused and harassed, official corruption was insidious. Also government restricted the movement of NGOs workers; they too witnessed attacks and harassment. To add to these violations, it was also in the report that violence and discrimination against women were widespread, including harmful traditional practices especially against female-child.²⁰ This was the situation before South Sudan became independent in July 2011, and it lingered on despite the fact that South Sudan's Transitional Constitution stated that;

Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men".
The Constitution further states that "all levels of government shall enact laws to combat harmful customs and traditions which undermine the dignity and status of women."²¹

Women's human rights violations still continue as confirmed in South Sudan Human Rights report.²² Laws protecting women's rights are rarely enforced. Also because of the high level of

¹⁹ Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2011 United States Department of state. Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labour

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ FIDH – South Sudan. First anniversary of Independence Time to Act for Peace and Human Rights Protection/ 14, July 2012/ n 591a - AFP/Adrienne OHANESIAN

²² US state department bureau of Democracy, Human rights practices for 2012 South Sudan.
<http://www.state.gov/j/drl/r/s/hrrpt/humanrightsreport/index.htm?year=2012&ffid=204169>.

illiteracy among women, they are ignorant of their rights and as a result this violation goes largely unreported.²³

Like the constitutions of Uganda and Nigeria, the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan advocates women's participation in public and political life. i It stipulates that at least 25% of seats and positions of all branches of government at both local and national must be allocated to women. However, this requirement is yet to be implemented.²⁴

South Sudanese women believe that they played an integral part in the movement for independence and peace, and now that the independence has been achieved they should not be marginalized in the decision-making bodies of the new government.²⁵ According to Ali Mustapha (2011: 1-3) the new government is eager to focus on gender equality as far as policy making is concerned. In order to confront these challenges, the Women's Democracy Network (WDN) united with the International Republican Institute's (IRI) South Sudan to host a conference for 75 women representing 16 political parties to increase the capacity of the women of South Sudan to participate in political parties and also to reach the level of party leadership.²⁶

In order to make sure that women's human rights are recognized in South Sudan, civil society organizations, especially women's groups and networks, worked tirelessly to influence constitution making in South Sudan, which was eventually endorsed at independence by the president of South Sudan (Ali, 2011: 8). This constitution favours women's participation and

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ www.wdn.org/newevents-presscenter/events/women-SouthSudan-mobilizing.

²⁶ Ibid

gender equality. However, in reality women's organizations are still fighting for women's human rights to be recognized in South Sudan.

2.3.2 Women and War

Human rights alongside women rights are generally violated during war. Right to freedom is technically taken away, and all kinds of brutality and violations are inflicted during wars. . Although, every war endangers the human rights of civilians, gender based violence is particularly evident in war zones, with horrific consequences for women and female children. With this situation, gender and war became the focus at both national and international level as far as peace building is concerned.

For centuries, thoughts on gender and war have been stereotypical, It has been assumed that men are aggressive, active and violent, while women are s peaceful and passive in nature (Coulter, Persson and Utas, 2008: 7, Afsher and Eade, 2004: 220). Women are associated with life giving while men are associated with life taking. While this stereotype is persistent even in the 21st century, an increasing number of scholars believe that the stereotype misrepresents reality.

Globally, historically and in modern warfare, women have shown themselves as capable as men in performing violent acts (Coulter, Persson and Utas, 2008: 7).

According to Goldstein (2001: 59), women have always and everywhere been inextricably involved in war. He contends that his claim is supported by liberal feminists who believe that women can perform warlike roles effectively. In support of his argument, he cites an example

of a female combatant unit within the standing army in ancient Dahomey kingdom of West Africa (recently known as Benin), Dahomey was described as possessing one of the most successful military organizations in sub-Saharan Africa. Initially, it was assumed that the motive for creating an all-female military battalion was to deceive the enemy into believing that the Dahomian army was larger than in fact was the case. However, it was subsequently realised that Dahomian women with military training and armed with muskets and swords, fought just as well as their male counterparts (Goldstein, 2001: 60-61).

It is worth highlighting that a notable peace builder in West Africa, Benieta Diop (CNN.com/african voices, 11/05/2014) asserted that “as peaceful as women could be when it comes to war they are capable of making trouble by encouraging their husbands to go to war.....” Diop’s assertion draws attention to the indirect participation of women in war. Additionally, according to Chris Coulter, Mariam Persson and Mats Utas, (2008: 7) in modern African wars, (Rwanda, Uganda, Sudan, DRC Congo and so on) local populations have often testified that women fighters are capable of being as brutal and cruel, if not more so, than male fighters. While it is probable that a number of female fighters were forcibly recruited (abducted or terrified into compliance) prior to military training, it does not detract from the argument that there are more female fighters in modern African wars than is generally recognised.

Some scholars view this voluntary or involuntary participation of women in war in a different light. Khaminwa, Nyawira and Malek (2004), believe that even in the absence of war, women’s lives are often subjected to acts such as neglect, exploitation, domestic violence, lack of participation in public and political domains, exclusion from decision making, and so on. They

further argue that irrespective of whether women's participation in war is voluntary or involuntary, it adds an additional level of complexity to their already complicated lives.

On the other hand, some feminists group, for example, *Difference feminists*, contend that women, because of their greater experience with nurturing children and human relations, are generally more effective in the area of conflict resolution and decision-making, but less effective than men in combat. Some feminists base this argument on biology, while others base it on cultural orientation (Goldstein, 2001: 41). That is, biologically, women do give life by giving birth and do more parenting than men, making them more empathetic, more caring, more attentive to their relationships with others, and less concerned with their own autonomy and individuation (Conover and Sapiro, 1993: 1080). Culturally, women are socialised into gendered roles such as motherhood, care giving and peaceful ways of life. . Whether the argument is based on culture or biology, the *difference feminists* believe that these differences are real and have roles to play in women's attitudes to war and peace building (Goldstein, 2001: 41).

According to Isike and Okeke-Uzodike (2010: 1-5), women could be the 'missing link' that is needed in peace building. They further argue that African women's peace agency can be located in the cultural and socio-political roles as well as their contributions to the overall well-being of these societies. That is, these roles were reinforced by perceptions which placed women as innate peacemakers (Galtung, 1996: 40, 43), and as being more pacific than men. Often times, women were symbolised as paragons of morality, sacredness, goodness and tenderness by Africans, which makes them suitable for the role of a peace builder.

By contrast, McKay and Mazurana (2001: 6), contend that there is nothing innately (biologically) more peaceful about women than men although women may be socially conditioned to exhibit more peaceful qualities. They believe that patriarchy works through various categories such as race, ethnicity, class, religion, and nationalism to encourage and involve women in violence and that history has shown women are often essential to the perpetration of violence, and they have acted to support and encourage it.

Moving away from the argument on stereotypes, some scholars believe that, although war affects everybody (both male and female), it affects a particular group more than other groups, and that women are part of this vulnerable group.,

Globally, war has changed its trajectory from inter-state to intra- state, which in essence, makes civilians more vulnerable during war, due to human right violations such as brutal mass killings, rape, kidnap, displacement and so on. It is true that both men and women are affected but scholars have argued that they are affected differently. That is, the effect of war on women is quite different from the effect on men. For example, in 2008, UN

Security Council Resolution 1820 recognized rape as a weapon of war and a threat to international security. The resolution noted that women and girls are particularly targeted by the use of sexual violence, in order to humiliate, dominate and instil fear in the camp of the enemy (Theidon, Phenice and Murray, 2011: 9). This is one area in which females are much more affected than their male counterparts. Although men are not entirely exempt from rape, it is far more likely to be inflicted on females than on males during wars. . As a result of sexual brutality, women suffer from unwanted pregnancies, contract HIV/AIDS or other sexually

transmitted diseases. Supporting this view, Mazurana and McKay (2001: 10), argue that all over the world women and their children suffer disproportionately to men in war.

Worldwide, women and children account for 80 percent of refugee and displaced populations, and are often targets of rape and genocide. For example, this was the case during the genocidal wars in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (Visvanathan, Duggan, Wiegersma and Nisonoff, 2011: 79). Moreover, by definition, the brutality and destruction associated with war affect the society's economy and the smooth running of the political affairs of the state.

Afsher and Eade (2004: 111), claim that women experience two types of violations during war: first is the violence that is done to both men and women, which is referred to as an abuse of human rights and widely condemned, while the second is enacted upon women because they are women which is not usually counted as a human rights violation but which in-turn damages and constrains women's lives.

Visvanathan, Duggan, Wiegersma and Nisonoff (2011: 79) argue that women's subordination in peacetime renders them vulnerable in wartime. They believe that as much as conflict can be anticipated so can the fact that women will be violated and all the efforts of the international organizations to bring the perpetrators to justice most times are unsuccessful. For these reasons, they believe that women's lives are more complicated during war; therefore, women should take the matter of peace and conflict to heart.

However, this is not to say that women alone are affected during war; men (young and old) and children also feel the negative impacts of war. It is the way each group is affected that matters. Khaminwa, Nyawira and Malek (2004), state that the understanding of women in conflict

should surpass seeing women as the victims, but as capable of resolving conflict. As they are capable of fighting wars, so are they capable of working towards lasting peace and reconciliation. Similarly, Cockburn (2004: 24-25) argues that in order to strategize to minimise the effects of conflicts and achieve sustainable peace building, women should not be conceptualised as victims. Instead, by utilising a feminist analysis of gender, women should be seen as others are seen in war zones, albeit within a framework of challenges based on gender.

Visvanathan, Duggan, Wiegersma and Nisonoff (2011: 350) argue that, one of the reasons for women's clamour for more political representation and policy change in post-conflict countries is as a result of the levelling effect wars have had on their societies. Women coming out of long periods of war are determined to prevent wars and to participate in the new political order to ensure that their rights are protected. It can be said that this positive impact of war on women can be used to promote peace building in post conflict zones.

2.3.3 African Women as Peaceful Agents in Post Conflict Zones

As stated above, it has been convincingly argued that women do go to war and that women should not only be seen as peaceful in nature (Goldstein, 2001). Supporting this argument, liberal feminists believe that there should be equality in every aspect of social life and political roles, (including war roles) that is, women have the right to participate in every aspect without discrimination (Goldstein, 2001),

Enloe; (1993: 12) believes that the experiences of women during the Cold War led to the clamour for non-violent means of settling conflicts. Towards the end of the Cold War, women counted their losses and gains, and realised that the losses were greater than the gains. Affected

women formed grass roots women groups to force government to come to their aid, and as a result, activist grass-roots organizing among women increased.

Tobach (2008: 16-17), citing DeBenedetti (1988) contends that peace building is jointly developed by both women and men, because they all bear the consequences of war. For example, men alongside women have constantly been opposed to the military activities of the United States and other nations. However, while women participated in peace organizations, the leadership and policy positions of those organizations were usually not held by women. Therefore, women found it more effectual to form their own organizations than to brawl for equality and respect within existing peace movements (Schott, 1997; Swerdlow, 1993). That is, it was as a result of inequality in the area of leadership and decision making in peace building movements and organisations, that women formed their own organizations. That said, as Tobach (2008: 20) notes, to talk as though women alone can build peace is questionable.

McKay (2004: 167) believes that the main target of women's peace-building is to create awareness among women and girls of oppression, marginalization, and threatened security, and to establish a peace-building programme that involves women as key actors. Nevertheless, instead of being "at the table" where they fit in, women are typically not involved as participants within official peace-building initiatives. As noted by Dyfan, Haver and Piccirilli, (2004: 1),

Despite the work women do at the grassroots level to organize for peace, the majority of their voices go unheard during formal processes including peace negotiations, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, constitution-creation, elections, reconstruction, rehabilitation, truth and reconciliation, and establishing a judicial system.

That is, despite their exclusion from the public arena; women's peace-building has had significant impacts in restoring normalcy within post-war countries. Women peace builders,

typically, work at community and regional levels where they emphasize processes, such as reconciliation, that build peace and human security particularly at the grass roots level.

Furthermore, McKay (2004: 167) argues that since men and women experience war differently, women should be involved in peace building processes because, most times women's peace-building emphasizes psychosocial, relational, and spiritual processes in post conflict communities.²⁷ McKay and de la Rey's (2000) feminist scrutiny of South African women in peace-building revealed that, for women, peace-building is a process, and relationship building is crucial to peace-building's effectiveness. In other words, for peace building processes to be successful cordial gender relationships should be recognised.²⁸

Examining the issue of peace building as articulated by UN charter, and citing the success of women in peace building in North Ireland, Reardon (2002: 178) demonstrates the peace that gender balance can provide. Canadian International Development Agencies (<http://www.CPR-network.org>), affirmed Reardon's analysis, by saying that gender is a relevant dimension in peace building, since conflict is a gendered activity. The international community also recognises that, while whole communities suffer the consequence of armed conflict and terrorism, women are more affected because of their status in society as well as their gender (Sigsworth, 2008). Therefore understanding the gender aspect of a situation is an important way to understand the whole situation.

The African Union Gender policy (Rev 2, Feb 10/ 2009), clarifies that due to the recent clamour for women in peace building in post conflict regions, the African Union (AU) Assembly added the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in

²⁷ See in IPSHU English Research Report Series No.19 Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-building (2004).

²⁸ Ibid

Africa in July 2003 (which entered into force in November, 2005) in Maputo Mozambique. The African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights monitor the implementation through member States' submission of periodic reports under the African Charter, with the African Court of Human and Peoples' Rights being responsible for matters of interpretation arising from application or implementation of the Protocol.

This commitment was reinforced, by the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGGEA) and the Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development adopted by Heads of State and Government in 2006 in accordance with the Protocol (Koen, 2006: 1). However, some scholars and commentators believe that these instruments are more a matter of paper documentation than a reality due to the patriarchal nature of African societies (Rehn and Sirleaf, 2002: Wandia 2004). Given social systems of entrenched patriarchy, civil society organisations have, and still have significant roles to play in regard to lobbying states to approve the application of these instruments. Despite the pressure applied by civil society organisations, most African governments remain reluctant to ratify the Women's Protocol. The slow pace of ratification has been attributed to a lack of political will, which is also one of the main obstacles to the implementation of the Protocol. A further impediment to effective implementation of the Women's Protocol is the doctrine of state sovereignty. Even in cases where states agree to ratify instruments, they retain the right to make reservations on certain provisions. This freedom often seriously undermines the commitment made in the first place.

These challenges and setbacks notwithstanding, African post conflict zones have witnessed great influx of women organizations at the international, national and grass roots levels (Visvanathan, Duggan, Wiegersma and Nisonoff, 2011: 349). A lot has been done by these organizations in African post conflicts zones in regard to peace building. For example, after the

hideous genocide in Rwanda, the immediate response and plan of the Rwandan women in the case of reemerging new violence was emblematic of the efficacy of women's activism. Putting their own lives in danger, women started a campaign in which they acted as intermediaries between their relatives and the government troops in order to slow down and ultimately stop the genocide. By using peaceful and discreet means, women negotiated peace between the two parties. Their active and courageous involvement As well as acting as intermediaries, Rwandan women engaged in concrete activities such as helping orphans, fostering them, supporting victims of famine and flood. It is estimated that between 400,000 and 500,000 children were fostered or adopted by families and women headed households. Additionally, women formed an organization - "Unity Club" - where top women leaders of the society were involved in preaching the message of unity and reconciliation among communities (Izabiliza, 2010). It should be noted, however, that the peace building activities of Rwandan women is only one of numerous contributions in a number of African countries. In Sudan, the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace met with the military leaders of various rebel groups and ventured into areas where men could not venture to deliver humanitarian aid (Hunt & Posa, 2005).

In South Sudan, women have also made several contributions to peace building. For example, United Nations Women South Sudan established a programme for South Sudan that targets five key priority areas: (i) Peace consolidation and gender responsiveness of security sector reform processes (ii) Protection of women and girls (iii) Women's economic security (iv) Women's leadership and gender-responsive governance, and (v) Women's access to adult literacy services. Priority area one specifically looks at supporting women's peace building networks and efforts, that is, supporting the existing women's groups. Additionally, the South Sudan UN Country Team started a process to 'nationalise' 7-point action plan in order to generate concrete

results in the area of women's participation in peace building, which UN Women South Sudan manages and supervises. Also in Munuki, on the borders of Juba, 15 women volunteers are meeting at the offices of the Nonviolent Peace force (NP) to discuss community issues and ways to address them. These women and the NP form a Women's Peacekeeping Team (WPT). The Nonviolent Peace force (NP) set up the first WPT in Juba in November 2011. There are now five teams covering two districts in Central Equatorial State and three districts in Western Equatorial State.

Women's organizations in the peace building processes engage in the 'bottom-up' approach in order to unite their divided societies. Netabay (2007:1), Haider (2009: 7) and Ramnarain and Brown (2009: 4) agree that this is a new wave of building peace because it is a people-oriented approach that advocates for peace from within the affected societies. Haider (2009: 7) avers that this form of participatory peace building is an effective means of resolving conflicts within a given society.

However, Le Franc (2011: 3) criticises the use of bottom-up approach, emphasizing that no matter how internationalized this approaches may be, they do not work. He argues that this approach is favoured by promoters even though they are not sure of the efficiency of the approach. His conclusion is that the popularity of bottom-up approach in post conflict zones does not mean it is productive as it seems to be. Rather, it means that it is only been popularised by the organizations involved in it for their own personal gain.

Another critic of the efficacy of women's involvement in peace building is Karambu Ringera (2007: 56). She states that, "In peace building discourses, the picture of women is very different. Women have been termed vulnerable, passive victims of war, and weak. Agencies

working to empower women such as international organizations, non-governmental organizations and local community-based organizations also describe and view women as ‘victims’ who need ‘security’. Her study shows why women’s status with regard to participation in peace building process has not changed in South Sudan despite the existence of many women’s organizations. She posits that “one reason is that the approaches used to build peace, although designed to empower women, are failing to do so because they are based on mainstream peace building ideology, thus actually exclude the very women they seek to support, from participating in the peace processes in their country” (Ringera ., 2007:56). Ringera shows how women’s organizations in Africa, especially in South Sudan, are failing the women at the grass roots whom they claim to be protecting. She notes the extent to which women have been excluded from peace processes of their nations. In regard to South Sudan, she blames this on two factors: firstly, South Sudanese social structures and secondly, mainstream peace building ideologies which in turn affect the way and manner in which women’s organizations/agencies work in South Sudan.

Ringera (2007:3) claims that women’s organizations in South Sudan are using “conflict models that are reactive (protectionist and exclusionist) instead of proactive (empowering and inclusive)” in their peace building programs, the women’s organizations used in her analysis are women waging peace (WWP; based in United States of America) and Sudan Women’s Voice for Peace (SWVP; based in Kenya), (Ringera. 2007: 84).

The work of Ringera Karambu as elaborated above is of great importance to this study. She deals with a similar area of research with a South-Sudanese orientation. It thus is necessary to consider the significance of her research and findings in specific relation to this study, and to ask the question: what does this study accomplish that Ringera’s research does not?

Firstly, Ringera's study was conducted in 2006. Between 2006 and 2014, a great deal has happened in the context of peace building programs of women led organizations in South Sudan. Hence the current research fills a gap of eight years. Secondly, Ringera derived her analysis from foreign-based South Sudanese women's organizations whereas this study addresses locally-based women organizations in peace building in South Sudan to compare and contrast with existing literature.

Another innovative aspect of this thesis is that it goes beyond the facts of women combatants in war, as well as their role in cheering and supporting male combatants (Conover and Sapiro, 1993; Goldstein 2001). The study addresses the point that women are beginning to acknowledge how destructive war can be, and therefore, they have begun to refute war as a destructive means of settling disputes. Women are increasing their commitment to the use of non-violent means of settling disputes via bottom-up approach. Hence, this study explores this new thinking and approach and how it has fared in South Sudan.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the issue of women's organizations and peace building in Africa. It explored why women organize for peace building. It argues that the quest for societal recognition is the basis of decisions by women to form their own organizations. It showed that both women's organizations and women based non-governmental organizations are similar and that the only difference between them lies in the legal framework establishing them. However, whether an organization is legally recognised as an NGO or as a women's organization, as long as its aims and objectives are geared towards women's rights/empowerment, it qualifies as a women's organization. The question of whether women's organizations in post conflict zones

can influence policies as political actors was also reviewed in the literature, and it was argued that women's organizations can influence policies and that their efforts are significant in post conflict zones.

The chapter also examined the issues of human rights and war as they affect women. It concluded that since women are part of the human family they should be allowed the opportunity to participate in peace building by being more involved in decision-making at all levels.

The standpoint of the chapter is that both women and men are victims of war, even though their experiences of victimization might differ. . Women's organizations are springing up in post conflict zones in Africa with the aim of involving former combatants in peace building. The common approach these organizations are using is the bottom up approach which allows local populations to have a say in what goes on in their society. With regard to women's organizations, women believe that if they are more involved as stakeholders in the decision-making in their state, it will help them to actively participate in contributing their quota as peace builders.

There is a comprehensive body of literature on the impact of women's organizations in peace building in post conflict zones in Africa, and their efforts via bottom up approach in post conflict zones in Africa. However, there is dearth of studies on how this approach has been explored in South Sudan. Therefore this study seeks to fill the lacuna in the literature.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Considerations for Women's Organizations and Peace building

3.0 Introduction

Globally, the number of conflict ridden zones is increasing. . In these zones, various forms of brutality and human rights violations are becoming the order of the day. As one country is coming out of war others are preparing to go to war, and even those who claim to have buried hatchets, sometimes go back to war. Arguably, many recent wars, especially, in Africa, are the product of reactions against the enforced burying of hatchets via the deployment of troops by the United Nations Security Council to particular war zones. The reopening of old wounds and resumption of wars have made peace building in post conflict zones a big issue in international affairs²⁹. The issue now is that the international community should look beyond just ending violent conflict to the development of post conflict zones.

As Tschirgi (2003: i) observes, this broadening of the meaning of peace building which began in the 1990s encompasses the overlapping agendas of peace, development, conflict prevention, conflict management and post conflict reconstruction. . Since development is part of peace building, women wanting to be part of peace building and developmental processes as stakeholders in post conflict zones are clamouring for more recognition in decision making. This is especially important in the area of peace building so that women can contribute their own quota to the development of these zones after long periods of conflicts/wars which had negative impacts on their communities and also on them as individuals/groups.

²⁹ <http://www.Un.org/en/peacebuildin/pbso/pbun.shhtml>. Assess on 03/05/2013

Gender inequality hinders development and peace building. Therefore, gender equality should be at the heart of any developmental process. Implementation of gender equality requires that women should be given the opportunities/rights given to their male counterparts, not as second class citizens, but as human beings, with value and rights to participate in public life, especially in the area of decision making (Isike, 2009; 83). In their pursuit of their goals, women's organizations at all levels (local, national, international) are beginning to gather together in Africa's post conflict zones in order to help build peace. These organisations are adopting new forms of approaching the issues. More specifically, national and international women organizations are now considering directly participatory approaches that will involve people at the grass roots of development processes in post conflict zones. However, despite the high proliferation of these organizations in post conflict zones in Africa there are still tendencies towards relapses into conflict, not least in South Sudan. In light of the resumption of conflicts, pertinent questions are: how are women's organizations helping out? How does a proliferation of women's organizations in African post conflict zones contribute to women's empowerment and their involvement in decision making in peace building? This chapter explores the above questions and attempts to answer them from a theoretical perspective by utilising Molyneux's gender organization theory and Lederach's 'moral imagination' theory.

Molyneux (1985; 232), a sociologist whose work focuses on women's movements, theorised on women's organization and produced three concepts: women's interests, strategic gender interests and practical gender interests. For the purposes of this study, only the strategic gender interests and the practical gender interests will be adopted. According to Molyneux (1985; 232), strategic gender interests are those that women (or men) may develop by virtue of their social positioning through gender attributes. That is, they can be derived deductively from the analysis

of women's subordination and from the formulation of an alternative/more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist. These might include the abolition of the gender division of labour, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare; the removal of institutionalised forms of discrimination, and the attainment of political equality. Practical gender interests refer to those interests that emerge as a result of factors that directly affect women in a particular location rather than through external interventions, that is, interests that are usually a response to an immediate perceived need, which does not necessarily entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality.

In Molyneux's view (1985: 233), the formulation of strategic interests can only be effective as a form of intervention when full account is taken of the practical interests and their transformation into strategic interests; that is, the success of an organization in a particular location will depend on how it can transform practical interests into strategic interests. This theory is adopted in this study because it discourages organizations (especially foreign ones) from imposing foreign attitudes and cultures on post-conflict zones and encourages them to help victims of war to realise what their needs are and how they can be achieved by leaving room for direct participation. It also supports a bottom-up approach to peace building, which is popular with women's organizations (Moghadam, 2005, Rielly and Niamh, 2007:180, Lunny, 2006: 87). Dillion (2012) rightly argues, however, that women's realities and experiences cannot be divided into rigid, pre-set notions.

Lederach's moral imagination theory, holds that "the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not yet exist; the potential to find a way to transcend, and to move beyond what exists while still living in it"(Lederach, 2005: 29). Lederach contends that in peace building, the capacity to imagine and

generate constructive responses and initiatives, while deeply rooted in the challenges of violence, transcends and ultimately breaks the grip of those destructive prevalent norms and so-called cultures that support the reasons for conflicts (Lederach, 2005: 29). Thus, for sustainable peace to be achieved, people need to extend their perceptions beyond what it used to be/what cultures/norms dictated over the years, to a deeper level of understanding.

Lederach cites four case studies to support this theory. He demonstrates that peace was achieved in these cases not as a result of the technical expertise of the international peace mediators or the design of the peace process, but rather due to the moral imagination displayed (cited in Isike and Okeke-Uzodike, 2010: 688; Roz Goldiee and Joanne Murphy, 2010: 37). Linking this theory of moral imagination to peace building, he contends that four elements need to be considered, namely: relationship, paradoxical curiosity, creativity, and risk (Fetherson, 2000; Isike and Okeke-Uzodike, 2010). These four elements are interwoven, and one element can hardly be referred to without touching all the other elements. But basically, due to the nature and the focus of this thesis, two (relationship and creativity) out of the four elements will be closely considered without necessarily neglecting the other two elements.

Lederach's theory can work within the African context, based on the issue of relationship as an element in peace building. According to Obiekwe (2009: 12), relationship for Africans is of great importance within a society. It is a wellspring, a pivot, and the gravitating point of interaction for African people. To build a relationship in an environment of distrust and conflict presupposes mutual awareness and empathy – the foundational idea in Lederach's "paradoxical curiosity" (Lederach, 2005: 5). As regards creativity, there is no doubt that women and men do not view things the same way. If the habitual creativity produced by motherhood and the stereotypical upbringing of women could be explored in peace building, it might bring a lasting

solution to violence. This in turn leads to risk taking, and since this is what a ‘bottom-up’ approach is all about, this theory will serve as one of the theoretical frameworks of this study.

The thesis will combine Molyneux’s gender organizational theory and Lederach’s theory of moral imagination to study the approach adopted by women’s organizations in South Sudan. Focusing on women’s organizations in peace building does not imply that women are better equipped to pursue peace than men or that men should not be involved in such initiatives. Rather, it assumes that if women and men work cooperatively to build peace, society could be a better place to live in.

3.1 Gender theories of development

Initially, it was a difficult thing for women to venture into elite world of policy decision-making because, historically, masculinity and politics were synonymous. Characteristics like toughness, courage, power, independence, and even physical strength were attributed to “manliness” (Tickner, 1992: 6-7). Also, war or the use of force was associated with men. The celebration of the male warrior brought in more gender dichotomy than in reality is the case. According to Connell (cited in Tickner, 1992: 6), this dichotomy does not exist because the type of description given above does not fit most men, in other words these are socially constructed gender differences.

Furthermore, there are claims that this gender dichotomy depends on set of normative concepts that set forth interpretations of the meaning of symbols, especially in western culture. These concepts are constructed in the form of dual oppositions (such as, public versus private, reason versus emotion, objective versus subjective), that categorically affirm meanings for masculine and feminine and hence legitimize a set of unequal social relations. In other words, depending

on the cultural background, the way we view gender relations depends more on the use of language (Tickner, 1992: 7). Because people generally are used to these dual opposition, it makes the socially constructed gender dichotomy appear to be natural. .

Looking at gender differences from the perspectives of the two scholars mentioned above, gender differences are socially determined. That is, it depends on to whom a society or a cultural background attribute a particular stereotyped role. This means if this socially constructed gender differences can be challenged and replaced with a new order, men and women can work together without oppression or discrimination against one another. This will result in more women getting involved alongside men in the decision making process as regards peace building. .

If the trend is that peace building only comes after war has been waged, then the question is: is there any other way other than war that conflict can be resolved? For realists, security is tied to military security of the state where every state has national interest to pursue even if it is at the detriment of another state. War is not optional, and the success of a particular state depends more on her military strength. But in a situation where boundary protection is ineffectual against nuclear weaponry, outbreaks of war increasingly are within states rather than between states. Intrastate war often is a result of ethno-religious conflicts, especially in third world, where distinctions between domestic and international, soldiers and civilians, and protectors and protected are breaking down. In these countries, war is the problem, not the solution. Hence, critics of realism argue that a more global vision of security is necessary (Tickner, 1992: 51)

Looking at other dimensions of security, women at the International Peace Conference in Halifax, Canada, in 1985, defined security in various ways depending on the most immediate

threats to their survival (Tickner, 1992: 54). To some, security meant safe working conditions and freedom from the threat of war or unemployment or the economic squeeze of foreign debt while Third World women defined insecurity in terms of the structural violence associated with imperialism, militarism, racism, and sexism. Also in the final document of the World Conference held at Nairobi in 1985 (Tickner, 1992: 55), similar definitions of security were offered. Peace is defined in this document as “not only the absence of war, violence and hostilities at the national and international levels but also the enjoyment of economic and social justice”. All these definitions discredited the realist assumption that security must be built on the insecurity of others.

With the traditional notions of national security becoming more dysfunctional, women began to pursue nonviolent peace building in post conflict zones. Various women organizations/NGOs started formulating policies for women’s empowerment, using various approaches to change women’s present position. Among these approaches are: Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD), Empowerment approach by Third World women (Moser O.N., 1993: 57). The following sections discuss each approach.

Women in Development (WID)

The WID perspective evolved in the early 1970s from a ‘liberal’ feminist framework and was particularly influential in North America (Hazel Reeves and Sally Baden, 2000: 33; Moser 1994: 62). The WID (or Women in Development) approach calls for greater awareness on women in development policy and practice, and emphasises the need to incorporate them into the development process. Liberal feminists believe that women should not be occupying passive positions in the development processes of their community, if efficient and effective

development is to be achieved. WID approach focuses more on women's practical needs, that is, creating employment and income-generating means, improving access to education and so on. In this approach, women's problem is diagnosed as insufficient participation in the meaningful development process, which is simply a lapse on the part of the policy makers. The main accomplishment of WID approach was that women became paramount in development theory and practice (KaanTasli 2007: 22).

Gender and Development (GAD)

The GAD approach focuses on the socially constructed basis of differences between men and women and emphasises the need to challenge this existing gender roles and relations (Hazel Reeves and Sally Baden, 2000: 33). GAD evolved in order to correct the error of WID in trying to solve women's problem in isolation without challenging 'gender imbalance' in the society. The key mechanism of GAD is 'gender-mainstreaming' which demands that greater precedence is given to women's concerns in the plan and implementation of socio-economic and political interventions. The aim of this approach is to meet both practical and strategic gender needs/interests of women (Hazel Reeves and Sally Baden, 2000: 33).

Looking at the two approaches, it is evident that there are connections between them. However, the valuable contribution of GAD is to incorporate both men and women in the concept of gender. . Definitely, meaningful development/ peace building cannot be achieved by women alone but women as stake holders should also be given equal opportunity as men to participate in building the society successfully.

Women Empowerment Approach

According to Caroline Moser (1993: 87), this approach is a recent one, articulated by Third World women. Thus, the origins of this approach are derived less from the research of First World women, and more from the emergent feminist writings and grassroots organizational skills of Third World Women. The empowerment approach recognises inequalities between men and women and that the source of subordination is the family. But much more than this, empowerment approach emphasizes the fact that women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history and current position in the international economic order. Therefore in the view of this approach, women have to fight against oppressive structures and situations concurrently at different levels. This approach as earlier mentioned, works hand in hand with the 'bottom- up' approach which means that women's empowerment programmes carried out by organizations should depend on the locations, the past experiences, and the cultures of their beneficiaries for it to be a success. According to Caroline Moser (1993: 87), this approach recognises the importance of women increasing their power not to dominate others but to be able to determine their choices in life and to influence the direction of change through the ability to gain control over essential material and non-material resources (Moser, 1993: 87). That is, empowerment will grant women the access to decision making at local, national and international level. Therefore, women will also be able to contribute their quota in decision making at all levels, especially in the area of peace building, because wars affect women differently from men, women will be able to contribute their own view on how to build peace and sustain it.

All the developmental approaches discussed above show the different ways in which women have been coming out to protect their rights and to empower themselves for development over

the years. The reasons behind these approaches are well classified under the works of Maxine Molyneux as will be discussed in the following sections.

3.2 Molyneux's Gender Organizing Theory and Organizational Theories

An organization is like a small community, where factors like culture, religion and ethnicity have tendencies to prevail as a result of patriarchy if care is not taken, making it a complicated situation, most especially for women (Coetzee, 2001: 301). For example, if patriarchal system dominates a particular society, patriarchal tendencies are exhibited in every sector of the state including both governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations. The behaviour of people in such organizations will reflect a patriarchal culture in which women are most likely not favoured.

According to Irefine, Ifah and Bwala (2012: 2), organizational theories have been preoccupied with constructing general concepts and methods that are appropriate to any organization regardless of its cultural and geographical environment. In other words, organizational theories treat organization as if only men are involved, issues that concerns gender are treated as mere figures (Irefine, Ifah and Bwala 2012: 2).

Organizational theories can be broadly classified as classical, neo-classical and modern theories. Classical organizational theories deal with formal organizations and with concepts to increase management efficiency (Irefine, Ifah and Bwala 2012: 5). They believe that there is one "best way" to perform tasks, that is, there is only one best way for an organization to be structured (Irefine, Ifah and Bwala 2012: 5; Myers and Presuto, 2012).

Neoclassical organizational theory is a reaction to the authoritarian structure of classical theory. The neoclassical approach emphasizes the human needs of employees to be happy in the

workplace. This allows creativity, individual growth and motivation, which increases productivity and profits. Managers utilizing the neoclassical approach manipulate the work environment to produce positive results (Lingham, 2012, Griffin, 2007: 12-13).

Modern theories on the other hand comprise systems approach and socio-technical approach (the contingency or situational approach) (Irefin, Ifah and Bwala, 2012: 5).

What is important to contingency approach is that there is a fit between the organization's structure, namely, its size, its technology, and the requirement of the environment. The contingency approach is based on the belief that there cannot be universal guiding principles which are suitable for all situations (Irefine, Ifah and Bwala, 2012: 6). That is, structure depends on certain characteristics of the organizations called "Contingency Factors" like size, task, strategy, and technology which are influenced by elements that are located outside the organization. These elements are government, competitors and society (Irefine, Ifah and Bwala, 2012). In accordance with this view, radical feminists believe that universal guidelines/hierarchies are responsible for gender inequality in organizations, and that, for an organization to thrive successfully' such guidelines/hierarchy should be discouraged.

According to contingency theory, organizations can only be effective if they can fit their structure to the contingency factors and then to the environment (Irefine, Ifah, Bwala, 2012: 5). This can be linked to Molyneux's gender organization theory where it is believed that for an organization to be successful it has to put the interests of the people (women) for whom it was established in mind (considering the environment). It should not assume homogeneity of interests but instead should adapt to local needs and environments. For example, foreign

organisations bringing foreign ideas to tackle a crisis in an African country might not be as successful as expected because of environmental / locational particularities.

In regard to environmental factors as obstacles to women's organizations' success, Molyneux believes that patriarchy is one of the factors and that it is "responsible for complete failure of any state to empower women on equal terms with men" (Dore and Molyneux, 2002: 224). In other words, the success of women's organisations depends to a large extent on how all forms of patriarchy in their environment are dealt with. There are different forms of patriarchy depending on the way it's been experienced in a particular society, for example the form of patriarchy in Sub Saharan Africa is quite different from that of Asian countries (Kandioti, 1998: 274).

According to Molyneux (1985: 232), "A theory of interests that has an application to the debate about women's capacity to struggle for and benefit from social change must begin by recognising difference rather than by assuming homogeneity". This means that any organisation pursuing the cause of women should recognise and identify with the peculiarity of the interests / needs of the particular group for which they are established. For the purpose of clarifying this issue, Molyneux (1985: 232), brought out three concepts which are: women's interests, strategic gender interests and practical gender interests. For the purpose of this research, strategic gender interests and practical gender interests will be thoroughly reviewed.

Strategic Gender Interest: Molyneux M. (1985: 233), states that strategic gender interests are the ones which are considered to be women's 'real' interests. In her view, demands regarding the strategic interests of women require a certain level of feminist consciousness in order to struggle for them. As defined by Molyneux (1985: 232-233),

Strategic gender interests are derived in the first instance deductively, that is, from the analysis of women's (or, less often, men's) subordination and from the formulation of an alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist. These ethical and theoretical criteria assist in the formulation of strategic objectives to overcome women's subordination, such as the abolition of the sexual division of labour, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare, the attainment of political equality, the establishment of freedom of choice over child bearing, and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women.

In other words, strategic gender interest is aimed at redistributing the roles, responsibilities and power between men and women, so as to reduce inequities at all levels. This interest could be right to land ownership and similar resources, legal rights, equal wages, human rights of physical movements, the right to equal voice in decision making, freedom from violence against women and girls, the abolishment of discrimination in employment, and so on. It is believed that if these interests can be addressed it will definitely improve the status of women in the society and transform the skewed imbalance of power (Hassen, 2007). Above all, for this transformation to take place there will be a need for gender sensitivity among people, families, community groups, social institutions and government bodies, in order to re-shape their ways of thinking and to strive towards the well-being of the whole community. Women's organisations can help deal with these interests by enabling women to become representatives and agents of change in their communities. Women's organisations can achieve this by creating awareness in the community – to increase women's self-confidence, enhancing educational facilities for girl-children, promoting political mobilization for women and promoting the realization of legal women's rights in all spheres. Strategic gender interests are long-term, usually not material, and are often related to structural changes in society regarding women's status and equity.

Practical gender interests: These are the interests of women (or men) that relate to responsibilities and tasks associated with their stereotyped gender roles or to immediate perceived necessity (Molyneux, 1985: 232). According to Molyneux (1985:232)

Practical gender interests are given inductively and arise from the concrete conditions of women's positioning within the gender division of labour. In contrast to strategic gender interests, these are formulated by the women who are themselves within these positions rather than through external interventions.

In other words, practical gender interests relates more to physical conditions and immediate needs, that is, whatever affects women personally in their traditional position (as a wife, as a mother, as an individual, as a worker and as a career woman) in the society, such as food, shelter, work, water, access to quality education, and so on (Molyneux 1985: 233). In pursuing practical gender interests, the aim is not to change any political structure, but to demonstrate against and petition any power/ authority that threatens their livelihood. For example, it has been argued that because women, by the virtue of their traditional roles, tend to be more concerned about household's daily welfare, and when government fails to meet these needs, women withdraw their support (Molyneux, 1985: 233).

According to Molyneux (1985: 234), for an organisation to successfully address issues, these interests must be taken into consideration, that is, for women's organisations to pursue strategic gender interests, women's practical gender interests depending on the particular location/community must be taken into account. . Meeting women's practical gender interests involves women as beneficiaries and sometimes as participants; this in turn helps women's organisations to address strategic gender interests by involving women as agents of change in their communities, especially in post conflict zones. . Finally, according to Moser (1993) and Candida, Smyth and Mukhopadhyay (2005), it is important that real practical and strategic

gender needs/interest are identified and incorporated into the organising process. Also, organizations should involve individual women and grassroots women's movement not only in analysis, but also in defining the goals of an intervention and in its implementation. This means women at the grassroots level should be incorporated by these organizations, for there to be greater achievement. Moser also argued that the wish to fulfil strategic gender needs/interests have to come from the women themselves, or by the 'bottom-up' struggle of women's organizations (Bucken and Zhurtanova, 2010: 93).

3.2.0 Molyneux's gender organizing theory and 'Bottom-up approach' in peace building.

According to Maxine Molyneux (2002: 171) 'Bottom-up development' gained more support, after the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the Communist system, along with the growing impact of human rights movement in the 1990s. These events highlighted the issues of rights and citizenship in the international agenda at a time when there was a major reassessment of the development policies of the previous decades. The 'bottom-up' approach to development implies greater attention to demands from the grassroots, more sensitive policy instruments, and changes in the nature of state-society relations. This was achieved when states were partially rehabilitated as actors in the development domain. NGOs seized this opportunity and became important agents in this process. They expanded their roles in development work and delivery of welfare; they lobbied governments and worked with grassroots movements to advance citizen's rights through legal reform and strategies designed to 'empower' the poor generally.

In line with the above statement, women's organizations saw this 'empowerment approach' as an opportunity to empower women by using 'bottom-up approach'; by identifying with their

needs/interests (both practical and strategic) in order to change their position in the society, and to become agents of change. .

According to Miller and Razavi (2001: 22) ‘bottom-up’ development can be referred to as participatory development. That is, it is not enough to identify with women’s needs/interests, but to allow them to actively participate in the decision making on issues that also affects them as the member of a particular community. One cannot talk about ‘bottom-up approach’ without talking about empowerment.

The human development report 1995 (Oxal and Baden, 1997: 2), stresses that empowerment is about participation, and it must be by the people, not only for the people. People must participate fully in decisions and processes that affect their lives. In other words, empowerment is a bottom-up process and cannot be bestowed from top to down (Oxal and Baden, 1997: 2). Empowerment is not about opening up access to decision making, but also must include the processes that make people see themselves as able and entitled to fill the decision making space (Oxal and Baden, 1997: 2). In this view, one can say that empowerment should not only bring awareness of ability to make choices but also should enable women to have a say on whatever choices that are made.

Also, looking at it from the instrumentalist perspective, investing in women’s capabilities and empowering women to exercise their rights is not only valuable on its own but is also a means of contributing to economic and overall development.

Moser (1993: 87), believes that empowerment approach was articulated by “third world women” themselves and that this approach supports greater self-reliance among Third World

women, that is, it challenges women's subordinate position in the society and works from the bottom up through grass-roots mobilisation .

Implementation of empowerment through a bottom up approach in the context of hierarchically organised development organisations may prove difficult, where organisational cultures are biased against the participation and autonomy in decision-making of beneficiaries. This suggests that not just activities and policy frameworks but also organisational structures and processes need to be examined in promoting empowerment. The importance of participation adopted by many development agencies is noteworthy for empowerment, as this will ensure accountability in the process to those they claim to be empowering. Such issues of accountability may present a challenge to donor agencies, whose ultimate responsibilities lie elsewhere than with target groups or beneficiaries.

Definitely, external support and intervention are needed during the process of empowerment, which means organizations can play an enabling or facilitating roles like women's individual empowerment by encouraging women's participation, attainment of skills, decision-making competence, and control over resources (Oxal and Baden, 1997: 7). Women's collective empowerment by funding women's organisations addresses the causes of gender subordination, by promoting women's participation in political systems, and by fostering dialogue between those in positions of power and organisations with women's empowerment goals.

However, it should be noted that empowerment cannot be defined in terms of specific activities or end results because it involves a process whereby women can freely analyse, develop and voice their needs/ interests without them being pre-defined, or imposed from above, by organizations or other social actors. The assumption that organizations can identify and choose

women's needs/interests without involving them as beneficiaries is against empowerment objectives which imply that women themselves formulate and decide what these needs/interests are (Buckley, 2001: 26).

Organizations working towards empowerment through bottom-up approach must therefore create an atmosphere that will enable women themselves to critically consider their own situation and fashion a way to transform the society (Buckley, 2001: 27; Oxal and Baden, 1994: 6). Wierenga (1994), cited in Oxal and Baden (1997: 6) argues that this transformation should be seen as an on-going process rather than as a fixed goal.

3.3 Lederach's Theory of Moral Imagination

Various theories are propounded by peace studies scholars; some of these will be reviewed in this section. The strengths and weaknesses of each theory will be discussed and the relevance of the theories to the subject matter of the study will be considered. These theories are; Burton's theory of human needs, Galtung's theory of peace by peaceful means and Lederach's theory of moral imagination.

Burton's theory of human needs argues that, "one of the causes of protracted conflict is people's unyielding drive to meet their unmet needs on the individual, group and societal level" (RILP, 2007; Rubenstein, 2010). In other words, sources of conflict should be considered before the roots of the problem can be addressed. Burton views essential needs as needs that go beyond just food, water, and shelter (Sandole and Hugo, 1997). They include both the physical and non-physical elements needed for human growth and development, such as identity, recognition, security, and personal development. Once these needs are understood in a conflict situation, peace building becomes easier (Marker, 2003; Mills, 2006).

The human needs theory is well-accepted among scholars; much has been achieved by applying it practically in peace building processes. This theory may provide a sustainable solution as it focuses on the source of the conflict. However, it does have its shortcomings, including the fact that it portrays human needs as relatively still, fixed, and most importantly, homogeneous (Augsburger, 1992: 62). This theory assumes that men and women's human needs are the same, that is, it proceeds from a gender-neutral understanding of human needs, which contradicts the main reasons that women's organisations become involved in peace building. In view of this limitation, this theory is inappropriate for this study.

Galtung's theory of conflict and peace distinguishes between direct violence (for example, women being murdered), structural violence (women dying as a result of poverty in a society) and cultural violence (accepted norms that blind a society to violence against women or seek to justify it). According to this theory, direct violence can be confronted by changing conflict behaviours. Structural violence can be confronted by removing structural injustices and cultural violence by changing attitudes.

Galtung also distinguishes between positive peace and negative peace. Positive peace is the absence of structural violence, or 'positively' the presence of social justice, while negative peace is the absence of direct violence (Sandole and Hugo, 1996: 54). Fisher and Keashly (1991) posit that some conflict situations may require a 'negative peace' of response, at least in the short run (this is where dialogue and peacekeeping initiatives come in) in order to facilitate the initiation of 'cooperative approaches' to dealing with the causes of the particular conflict. In other words, 'negative peace' could lead to 'positive peace'. Galtung (cited in Sandole and Hugo, 1996) believe that in conflict resolution, any approach that neglects a 'positive peace' may be counterproductive and that the use of violence to stop violence could fuel the conflict.

This is in line with the approaches adopted by women's organisations in peace building, which generally focuses on pursuing peace by peaceful means (McKay, 2004; Confortini, 2011). Although this theory relates to the present research, the moral aspect, which situates women in the peace process alongside men, is not prominent in Galtung's theory.

Moral imagination theory as earlier mentioned is "the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not yet exist; the potential to find a way to transcend, and to move beyond what exists while still living in it" (Lederach, 2005: 9). The word 'moral' must not be confused for morality, says Lederach. To him, moral relates to the mind, that is, the capability of the mind to be able to reflect, think and create³⁰. Lederach contends that in peace building, the capacity to imagine and generate constructive responses and initiatives, while deeply rooted in the challenges of violence, transcend and ultimately break the grip of those destructive prevalent norms and so-called cultures that support the reasons for conflicts (cited in Isike and Okeke-Uzodike, 2010: 683). Thus, for sustainable peace to be achieved, people need to extend their perceptions to a deeper level of understanding.

Lederach cited four stories to support this theory: A story from Ghana: "I Call You Father Because I Do Not Wish to Disrespect You"; A story from Wajir: "How a Few Women Stopped a War"; a story from Colombia: "We Have Decided to Think for ourselves" and a story from Tajikistan: "Talking Philosophy with the War Lord". He demonstrated that peace was achieved in these stories not as a result of the technical expertise of the international peace mediators or the design of the peace process, but rather due to the serendipitous appearance of moral imagination in human affairs (Lederach, 2005: 19, Isike and Okeke-Uzodike, 2010: 688). For

³⁰ faustoarya.wordpress.com/2010/12/02

the purpose of this study, and for proper understanding of the art of moral imagination, the story of the Wajir women as narrated by Lederach will be adopted.

A story from Wajir: How a few women stopped a War (Lederach, 2005: 9-13?)

“The women of Wajir did not set out to stop a war. They just wanted to make sure they could get food for their families. The initial idea was simple enough: Make sure that the market is safe for anyone to buy and sell.

Wajir district is located in the north eastern part of Kenya, near the Somali and Ethiopian borders. The district is made up mostly of Somali clans. Like those in other parts of the Horn of Africa, the people of Wajir have suffered the impact of numerous internal wars in neighbouring Somalia and Ethiopia. With the collapse of the Somali government in 1989, increased fighting inside the country created countless refugees, who spilled over the border into Kenya. Wajir soon found itself caught up in inter clan fighting, with a flow of weapons, fighting groups, and refugees who made life increasingly difficult. By 1992 the Kenya government declared Wajir to be in a state of emergency.

The 1990s were not the first time Wajir had experienced clan-based war, but it soon became one of the worst cycles of violence. Dekha, one of the key leaders in Wajir, recalls that one night in mid-1993 shooting erupted once again near her house. She ran for her first-born child and hid for several hours under the bed while bullets crisscrossed her room. In the morning, discussing the events of the night before, her mother recalled days in 1966 when Dekha was a child and her mother held her under the bed. They were reflecting that morning and feeling sad that the violence had not come to an end. As mothers, they were tired of the violence. Dekha was affected by her mother’s statement that she determined to find a way to make Wajir a place where her daughter would enjoy a violence-free life. She found other women with similar stories. Fatuma tells how at a wedding the women worried about how they would get home and had to leave early. They lamented the rising violence, the thievery along the highways, the guns that were everywhere carried by their young boys, and the fear of abuse and rape with which young girls lived even in their home villages.

So the women quietly gathered, fewer than a dozen of them at first. “We just wanted to put our heads together,” they said, “to see what we knew and could do. We decided the place to start was the market.” They agreed on a basic idea. The market should be safe for any woman of any clan background to come, to sell, and to buy. Women were looking out for their children. Access and safety to the market was an immediate right that had to be assured. Since women mostly ran the market, they spread the word. They established monitors who would watch every day what was

happening at the market. They would report any infractions, any abuse of someone because of her clan or geographic origin. Whenever issues emerged, a small committee of women would move quickly to resolve them. Within a short period of time, the women had created a zone of peace in the market. Their meetings and initiatives resulted in the creation of the Wajir women's Association for Peace.

While they were working hard on the market, they soon discovered that broader fighting still affected their lives. Sitting again, they decided to pursue direct conversations with the elders of all clans. Though they had access to their elders, this was not an easy thing to do. "Who are women to advise and push us?" was the response they feared they might get. So they sat and thought through their understanding of the elder system, the actual key elders, and the makeup of Somali clans in Wajir. Using their personal connections within their own groups, they worked with concerned men and succeeded in bringing together a meeting of the elders of all the groups. They aligned themselves carefully to not push or take over the meetings. Instead they found one of the elderly men, quite respected, but who came from the smallest and therefore the least threatening of the local clans. In the meeting he became their spokesperson, talking directly to the other elders and appealing to their responsibility. "Why, really," he asked, "are we fighting? Who benefits from this? Our families are being destroyed." His words provoked long discussions. The elders, even some of those who had been promoting revenge killings, agreed to face the issues and stop the fighting. They formed the council of Elders for Peace, which included a regular meeting group and sub commissions. They began the process of engaging the fighters in the bush and dealing with clan clashes.

The women, recognizing that this effort could be very important for Wajir, decided to take up contact with government officials from the district and eventually the national representatives in Parliament. Accompanied by some elders, they transparently described their initiative and process. They agreed to keep the officials informed and invited them to various meetings, but they asked that in return the officials not disrupt process that was in motion. They received the blessing of the government.

Soon the question became how to engage the youth, particularly the young men who were hidden and fighting in the bush. The women and elders met with key youth in the district and formed what became known as the Youth for Peace. Together they not only went to bush and met with fighters; they began to travel the district, giving public talks to mothers and youth. They soon discovered that a key concern was employment. Guns, fighting, and rustling had significant economic benefit. If the youth were to leave fighting, their guns, and the bush, they would need something to occupy their time and provide income. The business community was then engaged. Initiatives for rebuilding and local jobs were offered. Together, the women from the market, the elders' commissions, the Youth for Peace, the business people, and local religious leaders formed the Wajir Peace and Development Committee.

Through the work of elders, ceasefires came into place. Commissions were created

to verify and help the process of disarming the clan-based factions. A process of turning over guns to local authorities was coordinated with these commissions and the district police. Emergency response teams were formed made up of elders from different clans who would travel on a moment's notice to deal with renewed fighting, rustling, or thievery.

Solidifying the rising peace, the Wajir Peace and Development Committee brought together all of the groups and held regular meetings with district and national leaders. They could not control the continued fighting in neighbouring Somalia or the influx of problems that came from outside their borders, but increasingly they found ways to protect their villages and stop the local fighting before it spiralled out of control. Key to their success was the ability to take quick action and stop the potential moments of escalation by directly engaging the people involved. Former fighters now disarmed and, back in the community, became allies of the movement. They helped to constructively engage other fighting groups, increasing the process of disarmament. When crimes were committed, their own group brought those responsible forward, and restitution was sought rather than blind protection and cycles of revenge.

Ten years later, Wajir district still faces serious problems, and the Wajir Peace and Development Committee still actively works for peace and has continued to expand. New programs include police training and work in local schools. More than twenty schools are participating and have formed the peace Education Network, which involves peer mediation and teacher training in conflict resolution.

Poverty and unemployment remain significant challenges in Wajir. Guns still cross borders in this region. Fighting has not stopped in Somalia, and it spills into Wajir. Religious issues and the global implications emerging since September 11, 2001, with the presence of U.S. marines and the antiterrorism campaigns, have become new issues. But those involved in the Wajir Peace and Development Committee continue their strong work. The elders meet on regular basis. There is greater cooperation among the local villages, clans, and the district officials.

And the women who stopped a war monitor a now safer market.”

Source: Lederach J.P. (2005), *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*. Oxford University Press, Inc. 198 Madison Avenue, New York, 10016. P.9-13

The above story shows how changes can take place by shifting away from what was considered to be the only alternative (war) to a more constructive way of settling disputes. Although this was not the initial plan of the Wajir women, because they wanted a safe place for themselves and their families they had to think deeply on how to go about it. They started not by forcing their way through, but by making men see reason. And in return, it yielded what they had really longed for. Also, one can link this story to Molyneux's women's organization theory that has to do with strategic and practical interests. The practical need of the Wajir women is security/safety at home and in the work place (market). Before their practical need could be met, they had to strategize how to get their voices to the top (government), how to get their own solution/contribution to the peace building of their community across to the policy makers.

Also, the story depicts a form of patriarchal society, but the Wajir women worked as group knowing the peculiarity of their kind of environment and successfully broke through the barrier of patriarchy. They handled their situation as it appeared to them. If one links this story to Moleyneux's view of patriarchy as an environmental factor that can hinder women's organizations, it shows that indeed if this factor is not well handled it can hinder women's organizations wherever they are located.

As earlier mentioned, when linking the theory of moral imagination to peace building, Lederach came up with four elements, which are:

1. Relationships
2. Paradoxical curiosity/thinking
3. Creativity
4. Risk taking

Relationships

Talking about relationship in the real sense of it, one should be able to ask questions as to who you think you are and how related do you think you are to the people in your community. Looking at the universe, our existence depends on one another, as people accept their relational interdependency and recognize themselves as part of the web pattern, they may be able to imagine a broader set of relationships and take personal responsibility for their own choices and conduct (Isike and Okeke- Uzodike, 2010: 689). When people are facing the challenges of violence, what prompts the creative imagination is a human capability for humility. Demonstrating humility requires an ability to identify violent relationships as a web which involves every other person in the society including the people referred to as enemies. This is why Lederach concludes that peace building requires an ability to envision mutuality. Peace will collapse in the absence of the capacity to imagine relational mutuality, which positions oneself as part of a historic and ever-evolving web (Isike and Okeke- Uzodike, 2010: 689).

In building peace in conflict areas, the question people ask to find solutions is not “What is the solution?” It is: “Who do I know who knows the person with whom I have the problem? Who do I know who can help to create a way out?”³¹ That is, solutions emerge from interactive spaces, networks and commitments. To create changes in both physical and social environment requires careful observation for that which is present but not always immediately visible: the web of relationships³².

³¹ Faustoaarya.wordpress.com/2010/12/02. An Analysis of “The moral imagination.” - J.P. Lederach. Esposures of a Nomad.

³² Ibid

The web, that is the relationship building and space interaction can be described as follows³³; vertical spaces are those that join the leadership of local communities with people who are controlling the higher-level processes. Horizontal dimensions on the other hand refer to relationships among people and groups that transverse the identity divisions that may exist in a particular location, be they ethnic, religious, racial or linguistic. Interaction is the space where vertical and horizontal linkages come together at the centre of things.

The process of making a web requires a deep commitment to innovation and flexibility. The spider's genius lies in its ability to adapt, reshape, and remake its web of consecutiveness within the realities presented in a certain space. Constructive social change, like web making, is the art of seeing and building webs; an art whose complex creation lies in three simple principles:³⁴

- **Ability to see relationship as social linkages:** This is the ability to envisage strategic linkages in the society which helps build relationships. Relationship is the centre of social change and this requires the act of imagining the relationship in form of cobwebs to see how closely linked the society is.
- **Ability to visualise intersections in the social web:** This is when each individual in the society is able to see spaces of interaction, both those that exist and those that can be created. The ability to recognize these intersections must be developed by creating the centres for interactive social change – markets, hospitals, schools, cafés, street corners, and so on. .
- **Creatively responding to Challenges:** The key to peaceful co- habitation should not be the use of force but the ability to envision, acclimatize and creatively respond to the

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Ibid

societal challenges. That is, peace building processes should be platforms where the society is involved in order to generate creative responses to societal challenges. Peace building should not be a platform where solutions are solely created by a particular set of people in the society. When the society in general is involved in the peace building platform, there will be no rigidity. Instead, creative suggestions for changes will be made.

Looking at the way relationship has been described above, it becomes obvious that the quality of one's life is dependent on the quality of the lives of others. The moral imagination realizes that the safety of our grand-children is automatically tied to the safety of our supposed enemy's grandchildren. This brings us back to the Wajir women's way of thinking. In order to bring peace back to their community, they were able to imagine the havoc war would do to their children and grandchildren and they determined that enough was enough. Gradually and spontaneously, moral imagination was displayed.

Shedding more light on relationship as an element of peace building in Africa: in cases where it had been successful, it shows how connected African people are and how their connectedness can be used as an advantage, according to Obiekwe (2009: 16-17) "Relationship is the wellspring, the fulcrum, and the gravitating point of the African peoplehood. Contrary to the modern Western individualism, the African world is a world where to live is to be united with others in a social context; either by bonds of family, or of kindred, village, or clan. The whole way of life lay on fidelity to the demands of relationship." With this view one can say that the acknowledgement of the centrality of relationship in African setting is a good tool to be explored by women's organizations in Africa. Making constructive use of this tool requires

emphasising the need to build right relationships and social structures through a radical respect for human rights and life (Obiekwe, 2009: 14).

Paradoxical Curiosity

Lederach breaks paradoxical curiosity down to Greek and Latin roots: paradox, “contrary to common belief,” and cura, literally meaning to care...as in spiritual and physical healing (Chalmus 2006: 7). The root of violence can be found in dualistic polarity. Choices in conflict situations are forced into ‘either-or’ categories, that is, you are either for us or against us. Moral imagination involves the ability to rise above these divisions and reach beyond accepted meanings. Paradoxical curiosity is a matter of respecting complexity, looking beyond what is visible, and discovering what it is that holds apparently opposed social energies together. It involves accepting people at the physical level and yet looking beyond the physical appearances while suspending judgment in order to discover untold new angles, opportunities, and unexpected potentialities (Maiese, Conflict Research Consortium)³⁵.

Creativity

“The Moral Imagination,” according to Lederach, “finds its clearest expression in the appearance of the creative act.” The creative act ignites something new that is superior while deriving it still from the reality on ground (Chalmus 2006: 8). Most often people are not able to go beyond reality, which is why providing space for creative act is very important. This space should be able to create the awareness that “act and response are permanently within reach and, most importantly are always obtainable, even in violence ridden places (Chalmus 2006: 8).

³⁵ Beyond intractability Version IV, 2003-2010, University of Colorado Campus Box 580, Boulder, CO 80309

Creativity gives room for inquiry, and enables the evolution of new ways of thinking, that surpass norms, culture and traditions. .

Also, women's empowerment in peace building in African post conflict zones enables us to "embrace the possibility that there exist untold possibility capable at any moment to move beyond the narrow parameters of what is commonly accepted and perceived as the narrow and rigidly defined range of choices." (Obiekwe, 2009: 17) More African women participating in decision making on peace building is not a normal choice in the reality of patriarchal societies. However, if women work to expand this reality, the outcome will be transformation in African post conflict zones.

Risk Taking

The willingness to take risks is to embark on a journey whose end is unknown. In this journey, there is no assurance of success or safety. In a conflict situation, violence is known but peace is a mystery. Because peace building typically requires people to move towards a new, mysterious, and unexpected future, it becomes a tedious journey³⁶.

Finally, the four elements of moral imagination are quite explicit in the Wajir women's story, namely, how they were able to connect in a web-like relationship ranging from the women in the market place, to the elders and to the people of the community, in order to build peace. Also, paradoxical curiosity came into play when the elder of the smallest clan asked the question, "why are we fighting?" and the other elders began to see beyond the dual polarity. Creativity began to set in from the reality on the ground, that is, the role of unemployment in the war. This prompted job creation in the community and the programme for disarmament took place.

³⁶ Ibid

Lastly the willingness to take risks on the part of the women, the fear that the men/elders would not listen to them was realistic. Nonetheless, they were willing to take the risk for their children to have a safe place to be. But for the purposes of this study, relationship and creativity will be considered more closely, while acknowledging that all four aspects are intertwined. The study's selection of focal theories is to shed more light, firstly, on the society as a whole and secondly, on the women's organisations and how their roles are viewed by women in conflict zones. The study's light-shedding function requires highlighting the kind of relationship women's organization are building in post conflict zones especially as they use bottom up approach. . Also, creativity will be considered so as to investigate how this has been implemented by women's peace building strategies. .

3.4 Conclusion

The crux of the theoretical argument is that Moleyneux's organization theory along with Lederach's moral imagination is consistent with the participation of women's organizations in peace building using 'bottom up' approach in Africa's post-conflict zones. Since war affects women in a different way from men the interests/needs of women are different from men, the way women see peace building will be different from the way their male counterparts see it and the solutions contributed by them will definitely be different. That is why, in the light of moral imagination and with respect to the story told above by Lederach, women could be the 'missing link' in peace building in African post conflict zones.

These two theories; Lederach's moral imagination and Moleyneux's organization theory, have been merged together to come up with the following conclusions: firstly, that women's organisations in peace building could help in the development of post conflict zones in Africa as

long as the direct participatory approach is used in the zones, that is involving the stakeholders right from the grass root to the top.

Secondly, it has been argued that women's empowerment will give more women opportunities in the decision making arena at all levels (local, national and international). Building opportunities for women entails recognising their practical needs. These needs should be taken into consideration by the women's organizations before developing a strategy on how best to meet women's practical needs. For example, if the level of female illiteracy is high in the post conflict zones, this should be redressed before women can be granted the desired access to decision making roles.

Thirdly, with the aid of moral imagination women's organizations, like the Wajir women in Lederach's story, can use their initiative to build peace in post conflict zones in Africa by working hand in hand with the Government of any given zone.

Finally, it is expected that putting together the four elements, namely, relationship, paradoxical curiosity, creativity and risk taking, and applying them - most especially, relationship and creativity - to the process of peace building in Africa, the study will go a long way in helping to achieve sustainable peace and development in post conflict zones.

Chapter Four

Women's Organizations and their Strategies in Peace Building in South Sudan

Introduction

Organizations, whether governmental or non-governmental, arise for a purpose or purposes at a given point in time. The goals of these organizations differ, depending on what led to the formation of such organizations. The goals could be to protect human rights law, promote peace, empower youth, empower women, protect children's right, just to mention few. Most times these goals are pursued with great determination.

Since early 1990s, as mentioned in the previous chapter, organizations became the focal points of the international arena especially when it comes to peace building. The United Nations supports this organization's involvement in peace building, most especially women's organizations, by making constitutional provisions that will enable them to function effectively.

Also, in Africa, women's organizations are becoming increasingly popular in conflict and post conflict zones in Africa, promoting women empowerment, non-violent conflict resolution, protecting women's rights and encouraging more women's inclusion in decision making as stake holders in their countries. African Union declarations, as earlier mentioned, made some clear provisions for these organizations to perform effectively. In essence, it becomes necessary to focus on women's organizations in peace building in African post conflict zones, in order to comprehend their roles and challenges. Hence this chapter looks at the historical perspective of women's organizations in South Sudan, peace building in South Sudan as a gradual process, the reasons justifying women's involvement in peace building, the strategies of women's

organization in peace building and the role of the international community and its impact on women's organizations in South Sudan.

4.1 Women's organisations in South Sudan; a historical perspective

It is impossible to talk about the history of women's organizations in South Sudan without referring to Sudan. Located at the crossroads of the African and Arab worlds, Sudan is one of the most diverse countries in Africa, that is, diverse in ethnic groups and cultures, with an estimated population of 39 million people (Aldehaib . 2010:3; ElSawi ., 2011:1). Within this estimated population there are about 19 major ethnic groups, and 600 sub-groups speaking about 400 different languages (Aldehaib ., 2010:3; ElSawi ., 2011:1; Attree ., 2012:1). As the largest country in Africa, its meteorological conditions vary from a dry desert in the north to an opulent, fertile South (ElSawi, 2011:1). The history of Sudan categorises the ethnic groups into two groups; Arab and African affiliated groups. The Arab affiliated group tends to adhere to Islam while the African affiliated group tends towards Christian beliefs or indigenous belief system (Aldehaib, 2010:3). The first group inhabits much of the Northern part of Sudan, while the second group mostly dominates the South and some few places in the North; such as places like Darfur and Nuba mountains (Aldehaib, 2010:3).

The existence of this diversity has been a major challenge in Sudan, although it could have been used as an advantage for the development of Sudan, but since independence from Great Britain in 1956, it has torn the nation apart for more than two decades (Aldehaib . 2010:3).

The diverse country called Sudan came in to existence under the invasion of the Turks, followed by Anglo-Egyptian rule, through the process called the "creation of an artificial state controlled by new forms of governance" (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011). Under the Turco-Egyptian rule led

by Muhammad Ali, came restructurings in taxation, land ownership and its use. As a result of these restructurings, the Nuba tribes sought to escape taxation by moving further south (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011). This could be the reason why the capital city of modern Sudan, Khartoum, is very close to the South as explained by Lam Jok Wai Wuor (2011). The Turks and Egyptians came with foreign cultures that are from Ottoman Empire and Arabs, while the British imposed imperialism, education, religion and technology of the west and also the abolishment of slave trade which was the major source of enrichment in the South (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011). Historically, the enmity between the Arab North and the African South of Sudan started when the North started raiding the South for slavery purposes (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011). This could be argued as one of the bases for the hatred that was witnessed during post-independence war in Sudan.

After the rule of Turco-Egyptian regime, a formidable force called Mahdist state came onto the scene. Initially this group was believed by the Southerners to be a “Liberation Movement,” but this was a misconception (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011). This formidable force re-established the slave trade that was abolished by the British rule and there was continuous exploitation of the South and all this continued to widen the gap between the north and the south. The final blow dealt by the formidable group under the leadership of Ansar and his predecessor Khalifa on the South was the spread of Islam. This was not well received in Southern areas and the African tribes of this area decided to revolt against Islamic religion that was imposed on them and slavery until the Mahdist state was defeated by the British in 1898 (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011).

British colonization used indirect rule form of governance to govern Sudan. Through the indirect rule policy, South Sudan continued to be underdeveloped, while the wealth of Sudan was mainly concentrated in the North (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011). Also, Christianity that came

in with the British rule was well accepted in the South which would later expand the religious gap between the North and the South of the independent Sudan (Lam Jok Wai Wuor, 2011).

The colonial period was said to have already sown the seed for future wrath and discontent in Sudan. The divisions between northern and southern Sudan were intensified during the colonial period. For instance, it was illegal for people living in one region to move to the other. The caginess between the southern and northern Sudanese could only grow with the exploitation of the southerners by Northern Sudan through unequal trade, political marginalization and lack of respect for Southerners' traditional values. Even though the Southern part of the country began to agitate for its own political autonomy before the country got its independence, the North continually ignored its demands (Zainab Elsawi, 2011:4). After independence from Britain in 1956, the country experienced four military coups in 1958, 1969, 1985 and 1989 respectively (Larry Attree, 2012:1).

The first Sudanese civil war started in 1955 and ended with the signing of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement in 1972, but erupted again in 1983 till the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the government of Sudan in 2005, when the Southern region was recognised as a semi-autonomous region (Aldehaib, 2010:3). It was the 1972 Addis Ababa agreement that secured a decade of relative peace between North and South Sudan. This agreement provided equal rights for all citizens, including women's political rights and this period witnessed the emergence of modern political leadership among South Sudanese women, who became visible in the political affair of their country (Amel Aldehaib, 2010:4). But the discovery of oil in the 70's in the Southern part had the potential to start another round of war (Amel Aldehaib, 2010:4). As soon as oil was discovered, the Northern side, which had much political power, was ready to exploit it and this

was one of the reasons why the North would not allow the South to be independent. In 1983 the Numeiri regime in Khartoum called for the imposition of sharia laws across the country (Amel Aldehaib, 2010:4). This called for negative reaction in the Southern Part because the people of Southern part are majorly Christians, and they see the imposition of sharia laws as discrimination against their religion.

The Southern Sudanese under the leadership of the Late Dr. John Garang, channelled their frustration through the formation of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the conflict that killed over 1.9 million civilian mostly in Southern Sudan began. It took place between 1983 and 2005. During this period about 4 million Southerners were forced to flee their homes and seek shelter either in the North or neighbouring countries like Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Uganda. Majority of these refugees were women and children (Elsawi, 2011:4), while their husbands and fathers were either killed or imprisoned. This had a lot of effect (both negative and positive) on women during this period. For instance, women became breadwinners and heads of their families which increased their workloads. This negatively affected women's health and even reduced the chance of a girl child getting educated (Elsawi, 2011: 6). But as Sudanese women were going through this difficult period a seed of leadership was sown which germinated in the long run, namely, women's agitation in South Sudan for political roles, especially decision making roles as far as peace building is concerned.

Efforts to stop this war and restore peace especially between the government in Khartoum (North) and the SPLM/A in the South, were futile for a long period of time. But in 1993, this difficulty was reduced by the advent of the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development in Sudan., This was a regional conflict resolution and development body to sponsor a series of peace talks to end the civil war in Sudan by meeting with the two strong parties involved in the

war; that is, government forces in Khartoum and the SPLM/A (Elsawi, 2011: 6). A Declaration of Principle (DOP) was drafted in 1994, this declaration included separation of state and religion and recognition of the right of self-determination for the south after series of peace talks, on July 20, 2002, the government in Khartoum and the SPLM/A signed the Machakos Protocol. Thereafter, the need to hold a referendum on South Sudan's self-determination was recognised (Elsawi, 2011: 6). This situation brought Sudanese president Bashir and the leader of the rebel movement Dr John Garang together for the first time and this led to the cease fire agreement signed by the two parties (Elsawi ., 2011: 6). In January, 2004, the government and the rebel movement signed an agreement on how to share wealth in the Sudan. Finally, the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January, 2005 ended the 22-year long civil war between the Sudanese Government and the SPLM/A formally (Elsawi, 2011: 6).

The cause of the Sudanese conflict is said to be complex, that is, it can be said that some elements, such as religion, racism, and economic exploitation, colonial and post-colonial interventions contributed to it. But the major cause of the conflict is described as the domination of Northerners of the Southerners (Aldehaib, 2010:3). Despite the series of war in Sudan (North and South), women have played key roles to achieve a peaceful resolution.

Historically, just before the foreign rule in Sudan in 1821, women are said to have held leadership roles such as religious leaders, clan leaders and political leaders especially in Southern Sudan (Aldehaib, 2010:3). Women like Abudok from the Shiluk Kingdom and Man-Lang from Nuer kingdom were said to have held positions of religious power during this time and ruled successfully (Aldehaib ., 2010:4). Also during the Turco-Egyptian and Mahdist colonial period which was 1821 and 1898, some women rose to positions of political leadership, replacing men for political reasons. Furthermore, the Anglo Egyptians (1898-1956) who

succeeded the Mahdists were supportive of women leadership, with the notion that women would not resist them (Aldehaib, 2010:4). But this was fought against by men in the community and women leadership was reduced. This in turn affected women leadership in the independence era, female political and religious power was curtailed (Aldehaib, 2010:4).

In the first civil war (1955-1973), South Sudanese women challenged Government oppression through public protests, also, by secretly providing shelter for warriors and war victims, risking their lives as messengers or snares for the guerrilla movement, and facilitating efforts towards peace in the South while in exile (Faria, 2011). Also during the second civil war (1983-2005), the then leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) the Late Dr. John Garang, sought more formally to incorporate women into the resistance movement and they were directly recruited into the army branch of the Movement with the help of women's Battalion, which was formed in 1984 (Faria, 2011).

Furthermore, women were more actively involved in the Movement through the SPLM's secretariat for Women, Gender and Child Welfare and the Department for Women's Affairs (later referred to as Family Affairs). These groups held workshops and conferences to create awareness on women's rights and empowerment from 1994 onwards, and throughout the period of conflict (Faria, 2011). This could have been a means of getting women involved in the struggle, because after peace was restored in South Sudan, there have been fewer such campaigns (Mabel, (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser of the Voice for Change (VFC) organization).

Also, during the two civil wars, women were said to have come together as a small group to discuss how to promote peace, although members of these groups were often displaced as a

result of war, and they were not as free as they have become recently. However, most of the recent women organizations in South Sudan came as a result of these small women's groups that existed during the war. According to Mabel (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser of the Voice for Change (VFC) organization,

Many women's organizations in South Sudan today including this organization (VFC) started as women's groups/ movements before the independence of South Sudan, although they did not form a formal organization but they were coming together as women's groups, but because of the displacement caused by war the women's groups could not stay together for long.

In other words, women's organizations like Sudan Women Empowerment for Peace (SUWEP), Voice for Change (VFC), St Monica women association, Central Equatoria Women Association (CEWA) and a number of others in South Sudan have their roots in the small women's groups that existed during war. Mabel, (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser of the Voice for Change (VFC) organization also said that;

A typical example is a woman called Lona James Alia who made a lot of efforts during the war to gather her women colleagues to fight against all forms of discriminations in the then Sudan and out of her effort a recent organization was born which is voice for change (VFC); this organization fights for the rights of vulnerable groups of the society and women especially, in South Sudan community till date.

Another example is Awut Deng, one of the founders of the Sudan Women's association in Nairobi in 1993, who helped to develop and coordinate the New Sudan Council of churches (NSCC) by using "people to people" peace process (Faria, 2011). This was done at the grassroots level to heal the internal conflicts within the Southern Sudan, especially after the 1991 split of the SPLM/A. The NSCC process brought together eight hundred delegates representing women, youth, elders, traditional leaders, spiritual leaders and members of the church and led to the signing of Wunlit peace agreement in 1999 (Faria, 2011).

Another instance of women playing a peaceful role during the Sudan conflicts was when a woman called Julia Aker Duany along with her husband Wal started a group called South Sudanese Friends International (SSFI), in the Upper Nile in 1994 in order to stop the war, starting from the grass roots. In 1994, inter-ethnic warfare over fishing and grazing areas broke out and this was becoming unbearable for the women in this area. After all efforts had failed, Julia Aker Duany began to tell the village women to urge their husbands, fathers and brothers to stop fighting (Duany, 2001). To everyone's surprise it worked and the women discovered that they had an underlying influence within the community that was powerful enough to move entire community toward reconciliation (Duany, 2001). They discovered that when they stopped reacting like helpless victims but as agents of change, their circumstances in the community began to improve (Duany, 2001). For example a woman refused to milk a cow stolen by her husband from the other ethnic group and this made the man to return the cow and this ended up breaking the cycle of retaliatory violence (Duany, 2001). Another example of women's contributions through civil society/organizations, in the early days occurred in 1994, in Chukudum at a women's conference for civic groups (Faria, 2011). More than seven hundred leaders and grassroots organization members attended an event coordinated by the SPLA (Faria, 2011). This was momentous in the history of Southern Sudanese women's organizations, being the first time the military institution would recognise the role of women's organizations and make attempts to coordinate its own operations with those of the civilian groups (Faria, 2011). This brought a great opportunity for civic groups to network and coordinate amongst themselves. Many women's organizations and civil society groups with a significant majority of women in Leadership emerged as a result of this, for example, Sudan Women's Voice for Peace, the Sudanese Women's Union, The SPLM Women's League, the New Sudan Women's

Federation, and the Sudan women's Association (Faria, 2011). Along with the emergence of these organizations, Representative of Sudanese Women Organizations started participating actively in many international conferences based on women's empowerment and inclusion in political decision-making and peace negotiations. These included the Beijing Conference in 1995, the Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies Conference of 2000 and the Sudan National Women's Convention in Uganda in 2002 (Faria, 2011).

Also, another women's organization which played a key role in the peace process and the reconstruction and development of South Sudan is South Sudan Women's Empowerment Network (SSWEN). It was first formed in 2005, by Sudanese women in the United States-based diaspora to assist Sudanese women living there. This group chose to extend its work to South Sudan after the signing of the CPA (Faria, 2011). In an attempt to get women from various ethnic, class, rural-urban, religious, language backgrounds together to voice their needs and the way forward for women in South Sudan they organized workshops, conferences and discussion groups (Faria, 2011). At the initial stage SSWEN organised a particular conference in Juba, the state capital and it was well attended by women from the ten regions of Southern Sudan as well as Darfur and Southerners based in Khartoum in the Northern region (Faria, 2011). The goal of this conference was to get these women to talk about their key challenges and to articulate a vision for the future in South Sudan. Most of the articulated challenges centred on the issues of health care and education, protection from violence and discrimination in the community and family, gaining gender equality in the legal and judicial realms, and so on (Faria, 2011). The conference was a ground breaking one for those who attended, and what made it different from all other conferences was that it was organised and facilitated locally by Sudanese women, as opposed to those organised by foreign NGOs and multilateral agencies

(Faria, 2011). This shows at this stage how South Sudanese women were preparing for their inclusion in the new governance of South Sudan. A particular interviewee at the grass roots, Marline, testifies to the peaceful role the SSWEN had played in Juba especially in Bari community:

SSWEN really helped create awareness on women's rights and the importance of education for every child either girl or boy, they also connect with lawyers and help settle disputes. The SSWEN also helped with accommodation for displaced people that returned to South Sudan. Most of all they enlightened women on how they can be agents of change in their community and how to use dialogue in settling disputes rather than confrontation.

Before the popular United Nation's Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), literature reveals how Sudanese women were getting involved in the peace process. Although women of marriageable age are not permitted to speak in public, instead of allowing this to silence them they made their own contributions by using indirect influence on their husbands'/brothers'/sons' decisions on the issues of peace and development (Elsawi 2011: 4). As they were having this indirect influence on the decisions on peace processes, they wanted to be more directly involved; they started forming groups from exile (Kenya) to make their voices more visible (Elsawi 2011: 4). These groups organized to bring forward their demands on how discontented they were on the issue of the prolonged war and their exclusion from the peace processes. According to Elsawi (2011:4) Sudanese women pursue their demands by acknowledging that;

1. It is first and foremost women who suffer during wars or conflicts. Because of this, they are best placed to act as agents in a conclusive peace process, and to spread the culture of peace in the country.
2. Despite the suffering that Sudanese women have endured, their problems are rarely discussed. Instead, they are excluded from decision-making processes relating to conflict prevention, resolution and management.
3. Women have always played an important role in peace mediation and conflict transformation in the Sudan by influencing their spouses and relatives; therefore women could have a positive impact on the peace and reconciliation dialogues in Sudan.

4. Women's commitment to achieving recognition and respect of their fundamental rights must be regarded as an integral part of the pursuit of peace.
5. Women are the nurturers of values like forgiveness, tolerance, cooperation, respect and acceptance of others, all of which are conducive to peace amongst and between groups.
6. Women's attempts at peace building often go undocumented and unrecognized by organizations involved in conflict resolution.
7. There is a need to involve women as major stakeholders in mechanisms for conflict management and resolution because their active participation in peace-making is known to modify and influence the vision of conflicting parties.
8. Finally, women in Sudan represent more than 50% of the population; therefore their input into peace-making will add value to the on-going peace process.
- 9.

By acknowledging the above stated facts Sudanese women/ women organizations decided not to keep silent again until they are taken into consideration especially in peace processes and decision making.

As a result of this awareness and efforts made by women/women's organizations, a number of women who were involved in the peace and reconstruction efforts during the conflict now occupy political positions in independent South Sudan. Furthermore women-oriented and women led organizations are beginning to receive greater financial support from the new government (Faria, 2011). Also larger international development institutions and organizations such as United Nations, Mercy Corps, OXFAM and international NGOs in general shifted focus on Humanitarian relief to long term and sustainable approaches, for example channelling funds to the grassroots for the purpose of education democracy-building and small business enterprise trainings (Faria, 2011). This period of independence in South Sudan marks a significant shift in the support and presence of women-led and women-centered community based organizations in South Sudan (Faria, 2011).

4.2. The Reasons Justifying Women's involvement in Peace building in South Sudan

Broadly, there are two categories of peace as presented by scholars: negative peace and positive peace (Murithi, 2006: 13). Negative peace is when the condition is based on absence of violence while positive peace is about reconciliation and coexistence on the basis of human rights, social, economic and political justice (Murithi, 2006:13). Therefore, whenever peace building is mentioned, it is referring to the promotion of positive peace. In the process of achieving positive peace, there is need to promote social solidarity, that is, members of the society once again begin to identify each other as fellow human beings and uphold common concern on the issue of welfare and wellbeing of one another (Murithi, 2006: 14).

This means that the pursuit of positive peace in South Sudan is essential, and men, women and youth are needed to participate in the processes. For a sustainable peace to be achieved in South Sudan, no group should be left behind, especially women, because of their interconnectedness/link (that is a woman is connected to father, brother, husband and son) to everyone in the society, the value of their influence in the community cannot be overemphasized. The following are some of the reasons why women should be included in peace processes and decision making in South Sudan;

Women's rights according to the Constitution: It is stated in Article 16 of the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, that the government of South Sudan shall “promote women participation in public life and their representation in the legislative and executive organs by at least twenty-five percent as an affirmative action to redress imbalances created by history, customs, and traditions” (Mayen, 2013: 4). Mayen (2013: 4) also refers to the fact that the Constitutional article on the rights of women includes a much-overlooked

clause which states that “women shall have the right to participate equally with men in public life”. This legal ground for women’s participation in South Sudan, shows that South Sudanese women have enough legal backing to claim their right to participate. Although the government of South Sudan is giving women chances to voice their demands by registering their organizations and helping in peace building at the ‘bottom’ level., without women/women organization being involved at the level of peace processes and at decision making level, their work of peace building at the ‘bottom’ may not be successful (Ministry of Gender, interview, 12/9/2013).

Women’s rights with regards to international and regional legal bases: This legal background includes the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa – Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights, and the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women in peace and security (Mayen, 2013: 5). African heads of states have enshrined the international legal background for women’s participation in peace and security in the African Union Protocol on the Rights of Women, which mandated all African nations to endorsement and implementation. However, progress is hindered because of the lack of domestication of the international and regional resolutions and conventions into the national legal frameworks (Mayen, 2013: 5). That is, the international and regional legal backing for women exist more on paper than in the real life at the national level. Most of these resolutions and protocols have been criticized because there are no penalties for nations that do not implement them (Shepherd, 2008: 393).

South Sudan's population: South Sudanese women make up about 60 percent of the population of South Sudan (Faria, 2011). This is as a result of the long war: a large number of men were killed during the war and this in turn affected the population of men over the years.

Historical records of women's role in peace building in the Pre- South Sudan: The historical records, as earlier stated in this chapter, show the roles women/ women's organizations are playing in their community as peace builders. For example; mediation role, community development, and direct/ indirect influence they are having on the policies of the government. These roles have proved beyond doubt that if South Sudanese women are given the chance to build peace not only at the grassroots but at the decision making level, they have a lot to contribute to the development of their country.

4.3 Peace building in South Sudan as a gradual process

Peace building takes place immediately peace is successfully restored in a war zone. The essence of this is to minimise relapses into war in the zones and to address the bone of contention between the parties involved in the conflict. Peace building in post conflict zones are goal oriented but pursued in a gradual process before the results can be visible. Nearly all interviewees supported this view because South Sudan is just coming out of a very long period of conflict and things are still very new. As earlier discussed, the influx of women's organizations in post conflict zones becomes apparent immediately there is a ceasefire and they put different kinds of strategies in place in order to gradually build peace in a particular zone. . Therefore, to know the effectiveness of these strategies one will need to explore the different kinds of strategies put in place by women's organizations in South Sudan.

4. 3.1. The strategies employed by women’s organizations in building peace in South Sudan

Talking about gender roles, I remember the first welcoming words from the Director of the Department of Peace Studies at the University of Juba in South Sudan on my arrival at the department for interview. These words were: “Alas, this is the first time we are having a black and a lady for that matter to come interview us.” I was received warmly and helped with my research. Most of the people I interviewed in this department are men. Nonetheless, they welcomed me with open minds. Given that South Sudan is a patriarchal society, I was surprised. However, in the course of the interview I quickly realised that the behaviour was based on the power of education and exposure. Apart from the University setting, I could not interview many men for the fear of insecurity that is very much in the air, especially as rape cases were rampant at this time. Men that were close by during my interview with the women gave me strange looks almost all the time. Another point that worked to my advantage was that many of my female respondents felt comfortable with me and were able to give me the information for which I was seriously searching. During the interview I was able to discover most of their social norms, how peace is perceived in the society, their religious beliefs and the existence of diverse ethnic groups within South Sudan. For example, during my interview with Marline (one of the grassroots women), she quickly reminded me that she belongs to a particular ethnic group and that this group is the original owner of the land. Her words led me to other discoveries in the field.

Given the presence of many women’s organizations in South Sudan with the aim of building peace, it is necessary to look into the strategies put in place in pursuit of their objectives. In the course of collection of data, three women’s organizations, one human rights group, grass roots

women, Government officials and academics were interviewed on the roles of women's organizations in establishing peace and security in South Sudan. The strategies were explored under these three categories: advocacy, training and capacity building and creating awareness.

Advocacy

The dictionary definition of advocacy is the “act of speaking on the behalf of or in support of another person, place, or thing an example of an advocacy is a non-profit organization that works to help women victims of domestic abuse who feel too afraid to speak for themselves”.³⁷

Advocacy is the act of pleading or arguing or supporting or writing in favour of something, such as a cause, idea, or policy and is an ongoing dynamic process³⁸. In order to build peace, women's organizations in South Sudan put their strengths together to advocate for women's empowerment, equality and inclusion in peace processes and decision making. Considering the fact that women connect every other person in the society, these women's organizations believe that if women are rightly placed in the society, peace can easily be built.

Most women's organizations in peace building also advocate for education among women/ girl child in order to empower them to be able to stand on their own and also to have a say in the peace processes of their nations

Ms Deng, the gender focal point of the Central Equatorial Women Association (CEWA) stated that,

The roles of this organization in peace building are to: Focus on domestic violence at the grass root, women can still not move freely, because of insecurity. We create awareness on this insecurity; we go to the grass root to give orientation talk to both men and women. We also do house to house

³⁷ See <http://www.yourdictionary.com/advocacy>. “advocacy” P1, assessed on 28/06/2014

³⁸ See <http://www.unoy.org/advocacy/advocacy.htm>. “Youth Advocacy and Campaigning”P1, assessed on 28/06/2014

mobilization that is, calling and training them, especially boys not to rape, because this is a common issue under the issue of insecurity.

Speaking further on their strategies, Deng (Gender focal point, CEWA) said,

In the strategies we use in building peace in our organization we follow modalities; when we want to address the issue of insecurity at the grass roots we call men and women to gather and throw out questions based on the issue at hand and as they are answering these questions among themselves we all begin to see the solution to the problems. We do this to protect women, because if women alone are called, it will be of no effect once the men are not involved.

This women's organization is a small civil society organization under the South Sudan Women General Association at the national level. They are being used as instruments to get to women at the grass roots. Apart from what was said by this respondent above, the researcher personally observed training for grass roots women empowerment within the building where this organization is situated. Also, Ms Deng (the gender focal point of the Central Equatorial Women Association) gave an example of what they had been able to achieve so far:

There was a reconciliation meeting in the year 2011, to reconcile the conflict between Bari tribe and Mundari tribe (Central Equatoria), we got involve and brought peace. The bone of contention was about cattle rearing and grazing, but a peaceful strategy like dialogue between the two parties, involving elders and other community members from the two tribes in the reconciliation meeting and also, an assessment was taken to know the root of conflict and it was addressed.

The scenario quoted above shows the way this women's organization is making positive impact at the grass root level to build peace and to sustain it by involving those that are within the society.

Also other respondents from another women's organization spoke about their roles in peace building in South Sudan. Mabel (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser of the Voice for Change (VFC) organization stated that

*....This is a national South Sudanese Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that is concerned about vulnerable groups especially women. We organised a program titled UN Security Council 1325; women despite vulnerability they remain invisible, for example, during the peace negotiation, truly women were seated there, not as a contributor but as an observer, so we realised that women were not carried along and if there is going to be any peace building in South Sudan women should be carried along. This program is meant to bring women on board, after many years of neglect, the focus of UN 1325 is based on 4 pillars which are recovery, relief, participation and protection, but our organization only focus on two out of the four pillars which are participation and protection. **Participation** in the sense that how can we bring women in to participation not only in politics, but leadership in peace building, in the security area and decision making, **all these areas are the key areas to peace in South Sudan. Protection** on the other hand, is viewing it from the perspective that women suffered and are still suffering even in their homes as a result of patriarchal culture; they do not have time to participate in any public sector, so this organization is intervening in this area. For example, in the military/police structure there are few women, if we do not have sufficient women in this structure, then the issue of protection might be difficult,....*

This organization is looking at the role of women in peace building from the perspective of participation and protection. They believe that without adequate participation in policy making especially in the security sector, there can be no sufficient protection for women. They believe that if women are at the top positions in this sector they also can influence policies that will in turn protect women in the society. According to Mabel (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser, VFC), “only the person wearing the shoe knows where it pinches” Without adequate protection for women in post conflict zones there can be no sustainable peace building. Also, if a woman is not well protected she will have no peace and this will in turn affect her home and when there is no peace at home the community also cannot be at peace. According to Mabel (Gender Based

Violence (GBV) adviser, VFC), *“this organization in building peace in South Sudan takes family as the main focus on where to start peace building in South Sudan”*. This means that if each family is at peace, then peace becomes the order of the day in the entire community.

Apart from the issue of participation and protection, according to Mabel (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser, VFC), this organization also sensitises people on the issue of conflict transformation,

We sensitise on the issue of conflict transformation, not only the women but men because women don't often come out, so we have to carry men along as well, not only that we also sensitize government at all levels.

Furthermore Mabel (adviser on gender based violence), also stated that

we have decided to do away with the popular workshop/talk shop, we only use this to train, but we are using mobilizing agents like dialogues, discussion (seating in groups) and we ask questions, from the answers to these questions we deduce the peace needs of everybody in the society, with these we decide as an organization, what we can do to help them out

That is, to get to the women at the grass root in South Sudan, you have to go through the men. Once men are sensitised, it will not be difficult for women to benefit and be more respected. It can also be deduced from the above excerpts that this organization goes beyond general workshop/talk shop to participatory meetings where people can ask and answer questions and from there they become familiar with people's needs. This organization not only sensitizes the general public but also sensitizes government at all levels so that the women in political positions or at the grass roots can live without the fear of being discriminated against. The strategy of sensitising the government at all levels will create awareness from ‘top to bottom’ on the issue of discrimination against women. Once the discrimination against women at the

top is curbed then it will not be difficult to curb discrimination at the ‘bottom’, that is, within the general populace.

This organization according to Mabel (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser, VFC), is making efforts to see that more women are involved in peace processes in South Sudan:

Our belief is that if women are on board in the peace processes then peace is achievable in South Sudan because women have access to everybody in the community.”

The stated data excerpt as supported by the transitional constitution earlier cited, shows that this organization is looking at South Sudanese women as agents of peace in South Sudan, that is, if they can be empowered, then sustainable peace is achievable.

During an interview with Cecilia who works at the United Nations Women (UN Women) as the Gender Secretary, she said

The strategies that United Nations Women had been using is based on National Action Plans on Resolution 1325, though this had not been easy as an approach to peace building in South Sudan, we work hand in hand with women organizations in South Sudan, going to the grass root together to mobilize, men, women and youth in order to improve the security at this level because this expose a lot of women to violence.

This discussion shows that United Nations Women as an international organization is also using the ‘participatory approach’ or ‘bottom up’ approach by involving the society as a whole especially at the grass roots in peace building in South Sudan. She also said in their attempt to help build peace in South Sudan, they dialogue with South Sudanese women and local authorities that is, from the national, county, pay am and down to Boma which is the last level of local authorities in South Sudan. Presently, they are dealing with the payam level of local authority. This means that UN women are encouraging communication from the bottom to the

top and vice versa. This will expose the authorities to the immediate needs of the society and also the society knowing what is expected of them as far as peace building is concerned.

However, despite all these efforts from women organizations there are still few women represented in the peace processes, political positions and public positions. A government official Jane (Deputy Director, ministry of gender, child, and social welfare), during the interview stated that *“if government can support the approach of women in peace building then it will work. That is ‘Top down’ supporting ‘Bottom up’, will bring out excellent performance in peace building”*.

In the above excerpt the ‘top-down’ to which Jane shows her view that is it is the point where Government’s efforts/support is supposed to meet the ‘bottom up’ approach put in place by women’s organizations to make peace building effective in South Sudan. This in essence, mean that Molyneux’s organizing theory is applicable to South Sudan and can only be successful if government/ state support the efforts of women’s organizations in peace building in South Sudan. However, it is too early to decide which approach will or will not work in South Sudan, because of the peculiarity of their history; coming out of decades of war so many other approaches to peace building will still be brought on board. This was illustrated by Peter (researcher and writer), when he said

Bottom up approach is good for peace building in South Sudan especially in creating awareness for women to know their rights, but things are relatively new in South Sudan, we are still exploring so many things to see which one will eventually work.

Looking at the issue of the role of women’s organizations in peace building in South Sudan, Aluat (Grass Roots women, Juba), decided to view it from the perspective of advocacy for

education in South Sudan especially a girl child education. During the interview session, Aluat said that,

The women's organizations are good and are making a lot of changes by advocating for girl child education, because as a result of high level of illiteracy among women, only few women are recognised.

In regard to women's direct involvement in peace processes and decision making, lack of education could be a spanner in the works. Education is a significant element of women's practical interests. As such, it needs urgent attention in South Sudan, with reference to Molyneux's theory, there can be no peace building if these practical needs of women are not met.

Training and Capacity building

Training and capacity building is meant to promote and enhance skills and knowledge amongst a targeted population.³⁹ During my interview in two women's organizations' offices who happened to share the same building, my observation was that there were rooms designed for vocational trainings for women., The rooms were tagged 'entrepreneurship'. When I made enquiries, I was told that at certain days in the course of the week, grass roots women will gather for training most especially for tailoring lessons. When they are through with their training, they are given instruments to work with.

In order to gather information about the types of training put in place at the grass roots level, the researcher spoke to four women (Along, Najhakhamis, Bakhita, and Asia) in the vicinity of University of Juba who were willing to provide their views on the issue of women's

³⁹ See http://initiativeforpeacebuilding.eu/capacity_building. Assessed on 28/06/2014

organizations. They wanted to be interviewed together, so a group discussion was arranged. .

The summary of what was gathered from the discussion is this:

we know of some women's organizations, like South Sudan Women Empowerment (SSWEN), MADA (which means mothers) and so on, they try to empower women by trying to help women at the grass root with their education, they also train women to be independent, and also loan them money to start their businesses.

These four women believe that women's organizations are playing big role in establishing women to help the new nation's economy.

However, Agnes, a grass roots woman from Liriya village said *"I am not fully aware of what women's organizations are doing."* She was a bit fearful during the interview, which is to be expected in a post conflict zone where you do not know 'who is who'.

In the course of another interview on training and capacity building, Sis Santa, the director of St. Monica Women Association had this to say about her organization:

This organization came to be as a result of helping South Sudanese girls that were found wondering about in Uganda, we brought them together first as a prayer/fellowship and afterwards we empowered them so that they can stand on their own. They were taught how to farm, some other entrepreneur businesses, and so on.

She also talked about their strategies,

In this organization men and women are gathered and sensitized for the development of South Sudan. There are so many family conflicts which in turn affect the peace of the society.

In other words this organization relates peace in South Sudan to peace in the families of South Sudanese. According to her, the organization also provides training at the grass roots level,

We have our agents at the grass root levels that teach the women how to go about micro finance loans and their entitlements. We also train some in farming and now they have their own farming groups. We have workshops for grooming and training for development which in turn helps builds peace in South Sudan,

This shows how women's economic empowerment can in turn help in peace building in post conflict zones. This is what is needed in a post conflict zone where most women had taken up the responsibility of family heads/ breadwinners as a result of war.

Zaitun, a grass roots woman, affirmed that

Women organizations in South Sudan empower women to get involve in decision making of their country and how to get there, they educate women on their rights, Women organizations advocate for equality, they also sensitize women on issues that has to do with Gender...., Women Union Like SWIDAP (South Sudan Women Empowerment in Development and Peace) conduct adult education in Tore in Yei County and they are supported by the ministry of education, they train women especially tailoring and give them tailoring equipment to stand on their own and they also train women in my village on how to trade and make profits.

In the view of the above respondent, the women's organizations are performing their roles at the grass roots in order to meet the immediate needs of the society in South Sudan. And on the issue of education she believes that they are helped by the women's organizations in South Sudan, because without this basic education the journey to a sustainable peace in South Sudan may be difficult.

Margaret, from Acholi village in South Sudan, stated that

The women organizations come to the village; they call small group meetings for the development of the society. They train women in businesses especially tailoring so that they can stand on their own..., women's organizations help settle disputes within the community through dialogue that is, calling on the parties involved and settling it.

And from this she learnt that dialogue is better than confrontation in a society striving to build peace.

Creating awareness

'Awareness rising' can be said to be one of the empowerment approach's instruments. It is also referred to as 'consciousness raising', and aims at evolving a critical consciousness by women

(and men) so that they "move from a position of unquestioning acceptance of the social order to a critical perspective on it" (Kabeer 2001: 25; Tasli, 2007:52).

In Tasli's (2007:62) work on "Conceptual framework for Gender and Development studies", It was discovered that creating awareness among women in peace building is necessary because of the mindset of women believing that they belong to a lower category from childhood and the stereotype roles the society had given them;

It was pointed out earlier that gender subordination is deeply rooted in the consciousness of both women and men, and is reinforced through social norms, culture, educational system, religion, etc... At this point, one can ask the hypothetical question to what extent women are aware of the gender subordination they are subject to. On individual basis, many women have of course a certain degree of awareness of their gender subordination. However, they usually cannot attempt to question it because this would bring them into conflict with the social norms....."Women are likely to be given greater respect within their communities for conforming to its norms and to be penalized if they do not [...]." Moreover, women usually lack the material and non-material resources to challenge the gender subordination. In general, however, women's awareness of gender subordination and its implications is quite limited. This is mainly due to the reason that they have been living in the structures of gender subordination since their childhood where they have continuously learned they belong to a lower category. In the end, they start to 'internalize' their social status as persons of lesser value..... and consider it as 'natural' or 'God-given'.....

In essence, creating awareness in the society especially among women will help them to know their rights and how to pursue them. It will elevate women's mind and also the way they view themselves in the society, that is, distorted notions in their minds will be straightened out.

In order to verify the visibility of the roles of women's organizations in South Sudan especially on the issue of 'awareness creation' in the society, a few grass roots women were interviewed within the vicinity of Juba, although they are from various counties within South Sudan. Some

of them claimed to have felt the impact of women's organizations in their community while few claim not to know what roles they are playing in peace building in South Sudan.

A woman, Marline from the grass roots (Bari Community in Juba) confirmed the visibility of the roles of women's organizations in her community by stating that

I know of women organizations that come to my community and they create awareness that is, making women know their roles in peace building in the new nation. Some of them also helped displaced people with accommodation. They encourage the community to send their children to school especially a girl child, by telling them that if you educate a woman, you are educating a nation.

This woman is still young, and she is trying to make sure she finishes her education at the university because this is what she has gained from the awareness created by women's organizations in South Sudan.

Marline (Bari Community), also confirms that

Women's organizations had successfully created awareness on the issue of women's rights and what the 25 per cent quota meant and how it can be filled up.

The awareness taught her that women need education more to get into top public positions. She also confirmed the mediation role of 2011, played by the Central Equatoria Women Association, namely, that they actually helped the Bari and the Mundari to resolve their conflicts.

Another grass roots woman, Kulang, from Torit village, said

Women's organizations come and advise people especially boys/men not to misbehave or rape and they also tell us the consequence of such act, for example HIV/AIDS. But, she also believes that women organizations are not doing enough, because if the people of her community tell them what they want, they don't help much.

In the view of this respondent, there are still many things to be done in her community and women's organizations should help.

Sarah John has this to say about the roles of women's organizations in her community, Ayidi in Jonglei:

Women's organizations create awareness by telling women what their right is, they get involve at the family level, getting them together both male and female, creating awareness also on the importance of education, the issue of HIV/AIDS, and how to build peace in their society.

In her view women's organizations are creating awareness on sensitive issues that could cause setbacks in the journey towards sustainable peace building.

Koiti (grass roots Bari Community), supports the above view, by saying that

Women's organizations mobilize citizens, empower voices and define South Sudan citizens to shape their nations.

According to this respondent, women's organizations in South Sudan are using participatory approach (as earlier discussed in theoretical framework) that most women's organizations especially in post conflict zones are using bottom up approach. Also as earlier discussed, this was supported by Miller and Razavi (2001: 22), who said that 'bottom-up' development can be referred to as participatory development that is, it is not enough to identify with women's needs/interests, but to allow them to actively participate in the decision making on issues that also affects them as the member of a particular community. By involving South Sudanese citizens, they can contribute immensely to peace building in their nation.

According to Koiti (grass root, Bari community), who volunteered as a part time member of a particular local organization in South Sudan, namely, South Sudan Democratic Engagement Monitoring and Observation Program (SSUDEMOP):

My organization helped mobilize during election and also monitored to avoid conflict, but after the election we shifted to the issue of gender mainstreaming. We have a project on understanding women participation in decision making, we convened this to the community, we also have another programme that is on the move now, which is titled anti xenophobia, because as foreigners are trooping in to South Sudan to help in one way or the other this might lead to xenophobia within the society so we want to create awareness on this issue in the society before it gets out of hand.

From this data excerpt, there are efforts by various grass roots organizations to maintain peace in South Sudan. For example the issue of ‘xenophobia’ can disrupt peace in a society, but by the time the society is trained to accept those that are trooping into their countries under the umbrella of peace and development for the new country, then peace building becomes easier than expected.

In regard to the issue of women’s organizations and their roles in peace building in South Sudan, a few scholars were interviewed at the University of Juba.

Dromo, the Director of Peace and Development studies, stated that,

Women had been playing great roles in peace building, but some of them cannot really play active role because of lack of education..., although they conduct conferences but they are not fully equipped to perform their expected roles in peace building.

He agreed that women’s organizations are playing great roles in peace building in South Sudan but some lack the basic tool which is education. Lack of education is a big issue in South Sudan mainly because of the decades of war. This lack is an obstacle not only in the paths of women but also in the paths of men. This is part of the awareness women organizations are trying to create, that is, to show the community that education to both male and female child is most essential in peace building. In order, pass this across to the community successfully women themselves need to be trained and equipped for the work of peace building in South Sudan.

Oyet (Lecturer, Department of Peace Studies University of Juba) responded as follows:

Women have come together over the years in South Sudan to share their concern, especially on the issue of development, poverty eradication, and women's vulnerability especially during war. They come together as a group in order to gather strength to fight against discrimination of all kinds.... After the decades of war, the peace women's group became many in South Sudan; they help in deliberating and dialoguing to resolve conflicts, they also advocate for Women's right, they also facilitate inter family, inter communal dialogues on issues that to do with conflicts.

This data excerpt shows that women really have been playing mediation role for a long time in South Sudan. From the onset, they have made their intention known that they believe in peaceful means of settling disputes, even though due to so many other circumstances, peaceful means are yet to be popularly embraced in South Sudan.

Supporting this view, Lemi (Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Juba) said that “*women's organizations are involved in dialogue in cases of the resolution of conflict.*”

Lemi viewed the roles of these women's organizations in peace building as part of nation building:

Women through their organizations help address issues that are inter women issues and intra women issues through conferences and workshops, they sometimes involve state representatives and this can be referred to as nation building.

Looking at the roles of women from the dimension of nation building in South Sudan could serve as an encouragement for South Sudanese women and women's organizations. Allowing South Sudanese women to participate in nation building is like allowing more than half of the nation to contribute as stakeholders to the development of the new nation.

Kenyi (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace Studies, University of Juba), believes that women's organizations in South Sudan are playing a big role in peace building:

In the New South Sudan women's organizations are playing big roles, they are fighting to be heard and are being heard too, but there are not enough representation because there are obstacles.

The point to be noted in this data excerpt is that women's organizations are playing visible roles in peace building in South Sudan but there are challenges confronting them in the new nation.

Kenyi (Lecturer Department of Development and Peace Studies, University of Juba), went further:

Although I cannot measure the work of women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan I know that men are more aggressive than women, so when it comes to the issues of peace building women play a bigger role. For example, it is the woman that pleads with the husband and sons not to do certain things, also men may argue to the extent that they fight in community meetings whereas women know how to go about this peacefully...

In the above statement Kenyi is supporting the stereotyped way of viewing gender when it comes to conflict and peace building as espoused by Coulter, Persson and Utas (2008: 7), Afsher and Eade (2004: 220) in the previous chapters, that men are generally seen as aggressive by nature while women are seen as naturally peaceful. This could be an attribute that is missing in peace processes that neglects women as direct participants.

In order to seek more opinions on the issue of women's organization's role in peace building in South Sudan, more respondents were chosen from the Ministry of Gender, Child Care and Social Welfare, Juba.

Jane, (Deputy Director, Ministry of Gender/Child and Social Welfare, Juba), referred to women's organization as mediators;

Women's organizations go to the grass roots for mediation against rape, fights and so on, they advocate for peace, from the family unit to the community.

This statement is in support of what most women's organizations listed above, have said about their roles in peace building in South Sudan.

In agreement with this view, Jackline (Acting Director for Gender, Ministry of Gender/Child and Social Welfare) said that

Women's organizations in South Sudan at all levels are playing good roles; they participate at county level and at referendum by dialoguing. They train vulnerable women, how to know their rights and take their stand. Women's organizations also participate in other aspect of development, they organise and advocate for human rights.

By saying at 'all levels', she is referring to women's organizations at international, national, and local levels. She believes that all have contributed in one way or the other to the journey towards peace building in South Sudan.

Judging by all the discussions on the strategies of women organizations in South Sudan, one can say that mostly, women's organizations in South Sudan are using participatory approach in peace building, otherwise known as 'bottom up' approach (as described in the theoretical framework of this thesis). They go to the village to mediate, search for the bone of contention and try to resolve it using various strategies as discussed above.

Furthermore, the nature of all the strategies used by all the above mentioned organizations in building peace in South Sudan are similar, and also they use a kind of approach that is peculiar to the type of society they are dealing with, that is, these organizations understand the concept

of patriarchy in their society and they find ways of dealing with it while simultaneously passing their messages to the society.

Most of the women's organizations interviewed above are locally based. An exception is the United Nations Women who, according to Cecilia, work hand in hand with these local organizations. In their strategies discussed above, they actually study their environment to know the needs of South Sudanese women and how best to meet them.

Returning to the concepts of strategic interest and practical interest as discussed by Molyneux (1985: 233), strategic gender interests are the ones which are considered to be women's 'real' interests. In her view, demands regarding the strategic interests of women require a certain level of feminist consciousness in order to struggle for them. Example of such interests are; "the abolition of the sexual division of labour, the alleviation of the burden of domestic labour and childcare, the attainment of political equality, the establishment of freedom of choice over child bearing, and the adoption of adequate measures against male violence and control over women"(Molyneux, 1985: 233). These 'real' interests can only be achieved once the women concerned are agents of change. This is the essence of the grass roots campaigns and advocacies that the South Sudan women's organizations have been deploying. They do this in order to create awareness among women, to get them to know their rights and to fight for them, and to make them know that they need to be part of the policy makers to contribute their own quota to peace building in their country.

As earlier discussed, the concept of practical gender interests relates more to physical conditions and immediate needs, that is, whatever affects women personally in their traditional position (as a wife, as a mother, as an individual, as a worker and as a career woman) in the society, such as food, shelter, work, water, access to quality education, and so on Molyneux 1985: 233). In addressing these issues, women's organizations in South Sudan have trained women to stand on their own by giving loans for business, farming, tailoring and how to make good profits. Those that are; interested in political positions are also being trained. All these are meeting the practical needs of women of South Sudan. Also in the course of meeting the practical interests/needs of the women of South Sudan, the way to attain their strategic needs has gradually been introduced to them. As earlier stated in the definition of strategic interest, Molyneux contends that for strategic needs to be achieved there must be feminist consciousness involved. The women must be enlightened and know how to deal with these issues themselves without too much external intervention.

I would like to say that the strategies of women's organizations in South Sudan can be summed up as 'bottom-up' approach in accordance with Molyneux's theory. It is an approach focusing on "demands from the grassroots, more sensitive policy instruments, and changes in the nature of state-society relations" (Molyneux, 2002:171). This approach was mentioned by some of the interviewees. In South Sudan, the approach is used to sensitise the government/state on the demands of the society, most especially the demands of women about which these organizations are more concerned.

In other words, the women's organizations in South Sudan are trying to reach out to the government/state with the need for South Sudanese women to be part of the peace processes in their nation as shareholders. Their objective is to persuade the government to focus more on women's issues by training and educating them to fit in to public/political positions.

To cap it up, Molyneux's theory is dominant in South Sudan and could work in the long run if government policies can help support the South Sudanese women more.

The second theory on which this research is based is Lederach's Moral Imagination theory, which is defined as "the capacity to imagine something rooted in the challenges of the real world yet capable of giving birth to that which does not yet exist; the potential to find a way to transcend, and to move beyond what exists while still living in it" (Afoke-Isike and Okeke-Uzodike, 2010: 682-683). In linking moral imagination with peace building Lederach came up with four elements which are: relationship, paradoxical curiosity, creativity and risk taking. Also, in order to clarify this definition more, Lederach cited four stories of which the story of the Wajir women, (chosen by the researcher to expatiate on how moral imagination was demonstrated by a few women to stop war in Wajir) is one. The story demonstrated how the four elements of moral imagination were put to action in other to build peace in Wajir.

Looking at peace building and the impact women's organizations are making in South Sudan, one can say that the 'bottom up' approach in peace building is popular among women's organizations in South Sudan. Like the Wajir women, these organisations are also making use of all kinds of strategies (as depicted above) to build peace in their nation. Moreover, all their efforts can be summarized under the four elements of Moral imaginations. For instance, there

were cases where disputes were settled by making use of one of one of the elements, namely relationship. In such cases, they help the people involved in the conflict to realise that they are one and to see reasons to resolve their conflicts amicably, that is, without violence. There were instances during the war when they had to take risks in order to reach out to the warring parties. Women's organizations also use different kinds of creativity, to reach out to women in South Sudan, such as workshops, trainings, gathering men and women in order to address women's issues and so on. Paradoxical curiosity has also been displayed by these women when they came out to contest for election in a patriarchal society, and when they made known their intention to be directly involved in the peace processes of their new nation.

Even though South Sudanese women/women's organizations possess these qualities or elements, from the analysis of the data excerpts it can be seen that the new nation is yet to recognise the moral imagination theory. The new nation has not yet looked beyond the traditional patriarchal culture and practices that have dominated the nation for years. It has yet to embrace the uncommon possibilities that exist in an uncommon way of doing things through uncommon link. The outcome of a failure of moral imagination in South Sudan is demonstrated by the reoccurrence of war, despite the achievement of the independence they so much wanted. If South Sudan cannot look beyond the old style of living/ ruling, the probability of continuing outbreaks of war is high.

As earlier discussed, South Sudanese women are not given enough recognition; even those that were involved in the peace processes were mere spectators. This shows the kind of society South Sudan is. As a male respondent, Oyet (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace

Studies) put it: *“Men that are in government are failing already, what women can possibly do”*. .

Supporting the fact that the strategies put in place by women organizations are needed in South Sudan, Beny, a lawyer for human rights in Juba, South Sudan, and also a member of South Sudan Human Rights Society and an adviser on Gender Based Violence (GBV), stated that

Women’s organizations have mediating roles, that is why women are been referred to as mothers of all. Women’s organizations in South Sudan establish peace and security via peace initiatives and negotiations

This human rights activist believes that women generally have capability for mediating roles, and he believes that women’s organizations are playing these roles and can contribute even more if politically, socially and economically empowered.

Finally, reflecting on respondent’s comments (above) on the issue of women’s organizations in South Sudan and their roles in peace building, one can infer that women’s organizations at all levels are making efforts towards peace building and the involvement of the society, especially women at the grass roots, as much as possible. This has been confirmed by various respondents who are ordinary citizens of South Sudan excluding members of any women’s organization.

At this juncture, it is worth recalling (see Literature Review above) the observations of Karambu Ringera (2007:56). She states that women’s organizations in South Sudan are neglecting women at the grass roots. She claims that the women’s organizations are also affected by the social structure put in place in South Sudan, so this does not allow them to focus on their goal which is the inclusion of more women in the peace processes in South Sudan. In her work she cited only two women organizations and then generalised her conclusions to encompass more than 50 women’s organizations in South Sudan. She argued that

Peace building initiatives currently are carried out in South Sudan particularly by women-led organizations claim participatory, gender sensitive and feminist approaches although a close investigation reveals a different picture (Karambu Ringera, 2007: 6).

This researcher's response is that even though generalisation might be necessary using a case study method, it should not be over stretched because of the sensitive nature it carries along with it. Also, Karambu Ringera carried out her interviews in Kenya, not in South Sudan. Given their different situations, the views of South Sudanese in Nairobi were and are quite different from the views of South Sudanese women in South Sudan during and after the war. Moreover, she conducted her research prior to the independence of South Sudan, which affects the relevance of her findings in a post-independence era. However this is not to say that women organizations in South Sudan are perfectly playing the roles they claim to play, but looking at it from the year 2007 when Karambu's work was carried out, till the time this research took place (2013), a lot has happened. South Sudan has gained independence, more women's organizations have been registered, and women have become more involved in politics although progress has been relatively slow, and so on. Hence, if women's organizations are not reaching their goals in peace building as suggested by Karambu Ringera (2007:8) then some other factors/challenges should be investigated. This investigation is carried out in the next chapter.

4.3.2. The role of the international community and its impact on Women's organizations in South Sudan

South Sudan as a new nation coming out of a series of wars interests the international community and this brings on board many international organizations offering to help in one way or the other to rebuild the devastated community. Many of these organizations help local organizations in terms of funds while some also work hand in hand with the local organizations.

One of the major international donors in South Sudan is UN women, according to Cecilia (Gender secretary at UN Women). During the course of an interview, she said

we are having national workshop on 1325 resolution, although the approach has not been easy, as an organization the UN women's strategies are placed under an umbrella tagged National Action Plans on 1325, the strategies are; the use of machinery at the grass roots (that is we go to the grassroots along with women's organizations in order to create awareness, another strategy is the use of mobilization model (that is the whole community not only women are mobilized on the issue of peace building, our targets are both men and women, also there is what we call the comprehensive package that deals with illiteracy also the issue of insecurity at the grassroots which exposes women to violence and lastly we use dialogue with women and local authorities.....

The above data excerpt is an example of how international organisations help in post conflict zones by working hand in hand with the local women's organizations in order to build peace. The excerpt also points to the four element of moral imagination theory (Lederach J.P., 2005) which are relationship, creativity, paradoxical curiosity and risk taking. UN Women created a relationship by going to the grassroots to listen to them; they took risks; they express their creativity in ways which meet the needs of the grass root society and lastly they chose to build peace in a non-traditional way.

I believe that since their strategies include participatory approach in the community, it means they are ready to carry the stake holders along in the peace building of their community. Without this, Molynuex believes that peace building through bottom-up approach is impossible (Molynuex 2002). To my amazement, I met a lady from Torit Village called Lucy who claimed that the villagers listen more attentively to foreigners than to the indigenous organizations. She said "more white people should be encouraged to come speak with the villagers because they listen to them more." If this is true, then I believe that the impact the international community

are making in South Sudan should serve as a boost rather than as a constraint for the women's organizations in South Sudan.

Also, building on the data excerpts on the issue of funding will be discussed extensively in the next chapter, all the women's organizations that were interviewed stated that they are being funded by foreign donors. It is generally believed that since they are funded by foreign donors they cannot act independently as this will affect the way they implement their strategies and that instead of implementing what is basically needed in their local community they are forced to import foreign ideas and strategies that might not work in African continent. However, in the case of south Sudan's economic situation and the high level of illiteracy, the South Sudanese need foreign aid. In light of the strategies explored above, one can say that the foreign donors are serving as mentors and helping in the growth of women's organizations.

4.5 Conclusion

This section has explored women's organizations' roles and their strategies in peace building in South Sudan. First of all it looked at the historical background of the conflict that led to the separation of the North Sudan and South Sudan. The chapter argued that, before there can be peace building, a conflict must have occurred and to prevent relapses of war in post conflict zones, peace building becomes necessary and of great importance. This chapter has identified women's roles in politics and public life, during and after the conflict; their roles in political movements, their roles as caretakers for warriors, their roles in influencing decision makers directly and indirectly, and the strategies put in place by women's organizations especially in pushing for peace in their environment.

Also, in this chapter I situated the strategies put in place by women's organizations in the contexts of Moleynaux's organizing theory and Lederach's theory of moral imagination, and concluded that as women's organizations are pushing for peace by identifying the practical and strategic needs of women alongside others in the society, if they are not recognized in peace processes of their nation, little or nothing can be achieved by these organizations.

The chapter also explained that after the war was over, women were systematically excluded from the peace processes. Nonetheless, they were able to push for 25/30 percent quota via women organizations which were successfully documented. Even though this quota is yet to be attained, women's organizations in South Sudan are mobilizing and creating more awareness for this to be attained in reality.

Women's peace building role in South Sudan is growing by the day despite challenges of exclusion in peace processes, patriarchal cultures, marginalization and discrimination. They were able to mobilize women to come and vote in the referendum and during the general election. Also, they help in training women so that they can be economically empowered, create awareness so that women can know their rights and claim them, especially the right for girl child to education, the right to political participation and so on.

Also, the role of international community and their impact on women's organizations in South Sudan was considered and it was concluded that, contrary to generally negative assumptions, international organizations have a positive impact.

Finally, it can be concluded that South Sudan has embarked on a gradual process in achieving UNSCR 1325, and this can be achieved in the long run if the government of South Sudan makes it a center of focus.

Chapter Five

Women's Organisations and the Challenges in Peace building in South Sudan

Introduction

As discussed in the previous chapter, South Sudan became the newest country in Africa after decades of war. This brought the country into the international limelight, especially in the area of peace building and development. A country that is just coming out of war needs all the strength that it can get to start off a new and sustainable peaceful life, a good relationship with neighbouring countries and generally with the international world.

As a result of South Sudan's independence, came an influx of women's organizations, both indigenous and non-indigenous, in South Sudan to help in the development of the new country so as to achieve a sustainable peace. This makes it necessary to explore the roles women's organizations are playing in peace building in South Sudan.

Unstructured interviews were used in the collection of data in Juba (a relatively peaceful place), South Sudan. These interviews were conducted at various women's organizations, among grass roots individual women, government officials and academics. Based on the findings, this chapter will focus on: the factors that hinder women's organizations from protecting human rights, especially those of women, during and after conflict situations; the extent to which patriarchal cultures in South Sudan prevent women from being active in peace building, and the effect of customary laws on the pursuit of women's right in South Sudan.

5.1 Women and their efforts towards peace building in South Sudan.

South Sudanese women and their various roles in achieving a peaceful society did not just surface after the independence of their country but had been in existence even during the war. According to Mabel (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser, VFC), many of the indigenous women's organizations that arose after the war in South Sudan, were actually shooting up from the stems of women's movements during the war. She mentioned the founder of her organization, Lona James Alia, as one of the women who had been actively involved in the formation of movements during the war but because of displacements caused by the war, these women could not really stay together as an organization or association until after the war. Another instructive example is Awut Deng, one of the founders of the Sudan Women's Association in Nairobi in 1993, who helped to develop and coordinate the New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC) by using "people to people" peace process (Faria, 2011: 2). These and other examples (as cited in the previous chapter) depict the roles women played during the war, after the war, until the country gained independence.

According to Sarah Awel James (Women's Leader, SSWGGA), the late Dr. Garang, the leader of the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A), believed so much in South Sudanese women's capability that he incorporated them into the movement, where they performed excellently, and assisted in ending the prolonged war. This is also supported by the work of Faria (2011: 2), in the presentation of data.

Even though South Sudanese women were directly/indirectly involved in the fight for a country of their own, it was confirmed by Mabel (Gender Based Violence (GBV) adviser, VFC), Oyet (Lecturer, Department of Peace Studies, University of Juba) and Kenyi (Lecturer, Department

of Peace Studies, University of Juba) that as soon as the war was over South Sudanese women became invisible, especially during the peace negotiations. They were treated as war victims rather than stake holders who had a right to be involved in the peace processes. In the words of Mabel (Gender based violence adviser, VFC), *“it is a person that wears a shoe that knows where the shoe pinches”* In other words, since women suffered the consequences of war differently from their male counterparts, they know better than men do how to address, through peace-making, the effects of the violence on women. Thus, they should be allowed to contribute directly to the peace processes and decision making.

The theories upon which this research stands are congruent with the above data excerpts. Molyneux believes that only the women can know what they want. Unless they are given a voice, peace building in South Sudan could be hindered. Given that South Sudanese women are in the best position to know what exactly they want for their country, it will be the best if Lederach’s (2005) moral imagination theory is taken into consideration at the decision making level.

Also, during the referendum to decide whether to separate from Sudan or to be together as a nation, women were mobilized by women’s organizations to come out and vote which they did and it was speculated by Kenyi (Lecturer, Department of Peace Studies, University of Juba) and Sarah (Women’s Leader, SSWGGA) that South Sudanese women’s votes outnumbered the votes of men.

The constitution of South Sudan supports 25 per cent quota, which recently increased to 30 per cent (Sarah, Women’s Leader, SSWGGA). This has been documented but in reality South

Sudanese women are yet to occupy these positions. The 25 per cent and the 30 per cent quota were fought for by South Sudanese women and for it to have been established formally by the government of South Sudan, it can be recorded as part of the success in their journey towards a developed and a peaceful environment.

5.1.1. The nature and extent of peace building work done by women's organisations in South Sudan

In terms of exploring the extent of peace building work done by these organizations in South Sudan there are various opinions shared by some respondents with this researcher. According to Oyet (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace studies, University of Juba):

although women are creating awareness on women's rights, for example, a case of a commissioner of one of the counties married an under aged, women went on the street to show their disapproval, they wrote petitions,.... But there are still lots of challenges in South Sudan as per peace building, it is still a new nation, men in the government are failing, not to talk of women that are unskilled and uneducated

In his opinion, women's organizations are working but there are still challenges that can weaken their efforts.

In the words of Sirisio (Director, Department of Development and Peace Studies, University of Juba):

Women are not fully equipped (they are mostly uneducated) to address the issues of peace building in South Sudan. They are committed to their families which could serve as a great hindrance. Yes, some of them are bold and equipped, but it is going to take a while to be able to meet with their other colleagues in peace processes in other countries; like South Africa, Nigeria, Liberia, and so on. In South Sudan women were not sent to school, so education is still an issue.

The argument of Sirisio is also centred on lack of skilled and educated women, and that even if this is otherwise, it will take a long time before South Sudanese women can be recognised in the issue of peace building.

Also, Kenyi (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace studies), said that

I do not know how to assess the work of women organizations in peace building but I know women are good in peace building but lack of education is still a big issue.

Again, the centre of this argument is lack of education on the part of South Sudanese women. On the other hand, Beny (adviser on GBV, SSHRA) said “*peace building has never been institutionalized in South Sudan.*” This means peace building is yet to take off in South Sudan because the country is not yet stable as far as peace is concerned. But he also said that “*women should be given the chance to initiate peace dialogue*” which means if women are given the chance, women could be more productive than they currently are. .

Deng (Gender Focal Point, CEWA) claimed that

Women’s organizations are playing great roles as far as peace building in South Sudan is concerned; if women can influence at home level, then if this is explored in the public it can work out in peace building in South Sudan

Peter (researcher and writer, Juba), said

Things are still very new in South Sudan, women organizations are trying especially with the bottom up approach they are using, this approach is expected to be used in any post conflict zone that wants to attain sustainable peace at the end.

These data excerpts shows that women organizations still have a long way to go as far as peace building in South Sudan is concerned. It was earlier stated that peace building in the context of

this thesis is a gradual process, the peace building work of these women's organizations in South Sudan might not be visible in the short run but in the long run, all things being equal, it might pay off. The long run depends much on what is described by Molyneux as more sensitive policy instruments and changes in the nature of state-society relations.

5.1.2 The factors that hinder women's organisations from protecting human rights, especially those of women, during and after conflict situations

Women's organizations in the context of this thesis (as earlier mentioned) covers all organizations pursuing women's empowerment and women's rights, especially in the area of peace building, including women's movement at the international, national and the grassroots level in South Sudan. This section focuses on the challenges they face in carrying out their obligations/ peace building roles at the grassroots in South Sudan.

After the signing of the CPA 2005, a lot of women's organizations both indigenous and non-indigenous sprang up / flooded South Sudan in order to help in the development of the new state. South Sudanese women joined women's movement/organizations in order to demonstrate their political activism mostly through peace works., Since they are marginalized in the formal peace processes, they use this medium to show how essential they are in constructing sustainable peace in South Sudan (Faria ., 2011: 4). Mostly, these organizations target local communities where the need to build peace is more urgently needed. In other words, they use bottom up approach in building sustainable peace. Although both non indigenous organizations and indigenous organizations face challenges in playing this role as peace builders, the challenges differ.

Before discussing the factors that hinder women's organizations from protecting human rights one has to briefly look at what human rights are like in South Sudan. According to Mary Ajith, the 1st legal counsel of Directorate of Legislation in South Sudan,

Human rights in South Sudan; we are not yet there, people are not respecting human rights, for example, even at the top appointment of ministers was reduced from 52 to 19 without any formality and out of this 19 only 2 are women, when this got to the assembly women spoke against it, but men argued that there are no women to fit the positions for lack of education, but later the number of ministers increased to 22 and out of these 22, 5 are women.

From the above statement, where there is no respect for human rights there can be no respect for women's rights. The scenario discussed above took place at the top, thus demonstrating the extent to which human rights issues are handled with laxity by people in positions of power in South Sudan. This, in turn, generates renewed conflicts. This conclusion is supported by the report gathered by US State Bureau of Democracy (see literature review) to the effect that human right violations continue and that laws protecting women's right are rarely enforced (p14). In the words of Mabel (Gender based violence (GBV) adviser, VFC)

There is an inadequate understanding of human rights and the rights of women, even at government level they are a bit uncomfortable when the issue of women's right and peace building are raised

Also, according to Kenyi (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace Studies, University of Juba):

The government should avoid the idea of I fought for this nation and therefore I must rule anyhow, both men and women fought for the peace of this nation and so they must be recognised.

This is to say that Government should not resort to the patriarchal attitude which dominates African countries, especially South Sudan., when it comes to the issue of ruling or political participation, everybody should be given equal chances. Apart from this kind of discrimination

from the top, women organization's officials mentioned many of their challenges in protecting human rights especially those of the women in South Sudan;

- 1. Resurgence of War**
- 2. Poor infrastructural facilities**
- 3. Lack of Funds**
- 4. Lack of Education/Lack of trained skills**
- 5. Hunger/Poverty**
- 6. Insecurity**
- 7. Inferiority complex**
- 8. Traditions and cultures**
- 9. Ignorance**
- 10. The issue of women against women**
- 11. Inadequate health and health care**
- 12. Ethnic tension and animosity**
- 13. Inequitable distribution of wealth**

War: according to Mabel (Gender based violence (GBV) adviser, VFC), "*War itself serves as a hindrance, in a situation where by women were challenged by the opposing forces*".

When there is war, it paralyses every activity of these organizations. For example, when there is war there will be no freedom of movement and this always causes setbacks for women's organizations in their programs for sustainable peace building. Also, the effect of war on women/ women organizations is like the two sides of a coin. As a result of war women are tagged victims. As stated by Oyet, (Lecturer, Department of Peace Studies University of Juba): "... war is a theatre where men run the show while the women becomes

victim, or better still few of them perform but in a passive way.”. They are treated as stereotypical victims and these deprive them of their rights to be actively involved in the peace processes of their country. The other side of the coin is that as a result of war and the loss of husbands, South Sudanese women discovered their leadership traits as they became the bread winner/family heads. If these leadership traits are embraced by the society then, it will go a long way in helping women fill their positions in peace processes.

Looking at war from another perspective, Oyet (Lecturer, Department of Peace Studies University of Juba), said that *“if the physical war has come to an end what of the ‘war in the mind’, how can this be fought and won?”* He believes the war is still within the heart of people of South Sudan especially at the grass roots and that if this is not won, it leads to insecurity and the resurgence of war. Oyet’s view is echoed by Khaminwa et al (2004) who argue that even in the absence of war; women are still subjected to exploitation of various forms. If people are still finding it difficult to respect human rights/women’s rights in their minds, it manifests in the physical and also creates fear in the minds of the people of the society especially those who are considered to be vulnerable. This will not allow free movement for the women who want to attend training sessions, meetings, conferences, workshops and so on, that are organised by women’s organizations.

Poor Infrastructural facilities: The lack of infrastructural facilities is also one major challenge that hinders efforts of women organizations. Facilities like good roads especially to the local communities most times do not exist. This makes it difficult for the local women under training to cross to the cities for their workshops and seminars. Likewise, women’s organizations find it difficult to go to the local communities for mobilization and campaigns.

According to Deng (Gender focal point, Central Equatorial Women Association),

Transportation is one of the major factors that hinder the women's organizations' effort at the grass roots. Especially during raining seasons, the road becomes inaccessible.

Because of lack of infrastructural facilities like good roads, the efforts of these organizations are limited. She also said that,

there are times, women at the grass root needed to come to the town for their training but it becomes so difficult for lack of good roads, and there are times we set out to go and meet them but we have to turn back for lack of good roads.

Sister Santa (Director of St. Monica Organization), said that “*There is no access road to Payam (one of the local authorities/villages) to create awareness.*” This issue of lack of good roads is a big issue, which slows down the progress of peace building in South Sudan.

Lack of funds: Also funding is part of the challenge women's organizations in South Sudan have to battle with in order to carry out their grass roots peace building strategy successfully. Some of these women's organizations are funded by politicians who want use them to campaign and so by so doing they become stooges following the instructions of these politicians whether good or bad. Some receive funding from overseas, but had to lobby for this with a strong proposal write up as one of the requirements. The funds are used to organize workshops, seminars, conferences and training sessions for women at the grass roots. , Without funding, these activities are impossible.

Many of the women's organizations interviewed in the course of the research are not fully funded by the government, but by international donors like UN women, Norway People's Aid (NPA), ARC, UNICEF, Paxkristi, Justice Africa, and so on. According to Mabel (Gender based violence (GBV) adviser, VFC)

Government funded this organization some time ago, around the year 2011, through the ministry of parliamentary affairs, we have a lot of network with the government..., we work with the Ministry of Gender but largely we are funded by international communities.

Speaking on behalf of her organization, she made the point that government has largely ceased to provide funding. Supporting her view Deng (Gender focal point, Central Equatorial Women Association) also gave an instance of the civil organization she works with

Although this is a government oriented organization and the government is supportive, but we are mostly funded by international NGOs.

Also, Oyet (Lecturer, Department of Peace Studies University of Juba) in accordance with these views said that

The government had done something to complement women organizations by funding, although not regular, and also for political games. What government had done for them could be referred to as a drop in the ocean. The government sometimes funds in terms of gifts/donations which could be for political games.

Looking at the views of the three interviewees, one can conclude that most of the women's organizations are sponsored by international bodies which could in turn affect these organizations negatively, in the sense that they will want to take their donors into consideration in all they do, most likely at the expense of the post conflict community. To cap this up, Deng (Gender focal point, Central Equatorial Women Association), had this to say,

When grass root women are called upon for training, the donors of these organizations feel reluctant to give them transportation fare because they feel that since they are the beneficiary of the training, they should not be given this stipend again to come for training but the local community does not seem to see it that way.

This means the environment had not been studied well by this donor before implementing their own programs, which might not work in the short run if not addressed properly.

Lack of Education/lack of trained skills: It is evident in the previous chapter that education is the biggest challenge for the people of South Sudan in their journey to a sustainable peace.

After independence, United Nations, Education Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) stepped in to help with the education sector in South Sudan. During an interview with a UNESCO official in South Sudan⁴⁰, she said the passion of the Ministry for educational literacy was inspiring, but their problem is funding among other factors⁴¹. Using a participatory approach had made the work a bit easier, and this is well appreciated by the people of South Sudan⁴². She said the challenge she faces is that sometimes she had to see herself as a third ‘gender’ that is a woman acting like a man to make sure that she can work freely and have relative control over her life, not only in South Sudan but in every post conflict zones where she had to serve.⁴³

Given their lack of literacy, many of the grass roots women do not understand what the 25/30 per cent is all about. The peace agreement does not make much sense to the women at the grass roots and women’s rights instruments such as UNIFEM, UNSCR 1325, and so on, are not clear to some grass roots women’s organizations. . The major reason for this high level of ignorance is that these documents are written in English and most people in South Sudan speak Arabic more fluently than English. The only way to cross these hurdles is that women organizations interpret most of these documents in Arabic in their organized trainings for women at the grass roots. During the referendum, a woman called Margaret Michael Modi (Labnok Women’s Association), had this to say during the mobilization at the grass roots,

⁴⁰ www.unesco.org/new/en/education/res. An interview with Jessica Hjarrand (04/09/2012). Assessed on 11/11/2013

⁴¹ ibid

⁴² ibid

⁴³ ibid

*Our children were forced to study Arabic and my youngest son is now in secondary school and I look forward to taking him to a better school where he can learn English so that he can have better chances for jobs in future.*⁴⁴

This woman's story is virtually every other woman's story in South Sudan today..

In addition to the data excerpts above in regard to the issue of education in South Sudan, Sirisio (Director, Department of Development and Peace Studies, University of Juba), observed that *"Women in South Sudan are traditional...., and they are not educated."* A similar response was provided by Lemi (Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Juba)

Women who are not educated find it difficult to attain certain positions..., but the government should be able to fund women organizations and train women in order to make them fit for these positions.

Also Koiti (Grass Roots Women and a student in University of Juba) feels that *"Government should encourage girl child education, because the few women that are educated are not enough to occupy the 30 per cent quota for women."* According to a government official, Jane (Ministry of Gender, Child and -Social Welfare) *"...government had mandated that every child both male and female must be in school because of the high illiteracy level...., but in the rural area some people don't want their girl child in the school."* Kenyi (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace Studies, University of Juba) had this to say: *"In terms of peace building women play bigger roles but lack of education is a big obstacle."*

The above views depict the low level of education in South Sudan, not only among women but within the society in general, although very high among women. Without education it is difficult to know one's rights. Even among the civil society officials there are some uneducated women. According to Sirisio (Director, Department of Development and Peace studies University of Juba),

⁴⁴ Peace Women.org. ISIS-WICCE, January 13, 2011

“South Sudanese women had been playing great roles in peace building but some of them cannot really play active roles because of lack of education.”

He also said that

No factor hinders women organizations, but most South Sudanese women are traditional they are yet to be exposed to the public and they are not educated. Government is providing positions for them but they do not have the capacity.

All these excerpts highlight the serious challenge of lack of education to women in peace building in South Sudan.

Hunger/poverty: this is a common issue, especially in post conflict zones in Africa. As a result of war, famine becomes unavoidable. After war, the effect is still there and for the economy of such zones to be stabilized, it will take time. Although international donors help in the food supply, this is a temporary measure until the economy of the country becomes buoyant again. This affects women’s organizations on their peace building journey. For instance Zaitun (Grass Roots Women, Juba) stated that

Women organizations provide food when women at the grass roots come for workshop/training but when there is no food, they stop coming....

This means that trainees need reorientation and a source of income but before then, for the aim and the objective of the training to be achieved, the donors will need to meet their immediate/direct needs.

Insecurity: Most of the time, women’s organizations do not have autonomous power especially in the area of report making. The issue of security in South Sudan is a sensitive one, and any report on violence that involves the government could lead to dismissal of the organization’s official. A good example is the dismissal of a human rights’ official as a result of report on insecurity in Jonglei, South Sudan as stated by respondent E (09/09/2013):

Physical threats can be issued to any organization that seems to be a threat to the government, for example an officer working under human rights organization in South Sudan made public the killings in Jonglei and she was immediately dismissed.

Additionally, some aspects of South Sudanese culture hinder the efforts of women's organizations at the grass roots. For example, on the issues of early marriage, adultery, wife battering, divorce, rape and so on, the culture favours men, and as women organizations are campaigning against it, the culture weakens their efforts. If cases of wife battering and rape are reported in the appropriate quarters nothing will be done to the perpetrator; instead cultural norms label the victims and her family as outcasts in the community (Dahlstrom I., 2012: 43)

Insecurity in post conflict zones is a paramount issue because people are not too sure if the war is over or not it is even more paramount in South Sudan where they experienced a series of wars for more than two decades. The insecurity and fear in the community had contributed to the slow process of peace building, During the interview with women's organizations in Juba, South Sudan, the first statement that came from the second person (Deng, gender focal point, CEWA) I met was that, *"there is insecurity in air in South Sudan, even you since you entered these town have you not perceived it"*. Indeed I perceived it and I almost ran out of the place but for my faith in God. At the airport I met a Kenyan man who asked me what I have come to do in such an unsafe place like this, I told him and he told me to be very careful. This shows that insecurity is not a hidden issue at all, the local people are scared and foreigners are also scared. As a result of this many of my respondents did not allow me to tape their interviews for the fear of the unknown. There were certain places that one could not go as a stranger. Also you cannot just take any public transport to somewhere for the fear of been hijacked, raped or killed, I had to wait for my research assistant to help book one. During the interview sessions, I also met a

human rights activist who requested to be seen privately for interview because some people might be after him. According to (Deng, gender focal point, CEWA),

Women are scared to come for meetings, workshops and trainings because they are scared of being raped, or their female child might have been raped before they return from the meeting. The issue of rape is very common especially in the villages, even when small girls are sent on errand they are raped before they get to their houses; this is a very pathetic situation.

This had really caused a big setback in the peace building processes, when women cannot come out for their meetings, workshops or trainings then it means they will not be able to contribute to the process of peace building in South Sudan.

Inferiority complex: According to Oyet (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace Studies), *“before a man can violate a woman’s rights, it means they already place themselves in a position to be violated”*. In the course of this discussion, I understood that many South Sudanese women do not feel comfortable talking where men are talking; they sit somewhere else not in the midst of men, and when they are asked to talk they avoid eye contact with the men. This was what really happened in the peace processes in South Sudan especially the CPA of 2005. One can conclude that this is the subservient position the patriarchal culture peculiar to South Sudan has placed them as claimed by Kandiyoti (1998) in chapter three.

Looking at the data excerpts above, I would like to say instead of blaming women for positioning themselves in a way that encourages violation, I posit that some traditions and cultures of South Sudan place women in a vulnerable positions, which does not allow them to come out in the public for meetings, workshops and conferences that will benefit their new nation.

Traditions and cultures: Oyet (;Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace Studies), said that “*South Sudan is a patriarchal society, where marital rape and forced marriage are encouraged.*” He cited some of the traditions that placed a woman in a vulnerable position,

A situation where women are not allowed to make public declarations, they sit outside the gathering of men like an outcast. Also during initiation for men and women in South Sudan, they usually tell a woman that she is a servant to a man. Also, the issue of dowry; dowry is very expensive and highly valued in South Sudan, so if a man pays expensive dowry a woman have no say in the marriage, and if the man eventually dies, then another family member takes over the wife, which means she automatically becomes a property ones she is married

Supporting this, Sirisio (Director, Department of Development and Peace Studies) said “... *women are limited and because of the tradition they are to keep silent*”. This issue of women keeping silent had affected the peace processes in South Sudan, it means this tradition had cut across from the society even to the decision makers in South Sudan and that is what is still slowing down the inclusion of women in Government and decision making. These traditions and cultures are also slowing down the work of women’s organizations in South Sudan.

Ignorance: Because of the high level of illiteracy among women in South Sudan most of them are not aware of their rights and because of this if they are violated in any way, they do not seek redress. An example sighted by Deng (Gender Focal Point, CEWA), corroborates this

If a girl or woman is raped, it must not be heard by the public or else the family of the victim will be put to shame and abandoned by the general public.

This is the general belief of the public and this makes women not to even want to talk about it at all.

Women against Women (WAW): This is a hidden issue in the world, especially when discrimination against women is discussed, Whenever discrimination against women is being mentioned, people focus on men, where as in the midst of women there are many kicking against women’s campaign on equality and empowerment. Because of traditions and cultures

some women believe that women are not supposed to attain a certain political or public positions: once they are in these positions, they are given names of all kinds. In the words of Sarah (women Leader SSWGGA), “*many women in South Sudan are still not supportive in the fight for inclusion especially in peace processes because of the high level of illiteracy*”. Since this is the case then it means that a lot of advocacy needs to be done by the women to make their colleagues see reason.

Inadequate health and health care: During war and after war, the health of people both men and women is at risk for so many reasons, like lack of good and clean water, lack of efficient health workers, poor hygiene conditions at camps sometimes and so on. In South Sudan, citizens’ health is at risk, most especially children and women’s health conditions are poor during war and relapses of war that have become consistent over the years. One of the common health issues that South Sudanese women have to tackle during and after war is maternal mortality. According to Noonan, (2013: 1) South Sudan is the worst country in the world for maternal death which is approximated to be 2, 054 maternal deaths for every 100,000 births. This is attributed to lack of adequate staff and supplies among other local factors.

Maternal mortality refers to “deaths due to both direct obstetric causes and to conditions aggravated by pregnancy or delivery.”⁴⁵ According to Noonan, (2013: 1) most maternal deaths happen in the intrapartum period that is during labour and delivery or within the 24 hours following the delivery. Noonan, (2013: 1) also stated that however there is increased risk even before the woman realises she is pregnant, for example, ectopic or molar pregnancies and that

⁴⁵ Mandy Noonan (2013), “Maternal Mortality in South Sudan” Consultancy Africa Intelligence (Pty) Ltd 2013 gender issues unit gender.issues@consultancyafrica.com. Assessed on 14/07/14

there is also risk even six months after delivery. What makes maternal death all the more heart-breaking is that up to 98% of pregnancy-related deaths are preventable.⁴⁶

Considering the rate of maternal death even under normal conditions the situation is much worse in war ridden zones where women cannot reach their clinics for safe delivery. Furthermore, due to displacements as a result of war/relapses health workers had to vacate the clinics in villages to look for safety elsewhere so this leaves the pregnant women in this villages at a greater risk. In the course of my interview in Juba what gave Aluat chol (Grass root Woman) much concern was the issue of high maternal mortality rate in her village. She said “Government and NGOs should intervene by training the local women that are on ground in the village to be able to help the pregnant women first before they are able to reach hospitals”.

In order to help minimise this risk World Health Organization (WHO) is working with health authorities and other health partners including the United Nations mission (UNMISS) medical team, to identify more health workers in the displaced camps so as to provide primary health care services, as well as promote health education and promotion to all displaced persons.⁴⁷ Despite the efforts of WHO the gaps in the health care services in South Sudan are still very wide.⁴⁸

Women’s organizations are finding it difficult to reach these women and some other people at risks. First among other reasons is the issue of bad infrastructure., The bad roads had prevented access to these women at the grass root and also those women organizations volunteers at the

⁴⁶ ibid

⁴⁷ Abdi Aden Mohammed, the WHO Country Representative, South Sudan. “ internally displaced people in South Sudan are at great risk of disease outbreak: Poor water, hygiene and sanitation conditions in internally displaced persons camps, a looming risk of disease outbreaks”P1 Mohameda@who.int

⁴⁸ ibid

villages had to look for safety especially during relapses of war, which places these women at a greater risk.

Apart from lack of infrastructural facilities, some cultures and traditions in South Sudan had kept these women away from medical facilities. Women's organizations cannot meet the medical needs of these women because traditions will not permit the women to seek help⁴⁹.

Furthermore, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is also not healthy but some traditions/customs support this in South Sudan. Women's organizations in South Sudan are campaigning against it but more needs to be done in the area of awareness as the traditions and customs incapacitate the efforts of these organizations.

Ethnic tension and animosity: According to Bergli, (2013: 20) the Human Security Baseline Assessment (HSBA) has reported on women's role during the armed violence based upon fieldwork in South Sudan. They then commented that the status of women as a matter of fact changed during the series of civil wars in Sudan, and that this was due to a change in how ethnicity was perceived.

Bergli, (2013: 20), again stated that earlier, before the 1955 revolt and the civil war, women were not seen as legitimate targets, they were rather seen as sacred, but as internal strife over power within the SPLA began in the 1990's, ethnicity gradually became a source of animosity between two of the major tribes in Southern Sudan who for centuries had been intermarrying and lived in peace.

⁴⁹ Mandy Noonan (2013), "Maternal Mortality in South Sudan" Consultancy Africa Intelligence (Pty) Ltd 2013 gender issues unit gender.issues@consultancyafrica.com. Assessed on 14/07/14

Before the war, killing women deliberately (as well as elders and children) was seen as a direct offence against God as the ultimate guardian of human ethics, but somehow, the ethnic identity, rather than the person, at some point became the target and with that women also became legitimate targets (Bergli, 2013: 20). The unwritten ethical code had considered women as sources of refuge for fleeing or wounded men during war times, but over time, these norms changed. Weapons kept flooding into Southern Sudanese societies and the killing of women and children became the order of the day (Bergli, 2013: 20).

Looking at the issue of ethnic tension and animosity in the case of women's organizations in South Sudan, one can conclude that this had incapacitated the efforts of women's organizations in South Sudan, for example, the high level of insecurity especially on the side of these grassroots women will not make them to come out for trainings and meetings organized by these organizations and also these grass root women might be afraid to out to contest for political position for fear of unknown. Also, officials of women's organizations working at different villages other than their own in South Sudan are at risk of been attacked by other ethnic group in the area where he/she is posted.

Inequitable distribution of wealth: The causes of conflict could be traced to unequal distribution of wealth in a particular society. Also even when the war is over, inequitable distributions of wealth in the society can disrupt the peace building efforts in post conflict zones, for example most of the relapses in South Sudan could be traced to the raiding of cattle by those who have to few or no cattle, or cattle grazing⁵⁰, that is when a particular community lack water and grass to feed their cattle they are forced to go to where they can get enough feeds

⁵⁰Yuki Yoshida (2013) "Emerging Ethnic Hatred in Jonglei state, South Sudan". Newyork University for global affairs. Pg4.

for their cattle whether they are welcome or not. Recently, as earlier discussed in this work women's organizations had intervened as mediator in such situation as this and it was resolved amicably. But the unequal distribution of wealth can be viewed from another angle, while South Sudanese women are involved in the growth of the economy of their nation, either as a farmer, or help in milking the cow and so on, they have little to show for their reward in this area, because most of the time they do these works just to help their husbands and household but the husband get paid. In other words wealth of the nation flows more to the men than to the women, and this is affecting South Sudanese women especially when they want to contest for a political position: they had to run to their men for financial assistance.

This uneven distribution of wealth in turn affects women's organizations in their roles towards peace building in South Sudan. Some of their programmes cannot be carried out without funds, although they source for funds from donors but if these organizations are able to raise more funds from within, this will help curb the excesses of donor among women's organizations in South Sudan.

5.2 Customary Laws and women's right at the grass roots

Women's organizations have fought tirelessly to influence constitution making in South Sudan. The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, which was endorsed by the president of South Sudan at independence, is a revised version of the 2005 interim constitution, it includes provisions that favor women's participation and gender equality (Ali, 2011: 7). Article 16 in the bill of rights accords women the same full and equal dignity as men, the right to equal pay for equal work, and the right to property and to share the estates of a deceased husband (Ali, 2011: 7). In addition, it specifies that all levels of government should "enact laws

to combat harmful customs and traditions which undermine the dignity and status of women” and “provide maternity and child care and medical care for pregnant and lactating women” (Ali, 2011: 7). Finally, the constitution bids for a post-independence constitutional process to develop a permanent constitution (Ali, 2011: 7). This process involves a national constitutional conference with wide participation, including by women’s organizations (Ali, 2011: 7). Nonetheless, the interim constitution also recognizes customary law, which majorly facilitates access to property for women and girls through their fathers or husbands. This in turn often discriminates against widows and other groups of women. Customs that communities established to maintain widows’ access to land, such as wife inheritance by a brother in law, often compound this discrimination. By right, widows can take their in-laws to court to retrieve their property, but it is very tough to do so without economic resources or family support (Ali, 2011: 7). Such services are almost not available in South Sudan, even though the United Nations Development Program and the United Nations Population Fund are supporting limited paralegal assistance for women. Additionally, the New Sudan Women’s Federation has been running legal aid clinics since the 1990s, and South Sudan’s Law Society established a center in Lakes state to promote legal rights for women, but this had not really changed women’s status as they are often discriminated against (Ali, 2011: 7). Also in the area of claims of adultery, customary laws seem to discriminate; for instance women can be imprisoned for eight to twelve months on circumstantial evidence, whereas in the cases of women’s adultery claims against men, if brought before customary courts, are seldom dealt with (Ali, 2011: 7). Some scholars have blamed this on the male domination in decision making in customary courts (Allagabo in Kinoti, 2011; Dahlstrom, 2012: 43).

According to Aldehaib (2010: 6), there are more than fifty tribes, to be precise, 65 tribes in South Sudan each of which has its own customary law system. Customary law is made up of many informal laws that are based on religious, ethnic and tribal practices. Several aspects of customary law are inconsistent with women's rights. 'The majority of South Sudanese Customary Law systems show plainly a conflict between international human rights laws and rights granted to women and children in Customary Law' (Jok et al 2004: 6, Aldehaib, 2010: 7)).

According to Aldehaib (2010:7), the common structures of different systems of customary law in South Sudan are around family law, which concerns itself with marriage, divorce, custody of children and inheritance. Even though in an interview with the first legal counsel Directorate of Legislation, Mary Ajith, family law does not exist in the new South Sudan, which makes the situation more complex for South Sudanese women, the reasons given for the nonexistence when brought up in Ministry of justice, is that there are multicultural and multi religion in South Sudan, as a result it becomes difficult to have one family law. Customary law therefore determines a women's personal security at home, in the public life as well as her access to resources (Aldehaib, 2010: 7). Mostly, customary law disseminates harmful customs and traditions in the realm of the family, which downgrade women to a minor status. These harmful Customs include: forced and arranged marriages, forced wife inheritance and bride price (Tønnessen, 2007: 7; Aldehaib, 2010: 7). Customary law therefore perpetuates unjust gender relations that serve the social, psychological and economic interests of men, by bringing women into a position of subordination and inequality in the family and the community (Aldehaib, 2010: 7).

According to Mary Ajith (The first legal counsel, Ministry of Justice), South Sudanese customary laws are hand written, which makes it easy to manipulate. When cases on family issues are brought to customary courts, the courts implements what the tribe of the people in question dictates, that is, the verdict is always according to each tribe's customs and there are some customs that are against human rights which should be removed. Also, Child Act exist in South Sudan's legal system but there is no Woman Act, that is, the premises on which women can make their demands as the situation affects them solely does not exist.

Although Customary laws in one way or the other are valuing mothers and daughters they are said to marginalize women's voices and rights and also justify their exclusion in decision making processes (Edward, 2011; Dahlstrom, 2012: 44). When women become politically active they can face such challenges as been called names, like prostitutes, 'irresponsible wives and mothers' and this in turn affects women's claims on their political rights Edward, 2011; Dahlstrom, 2012: 44).

In order to deal with this situation, the Ministry of Justice established a center for customary laws, so that they can modify or totally remove some bad ones, especially the ones that are against women's rights, but this center is just picking up gradually (Mary Ajith, the first legal counsel, Ministry of Justice). Also she suggested that women leaders should come together and identify customs from each tribe and come up with the ones that are not harmful as a single family law, but she said South Sudanese women are distracted by so many issues at the same time which is also distracting their voices from being one (Mary Ajith, the first legal counsel, Ministry of Justice).

5.2.1 Patriarchal cultures in South Sudan and how they prevent women from being active in peace building

The concept of Patriarchy- root of the term derived from the two Greek words -**pater**, meaning “father”, and -**archy**, meaning “ a system of authority or rule” – was used historically to refer to either one, or the other or both of the following two things (Adekanye, 2013: 20). That is, any form of society in which father, or eldest male holds authority over all women, children, and property within a family, clan or tribe, and all matters regarding descent, kingship, and title are reckoned and traced through the male line (Adekanye, 2013:20).

According to Lerner G. (1986), Patriarchy refers to the system in which the male head of the house hold has absolute legal and economic power over his dependent female and male family members.

This kind of society is common all over the world most especially African continent. More recently, patriarchy is defined as the manifestation and institutionalization of male dominance over women in all the sectors of society (Olutayo, 2001: 97), particularly government and economy, meaning the direct or indirect exclusion of female from these institutions (Adekanye, 2013: 21). This means that men hold power in all the important institutions of the society and that women are deprived of access to such power.

Based on the above definitions, it is not surprising that the concept of patriarchy has become so popular in Gender studies, most especially women’s studies. The ideas, principles, and values characterizing patriarchy as a system or rule tend to be strengthened by traditional stereotypes

and symbolisms, which depict women on one hand as weak, submissive, temperamental, and emotional and men on the other hand as strong, competitive, and rational. Justifications for gender roles are based on an implied “sexual division of labour” which sees women, already depicted in this kind of gathered discourse, as either “feminine” or belonging to the so-called “weaker sex”, consigned to the purely home-keeping functions, including reproduction, and child-rearing. The males because they are regarded as more powerful as regards ‘body built’ are given the so called bigger tasks, like bread winners for family sustenance, or the laborious responsibilities of running a government, administering the machinery of state power, and war making (Adekanye, 2013: 21).

Patriarchy in essence leads to male domination in all spheres of the society. For example looking at the case study South Sudan as discussed, women’s representation at decision making and peace processes still did not meet the 30 per cent quota as formally stated in their constitution. They still experience what is referred to as male domination in every aspect of their society.

Patriarchy occurs in virtually all institutions in South Sudan, namely; family, religion, education, economy and politics.

Patriarchy and Family institutions

This is the main institution where patriarchy originated and spread to every other institution of the society, for example in South Sudan, according to Deng (gender focal point CEWA),

“...Husbands do not allow their wives to participate publicly, so even if there are positions to be filled in the governance, if husbands do not agree to release their wives; wives on their own cannot come out and participate in politics”.

This reveals that as a patriarchal unit within a patriarchal whole serving as an agent of the larger society, the family not only encourages its own members to align and conform, it also acts as a unit in the government of patriarchal state which rules its own citizens through its family heads (Olutayo, 2001: 100). This unit in turn infects the society, whereby men not only see themselves as the head of their own family but heads of their colleagues at their places of works to the extent that they do think that a woman of the same qualification should not earn the same salary as theirs. Supporting this statement, Victoria (A female lecturer in the department of peace studies at University of Juba) said that “although she is a lecturer but people especially men who come to her department for assistance still regard her as the secretary; they prefer to speak to a male lecturer.” This is because she is regarded as a wife who ought to be in a subservient position. Even at churches and mosques, some men still feel that what operates at the family unit should also operate in these institutions where women are placed at the back while men are supposed to be closer to the alter of God and in the Governmental institutions, men still play the roles of ‘the head’ as displayed at the family unit. Because the family unit makes up the state, the state also depicts what goes on in the family unit between the head and his subject. This is the reason why peace building strategies put in place by South Sudan’s women’s organizations targets family, believing that once the family unit is free from this infection, healing the society will not be that difficult.

Patriarchy and Religious Institutions

In the religious institutions patriarchy is also visible as most rules and regulations tend to discriminate against women. According to Olutayo (2001: 103), most religious institutions do grant support of the male domination by over emphasising the aspect of women’s submission to the husband, making it sound like slavery. Most religious people handle the issue of submission

with too much seriousness than the issue of loving a wife to the point of death as commanded by the same Bible and Al-Quran that talked about both. Overemphasised submission automatically deprives women of their rights. It gives room to subordination, slavery and all forms of violence perpetrated against women. As it is known that South Sudan is popularly dominated by Christians, with few Muslims and many traditional worshipers, the over emphasised submissive role of women by these religions had helped the spread of patriarchy in the South Sudan society.

According to Olutayo (2001:103), The Roman Catholic Church played a major role in reinforcing and overemphasising the subordination of women. The main aspect of Catholicism which affects women include a glorification of motherhood and female suffering, personified in the image of the Virgin Mary, and encouragement to accept one's circumstances on earth in preparation for a better life in heaven.

Even the recent terrorist attacks against girls and women in Islamic countries and communities can be traced to this issue of over emphasised submission expected from a girl/woman.

Education and Patriarchy

According to Olutayo, (2001: 104) Patriarchy, to a large extent, permits minimal education to women, compared to men. The level of inequality as regards education for both male and female is quite high. Civilization is beginning to take shape in most societies of the world now and they are beginning to see that gender has nothing to do with good academic performance and this has opened doors of opportunities for female child/adult. However, in some community like South Sudan till date the disparity still exist; when a boy is supposed to get

educated even through the University level while a girl is supposed to have just the basic primary education and then drop out for various reasons like early marriages, forced marriages, and poverty in the family where she comes from.

Eventually, more men than women have access to formal education and are educated politically (Olutayo, 2001: 104). These are the reasons basically used against them in South Sudan, when women lack the basic tool which is education how can she attain a position of decision making.

Economy and Patriarchy

According to Olutayo, (2001: 105), in traditional patriarchal societies, women make immense contribution to the economy of their societies, but they never owned land and neither are they recognised in any way as far as the economic growth of such communities is concerned. Rather they are oppressed by their husbands for whom they plant, harvest, process and sell the crops and even when the women sell for these men they are given little or no wages. While in modern 'reformed' patriarchal societies, women have certain economic rights to control the economy to some extent, but the male gender dominates the economic affairs (Olutayo, 2001: 105). In South Sudan things are a bit different. Although the constitution allows women to own property, in the customary law women cannot own property, it is to be owned the men as the head of the family (OXFAM Research Report, 2013: 25).

Also, a lot of women are self-employed, by creating jobs of their own on very small scales, yet most of these informal activities do not yield enough income to get women out of poverty and without this economic power they also lack access to credit facilities (Olutayo, 2001: 105).

Consequently, most of these South Sudanese women when they are sick, they do not have money to go to the clinic, and when they ask their husband, the reply will be that “I have paid so many cows for your bride price, I cannot sell another cow now for your hospital bill.” Thus, he continues to push the woman to work on farm until she is very ill (OXFAM Research Report, 2013: 25). Also, women are not buoyant enough to campaign for a political position, and those that are buoyant have to get powerful backing from ‘big men’ of the society before they can be selected for a position in a political party.

Political institution and patriarchy

According to Adekanye, (2013: 22) patriarchy can also be seen in the political institution, in the context of men totally dominating a state or country and an attempts at persuading such dominance through the grooming of male children into men prepared to take total control of the state power and machinery rule, including the armed forces and security agencies, thereby reducing the status of women in political activities. This implies that since women are not educationally trained from childhood, they have no bases for getting involved in politics. This also is the excuse given for women’s exclusion in peace processes in South Sudan; there is a high level of illiteracy among South Sudanese women as earlier stated in this work, which in turn encourages patriarchy in South Sudan.

The above statement is in agreement with Lenin, (1972), when he said “women cannot talk of politics” because “all illiterate persons stand outside politics and must learn his or her ABC before he makes sense of politics”. In other words, by using the weapon of lack of education women are automatically deprived of their political rights to participate in politics but when it’s time to cast votes men make necessary and adequate provisions for the so called illiterate women to cast their votes to put them in power. The case of South Sudan proved this. In the

past election women's vote happened to be the highest. Nonetheless, when it comes to women's political participation, many reasons are brought on board to discourage them.

Moving on to the data collected in the field for the purpose of this research, nearly all of my respondents agreed that South Sudan is a patriarchal society and that this is the major problem that women are having in actively participating in peace building. To answer the question of to what extent can this prevent women's participation in peace building, I will cite many of the data excerpts on this issue.

According to Deng (gender focal point CEWA),

The patriarchal culture in South Sudan hinders women a lot; husbands don't allow their wives to participate publicly. So even if there are positions to be filled in governance, and husbands did not agree to release the wives, they can't come out on their own. Women at the grass roots are given loan to start a business so as to be able to stand on their own, but their husbands collect the loans from them and spend it anyhow, with this the woman will not be able to pay back her loan. Another instance is that South Sudan women most times do not have a say on the issue of reproduction, because of this they have many children to cater for and this in turn take a toll on the peace building journey, they usually don't have time for meetings, trainings, workshops, and so on.

Also, Mabel (Adviser on gender based violence GBV) VFC),

supported this in her statement "... women suffered and are still suffering even in their homes as a result of patriarchal culture, they don't have time to participate in any public sector..., for example, in the military/police sector, there are no women, if there are no women in this sector, then the issue of protection might be difficult for the organization alone, because it is only those who wears shoes that knows where shoe pinches. If women are well placed at the top in this sector then they can have a say in policy making. Also, because of patriarchal culture women cannot just take leave at work to look after their sick children, this can cause fight within the family and tamper with their peace. The problem of women not been involved in peace processes in South Sudan is because of patriarchal culture/nature of the society. In most part of South Sudan women are considered subordinates, that is, they cannot make decisions at all, and they are to be kept at

home. All these had made it difficult for women to come forward. Even as the constitution of South Sudan had made it clear on the issue of 25 percent seats for women are to be considered at every level of government, it is still very difficult to raise women to fill this position because the men will not allow them to come out, they also don't allow women to take elective positions.

To elaborate on the above statement Oyet (lecturer, department of development and peace studies, University of Juba) cited an example,

A woman came out to contest for Governorship in a state in South Sudan and she was well supported and eventually won but the result was rigged and at the end of the day a man became the governor.

Beny (adviser on GBV SSHRSA) said that

Patriarchal culture hinders South Sudanese women because men dominate in the society, and this affects women's participation in Decision making in South Sudan. Also women are considered only as a homemaker.

Jane (Deputy Director, Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare) in her view supported the above respondents but feels that Government is beginning to carry women along to weaken patriarchal influences on decision making in South Sudan. She stated that

Patriarchal culture had been in South Sudan for long but now the Government had decreed that women should be involved, it was 25 per cent quota before but now it has been increased to 30 per cent. But in the rural areas, some people do not send their girls to school and they do not also want their women involved in public issues. These always affect/hinder women's participation in Governance in South Sudan.

Jackline (ministry of gender, child and social welfare), believes that patriarchy hinders women in peace building in South Sudan. She stated that

Women are not still allowed in certain places, like peace processes, where there is money, for example Oil resources, and so on, women are not allowed to have a say there.

It means that with the 25 or 30 per cent quota, there are limitations placed on women's participation.

Another interviewee, Jane T (ministry of gender, child and social welfare), believes that the society itself is patriarchal in nature.

The society is a patriarchal society; the people still rely mostly on traditional laws, and customs. People are still ignorant of the laws that protect them; marriage customs and GBV are the cases that are not well handled in Customary Courts, to worsen it, family law is not in existence yet in South Sudan.

Aluat (Grass roots women, Juba), while discussing women's organizations and their relationship with the government in South Sudan, believes that it is patriarchal culture that has hindered women's education the most and this in turn hinders them from participating in decision making in South Sudan. She stated that

...rather than encouraging patriarchal culture to dominate in the area of education, government should encourage girl and women education in the policies of educational sector.

Furthermore, during the interview session with Victoria (the 'only female lecturer' at the department of peace studies at the University of Juba), she stated that

patriarchy is one of the key factors that hinder women's organizations from protecting human rights in South Sudan; men dominate, even at my work place, women are not allowed to get to the decision making level, though women are given big titles in their places of work but at the end of the day they are like stooges...

This excerpt shows how patriarchal culture has eaten deep into the society in South Sudan, it dominates the decision making at all levels.

Also Peter (a researcher and a writer Juba), supporting the above excerpts said "*Patriarchy makes things difficult for women, especially as they are trying to build peace at the grass roots.*"

However, few men in their discussion during the interview, said otherwise on the issue of patriarchal culture in South Sudan;

Patriarchy is not peculiar to South Sudan alone, but African countries generally, it truly affects women, but it is a gradual process and it is too early to assess peace building in this regard in South Sudan, because we are just coming up. A woman is a woman everywhere, so they have to obey their husbands, this cannot change overnight, yes they can perform in the public affairs but they themselves are limited. Women are finding it difficult to fit in, not because of patriarchy but because of illiteracy and lack of awareness.

In the view of Sirisio (Director, department of development and Peace studies, University Juba), patriarchy is not the hindrance but lack of education and ignorance on the part of women of South Sudan. He believed that South Sudanese women are not well equipped in peace building and this had limited them.

In the same vein Kenyi (lecturer, department of development and peace studies University of Juba) said that

Men and women of South Sudan that are educated, do not really have problem with equality, they believe if they join hands together things will be better. Patriarchal culture is not that rampart now in South Sudan, because people are now coming from different countries where they had been displaced by the reason of war, and they are bringing in new culture, so I believe that recently in South Sudan, they have foreign culture already mingled with their old culture, so patriarchal culture is not an issue for hindrances in South Sudan.

This particular data excerpt argues that as a result of displacement caused by war, South Sudan now has a diluted culture which negates the predominance of patriarchy. In as much as one will like to go along with this theory, it is essential to note that this diluted culture might take time to override the predominance of patriarchy that has been in existence for ages in South Sudan, and when talking about displacement, the grass roots people were not able to travel far like the rich in the society during the war, and patriarchy is dominant at the grass roots, this becomes an impediment for processes on women equality and empowerment.

Furthermore, looking at the responses of the interviewees in this section, most women and men agree on the existence of patriarchal culture in South Sudan and that it has hindered the work of women in peace building, even those that denied it as a hindrance exhibited the patriarchal culture in some of their statements above. This shows that the issue of patriarchy is a big issue that needs to be worked upon in South Sudan in order to move on with peace building processes. Recently, the war that is eating up the new country could be attributed to the aggressive nature of patriarchal power that started between two individuals, that is, the president and formal vice president. The issue that normally should be settled amicably between the two individual escalated into another war as a result of men's aggressiveness and the exclusion of many South Sudanese women from the peace processes of the nation. Unless there is reorientation in the mind of the people of South Sudan on the issue of Patriarchy, there is a probability that there will always be relapses of war, which will negate the efforts of peace builders in the zone. It is affirmed by Molyneux's theory (see chapter three) that patriarchy is the basis for discrimination against women and unless the structure is demolished in the society, women's organization in peace building cannot be productive.

Like the women of Wajir cited in Lederach's theory of Moral imagination (Lederach, 2005: 9-13) and also in the context of African feminism (Obioma Nnaemeka, 2004: 379), women's organizations in South Sudan are negotiating peacefully and looking for means to go around this cultural mountain called patriarchy, especially in the area of peace building, by carrying men along in their programs, instead of using confrontational strategies.

5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I was able to outline major hindrances confronting women's organizations in South Sudan, factors such as lack of education, lack of funds, poor infrastructural facilities and so on were discussed extensively. For women's organizations to be able to use their strategies to meet the practical needs of the women of South Sudan successfully, these challenges must be dealt with.

Another major constraint especially at the grass roots is the customary law that severely discriminates against women and allows the dominance of patriarchal culture in South Sudan. Mary Ajith (The first legal counsel, ministry of Justice) was able to suggest two solutions to the problem, that is, the creation of a center by the Ministry of justice in South Sudan to deliberate on what ought to be and what ought not to be in the customary law and that women leaders in South Sudan should come up in one voice what should be in the family law that will be mandated in South Sudan.

The issue of patriarchy was also dealt with extensively by looking at it from the family as a unit where patriarchy sprang out before spreading to other sectors of the society. South Sudanese women need to be aware of this structure and their practical rights to have a say and strategically demolish the patriarchal culture for a sustainable peace building, this was also supported by Molyneux's theory (as explained in the third chapter).

Chapter Six

Nature of the relationship between women's organisations and the Government of South Sudan

After the independence of South Sudan, there was a great influx of women organizations, registered by the government of South Sudan, in order to help in the development of the new state, coming out of the long war of two decades. These women oriented organizations with the support of the government of South Sudan organized conferences, workshops, and all sorts of trainings to empower women, in order to carry them along in the peace processes. With this support coming from the government it is believed that the relationship of the government with the women organizations in South Sudan is cordial, as explained by respondent D (09/09/2013) *“Women organizations are being supported by the government, at least they are allowing them to register and to conduct conferences on peace building, although they are still at the early stage”*. This section aims to look at this relationship right from the time of CPA till the present moment and how the government has been able to implement the United Nations SCR 1325, (2000) in South Sudan.

In order to understand the significance of the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UN SCR) 1325 in South Sudan, it will be better to discuss the origin of the United Nation SCR 1325; The signing of SCR 1325 took place in October 2000 with the aim of ensuring all efforts toward peace building, post-conflict reconstruction, and even the conduct of armed conflict, would involve sensitivity towards gendered violence and gender inequalities (Shepherd, 2008: 1; Dahlstrom, 2012: 27). It was the first time in the United Nations (UN)

history that women's right to protection and their role in maintaining peace and security was recognised by the Security Council (Shepherd, 2008: 1; Dahlstrom, 2012: 27).

The Resolution was welcomed at the time as a vigorous and ground-breaking political framework that enables the consideration of gender issues during periods of armed conflict as well as in the processes of peace building and post-conflict reconstruction (Shepherd, 2008:1; Dahlstrom, 2012: 27). Before this period, Security Council had only dealt with issues of women simply as a vulnerable group that are to be protected but not as agent of change in conflict and post conflict zones (Shepherd, 2008:1; Dahlstrom, 2012: 27). It was not until the middle of the 1990s that the increased focus on the impact of conflict on gender relations and the need for the inclusion of women in decision-making processes in international debates and resolutions begin to surface (Dahlstrom 2012: 28). The ground work done by groups of women attending UN series of World Conferences on women, led to the signing of the SCR 1325 (Dahlstrom I., 2012: 28). For instance, the fourth conference in Beijing in 1995 that resulted in the 'Platform for Action' in which 'Women and Armed Conflict' was presented as one of twelve 'critical areas of concern played a great role. Instead of just highlighting women's victimization, the Chapter on 'Women and Armed Conflict' was addressing women's agency in promoting peace and calling for increased participation of women in conflict resolution (Anderlini, 2007; Dahlstrom, 2012:28). This added new innovation to the agenda and led the way to an increasing growth in women's involvement in peace and security. In the following years, regional and international networks were taking shape and this new vision for promoting peace began to be supported by NGOs and donors (Dahlstrom, 2012:28).

In 1998, the Chapter on 'Women and Armed Conflict' was debated and reviewed at a CSW (The Commission on the Status of Women) conference in which hundreds of women discussed

how the proposals in the Chapter could be operationalized (Cockburn, 2007; Dahlstrom, 2012:28). Coordinated by WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), a group of international NGOs called 'Women and Armed Conflict Caucus' led a process of drafting an upshot document. At this juncture, the emphasis shifted from "getting armed conflict on to the UN 'women agenda' to getting 'women and armed conflict' on to the main agenda" (Dahlstrom, 2012:28). In 2000 this caucus became the 'NGO Working group on Women and Armed Conflict' (NGOWG) which included five NGOs originally; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Amnesty International (AI), International Alert (IA), the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children (WCRWC), and the Hague Appeal for Peace (HAP) (Shepherd 2008:6).

As of September 2010, the NGO Working Group has increased enormously consisting of: Amnesty International, Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Femmes Africa Solidarity, Global Action to Prevent War, Global Justice Center, Human Rights Watch, International Action Network on Small Arms, International Alert, International Rescue Committee, Open Society Institute, Refugees International, The Institute for Inclusive Security, Women's Action for New Directions, Women's Division, General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women's Refugee Commission).⁵¹ It was this group that carried out rigorous lobbying during the months leading up to the signing of SCR 1325 and that continues to offer analysis and recommendations on the implementation of the resolution till date (Dahlstrom, 2012:28). The Beijing plus Five' in 2000 was also an important occasion in which a global appeal for a Security Council resolution was launched (Anderlini, 2007). During this year (2000), other key

⁵¹ Dalstrom Ida (2012), "women's Recognition in Peace building: Implementing Security Council Resolution 1325 in South Sudan". Msc. School of Global studies, University Gothenburg.

events that helped legitimize a discussion at the Security Council took place; In March, the former Ambassador of Bangladesh and president of the Security Council, Anwarul Chowdhury, issued a formal statement recognizing women's need for protection as well as their contributions to peace building (Dahlstrom, 2012:28). Also in May, the government of Namibia held the seminar 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations' during which a formal plan of action known as the 'Windhoek Declaration' was issued (Dahlstrom, 2012:28). The NGOWG intensified their work in getting one of the UN Security Council's Ambassadors to raise the matter of women and armed conflict, ideally wanting it to be a country that had experienced conflict, giving the issue stronger authority (Dahlstrom, 2012:29).

Finally, under Namibia's presidency, a two day open session was held on 24 and 25 October, being the first time in UN history that the Security Council gave full attention to women's experiences in conflict and the role they can play as agent of change in post conflict zones. SCR 1325 was there after passed on October 31st, 2000 (Dahlstrom, 2012:28). The Resolution is unique in the sense that it is the first binding international law sanctioning issues that concerns women, peace and security and hence providing a legal ground on which women all over the world can claim their rights (Dahlstrom, 2012: 28). According to Josephine C. Dionisio and Mavic Cabrera-Balleza, in a national workshop titled "towards full implementation of UN SCR 1325 in the Philippines: crafting a national action plan for women and peace building", the key bases of the Resolution include⁵²:

- Ensuring gender balance in all levels of decision-making
- Gender perspective in all reports
- Protection and respect of human rights of women and girls

⁵² www.Resdal.org/experiencias/plan-philipinas.pdf. P1 Assessed on 28/10/2013.

- Gender perspective in post-conflict peace processes and in peacekeeping

The Resolution has since been interpreted into 80 languages and is used all over the world as a policy tool for implementing gender-sensitive formal and informal political provisions after the end of conflict and as an advocacy tool for securing gender equity in demobilization, disarmament and reintegration programs and peacekeeping operations (Shepherd, 2008:1). As a Security Council Resolution, UNSCR 1325 is lawfully obligatory for states that are signatories of the UN Charter, and must consequently be taken seriously as a political document. But it has been argued that, despite the Resolution's many successes, significant obstacles remain in the implementation of the Resolution from policy document to effective advocacy tool and action plan in the reality (Shepherd, 2008:1). This is applicable in South Sudan where the people especially women at the grassroots and even among some leaders are ignorant of what SCR is all about (Karame and Prestegard, 2005).

In June 2002, negotiations to end Sudan's civil war began between the SPLM/A and the Government of Sudan (GOS)⁵³. The negotiations were concluded in January 9, 2005, with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The CPA comprises six protocols which provided for the following:⁵⁴

- A six year interim period, at the end of which, the people of South Sudan were given right to vote in a self-determination referendum to decide whether to remain united with Sudan or to secede.
- A cessation of hostilities between the SPLA (Sudan People's Liberation Army) and SAF (Sudan Armed Forces or National Army of the Government of Sudan), and the maintenance of SPLA forces in the South and SAF in the North.
- The establishment of a secular, semi-autonomous Southern Sudan with its own executive, legislative and judicial institutions.

⁵³ Mollie Zapata (2011: 1) "Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement and South Sudan Independence" enough 101: the project to end genocide and crimes against humanity. www.enoughproject.org/blogs/sudan-comprehensive-peaceagreement. Accessed on 17/10/2013

⁵⁴ ibid

- Power sharing arrangements between Sudan's two major political parties, the SPLM and NCP (National Congress Party), as well as smaller parties, at the national and Southern Sudan levels of government.
- Wealth sharing arrangements whereby, among other things, profits from oil extracted in Southern Sudan were split 50-50 between the national and Southern Sudan levels of government.
- Democratic elections to occur during the interim period.
- The establishment of a special administrative status for the disputed Abyei area, as well as a referendum for the "residents" of Abyei, to be carried out at the same time as the Southern Sudan referendum.

In accordance with these provisions, the people of Southern Sudan voted in the Southern Sudan referendum on January 9, 2011 and six months later the interim period came to an end and South Sudan became an independent state.⁵⁵

The provisions of the CPA as listed above shows that the main concern of the agreement is the negotiation between the two major parties that were involved in the conflict that is the SPLM and the NCP. According to Aldehaib (2010: 8), the CPA is a highly political and gender blind agreement. She believes that the main focus of this agreement was to stop the war, while all other political parties and civil society organizations were excluded from the negotiation process. The agreement never considered gender inequality as a factor in security, the sharing of power and wealth, because gender identity was not included as a category of analysis in the Agreement. For this reason and others, Aldehaib concluded that the CPA excluded half of the population from its pursuit of justice. To further expatiate on this, women were excluded as actors during the negotiation for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. This shows how deeply rooted patriarchy is South Sudan and this barrier, as stated in Molyneux's theory, should be removed for sustainable peace building to be achieved.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

The two women that were involved from the SPLM/A side, acted only as observers (Aldehaib, 2010:8), while no woman was involved from the north because the Sudanese Government prevented women from boarding the plane to Naivasha where the negotiation would take place (Dahlstrom, 2012: 48). Also, many women organizations that were registered as observers were also side-lined. Even the Machako's protocols of 2002 that was signed and which also led to the CPA, women were also not well represented (Dahlstrom, 2012:49). It is evident here, that Southern Sudanese Women's involvement in formal peace negotiations was almost insignificant despite years of advocating for inclusion (Dahlstrom, 2012:48), and the instrument of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was not implemented. Also in the words of Itto (2006:56), who was a member of the SPLM's delegation to the Naivasha talks, she said that women have the right to be at the negotiating table and to assume an active role in implementation not as spectators. She said the roles they played as combatants, supporters of fighting forces and peacemakers during conflict qualify women for this.

After the signing of the CPA, the new Interim Constitution of the new state of South Sudan was enacted in 2005. Remarkably, this interim Constitution based the source of law in South Sudan on customs and tradition, which means customary law, is viewed as one of the recognised pieces of legislation in South Sudan (Aldehaib, 2010:12). Customary law on its own could be good if implemented in a way that supports human rights but in a highly patriarchal society such as South Sudan, it could legitimise the continuous violation of women's right (Aldehaib, 2010:12). These are conflicting issues that could cause setbacks for women participation whether in public or private lives, because the new Constitution is based on human rights principles, while some parts of customary law in South Sudan does not respect gender equality and also condone human rights violations (Aldehaib, 2010:12).

Even though women played active role at various level to bring peace to South Sudan, as usual their roles are often ignored once war is over (Itto, 2006: 56). As earlier stated, when the issue of a minimum quota of 25 per cent for women of South Sudan in civil service, legislative and executive and at all levels of government was first proposed as provided by the Constitution, it became a laughing stock and the question of where to get such women to fill the positions in South Sudan was raised but it was accepted at a larger committee (Itto, 2006: 56). Although this later increased to 30 per cent, in reality women are still not filling positions to this capacity in South Sudan (Mayen, 2013: 1; interview 2013/09/01). The pledge of equal participation in public life and redress of historical and sociocultural issues has become a mere pledge not supported by indicators and benchmarks (Mayen, 2013: 7).

In virtually every peace process that has taken place between Sudan and South Sudan, the ruling political party assumes, first the sole responsibility of achieving peace/agreements on behalf of all citizens of South Sudan and that secondly, no gender disparities in all issues discussed as it affects all citizens the same way (Mayen, 2013: 8). Although there is always a tendency for this to happen in post conflict zones, however, there are exceptions, such as Darfur and Afghanistan Peace Processes where civil society consultations and greater participation of women were called for (Mayen, 2013: 8). But in the New South Sudan, in spite of the existence of about fifty women-led organizations (Ringera, 2007: 2) involved in peace building at the grassroots, South Sudanese women along with women organizations are still struggling to be heard and to be included in decision making (Ringera, 2007: 2).

Although, women now hold leadership positions in most states of South Sudan, these positions are often just given to add 'cosmetic value', they are not necessarily empowered to make the changes they have planned (Dahlstrom, 2012: 37). Instead, women in leadership positions are

often ridiculed overlooked and intimidated (Dahlstrom, 2012:37). This statement is established by several women in leadership positions in South Sudan, reporting that they often face lack of recognition and respect from men opposing female politicians and community leaders (Dahlstrom, 2012: 38). These women contend that several men do not understand core issues affecting women but all they do is to describe cultural taboos and negative traditions undermining women as well as the acceptance of women as equal partners in the development of the society (Dahlstrom, 2012: 38). Also, many of the decisions made by these women are rejected by their male counterparts, regarding them as inferior (Dalstrom, 2012: 38). The situation was confirmed by Sabina Dario Lokolong who served as the Assembly Speaker, she said some male members of the parliament were not comfortable under her because she is a woman. She stated that “when the Speaker enters the Assembly, all rise, this caused so much hostility towards me, unwed, female young Speaker, they simply could not take it”⁵⁶.

On the 27th of September 2012 a nine agreement on various pending issues between Sudan and South Sudan was successfully signed⁵⁷. These pending issues are related to CPA and post secession issues which had been on ground for negotiation since 2010. Like other peace negotiations, 3 women were first involved and then later they ceased participation in the formal process. Few women entered the process as members of technical committees, as institutional representatives and legal advisors on an adhoc basis, and at the peak of negotiations a woman with expertise on the oil sector of Sudan became the sole female negotiator in the team⁵⁸. This

⁵⁶ Jane Godia, “Sudanese women balancing the delicate political act”.South Sudan Women’s Agenda. Issue No.1, August, 2009

⁵⁷ Embassy of the Republic of Sudan in Oslo, Norway. “summary of nine agreements between Sudan and South Sudan. sudanembassy@sudan oslo.

⁵⁸ Apuk Ayuel Mayen, Policy brief April 18, 2013 “women in Peace Making Processes in South Sudan”. The Sudd institute. p8

is also evidence to how the Government of South Sudan views the implementation of SCR 1325.

The nine agreements did not directly touch any gender issue explicitly but United States Institute of Peace (USIP) believe that it depends on how they are implemented. The nine agreements are summarised as follows;⁵⁹

- The cooperation Agreement
- The Security agreement
- The agreement on border issues
- The status of nationals
- Trade concerns
- Oil Agreement
- The agreement on the frame work on central banking
- The agreement on Post service benefits.

Apart from the border agreement the other eight agreements do not involve the public, USIP provided analysis that can guide the implementation of the nine agreements in such a way to favour women's/ women's organization inclusion in the implementation⁶⁰. USIP believe that this is a great opportunity for South Sudanese women; In line with this, the USIP analysis recommends these⁶¹:

- **Involve more effective women in all the implementation bodies.** Without women's formal and direct participation in more than token numbers, it is unlikely that the

⁵⁹ www.usip.org/publication/understanding. Assessed on 24/10/2013.

⁶⁰ ibid

⁶¹ ibid

gender-specific impacts of the agreement will be satisfactorily addressed. Women should be included from the very first stages of the process, when important decisions are likely to be made, both as government representatives in policymaking commissions, as well as technical experts on the implementation committees. Consideration should be given to mandating a minimum quota (consistent with the constitution of South Sudan, but not that of Sudan); the reason being that a critical mass of women is necessary if gender apprehensions are to be taken into account.

- **Women’s organizations must be representatives in Peace processes.** This suggests that women who speak for and feel accountable to their constituents should be included, rather than women from government-sponsored NGOs. Also, it will be of great importance to work with a range of organizations that reflect the diverse and sometimes competing needs and challenges experienced by women of different ages, family situations, place of residence (urban/rural), and ethnic and tribal affiliations.
- **Donors should make positive efforts to promote meaningful inclusion of women.** This third recommendation suggests that donors that will be involved as stated in the signed agreements should use this opportunity to get more women directly involved in the implementation of the Agreements. Since the Agreements allow the two states to jointly request third-party financial and/or technical assistance, it automatically provides entry points for donors, who can provide resources and capacity-building contingent on inclusion of women in the policymaking commissions or technical committees. Where participation in the committees requires travel, a portion of financial support should be set aside for travelling, lodging, childcare, capacity building and physical protection for women.

- **Build an official link between women’s civil society organizations and implementation bodies.** An endorsed mechanism should be put in place for civil society, including women’s groups, in order to contribute to policy implementation processes, through such roles as monitoring compliance and giving voice to the interests and concerns of local men and women to the decision-making commissions and implementation committees.
- **The official link should be used to educate women about the agreements.** This suggests that the endorsed mechanism could also serve as a network of communication to the public, with women’s organizations involved to ensure that dissemination reaches women, who are less likely than men to be literate, well informed on current issues, and, in South Sudan, conversant in Arabic. Donors can help by providing financial support and-capacity building to these organizations, as well as to local radio stations.
- **Both men and women must be involved in the education process.** This suggests that men must also be sensitized to be a part of the education process in order to expand their understanding of why women’s active engagement will support successful peace building.

These Recommendations show that if only women/ women organizations will be included in the implementation of the nine agreements, it will help build peace in South Sudan. Hence, Women organizations should not keep quiet at this time in South Sudan, they should create more awareness among women at the grassroots on the nine agreements and the effects it will have on their communities if implemented without the direct participation of South Sudanese women. If women are taken into consideration as suggested in the USIP analysis, it will go a long way to

strengthen the relationship of the government of South Sudan and the women organizations at all levels.

Peace making processes gives a unique opportunity for issues of social justice, equity in relation to power and resources to be addressed; this means if South Sudanese women are involved it can help build a sustainable peace. That is, if they are allowed to contribute their own quota to this issues, women by the virtue of their position in society, are said to have an exceptional perspective on these this issues, which may be instrumental to a sustainable peace in South Sudan⁶².

Despite all odds, women's organizations in South Sudan are still campaigning for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace and Security under the umbrella of 1325 National Action Planning (NAP) process. A national conference on South Sudan's NAP on UNSCR 1325 was held in January 2013 (Balleza, 2013), which happened to be the first of its kind. This conference was organized by the Joint Donor Team for South Sudan in partnership with Eve organization for Women Development, the Ministry of Gender and Social welfare, and United Nations women (Balleza, 2013). Pillars of the NAP were identified that is, participation, protection, prevention and relief and recovery and important issues under each pillars were discussed, also, issues on how to finance NAP 1325 and also how to get the message across to rural women were discussed (Balleza, 2013).

After the conference, South Sudanese Civil Society organizations (CSOs) participated in a NAP strategy session that was facilitated by Global Network of Women Peace builders (GNWP).

During this session additional issues to be integrated to NAP 1325 came up; issues like the

⁶²Apuk Ayuel Mayen, Policy brief April 18, 2013 "women in Peace Making Processes in South Sudan". The Sudd institute. p8

integration of women's rights treaties such as the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against women (CEDAW) and other human rights norms into the NAP 1325 were raised (Balleza, 2013). These issues will later be presented to the National Steering Committee on NAP 1325, which is government representative (Balleza, 2013). And there is also a call for an increase in the number of CSO representatives to the National Steering Committee, since there is only one CSO out of the 24 members of the Committee (Balleza, 2013).

In another conference held in February 2013, issues on creation of awareness concerning CEDAW and strategies for its ratification were discussed. It was at this juncture that it was discovered that only four out of the fifteen CSOs have heard of CEDAW in their line of work despite the fact they have been engaged in related issues like rights and freedom, it was during this conference that they became knowledgeable of the instrument (Tesfaye S., 2013). The CSO's in South Sudan believe that this is the right time to emphasise the issues on the ratification of CEDAW since this is the moment South Sudan is drafting its Constitution. This is also backing what the government promised during the referendum; to promote women's rights and also to ratify the CEDAW (Tesfaye, 2013). This means this is the right time to make sure that Government keep to their word, to make this possible the CSO are creating awareness for the people to know their rights (Tesfaye, 2013). The more the population of South Sudan gets this awareness the more it will be difficult for Government to deny them these rights.

All these efforts show how women's organizations in South Sudan are determined to be included in Peace building and political participation as a stake holder. Also, in this section, one can see that the paradoxical curiosity which is one of the four elements of Lederach's theory (see chapter three) is yet to be considered in South Sudan most especially at the decision

making level. Without looking beyond traditions and so called normal procedure suggested under this element peace building in South Sudan still has a very long way to go.

6.1 The relationship between women's organisations and the government and the effect on peace building in South Sudan

An exploration of women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan is incomplete without looking at how their relationship with the government in South Sudan has affected their work of peace building. According to Moleyneux's theory (earlier cited in chapter 3), a change in state- society relation is one of the criteria of a successful bottom-up approach in post conflict zones.

In the previous section, the nature of the relationship between government and women's organizations was discussed but under this section how this relationship affected Women's organizations' peace building in South Sudan will be discussed.

One of the data excerpts by Mabel (adviser on gender based violence, VFC), cited above argued how it will be difficult to enforce law on women's issues when women are not allowed to get to the position of policy making in the security sector (police/military), for example cases of rape or wife battering are treated with levity. Even when victims come to the organizations to be helped on this cases, if there are no strong policies to enforce laws and even change some customary laws that are against women, women's organizations alone will not be able to do this.

According to Deng (gender focal point, CEWA),

“Insecurity is a big issue in South Sudan, women's organizations, alone cannot handle it, so the government should put in policies that will address this big issue,

it will be good, for instance, if the government can make changes to customary laws that are against women”.

This means if women’s organizations are making efforts at the grass roots, the government should be able to complement these efforts by putting policies in place to protect and empower South Sudanese women.

Furthermore, Mabel (adviser on gender based violence VFC), confirmed that,

Affirmative action is good but the government should have a policy to involve women in peace processes by educating them to fit into public positions, because women cannot be brought on board without first equipping them.

As women are working at the grass roots, they should also be encouraged by the government to fit in to the public positions that are meant for them. It is not good for the government to say there are no women to fill the 30 per cent positions. Government should train them to fit the positions.

Another interviewee, Jane (ministry of gender, child and social welfare) said

if the government can support the approach of women in peace building in South Sudan, then it will work, which is ‘top down’ supporting ‘bottom up’, to bring out excellent performance in peacebuilding.

This argument in a nutshell is that ‘bottom up’ without help from Government to the people at the grass roots cannot bring about efficient peace building. This is in line with Moleyneux’s view on bottom-up approach as earlier stated.

Oyet (lecturer, department of development and peace studies, University of Juba), on the other hand, said that

There is a mixed feeling relationship between the women’s organizations and the government of South Sudan, when the interests of the elites are different from that of the organizations, there will be clashes.

In other words, when the organizations' aims and objectives tally with that of the government the relationship will be smooth but when their aims and objectives are different there may be clashes that could even lead to loss of jobs, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Supporting this frame of mind, Kenyi (lecturer, department of development and peace studies University of Juba) said

I think to certain level, depending on the approach, the government is supportive, with the support from the government; the success of the women's organizations depends on how they are able to design their aims and objectives in the community.

Looking at this statement, it means that if the organizations want to be on the good side of the government they should not go contrary to the governments in their aims and objectives in peace building process.

Looking at what a grass roots woman had to say concerning this issue, Sarah John (Grass roots women from Ayidi Jongolei): “government is helping women organizations but this is not enough.” That is Government have to be more supportive as far as women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan are concerned.

In essence, the data excerpts on this issue show that in South Sudan much is still to be done by the government to make things work out for these women's organizations that are pursuing peace building in South Sudan. If the women's organizations are working hand in hand with South Sudanese women but have mixed feelings in their relationship with the government, little can be achieved as far as peace building is concerned in South Sudan.

6.1.1 Women's involvement in politics/governance in South Sudan

After the experience of South Sudanese women during the CPA and some other peace processes which involved few or no women, they realised they have much to contribute to sustain the

peace which had been relatively achieved in South Sudan, but they also realise that they need to participate in the governance of their country to make their efforts fruitful. Women organizations at all levels in South Sudan putting cultures and traditions aside, came out to propose 25% quota at all levels of governance, which was later increased to 30 % quota (Sarah Aweil James, South Sudan Women General Association). This proposal was accepted and legalised by South Sudanese government, this is also in support of the point made in the literature review of this study that women's organizations are able to influence Government policies, but in reality, the policy is yet to be fully achieved. Some blame this default on the high illiteracy among South Sudanese women but some scholars believe that this not true and that it is the patriarchal culture that is still been displayed at the political arena of the country, others believe that if illiteracy is the problem that the government must provide solutions by training women. All these and more will be examined in this section after looking into the records of women that participated in the first South Sudanese election.

During the preparation for the general election in 2010, women were excited and willing to be part of this for the first time, irrespective of challenges. In 1983 when elections were held in Sudan, women were neither candidates nor voters. Also, in 2005, after the CPA was signed many women were given political appointments and nominations but none vied for these seats.⁶³ But this time around South Sudanese women believe that they are ready for politics and the challenges that surround it and that all that they need is training and boldness to withstand hindrances⁶⁴. During this period Ms Lucie Luguga, UNIFEM's country Director in South Sudan and one of the key organisers to the Conference for Southern Sudanese women on

⁶³ Godia Jane "Sudanese women balancing the delicate political act". South Sudan Women's Agenda. GEMS News, Issue No.1. August, 2009 1-8

⁶⁴ Ibid

political parties encouraged women⁶⁵ to seize the opportunity of the 25% quota and make use of it by coming up with a common agenda for a brighter future in the political affairs of South Sudan. Mrs Miria Matembe, a politician from Uganda also gave her piece of advice to South Sudanese women. She believes that the 25% brings along with it three opportunities; the 60% which is open for anyone who wants to go for competitive politics, the 15% through the party list and the 25% affirmative action which is enshrined in the CPA as the minimum quota for women.⁶⁶ This means that 25% affirmative action is not in any way limiting women; South Sudanese women can still compete in the remaining percentage.

South Sudanese women came together with a common agenda for the 2010 Elections;

We, the women from the political parties in Southern Sudan, participating in the Conference for Southern Sudan Women in Political Parties to Develop a Women's Common Agenda for the Elections, which took place in Juba from July 17 to 19, 2009, comprising representatives of the Government, Political Parties and Parliamentarians:

Strongly believe in women working together across party lines;

Affirm that unity of purpose is the foundation of equity and equality;

Also affirm that the women of Southern Sudan are renowned for their active participation in the pursuit of peace and good governance;

Further affirm that gender issues cannot be divorced from the political, social, cultural, developmental economic and security considerations in Southern Sudan.

Note that women in Southern Sudan have limited access to political party leadership and decision-making, the media, education, economic empowerment, law, security, health, which has compromised women's effective participation in national leadership,

Concerned about the rights and dignity of women, insecurity and the rule of law in Southern Sudan and the environment in which the General Election will be held

State that it is in this context that women now seek greater representation and participation in party politics and national leadership,

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Ibid

Affirm our support for all the outcomes of this conference with a view to strengthening democracy through women's greater participation at all levels of leadership as stated in the 25 percent principle,

Appreciate the role played by the Government of Southern Sudan and the international community in supporting efforts to boost the role of women in politics and transformational leadership and drawing attention to the need to involve women in all stages of the election process and in the implementation of the National Elections Act 2008.⁶⁷

The above common agenda show how South Sudanese women are determined to achieve equity at all levels and how they are determined to have common ground for their political ambition.

This also exhibits the power of unity among women cutting across different political parties.

With this common agenda for women in political parties, many women came out to vie for positions under the umbrella of their political parties. Examples of women that came out for political positions are Honorable Deborah Ajok Garang (under the political party of SPLM and as at then was serving as the nominated member of the Legislative Assembly and also involved in two committees; peace and reconciliation and Gender, social welfare, Youth and sports committees). She contested under the 60% as member of the Legislative Assembly to champion the rights of widows and orphan in her community to access basic services provided by the government⁶⁸. Huda Micah Laila (under the political party of Sudan African National Union (SANU) as then she was a Minister of Health in Central Equatorial state and also an advisor to the state Governor on Political Party affairs), contested for the position of a member of the Legislative Council on the party nominations.⁶⁹ Another woman that came out under the umbrella of SPLM is Brigadier Victoria Adhar Arop (she was the first Southern Sudanese woman to qualify as a military nurse in charge of over 19,000 children in a refugee camp in Ethiopia; she was also SPLM women's leader and a member of the Legislative Assembly). She

⁶⁷ Ibid p. 8

⁶⁸ Ibid p.1-8

⁶⁹ Ibid

came out to be re-nominated as a member of parliament.⁷⁰ Another big fish in the ocean of South Sudanese Politics is Hon. Sabina Dario Lokolong, under the umbrella of SPLM. She has attained the peak of a political career as the speaker of Eastern Equatoria state Legislative Assembly but believes it is just the beginning of her political career. She came out to be reelected to legislative assembly.⁷¹

The above examples are just a few of the women that trooped out for the first general election in South Sudan and based on the 25% affirmative action stipulated in article 14 of the Transitional Constitution of the country, the table 1.1 below show the current structure of the government that was established as a result of the election;⁷²

Table 6.1: *Women's participation in government*

	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Male%</i>	<i>Female%</i>
Office of the President	4	0	4	100	0
Presidential advisors	5	1	6	83	17
National Legislative Assembly	237	95	332	71	29
Council of States	44	6	50	88	12
Chairpersons of specialized Committees (NLA)	13	5	18	72	28
National Ministers	24	5	29	83	17
Deputy National Ministers	17	10	27	63	37
Undersecretaries	27	4	31	87	13
State Governors	9	1	10	90	10
Chairpersons of Independent	18	2	20	90	10

⁷⁰ Ibid

⁷¹ Ibid

⁷² Rita Martin and Pelekemoyo J.N., "Women Count, Security resolution 1325: civil society Monitoring Report 2012". P 6-9. A project of the Global Network of women Peace builders

Commissions and Institutions (ICI)

Deputy Chairpersons of ICI	15	5	20	75	25
Central Bank of South Sudan	6	0	6	100	0
Internal Security Affairs	6	0	6	100	0
Ambassadors	81	9	90	90	10
Austerity Measures Committee	15	15	15	100	0

Source: A project of the Global Network of Women Peace builders 2012: 6

The above table shows that the 25 percent female participation was not attained in some of the area of Governance: out of the 29 national ministerial posts, only 5 (17 percent) are occupied by women. It is also of great importance to note that out of 5 women, none of them is holding key ministerial positions like ministries of finance, defense, interior, or foreign affairs⁷³. Also, in the Council of State women are occupying only 12 percent, which means women are under represented here as well. The Council of state is an important body as it is one of the two bodies that make up the National Legislative of South Sudan. Some of its functions are “issuing resolutions and directives to guide all levels of government, and overseeing national reconstruction, development and equitable service delivery in the states”⁷⁴. If South Sudanese women are under-represented in such body that perform the above stated functions then it means that resolution 1325 is yet to take priority in the governance of South Sudan. Looking at the various levels of civil services women representation is mostly below the 25 percent quota⁷⁵. Out of the 90 Ambassadors only 9 are women and out of these 9 women, none have been allotted Grade 1 ambassadorial position⁷⁶. Furthermore, Women’s representation in Judiciary

⁷³ Ibid

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Ibid

and presidential Advisory bodies are minimal⁷⁷, while women are absolutely absent from such bodies as; office of the president, internal security the Austerity Measures Committee and the central bank.

According to the figures in table 1.1, only four areas of governance attained the 25 percent female representation. These are: the National Legislative Assembly (29 percent), Deputy National Ministers (37 percent) Chairpersons of specialized committees (28 percent), and Deputy Chairpersons of institutions and Commissions (25 percent). This part of the government structure can serve as an encouragement to South Sudanese women, in another election that will take place in the future.

Since it is difficult to obtain the result of women representation at the State Assemblies after independence⁷⁸, table 1.2, below shows how women were under represented at the state level before the South Sudan Independence on 9th of July, 2011;

Table 6.2: Percentage of women in State Assemblies before the independence 9 July 2011

States	No. of Female MPs	No. of Male	Total No. of of Women	Percentage
Central Equatoria	11	37	48	22
Eastern Equatoria	8	40	48	16
Western Equatoria	12	36	48	25
Jonglei	10	38	48	20
Unity	11	37	48	22

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ Ibid

Upper Nile	10	38	48	20
Lakes	14	34	48	29
Bahr el Ghazal	13	35	48	27
Northern Bahr el Ghazal	10	38	48	20
War rap	10	38	48	20

Source: A project of the Global Network of Women Peace builders 2012: 7

According to table 1.2 above, only 3 states (Western Bahr El Gahzal, Lakes and Western Equatoria) were able to meet with 25 percent Quota. This shows that women are underrepresented even at the state level.

There are lots of barriers to making the representation of women paramount in Governance and peace processes in South Sudan;

In reality and with the indirect exclusion of women from the peace processes and low representation of Women in Governance, Apuk, (2013:8) believes that the exclusion of women may be expediently considered the policy of the government of South Sudan and in the words of Karambu (2007: 1) it is a deliberate action.

According to Rahab Baldo,⁷⁹ UNIFEM Khartoum's Program Specialist for Gender Equality, Good Governance, Democracy and Transformation, the selection strategies of the National Electoral Act is without clear criteria and this will require women to have bargaining power to negotiate with their individual parties in order to select who will be on the women's list, leaving them at the mercy of male dominated party to decide who is to be on the list. Women also complained about section 22 of the Act which states that "no voter shall be eligible to

⁷⁹ Godia Jane, "Sudanese women balancing the delicate political act". South Sudan Women's Agenda. GEMS News, Issue No.1. August, 2009

participate in the election or referendum unless she/ he was registered three months before the date of elections or referendum”⁸⁰, This hindered many that would have voted for them, they believe that a country just coming out of war for the citizens to settle down and collect necessary documents for voters registration takes time.

Another barrier is the qualifications which potential candidates must fulfill in order to contest for any seat, as stipulated in section 52, that “candidates must be literate”. This has been a major obstacle on the path of women both in political participation and peace processes inclusion, since the country was torn apart by the longest war in history education became a difficult thing generally because of displacements. Apart from the war history, the girl child is not sent to school, and even if she has been sent, she is forced in to marriage at a tender age which eventually makes her a drop out. All these had contributed to high illiteracy level of South Sudanese women. Mayen Apuk Ayuel (2013: 1)) believes that women’s inclusion should not be based on education but some other leadership potentials that are innate in most women. She also believes that it is the duty of the government of South Sudan to make sure that women are educated and trained in order to occupy a leadership position and participate effectively in the peace processes. It is also argued that sometimes the qualifications required of women are more than what is required of their male counterparts,⁸¹ this in turn make it more difficult for women to compete successfully for political positions (Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare, 2013).

Furthermore, another barrier to women’s participation/ inclusion in Governance and past peace processes is that there is no effective women’s machinery that advocates and lobbies for, and

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Rita Martin and Pelekemoyo J.N., “Women Count, Security resolution 1325: civil society Monitoring Report 2012”. P 6- 9 A project of the Global Network of women Peace builders

monitors the progress/ productivity of women's participation in the public sphere (Mayen , 2013: 8), most especially governance and peace making processes. The struggle of women for participation in governance and peace building cannot be effective if there is no inclusion, it is by being directly involved with the decision makers and people at the center of power that this can be done. For their voices to reach the top they need machineries like women organizations, which is claimed to be absent, but according to Mayen Apuk, (2013: 10) such Machineries exist in South Sudan, citing an example of the Coalition of Women Leaders of Sudan which was later divided into two groups after Independence, one group representing South Sudan and the other representing Sudan. This coalition assisted by Women Waging Peace International, included women from civil society, government, academia, professionals, and women's organizations. They met on the sidelines of the AU Summit to define a common agenda around implementation of the 9 agreements and the quest for sustainable peace between their two countries. With this example it is evident that such machinery exists in South Sudan. As suggested by Mayen Apuk (2013: 10), the two things that this machinery needs to work on in South Sudan are: firstly, building cohesiveness and organizing around a 'women agenda' with goals and benchmarks, and secondly, the creation of a bridge that links women in political leadership, civil society and grassroots together in order to correctly voice and table the concerns of South Sudanese women.

Another big issue that constrains South Sudanese women is the lack of political will on the part of Government to include women in governance as stipulated in the constitution.⁸² It was observed that South Sudan Government did not roll out any plan on the implementation of the 25 percent quota; no consultation was made with Civil Society Organizations, women activists

⁸² Ibid.

or private sector during appointments. Instead the government claimed that there are no qualified women; however, it is believed that there are qualified women to fill this 25 percent quota if government will consult with appropriate quarters as mentioned above.⁸³

Another barrier is a lack of sensitive budget within the political parties. A member of the Legislative Assembly in Western Bahr El Gahzal state, Tereza John said that there was need for funds to assist women in the whole election process and even during campaigns and mobilization activities⁸⁴. This is because of the low economic status of South Sudanese women.

Also, it is a common thing in South Sudan to compare women who are in politics to prostitutes⁸⁵ and this goes a long way to discourage many women from getting involved in politics, and even men that do not want their family name in such mess discourages wife, sister and daughter from participating in politics.

Among other barriers are; the lack of unity among women themselves, cultural barriers, such as customary laws and traditions that do not promote affirmative action for women⁸⁶. All these and more contributes to the low representation of women in governance and peace processes.

The discussion in this section shows the efforts of South Sudanese women/women's organizations to get involved in the political arena, to have a voice in policy making and to bring positive changes to their society. They encourage democratically elected officials in order

⁸³ Ibid

⁸⁴ Godia Jane, "Sudanese women balancing the delicate political act". South Sudan Women's Agenda. GEMS News, Issue No.1. August, 2009

⁸⁵ Ibid

⁸⁶ Rita Martin and Pelekemoyo J.N., "Women Count, Security resolution 1325: civil society Monitoring Report 2012". A project of the Global Network of women Peace builders

to give human rights and rule of law (as supported earlier by Roberts and Edwards, 1991) a chance in South Sudan

6.2. Women's organizations' roles in lobbying Government of South Sudan for inclusion in peace processes and its implication on state building.

This section is important to this study because for sustainable peace building there must be positive state society relations; this was part of the criteria for successful peace building according to Molyneux's theory (see chapter 3). Peace building can be referred to as 'those actions undertaken by international or national actors to institutionalize peace, understood as the absence of armed conflict and a modicum of participatory politics that can be sustained in the absence of an international peace operation' (Call and Cousins, 2007 cited in Kooy and Wild, 2012: 1). Over time, the concept of peace building has become much more popular, and as well as an increase in awareness of the significance of state institutions, while still emphasizing the centrality of non-state actors like civil societies and bottom-up processes in building peace (Kooy and Wild, 2012: 1). The Department for International Development's (DFID) definition refers to establishing 'positive peace', characterized by 'social harmony, respect for the rule of law and human rights, and social and economic development, which emphasizes the expansive nature of some definitions (Kooy and Wild, 2012: 1).

State-building: 'State-building' is a commonly used terminology which encompasses deliberate actions by national and international actors to establish, reform and strengthen state institutions and build state capacity and legitimacy (Kooy and Wild, 2012: 1). According to Kooy and Wild (2012: 1), this is in line with DFID's definition of state-building, which emphasizes the state's capability, establishments and legality, and the political-economic processes which support the

state-society relations. State-building is not only about the state in isolation but the quality and the nature of the relationship between state and society are also of great importance (Kooy and Wild, 2012: 1). As an objective, state-building is often discussed in the context of how the international community can support fragile states and those emerging from conflict, in order to increase the legitimacy and authority of the government, which is essential for maintaining peace in the community (Kooy and Wild, 2012: 1).

Looking at the above definition of peace building and state building, it can be noted that there can be no state building without peace building. Since peace building is essential in post conflict zones in order to start building the state that was once under the horror of war, women/women's organizations in post conflict zones take as a priority to equally contribute to the peace and development of their state, not only as an organization at the grass root but by being involved in the peace processes and generally at the decision making level in their various states.

One of such organizations is the Civil Society Platform for Peacebuilding and State building (CSPPS) in South Sudan which is a South-North non-governmental coalition of peacebuilding organizations that manages and supports civil society involvement in the International Dialogue on Peacebuilding and State building (IDPS)⁸⁷.

The goals of the organization are to develop and strengthen the voice and capacity of civil society at national and global levels; to engage in the process of the International Dialogue in agenda setting, policy negotiation, and in the roll out and implementation of the New Deal for

⁸⁷ "Civil Society platform for peace building and state building " in <http://www.cspps.org> cordaid 2013. Assessed on 8/07/2014.

Engagement in Frail States. This organization strives to instill peacebuilding values and concerns into the International Dialogue and in related policy processes, globally⁸⁸.

The work of the CSPPS is to safeguard and solidify civil society engagement in processes related to peacebuilding and state building. In all, its main focus is to create a platform to voice the views and concerns of people living in places affected by conflict and fragility. A constant, full and meaningful civil society engagement is essential in order to have these voices heard in the development arena and to enhance state-society relations in post conflict zones such as ⁸⁹ South Sudan. .

Also, the recent conflict in South Sudan which broke out in mid-December 2013 (Tesfa-Alem, 2014: 1) had given civil society organizations in South Sudan a big concern. One of the attempts made by these groups was to come together to hold a conference in Addis Ababa on the 16th of March 2014 (Tesfa-Alem, 2014: 1), their meeting was centered on how they can influence the two warring parties to end the war, to respect a ceasefire agreement that was initially signed, to allow unobstructed humanitarian access to civilians in affected areas and to accelerate the peace process in collaboration with civil society actors (Tesfa-Alem, 2014: 1). These organizations kept holding consultations on how to advocate and lobby for inclusion of civil society in the ongoing peace process. According to Steven Puoch, president of the National Youth Union (cited in Sudan Tribune, 2014: 1)

Civil society represents the voice of the voiceless. We are here to send strong messages to our leaders that, there is still room to negotiate a peace deal that shall embody and safeguard the values of justice, rule of law, federal democracy and good governance, accountability and transparency

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ Ibid

The above extract shows the position and roles the civil society organizations are taking in South Sudan to make the government to listen to the voices of their people as far as peace is concerned. However, the gathering was not well appreciated by the government of South Sudan, to the extent that some organizations were deliberately stopped from traveling to Addis Ababa in Ethiopia (Tesfa-Alem, 2014: 1).

Furthermore, the Inter-Government Authority on Development (IGAD) is mediating the peace process in South Sudan and has planned to include civil society, women's leaders, youth and religious leaders⁹⁰. But the representative of IGAD was criticized for the selective procedures which deny some of the civil society organizations access to participate in the meeting with IGAD mediators⁹¹. Rose Lisok Paulino, representing 'South Sudanese Women for Peace', said there is a need for IGAD mediators to change their approach and listen to their views as a body that represents affected women in South Sudan⁹².

The above incident is not so strange when women's organization or any other civil society tries to get involve in peace processes in post conflict zones, because of the belief that their presence at the negotiation tables brings more confusion on the situation on ground. The negotiating table is where two conflicting parties are supposed to negotiate for peace and reach conclusion. The presences of civil society organizations add to the number of parties involve in the negotiation and this will likely increase different positions on the issue at hand (Wanis-St John and Kew, 2008: 16). This was why Ross and Hizkias (2004) warned that the involvement of third parties like NGOs, CSO, and so on in policy making in post conflict zones could bring complications.

⁹⁰ Radio Tamazuj: Sudanese news crossing borders "IGAD envoy wants inclusive civil society talks". May 29, 2014.

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Ibid

However, peace processes cannot be successful if the civil society organizations are excluded because they represent the voices of the people. As proposed by Hassim (2006) women's organizations could have much impact on the constitution of their country, and then their efforts to influence policies regarding peace building in conflict zones should be encouraged. According to Wanis-St John, and Kew, (2008: 16) the impacts of civil society can be categorized in to two: the first one is *structural*, that is the civil society groups on their own provide organization to public interests, lucid them into the governmental realm and protect them when government oversteps its boundaries. Also, civil society activity helps to form and fortify the structures of the state by providing greater public input into government functions and policymaking and, in doing so, civil society helps to give legitimacy, support and accountability to political actors. This means that has they represent the public; they help the government to effectively perform their roles in the society, and through this activity, these organizations can promote democratic development over time and weaken authoritarian rule.

According to Wanis-St John and Kew (2008: 16), the second major impact of civil society groups is *political-cultural* in nature, because their actions help to circulate civic values – often called social capital across the state at large – and demonstrate democratic behaviors for both political leaders and the public. Moreover, when individuals participate in civil society groups, they can learn a range of democratic values and behaviors, especially; when the organizations are themselves democratically structured. Without widespread subscription to generally recognizable democratic values, young democratic political structures are dull and subject to the greedy dispositions of elites schooled under authoritarian periods, while mature democracies that lose such values can erode from within, beset by similar predation and centrifugal forces.

Although civil society groups may openly preach democratic values to their members, the central vehicle for the inculcation of these values in most cases is when this is practicalised in the reality: group members are subjected to some measure of democratic process within the organization and learn the values in this fashion or have the democratic values they already possessed reaffirmed. Consequently, the more democratically structured the civil society group, the more democratic the experience of members and the more such values they learn or reinforce and this in turn affects the society positively (Wanis-St John and Kew, 2008: 16).

Moreover, in the recent war which started in mid-December 2013 in South Sudan, government of South Sudan did not send any woman along with those that were negotiating for peace. The two women that were there were sent by the rebel party at first, but after a tireless effort of women's organizations in South Sudan in advocating for peace and inclusion in negotiations; both parties had three women representatives each⁹³. Women's organizations in South Sudan early in the conflict met in the capital Juba and later in Kampala, Nairobi and in U.S.A to call for an end to the conflict and for women's participation in peace negotiations⁹⁴. When the African Union (AU) summit took place in Addis Ababa on the 21st to 31st of January 2014, the women also gathered there, advocating for the need to protect women and children⁹⁵.

If women's organizations as one arm of the civil society are not fully allowed in the peace processes in South Sudan, then it is as good as sidelining half of the population of South Sudan which these organizations represent. This will in turn affect the state-society relations in South Sudan, in terms of trust, and accountability.

⁹³ Malin Ekerstedt "why do we need more women in peace processes".
<http://www.kvinnatillkvinna.se/en/2014/03/07/southsudan> . P1, assessed on 11/07/2014

⁹⁴ Ibid

⁹⁵ Ibid

The efforts of South Sudanese women's organizations in lobbying the government to include women in peace processes in South Sudan can be situated into the strategic gender interest asserted in Molyneux's organizing theory, Strategic gender interest is aimed at redistributing the roles, responsibilities and power between men and women, so as to reduce inequities at all levels (Molyneux, 1985: 232-233). These organizations are trying to give South Sudanese women a voice in decision making and peace processes in their country., This interest could be right to land ownership and similar resources, legal rights, equal wages, human rights of physical movements, the right to equal voice in decision making, freedom from violence against women and girls, the abolishment of discrimination in employment, and so on (Molyneux, 1985: 232-233). Even though these organizations were able to achieve little as regards inclusion in peace processes, in the long run if they do not relent in their efforts, more will be achieved.

These women's organizations are gradually redistributing the roles as a way of meeting the strategic interest of South Sudanese women, that is, what seems to be normal way of viewing South Sudanese women's role in peace building is beginning to take a change for the better. The roles of these women in peace building should not only be at the grass root but at decision making levels.

6.3 The policy recommendations which should be put in place to better enable the inclusion of women's organizations in decision making processes and in facilitating their effectiveness in the peace building processes in South Sudan

During the interview sessions, the interviewees suggested some specific policy recommendations that can help facilitate the inclusion of women in decision making and their effectiveness in Peace building. As discussed in the previous sub section, there are policies that

should be put in place for women's organizations in South Sudan to be effective in Peace building. This section will analyse the input of interviewees in South Sudan on the issue of policies recommendations.

Deng (gender focal point, CEWA) suggested that "*Government of South Sudan needs to work on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in South Sudan*". This data excerpt suggests that beyond documentation, Government should make efforts to make this resolution a reality. It is not enough to have 25/30 per cent positions on paper without the physical evidence to back it up. In order to achieve this, Government of South Sudan should make efforts to encourage women to come out and fill these positions by making sure they are educated and the requirements for such positions should not be unnecessarily burdensome. Also, The United Nations Security Council should find a way of enforcing this instrument on each member. Lastly, the Government of South Sudan should invite citizens (women) from all over the world and encourage them to come and fill these positions.

These positions should not just be filled in numerical terms: South Sudanese women must be effectively represented in the decision making and peace processes. Looking at this statement from the perspective of these two concepts; descriptive and substantive representation: descriptive has to do with the number of women elected as a decision maker, for example the number of women elected to national parliaments in the world, while substantive representation is described as the effects of women's presence at the decision making level (Lena Wangnerud, 2009: 1). In other words, the number of women in decision making and peace processes is on the increase in South Sudan, and, women's organisations have been able to lobby government

for inclusion to some extent. However, it is not only the numerical increase that should be the focus in South Sudan but the impact of these women on policy making. They should not be there as stooges but should make substantive input.

In the same vein, Mabel (adviser on gender based violence, VFC) suggested that “*government should set aside budget for educating and training of women*”. That is, more women should be trained and educated to be able to fit in to political positions at all levels as stated in the transitional constitution.

Also, Sirisio (Director, Department of Development and Peace studies, University of Juba), recommends that; “*government should support women’s programs more and enlighten them to know their rights by bringing in new courses in their trainings.*” This means that Government should not leave the work of enlightenment to the women’s organizations alone but bring in new policies especially at the educational sector that can help in women’s training.

Oyet (lecturer, department of development and peace studies, University of Juba), suggested that

government should campaign and advocate that women’s rights should be respected especially at the grass root level, there is a need for delimitation in the provision of education, the war in their mind must be fought; all these should be at the grass roots where their rights have been violated....., women in town seldom face these violations but women in the villages suffer these much more.

Oyet’s argument is that Government should help with the grass root campaign against women’s violations because this is where the atrocities are most likely committed against South Sudanese women daily. If government is involved in the grass roots campaign, there will be enforcement of law, respect for the law, and human rights especially that of women, will be respected.

In order to develop South Sudan, Sis Santa (Director, St. Monica Women Organisation) suggested that

The government in their policies, should value women the more especially in the area of education, which will in turn help develop the country, for example girls should be encouraged to go to school, and even boarding schools for girls will be really valued.

Her suggestion is based on her experience with some South Sudanese girls who do not have shelter or are living in the villages. If boarding schools can be sponsored by the government this will encourage them in the area of girls education. In her words above she believes that girls' education will help the nation to develop the more.

A grass roots woman suggested that

Government should give women more attention in policy making because there are strong women in this community that can occupy the 25 (30) percent seats.

From her own perspective, there are women to fill the positions in South Sudan if only government can give them more attention.

Giving suggestions on education and health policies, Kulang (grass root, Torit community), suggested that

Government should help my village women with adult education and also in the area of health; they should train midwives and make them available in the villages to stop high mortality rate in South Sudan.

Apart from educating women, she is recommending a kind of approach that could be used to stop high death rate among South Sudanese women especially at the grass roots.

Lemi (Lecturer, Department of Political Science, University of Juba), claimed that,

Women are actually, comparatively more than men in South Sudan. In the 2010 election, which was the first election, women came out to vote and by so doing they believe they voted for people to recognise them and they believe they should be well represented, but they are still much less than 25 per cent. Hence the government should find women/women's organizations and train them to be suitable for official posts in South Sudan.

This respondent believes that women are part and parcel of South Sudan and that they should enjoy what they have laboured for, that is a new peaceful nation.

A human rights activist in South Sudan, Beny, suggested that, *“that the role of women has to be taken into consideration by force of law.”* This means that Government should support the role of women in peace building using the force of law as a backing.

A government official, Jane T, suggested that

Government should have budget for these organizations and they should strengthened the rule of law at the grass root level.

To enable women's organizations to be effective in peace building in South Sudan, she suggested the rule of law be enforced more at the grass root by the government.

A scholar, Victoria (Lecturer, Department of Development and Peace Studies, University of Juba), made the following recommendations to the government of South Sudan;

Government should find means of getting information about grass roots from women's organizations.

Government should empower women's organizations financially, training skills and so on, in other to build peace in South Sudan.

The government should protect women that are bold enough to come out for campaigns, elections, and so on, so that they can be comfortable to do what they have to do as a stake holder that is willing to build a sustainable peace in South Sudan.

Government of South Sudan should encourage women to get the position of a decision maker at all levels.

These suggest that government should see women's organizations as agents of change and should get information on grass roots from them and let this guide them in their policy making. Also, South Sudanese women should be protected and encouraged by the government to get to the position of decision making in South Sudan.

Additionally, in the literature on policy recommendations on women's inclusion, Ali (2011: 6-7) suggested these:

- Set priorities for the new state through consultations and other democratic processes that involve wide participation by women.
- Ensure a quota of at least 30 percent of seats at all levels of government for women in South Sudan's permanent constitution.
- Collaborate with civil society and donors to promote women's grassroots participation, which could include training in leadership and other relevant skills; working to strengthen women's self-esteem; and identifying and eliminating socioeconomic, political, and cultural barriers to women's participation at the household, community, and state levels. Barriers include household responsibilities that limit women's participation and women's need for spousal permission to be able to attend meetings or other functions
- focus on empowering South Sudanese women through meeting their basic economic needs and ensuring their input into decision making in the economic sector;
- learn from best practices elsewhere in shaping economic policies that take the specific context of South Sudan into account;
- support South Sudanese women's accumulation and control of assets, such as titles to land or homes;
- strengthen South Sudanese women's economic participation through increased connectivity to active markets, including infrastructure projects such as building roads and transport; ensure women's equal access to economic opportunities, remove barriers to women's entry into the workforce, and support an expanded role for women in the agricultural sector.

The above recommendations also support the collaboration between government of South Sudan and the civil society especially that of women's organizations, in order to increase women's participation at all levels of decision making. It also suggested a way of achieving more women's participation at decision making levels. Both Government and Women's

organizations in South Sudan should learn from the outside world that for one time had experienced wars but are now relatively peaceful.

Finally, looking at the suggestions in the data excerpts above, educational training for South Sudanese women dominates, and that this can only be successfully carried out if South Sudanese government give more attention to women's educational training, in which case there will be more women to fill the 30 per cent seats at all levels and that decision making will not be dominated by patriarchal culture. Also in the area of health, midwives should be trained and villagers should be enlightened on the importance of going to the clinic with trained midwives when pregnant to minimise the death rate during childbirth. Also, government should enforce rule of law in South Sudan, especially at the grass roots to make the work of peace building easy for women's organizations.

6.4 Conclusion

The nature of the relationship between government of South Sudan and women's organizations were examined in this chapter. The chapter concluded that more needs to be done by the government of South Sudan to make the efforts of these organizations have an impact in peace building in the long run. Women associations in South Sudan came together to make sure that government implement the UNSCR 1325, and that women are adequately represented at all levels of government.

Despite the fact that women's organizations in South Sudan were able to influence Government policies for increment in women's representation from 25% to 30% this chapter exposes some factors responsible for the low representation of women and how some of them can be handled in order to promote a high representation of women in the future elections. The major

constraint is the claimed high illiteracy level among South Sudanese women. The government of South Sudan had been advised to focus majorly on this in order to improve the status of women in politics and in public life.

Also, apart from working at the grass roots level in peace building in South Sudan, women's organizations believe that women are supposed to be part of the decision makers especially as regards peace processes. The way they lobby the government for inclusion was examined in this chapter and it was discovered that they were successful up to a point but lot more still needs to be done. It is the legal right of the South Sudanese women who are more than half of the whole population to be involved in decision making at all levels.

Finally, policy recommendation as suggested by my research participants were outlined and discussed, along with suggestions about how these recommendations can be effectively implemented.

Chapter Seven

Summary of Findings, Contribution to Study and Suggestions for further Research study

7.1 Summary of Findings

The assumptions which inform this study are that women's organizations can build peace in post-conflict zones if they are effectively represented in decision-making at all levels (local, national and international). This leads to a related assumption that this sort of representation would make the activities of women's organizations more effective at the grass roots level. Additionally, while the study agrees that Affirmative Action clauses on behalf of women's empowerment in the constitution are good, it argues that to be effective, adequate representation of the interests of women in policy making processes is required in order to meet their needs. This study finds that ineffective and inadequate representation of Southern Sudanese women in decision making negatively impacts their interests.

Most of the literature on women's organizations and peace building focus on the issue of women's empowerment which is part of 'bottom up' approach. However, very few of these studies discuss 'bottom up' approach in relation to the inclusion of women's decision making process at the grass roots level. The study fills this gap by shifting focus to women's organizations' 'bottom up' approach in relation to peace building. It emphasises the importance of women's representation in decision making in post-conflict zones, especially South Sudan.

'Bottom up development' as conceptualized by Maxine Molyneux (2002) implies greater attention to demands from the grass roots, more sensitive policy instruments, and changes in the nature of state-society relations. In this study, I elaborate Molyneux's approach by outlining and

supporting additional points in specific relation to South Sudan. I emphasise women's empowerment, greater attention to demands from women at the grass roots, more sensitive policy instruments (direct participation of female stake holders in policy making) and changes in the nature of the state-society relations. Furthermore, looking at this approach in the context of moral imagination as conceptualised by John Paul Lederach (2005), (the second theory on which the research is based) I conclude that the women's organizations' 'bottom up' approach in post-conflict zones will only be effectively implemented when they are involved in the construction of peace building policies. .

The case study, South Sudan, the newest African country, created after decades of civil war, makes this study relatively new and significant in the field of peace building in Africa. South Sudan, a typical post conflict zone in African continent, is emblematic of most of African cultures and traditions. This setting generates critical insights on how women's organizations are involved in peace building in post-conflict zones. It also exposes the challenges facing women in the midst of patriarchal society which is replicated in most African post conflict zones. This enables the thesis to apply more generally its specific findings in South Sudan.

The research method is basically qualitative. Twenty eight participants (both men and women) drawn from various women's organizations, university scholars, government officials and grass roots women were interviewed. During the course of the interviews, I was enlightened as a researcher on how sensitive gender issues can be in qualitative research. The interview process revealed discrimination against women because of stereotyped gender issues. For example, some male participants were reluctant to relate well with me because I am a woman. Moreover, it reveals the additional sensitivity of gender issues in post conflict zones In South Sudan, women are considered to be second class citizens and this makes it difficult for them to be

involved in decision making especially in peace processes. Interrogating the process of peace building from the angle of gender disputes and problematics generated critical insights in this study.

Across the broad spectrum of the various participants, the findings revealed that despite the patriarchal system, women's organizations are able to perform various roles in mediation, reconciliation and creating awareness on women's rights especially at the grass roots level. They also organise workshops, conferences and grass roots meetings to sensitise women and the society on peace building. In addition, these organisations use these meetings as platforms to empower women economically, socially and politically.

These organizations are able to strategize their activities depending on the programs of each organization in relation to the empowerment of women by involving men and youth in the society. To some extent, they are able to challenge an entrenched system of patriarchy which militates against women's participation in public advocacy and training programs. Their efforts have created and continue to create opportunities for women to participate, directly or indirectly, in a series of peace building roles. Women's organizations are able to influence government policies in post-conflict zones, specifically South Sudan. For example, a Constitutional provision that guarantees 25% quota participation of women in government has been increased to 30%. However, this legal instrument has yet to be implemented. The lack of implementation indicates that while there is evidence of women/women's organisation's ability to modify engrained socio-cultural attitudes and to influence government, they have yet to produce widespread results on the ground.

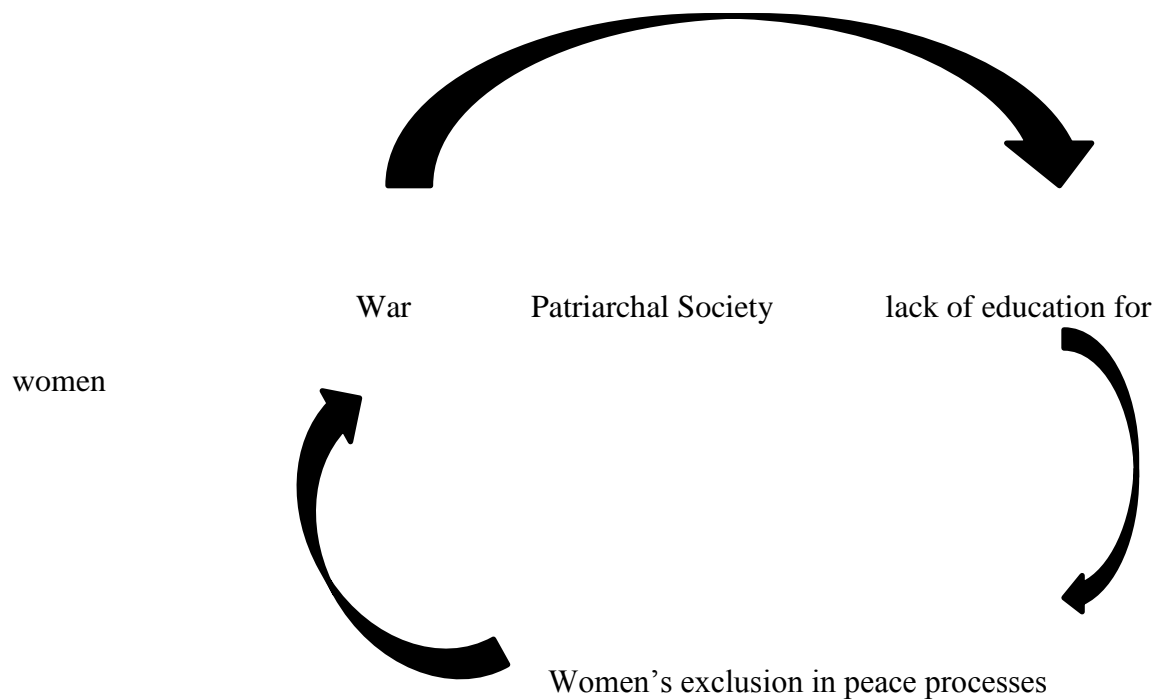
Furthermore, this study finds that women are more involved in peace building at the grass roots level than at the decision making level. For example, the peace processes that to date have taken place in South Sudan exclude women from participating effectively despite the constitutional guarantee of their participation. The thesis advances various reasons for the continuing exclusion of women. For example, lack of education, lack of adequate finance, patriarchal nature of the society, and incompetence on the part of women's organizations. The study further revealed that high levels of illiteracy exist among South Sudanese women, and that their illiteracy has been used against them in many ways to keep them subordinate to men. However, it was discovered that in the recent conflict which exploded in mid-December, 2013, women's organizations were able to lobby the Government of South Sudan to include women in the peace negotiation which took place in Addis Ababa in 2014. It is an encouraging achievement but more needs to be done.

The research also reveals that apart from the above challenges, other factors, such as lack of family law and insufficient policy instruments play a part in negating the efforts of women's organizations. It was revealed during the interviews that, contrary to the claims of some scholars, South Sudan does not have family laws which sanction and discourage rape, divorce, wife battering, force and early marriages. When issues like these are reported to the officials of women organizations, little can be done in the absence of adequate legal instruments. The South Sudanese government, through the Ministry of Justice, has only recently begun to work on this. Furthermore, most of the women empowerment policies of government are more a matter of rhetoric than reality.

The study elaborated the patriarchal system which characterises South Sudan. . The study found that males dominate and even violently oppress females in every facet of life. The study's data

analysis reveals that patriarchy is rooted in the family unit and spreads outwards and upwards to the economic, political, social, and religious sectors of the state. Moreover, (as mentioned above) the study establishes that patriarchal cultures in general and in South Sudan specifically hinder women from participating in empowerment training, politics and public activities. By extension, patriarchy has limited the efforts of women's organizations in peace building. Decision makers at all levels in South Sudan are mostly men with little improvement in the inclusion of women over the years. Women who venture to contest for elective political positions have been called names, sometimes humiliated and election results have even been rigged in order to exclude them. . The study shows that for women, processes of disempowerment and subordination begin in childhood. For example, a girl child is denied education because of early marriage and various other factors imbedded in patriarchal cultures. All these findings show how deeply patriarchy has eaten into the political, social and economic system of the country.

In addition, the study revealed that not only the war but also an entrenched system of patriarchy in South Sudan hinders women from being educated. Since independence, little has been done in South Sudan to improve the education of girls and or women. This has continued to provide the alibi for their exclusion from peace processes. The more women are not directly involved in peace processes in post conflict zones, the more the likely it is that war will reoccur. As explained by the diagram below.



Furthermore, the study reveals that the nature of the peace building work done by women's organizations in South Sudan contains similarities with Moleyneux's organizing theory. For instance, the 'bottom up' approach employed by women's organisations considers the immediate practical needs/interest of women. These needs include entrepreneurship training at the grass roots, loan facilities, young and adult education and creation of awareness on women's right at the grass roots. This is followed by the strategic needs/interest in peace building such as inclusion of women in peace processes, making the 30 percent seats for women at all levels of government reality for South Sudanese women and war against discrimination in any form against women. The nature of this type of peace building offered by women's organizations in South Sudan is an ongoing process. Our findings show that there are still relapses in this zone. It

is difficult, therefore, to arrive at a definitive conclusion in regard to the extent of the effectiveness of the ‘bottom up’ approach of peace building employed by the women’s organization in South Sudan. Additionally, the country is still very new and there are many challenges militating against sustainable peace building.

The study also reveals that the relationship of the Government with the women’s organizations in South Sudan is cordial to some extent inasmuch as Government allows them to legally register their organizations, hold advocacy conferences, workshops and meetings. The study also reveals that most of these organizations are sponsored by foreign NGOs and not usually by the government of South Sudan. The government of South Sudan have good policies supporting women on documents, but as the study reveals, the implementation of these policies is still deficient in many cases.

Looking at the capability of South Sudanese women in Peace building, the study reveals that even before the creation of 1325 UNSCR, South Sudanese women had been involved in peace building in their own fashion by taking risks during the war to resolve the causes of war, namely, by indirectly influencing husbands, brothers and sons who are policy makers. It is also revealed that as a result of the long war, South Sudanese women acquired leadership positions such as family heads, household chiefs and breadwinners. This situation in turn prepared them for leadership positions in their newly independent nation.

7.2 Contribution of the study to the field of research

This study makes some Nobel contributions to the field of Gender and conflict and peace studies. It establishes that bottom up approach alone cannot work in post conflict zones in Africa without good interaction with the ‘top down’ approach. ‘Top down’ approach in peace

building originally is an authoritarian approach where individuals affected by violence/war are not necessarily involved in the peace building (Campbell, 2011). In this study, I elaborate the roles government should play to corroborate the effort of women's organizations as far as peace building is concerned. This involves enforcement of laws especially in customary courts and the effective representation of women at the decision making level. In other words, peace building efforts at the grass roots without the policy makers' full backing to implement the policies being made will eventually sabotage the efforts of grass roots peace building.

Also, apart from women empowerment approach and affirmative actions, bottom up approach in its totality should be embraced by women's organizations in post conflict zones for effective peace building. If women are empowered without the power of policy instrument as decision makers, there can be no effective peace building in post conflict zones.

Another key contribution is the study's finding that family law is yet to exist in South Sudan as assumed by some scholars. This has limited the administration of justice in the areas of the interests of women. Consequently, this has hindered the struggles of the women's organisation in the area of liberation of women from the oppressive patriarchy system. This shows how important it could be to women to modify the existing situation and to apply family law in post conflict zones.

7.3 Suggestions for further research

In the course of this research, a lot of new ideas kept coming up and this could serve as bases for future research. For example, research focus should be on the likelihood of xenophobic traits in post conflict zones and the effect on peace building agencies. Apart from this, there is a need for comparative studies in post-conflict countries where women are involved and those where

women are excluded in peace building. This will enrich the analysis of and the contributions to women's involvement in post conflict peace building activities. There is a need for new literature on the potential of women to make key contributions to post conflict peace building in the African continent.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion and Recommendations

8.1 Conclusion

There are wars and relapses into war occurring all over the world, and the African continent is by no means exempt from this malaise. In order to minimise relapses into war in post conflict zones, post conflict governments embraced peace building initiatives of Non-Governmental Agencies, principally women's organisations. These bodies operated either as civil society organisations or as NGO at different levels. Evidently, their significance has been recognised, even if largely in rhetoric. Hence the need to explore the impact, in reality, of these women organizations in post conflict zones in Africa.

As research findings reveal, South Sudanese women started forming movements as a result of the prolonged war, believing that conflict issues can be handled in a more peaceful way than through violent means. Women's organizations in South Sudan were chosen as case studies for this research, and the efforts these women are making in peace building in South Sudan are innumerable. Although faced with various challenges that hindered their activities, they nonetheless persist in seeking means to achieve sustainable peace and by extension, nation building. They are able to involve women at the grass roots, they help empower women, and they employ the methods of peaceful intervention by mediating with parties involved and settling the disputes. They see themselves as agents of peace and are ready and willing to be useful not only at the grass roots but at the helm of affairs as decision makers.

Furthermore, with the help of these organizations, many women are becoming aware of their rights, as was evident during the country's general election. Women's organisations instil boldness into these women and successfully encourage them to seize the opportunity of the 25 percent allocation to women in politics (as was recently demonstrated by the increase to 30 percent). Indeed, an increasing number of South Sudanese women are embracing this opportunity to participate in decision-making process as in their country, but government guarantees of participation have not yet gone beyond constitutional rhetoric.

Despite government's largely rhetorical commitment, South Sudan's women's organisations were able to lobby the government to include women in recent peace talks in Addis Ababa. This is a seminal step in the history of South Sudan on the issue of women's inclusion in decision making.

With all these efforts made by women's organizations, there are still relapses into war in South Sudan. This is not because women's organization's efforts in peace building have failed as such. It rather is the outcome of the inertia associated with the horrible experience of war. As a new nation that is just emerging from the throes of war, it will take time for South Sudan to adjust to their new position as an independent nation. Different approaches towards sustainable peace will be tested within the frameworks of the political system. Necessary adjustments in the routine governmental process are capable of generating stability over time. Thus, peace building in post conflict zones is neither immediate nor static but instead is a gradually unfolding process and dynamic. It would not be correct to measure the impact of the activities of these organizations based on the intermittent reoccurrence of war in South Sudan.

Secondly, the patriarchal system in South Sudan impinges on the activities of these organisations. The system limits the extent of the activism of these organisations thereby restricting their operations within the boundaries of the permission granted by their male counterparts. In the absence of legal instruments to protect the interests of these women in relation to the entrenched structures of their families, advocacy for women participation remains risky. Where women are not allowed to have a say at the family level, it impacts negatively on their ability to participate in public meetings for training or for political office. Progress toward government commitment and political will to implement the various policies that guarantee women freedom in public discourse is a boost for effective engagement of women in peace building activities in South Sudan. Overtime, women's organisations will assume the status of active stakeholders in the South Sudanese political system.

Thirdly, other barriers apart from patriarchy like lack of funds, inferiority complex, reoccurrences of war, high levels of illiteracy, and lack of infrastructural facilities among other things limit the efforts of these women's organizations.

This point directly leads to the fourth point which is the continuing exclusion of South Sudanese women from peace processes and decision making. Women's organizations can build peace at the grass roots but if they do not have a say in the national peace processes and decision making which concerns them as much as their male counterparts, then their efforts cannot be that visible.

Finally, it is apt to re-emphasise here that the efforts of women's organizations in peace building in South Sudan and other post conflict zones in Africa should be supported by government policies. This will provide the necessary recognition to women and women's

organisations as important stakeholders in the political system. Women should be allowed to participate in decision-making process at all levels of government to facilitate exchange of ideas, opinions and views alongside men in order to attain sustainable peace. They should also learn from the mistakes of countries that have been through series of wars, especially in the African continent, but are now relatively stable and peaceful. Learning from the experiences of other countries will mitigate and shorten the birth pangs of peace, stability and nationhood in South Sudan. .

8.2 Recommendations

The previous chapter provides a summary of the research findings of this thesis on the impact of women's organizations in peace building in Africa, using South Sudan as a case study. This research would not be complete without recommendations on what could still be done in South Sudan and other post conflict zones in Africa in order to achieve sustainable peace. Based on the findings of this study, the researcher has a few recommendations to offer as follows.

The issue of high level of illiteracy is paramount in South Sudan. This calls for urgent attention if women want to compete successfully with their male counterparts at all levels. Since this is the issue that mostly concern women in South Sudan, women's organizations should advocate for adult education and training. Scholarship and boarding facilities for girls/women should also be put in place so as to encourage them. Women's organizations should source and motivate for funding in pursuit of this vital goal. Government at all levels should come up with annual bursaries and scholarships for capable, talented and productive female students.

As this research has discovered, the issue of high bride price is used to underwrite male justifications for treating South Sudanese women as property rather than as partners. This also

has contributed to the resumption of war in South Sudan because some men in possession of weapons and ammunition, who are not able to pay the high bride price, will attack other neighbours and take possession of their properties so as to be able to meet the bridal requirements. If the bride price could be reduced through customary laws, it will contribute positively to the quest for sustainable peace building in South Sudan.

The issue of customary laws in South Sudan also needs urgent attention. The study confirmed that there are processes in place to address customary laws with specific regard to family issues and other issues relating to women. I strongly recommend that harmful cultural practices should be removed and replaced with beliefs and practices which respect women's rights. The government should set up committees in order to speed up these processes. A single family law is possible in South Sudan provided that women are united in their demands for adequate legal instruments on issues of common interest. Women's organizations in South Sudan therefore should increase grass roots campaign against rape, early/forced marriages, wife battering, and other harmful cultural practices. Government should give full support and be committed to the implementation of necessary policies that protect the interests of women and safeguard them against discrimination and abuse. People only fear the law when it is active and visible. They have very little regard for or fear of lifeless and invisible laws.

Inadequate infrastructural facilities are also a problematic which poses a threat to peace building in South Sudan. Government should give more attention to this and allocate funds for the reconstruction of bad roads, provision of potable water, electricity and repairs of several other infrastructures damaged during the decades of war. Readily available infrastructural facilities will provide an enabling environment for the constructive engagement of a majority of the people, especially women who were dislocated from their primary sources of livelihood

during the war. This will greatly reduce the proclivity towards criminal activities. Additionally, women's organizations should look inside the country for funds over and above assistance from the international donors. Funding bases inside the country will reduce external influence on peace building efforts and also will reduce over-dependence on external donors.

At the global level, the Security Council of the United Nations should not stop at just urging nations to implement resolution 1325 but should display the political will to actively facilitate implementation. . If the resolution is ignored by post-conflict countries, a host of other negative factors like patriarchy, idiosyncrasies of individual leaders of each nation, and religious discrimination, among other factors, will render it ineffective. The Security Council can constructively motivate compliance with this resolution by instituting peace awards to countries committed to the implementation of the resolution. The United Nations should create good landmarks for nations to follow by involving more women in peace processes.

Finally, South Sudanese women should know what they want for the peace of their nation and should not relent in pursuing it alongside their men. They should strive to get to the top as decision makers so as to protect the future of their children. They should go for more training as often as necessary to achieve sustainable peace for their nation.

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Interviews

Respondent A: Mrs Sarah Aweil James Ajith, The leader of South Sudan Women's General Association (SSWGA). Interviewed on the 7th of September, 2013.

Respondent B: Deng, gender focal point, Central Equatorial Women Association (CEWA). She was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent C: Ms Mabel Imali Fsolio, Voice for Change (VFC) in South Sudan. She was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent D: Dr. Sirisio Dromo, peace and development studies department at the University of Juba. He was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent E: Mr. Oyet Nathaniel, peace and development studies in University of Juba. He was interviewed on the 9th of September, 2013.

Respondent F: Sister Santa, Director, St Monica Women Association. She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent G: Ms Margaret Lamunu, Acholi, she was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent H: Ms Marline Jore Pitia, Bari community in Juba, She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent I: Ms Kulang Lucy, Torit Village, she was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent J: Dr. Festo Lemi, Department of Political Science at the University of Juba, He was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent K: Ms Sarah John William, Ayidi Village in Jongolei, She was interviewed on the 10th of September, 2013.

Respondent L: Ms Agnes, Liriya Village. She was interviewed on the 10th of September, 2013.

Respondent M: Chaplain Kenyi, department of development and peace studies at the University of Juba. He was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent N: Ms Zaitun Mahmud Tore in Yei County, Central Equatoria state. She was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent O: Mr Beny Gideon Mabor, Sudan Human Rights Society and the adviser on GBV. He was interviewed on the 11th of September, 2013.

Respondent P: Ms Koiti Emmily, South Sudan Democratic Engagement Monitoring and Observation Program (SSDEMOP). She was interviewed on 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent Q: Ms Jane Kiden. She is the Deputy Director (I) in the Ministry of Gender/child and social welfare. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent R: Ms Jackline Novello. She is the Acting Director for Gender in the Ministry of Gender/child and Social welfare. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent S: Ms Jane Tumalu Enist. She is The Deputy Director (II) in the Ministry of Gender/Child and Social Welfare. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent T: Aluat Chol. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent U: Ms. Victoria. Department of Peace and Development studies, University of Juba. She was interviewed on the 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent V, W, X and Y: Ms Along Louis, Ms Najhakhamis, Ms Bakhita Philip Deng, and Aisa Dawud Quek. They were interviewed on 12th of September, 2013.

Respondent Z: Ms Mary Ajith. The first legal Counsel of the Directorate of Legislation of the Ministry of Justice. She was interviewed on the 13th of September, 2013.

Respondent Z1: Ms Cecilia P. Joshua. She is the Gender Secretary at the United Nations Women (UN Women). She was interviewed on the 13th of September.

Respondent Z2: Mr Peter Gatkuoth. He is a human right activist and a researcher. He was interviewed on the 13th of September, 2013.

APPENDIX II

Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	9 2008	80	45	56.3%	9 2011	26	10	38.5%
2	Andorra	4 2011	28	14	50.0%	---	---	---	---
3	Sweden	9 2010	349	157	45.0%	---	---	---	---
4	South Africa ¹	4 2009	400	178	44.5%	4 2009	54	16	29.6%
5	Seychelles	9 2011	32	14	43.8%	---	---	---	---
6	Cuba	1 2008	586	253	43.2%	---	---	---	---
7	Iceland	4 2009	63	27	42.9%	---	---	---	---
8	Finland	4 2011	200	85	42.5%	---	---	---	---
9	Nicaragua	11 2011	92	37	40.2%	---	---	---	---
10	Norway	9 2009	169	67	39.6%	---	---	---	---
11	Belgium	6 2010	150	59	39.3%	6 2010	71	26	36.6%
"	Netherlands	6 2010	150	59	39.3%	5 2011	75	27	36.0%
12	Mozambique	10 2009	250	98	39.2%	---	---	---	---
13	Denmark	9 2011	179	70	39.1%	---	---	---	---
14	Angola	9 2008	220	85	38.6%	---	---	---	---
"	Costa Rica	2 2010	57	22	38.6%	---	---	---	---
15	Argentina	10 2011	257	96	37.4%	10 2011	72	28	38.9%
16	Spain	11 2011	350	126	36.0%	11 2011	263	88	33.5%

"	United Republic of Tanzania	10 2010	350	126	36.0%	---	---	---	---
17	Uganda	2 2011	375	131	34.9%	---	---	---	---
18	Nepal	4 2008	594	197	33.2%	---	---	---	---
19	Germany	9 2009	622	204	32.8%	N.A.	69	15	21.7%
20	Ecuador	4 2009	124	40	32.3%	---	---	---	---
21	New Zealand	11 2011	121	39	32.2%	---	---	---	---
22	Burundi	7 2010	106	34	32.1%	7 2010	41	19	46.3%
23	Belarus	9 2008	110	35	31.8%	7 2008	58	19	32.8%
24	The f.Y.R. of Macedonia	6 2011	123	38	30.9%	---	---	---	---
25	Timor-Leste	6 2007	65	19	29.2%	---	---	---	---
26	Trinidad and Tobago	5 2010	42	12	28.6%	6 2010	31	8	25.8%
27	Switzerland	10 2011	200	57	28.5%	10 2011	46	9	19.6%
28	Austria	9 2008	183	51	27.9%	N.A.	61	18	29.5%
29	Ethiopia	5 2010	547	152	27.8%	5 2010	135	22	16.3%
30	Afghanistan	9 2010	249	69	27.7%	1 2011	102	28	27.5%
31	Portugal	6 2011	230	61	26.5%	---	---	---	---
"	South Soudan	8 2011	332	88	26.5%	8 2011	50	5	10.0%
32	Tunisia	10 2011	217	57	26.3%	---	---	---	---
33	Mexico	7 2009	500	131	26.2%	7 2006	128	29	22.7%
34	Monaco	2 2008	23	6	26.1%	---	---	---	---
35	Bolivia	12 2009	130	33	25.4%	12 2009	36	17	47.2%

36	Iraq	3 2010	325	82	25.2%	---	---	---	---
37	Sudan	4 2010	346	87	25.1%	5 2010	28	5	17.9%
38	Lao People's Democratic Republic	4 2011	132	33	25.0%	---	---	---	---
39	Australia	8 2010	150	37	24.7%	8 2010	76	27	35.5%
"	Canada	5 2011	308	76	24.7%	N.A.	103	37	35.9%
40	Namibia	11 2009	78	19	24.4%	11 2010	26	7	26.9%
"	Viet Nam	5 2011	500	122	24.4%	---	---	---	---
41	Lesotho	2 2007	120	29	24.2%	3 2007	33	6	18.2%
42	Liechtenstein	2 2009	25	6	24.0%	---	---	---	---
43	Poland	10 2011	460	110	23.9%	10 2011	100	13	13.0%
44	Croatia	11 2007	153	36	23.5%	---	---	---	---
45	Kyrgyzstan	10 2010	120	28	23.3%	---	---	---	---
46	Senegal	6 2007	150	34	22.7%	8 2007	100	40	40.0%
47	Pakistan	2 2008	342	76	22.2%	3 2009	100	17	17.0%
"	Singapore	5 2011	90	20	22.2%	---	---	---	---
48	Mauritania	11 2006	95	21	22.1%	11 2009	56	8	14.3%
"	Philippines	5 2010	280	62	22.1%	5 2010	23	3	13.0%
49	Czech Republic	5 2010	200	44	22.0%	10 2010	81	15	18.5%
"	Eritrea	2 1994	150	33	22.0%	---	---	---	---
"	United Kingdom	5 2010	650	143	22.0%	N.A.	733	147	20.1%
"	Uzbekistan	12 2009	150	33	22.0%	1 2010	100	15	15.0%

50	Serbia	5 2008	250	54	21.6%	---	---	---	---
51	Peru	4 2011	130	28	21.5%	---	---	---	---
52	China	3 2008	2987	637	21.3%	---	---	---	---
"	Italy	4 2008	630	134	21.3%	4 2008	321	59	18.4%
53	Cambodia	7 2008	123	26	21.1%	1 2006	61	9	14.8%
54	Latvia	9 2011	100	21	21.0%	---	---	---	---
55	Bulgaria	7 2009	240	50	20.8%	---	---	---	---
"	Cape Verde	2 2011	72	15	20.8%	---	---	---	---
"	Dominican Republic	5 2010	183	38	20.8%	5 2010	32	3	9.4%
"	Malawi	5 2009	192	40	20.8%	---	---	---	---
56	Luxembourg	6 2009	60	12	20.0%	---	---	---	---
57	Estonia	3 2011	101	20	19.8%	---	---	---	---
58	Israel	2 2009	120	23	19.2%	---	---	---	---
59	Lithuania	10 2008	141	27	19.1%	---	---	---	---
60	El Salvador	1 2009	84	16	19.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Tajikistan	2 2010	63	12	19.0%	3 2010	34	5	14.7%
61	France	6 2007	577	109	18.9%	9 2011	348	77	22.1%
62	Mauritius	5 2010	69	13	18.8%	---	---	---	---
"	Republic of Moldova	11 2010	101	19	18.8%	---	---	---	---
63	Bangladesh	12 2008	345	64	18.6%	---	---	---	---
64	Sao Tome and Principe	8 2010	55	10	18.2%	---	---	---	---

65	Honduras	11 2009	128	23	18.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Indonesia	4 2009	560	101	18.0%	---	---	---	---
66	Kazakhstan	8 2007	107	19	17.8%	8 2011	47	?	?
67	United Arab Emirates	9 2011	40	7	17.5%	---	---	---	---
68	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	12 2010	23	4	17.4%	---	---	---	---
69	Greece	10 2009	300	52	17.3%	---	---	---	---
70	Venezuela	9 2010	165	28	17.0%	---	---	---	---
71	United States of America	11 2010	434	73	16.8%	11 2010	100	17	17.0%
"	Turkmenistan	12 2008	125	21	16.8%	---	---	---	---
72	Bosnia and Herzegovina	10 2010	42	7	16.7%	6 2011	15	2	13.3%
"	Morocco	11 2011	395	66	16.7%	10.2009	270	6	2.2%
"	San Marino	11 2008	60	10	16.7%	---	---	---	---
73	Albania	6 2009	140	23	16.4%	---	---	---	---
74	Azerbaijan	11 2010	125	20	16.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Slovakia	6 2010	150	24	16.0%	---	---	---	---
75	Thailand	7 2011	500	79	15.8%	4 2011	149	23	15.4%
76	Democratic People's Republic of Korea	3 2009	687	107	15.6%	---	---	---	---
77	Burkina Faso	5 2007	111	17	15.3%	---	---	---	---
78	Uruguay	10 2009	99	15	15.2%	10 2009	31	4	12.9%
79	Ireland	2 2011	166	25	15.1%	4 2011	60	18	30.0%

80	Zimbabwe	3 2008	214	32	15.0%	3 2008	99	24	24.2%
81	Gabon	1 2009	116	17	14.7%	1 2009	102	18	17.6%
"	Republic of Korea	4 2008	299	44	14.7%	---	---	---	---
82	Slovenia	9 2008	90	13	14.4%	11 2007	40	1	2.5%
83	Chile	12 2009	120	17	14.2%	12 2009	38	5	13.2%
"	Turkey	6 2011	550	78	14.2%	---	---	---	---
84	Russian Federation	12 2007	450	63	14.0%	N.A.	169	8	4.7%
85	Cameroon	7 2007	180	25	13.9%	---	---	---	---
86	Djibouti	2 2008	65	9	13.8%	---	---	---	---
87	Swaziland	9 2008	66	9	13.6%	10 2008	30	12	40.0%
88	Grenada	7 2008	15	2	13.3%	8 2008	13	4	30.8%
"	Jamaica	9 2007	60	8	13.3%	9 2007	21	5	23.8%
"	Niger	1 2011	113	15	13.3%	---	---	---	---
89	Sierra Leone	8 2007	121	16	13.2%	---	---	---	---
90	Chad	2 2011	188	24	12.8%	---	---	---	---
91	Colombia	3 2010	166	21	12.7%	3 2010	102	16	15.7%
92	Central African Republic	1 2011	104	13	12.5%	---	---	---	---
"	Dominica	12 2009	32	4	12.5%	---	---	---	---
"	Madagascar	10 2010	256	32	12.5%	10 2010	90	10	11.1%
"	Paraguay	4 2008	80	10	12.5%	4 2008	45	7	15.6%
93	Syrian Arab Republic	4 2007	250	31	12.4%	---	---	---	---

94	Bahamas	5 2007	41	5	12.2%	5 2007	15	5	33.3%
95	Romania	11 2008	334	38	11.4%	11 2008	137	8	5.8%
96	Japan	8 2009	480	54	11.3%	7 2010	242	44	18.2%
97	Montenegro	3 2009	81	9	11.1%	---	---	---	---
"	Togo	10 2007	81	9	11.1%	---	---	---	---
98	Zambia	9 2011	155	17	11.0%	---	---	---	---
99	India	4 2009	545	59	10.8%	3 2010	242	25	10.3%
"	Jordan	11 2010	120	13	10.8%	10 2011	60	7	11.7%
100	Cyprus	5 2011	56	6	10.7%	---	---	---	---
101	Antigua and Barbuda	3 2009	19	2	10.5%	4 2009	17	5	29.4%
102	Mali	7 2007	147	15	10.2%	---	---	---	---
103	Bahrain	9 2011	40	4	10.0%	11 2010	40	11	27.5%
"	Barbados	1 2008	30	3	10.0%	2 2008	21	7	33.3%
"	Equatorial Guinea	5 2008	100	10	10.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Guinea-Bissau	11 2008	100	10	10.0%	---	---	---	---
104	Malaysia	3 2008	222	22	9.9%	N.A.	64	18	28.1%
105	Kenya	12 2007	224	22	9.8%	---	---	---	---
"	Suriname	5 2010	51	5	9.8%	---	---	---	---
106	Armenia	5 2007	131	12	9.2%	---	---	---	---
107	Hungary	4 2010	386	35	9.1%	---	---	---	---
108	Cote d'Ivoire	12 2000	203	18	8.9%	---	---	---	---

109	Kiribati	10 2011	46	4	8.7%	---	---	---	---
"	Malta	3 2008	69	6	8.7%	---	---	---	---
110	Brazil	10 2010	513	44	8.6%	10 2010	81	13	16.0%
111	Bhutan	3 2008	47	4	8.5%	12 2007	25	6	24.0%
"	Panama	5 2009	71	6	8.5%	---	---	---	---
112	Benin	4 2011	83	7	8.4%	---	---	---	---
113	Ghana	12 2008	230	19	8.3%	---	---	---	---
114	Ukraine	9 2007	450	36	8.0%	---	---	---	---
115	Botswana	10 2009	63	5	7.9%	---	---	---	---
116	Algeria	5 2007	389	30	7.7%	12 2009	136	7	5.1%
"	Kuwait	5 2009	65	5	7.7%	---	---	---	---
117	Gambia	1 2002	53	4	7.5%	---	---	---	---
118	Congo	6 2007	137	10	7.3%	10 2011	72	10	13.9%
119	Somalia	8 2004	546	37	6.8%	---	---	---	---
120	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1 2010	15	1	6.7%	---	---	---	---
"	Tuvalu	9 2010	15	1	6.7%	---	---	---	---
121	Georgia	5 2008	138	9	6.5%	---	---	---	---
"	Maldives	5 2009	77	5	6.5%	---	---	---	---
122	Sri Lanka	4 2010	225	13	5.8%	---	---	---	---
123	Myanmar	11 2010	326	14	4.3%	11 2010	168	6	3.6%
124	Haiti	11 2010	95	4	4.2%	11 2010	30	1	3.3%

125	Samoa	3 2011	49	2	4.1%	---	---	---	---
126	Mongolia	6 2008	76	3	3.9%	---	---	---	---
127	Nigeria	4 2011	352	13	3.7%	4 2011	109	4	3.7%
128	Tonga	11 2010	28	1	3.6%	---	---	---	---
129	Lebanon	6 2009	128	4	3.1%	---	---	---	---
130	Comoros	12 2009	33	1	3.0%	---	---	---	---
131	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	3 2008	290	8	2.8%	---	---	---	---
132	Vanuatu	9 2008	52	1	1.9%	---	---	---	---
133	Oman	10 2011	84	1	1.2%	10 2011	83	15	18.1%
134	Papua New Guinea	6 2007	109	1	0.9%	---	---	---	---
135	Yemen	4 2003	301	1	0.3%	4 2001	111	2	1.8%
136	Belize	2 2008	32	0	0.0%	3 2008	13	5	38.5%
"	Micronesia (Federated States of)	3 2011	14	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Nauru	6 2010	18	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Palau	11 2008	16	0	0.0%	11 2008	13	2	15.4%
"	Qatar	7 2010	35	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Saudi Arabia	2 2009	150	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
"	Solomon Islands	8 2010	50	0	0.0%	---	---	---	---
?	Democratic Republic of the Congo	11 2011	500	?	?	1 2007	108	5	4.6%
?	Guatemala	9 2011	158	?	?	---	---	---	---

?					?	---	---	---	---
?	Liberia	10 2011	73	?	?	10 2011	30	?	?
?	Marshall Islands	11 2007	33	?	?	---	---	---	---
"	Saint Lucia	11 2011	18	?	?	1 2007	11	4	36.4%



Source: Archive of statistical data on the percentage of women in national parliaments

APPENDIX III

WORLD CLASSIFICATION 2013									
Rank	Country	Lower or single House				Upper House or Senate			
		Elections	Seats*	Women	% W	Elections	Seats*	Women	% W
1	Rwanda	9 2013	80	51	63.8%	26.0	26	10	
2	Andorra	4 2011	28	14	50.0%	---	---	---	
3	Cuba	2 2013	612	299	48.9%	---	---	---	
4	Sweden	9 2010	349	157	45.0%	---	---	---	
5	Seychelles	9 2011	32	14	43.8%	---	---	---	
6	Senegal	7 2012	150	64	42.7%	---	---	---	
7	Finland	4 2011	200	85	42.5%	---	---	---	
8	South Africa ¹	4 2009	400	169	42.3%	22.0	53	17	
9	Nicaragua	11 2011	92	37	40.2%	---	---	---	
10	Iceland	4 2013	63	25	39.7%	---	---	---	
11	Norway	9 2013	169	67	39.6%	---	---	---	
12	Mozambique	10 2009	250	98	39.2%	---	---	---	
13	Denmark	9 2011	179	70	39.1%	---	---	---	
14	Ecuador	2 2013	137	53	38.7%	---	---	---	
"	Netherlands	9 2012	150	58	38.7%	23.0	75	27	
15	Costa Rica	2 2010	57	22	38.6%	---	---	---	
16	Timor-Leste	7 2012	65	25	38.5%	---	---	---	

17	Belgium	6 2010	150	57	38.0%	13.0	71	29
18	Mexico	7 2012	500	184	36.8%	01.0	128	42
19	Argentina	10 2013	257	94	36.6%	27.1	72	28
20	Germany	9 2013	631	230	36.5%	N.A.	69	19
21	Spain	11 2011	350	126	36.0%	20.1	266	91
"	United Republic of Tanzania	10 2010	350	126	36.0%	---	---	---
22	Uganda	2 2011	386	135	35.0%	---	---	---
23	Angola	8 2012	220	75	34.1%	---	---	---
"	The F.Y.R. of Macedonia	6 2011	123	42	34.1%	---	---	---
24	Austria	9 2013	183	61	33.3%	N.A.	62	18
"	Grenada	2 2013	15	5	33.3%	27.0	13	2
25	Serbia	5 2012	250	83	33.2%	---	---	---
26	New Zealand	11 2011	121	39	32.2%	---	---	---
"	Slovenia	12 2011	90	29	32.2%	20.1	40	3
27	Algeria	5 2012	462	146	31.6%	29.1	142	10
28	Zimbabwe	7 2013	270	85	31.5%	31.0	80	38
29	Italy	2 2013	630	198	31.4%	24.0	321	93
30	Guyana	11 2011	67	21	31.3%	---	---	---
"	Portugal	6 2011	230	72	31.3%	---	---	---
31	Cameroon	9 2013	180	56	31.1%	14.0	100	20
32	Switzerland	10 2011	200	62	31.0%	23.1	46	9
33	Burundi	7 2010	105	32	30.5%	28.0	41	19

34	Trinidad and Tobago	5 2010	42	12	28.6%	18.0	31	7
35	Luxembourg	10 2013	60	17	28.3%	---	---	---
36	Ethiopia	5 2010	547	152	27.8%	22.0	135	22
37	Afghanistan	9 2010	249	69	27.7%	22.0	102	28
38	Philippines	5 2013	289	79	27.3%	13.0	24	6
39	France	6 2012	577	155	26.9%	25.0	347	77
40	Lesotho	5 2012	120	32	26.7%	21.0	33	9
"	Tunisia	10 2011	217	58	26.7%	---	---	---
41	Belarus	9 2012	109	29	26.6%	30.0	57	20
42	South Sudan	8 2011	332	88	26.5%	05.0	50	5
43	El Salvador	3 2012	84	22	26.2%	---	---	---
44	Australia	9 2013	150	39	26.0%	07.0	75	31
45	Bolivia	12 2009	130	33	25.4%	06.1	36	17
46	Iraq	3 2010	325	82	25.2%	---	---	---
47	Lao People's Democratic Republic	4 2011	132	33	25.0%	---	---	---
48	Canada	5 2011	308	76	24.7%	N.A.	103	39
49	Bulgaria	5 2013	240	59	24.6%	---	---	---
"	Sudan	4 2010	354	87	24.6%	24.0	28	5
50	Namibia	11 2009	78	19	24.4%	26.1	26	7
"	Viet Nam	5 2011	500	122	24.4%	---	---	---
51	Kazakhstan	1 2012	107	26	24.3%	19.0	47	2
52	Singapore	5 2011	99	24	24.2%	---	---	---

53	Lithuania	10 2012	141	34	24.1%	---	---	---
54	Croatia	12 2011	151	36	23.8%	---	---	---
55	Poland	10 2011	460	109	23.7%	09.1	100	13
56	China	3 2013	2987	699	23.4%	---	---	---
57	Kyrgyzstan	10 2010	120	28	23.3%	---	---	---
58	Latvia	9 2011	100	23	23.0%	---	---	---
59	Israel	1 2013	120	27	22.5%	---	---	---
"	United Kingdom	5 2010	650	146	22.5%	N.A.	760	172
60	Malawi	5 2009	193	43	22.3%	---	---	---
61	Eritrea	2 1994	150	33	22.0%	---	---	---
"	Uzbekistan	12 2009	150	33	22.0%	20.0	100	15
62	Peru	4 2011	130	28	21.5%	---	---	---
63	Bosnia and Herzegovina	10 2010	42	9	21.4%	09.0	15	2
64	Greece	6 2012	300	63	21.0%	---	---	---
65	Cabo Verde	2 2011	72	15	20.8%	---	---	---
"	Dominican Republic	5 2010	183	38	20.8%	16.0	32	3
"	Estonia	3 2011	101	21	20.8%	---	---	---
"	Monaco	2 2013	24	5	20.8%	---	---	---
66	Pakistan	5 2013	323	67	20.7%	02.0	104	17
67	Cambodia	7 2013	123	25	20.3%	29.0	61	9
68	Liechtenstein	2 2013	25	5	20.0%	---	---	---
69	Saudi Arabia	1 2013	151	30	19.9%	---	---	---

70	Republic of Moldova	11 2010	101	20	19.8%	---	---	---
71	Bangladesh	12 2008	350	69	19.7%	---	---	---
72	Czech Republic	10 2013	200	39	19.5%	12.1	81	14
73	Tajikistan	2 2010	63	12	19.0%	25.0	34	5
74	Mauritius	5 2010	69	13	18.8%	---	---	---
75	Slovakia	3 2012	150	28	18.7%	---	---	---
76	Indonesia	4 2009	560	104	18.6%	---	---	---
"	Kenya	3 2013	350	65	18.6%	04.0	68	18
77	San Marino	11 2012	60	11	18.3%	---	---	---
78	Sao Tome and Principe	8 2010	55	10	18.2%	---	---	---
79	Albania	6 2013	140	25	17.9%	---	---	---
80	United States of America	11 2012	432	77	17.8%	06.1	100	20
81	Madagascar	10 2010	366	64	17.5%	12.1	164	20
"	Paraguay	4 2013	80	14	17.5%	21.0	45	9
"	United Arab Emirates	9 2011	40	7	17.5%	---	---	---
82	Morocco	11 2011	395	67	17.0%	03.1	270	6
"	Venezuela	9 2010	165	28	17.0%	---	---	---
83	Turkmenistan	12 2008	125	21	16.8%	---	---	---
84	Barbados	2 2013	30	5	16.7%	06.0	21	6
"	Saint Lucia	11 2011	18	3	16.7%	05.0	11	2
85	Libya	7 2012	200	33	16.5%	---	---	---
86	Montenegro	10 2012	81	13	16.0%	---	---	---

87	Chile	11 2013	120	19	15.8%	17.1	38	7
"	Gabon	12 2011	114	18	15.8%	18.0	102	18
"	Thailand	7 2011	500	79	15.8%	12.0	149	23
88	Burkina Faso	12 2012	127	20	15.7%	---	---	---
"	Ireland	2 2011	166	26	15.7%	26.0	60	19
"	Republic of Korea	4 2012	300	47	15.7%	---	---	---
89	Azerbaijan	11 2010	122	19	15.6%	---	---	---
"	Democratic People's Republic of Korea	3 2009	687	107	15.6%	---	---	---
90	Togo	7 2013	91	14	15.4%	---	---	---
91	Chad	2 2011	188	28	14.9%	---	---	---
"	Mongolia	6 2012	74	11	14.9%	---	---	---
92	Turkey	6 2011	548	79	14.4%	---	---	---
93	Malta	3 2013	70	10	14.3%	---	---	---
94	Guinea-Bissau	11 2008	100	14	14.0%	---	---	---
95	Somalia	8 2012	275	38	13.8%	---	---	---
96	Russian Federation	12 2011	450	61	13.6%	N.A.	163	13
97	Guatemala	9 2011	158	21	13.3%	---	---	---
"	Niger	1 2011	113	15	13.3%	---	---	---
"	Romania	12 2012	412	55	13.3%	09.1	176	13
98	Bahamas	5 2012	38	5	13.2%	23.0	16	4
99	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	12 2010	23	3	13.0%	---	---	---

100	Djibouti	2 2013	55	7	12.7%	---	---	---
"	Jamaica	12 2011	63	8	12.7%	03.0	21	5
101	Dominica	12 2009	32	4	12.5%	---	---	---
102	Sierra Leone	11 2012	121	15	12.4%	---	---	---
103	Jordan	1 2013	148	18	12.2%	25.1	75	9
104	Colombia	3 2010	165	20	12.1%	14.0	100	16
"	Equatorial Guinea	5 2013	99	12	12.1%	26.0	76	6
"	Uruguay	10 2009	99	12	12.1%	25.1	31	4
105	Georgia	10 2012	150	18	12.0%	---	---	---
"	Syrian Arab Republic	5 2012	250	30	12.0%	---	---	---
106	Suriname	5 2010	51	6	11.8%	---	---	---
107	Zambia	9 2011	157	18	11.5%	---	---	---
108	India	4 2009	545	60	11.0%	19.0	245	26
"	Liberia	10 2011	73	8	11.0%	11.1	30	4
109	Ghana	12 2012	275	30	10.9%	---	---	---
110	Armenia	5 2012	131	14	10.7%	---	---	---
"	Cyprus	5 2011	56	6	10.7%	---	---	---
111	Antigua and Barbuda	3 2009	19	2	10.5%	27.0	17	5
112	Cote d'Ivoire	12 2011	249	26	10.4%	---	---	---
"	Malaysia	5 2013	222	23	10.4%	N.A.	59	16
113	Bahrain	10 2010	40	4	10.0%	24.1	40	11
114	Ukraine	10 2012	445	42	9.4%	---	---	---

115	Democratic Republic of the Congo	11 2011	492	44	8.9%	19.0	108	6
116	Hungary	4 2010	386	34	8.8%	---	---	---
117	Kiribati	10 2011	46	4	8.7%	---	---	---
118	Brazil	10 2010	513	44	8.6%	02.1	81	13
119	Panama	5 2009	71	6	8.5%	---	---	---
120	Benin	4 2011	83	7	8.4%	---	---	---
121	Japan	12 2012	480	39	8.1%	21.0	242	39
122	Botswana	10 2009	63	5	7.9%	---	---	---
123	Gambia	3 2012	53	4	7.5%	---	---	---
124	Congo	7 2012	136	10	7.4%	09.1	72	10
125	Nigeria	4 2011	360	24	6.7%	09.0	109	7
"	Saint Kitts and Nevis	1 2010	15	1	6.7%	---	---	---
"	Tuvalu	9 2010	15	1	6.7%	---	---	---
126	Maldives	5 2009	77	5	6.5%	---	---	---
127	Bhutan	7 2013	47	3	6.4%	23.0	25	2
128	Kuwait	7 2013	65	4	6.2%	---	---	---
"	Swaziland	9 2013	65	4	6.2%	30.1	30	10
129	Myanmar	11 2010	431	26	6.0%	07.1	224	4
130	Sri Lanka	4 2010	225	13	5.8%	---	---	---
131	Nauru	6 2013	19	1	5.3%	---	---	---
132	Haiti	11 2010	95	4	4.2%	28.1	20	0

133	Samoa	3 2011	49	2	4.1%	---	---	---
134	Tonga	11 2010	28	1	3.6%	---	---	---
135	Belize	3 2012	32	1	3.1%	21.0	13	5
"	Iran (Islamic Republic of)	5 2012	290	9	3.1%	---	---	---
"	Lebanon	6 2009	128	4	3.1%	---	---	---
136	Comoros	12 2009	33	1	3.0%	---	---	---
"	Marshall Islands	11 2011	33	1	3.0%	---	---	---
137	Papua New Guinea	6 2012	111	3	2.7%	---	---	---
138	Solomon Islands	8 2010	50	1	2.0%	---	---	---
139	Oman	10 2011	84	1	1.2%	18.1	83	15
140	Yemen	4 2003	301	1	0.3%	28.0	111	2
141	Micronesia (Federated States of)	3 2013	14	0	0.0%	---	---	---
"	Palau	11 2012	16	0	0.0%	06.1	13	3
"	Qatar	7 2013	35	0	0.0%	---	---	---
"	Vanuatu	10 2012	52	0	0.0%	---	---	---
?	Honduras	11 2013	128	?	?	---	---	---
?	Mali	11 2013	147	?	?	---	---	---
?	Mauritania	11 2013	146	?	?	08.1	56	8
?	Nepal	11 2013	601	?	?	---	---	---

Source: [archive of statistical data](#). December 11, 2013 * Figures correspond to the number of seats currently filled in Parliament

Appendix IV



University of KwaZulu-Natal
School of Social Sciences
Private Bag X01
Scottsville
3209
South Africa
Telephone: +27(0)332605320/5007
Fax: +27(0)332605092
Email: social_sciences@ukzn.ac.za

08 October 2012

Dear Respondent

Informed Consent Letter

Researcher: Tolulope Jolaade Adeogun
Institution; University of KwaZulu-Natal
Telephone number: 0786210890
Email address: tfor9@yahoo.com

Supervisor: Dr Muthuki Janet
Institution: University of KwaZuluNatal
Email address: muthuki@ukzn.ca.za

Co-supervisor: Prof Ufo Okeke-Uzodike
Institution: University of KwaZuluNatal
Email address: uzodike@ukzn.ac.za

I, Tolulope J. Adeogun, of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, kindly invite you to participate in the research project titled: Exploring the impact of women organizations in peace building in Africa: South Sudan women organizations as case study.

This research project is undertaken as part of the requirements of the PhD, which is undertaken through the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Political Science department.

The aim of this study is to investigate the impact of women organizations in peace building in South Sudan.

Participation in this research project is voluntary. You may refuse to participate or withdraw from the research project at any stage and for any reason without any form of disadvantage. There will be no monetary gain from participating in this research project. Confidentiality and anonymity of records identifying you as a participant will be maintained by the department of Political Science, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

If you have any questions or concerns about participating in this study, please feel free to contact myself or my supervisor through the addresses indicated above.

Thank you for participating in this research project.

-----	08/10/2012
Signature	Date

I hereby consent to participate in the above study.

Name: Date: Signature:

Appendix V

Guidelines for unstructured interview with women organization officials, Government officials and academic scholars (in and outside of South Sudan)

Since this is an open interview, these questions will be used to guide the researcher initial efforts to engage informants during the field interviews. Additional questions will be drawn instantaneously from the informant's responses to these set of Key questions.

OBJECTIVE (1): Ascertain the roles of women's organizations in establishing peace and security in South Sudan.

KEY QUESTION (1): What are the roles of women's organisations in establishing peace and security in South Sudan?

Women Organization: What are the roles of your organisation in establishing peace and security in South Sudan?

Government Officials: What specific roles do women organizations play in peace building and security in South Sudan? In what ways are they being supported by the government?

Academics, Journalists and other stakeholders: In your view, what roles do women organizations play in establishing peace and security in South Sudan and in what ways are they being supported by the government?

OBJECTIVE (2): Illustrate the factors that hinder women's organizations from protecting human rights, especially those of women, during and after conflict situations.

KEY QUESTION (2): What are the factors that hinder women's organisations from protecting human rights, especially those of women, during and after conflict situations? Why?

Women Organization: What are the factors that hinder your organisation's work on protecting human rights, especially those of women, during and after conflict situations? Why?

Government Officials: In protecting human rights, especially those of women, what are the factors that have served as hinderances during and after conflict situations in South Sudan?

Academics, Journalists and other stakeholders: What are the key factors that make difficult the efforts of women organizations to protecting human rights, especially those of women, in South Sudan?

OBJECTIVE (3): Demonstrate how masculine ideologies and social constructs built around patriarchal culture prevent women from being active in peace building in South Sudan.

KEY QUESTION (3): To what extent do patriarchal cultures in South Sudan prevent women from being active in peace building?

Women Organization: To what extent do patriarchal cultures in South Sudan prevent or weaken women and women organisations from being active participants in peace building? If so, which specific ones?

Government Officials: Do patriarchal cultures hinder or prevent women and women organisations from participating actively in decision making activities associated with Peace building in South Sudan? If so, which specific ones?

Academics, Journalists and other stakeholders: In your view, do patriarchal cultures in South Sudan hinder or prevent women and women organisations from participating actively in decision making activities associated with Peace building in South Sudan? If so, which specific ones??

OBJECTIVE (4): Examine the nature and extent of peace building work done by women's organisation in South Sudan.

KEY QUESTION (4): What is the nature and extent of peace building work done by women's organisations in South Sudan?

Women Organization: What is the nature and extent of peace building work done by your organisation in South Sudan?

Government Officials: What is the nature and extent of peace building work done by women's organisations in South Sudan? In what ways does your

government support various peace building programs put in place by the women organizations in South Sudan?

Academic, Journalists and other stakeholders: What is the nature and extent of peace building work done by women's organisations in South Sudan? How would you assess various women's organizations' peace building programs in South Sudan?

OBJECTIVE (5): Determine whether the relationship between the women's organizations and the government has affected peace building in South Sudan

KEY QUESTION (5): How has the relationship between women's organisations and the government affected peace building in South Sudan?

Women Organization: How is this organization been funded? What sort of relationship does your organization have with the South Sudan government? What strategies does the organization use to gain government support and how has this affected your peace building program in South Sudan?

Government Officials: How do women's organizations get their funding in South Sudan? What sort of relationship do women's organizations have with the South Sudan government? Should women's organisations be involved in peace building in South Sudan? How many women organisations receive government support and based on what criteria?

Academic, Journalists and other stakeholders: How do women's organizations get their funding in South Sudan? What sort of relationship do women's organizations have with the South Sudan government? In what ways does the relationship maintained by the government with women organisations affect peace building in south Sudan?

OBJECTIVES (6): Make recommendations for policy considerations based on the findings of the study

KEY QUESTION(6): What specific policy recommendations should be put in place to better enable the inclusion of Women's Organisations in decision

making processes and in facilitating their effectiveness in the peace building processes in South Sudan?

Women Organization: What specific policy recommendations should be put in place to better enable the inclusion of Women's organisations in decision making processes and in facilitating their effectiveness in the peace building processes in South Sudan?

Government Officials: What policy recommendations would you suggest regarding the involvement of women and women's organisations in peace building decision making processes in South Sudan?

Academic, Journalists and other stakeholders: what recommendations would you offer to the government of South Sudan on enabling the more effective inclusion of women organisations in peace building processes in South Sudan?