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ENGENDERING CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A CASE STUDY OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE IGAD -LED SUDAN PEACE PROCESS (1998-2004)

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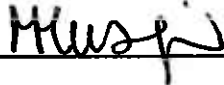**MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN**
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DECLARATIONS

This Dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for examination at any other University.

Sign: _____ 30TH NOV, 2009

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This Dissertation has been submitted to the Board of Post Graduate Studies at the University of Nairobi for Examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

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Dedication

I dedicate this research to my dear parents, Br. Paul Schure and the entire family for their support.

Acknowledgement

In this research I would like to recognise some individuals whose contribution was paramount in completing my work. But first I would like to thank the Almighty God for granting me good health and life to conduct the business of learning at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) for the course of International Studies. Without this special gift then nothing would be said about this research today.

I would like to thank the University of Nairobi for providing me with the opportunity to study at the IDIS. In the IDIS I would like to thank the Director, Prof. Makumi Mwagiru and the general administration for creating a conducive environment for learning. The learning facilities were adequate for student adventuring into the International Studies a course with multidisciplinary units.

The teaching staff at the IDIS was wonderful. All lecturers should get my accolades for their dedication to impart knowledge. They understood every concern we raised and made the learning experience a memorable one. To all of you I say be blessed and continue shaping academicians, diplomats and policy makers in Kenya. However, I would like to extend special appreciation to Ms. Kiamba who found time to supervise my work. She guided me to generate scholarly and theoretical debates that helped to shape my research. Without that special input and attention, I would have not realised this grand task of academic research.

There are many more I would have wanted to mention by name but I would not because they are many. Special regards to all my comrades in the 2003 class. All of us had wonderful time together, as part way to serve various institutions, let us pool together the experiences drawn from the IDIS to develop our country and turn it into a role model in Africa and in the world stage at large.

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Abbreviations

CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DOPs	Declaration of Principles
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
ECHO	European Community Humanitarian Office
EU	European Union
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FEMNET	Communication Network for Women
GOS	Government of Sudan
ICJ	International Court Of Justice.
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority for Development
IR	International Relations
NCP	National Congress Party
NDA	National Democratic Alliance
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NIF	National Islamic Front
SPLM/A	Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNIFEM	United Nations Fund for Women
US	United States

CHAPTER ONE

1.0   ENGENDERING CONFLICT MANAGEMENT: A Case Study of the Role of Women in the IGAD-led Sudan Peace Process (1998-2004)

Introduction

International Relations as a discipline is concerned with issues affecting the world. However it has operated in a narrow conception that excluded certain genders such as women from participation. This is so because men continue to construct International Relations theory majorly with a patriarchal point of view. This in itself is biased and makes the society to be seen as a male domain in activity and interaction.

This research will trace the origin of the gender bias in the theory of conflict management embedded in international relations and shall be examined and present its lean side. The feminist epistemology will then be constituted to explain the place of gender in international relations and in management of conflict. This will be in specific reference to the African context, which lags behind in creating knowledge on gender matters in respect to other continents. The problems of women, gender and standpoint feminism would help us place the role of gender in conflict management.

Gender and conflict management can be defined as an examination of gender roles in relation to the state and its domestic policies. This offers an alternative vision of the world representative of the spectrum of experience out of which international conflict and cooperation arise. This will in turn rectify the distortion propagated in the discipline of International Relations.

1.2 Problem Statement

Gender as a social construction affects perceptions about the world as a result patterned ways of relating among women and men are adopted. This extends further into social relations of all kinds and develops fixed ideas regarding how to do and perform certain social tasks. It is however assumed that in the state of nature, there was no formal hierarchical social organisation. Hence man has no central power to keep women in a state of deterrence from occupying certain social positions. To avoid anarchy and moderate behaviour, man's passions led to creation of laws meant to create justice. In society male actors dominate in formulating justice, law and order – in human relations. This male dominance has left no room for the question of how gender relations affect the transition out of the brutish state of nature and into society. The absence of women from the decision making process creates a source of gender bias that extends into International conflict management theory. The question to raise here is what is the role of gender specificity in the management of conflicts in the African context?

1.3 Justification of the Study

The study is justifiable both at policy and academic levels. At policy level, the role of women in conflict management has become an important issue for those who participate in conflict management to ensure there is sustainable social cohesion.[1] The potential for peace building in women is untapped and it useful to peace management and cohesion.

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[1] Zurayk, H. C. & Fidia Saadeh: Women as Mobilizers of Human Resources in Arab Countries: In Khoury Nabil & Valentine M. M. (Eds.) *Gender and Development in the Arab World,* London: Macmillan, (1994), p. 35.

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At academic level, the study will bring out literature resource on women participation in conflict management, social stability and development. This view is held by Bruce[2] when he observes that women's participation in social matters is a guard against poverty when it provides a regular and stable growth. The study will therefore develop models on how to fight discriminatory policy issues and bright about sustainable peace and development.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study will be guided by the following objectives:

a. To investigate the factors that hinder gender sensitive approach to conflict management

b. To analyse the approaches to effective gender participation in conflict management

1.5 Hypotheses

The following assumptions will inform the research findings:

a. Equal gender representation is central to achieving effective peace process.

b. Gender disparity in peace process leads to unsustainable peace.

1.6 Literature Review

Literature review in this study focuses on the position of gender in the scope of conflict management.

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[2] Bruce, J., Home Divided: *World Development Report: Vol. 17, No. 7*, 1989, p. 46.

1.6.1 Literature on Conflict Management

Despite the challenges facing the African States and the donor agencies in respect to their multiple mandates, continuous negotiation shall see the success of their goals.[3] The achievement of the women participation in conflict management requires sustained commitment of development partners in advocating for women participation in public decision making. This calls for strengthening women's networks and movements nationally, regionally and internationally. It will also be necessary to improve the lobbying capacity of women's groups who are strong at the grassroots in organizing for delivery of services. The women inclusion in conflict management will ensure that post-conflict social relationships are sustainable. It would also encourage women's participation in mainstream civic and political bodies. The peripheral participation of women in these bodies underlies the continued marginalisation in contributing to comprehensive management of social conflicts. Affirmative action policies to ensure women inclusion in all levels of decision making are necessary to increase women's participation in conflict management.

Gender is central to effective management of conflict. Conflict is a relationship between two or more parties who have or think they have incompatible goals.[4] A conflict arises when two or more parties have incompatible goals about something. The incompatibility arises because they may both have different goals, perceptions and ideas about how to achieve them. Conflicts are part of our existence, inevitable and often creative. Conflicts arises from imbalances in relations that is unequal social status, wealth and access to resources and unequal power leading to

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[3] Ibid, p. 123.
[4] Mitchell, C., (1981): *The Structure of International Conflict*, Macmillan: London, p. 15 - 25

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problems such as discrimination, unemployment, poverty oppression and on forming a potential

powerful chain of forces either for constructive change or destructive violence.[5]

Although conflict is harmful, it can also be enriching.[6] This happens when conflict is managed

properly; and in a timely way. Provided conflict is not dysfunctional (violent), it can be

beneficial to us. Conflict helps us to realize that things are going wrong in our relationship.

When properly managed, conflict helps us to redefine our relationships in ways that are

beneficial to us. Conflicts give us the opportunity to discuss our relationships and what we can

do to build a better foundation for our relationships.

Conflicts can be violent or structural. Violent conflict leads to injury, death, loss and destruction

of property. Structural conflict results from structural violence. Physical violence is not present,

even though it might lead to it later, people are not able to exploit and develop their talents to the

fullest.[7]

Reuck[8] observes that there are different causes of conflicts. The causes are as diverse as the

conflicts and parties to them. Domestic conflicts are caused by desertion, infidelity,

misunderstanding over priorities in family resource allocation in the home. Industrial conflicts

are caused by poor working and living conditions, poor remuneration and bad interpersonal

relations. In political conflicts, especially in the third world, the causes include illegitimacy of

[5] Fisher, S. et al, Working with Conflict Skills and Strategies for Action, Zed Books, London, 20002, p. 4
[6] Mwagiru, M., *Understanding Conflict and its Management; Some Kenyan Perspectives*, Nairobi: Water Mark, 1998, p. 4
[7] Ibid
[8] Reuck, A.; "The Logic of Conflict: Its Origin, Development and Resolution." In M. Banks (ed.)

governments and regimes and constitutionalism. The causes of conflict are observed to impact both gender in different ways.

Cockburn [9] observes that gender analysis is important in the in a peace process for action to avert war, stop political violence or heal societies after bloodshed. In principle she observes that gender consciousness calls for a sensitivity to differentials brought about in any social process by both men and women. She contends that it is important to inquire on how women and men may be positioned differently, have different experiences, different needs, different strengths and skills; and how in different cultures these differences have different expressions and how they impact on decision making process. She further notes that gender relations shape institutions like the family, the military, the state; class relations and ethnicity. In regard to these observations there is need to investigate how power, oppression and exploitation operate in and through the gender dimension and eventually act for social transformative change.

Dahl, [10] observes that women concerns and needs cannot be adequately catered for socially through the men's viewpoint. She asserts that in the society men and women would always follow different footpaths in matters related to livelihood. In deed this means the potential of women to have equal opportunities and access to resources and develop fully their potential is

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[9]Cockburn, C., *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict.* London: Zed Books. 1998, p. 76

[10]Dahl, Tove Stang (1987), *Women's Law: An Introduction to Feminist Jurisprudence.* Oslo: Norwegian University Press.

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not possible since no gender neutral rules and regulations are in place socially. In her view, Dahl concludes that gender neutral machinery should be in place to meet gender specific needs. In the context of peace making, the inclusion of women in the process would therefore realise the objective of comprehensive peace in the post-conflict period. The women would have injected into the peace protocols the dimension of women interests that would be elusive if men are left to represent the gender perspectives in the negotiations.

1.6.2 Literature on Gender and Conflict Management

The 1974-85, UN Decade for women and development, created high expectation for women in African countries.[11] It was expected that international development agencies and national governments would provide leadership in giving guidance and undertaking proactive measures to address the root causes of gender inequalities. But African governments were slow in enacting necessary legislative framework for women emancipation and empowerment. However, the plan of action debated in Mexico 1975 by UN delegates to the UN Decade Conference led to the Forward Looking Strategies adopted in Nairobi 1985. The 1985 UN Conference in Nairobi came up with a comprehensive outline of issues affecting women.

The first issue was on women rights. Despite having the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN, in many African countries such as Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Sudan and Somalia, women do not enjoy equal legal rights in education, property and leadership in public institutions.[12] As a result it is a problem to guarantee women equal rights under the law. Organisations like the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against

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[11] Ibid
[12] United Nations. *A Vision of Hope: The 50th Anniversary of the United Nations* (UK), 1995, p. 176.

Women, was set up to set international standards of gender equality. But the monitoring of these standards has not been successful in Africa. This has made African women to remain dominated in the public sector and this limits their participation in decision-making on state or inter-state matter affecting their fellow women.

The UN[13] stipulated a second agenda on entitlement to the access and control over productive resources and services for women. It indicated that Africa women do not have access to and control over land, capital, information, training, technology and market. This makes African women to be discriminated against in social and economic platforms where men compete and subject women to structural violence. It is in this recognition that the UNDP in conjunction with UNIFEM, has joined various NGOs in African countries with an aim of increasing women productivity and get rid of structural barriers that prevent them to contribute formally to social welfare and peace.

Similarly investing in women is an agenda for human social development.[14] Women do not enjoy equal capacity in education, health and nutrition. The private sector and public sector have been challenged to close the gender gap and make women access equal social services. The African women elite have formulated a strategy through Forum for African Women Educationalists to support African girl child to access education, Science and Technology training, and designing curricula for gender studies.

[13] Ibid
[14] World Bank. *World Development Report*, Washington, 2004, p. 54

Another dimension of women agenda is in ensuring the presence of women's voices in decision-making.[15] Their persistent absence has led to continued marginalisation of gender issues in public discourse. Women's organizations in Africa, like Forum for Women in Democracy have voiced their concern to create awareness on women election to parliament to legislate women issues.

Poverty has been a phenomenon among women. There is an indication that African Women suffer the heaviest burden of poverty.[16] UNDP in conjunction with native women organizations has managed to provide resources aimed at helping women meet specific needs.[17] This has enabled women to participate in development through planning, involvement and appraisal. This benefits women directly and thus African governments have recognized the need to include women in poverty eradication programmes.

At the security level, women have been suffering most in the occasion of war and violence.[18] Violence is used as an instrument of oppression against women, limiting their rights and choices. Thus in the negotiation of international treaties, women can on behalf of the state make binding conclusions on treaties that favour the women capacity building and manage conflicts that affect women.

[15] Ibid
[16] UNDP, *Gender and Development*, Washington, 2003
[17] Kardam, N., *Bringing Women In*, Lynne: Rienner Pube, 1991, p. 25.
[18] United Nations, *A Vision of Hope: The 50th Anniversary of the United Nations, UK*, 1995, p. 154.

Feminists argue that women are kept out of politics by a series of powerful conventions that distinguish between public and private lives in public decision making.[19] This separation has curtailed the range and content of public affairs and has consigned to the private all the supposedly petty concerns of ordinary life. Women's intimate association with motherhood is said to restore the more appropriate dimensions of economic or foreign policy in an easier way to understand the daily needs. Standpoint feminism is hence presumed to be associated with peace politics.

Standpoint feminism is the essence destined to radicalize the very practices of democracy and subvert the unnecessary hierarchies, open up decision making to those who were once objects of policy to create the world a new.[20] Feminists contend that political theorists have conducted their trade in terms that deliberately abstract the accidents of gender and class and in doing so they have adopted one sex as their standard and forcing the other one to conform or be damned.

Feminist theory recognizes that individuals are feminine and masculine and individuality is not a unitary abstraction but an embodied and sexually differentiated expression of the unity of mankind.[21] It is therefore unnecessary to eliminate the old-fashioned bias by substituting concepts that are untainted by sex but it is sufficient to recognize sexual difference right into the theories. Upon this pretext feminist would like to have changes that would make women and men not to be defined by their nature but both should move equally between household responsibilities and employment and vary as individuals rather than sexes in their priorities and

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[19]Sylvester, Christine; *Feminist Theory and International Relations in a Postmodern Era,* Cambridge University Press, 1994, Britain, p 122.
[20]Holton, S.S. *Feminism and Democracy*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 4.
[21] Ibid

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experiences. This would balance the degree of appeal to politics without prejudice as a man or a woman.

Grant[22] observes that women in African context have emerged with full force to participate in pre-empting the idea that women cannot hold certain roles in the society. This has been observed in their participation in the armed forces; Science and Technology Training; peace-making processes and leadership positions. Through NGOs like the FAWE, UNIFEM and FEMNET, women have lobbied for strategic training and participation of women in high profile jobs. This has also been demonstrated by the African Centre for Women which has embarked since 1975 in training and improving African women awareness through research and information dissemination.

The efforts by the African Centre for Women have increased by the day in engaging African governments in advancing women empowerment and equity in Africa. It was created to oversee the women programmes debated and ratified at international conferences for women. To fulfil this mandate it has established offices in member countries to strengthen its efforts in implementing and monitoring the recommendations of International Conferences on women. It has also built alliances with national women's organisations such as FAWE, UNIFEM and FEMNET to evaluate areas that require shift in policy in individual countries and address gender gaps in social and economic aspects. These include the education, health and labour. It can be concluded that women have taken a leading role in promoting the course of gender equality and representation in governance and enlightenment through cooperation among all African countries

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[22] Grant. R., *Gender and International Relations*, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 24.

and external partners like the UN and donor community. This approach seeks to address structural conflict in the society based on gender segregation in economic engagements.

McGlen and Reid[23] observe that contemporary political institutions have restricted the involvement of women in foreign affairs. The contend that due to the values and mores of the African society women are expected to prop raising of families and men to participate in outdoor decision making process. African cultures view politics as a preserve of men and women find it difficulty to break into institutions that determine the nations' relations with other nation states. In the context of traditional African societies, work for married women is acceptable, but the family and spouse are more emphasized. This historical attachment confronts women in their pursuits in career development in the foreign affairs, which engage their services overseas. Their spouses always negate their intentions to get overseas postings and to undertake diplomatic processes domestically to address peace and conflict.

McGlen and Reid[24] further observe that women are discriminated in regard to overseas positions in foreign ministries. In their study they indicate that men are given more preference because of the perceived notion that they could perform better in this domain because they are effective leaders in the society. Men also get an added advantage because the society has created views and culture that men are meant to work away from home but women should remain with the family. It has been observed that foreign policy making remains a preserve of men and thus women lose out in entrenching. In most African States 90% of foreign policy agents are men. It was revealed in 1995 the world's diplomatic delegations to UN General Assembly were 80%

[23] McGlen, Nancy E., & Meredith Reid Sarkers, *Women in Foreign Policy: The Insiders*, Routledge: N. Y., 1993.
[24] Ibid

male and those of heads of delegations were 97% male. These figures indicate a disproportionate representation against women. Women who have worked as diplomats have demonstrated equivalent skills as men in negotiation, treaty making and participating in multilateral conventions. In this regard it can be concluded the women are capable of carrying out their duties away from home as senior diplomatic agents and can intervene or contribute to conflict management.

International institutions have developed human rights based on ethics and morality.[25] It is on this premise that human rights were enshrined in the UN charter under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Human rights efforts endeavour to win basic political rights in authoritarian societies. They can be categorized as first generation rights which include freedom of expression, association and movement. The second-generation rights include rights on economic social and cultural rights like health, education and work. The third generation of rights include Indigenous African rights like land inheritance, property acquisition and cultural practices. There are gender imbalances in education, employment and leadership in the African social set up that disadvantage women. The UN recognizes this disparity and therefore through the efforts of UNDP, in conjunction with community based organisations, it endeavours to bring women to the same equal rights with men in managing community differences.

In 1979 the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination of Women was founded.[26] This organization aimed at enacting laws embodying principles of equality and modifies those stereotyped sex roles. This has drawn uniform reaction from all African

[25]United Nations. *The UN Charter*, 1945
[26]United Nations, A *Vision of Hope. The 50th Anniversary of UN*, (1995), p. 112

governments that they have tried to entrench in their constitutions the laws that ban discrimination on the basis of sex, race, tribe, political believe or colour. However some countries have omitted the discrimination on the basis of sex like Zimbabwe.

Therefore women have initiated the African Governments into active participation in the ratification of international conventions like the 1993 UN World Conference on Human Rights, which emphasize that all human beings were universal, indivisible, interdependent and interrelated. Governments as agents of legislation have endeavoured to mainstream gender perspective in order to remain as cooperative agents in the global politics.

The international donor agencies and national governments by now have drawn enough experience on women problems and gender related issues. They should embark on designing policies that are aimed at changing the direction of women development. To achieve this gender equality, disparities in human development must be removed and redistribute resources and eliminate discriminatory practices[27].

It is vital for the African States to specify objectives and goals of gender equality and help donors to comprehend the legitimacy of their efforts in helping develop the women. This requires African States to address the need of fundamental restructuring of development paradigms. This would strengthen development partnership and internal accountability. This would likewise ensure the rationalization of resources and easier monitoring.[28]

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[27] Ibid, p. 113.
[28] Ibid. p. 114 – 115.

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In this regard gender is a strong factor to be adopted in socio-economic planning and implementation of peace agreements at institutional and community level. It is viewed here that women are a key component toward inclusive and comprehensive development. Excluding their participation is a big hindrance to sustainable peace and development.

1.6.3 Literature on Gender

The literature on gender will look at the perspectives developed by scholars at regional and international levels in regard to social constructs and the gender participation in conflict management.

The study of gender and conflict management is embedded in the study of politics at national and international levels. Women decision-makers at national level are found in parliament and government commissions. Studies by the UN contend that women in African States are underrepresented in this forum. Women in Parliament in most African states range from 0 -24% except South Africa and Rwanda that are highly represented by 45% and 56 % respectively.[29] Despite the freedom to vote and to be elected, women have performed poorly. This is due to the unavailability of women to be elected at other times because of constraints like education and capital. Women are also constrained due to gender specific ascribed roles through cultural and religious norms such as taking care of the children. As a result Africa posits 7.2% of legislatures in popular elected parliaments.[30] This low proportion of women in parliament proves how poor the performance of women is in Africa in interacting at international level. Low level participation of women in politics can be attributed to various factors. They include low level of

[29] Gender Links, *Report on Advocacy for achieving Gender Equity*, Johannesburg: Gender Links, 2009., p. 48
[30] United Nations, *Women in Politics and Decision Making in the late 20th Century*, UN Publications, 1994, p. 10.

human development and high women illiteracy. This explains why fewer women participate in elections. The question that arises from this context is what women bring into decision making to improve social equity and peace.

The United Nations observes that another source of gender bias in international relations is based on the concept of the state. This goes back to ancient Greece when Athenian state triumphed in rationality and social organization but when 'polis' emerged, it brought into scene notion of citizen that relegated women to a private sphere of domestic life[31]. It was at that time societies became dominated by patriarchal units. Women therefore became subordinating labour that strengthened the economic power of the state. Women therefore became barred from political life and their status under the law was circumscribed with a negligible ability to act outside her home. This in deed has continued to perpetuate gender bias in modern democracies.

Jervis[32] observes that a third source of gender bias in IR theory is the security dilemma. He contends that security dilemma is the approach through which a country seeks to increase its security but has the unintended effect of decreasing security for others. This dilemma emerges from the selective definition of gender roles in Greek political society. The contrast between the roles of males and females crystallized around the problem of defending the state. Since men served as soldiers, they claimed the exclusive right of citizenship. Meanwhile women played no role in conflict and therefore they had no role in the international relations between Greek states. The distinction between private morality and publication was duplicated and transmitted to international relations. This aspect of warfare between Greek states added another dimension of

[31] Ibid, p 11.
[32] Jervis, R., Realism, game theory, and cooperation in World Politics, Vol. 40, No. 3, 1988, p.256-257

gender bias. The gender has continued to penetrate the modern state that is witnessed in the globe.

The critical theory of rebels spearheaded by Ashley illuminates how the image of man in a society as a representation is imposed by arbitrary practices of exclusion and repeatedly reinforced by historical practice. Ashley explains that 'the unproblematic figure of sovereign man, at the centre of one domestic society allows the different activities of another state's domestic societies to look like external dangers'[33]. Ashley's assertion reveals an intention of exclusion of women from the figure of "sovereign man." The man is regarded as rational citizen, and his image as sovereign man emanates from his ability to legitimate violence. The element of legitimating violence by the state forms an extension of the process of excluding female – associated traits from public and political life. It disregards the role of reproduction by women and the view that it has nothing to do with the evolution of consciousness in human societies.

It can be concluded from these observations that gender theory is discriminatory constitutive. A gender bias exists in international relations due to the flaws engendered by the Western countries. The study of international relations theory has attempted to produce explanations of public, international action without confronting fully the precarious structure of thought that separates domestic politics from international action[34]. In this action or non-action, women do not find a place in it. Likewise in the traditional international relations theory, gender biasness is observed due to women exclusion. Women therefore seem to have no role in a discussion of the international context operations.

[33] Ashley, R.K., Untying the Sovereign Stare: A double reading of the anarchy Problematique in *Millenium: Journal of International Studies. Vol. 17, No. 2,* 1988, p. 256-7.
[34] Grant, R., *Gender and International Relations.* Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994, p. 21.

But it is a task of a gender-neutral theory to focus on the role of both sexes in explaining the international system. The feminist theory has come out as a major contribution in reconstructing and on including women as subjects of study in International Relations. But this is faced with the problem of International Relations field being ensnared by the trap of dividing the domestic and the international. Gender theory, shall therefore endeavour to explain social relationships, and human experience, in relation to international system.

Political systems contribute in as state to women participation in politics.[35] Authoritarian and military regimes tend to restrict open political competition. In times of war, armed conflict and civil strife, women face more physical danger and hence cannot take full participation in decision-making.[36] This would be noted in Somalia conflict, Southern Sudan, Sierra Leone, Liberia, and DRC.

Social and cultural practices would also favour women participation in politics. This is a perception given about women by either religious doctrines or cultural tradition. These notions specify gender roles and it specifies women to be nurturers of the family and men to take care of public and community matters. This denies women the opportunity to take roles in politics.

Structural barriers such as lack of funds and lack of education also contribute to the exclusion of women in the society from taking part in politics.[37] These barriers are as a result of ways in

[35] Ibid p.26
[36] Ibid, p.32.
[37]United Nations, *Women in Politics and Decision Making in Late 20* Century*, New York: United Nations, 1992, p. 35.

which advantages are distributed in society, structural barriers include educational level, professional experience and levels of income in. Africa the women are placed at a disadvantage on all these aspects and their struggle has had minimal achievement. Most African countries have families that prefer to educate male children, and most family finances are managed by men.

Structural barriers also hinder women from fully taking part in politics – These are circumstances in which women find themselves in and do affect their social status, health, economic well-being, and political involvement. This would be marriage, motherhood, pregnancy and childrearing. Marriage in some societies binds a woman not to dominate the husband in political roles hence it's perceived negatively when a woman runs for a political office. Maternal obligations would also limit the time for a woman to participate effectively in politics.

To minimize these barriers, women organizations have come up within political parties to train new recruits.[38] This makes women entrants to be informed and have support after election. This network can also have a pool of eligible individuals for the selection and can influence the party to have some quota for women. In Cameroon there is such women's wing in the ruling party and similarly in Rwanda, Zimbabwe and Uganda. The organizations train women skills in fundraising; and campaign strategies. However this kind of arrangement may not integrate women effectively in the party structure and may receive only.

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[38]United Nations, *Women in Politics and Decision Making in Late 20th Century*, New York: United Nations, 1992.

Hence women in Africa would indicate the standards of political participation they deserve and pressurize Governments to undertake affirmative action programmes aimed at getting more women involved in politics.

1.6.4   Literature on Sudan Conflict

The Sudan conflict has been protracted over a long time and it has caused massive deaths and displacement. The conflict traces its roots to Arab-African, Muslim-Christian and North-South identities. The struggle to acquire and control the resources has been a factor into the protracted internal war. The struggle to exploit and control oil has been outstanding because of its strategic value and demand in the world market. This has created a major rift in the country because of the distributive agents of oil resources wealth.[39] The social actors in Sudan conflict have demonstrated a discrepancy in resource allocation and this has triggered discontent among the Sudanese who feel marginalized. The Sudan conflict cycle is rooted in the history of the Sudan conflict system and its pattern and distinctive features.[40]

The above arguments by Prendergast and Goldsmith et al, indicate that conflict in Sudan is embedded on structural issues. The country has been constructed at socio-economic level with dichotomy. There are the elites who close to the structures of governance and apportion themselves adequate resources and their cronies. On the other extreme are those excluded from decision making and cannot access resources for their own social and economic development. The structural barriers in the state on decision-making have led to the current upsurge of conflict.

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[39] Prendergast, J. et al, *God Oil and Country: Changing the Logic of War in Sudan*, International Crisis Group, London, 2002, p. 29

[40] Goldsmith, P., Lydia, A. & Switzer, J., *Oil and Water in Sudan, The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts*, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2002, p. 187

Sudan conflict is embedded on state power. This began after attaining independence in 1956. The South and North Sudanese wanted a national democratic consensus of the relevant social forces in the Sudan on issues such as territorial unity of the Sudan, the system of government, the ideology of governance, the guiding principles of socio-economic development and the role of culture especially language and religion in state and nation building fundamentals of state Foreign Policy. The chances of reaching a national consensus on access to power were dashed by a pre-emptive northernization of the Sudanese public service the nerve center of the postcolonial state.

Equity of access to state power was thus determined in a pre-emptive fashion in favour of the hegemony of the Northern Sudanese by the fact of northernisation of public service. Thus senior departments like foreign office, state security army and policy high commands became exclusively Northern Sudanese. The marginalized therefore think that access to power is unfair, exercise of state power is unfair, discriminatory and perpetuates the hegemony of Arab nationality, state power is exercised undemocratically by the sectarian parties bureaucrats, and technocratic intellectuals under military set up.[41] Equity of access to state power is one of the issues in which no national consensus has emerged. Too often, the necessary building of national unity is pursued through the heavy centralization of political and economic power.

There is also conflict arising from socio-economic disparities.[42] The political hegemony of social forces in Northern and Central Sudan is reinforced by the control over the commanding

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[41] www.un.org/country reports/2004/sudan/1103. accessed on 15.8.06. updated on 28.5 06
[42] Ibid

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heights of the Sudanese economy. Uneven development is one of the causes of conflict. 96% of industrial establishment are in Northern and Central Sudan, 44% are located in Khartoum alone.

The Sudan conflict has linkages to the British colonial system. The British laid an unfair and imbalanced development in the Sudan by concentrating irrigated agriculture, railroads, infrastructure ginneries and oil seed pressing mills in the northern and central Sudan. When the British became aware of the injustice done to the South, they started on a hurried development of the South to enable it to catch up with the North before independence. Zande cotton scheme, the Yinol oil-mill and a number of intermediate schools and Rumbek Secondary schools were started in the South but all this came a little too late.[43]

Kok[44] argues that successive national government in Sudan, dominated by Northern Sudan leadership, have not corrected the uneven development in the territory. The problem of socio-economic disparities among the regions was never recognized as a source of potential hostilities between the North and the South. The disparities between the centres and the periphery were wider in 1958. Considerable expansion in education, health, transport and cultural services concentrated mainly in the riverain Sudan. This resulted in an exodus of manpower from the periphery of the Sudan to the Northern and Central Sudan. Whereas there was expansion of secular education in the North, both in academic and technical fields, these were concentrated expansion of Koranic schools in the South as part of a large policy of Islamisation and Arabicisation. This gap grew wider and southerners were barred from admission to military and

[43]Kok, P.N., *Governance and conflict in the Sudan, 1985-1995: Analysis, evaluation and documentation*, Hamburg : Deutsches Orient-Institut, 1996, p. 48
[44] Ibid, p. 49

police colleges. While the marginalisation affected the people of Southern Sudan, women remained more marginalised in the society based on gender segregation.

Kok[45] observes further that another factor that precipitates the Sudan conflict is economic deprivation. Since independence the socio-economic development in the periphery was put on hold lest it deprived the central Sudan badly needed cheap labour force uneven development becomes as source of conflict even at the level of development planning itself. Location of projects and schemes becomes conflictual as it becomes clear that it is governed by consideration of economic hegemony than with economic logic or social justice. In such cases the marginal cost of rebellion becomes very small, zero or negative. It plays to rebellion in such areas like South Sudan.

Alier[46] contends that the period between 1972 and 1984 is marked by peace with development. New disparities were perpetrated during peacetime. There was a mistake of taking absence of hostilities for peace and taking peace itself for granted. The northern bureaucracy did not see the development of the south as a matter of urgency. The distribution of development budget reflected the power politic within the central government. Since the Southern representative in the government was very poor, it did not involve any restructuring of institutions of power in the South. Effective power rested with the centre investors did not invest in the south preferring to invest in the north, as they were not sure whether peace itself would hold. National development planning which was a central government responsibility did not also meet southern desiderata.

[45] Ibid. p. 51
[46] Alier. A. *Too Many Disagreements Dishonoured*, UK: Ithaca Press, 2003. pp 63-64

Projects in the South remained written on paper but sister schemes in the North were completed and became operational. The south was denied access to foreign funding. By 1983, the socio-economic disparities became a matter of political conflict. The years of peace benefited the north and southerners felt cheated in peace. They felt that there was nothing to gain from the so-called Bread Basket strategy, which aimed at making the Sudan a breadbasket for the Arab world. Services in the South broke down.[47]

United Nations[48] observed in its study that the Sudan conflict was deepened by the situation of young people who would not continue with school as a result of lack of prospects for jobs in the country. The central government policies denied the South a role in the oil discovered in the South. The introduction of Sharia Laws in 1983/84, the rounding up of Black Sudanese in Khartoum and their deportation to their hometowns in what is known as 'Kasha' and subdivision of the South, resulted in more anger and discontent and produced a situation where "marginal utility of rebellion becomes low, it paid to rebel." The Sudan supported by delibecra policy aptly captured in the conflict over the allocation of the oil refinery. This situation exacerbated when the state is the major provider of employment and political parties are largely either regionally or ethically based. The multiethnic character of most African states makes conflict even more likely leading to an often-violent politicization of ethnicity.

There is no consensus on the role of gender in the building of the Sudanese state and the Sudanese nation to be.[49] The ruling groups in the Sudan sought to adhere national integration

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[47] Ibid. p. 53
[48] United Nations. *Sudan Country Situation 2004*, www.un.org/countryreports/2004/sudan/1103 accessed on 15.5.8.06. updated on 28.5.06
[49] http www.spla.org /user/newsarticles/press42.html, accessed 10.8.06,updated 5.4.06

through arabicisation and islamisation of the non-Arab and non-Islamic parts of the Sudan of which the Southern Sudan was the largest and the most different part of the Sudan. There was misunderstanding of the Southern cultures and religions in general. This made for a simplistic concept of building one Sudanese nation, centrally run from Khartoum with one religion, Islam and one language Arabic. Islam did not come to the South through missionary activity, it came with the slave trace and both Islam and Arabic spread as part the Zanba culture. The state sponsored Islamisation of the 1960s was seen as arrogant, insensitive and basically simplistic in its assumptions.[50] The Southern attitude was therefore overwhelmingly rejectionist, and the issues became a major cause of the conflict in the 1960s. The Sudanese would not achieve a national consensus. The ruling elites in the Sudan insist on having Islam as the basis of nation building and Arabic as the official and national language. The political forces of the South want a secular Sudan, a state which guarantees individual freedom and corporate freedom of religion, deals with the individual as a citizen, irrespective of his religion, is not constitutionally connect to a particular religion nor does it seem either to promote and interfere with religion. There was impossibility of achieving a national consensus on the role of culture 'Sharia' in nation and state building. Since most groups in the Sudan are proud and strongly attached to their culture a conflict of cultures becomes difficult to resolve by accommodation within one Sudan.

Alier[51] continues to observe that violence had been an endemic feature of North-South relations dating back to the slave trade days and continuing up to the Mahdiyija. In addition to the broader causes of conflict in Africa, that have been identified, a number of other factors are especially important in particular situations and sub-regions. In Central Africa, they include the

[50] Alier. A.. *Too Many Agreements Dishonoured*, UK: Ithaca Press, 2003, p 97
[51] Alier. A.. *Too Many Agreements Dishonoured*, UK: Ithaca Press, 2003, p 115

competition for scarce land and water resources in densely populated areas. In Rwanda for example multitude waves of displacement have resulted in situations where several families often claim the right to the same piece of land. In African communities especially where oil is extracted, conflict has often arisen over local complaints that the community does not adequately reap the benefit of such resources, or suffers excessive from the degradation of the natural environment. In North Africa, the tension between strongly opposing visions of society and the state are serious sources of actual and potential conflicts in some area.

Conflict management process is therefore informed by the issues, actors and interests inherent in the conflict. The conflict in Sudan is made more complex by the numerous issues that surround its causes. They include social, economic, religious and cultural factors. The peace processes that have previously been engaged have not adhered to all inclusive causative factors in the peace process. The implementation of a peace process is largely pegged on the willingness and the support of the parties involved. The failure to include the women in the peace negotiations is a part of risk to filed effective implementation of the peace agreement. The role of women should therefore be underscored in the negotiations and implementation of the peace talks.

1.7   Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by the theory of standpoint feminism. Goldstein[52] observes that standpoint feminist theory focuses on underscoring the unique contributions of women as result of their experience with nurturing and human relations to conflict resolutions and group decision making.

Goldstein, J. *International Relations*, 4th ed, New York, Prsicilla McGeehan, 2001.

Grant and Newland[53] contend that standpoint feminist theory provides a practical background to base certain insights about women in the field of conflict management and peace making. This approach emphasizes the relevance of women's experience and its validity as a constitutive element of conflict resolution. This draws the notion of how the exclusion of women from the field of "high politics" has legitimised their subordination and oppression. This has a negative consequence in the field of conflict management and international relations. Exclusion of women in decision-making results in conflict and anarchy. In this regard women should be involved in decision making at state level and in formulating strategy that is focused on resolving social issues that involve competition and fear.

Feminist standpoint avers that there are differences between the genders that are not just social but the there is a biological essence underneath. In this view, ways of knowing harbour the suspicion that even good science invalidates women.[54] The standpoint feminists are aware that women exist as mothers, household food preparers, agriculturalists and caretakers. Women therefore serve as agents upon which to develop particular knowledge about human relations and relations with nature. This is likely to pave way for justifying women's role in the process of conflict management.

The above standpoint feminist concepts would appropriately inform the investigation on the role of women in conflict management by placating the concept of gender in the social relations and determining the group interests and the role of women in ensuring success in peace building without contradicting the social values. The theory will further explain the strength of gender

[53] Grant, Rebecca & Kathleen Newland (eds) *Gender and International Relations*, London: Open University Press, 1991, p. 4.
[54] Ibid. p. 10

inclusion in implementation of peace agreements for sustainable post-conflict relationships. The theory is sufficient to carry out the study to the limitation of gender inclusion in conflict management process.

1.8   Methodology

The research employed both primary and secondary data. Primary sources of data included documents form the Sudan peace process such as briefs, communiqués, position papers and signed copies of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement.   Primary data was gathered from the Sudan embassy in Nairobi through structured interviews with the   embassy staff. Some interviews were conducted with the Sudanese citizens working with international organisations based in Nairobi and others were with resourceful persons from Kenyans who worked closely with the IGAD Secretariat during the Peace Process for Sudan. A target of ten interviews were attained.

The structured interviews enabled the researcher to have an observation on the responses regarding the respondents views sought from various persons. This allowed the researcher to make comparison and judge on the strengths of the responses. The structured interviews enabled the interviewees to remain focused and would only respond to the questions designed to elicit certain information and avoid wastage of time.

The limitation of the structured interviews emanated from the number of interviewees and the prejudice about the intent of the researcher that will lead to responses that are tailored to satisfy

the questions. This was countered by interviewing as many people as possible and rephrasing similar questions with different concepts.

Secondary data was sourced from published texts, journals, newspapers, magazines and Internet. The secondary data will be qualitatively analysed and put in academic perspective in tandem with the proposed research topic. The limitation of these data emerged when need arose to probe or inquire more about the postulations already published. The combination of primary and secondary forms of data therefore formed a compact basis for academic arguments and policy formulation.

1.9   Chapter Outline

The study is organised into Six Chapters. The First Chapter covers Background to the Study on Engendering Peace Process. It forms the proposal to the study. Chapter Two of the study presents an overview on Gender and Conflict Management. It explores the various scholarly debates on gender and management of the conflict across the globe. Chapter Three of the Study is an overview of the Sudan Conflict. It looks at the Background of the Sudan Conflict, Actors and Peace Initiatives. Chapter Four of the study is a case study and it presents an analysis of the Role of Sudanese Women in Conflict Management. Chapter Five of the study is a Critical Analysis of the Research Findings. Lastly, Chapter Six presents the Conclusion of the research. It also makes recommendations on the way forward.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0   ENGENDERING CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Introduction

The chapter gender and conflict management will focus on two aspects. First it seeks to establish the perception of gender in the society and how it is affecting social relationships in decision-making. Secondly this chapter will look into the aspect of engendering conflict management. Conflict management as a process will be examined in line with gender inclusion. Gender will be examined in respect to responsibilities and role assigned to both gender.

This Chapter shall lay a basis for evaluating if conflict is engendered and if it satisfies both gender in the long-term social relationships. The Chapter will also form a basis for understanding if the peace processes are concluded to serving sectoral interests in the society. The long-term tenable peace process is assumed to cater for the entire society but to some extent this assumption is contestable at the level of gender equality in benefits accruing from the peace agreement.

The Chapter will make concluding remarks on how gender exclusion in decision-making is detrimental to peace and security in the society. The gender constructs therefore will help inform on how peace processes can be engendered.

2.1   Gender and Social Conceptualization

Gender means the state of being either male or female. The male and female genders define and characterise all human beings in society. The two genders are distinguished from one another by

physical, that is, biological sexual differences. The term has however increasingly acquired a social meaning where the word gender defines how the male and the female gender relate in society.[55] The social meaning refers to social characteristics of one's biological sex. These characteristics include gender-based division of labour whereby duties are allocated on the basis of one's sex. For example the female gender is allocated duties such as cooking, washing and other domestic chores, which belong to the private rather than the public sector. The male gender is allocated non-domestic duties such as decision-making, bread winning and others, which belong to the public sector.[56]

The contemporary discourses on gender entail not merely reference to the physical difference that being biologically male or female entails, but also the social construction of gender roles that often translate into power relations between men and women.[57] Sex then is distinguished from gender by what one is born as, that is female or male, and therefore is a biological concept. Culturally determined patterns of behaviour such as rights, duties, obligations and status are assigned to women in society.

Feminist scholars use gender as an analytical variable. It denotes the manner in which women and men are differentiated and ordered in a given socio-cultural context.[58] Sexuality is the interactive dynamic of gender as an inequality. As an attribute of a person, sex inequality takes the form of gender; as a relation between people, it takes the form of sexuality. Gender emerges

[55] Miller, E., Gender, Power and Politics in I. Skjelsbaek & D. Smith (Eds), *Gender Peace and Conflict*, Oslow, Sage Publications, 2001, p 83
[56] Clarion, *An Introduction to Gender, Law and Society: Constitutional Debate No. 11*. (Claripress, Nairobi, 2002), p. 2.
[57] Dahlerup, D, Women in Political Decision-Making, in I. Skjelsbaek & D. Smith (Eds), *Gender Peace and Conflict*, Op Cit p.105
[58] Skjesback, I, Is Femininity Inherently Peaceful? In I. Skjelsbaek & D. Smith (Eds), *Gender Peace and Conflict*, Op Cit p.48

as the congealed form of the sexualisation of inequality between men and women. So long as this is socially the case, the feelings, actions or desires of particular individuals notwithstanding, gender inequality will divide their society into two communities of interest. The male centrally features in the hierarchy of control. For the female, subordination is sexualised, as is dominance for the male.

Gender is thus a relational concept that describes how men and women by virtue of their socially constructed differences relate to phenomena around them.[59] Gender refers to their socially constructed differences that relate to phenomena around them. It also includes the differentiation between men and women in terms of income, social status, literacy and other factors. It is an important analytical concept used to explain the different learned identities associated with masculinity and femininity. The difference between men and women is always emphasised, and sex roles and responsibilities are accepted and idealised as contrasting and complementary. In the realm of security, gender considerations can, for instance, be seen in terms of the roles played by men and women in ensuring security, and the impact of insecurity on men and women. In many instances the failure to accept the differences and the emphasis on equality tends to mast the differentiated roles and impacts of conflict.

Gender is dichotomised in terms of security. Security falls in the category of goods, which are public or collective consumption goods. All persons enjoy security in common and one individual's consumption does not subtract from another's. It is non-rivalrous in the sense that the consumption or enjoyment of protection or defence for a resident in a country does not

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[59] Ibid p. 50-51

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detract from another resident's consumption of the protection.[60] The protection is indivisible and its enjoyment by an additional person involves no marginal or additional cost. It is also non-exclusionary to the extent that no one in the country can be excluded from benefiting from the protection regardless of whether they contribute directly to the defence budget.

The public good aspect of security is normally discussed in the national context, but it is equally applicable to the politics of feminisation[61]. In the context of globalisation, security responsibilities are best carried out on a global scale by the international and regional public sectors. The question that arises is whether security is a finite or an infinite good. The better view to take is that security is an infinite public good. The gender and power relations in a given context will however determine the availability and enjoyment of security especially where the apparatus for ensuring it is within the control of a particular group, which does not take into account the interests of other groups.

2.3   Gender and Conflict

Conflict and instability are driven by failures in governance, health issues and environmental degradation.[62] Further, globalisation and technological change have increased interdependence and magnified security-related impacts of development challenges around the world. Lack of societal consensus on fundamental issues and unrepresentative and repressive states, coupled with the destabilising impact of economic and social disparities results in conflicts between genders and within genders. These emerge in concert with other sources of tension.

[60] Ruben P. Mendez, "Peace as a Global Public Good," In Global Public Goods: International Cooperation in the 21st Century Inge Kaul et. Al., (UNDP, 1999).

[61] Chenoy, M. A. & A. Vanaik, Promoting Peace, Security and Conflict Resolution, in I. Skjelsbaek & D. Smith (Eds), Gender Peace and Conflict, Op Cit p. 123

[62] Ochwada, H., Women and Conflict Resolution in the Great Lakes Region, in P.G. Okoth & B.A. Ogot, Conflict in Contemporary Africa, Nairobi, Jomo Kenyatta Foundation, 2000, p. 208-214

An analysis of gender, armed conflict and political violence, explains how in making war, men form the military groups and gangs of warlords for diverse reasons ranging from patriotism, honour, self-defence to liberation.[63] This analysis points out that the society is more guided by decisions arrived at by the male leaders. The general deduction from this phenomenon is that gender disparity in decisions making and peace negotiations would lead a society where men are favoured.

Law in the society is has been observed to discriminate against women in various perspectives.[64] Law has been for a long time been made by men who held power in the society. The men at national level made laws to reflect male interests and in many occasions they did not consult with the women at home who contributed much in the social and economic welfare of the society. Laws in the society consequently addressed the issues that affected men and excluded the women concerns in the legal processes. The discrimination of women in the legal aspects has generated structural conflict witnessed in the society today.[65]

At the international level, gender discrimination is perceived in several dimensions of humanitarian law. The law is frequently referred to and aggregates men the aggressors and victims of violence. This background demonstrates that conflicts are gender biased and that women are not equal to men. Armed conflict therefore impacts upon men and women in a fundamentally different way and a category of rules that is not inclusive of reality for women cannot respond to their situation needs.[66] In this view a search for regional or national security

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[63] Cockburn, C., 'Gender, Armed Conflict and Political Violence,' In Section 2 *Gender, armed Conflict and Political Violence*, Workbook/Readings/3
[64] Mama, A., *Women's Studies and Studies of Women in Africa in the 1990s*, Dakar, CODESRIA Series, 1996, p. 28
[65] Tove Stang Dahl, *Women's Law: An Introduction to Feminist Jurisprudence* (Oslo: Norwegian University Press, 1987).
[66] Gardam, J. & M. Jarvis, *Women, Armed Conflict and International Law* (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 2000).

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and its suitability should carry out a gender analysis to engage in planning for comprehensive peace.

Gender can be equally abstracted from the legal regime on human rights. The legal regime on human rights is predicated on the notions of equality and equity between women and men. Equality between women and men relates to their dignity and worth, equality in their rights, opportunities to participate in political, economic, social and cultural development, and to benefit from the results.[67] Equity on the other hand relates to fairness in the treatment of men and women. It refers to the possibility of inequality between men and women, which necessitates the application of differential treatment to get rid of inequality.[68] These assertions indicate that the society is prepared to make bridge the gap in gender inequality but the approach has not been adequately designed. Thus women and men will be under obligation to accept the social constructs on gender.

In the society and more specifically in a state, it is recognised that gender inequality exists. There are some realms where women are under-represented or totally absent. The question is whether women and men have equal rights and opportunities to participate in, for instance, the maintenance of and search for security and peace. If not, the hindrances to the participation of women need to be addressed. This latter question is one of equity. It raises the issues of formal and substantive equality.

Joy Asiema, 2000.
Ibid

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Most theories of justice pursue the achievement of some form of equality as their ultimate goal.[69] However, equality is an elusive concept since different versions equality yield extremely different substantive outcomes. In industrial countries, the emphasis has historically been on "formal equality" where it is argued that all subjects of the law should be treated similarly. Rules are usually deemed to be just if they apply to all without discrimination. At both the individual and international level, formal equality seeks to give every member of the community equal opportunities.

The provision of formal equality as an ultimate policy goal may, under favourable conditions, produce an optimal aggregate outcome, such as a high rate of economic growth, but it does not take into account the welfare of disadvantaged individuals.[70] Accordingly, even if national laws adopt a system built on the rule of law, in which women and men are treated equally, and where all have a chance to enjoy the rights provided for, the least favoured will continue to be relatively disadvantaged.[71] More generally, equality of rights of opportunities will not necessarily bring about equality of outcomes, especially in a world characterised by disparities in resources and opportunities.[72]

Legal systems are premised on the need to bring stability, coherence and foresight to human relations.[73] One of the instruments used to regulate social conduct in large groups is the enactment of rules and standards. Different factors militate against a strict reliance on the principle of fixed rules applying uniformly to all. Firstly, the changing nature of society and

[69] Galeano, E., "Guerre aux pauvres!" *509 Monde Diplomatique 6* (1996).
[70] Ibid
[71] Jeffrey Sachs. "A New Blueprint: Beyond Bretton Woods" *Economist*, 1 (Oct. 1994).
[72] Scharchter, O., *Sharing the World's Resources*, (1997).
[73] Dahlerup, D., Women in Political Decision-making, in Skjelsbaek, I., and D. Smith, Op cit p. 112

human needs calls for progressive change in the legal system. Secondly, the application of a general rule to a particular case may often necessitate the consideration of special factors and the balancing of the various interests at stake. There is thus a border area where enforcement agencies need to supplement gaps in existing rules.

In pursuing for an alternative basis to the principle of fixed rules leads to the old principle that like cases should be treated alike and that dissimilarly situated people should be treated dissimilarly.[74] If people are not equal, they will not have what is equal. But this is the origin of conflict when either equals have and are awarded unequal shares, or unequal gets equal shares. This is also evident from the fact that awards should be 'according to merit'. The society accepts the fact that what is just in distribution must be according to merit in some sense.[75] This assumption portrays an approach dichotomised on the basis of gender to appropriate more rights to one gender at the disadvantage of another.

It is observable that debate on gender fulfilment on formal equality may not bring about substantive equality. The realisation of substantive equality requires that existing inequalities, such as inequalities in wealth or natural endowments be acknowledged.[76] Further, discrepancies, which cannot be traced to individuals' choices, should be taken into account and may constitute grounds for redistributive claims.[77] The limits of the traditional notion of equity in law call for new approaches to the realisation of substantive equality. Differential treatment constitutes one

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[74] See, e.g., Hart.
[75] Aristotle, the Nicomachean Ethics, (Trans. David Ross, Revised by J. L. Ackrill & J. O. Urmson, 1991), p. 234
[76] Tuf, E.I., Integrating a Gender Perspective in Conflict Resolution, in I. Skjelsbaek & D. Smith (Eds), Gender Peace and Conflict, op cit p. 140
[77] Eric Rakowski, Equal Justice. (1991).

of the ways in which the principles of distributive justice can be implemented to foster the realisation of substantive equality between men and women.

The convention on the Prevention of Discrimination Against Women gives a basis for differential treatment.[78] It requires that states adopt special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women. This is to some degree considered discrimination as defined in the present convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards. These measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.[79] This measure looks convenient but again they require the political will in the part of the authority in question.

The inequities between genders have implications for stability and conflict as they shape roles, expectations and interventions. Gender and gender roles are integral to socialisation processes and are also influenced by paradigmatic assumptions, expectations, and obligations, connected to biological sex.[80] These assumptions vary and change. They are specific to a given culture, are affected by other situational differences such as race, ethnicity and class-and they help in the understanding the use and sharing of power and division of labour between women and men. These can also be a basis that can define relationships between sexes. Further, they cut across public and private spheres and are institutionalised at different levels-society, family and the state.

[78] Article 4 of the Convention on the Prevention of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)
[79] Ibid
[80] Joshua Goldstein, War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) p 84-85.

Values and norms in the society are shaped and influenced by the stronger position that men in many societies around the world have had.[81] Patriarchy has perpetuated men's domination over women. Male bias and gender roles diminish and constrain the socio-economic position of women in most societies. Equal treatment at that level is not feasible or effective unless discriminating provisions are reversed. It is therefore prudent to surmise that formal equality may only serve to reinforce the lower status of women.

2.4   Gender and Management of Conflict

Gender initiatives emphasise on women and their advancement in society, economics and positions.[82] They proposed positive discrimination in institutions to achieve gender balance, addressing the extent to which women and men can hold the full range of positions in governance and development. It includes incorporating women into decision-making bodies. To this extent therefore, gender mainstreaming is not just about numbers, but about making women's and men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring an evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and social spheres so that women and men may benefit equally.

Depriving women of access to resources can also cause insecurity especially in contexts where women are key economic actors and require the resources to perform their daily chores.[83] In such circumstances, the potential development of an individual or group is held back by the uneven distribution of power and resources. Armed conflict can result from such deprivation or be sustained by it as increases in inequality weaken the inhibitions against aggression.

[81] Miller, E., Gender Power and Politics, in I. Skjelsbaek & D. Smith (Eds), *Gender Peace and Conflict*, op cit p. 81

[82] United Nations, *A Vision of Hope: The 50th Anniversary of the United Nations* (UK), 1995, Pp. 176.

[83] United Nations. *Women in Politics and Decision Making in late 20th Century*, New York, 1994. p. 35

Gender issues are further extended into the environmental issues. Women play a crucial role in determining the state of the environment during and in the post- conflict period.[84] Changes in the environment impact on security at different levels and therefore to address the environmental security concerns the role of women in its protections must be emphasised. There should be an appreciation on post-conflict policy making to consider the environmental origins of conflict. And how they would addressed through gender needs analysis. Conflicts in Africa for instance, though often linked to political and communal differences are now understood to have potentially important linkages with environmental factors.[85] The recognition that there are environmental underpinnings to conflict is crucial to preventing and managing conflicts. Indeed the gender dimension and post-conflict reconstruction would address a resource based conflict more effectively.

Gender issues in conflict also involve both men and women that serve in compulsory military service.[86] At the debut of a violent conflict, there is an increased militarization to counter the opponent. The supplies of weapons into a conflict region project to the society that more troops are required on the part of offensive or defensive fronts. Armed conflict is largely masculine and men are at risk of being targeted as combatants. They are forcibly recruited or killed or imprisoned on the basis of their gender to pre-empt opponents from building a strong resistance force. At the build up to war, gender-stereo-types and specific definitions of masculinity and

[84]United Nations. *A Vision of Hope: The 50th Anniversary of the United Nations* (UK), 1995, p. 245
[85] Goldsmith, P., Lydia, A. and Switzer, J., (2002): Oil and Water in Sudan, The Ecology of Africa's Conflicts, Institute for Security, Pretoria, p. 186
[86]United Nations, *A Vision of Hope: The 50th Anniversary of the United Nations* (UK), 1995, p. 124

femininity are promoted.[87] In addition the rights of individual men and women are subjected to censorship laws under the guise of national security. Based on the gender relations in the particular state, women are likely to be more impacted on due to their debased status in the society. In this view it is necessary to consider peace building on the basis of gender analysis to reflect on the various ways in which the war impacted on both gender. This determination would only be reflected in the peace process through women representations in the negotiations.

The pre-conflict period triggers aggressive behaviour at various levels that include both domestic and public levels.[88] Violence permeates into groups that are low in status or allegations of such violence at the hands of the enemy or out-group become a deliberate way of achieving in-group cohesion. Extreme acts of violence against women, such as rape are committed in order to punish, demoralise and symbolically defeat men. The peace efforts to negotiate for reparations in the post-conflict period would not be satisfactory if women are left out raise issues pertinent to changes in legal statutes or otherwise that would convict the violators and protect the women victims in the post-conflict period.

Armed conflict situations reflect on the role of women as producers and reproducers. In this regard the gender issue is politicised because women ensure survival and make it possible for the war to go on.[89] Women in these circumstances are compelled to continue performing their traditional roles and gender roles are reconstructed to fit into the war situation. The notion

[87] Jones, 2000, p. 64
[88] United Nations, *A Vision of Hope: The 50ᵗʰ Anniversary of the United Nations* (UK), 1995, p. 118
[89] Ross, M. L., "How Does Natural Resource Wealth Influence Civil War? Evidence from 13 Case Studies, "Paper Presented at the World Bank - UC Irvine Conference on *Civil Wars and Post-Conflict Transition*," Irvin, California. 2001. p 47

derived from this observation is that if women are assigned gender specific role at the conflict phase, the same construct should be drawn in the negotiation and peace-building period.

The frontlines of battle often extend into the villages where women carry out their daily chores. The state of war can thus significantly impact on women's access to resources.[90] The economic and social activities of women remain threatened at the time of war. Conflict therefore leads the women to incur heavy losses and inconveniences making it difficult to recollect their lives after war. It is significant to have the women on peace initiatives to contribute to the drafting of a comprehensive peace agreement.

2.5   Conclusion

This Chapter has laid a conceptual basis to engender conflict management. The various aspects that have been presented on gender indicate that the social construction of gender has led to perpetual exclusion of women in decision making. The institutions of decision making in the society are men led. The women are recipients of decisions arrived at by men. The critical problem here is how do these decisions enable women to attain their goals socially, economically and politically.

The question of conflict arises each time a group of people purport to represent another in the society only to aggregate them inferior share of resources. The gender question is pertinent here especially when women are excluded from the core institutions of decision making. Social

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[90] See, for a case study of the Rift Valley Province of Kenya, M. Mwagiru and Njeri Karuru, "Women's Land and Property Rights" in *Conflict Situations*, (Nairobi: CCR-WLEA, 1998), P. 27

conflict becomes vicious when the men negotiate for peace on behalf of the society and assume what they have negotiated is going to cater for both men and women.

This Chapter also has identified the gender problem to emerge more conspicuously in the search for peace to exclusion of women in the sharing of resources. Economic empowerment is paramount in the access of portfolios that appertain to decision-making. The women cannot be found in positions of leadership due to ineptitude to influence the elective positions at the grass-root. This therefore demands for a review on how women should be included in search for stability in a state through leadership empowerment.

The women it has been noted further are worst affected in times of conflict. They are expected to support the men who are at war. They should also keep and take care of the families when men are away or are killed at war. In addition they are expected to be part of the military when the war is at the advent to help carry weapons and prepare meals for the warriors. All these burdens are a basis to justify that women should be included in the peace process to give it a gender sensitive perspective during negotiations. This kind of approach will grant women opportunity to determine how their social, economic and political life should relate to that of men.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. AN OVERVIEW OF THE SUDAN CONFLICT: BACKGROUND, ACTORS AND PEACE INITIATIVES

Introduction

In an internal conflict, it is possible to have the problem become internationalized. The issue of internationalization is phenomenal in the Sudan conflict. The Sudan conflict has had spillover effect to its neighbours and it is a concern for these neighbours to arbitrate and end the conflict. The actors in a conflict and their interests would determine the nature of intervention that is appropriate and the duration to conclude a peace process. The more actors in a conflict set up imply a more complex set of issues to be addressed. This complexity has put a challenge for conflict managers.

This chapter focuses on the principal actors and their interests in the Sudan conflict in the time period of 1998-2004. The chapter will also look at the impact of the Sudan conflict on her neighbours. Further, the chapter critically looks at the international actors' role in the Sudan conflict. Finally the chapter analyses the peace initiatives that had been in place to address the final phase of the conflict. The chapter will try to link the role of women in the peace initiatives witnessed from 1993-2004.

3.1 The Conflict Phases

3.1.0 Phase I : 1955 – 72

The Sudan conflict can be traced back to 1956 when it was granted independence from the United Kingdom and Egypt – what was then the Anglo Egyptian condominium. The

government of Sudan then was handed to the Northerners despite the numerous groups of people that were amalgamated in this entity. The Southerners however have served in it with much discontent from the Southerners.

In the first phase of the Sudan conflict, the Southerners were agitating for more representation in the exercise of power and authority. The discrepancy in representation rose from the colonial legacy. Britain developed a 'Southern Policy' to prevent economic integration between the South and the North with an objective of preventing the North's Arabic and Islamic influence.[91] The British preferred to have a distinct South that could preserve English values and beliefs, and eventually be developed into a separate political entity.[92] The South had therefore witnessed widespread missionary presence and the English language was and legal traditions were adopted. The Southern Provinces consequently became isolated from the Northern contact and as independence dawned they were incompatible in many aspects.[93]

3.1.1 Phase II of the Conflict: 1983 – 2004

The Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972 settled the most critical issue for the South of self autonomy. However on June 5th 1983, the then President issued a decree dissolving the institutions of the Regional Assembly and the High Executive Council.[94] This decree created three regions in the South instead of the single Southern Region. The Three Regions included Bahr el Ghazal, Equatoria and Upper Nile. This was a precursor that the Central Government was no longer interested in to see the Southern region united and stable.

[91] P. Woodward, "Sudan: War Without End," In Oliver Furley (Ed.), Conflict in Africa, New York, 1995, P.
[92] R. Collins, Shadows in the Grass, New Haven, 1983.
[93] The History of Sudan, Britain's Southern Policy, P. 1
[94] Alier. A. Op Cit, P. 275

The decree affected the public and private service sectors. The transfer and displacement of the people from one region to the other destabilized people social and family lives.

Another factor which contributed heavily to this abrogation was the border issue of 1980.[95] The government officials in Khartoum attempted to transfer the rich oil agricultural and grazing land of Upper Nile and Bahr el Ghazal to Northern provinces just by redrawing the map. The changes sparked off riots in the South. President Nimeiri quickly responded by appointing a commission to investigate and review the relevant legal corpus and make recommendation. The commission recommended the relation of boundaries as they were fixed in 1956. Despite the recommendation the area of Kafi Kengi was not retransferred to the South. And the discovery of another oil fields at Unity Area near the boundary of Bentiu sparked a controversy with the government maintain that it is in the North while it was in the South.

The Addis Ababa Agreement was also abrogated due to the government decision to locate the oil refinery for Bentiu crude oil at Kostiun the North.[96] This policy outlined by President Nimeiri before the National Assembly in November 1980, cancelled the previous plan to site the plant at Bentiu. There was a protest from the South since the oil revenue from the oil sales would be lost. The Southerners felt their wealth was benefiting the Northerners and it weakened the Regional Self-Government Act of 1972 that assigned the Southern Region the taxes that accrue from industrial, commercial and agricultural activities. The Southerners remained opposed to the project felt they had been robbed of their right to oil proceeds.

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[95] Ibid P 258
[96] Ibid P 277

The above factors led to the government's decision to start transferring the absorbed Anya Nya forces from the Southern Command to the North.[97] In December 1982 some of the forces were transferred to Darfur from Aweil. In January 1983 the forces from Rumbek and Bor protested at the transfer and almost mutinied. Their transfer was postponed.

3.1.2   Actors

3.1.3   Domestic Actors

The war in Sudan arose from a complex mix of domestic, regional and international players who act out of clashing strategic, economic and socio-cultural interests. In this conflict the government of Sudan and the SPLA are the principal domestic actors. However the central government has been involved in conflict with a variety of groups and organizations in Sudan and its periphery. To understand the complexity of the Sudan conflict, it is essential to explore the key actors, the interests they uphold and the perspectives they have regarding the conflict. This will also be extended to external actors. The analysis of domestic actors, regional organisations and international parties would point to a success of a peace process or entrench certain weakness. To enable a successful peace process, all competing parties, interests and approaches to peace must be aligned.

The current Government of Sudan under the leadership of National Islamic Front (NIF) has been in Power since 1989. During the coup, the current President Omar el Bashir rose to power. After the overthrow of the elected government, the NIF dismantled democratic institutions and restricted the freedom of speech and assembly. The move had two implications. First there would be no formal or informal gatherings to question the activities and decisions of NIF.

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[97] Ibid P. 282

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Secondly it was impossible for the opposition to challenge the government due to lack of democratic space. Those who contradicted this procedure risked execution, arrest, deportations and harassment.[98]

In the aspect of peace process, the government continues to try and divide the National Democratic alliance and at the same time to lure opposition parties and figures through inducements and threats.[99] It has effected its threats on opposition figures by expropriating their assets and it has induced others by restoring them and offering prominent positions if they join the government.

The Sudan Liberation Movement/Army was an idea conceived initially by the Anya Nya in 1971 as a military wing to combat the Northern domination in the South.[100] The Anya Nya who included former soldiers in the Sudan government mutinied first in 1955 and continued their struggle into the 1970s. In 1972 when the Addis Ababa Agreement was signed the Anya Nya elements were given an amnesty and were free to go back home from exile and be integrated into the government.[101]

SPLM/A has made numerous attempts to bring about peace in the Sudan. With the current regime, the SPLM/A has conducted eight sessions of peace talks in various cities and countries.[102] These include Addis Ababa and Nairobi (1989), Abuja (1992 and 1993) and Nairobi (1993 – 2004). The meetings held in Nairobi and it environs have been held under the

[98] ICG; God, Oil and Country: Changing the Logic of War, Brussels, International Crisis Group, 2002, Pp.34
[99] Ibid. P. 41
[100] A. Alier, Ibid. P. 21
[101] Ibid. P. 129
[102] J. Odera.. Op Cit. Pp. 284 & 321

auspices of the IGAD. This has facilitated dialogue between the SPLA and the Northern NIF government. The IGAD peace process has dragged on over a long time of period due to disagreements that arise between the SPLA and the GOS Sudan on their specific positions regarding the separation of religion from at the state, wealth sharing, power sharing and self-determination.[103]

3.1.4 Regional Actors and their Influence in the Conflict

Sudan is surrounded by countries that have taken sides on the Sudan conflict. The Sudan neighbours have either helped fuel the war or take sides with the government. Those who have helped the SPLA/M previously have earned enmity with the government. The Sudanese fronts have been pro-rebels or anti-government. Depending on what interest each country has had in the conflict, their responses have been a propelling force towards intensifying the conflict or towards intensifying peace efforts. Divided regional policies have two implications. First they do not allow for a serious peace process to achieve success and secondly international responses become poorly incorporated into the conflict for a settlement. Similarly division among the actors had not produced a coherent peace strategy because some members do not believe that peace initiative being followed is the appropriate one.

Egypt exhibits actions of friendly relations to Sudan. It has all along supported the Khartoum government in its policies regarding the South Sudan.[104] Egypt prefers an unified, moderate and cooperative Sudan and thus treats the Sudan conflict as a matter of National Security. Egypt is uncomfortable with the separatist trends in the South. Egypt's interest in getting maximum

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[103] ICG Report, Op Cit, P. 93 - 106
[104] ICG Report No. 39, P. 53

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supplies of Nile River water is worried if a new African President is in the South, then there would dictate its government as it does with Khartoum. This particular aspect of Egyptian influence in Khartoum is also tied closely with the issue of extreme Islamist elements.

Egypt is also worried of secession because of the Nile water use.[105] Despite its efficient use of the Nile water, Egypt is uncertain about the effect secession may bring on its access to Nile River resources SPLA position on the issue of Nile waters is that of flexibility.[106] The SPLA claims to have no agenda of diverting the Nile waters because of the low attitude in Southern Sudan. This is held true as the Nile often floods and the people relocate and return when the waters have subsided.

Cairo views its neighbours as potential threats to its water access.[107] In this respect Egypt is aversive to an African Southern Sudanese state that many interfere with water access. The implication of this position has been observed in the on-going manipulation of the GOS to derail the peace process by contesting the issue of self-determination. However the issue seems settled as the GOS and SPLM/A signed a comprehensive peace agreement in May 2004.

Ethiopia is another actor in the Sudan conflict and it neighbours Sudan in the Eastern border. It has been a key supporter to the rebels up to the mid-1990s when Ethiopia faced internal changes of leadership.[108] Ethiopian regimes under Haile Selassie and Mengistu were friendly to SPLM/A. Ethiopia then provided extensive technical assistance. It helped train the SPLA troops

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[105] Ibid p. 56
[106] J. Lind. & K. Sturman, Op Cit, p. 206
[107] ICG, *Oil, God and Country*, Report No. 39, Brussels: ICG, 2003, p. 125
[108] A. Alier, , Op Cit, p. 84

and provided them with arms which enable SPLA earn victories in the warfront. In 1996 – 7, Ethiopia edged its support to the SPLA and it helped create a buffer Zone with Sudan. The Ethiopian government was interested in this victory as it wanted to curb Ethiopian opposition groups from operating effectively from inside Sudan. Government offensives were effectively repulsed and Ethiopia support met its objectives in ensuring EPLF activities were disabled.

Ethiopia can be described as favouring secession.[109] Ethiopia has always wanted a regime in Sudan that will have more friendly relations. It is the intention of Ethiopia that the GOS should not have aided the Eritrea secessionists. The support given to them received reciprocity in the part of Ethiopia by supporting SPLM/A. The hospitality accorded SPLM/A was on protest over Sudan's direct or indirect support to Eritrea secessionists.

Eritrea borders Sudan to the Eastern Frontier. The Eritrea seceded from Ethiopia in 1993. Its population consists of around sixty percent Christians. The remaining portion constitutes Muslims. Eritrea views Sudan as a national security issue due to the Islamic fundamentalism propagated by the NIF.[110] The delicately balanced Muslim and Christian populations would be polarized in their relations since Sudan had embarked on supporting Eritrean opposition groups allied to Islamist fundamentalism.

Eritrea has been motivated to cooperate with Sudan to undercut the Sudanese. Ethiopia ties. Eritrea has been engaged in conflict with Ethiopia over the Badire triangle. The territory in question has seen the two countries fight and currently the ICJ ruling in favour of Eritrea over

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[109] Ibid, p. 86
[110] IRIN, Jan 2001

the territory is contested by Ethiopia. The tense relations are among the two countries are fundamental in the shifting position of Eritrea. Sudan has offered to end its support to the insurgent group Eritrean Islamic Jihad if Eritrea too would cease supporting NDA forces. Eritrea has demonstrated a continuous willingness to support NDA as it hosts the NDA headquarters and frequently facilitates the mobilization of its troops. The Eritrea government is however making unilateral efforts since 2001,[111] to bridge the gap between Khartoum and the National Democratic Alliance. This shows Eritrea's effort to remain neutral on the Sudan Conflict. This effort had given the NDA a position in the negotiating table. Eritrea's leverage however would not allow its mission reach to a completion.

Uganda borders Sudan to the South. This geographical location has been an advantage to the SPLM/A since Museveni took power in 1986. Museveni's government continually gave technical support and logistical to the SPLA to launch offensive actions in Sudan. SPLA found Uganda a safe haven after 1991 when Ethiopia's regime changed and it would not accommodate the rebels any more.

Uganda has undergone diplomatic engagement through the intervention of former US President Jimmy carter and Libya's Muammar Qaddafi.[112] Their efforts have reaped some results and the GOS has reduced its assistance to the LRA.[113] This was confirmed by President Bashir while attending an international meeting in Kampala. In retrospect Bashir requested the Uganda government to stop backing the SPLA. On this latter issue Uganda remained non-committal. Uganda supports the Southern Sudanese independence. This position had manifested the bitter

[111] IRIN, March 2001
[112] Ibid Pp. 60
[113] "Bashir says support for Rebels has ceased," IRIN, 21 August 2001

relations between Khartoum and Uganda government. Reconciling the two may take longer as the SPLA has stuck to the position of self-determination in the Southern Sudan and the IGAD member states. Uganda included re-affirms the issue of self-determination.

Kenya was the final state to host the Sudan peace talks to the conclusion. Since the debut of the IGADD negotiations in 1993, Kenya has hosted the numerous phases of peace talks to date Kenya posits the position of neutrality among the IGAD member states. The issue of neutrality is principal since the parties to the conflict value that position in the negotiations.[114] Kenya cannot posit that it holds no interests in Sudan conflict. Kenya is concerned about the conflict due to the influx of refugees witnessed at the common frontier with Sudan. The porosity of Kenyan borders as a result of unstable governments in the neighbourhood threatens its national security. The numerous refugees in the country also demand extra measures to keep them orderly and sustain their livelihoods. The trend in the past, Kenya had an estimate of 243,000 refugees in 2003. The Sudanese refugees accounted for over 28% of this figure.[115] The figure is likely to increase if the peace talks do not provide for a comprehensive peace that will include repatriation and settlement of these refugees.

Kenya has some economic benefits out of the Sudan conflict.[116] Kenya is the sole channel of conduit of international relief to Sudan. The Mombasa port obtains fees out of these deliveries cleared at their premises similarly Kenya levies road taxes on transporters. Most NGOs that operate in Sudan have their offices in Nairobi where they lease premises and employ Kenyans to work in their various programs. These benefits do not impair Kenya's desire to intervene in the

[114]M. Mwagiru, Op Cit, p. 67
[115] United Nations, *Conflict Trends, Special Edition on Women, Peace & Security*, New York: UN, 2005, p. 112.
[116] ICG, Op Cit, Pp. 61

Sudan conflict. They are just circumstantial and aimed at providing assistance for humanitarian intervention.

Libya borders Sudan in its West borderline. The two countries have been intermittently embroiled in tense relations. Once the Libyan President supported the rebels and this brought internal discontent especially at the cold war era.[117] The Libya government provided funds and arms to the rebels and this made their offensive more pronounced. This position has gradually changed and Libya has been keener in supporting the government. In 1999 it launched a joint peace-initiative with Egypt with an aim to undercut the IGAD Declaration of principles and the issue of self-determination.

Libya harbours economic interests in Sudan. Libya's proximity to the Darfur region has seen large members of Sudanese have crossed the border for commercial purposes. Libya also exports a lot of merchandise to the region. These interests are catered for as long as Libya would maintain friendly relations with Khartoum.

3.1.5 International Actors and their Influence in the Conflict

The broader international community has manifested different attitudes to the GOS and the rebels. The international actors in the Sudan conflict have been entrapped in the Sudan conflict due to geopolitical factors or commercial reasons. Understanding the international actors is pertinent on how to approach negotiation. The international actors confer recognition to entities as states. The international actors confer recognition to entities as states. The isolation or inclusion of such entities in the world affairs is vital for the survival of that entity and its

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[117] H. D. Johnson, Op Cit, P. 59

progress. Sudan has suffered exclusion or sanctions due to the considerations major players in the global affairs. The conflict had drawn such players into deep differences especially in the UN Security Council. This section shall be evaluating critically each actor's interests and their role in the Sudan conflict.

One of the key actors in the Sudan conflict is the United States. The US has been keen on the Sudan affairs since the cold war era.[118] The US government supported the Sudan government in the cold war era to contain communism in the region. US gave the GOS military support to counter Soviet backed regime in Ethiopia. At this time the rebels suffered in the battlefront and the Sudan regime became more oppressive and continued abusing the human rights of the Sudanese people.

The principal national interest for the US in the region is fight against terrorism. US has considered Sudan to be a prime environment where terrorists have bases from where they train their militants and engage in business. The Hamas group and Al-Qaeda leader Osama Bin Laden, have been operating in Sudan for a long time. The military ties with Iraq and Iran also have been factors considered in the US policy in isolating Sudan in the region. As a result US considers the Horn of Africa's stability as crucial in fighting terrorism. The situation would only be better if the conflict in Sudan is resolved and peace reigns in the region.

The EU had been acting as the entities that comprise it. The attention given to the Sudan conflict depends on its member states interests. It is therefore proper to assess the EU role in Sudan

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[118] D. H. Johnson, Op Cit, p. 64

conflict by analyzing each EU member's interest at stake in the EU. However corporate response is fundamental since the articulated principally through the EU parliament.

Through the European Community Humanitarian Office (ECHO), EU has been interested to intervene in Sudan with emergency aid. Humanitarian assistance is considered to be a core function of ECHO and should not be politicized. The EU has responded to humanitarian needs depending on their urgency.

3.2   The Sudan Peace Initiatives (1998-2004)

3.2.1   Actors and Initiatives

3.2.2   Phase I of IGAD Mediation

The first meeting of the IGAD mediation committee was held in September – October 1997. The opening session reaffirmed the Declaration of Principles (DOPs) as the basis for negotiations and IGAD as the mediating body. IGAD took its role more effectively and streamlined procedures to make the conduct of the mediation more efficient. The body developed five rules of procedures.[119] These rules looked into participation in the negotiations and the conduct of the process.

IGAD as a facilitating forum, in this first session was confronted with a problem from the GOS. The GOS requested that the delegations be allowed to meet on their own without the presence of the mediators. The SPLM/A was opposed to this proposal believing it to be a strategy to sidestep the crucial issues the DOP contained. However the Chairman granted this request by GOS and

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[119] IGAD: Rules of Procedure for conducting Negotiations as Agreed by Both Parties tot eh Conflict, 31 October 1997. Nairobi.

the SPLM/A obliged. SPLM/A accepted the request to avoid intransigency. The GOS on its part felt that it would tackle the issues presented by rebels without foreign involvement. The first session ended with some optimism. Key issues at least were addressed for the first time. These include the Unity of Sudan, the right to self-determination and the Separation of state and religion.[120]

3.2.3 Phase II

This session was converged in April 1998. The session discussed three substantive issues. They included humanitarian assistance, the referendum at the end of the interim period and separation of state and religion. On humanitarian assistance the parties agreed to facilitate its delivery. The parties also agreed that a referendum on the right to self-determination for the people of the South would be conducted at the end of the interim period. The referendum would be internationally supervised. The parties continued to hold different perspectives on the interim arrangements and their definitions of South Sudan.

The session ended without effective follow up of issues arising from the positions of the parties. IGAD simply facilitated the parties to prepare their positions. The follow up was constrained by time factor and mediators would not make use of the shift in positions on some issues like self-determination to negotiate for a settlement. The talks were again rescheduled for August 1998 in Addis Ababa.

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[120] J. A. Odera,Op Cit, p. 401

3.2.4 Phase III

The third session of IGAD peace talks was held in Ethiopia from 4 – 6 August 1998. The GOS at this session renewed it commitment to the IGAD initiative and proposed that issues that were already concluded should not be revisited. It also proposed that agreement on substantive issues should be pursued before embarking on details of specific proposals. Four substantive issues were raised by the GOS as its agenda. They included humanitarian assistance, commitment to the DOP as a framework for resolving the conflict of the Southern Sudan, right to self-determination and state and religion.

The third session was marked with minimal convergence of the parties' positions. The GOS and the SPLM/A differed most on the issue of state and religion. While the SPLM/A agitated for secularism, the GOS remained routed on its Islamic doctrines that state and religions are inseparable. The mediating committee chose to continue the talks through shuttle diplomacy in order to bring the parties agree on their shifting positions.[121] This was more articulate on the positions on state and religion.

3.2.5 Phase IV

The Fourth IGAD session was held from 19th – 23rd July, 1999. At this time the permanent independent secretariat was in put in place in Nairobi. The Secretariat had some significance to the mediation. The IGAD was able to make use of technical committees while continuing with special envoys. Likewise there were resource persons who got official admission to the process. As a result of the secretariat, two technical committees were established: political and

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[121] J. A.Odera, . Op Cit, p. 419

transitional. Items of the DOP were assigned to these committees.[122] The political committee was charged with articles 1 – 3.7 of the DOP while the transitional committee is charged with articles 4 – 6. Meetings of the technical committees began in January 2000. The setting up of the secretariat was opportune to enable continuous negotiations.

3.2.6 Phase V of IGAD Peace talks

The Machakos Phase of Sudan peace process was an apex of precedented efforts by the Secretariat in negotiating with the parties through its various committees. On 20th July 2002 the Machakos Protocol was signed. The shuttle diplomacy had made a break-though and the parties were willing to come negotiate the outstanding issues. An update by the secretariat developments in the Sudan peace process between November 2001 and January 2002 indicated the two parties had reiterated their commitment to negotiate under IGAD's DOPs.[123]

At the on-set the following issues formed the foundation for negotiations: Framework for negotiations – One Sudan – Two Systems; Expanding Ceasefire Agreement; Confidence Building Measures; Negotiating in Good Faith and within a Timeframe; Agreed Principles; the Transition Process; State and Religion; Self-Determination; Structures of Government; Security Arrangements; Guarantees.

[122] The Declaration of Principles' is Annexed at the of end of this Document
[123] Secretariat on Peace in the Sudan, Update on Developments in the Sudan Peace Process Between Nov. 2001 – Jan. 2002 & the way Forward

The draft framework provided a step forward for further negotiations and the sixth session was for the peace talks was held in Nakuru town from $4^{th} - 12^{th}$ July 2003.[124] Despite the parties quest to resolve most issues envisioned in the Nakuru Session, various issues were left outstanding after talks collapsed. These issues were: Power Sharing; Wealth Sharing; Security Arrangements; the Status of the National Capital and the Marginalised Areas.

The Naivasha IGAD Peace Talks Session were launched in order to address the outstanding issues that led to the collapse of the sixth session of Machakos Peace Talks. The Naivasha Phase was able to conclude and ratify seven negotiated protocols including the Machakos Protocol. Other issues concluded were: Agreement on Security arrangements during the Interim Period; Agreement on Wealth Sharing during the Pre-Interim and Interim Period; Protocol on Power Sharing; Protocol on the Resolution of Conflict in Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile States; and Protocol on the Resolution of the Conflict in Abyei Area.

The second session of Naivasha IGAD peace talks convened on 6th October 2003 and started to negotiate the political status of the Three Areas. The Three Areas, Abyei, Nuba Mountains and Southern Blue Nile are contested over their status whether to be defined as being in the South or the North. The SPLM/A sought for the autonomy of the Nuba Mountains and the Southern Blue Nile. Meanwhile the GOS proposed autonomy for the same areas but with no referendum or popular consultation and that Abyei remain in the North but be administered directly by the presidency.[125] However on May 26th 2003 the parties signed the protocols on: the Resolution of

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[124] The East African: Why we Refused to Sign the Peace Plan Document, Interview with Mohamed Ahmed Dirdier, Deputy Ambassador at the Sudanese Embassy in Nairobi, (Nation Media Group, 21 – 27 July 2003).

[125] ICG, Sudan: Towards Incomplete Peace: Brussels 11th December 2003, P. 6

Abyei Conflict; the Resolution of Conflict in Southern Kordofan/Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile States; Power Sharing; and Wealth Sharing

In power sharing, the parties were given varying percentages of seats in the National Assembly prior to the parliamentary elections: National Congress Party (NCP) – 52%; Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) – 28%; other Northern Political Forces – 14%; and other Southern Political Forces – 6%. The parties having exhausted the agenda items, agreed to sign the peace documents in form of a comprehensive peace agreement (CPA) in January 2005, in Nairobi. The signing of the CPA concluded the IGAD peace process for the Sudan conflict.

3.3 Conclusion

This Chapter has presented an overview of the Sudan conflict. First it looked at the historical background, actors and the peace processes. The Chapter has identified a gap in women participation at the conflict management process. The actors in the Sudan conflict at both regional and international levels reveal that their interests are not in any way linked to the gender participation in the management process. They are all pursuing national interests and they are applying the concept of power as the means to guaranteeing peace. The gender perspectives at negotiations are muted and the actors are either not interested or do not perceive gender as a component to achieving their interests.

The various phases of the negotiations have also presented a wide range of social, economic and political issues. However in no specific areas are gender issue addressed. The Three Phases of IGAD-led peace talks, the negotiators emphasised more on wealth and power sharing. The

negotiations further looked on issues of boundaries, resettlement and reintegration in addition to security arrangements. The negotiators did not deliberate on the specific gender arrangements in regard to how women will be affected in the period the implementation will take place. The omission of women inclusion in the peacemaking process will directly impact on the implementation of the peace protocols.

It has further indicated that the peace process signed a document in form of Comprehensive Peace Agreement that sought to exclude the women voices from the negotiations but it entrenches the concept of resettlement and reintegration of the entire Sudanese people in the post-conflict Sudan. The next Chapter shall look into engendering peace process and the role of the Sudanese women in the IGAD Sudan Peace Process.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 ENGENDERING THE IGAD-LED PEACE PROCESS IN SUDAN (1998-2004)

Introduction

The foregoing Chapters have structured the study of gender theoretically. The gender dimension is imbalanced and women are witnessing a reduced participation in decision-making. The second Chapter revealed that continuous gender exclusion in the decision making is challenging the peace agreements that are normally referred to as comprehensive. This Chapter is dealing with a critical evaluation of the gender issues and the Sudan peace process. It examines women participation in the peace process with the view of extracting the elements that will empower the women in the society. It will also examine the opportunities presented in the peace process and the way women have utilized peace process platforms to reclaim their rightful position. The Chapter shall also conclude by examining the women's achievements through participation in the IGAD-led Sudan peace process to attaining gender parity in decision making.

Any peace process can be termed as comprehensive if it will hold the community together in the post-conflict period. The community would achieve quicker reconstruction when both genders are involved in social and economic development. Sustainable peace and reconstruction is achievable when men and women's view are incorporated in the peace and development agenda. Often women are excluded from the negotiations table, and that their needs and interests are not seen as an integral part of the peace agreement. Acknowledging that peace processes should be locally owned, the peace talks should focus on women population and allow them to prepare a presentation where they express the priorities in the negotiations for a sustainable peace in their

country. To that end the peace outcome will be comprehensive and will cater for the interests of both women and men in the post-conflict reconstruction.

The Chapter finally would make remarks on gender entrenchment in the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in January 2005 in Nairobi after twenty three years of war.

4.2 Gender and Grassroots Peacemaking Initiatives

Grassroots is a term used to denote the local people who are often not part of the mainstream agenda setting and activities in the peace process. In this sense they are somewhat marginalised from decision-making. They are often but not always rural based. They may consist of villagers who are only remotely connected to the structures of government.

Grassroots peacemaking initiatives in the Sudan have been focussed mainly on reconciliation among clans and ethnicities on the one hand and factions on the other. They are thus to be found more in the South. These initiatives acquired the name of 'people to people' peace processes. The prime movers of the people to people peace initiatives are the religious bodies and in particular the churches.[126] To this end, they had supported inter-clan reconciliation among the various ethnic groups such as the Nuer, inter-ethnic reconciliation between the Nuer and the Dinka and dialogue between the factions and the people such as the Yei meeting between the SPLM/A and the communities. The grassroots peace initiatives are not without critics even though those working on the ground consider these initiatives as a positive step.

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[126] John. L. *The Feasibility of East Bank Peace Conference: the Impact of Inter-Nuer Conflicts* in South Sudan Post, August. 1999. p.5:

The grassroots initiatives are credited with bringing the factions closer to the people and improving the accountability of soldiers in the field. The military factions of the Southern groups have all been participating in the people to people peace initiatives.[127] A constituency has been built up which is more aware of the conflict and avenues for dialogue are being established between this constituency and the fighting forces.

There is a challenge in seeking to establish an operational link between the grassroots initiatives and the IGAD peace process. A negotiation framework that would enable some briefing or learning from these initiatives would enhance the mediators' knowledge of the conflict environment and work towards gender parity in the agreement. It would also allow mediators to gauge the areas where these initiatives could be useful given that the southern groups increasingly see them as important. The greatest hurdle in the peace process lay in the ability to influence the behaviour of the parties and their prospects for promoting a convergence of the peace agendas.

4.3   Engendering the Sudan Peace Process

The role of women in conflict management in Africa has come to be recognised as relevant. In Sudan, women have built coalitions across conflict lines and are increasingly pressing for greater recognition at the official level.[128] An initiative known as *Engendering the IGAD Peace Process*, supported by the Dutch government has come to represent this clamour for 'listening to the voice of the women.' This initiative, which drew in women from both the North and the South, was developed as a conflict reduction mechanism. This initiative intended to see a peace process that

[127] SPLM/A Update, Vol. VI, Issue No. 7, p.2
[128] Malok, E.: *Managing Political Change in Continuity, SPLM/A Update, Issue No. 34 Vol. III/94*, p. 7

did not sideline women. The arrangement led to having women to be included in the delegation of the SPLM/A which was not the case before.[129]

The women's demand to be included in the IGAD peace process as a specific constituency appeared to have taken the mediators by surprise prompting the response that women should seek to be included in the official delegations of either of the two parties.[130] That response amounted to asking the women to become party to the conflict and presumes that they can and must be partial. This presumption is in complete contradiction to the role the women would like to play. The problem that the inclusion of the women posed to the IGAD state-centred mediation reveals again the relevance of a wider framework.

Women's participation in the peace negotiations started in 1997 when two women joined the SPLM negotiating team.[131] Throughout the Machakos and Naivasha meetings, women from southern Sudan such as Jemma Kumba, Anne Itto, Awut Deng, Agnes Lasuba, Christine Lino, Abuk Payiti, Susan Jambo, Lona Lowilla and Cecilia Oba formulated a clear plan to tackle obstacles preventing proper integration of women's specific needs into the peace process.[132] The activism of the Nairobi-based organisations developed around a very strong and critical discourse, which demanded representation in the peace talks. However, in the end, although civil society organisations associated with the SPLM/A attended briefings and consultations, they were excluded from the formal peace negotiations.

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[129] The *NSCC-SPLM/A Yei Declaration*, July 1997 in SPLM/A Update, Vol. VI, Issue No. 7, p.2
[130] Ibid
[131] Interview with a Programme Officer, Advocacy, NESI Network, Nairobi, December 16th 2006.
[132] These Women Delegates possessed high level education and would Articulate Gender Issues in the Sudan IGAD-led Peace Process.

The South Sudan women delegates in the IGAD-led Sudan peace process demanded for women's access to power, resources and services in different spheres in the society.[133] However, focus on women's representation without attention to the gender component of the CPA and of other political processes resulted in male-gendered and untransformed patriarchal politics, albeit with the minimal female participation.

In the negotiations the women particularly sought the entrenchment of gender parity in social services such as education, health, political offices, property ownership and the security arrangements.[134] Protocols that were negotiated in the Machakos Phase in 2002 indicated that the government would offer equal priority to the men and women in the resettlement process and the integration of the armed groups into the government forces.

4.4   Conclusion

It is important to ensure that the whole CPA and the constitution are engendered, which means that issues of redistribution of power and wealth are also considered in relation to the position of women and men in society, including women's land ownership and women's active participation in decision making. It should be noted that the CPA was negotiated with a regime whose rigid ideology actively discriminates against women. Given that the CPA allows for implementation of sharia law in the North, state-led discrimination seems set to continue at least in the North. A gender sensitive approach would be a tool for bringing about genuine transformation through challenging the tenets of sharia law.

[133] Interview with a Programme Officer, Advocacy, NESI Network, Nairobi, December 16th 2006.
[134] Ibid

The Sudan IGAD led peace process did not comprehensively engender every aspect of the peace process protocol. The Joint Assessment Mission's report, which started by formulating a gender strategy, mainstream peace and peace related processes failed to look at the specific way in which conflict, peace building and post-conflict reconstruction have affected women and men in a gender-specific way. It did not give due consideration to the role of women as peace builders and active participants in post-conflict reconstruction. The issue of gender was left unaddressed conclusively in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. The low level of women representivity in state affairs continues to reflect inequalities and the peace that was ratified would again subject women to another level of structural violence.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

This chapter seeks to make a synthesis of the findings in other chapters. It will evaluate the findings of the research on the basis of objectives set in the background to the study, and test the hypotheses to validate the research outcomes. The chapter will therefore make an evaluation that will bring to fore the role of gender in the peace processes.

This research set out in Chapter One to find out the role of gender in the peace processes. The chapter further laid a foundation for carrying out the study by defining the concepts of gender and conflict management process. The concept of gender was defined as the state of nature that aggregates human beings as being men or women. The concept of conflict was defined as a social phenomenon where two parties hold divergent views about a common goal and how to attain it.[135] This explanation provides for a perception that conflict may be about values, wants and interests which are negotiable and could be subject to settlement. But conflicts about human needs are non-negotiable and cannot be compromised, tended or repressed. At another level the concept of conflict management was defined as the process of introducing external actors in the mediation of a conflict. These definitions laid a basis for operationalising the variables of study in the research.

Chapter One also made a framework to guide the study. First it defined the objectives of the study, then it made assumptions or hypotheses on the proposed research and it further theorised the feminist approach to the study of engendering conflict management.

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[135] J. W. Burton, World Society. London, Cambridge University Press, 1971, Pp. 46 – 47.

Chapter Two presented an overview of conceptualisation on engendering conflict management. The various aspects that were presented on gender indicated that the social construction of gender has led to perpetual exclusion of women in decision making. The institutions of decision making in the society are gender biased and women are noted to play a secondary role. The women are forced to become recipients of decisions made by male dominated platforms. The critical problem witnessed in this context is that decisions made without gender inclusion lead to unsustainable peace agreements in the society.

The emerging issues in Chapter Two indicated that the gender problem emerges more conspicuously in the search for peace. The exclusion of women in the sharing of resources and from the decision making institutions leads to a partial peace in the society. Economic empowerment for women would only be guarantees through access of portfolios which engage the society in decision-making. The women cannot be found in positions of leadership due to ineptitude to influence the elective positions at the grass-roots. This therefore demands for a review on how women should be included in search for stability in a state through legislative empowerment. Comprehensive Peace Agreements are expected to indeed eliminate conflict causing structure not only externally but also within the society.

Chapter two also revealed that gender sensitive root causes of insecurity include political equality, economic equality and social equality. It demonstrated that causes of conflict and insecurity could be structural or systemic.[136] Gender relations too are structural and systemic because they form part of the general structure and deep-rooted background conditions. Although these have been in existence for a long time, they are dynamic. Cultures that limit

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[136]Mwagiru, M., *Conflict: Theories, Concepts and Processes*, Nairobi, Watermark Publishers, 2001 p 36

women's access to resources and decision-making power, and which characterise women as inferior to men, treat women as property and accept domestic violence as a norm should therefore be removed from the structures of governance. It therefore implies that peace processes should be engendered to designate gender sensitive approaches in comprehensive peace agreement. Exclusion and discrimination cannot be limited only to social and cultural structures. They can also occur in the economic sphere where the exclusion of groups that are low in status form important resources can result in insecurity. This situation demands for state structures to intervene and curb events of gender discrimination in the process of peace making.

Chapter Two also revealed that conflict arises each time a group of people purports to represent the interests of another in the society only to aggregate them inferior share of resources. The gender question is pertinent here especially when women are excluded from the core institutions of decision-making. Social conflict becomes vicious when the men negotiate for peace on behalf of the society and consciously create legislative impediments for women to equal share in power and resources.

The second Chapter further traced the dynamics of gender in the society and their impact on the peace processes. Gender explains social status, that is, who is valued and who is marginalized. It determines who will lead and who will follow, and who will rule and who must obey. State and leadership are greatly affected by a society's perception of who can make the most important contribution to group security, and who is a burden, liability or threat to it.[137] Conflict situations are consequently a threat to security and in essence gender relations will illustrate how secure the society becomes in the event of external threat. Conflicts arise from human relations when

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[137] M.P. Mische, *Security through Defending the Environment: Citizens say yes!* In (Boulding, E. 1992) Op.cit p. 105

individuals or groups have different values, needs and interests. Conflict can also emerge when resources are not available in unlimited quantities and access to them has to be controlled and fought for. Gender disparity in the control and access of resources portends a strong source of conflict. It thus requires an engendered peace process to avoid post-conflict insecurity.

Chapter Two accomplished the objective of establishing the link between engendered peace process and security in the society. The concept of engendering peace indicated that the post-conflict period will be free of structural conflict. The engendered peace would provide adequate access and participation in decision making to all members of the society. The society could be more cohesive in developing their environment.

Chapter Three of the study contextualised the Sudan conflict in respect to the case study. The Chapter articulated the background to the Sudan conflict, the actors and their interests and the peace initiatives. The Chapter highlighted the dominant actors' role at domestic and international levels. The Chapter presented a pertinent overview on the negligent role women play in the Sudan conflict yet they are the most affected as a result of the violence. The Chapter further brought out the evident absence of the women in the peace process and the need for inclusion in participatory peace building.

The fourth chapter looked into gender and the IGAD peace process in Sudan. The Chapter made some findings in regard to gender and the peace process. It was established that the notion of gender did not initially have any place in the peace process. The women in South Sudan did not get an automatic representation in the peace process. The men presumed that their participation

would entrench the interests of the society fully. However it was noted that the negotiation linked the security and peace to power struggles and regional representation.

The power sharing arrangements were tied to region and community. In essence the men delegates were interested to negotiate on issues that would confer state power to their party. The absence of women from these deliberations meant that they would be contented with the men dominance in the state structures and decision making processes. The lack of gender parity or inclusion in the peace processes subject the society to structural violence.

Chapter four further identified some of the reasons for women exclusion from the IGAD Sudan peace process. The first reason identified was lack of exposure in the part of women to decision making process in the society. This would be attributed to culture that relegates women to the responsibilities of child bearing and looking after the family. The same culture defines and ascribes certain leadership responsibilities to the male gender only. The Sudanese women would not therefore penetrate into the male domain of negotiate in the peace process when their culture defines on who should become a leader.

The other source of gender discrimination in the IGAD-led Sudan peace process emerged from the low level of literacy in the society. The South Sudanese population was identified to be highly illiterate and only a few are well schooled to represent gender issues in the peace process. The challenge of identifying and articulating women interests would only be done by just a few members. Their level of representivity was questionable especially when their background is

described as urban and elite. They would not effectively get to the level of the rural women and articulate their needs.

The gender mainstreaming in the peace process was further revealed that it was partial and incomplete. The women were allowed to participate in negotiations with some limitation. They would only sit in the drafting of the position papers but were not allowed to negotiate with the opponents. The women were therefore representing the gender element to a minimal level. The possibility of women to contribute more elaborate input in the Sudan process raise the prejudices and bias held by the society inflicted by conflict.

The Fifth Chapter demonstrated the initial objective that sought to find out the factors that prevent women from effectively participating in a peace process. Secondly it captured the notion that women can effectively be able to participate in the peace process if they are educated and that they put a struggle to get their place in the negotiations.

The Chapter also indicated that the place of gender in the peace process can not be attained if the cultural values and attitudes guide the negotiators in identifying their delegates. The wider framework for consultation in the negotiation should include all those that are affected by the conflict in the society. The debate demonstrates that conflict would be transformed if there is gender inclusion in seeking solutions to problems that cause conflict. The exclusion of women in the peace process leads to delayed peace. Since women and children are the most affected during war, they should be included in the peace process as they can well negotiate for sustainable as they understand better the consequences of war.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0   CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The concluding remarks for this research are be derived from all the previous Chapters. The conclusions guide the recommendations for the research. The research aimed to find out the model for engendering the peace processes especially the formal or Track I diplomacy. The first chapter was able to theorise on gender and the management of conflict. The gender perspective is embedded on the social definitions. The culture is presumed to define gender and the roles that are rightfully assumed in the society by either gender. The society is so closed and the challenge to gender roles is restricted to those who have knowledge and can question the rationale of gender definition and discrimination. Education is key to engendering a peace process. Education modifies the perception of gender and accepts certain arguments in the process of legislation and negotiating for power.

The research further observed that the achievement of the women agenda would require sustained commitment of all development partners. This calls for strengthening women's networks and movements nationally, regionally and internationally. It will also be necessary to improve the lobbying capacity of women's groups who have been basically strong in grassroots organizing for delivery of services.

The research observed that although conflict is harmful, it can also be enriching.[138] This happens when conflict is managed properly; and in a timely way.[139] Provided conflict is not dysfunctional it can be beneficial to a society. Conflict helps people to realize that things are

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[138] Mwagiru. M.. (1998): Understanding Conflict and its Management; Some Kenyan Perspectives, Water Mark, Nairobi. pp. 4
[139] Mwagiru, M., (2000): Op Cit, Pp. 4

going wrong in their relationship. Gender inclusion in a peace process helps the society to redefine male female relations that will complement the development of the society.

The Sudan conflict was observed to originate in the struggle to acquire and control the resources in the environment. The struggle to exploit and control oil was pointed out as outstanding because of its strategic value and demand in the world market. This has created a major rift in the country because of the distributive agents of oil resources wealth.[140] The social actors in Sudan conflict have demonstrated a discrepancy in resource allocation and this has triggered discontent among the Sudanese who feel marginalized. The marginalisation of the Southern Sudan in resource sharing means that women are the most marginalised as they do not have a right to property and wealth ownership. The peace process was an opportunity for the women in South Sudan to assert their views to avoid further marginalisation in the post-conflict Sudan.

6.1   Recommendations

This research at this point makes recommendations to mitigate for gender inclusion in peace processes. The element of gender should be defined and understood by all conflict management teams. A social conflict will not end when one feature of its causes is eliminated. The negotiating team in the context of men only delegates gives room to perpetuate structural conflict in the post-conflict period. It is possible to limit the possibility of post-conflict structural violence by including women delegations that would project their world views on post-conflict sustainable peace. The peace processes that are engendered will include a much wider agenda than simply preventing or ending civil wars. It needs to address the structural causes of conflict

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[140] Prendergast, J. et al, (2002): God Oil and Country; Changing the Logic of War in Sudan, International Crisis grove. London, Pp. 29

and the interplay between categories of secondary violence. Peace processes require including an agenda to work on violence against women, both in times of national and international destruction such as war, and during times where there may be peace at the national level, but unrest in communities that turn the violence inward.

Peace processes seek to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from violence in all forms, even structural violence that has not yet led to massive civil unrest. At the same time it empowers people to foster relationships at all levels that sustain people and their environment. Negotiations that are gender inclusive support the development of networks of relationships at all levels of society: between and within individuals, families, communities, organizations, businesses, governments, and cultural, religious, economic, and political institutions and movements. Relationships are a form of power or social capital. By connecting people, relationships form an architecture of peace-building networks or platforms that allow people to cooperate and coordinate to constructively address and prevent violent conflict. Engendered peace requires a combination of approaches to peace through a connecting space or *nexus* for collaboration between both genders. Each gender makes a unique contribution and complements one another in fostering peace and security. Therefore gender should inform the composition of delegates in the negotiations.

Women should be involved in peace processes because women are half of every community and the tasks of peace-building are so great, women and men must be partners in the process of peace-building. Because women are the central caretakers of families in many cultures, everyone suffers when women are oppressed, victimized, and excluded from peace-building.

Their centrality to communal life makes their inclusion in peace-building essential. Women also have the capacity for both violence and peace; they must be encouraged to use their gifts in building peace. Since women are excluded from public decision-making, leadership, and educational opportunities in many communities around the world, it is important to create special programs to empower women to use their gifts in the tasks of building peace. The gendered peace process is vital in the comprehensive peace agreement.

Finally gender equality needs to be defined by men and women within different cultures. Peace negotiations intend to contribute to gender equality. When this goal becomes integral to every aspect of peace-building and not relegated to one or two programs for women then the peace process outcomes would be sustainable. Since women and men do not have equal access to opportunities, resources, and respect in most communities, peace-building programs need to take affirmative action to ensure women and men are treated equally and given equal opportunity. Institutions of conflict management like IGAD can help by urging parties to conflict to include women at every level of their delegation and board and ensure that these women have the support of other women and women's organizations and are not just token representatives put in place to look representative but avoid making significant contribution to the peace process.

The research has finally linked the variable of gender to the peace process and can be argued that gender representivity in the peace process is integral to sustainable peace agreement. The gender exclusion in conflict management will threaten the peace in the society in the long run.

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