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The Role of Women in Post Conflict Peace Building in the Republic of South Sudan:

A Case of Jubek State

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DECLARATION

I, Nancy Poni Elly, hereby declare that this Research Project is my own original work except where acknowledged and has never been submitted for academic award at any University or Institution of higher learning.

Signed.....

Date.....

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Approval

This Research Project is submitted for examination with my approval.

Signed.....

Date.....

Dr. Kamungi Prisca

DEDICATION

This Research Project is dedicated to the Almighty GOD, My lovely Parents in their absentia and my sisters.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere thanks to a number of people whose assistance and contributions made this study possible.

I am most grateful to my supervisor Dr. Kamungi Prisca who tirelessly encouraged and guided me throughout the study. I am also very much indebted to my lecturers for the knowledge they imparted in me; I am more informed than when I joined the institute.

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ABSTRACT

This research project examines the role of women in post conflict peace building in the Republic of South Sudan. There is common belief that state-building in conflict-torn countries such as South Sudan may offer important opportunities to spur women's rights, equality and participation in matters of governance for inclusive development. The main objective of this study was therefore to understand and assess the role of women in post conflict peace building. This is premised on the notion that women, as citizens of their country, are not peripheral in the political conflicts that occur in their country, but that they have a moral and social responsibility to participate in its reconstruction. This study examined the role of women in post conflict so as to explore the opportunities for strengthening their participation and shed light on the undocumented contributions of women. This research project examines the actual approaches that women employed in peace building, their actual contribution to the peace effort and possible impediments that influence their role. This research project is qualitative in nature. The data were obtained from secondary sources including legal documents. Some primary data were obtained mainly from key informants through interviews with women Member of Parliament, women CSOs and women councils in Juba and Nairobi. The findings indicate that peace building efforts in South Sudan resulted in a higher representation of women at national, local and decision-making levels. However, this was after women's advocacy and request for this involvement, it did not simply come. The findings also indicated that there are still many challenges to women's rights, equality and participation, which affect their roles in peace building. The challenges are asymmetric and include structural barriers embedded in customary laws, as well as low women's access to education. This study concurs with similar studies on the role of women in peace building, says Zaynab ElSawi (2011) and Mayesha et al (2014) which found that women have immensely contributed to peace building in South Sudan but with less documentation. It concludes that women can play an effective role in peace processes if they access appropriate routes and are sensitized through awareness creation about the benefits of peace for all concerned and the importance of spreading a culture of peace in the community. Women of (Jubek State) of South Sudan signify and epitomize a valuable and cutting across ethnic lines through marriage. This is evident in the Government of South Sudan and others who seek to build a strong and politically sustainable nation-state and that several challenges confront the women in the socio-political context of South Sudan which inhibit the peace building process. The study recommends that women should continue to build approaches premised on consortia and networks to access slots in peace negotiations and funding, that post conflict building process should set priorities for the new state through consultations and other democratic processes that involve wide participation for women and ensure women representation at all levels of government. Finally, that the government of South Sudan should address barriers such as exclusion of women from governance by identifying and eliminating socioeconomic, political, and cultural barriers to women's participation at the household, community and state levels.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- IDPs _____: Internally Displaced Persons
- UN _____: United Nations
- GBV _____: Gender Based Violence
- SPLA _____: Sudanese People’s Liberation Army
- CSOs _____: Civil Society Organizations
- OCHA _____: Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
- TGoNU _____: Transitional Government of National Unity
- SPLM-IO _____: Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement in Opposition
- SPLM-IG _____: Sudan Peoples’ Liberation Movement in Government
- CPA _____: Comprehensive Peace Agreement
- CTSAMM _____: Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements
Monitoring Mechanism
- SDSR _____: Strategic Defense and Security Review
- SWAN _____: Sudanese Women Association in Nairobi

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study investigates the role of women in post conflict peace building in the Republic of South Sudan. The armed conflict between North and South Sudan which raged for several decades deeply affected the day to day lives of South Sudanese and women in particular. Not only did the conflict infringe on women to desertion by becoming heads of households and living in internally displaced persons (IDPs) or refugee camps, they also found themselves faced with the challenge of promoting and building peace to forge a bright future for their country. This situation inspired impetus for women to find ways for involvement in the peace building process. This research project thus analyses the approaches women employed in peace building, the contributions realized in the peace building process and finally the challenges women encounter in their endeavors to exercise their social responsibility to attain lasting peace.

1.1 Problem Context

The instability in South Sudan's unpredictable political history has been blinking for decades covering military and political leadership. This can best be pursued and trailed as far back to the 1956 of the Sudan's independence from the British colonial role¹. At that time, however, it was one country block commonly known as Sudan under the leadership of Khartoum. It was however mired and stuck with multiple differences ranging from religion to ethnicity. The continued disagreements and political clashes led to multitude peace agreements which have since then failed to provide peace and stability for the

¹*ZaynabElSawi* 2011 *Women Building Peace: The Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP) in Sudan* edited by *Srilatha Batliwala*

Sudanese people and South Sudan in particular. In regard of the continued perception of inequitable development and perceived sidelining of the majority of people especially of the South then, even the secession has failed to yield a lasting solution to peace and stability. The political divergence and polarization mounted on ethnic lines, has affected the historical relations between the tribes following independence of South Sudan to the present day.

South Sudan's independence in 2011 was a joy to the well-wishers for peace and consequently presumed to end decades of war and conflict. This was hoped would translate to stability as well as socioeconomic prosperity and end the perceived political marginalization at the hands of successive governments in Khartoum. This had been assumed would have had positive effects on the development of the entire people of South Sudan and women in various gender-specific ways².

Independence of South Sudan was galvanized with the efforts of international partners and UN resolutions which opened up opportunities for women's economic and social empowerment. This was in away ensuring that the new country's political and economic structures and institutions would reflect pledges and promises of long standing women's participation and human rights. Similarly, it was a belief of many partners and the entire South Sudanese leaders that empowering women would enable South Sudan to strengthen its economic and political structures and institutions for peace and stability. Basing on the assumption that there is great potential for gender equality as captured in local and

²Mayesha Alam Ségolène Dufour-Genneson Rebecca Turkington July 2014. Security, Basic Services and Economic Opportunity in South Sudan: Perspectives of Women Post- Independence and Pre-Civil War

international legal instruments and respect for women's rights in South Sudan the role that women would play in peace building was emphasized.

The government of South Sudan has expressed varied commitments to equality between women and men and to strengthen women's participation. South Sudan is comparatively paving for egalitarian society like other UN member countries. It is endeavoring to negate religious extremism given its ratification of many UN conventions. International actors concerned about South Sudan recognize that promoting gender equality and women's empowerment as well as addressing gender-based violence (GBV) are key to maintaining peace and propelling South Sudanese women inclusion in peace building so as to realize lasting stability and tranquility for all.

The long history of social and cultural practices is critically harmful to women and compounds the effects of conflict and marginalization. There is perceived constant internal and external security threats, yet with a limited understanding of gender equality. There is also a belief and a tendency among the communities to view gender as an alien and illegitimate concern of peace and state building. To this end given the acute problems that South Sudan faces, compounds the international; instruments and good will of some commitments.

The government of South Sudan is getting on slowly with the support of regional partners and the international community to enlist and ensure that gender perspectives are fully entrenched in peace building process and women's rights are fully integrated into state

building initiatives. To this end, the national planning, the development of the constitution and the building of the country's new institutions and other structures have elements that replicate assurances and obligations to gender equality.

1.1.1 Background of the Study

South Sudan became independent on July 9, 2011, after some fifty years of violent conflict and political instability. In spite of this long standing political conflict, the Southern Sudan Autonomous Region had been demarcated in 1972 after the First Sudanese Civil War which was presumed to end but lasted only a decade before the Second Sudanese Civil War commenced, that has then raged on for several decades. This long-standing conflict culminated into The Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2005 which translated and was consequential to a six-year interim ceasefire period. This that was later followed and charted by official handover of power from the Khartoum Sudan government. This brought open civil war to the end though with political differences presumed to exist between the Khartoum and the Republic of South Sudan. This shows that South Sudan has a rich history of post war conflict that demands a concerted effort and moral responsibility for nation building.

In addition to the internal conflict, the Republic of South Sudan shares borders with Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, the Central African Republic and the Democratic Republic of the Congo which have all had conflicts. Suffice it to say, therefore, the region is a ferment of violent conflicts, which contributes in various aspects to the instability that apparently occur within South Sudan. The new State of South Sudan shares such conflicts

which give negative situations but at the same time it may learn positive experiences for peace making.

The country with territorial boundaries that today constitute South Sudan is comprised of 32 states. These were fully constituted and mandated with governance under governors after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement brought an end to a long civil war between South Sudan and Khartoum government. There had however been several peace talks about the long raging conflict. To this end, South Sudan has a niche in peace building and conflict resolution. To this note, the issue of peace and nation building is not a new phenomenon to the people of South Sudan. Nonetheless what remains of paramount question is the gender inclusiveness in the matter.

Given the option of the interim cease fire period after the CPA in 2005, the people still had an option between secession and/or remaining with Khartoum. Owing to experiences of war conflict and terror for numerous years, the nationals overwhelmingly up to 98% in a referendum voted for secession. This culminated to the country's independence in July 2011. This achievement from the referendum marked South Sudan to become the 54th African Nation. Similarly, on 9th July 2011, it was accepted as the United Nations (UN) member state in its General Assembly making it the 193rd member state of the UN. This grand achievement made it to become the African youngest and newest country in the UN. This implies that South Sudan has to accent and ratify the UN instruments. This is a great achievement in peace making process and gender perspectives.

South Sudan has over time witnessed many women's groups and organizations are involved in peace building on both sides of the conflict. Despite these initiatives to promote women inclusion in peace building process there is limited understanding on the role of women in peace building in South Sudan which makes this study important.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

World over, there is firm recognition and appreciation that women play a pivotal role in peace building because of their experiences and gender advantage³. To this end, the desire of South Sudan to involve women in peace building is clearly evident. It has been affirmed that the South Sudan TGoNU took caution to include women and undertake gender sensitive peace agreements⁴. Women have been included from the beginning and had representative numbers on the Commission for Truth, Reconciliation, and Healing. There was gender mainstreaming throughout the agreement of the peace process and subsequent implementation of the peace transactions. The Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism (CTSAMM) and the Strategic Defense and Security Review (SDSR) Board embrace women participation⁵.

Despite women being involved in peace building process within the available instruments, they are not fully involved in the state level decision making, governance

³MacCathy, 2015

⁴ Kelly C, Huda S, and Anna T (2015). Improving Women's Inclusion in South Sudan's Draft Peace Agreement. The Institute for Inclusive Security

⁵ Nyathon, J and Hoth, M (2015), "Policy Brief: The Role of Women in Peace-Building in South," The SUDD Institute (December 2015).

and nation building yet they form the majority - over 60% of the total population⁶. Apparently, none of the 32 states have a female governor. Though there are initiatives to promote women inclusion in peace building process, there is limited understanding on their role and contributions in peace building in South Sudan. The women approaches have been described as inconsequential in a conflict of war nature. The selection procedures for the peace building process have tended to focus on male chauvinism, dominance and subordination; approaches which compromise the women efforts. The contributions of women are therefore scantily studied and documented.

Regardless of the numerous policy, constitutional and institutional provisions for women, as well as international obligations, the country still faces challenges in implementing the intuitional and constitutional requirements. For instance, until now, government institutions such as independent commissions only accommodate 10% women, while the quota requires a representation of 25%. Equally, the country's judiciary has a representation of 3%. Based on this statistic, gender inequality and women empowerment is low in the government, which in turn, undermines their role and zeal in post conflict peace building⁷.

This situation and evidence makes this study paramount. This forms a gap on the role of women in peace building in South Sudan that deserves redress. This is premised on the notion that if such anomalies are not addressed, the Jubek state and entire government of

⁶Konrad, A. S. (2016). The role of South Sudan women in peace building and democratic consolidation. Facilitating South Sudanese women to develop a National Strategy for enhancing their participation in the TGoNU. <http://www.kas.de/uganda> accessed 10/3/2017

⁷Dahlström, "Women's Recognition in Peace Building Implementing Security Council Resolution 1325 in South Sudan 2014

South Sudan will miss the benefits that would accrue from women's roles. It is this situation which forms the gist of this study.

1.3 Research Questions

- i.** What are the approaches employed by women in post conflict peace building process in the Republic of South Sudan?
- ii.** What are the contributions of women in post conflict peace building process in the Republic of South Sudan?
- iii.** What are the impediments to women Participation in post conflict peace building in the, Republic of South Sudan?

1.4 Specific Study Objectives

- i.** To establish the approaches employed by women in peace building process in the Republic of South Sudan.
- ii.** To identify the contributions of women in the peace building process in the Republic of South Sudan.
- iii.** To identify the impediments to women Participation in post conflict peace building in the Republic of South Sudan.

1.5 Problem Justification

1.5.1 Policy Justification

The research project findings can excite and spark policy debate which forms a firm basis of awareness to the entire nation of South Sudan and the world at large on the lost

opportunity of women participation in peace building. This can attract and stimulate enforcement of existing policies that point at women involvement and as well strengthen to fill gaps in the existing policies on women involvement.

Whereas there has been immense effort globally towards women emancipation and empowerment⁸, this quite often has met with challenges due to religious, cultural and traditional perspectives⁹. On the African continent, male chauvinism marginalizes women in social, economic and political spheres. Similarly, this tendency exists in South Sudan in areas of nation building and peace building process too. The findings therefore galvanize the scattered existing efforts to involve women in peace building process.

It is a fact that is globally endorsed and embraced that there can't be lasting peace that translates into development without the involvement of women¹⁰. This is well articulated in the UN Security Council Resolution 1325. This has however been reluctantly downplayed by negating or enforcing with less effort some of the UN resolutions on gender. The link between women and peace building is beyond debate. Peace cannot be realized without the full participation of women. This project can therefore entrench this thinking into policy and practice in South Sudan.

Finally, this study will aid in new policy development and policy revision avoids a gendered peace approach or nation building. It will shed light that the needs for men and women should be addressed equally since they all matter and have similar concerns in the

⁸ UN Report, 2014

⁹ Nakunja, 2014

¹⁰ Barker 2017

nation and its development. This will provide firm ground and basis that stresses the advantages of equal opportunity for both men and women that will go a long way to promote positive peace that tackles the entrenched aggressive male behavior which is rooted in forms of masculinity. It will inform policy and policy executers that working with women as change agents in society improves the conditions of a community and nation at large and have positive outcome for peace building in general.

1.5.2 Academic Justification

This study will help in raising awareness, illuminating and informing the world of academia of the many actors involved at different levels in rebuilding war-torn societies which will be of interest to practitioners and scholars alike to contribute to further literature and scholarship. It will add to the body of knowledge on how the peace building process have navigated the traditional perceptions in South Sudan to spur the involvement of women in nation building.

The involvement of women in peace building in South Sudan as a young nation has not been widely expounded on for the outside world to contemplate on. This research project creates an opportunity for the outside world to learn about South Sudan gender issues in relation to post conflict peace building process. In addition, how women have been given opportunities to voice their views and concerns in policy formation and decision making through institutions such as elected office, civic councils, NGOs, the media, and voting remain to be ascertained by academicians both in South Sudan and outside world for

analysis and critique which will be of benefit for peace building not only for South Sudan but the world over.

Feminists, such as Carrie Menkel Meadow, have posited that women exercise peace building differently from men because of their mottled moral development and reasoning. This requires the academia to comprehend and indeed this project from both its theoretical and conceptual frameworks will draw conclusions that reflect this assertion. How this has been applicable in South Sudan makes this study imperative to ascertain and inform future publications and scholarly work.

1. 6 Theoretical Framework

The suitable theory chosen to underpin this study is the Dominance Theory proposed by Catherine MacKinnon (1987). MacKinnon postulates that women's sexuality is socially constructed by male to assume dominance. This domination of women by men is a primary source of inequalities in many spheres of life. It also offers a basis for male chauvinism and is instrumental in explaining the power differences between men and women like those existing in peace building in South Sudan. The theory postulates that society, and more so especially men in society, use sex differences to perpetuate power imbalance¹¹. Drawing from MacKinnon (1987) dominance theory, male take the clout to impose themselves over women and overshadow even the achievements that females may have realized. It is therefore a suitable theory to best addresses imbalances between men and women and even in the peace building process in South Sudan given the fact that

¹¹ Nancy Levit, Robert R. M. Verchick: *Feminist Legal Theory: A Primer* (Critical America (New York University Paperback)), New York University Press 2006

women have had to involve a lot of effort and advocacy to lobby for a slot to be involved in peace building process.

In relation to this theory, Independent South Sudan presents a rare opportunity to ensure that state structures, institutions, strategies, plans, to mention among others reflect and meet the aspirations, priorities, and needs of women, and that these activities result in gender equality and women's human rights. The government of South Sudan, with the support of the international community and regional partners, with enactment and ratification of UN resolutions that emphasize gender equality still show rigid approaches to ensure a strong voice for and meaningful participation of women at all stages of state building. There is evidence that South Sudan has remained stringent in creating a conducive environment for women's participation, human rights, and gender equality by addressing women's immediate needs of access to decision making. This was evidenced by the first peace talks of the 2013 conflict that did not present a woman delegate at the negotiation table. This is an indication that there is dominance by males. In addition, the women consortia are lobbying to be involved in peace process while it is evidently automatic for men.

In relation to this study, the conglomerate of the peace process team, selection process presented within formal and informal peace building establishments in South Sudan produce a hierarchy of inequality because it tends to credit male knowledge as important and counting than that of women. The theory is important to this study and may offer a strong basis in the attempts to reform the current power structure within peace building process in South Sudan and other parts of the world that plague with conflict and in the

process of peace making. It gives basis for a better understanding of the social and moral reasonability of women experiences as equal partners and continued struggle for peace and stability. It also serves as a call to action to women and to empower them as women in relation to men.

MacKinnon's dominance theory encompasses the greatest potential for explaining the underrepresentation of women in various structures of governance and therefore ignites pragmatic strategies to confront the inherent structural and social biases found in society. It offers an opportunity to recognize the dominance of negative male norms inherent in society and impetus to rectify them. This can provide light on the resulting structural impediments to the advancement of women in achievements in society in many parts of the world as they remain severely underrepresented in positions of the power, influence as well as financial remuneration. The theory can inform alternative ways in evaluating the significant challenges faced by women seeking advancement and serves as a powerful diagnostic tool and mechanism for generating possible solutions.

1.7 Literature Review

1.7.1 The Conflict Context

The country had already been declared as a stable state in 2012 by the International Development Partners and Community. It was already enjoying peace and stability yet concentrating on nation building at all levels. However, the apparent civil war and conflict broke out on the 15th December 2013. Chaos again emerged when the South Sudanese army loyal to President Salva Kiir and those aligned to former Vice President

Riek Machar turned against each other in Juba for power struggle¹². The country was again plunged into internal turmoil, war, conflict and disagreements among its top political leadership. There emerged several violent skirmishes between rival factions within the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA) in the capital city of Juba. On 16th December 2013, President Kiir claimed Vice President Machar had arranged and planned a coup d'état on national television. Machar initially denied these charges and claims. However, to qualify President Kiir claims, he emerged as leader of the opposition to the government and his forces mobilized and gained control over Jonglei, Upper Nile and Unity states. This translated once again into regional and international initiative for having the country to stability. A ceasefire was negotiated and brokered in January 2014 in Addis Ababa. This, however, did not yield much fruits. It was only one minor step in an array of long, multifarious and multifaceted peace process. By March 2014, the peace talks had stalled. The history was now repeating itself. The humanitarian situation in South Sudan was grimmer, with signs of deterioration¹³.

The attempted coup d'état led to armed fighting which spread even to civilians within Juba capital in the Jubek state and spontaneously spread quickly to the neighboring states such as Jonglei, Unity and Upper Nile, which were the most affected. This led to mass suffering and death of thousands of South Sudanese people. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) estimates that some 1.3 million people left their homes

¹² Kelly C, Huda S, and Anna T (2015). Improving Women's Inclusion in South Sudan's Draft Peace Agreement. The Institute for Inclusive Security

¹³James Copnall. "South Sudan's Massacre among Many." *Al Jazeera*. Al Jazeera, 23 Apr. 2014. Web. 01May 2014

as refugees by mid-September 2014, while about 450,000 ran to neighboring countries.¹⁴ It could hardly be anticipated that the situation would culminate into such a brutal and gruesome conflict that could move out of control and management¹⁵. The seemingly simple conflict escalated to involve the two largest tribes in South Sudan namely the Nuer and Dinka to rival against each other in the fighting¹⁶. This immensely led to internal conflict that was even against the Khartoum government.

The once comrades who were in long standing common struggle now turned the barrel of the gun against each other. Although efforts for peace through negotiations in the Ethiopian capital, Addis Ababa were initiated, the political, military and humanitarian crisis was continuing to worsen. Though numerous ceasefire agreements were reached, oftentimes they were failing to put a stop to the conflict. However, a fluid Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) was crafted in August 2015. The Peace process accord named the Truce, Reconciliation and Healing of the TGoNU was effected in May 2016 when Machar and his loyalist in Sudan People's Liberation Movement–In Opposition (SPLM-IO) joined Kiir's People's Sudan Liberation Movement–In Government (SPLM-IG) to put an end to the conflict.

The 2015 Addis Ababa Peace process was highly cautious that engendering women would provide a firm ground for realizing and nurturing democracy that would be genuine for lasting and meaningful peace. The peace negotiations to this note witnessed

¹⁴ OCHA, 2014.

¹⁵ Maxwell and Santschi, 2014

¹⁶ Kelly et al 2015

the involvement of women and all procedures and arms of the peace accorded women participation.

In January 2014, a consortium of over 15 women organizations merged for the purposes of participation in the activities that would call the conflict to an end. This consortium was highly involved in peace negotiations through CSO delegates. In addition, they participated in the TGoNU whose Constitution mandated 25 percent of women in the TGoNU. It further called for the same percentage inclusion in the Commission of Truth, Reconciliation and Healing, the Women Enterprise Fund, Reparation for Victims and guarantee of addressing gender based crimes and sexual violence through the transitional justice mechanism. This marked the beginning and realization of women role in post conflict peace building. This was again premised on the notion that South Sudan was now subscribing to UN instruments and aspirations.

Adhering to the 25% women representation in the peace process and provisions made the transitional mandates of the TGoNU recognize the role of women in peace building. The backdrop has enough litmus indicators that female and male leaders in South Sudan appreciate the role of women since the struggle against marginalization of the Khartoum government. From the time of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, South Sudan has attempted gender equality through the quota system with a general thinking that women are in a better position to achieve nation building and peace. This again has roots to the role women played in the long standing civil conflict though in some instances, it was overlooked.

Attempts to promote the role of women in peace building in South Sudan had both legal and moral goodwill of the entire South Sudanese people. The first initiative is through article 16 of the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan of 2011 which emphasize that at least twenty-five percent of women as an affirmative action should be respected to redress imbalances created by history, customs, and traditions. It argues that women should not be overlooked in peace building process¹⁷. It further involves the process of strengthening the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in South Sudan. This involved the creation of national action plan that provides a framework for the promoting inclusive participation in peace building and conflict management processes. Through the national action plan, the government of South Sudan laid a platform that levered the role of women in conflict prevention and peace building¹⁸. Besides the legal initiatives, Non-governmental organizations and bilateral organizations have all been betrothed in promoting the women participation in peace building initiatives.

1.7.2 Conceptualization of Peace Building

It is important in this study to conceptualize the term peace building for easy comprehension. Peace building is rather broad and long term. In some instances, it is commonly mistaken and used interchangeably with terms as peace making and peace keeping. However, the three terms differ fundamentally (MacCathy 2011). They distinctly mean different things altogether but all point inherently to peace building as earlier mentioned that it is long term and broad.

¹⁷ Chikoore & Afaf, 2015

¹⁸ Githui, 2014

Peacemaking and peacekeeping is sometimes confused to be synonymous. To this note, peacemaking goes with signing of agreements between policymakers; this often results in putting a halt to fighting. According to the United Nations, peacemaking goes by putting hostile groups to agree using peaceful and diplomatic approaches derived through talks and negotiations (<http://www.un.org>). However, peacemaking is often time consuming and calls for procedures and protocols that both parties are bound to abide with and yet it may not translate to cessation of violence. It calls for peace talks in a neutral place with mediating parties and signing of agreements that have to be followed but which often times are violated¹⁹. On other hand, peacekeeping refers to the deployment of a UN presence in the field with the consent of all the parties concerned to maintain international peace and security. This may involve overseeing to ensure that what peacemaking parameters like ceasefire are observed. The two thus are narrow and short term to peace building but of an immense integral aspect to success of the latter.

From the above narratives, it evidently shows that peace building is rather broad to encompass the post conflict activities to ensure that the previous warring factions cooperate and are at peace. It also takes into account reconstruction of various types in terms morals, counseling healing and any other process necessary to transform the crisis and conflict in question toward more sustainable peace and in this case of the study the war. It is continuous from peacemaking and peace keeping establishing conditions for amicable resolution of the conflict. It is synonymous with activities and processes put in place in the post war conflict in case of this study to address the hostilities between

¹⁹ Fortna, 2008

warring parties so that there is no relapse of the hostilities. It has been affirmed that peace building is intended to enlist peace and harmony so that the two parties trust each other as regards the resolution of the conflict. In this way, with peace building the lapse of the war or violent remains minimal²⁰. Peace building goes beyond the warring factions to the grassroots among the communities to enlist social and psychological transformation. It enlists to involve social order and harmony.

Peace building should include interventions for reconstruction and rehabilitation of war-torn society. For example, it has been reported that peace building in war-torn northern Uganda involved a wide range of activities from social support of perpetrators, victims and community mobilization to register forgiveness to those people who inflicted pain and suffering even when they are known. It further included international community support in moral and economic rehabilitation. Such activities create the conditions conducive to peace and security²¹.

Peace building is a concerted activity that involves many actors working together to achieve long term stability and development. These often include governments, local and international NGOs, civil society groups, communities and individuals. Peace building can take place at the group and/or community level (Bumsumtwi-Sam, 2009). The process of peace building may begin while the conflict is ongoing and the transitional period of negative peace or an absence of violence may last for many years until positive peace or a condition of enduring stability is reached.

²⁰ Bercovitch and Kadayifci 2002

²¹ Mugarura, 2015

Peace building in a war conflict goes to end the physical fighting and disarming the factions in disagreement. It has to ensure that in the post war conflict economic stability and attaining a sense of harmony is registered in the community. It should ensure that fear and mistrust against each of the factions are addressed so that everybody is at home, forging the bright destiny for the country.

It has also been affirmed that peace building requires that fighting factions are demobilized and integrated for purposes of real political change and actual dispute resolution lest they remain detached and in different sides²². It is asserted that the new emerging state needs to ensure legitimacy through functioning constitution, fair and free elections²³. This democratic ethos can go a long way in attaining the foundations of a working stable economy, and macroeconomic standards that create a firm base for reducing income inequality and also creating great opportunities for employment. These economic incentives when attained may prevent conflicting parties from lapsing back to war²⁴.

The creation of inclusive politics is a cornerstone imperative to peace building (Lazier 2014). Both parties in the conflict need to see the possibilities of political opportunities close to them. However, whenever any side perceives any marginalization in the political avenues available, a relapse and reoccurrence into war conflict is most likely so as to be able to get close to power and authority. The exclusion from the center of political power can be a motivating factor to going back to war and consequently conflict. It is therefore

²² Lazier, 2014

²³ Ali and Matthews ,2004

²⁴ Bumsumtwi-Sam, 2009

important that both sides are satisfied with their positions in power and home. They must see no reason of fighting and any incentive to return so as to attain certain power. To this note, Fortna (2008) candidly affirms that post war conflict governance systems must work in such ways both sides feel their real motive for struggles was fulfilled but if they develop a feeling that that they have lost out in some ways, the relapse of war may be evident

Law and order is a strong imperative for peace building in post war conflict. This has to be effectively monitored to ensure that morality and human rights of all are respected and realized. A feeling of marginalization and disrespect is dangerous for peace building in post war conflict scenarios. Any relapse in law and order to be attained can compel some combatants going back to war. It is thus quite paramount for reinstating and respecting institutions of law and order to ensure human rights are strong for democracy²⁵ This should go in hand with other functioning institutions like CSOs, CBOs and individual local actors at the grassroots. The combatants must be given various forms of fora to have their cause of fighting expressed. The military parties must be transformed through political processes and organizations so that they can participate in legitimate elections freely. For example, the Uganda parliament gives the army a slot and combatants are free to participate in elections on a competitive platform. All of these avenues transform the conflict from the battlefield to where they can be negotiated peacefully thus creating institutions of dispute settlements in the post era. This releases any possible anger that could have been stored²⁶

²⁵ Ibid & McCarthy, 2016).

²⁶ Doyle & Sambanis, 2006.

A democratic and strong civil society that is participatory yet transparent is another strong avenue for peace building. Research has shown a strong and positive correlation between democratic participation and stability after war conflict. In research conducted in 124 civil wars and the outcomes of peace building since 1994. There is a positive correlation between United Nations peace operations and democratization in the post conflict period. This adds to ongoing stability and peace²⁷. In addition, it has been reported that dictatorships cause relapse of war conflict as they witness a war every twelve years on average if relatively compared to twenty-one years that democracies may experience. How women have approached this situation in South Sudan has not been studied which forms the gist of this study²⁸.

True reconciliation and healing should be evident. This strategy attained paramount peace in Northern Uganda after the war insurgency in the region. The survivors of violence quite often have traumatic symptoms both at individual, family and community level that need address. These, if are not handled effectively, can create gaps at grassroots level which undermine peace cooperation and development²⁹. Thus, technical institutions need to come in for this noble cause³⁰. The issues of pointing at each other, victimization require serious address with justice. This can minimize the situations of antagonisms arising from the previous conflict. In a situation like South Sudan where the conflict went even tribal and ethnic it requires serious address or else feelings and sentiments of

²⁷ ibid

²⁸ Jarat Chopra and TanjaHohe, 2009

²⁹ Mugarura, 2015

³⁰ Brandon, 2009

resentment can keep the conflict glowing which undermines peace building process and its goals.

The situation that makes people to have bad feeling against others should be addressed. People should confess and forgive each other in order to forge a bright destiny for the peace. Discrimination of people who were involved in conflict should be addressed. Post war conflict should regard reconstruction, reconciliation and restoring relations among the communities on the grassroots as a corner stone³¹. It is important that people should be made to acknowledge the atrocities of war and develop new mutual relations forgetting the past.

There is also need for voluntary action with bottom up and top down approaches achieved through collaboration of top government leaders and local leaders³². Thus, voluntary actions by various organizations and associations need to collectively engage in peace building. This can however, be attained through sensitization and encouragement by stakeholders such leaders, religious leaders and traditional leaders. This is where women organizations which belong to several of these organizations can come in³³. This kind of voluntarism with good will from different angles of society can foster trust and reduce sentiments for aggression. Research reports confirm that varying levels of violence between Hindus and Muslims in similar settings could be explained by the

³¹ Atashi, 2000

³² Hamber, 2009

³³ ThaniaPaffenholz and Christoph Spurk 2009

strength of associational activities³⁴. Thus, how women have utilized these approaches in peace building in South Sudan deserves extensive investigation.

1.7.3 Women as Vigilant Peace Actors

It is true that women have similar stake in their motherland as do their male counterparts, but they do function in fundamentally different ways in the society. Women's specific sentiments clamors for peace are shaped by their social roles as mothers.

It is widely held that sustainable security is not possible without the involvement of women. To this end, the United Nations in October 2000 passed Security Council Resolution 1325 to galvanize and glue this notion. The resolution calls for increased representation of women at peace negotiations and at all levels of decision making regarding peace building. The inclusion of women in post conflict reconstruction efforts helps to gum peace. Women have been reported to have advantage in peace building. In a study of 182 peace agreements signed between 1989 and 2011 it was established that an agreement is 35 percent more likely to last at least 15 years when women are involved and participate in its action. This is attributed to the unique character women witness and goes through in the tenure of conflict and its aftermath. It has been documented that women shy away from what they will receive after attaining peace but rather focus entirely on peace³⁵. Whereas men focus on what will favor them as regards positions, women tend to shift negotiations on inclusive perspectives and general community

³⁴ Hamber, 2005 & Thania Paffenholz and Christoph Spurk, 2010

³⁵ Marie et al, 2015

gains³⁶. Thus, women's focus tends to be more genuine towards peace rather than positions to be attained. However, how this has been advanced by women in South Sudan has not been documented.

In a study that examines 94 cease-fires in almost 60 civil wars in the post-Cold War period, and shows that war relapses within a year in almost 1/3 the cases and within a period of five years in over half where women involvement is not sought carefully and adequately³⁷ Women don't sugarcoat their peace building initiatives and post war peace reconstruction. They are reported to poses a vast array of advantages in peace building process. However, how this has been harnessed to contribute to peace building in South Sudan has not been documented.

Various actors have been vigilant in promoting the involvement of women in South Sudan conflict and post war conflict. There is critical realization among international, national and local leaders in the central role women can play in creating a peaceful and strong nation state that had been torn by war conflict. To this note, various avenues and platforms for women involvement have been crafted given the fact that women form majority of the population up to 60%. However, their contribution has not been candidly ascertained to inform further processes³⁸.

³⁶ Chinkin, 2003

³⁷ Fortna 2008 & Anderlin,2007.

³⁸ Mba 2015.

The tender care and loving spirit of mothers often position them suitably in peace building. Their position as mothers and foundation of the state position them with a niche in the peace building thus creating grounds for cooperation. Given this leverage, women's organizations and individual women are in positions to hold talks and meet with the warring factions either side without causing suspicion and worry thus attracting trust in the process there by sustaining the process of peace talks thus putting in situation instances of less peace talk staling. Similarly, it is evident that during the periods of the conflict, women are less involved in atrocities and can be put on the forefront by both parties in fostering reconciliation after the war conflict³⁹.

Women quite often have the desire to see their country safe and united as mothers. This was evident in South Sudan when women organizations merged and urged the warring factions to quickly implement the TGoNU. This is premised on the role that women go into peace genuinely on behalf of their communities that rather personal derivatives. To this end, women urge both sides to respect their commitments when given opportunities to engage these parties. The women are also believed and it is proven that they adopt less aggressive approaches to peace than men. To this end, in a review of violent crises in the world, it was found that women preferred less aggressive and violent procedures which are rather long lasting. Cases cited by the author included Liberia, Rwanda, and Cambodia among others.

Presence of women in peace building has been reported not necessarily to focus on who has succeeded in the conflict. This mitigates hostility and focuses on the stable society.

³⁹Anderlini, 2007

The tendency of who is mighty in the post war conflict is less evident among women⁴⁰. These assertions are also in cognizant with the findings and observations made by psychologist Simon Baron-Cohen who carried out empirical research to ascertain whether there was a difference in the approaches and styles males and females advanced. The findings clearly show that women's approaches are more compromising, less confrontational and rarely do they express anger that can lead to disagreements and consequently relapse of the conflict⁴¹.

It has been found that women are believed by many as honest, patriotic and often have no record in their political career of corruption and activities that may put their positions and reputations at stake⁴². Thus, most are more likely to be credited and seen as symbols of trust by the general population. They are thus likely to command a real following from those concerned and the entire country. They are equally likely to draft more appealing programs for lasting peace and implement them with a corrupt free spirit⁴³. Women in political realms use their advantages from vast social linkages to seal any divides that may exist. This is suited for South Sudan where the conflict turned tribal, cultural and interstate. They are more positioned to work across interstate and cultural lines because of their marriage bonds. As minority, often women work mutually as a collective and form advocacy teams to reach men regardless of their political, cultural and faction affiliation⁴⁴.

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Simon Baron-Cohen 2003

⁴² Berwind-Dart ,2012

⁴³ McGrew et al, 2004

⁴⁴ Anderlini, 2007.

Research has revealed that women have in some instances by advocating for a halt in recruiting child soldiers who escalate the conflict. This assertion is clearly found in a report of the Colombian Historic Memory Committee, which affirms that a group of women vehemently opposed the paramilitaries and halted their children from being incorporated in the army thus minimizing continuation of the conflict⁴⁵. It is also evident that many women continue to clamor and advocate for peace through negotiation even in situations where others could have given up. This scenario was live in Liberia, and Colombia where women advocated for peace even when other majority of the country men looked at military victory. Women support reconciliation at communities and support it in solving differences at the grassroots. This assertion has evidence in the first part of the Liberian Civil War. The women were hailed to have started a reconciliation process that prompted healing and reconciliation of men even when the conflict had not ended⁴⁶.

The study conducted through Collaborating Learning Projects found that women have the ability to link ethnic, religious, political and cultural lines if at all they exist in the conflict than men would⁴⁷. The findings indicate that women work for peace, before during and even after the post war conflict which is an important corner stone of peace building. Women have been reported to ensure that commitments are kept on truck. They form civil society, and organizations that send positive messages in the communities. It has been argued that when women are included on the negotiation seats and conferences, they

⁴⁵ Sánchez and Wills 2011b

⁴⁶ Anderlini, 2007

⁴⁷ Berwind-Dart 2012

continue to advocate for democracy which is a critical agenda of post-conflict reconstruction.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Research Design

The study design is case study; but it is qualitative in Approach. A case study design was used because it is the most suitable for studying one unit comprehensively so that it can represent other similar units⁴⁸. Qualitative approach is a study based on extensive descriptions of the problem under investigation rather than providing statistical and numerical aspects of the study. In addition, qualitative approach helps a researcher to gather wide latitude of information to fully explain the problem⁴⁹. It provides an opportunity to informants to provide a detailed account of events in the study for the purpose of clarification.

Qualitative approach gives the informants the opportunity to express their own understanding of the problem under inquiry in their own terms. This gives the researcher room to capture, interpret, cross-validate and thereafter obtain a detailed account of the role of women in post war peace building in South Sudan. Qualitative research is suited to this specific research as it is based on the interpretation of experiences of women in peace building. Qualitative research has an advantage since it gives more information as it is able to raise the voice of the participants over that of the researcher

⁴⁸ Amin 2005

⁴⁹ Mugenda and Mugenda 2010

A qualitative approach was employed to build a rich detailed and comprehensive account as well as explanation of the experiences of women in peace building. A qualitative design aided in the attempt to understand how participants make meaning of their experiences. A qualitative research design was appropriate for this research project for several reasons. Among them are that it advances itself to the unearthing of events beyond the statistical significance and allows for discovery of more information that structured questionnaires would probably not have elicited⁵⁰.

1.8.2 Study Area

The study was conducted in Jubek State, South Sudan. It is one of the 32 states that make up the Republic of South Sudan. It is the state that hosts the capital city Juba where war started. Its choice is premised on the fact that it represents the entire country because most of the peace building efforts take place in this state.

1.8.3 Data type and sources

The investigation used two sources of data namely; secondary and primary data. These data sources were utilized to provide information on the role of women in post conflict peace building in the Republic of South Sudan. The two sources complimented each other to explore the role of women in post conflict peace building.

1.8.3.1 Primary Data Sources

This study obtained primary data from the field through interviews during data collection exercise from the sampled and targeted population. Key informant interview guides were

⁵⁰ ibid

drafted for different audiences for oral interviews (see appendix i & ii). Participants were chosen on the basis of opportunities of engagement and interface at some point in post conflict peace building, participation in politics and decision making at some level of nation building. These were chosen to give a description of the status quo as regards role of women in post conflict peace building. Primary data was chosen in order to give live and vivid realities at the time of the study.

1.8.3.2 Secondary Data Sources

Secondary data was obtained by reviewing existing literature on the role of women in post conflict peace building in South Sudan. Articles, journals, publications among others were reviewed from libraries and websites. Web Knowledge, Google and Yahoo search engines were used to identify sources. Some sources, unfortunately, could not be included in the search because of the limited accessibility and lack of authenticity. The following keywords were used to find and locate literature sources: ‘conflict in South Sudan, women in peace building in South Sudan, women activists in the nation building in South Sudan, gender and equality in South Sudan. Application of international gender instruments in South Sudan and women CSOs in South Sudan’. A documentary review check list as a data collection tool was used to extract relevant information (See Appendix iii).

1.8.4 Study Population

The study population included 3 members of women in parliament, 5 participants from the consortium of women organizations who have participated or had representatives in the peace building process and 5 women from the communities in the women councils.

1.8.5 Limitations of the study

Time to access participants given the nature of their work was a limitation. However, this was overcome by enormous patience and use of phone calls.

Fear to give actual information about the situation in South Sudan. However, this was mitigated by establishing warm rapport and promising confidentiality. In addition, it was mitigated by keeping the discussion away from others.

Table 1.1: Table Showing the Study Participants

Category	Number	Sampling strategy
Members of parliament	3	Purposive
Consortium of Women groups and networks	5	Purposive and convenience
Women councils at community level	5	Purposive and convenience
TOTAL	13	

1.8.6 Sampling Techniques and Procedure

Purposive and convenience sampling methods were used to select the study participants. The methods were used to attain consistency in obtaining participants that can be representative. While this may be seen as a relatively small sample, qualitative research does not concern itself with ensuring wide representativeness but how the research question and objectives are answered. Instead, in qualitative research, the sample is chosen in relation to how appropriate the participants are in relation to the research objective and question. Participants chosen in this study were purposefully selected to meet the criteria that they are currently involved in peace building process for more than two years. The reason for this is because during this period they would have accumulated some experience and therefore with rich information to substantiate the problem and contribute immensely to this study⁵¹.

1.8.6.1 Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling was used in the study. This allowed the researcher to select the participants with information that can meet the study objective, this involved the researcher using his own judgment in selection of participants. The selection of participants was based on criteria determined based on the experience matters relevant to the study. This method was used to select members of parliament and Consortium of Women groups and networks⁵².

⁵¹ ibid

⁵² Amin 2005

1.8.6.2 Convenience Sampling

Convenience sampling bases that the participant meets the characteristics of selection and is willing to participate in the study⁵³. Such participants willingly give the required information and are able to give rich and reliable data. This informs the study with rich data. This method was used to select all the categories of participants.

1.8.7 Data Collection Instruments

The study used interview guide and a documentary review check list to collect information.

1.8.7.1 Interview Guide

The main data collection method was through interviews. Interviews are the most common method of data collection in qualitative research⁵⁴. They have been described as conversations with a purpose. In qualitative research, the main purpose is to explore the wide experiences of participants which were the case in this study. Interviews are advantageous because allow the researcher to gain deeper insight into the participants experiences. They also provide a ground for informants to express their own understanding of the problem⁵⁵. The qualitative interview holds the potential to generate a stream of thoughts, observations, opinions and recollections that may provide prompts for further inquiry

⁵³ ibid

⁵⁴ ibid

⁵⁵ ibid

It allows for the interview to be flexible, letting the collaboration with the participant thus by building warm rapport that guides the direction of the interview. Furthermore, interviews allow for the ordinary as well as natural construction connected between the interviewer and participants, as this often no doubt determines the quality of the data to be produced⁵⁶.

An interview schedule was constructed to cover questions relating to participants' experiences of peace building (see Appendix i, ii, iii & iv). The interview questions were structured in a way that allows the interview to flow in a regular manner. Interviews allow for the interviewer to move away from the research questions following the responses given by the participants thus eliciting more information⁵⁷. The actual interviews with participants went for an hour or slightly more depending on the flow of the interview and the availability of the participants. In addition, the interviews began with general questions and moved slowly to specific questions with gaining a relationship with the participants. After the interview, data was transcribed in a more detailed written account of the interaction before important points could be forgotten.

1.8.7.2 Documentary Review Check List

A documentary review check list was designed to extract the necessary information from the documents. These included peace process and policies regarding peace building. It also captured information about role of women in post war peace biding in South Sudan.

⁵⁶ Harrell & Bradley, 2009

⁵⁷ *ibid*

1.8.7.3 Validity and Reliability of Instruments

Validity refers to ability of the research instrument to collect the intended information that agrees conceptually and theoretically. It is the production of accurate results and measurement arriving at good conclusion. On the other hand, reliability refers to the truthfulness of the instruments⁵⁸. To ensure validity and reliability of research instruments, copies of the draft instruments were pilot tested in Jongelei State. This was selected because it has similar characteristics with Jubek State. This was to help assess the language clarity, ability to tap information needed, acceptability in terms of length and the privacy of the respondents. The researcher further discussed the instruments with the research supervisor, and other colleagues. Collected data was transcribed every evening to capture the emotional gestures before the researcher could forget.

1.8.8 Procedure of Data Collection

The researcher sought for introduction letter from university of Nairobi, and through this letter gained access to the study participants. The researcher personally and physically carried out the exercise of data collection without employing research assistants.

1.8.9 Data Analysis

Data analysis concerns the ‘breaking up’ of data in rational and adaptable themes for reporting purposes⁵⁹. The collected data was transcribed and thermalized every evening after fieldwork to guard against any losses. The transcribed data was thereafter harmonized with the notes from the fieldwork book to ensure that all the data is captured.

⁵⁸ Amin 2005

⁵⁹ Creswell 2009.

The subsequent stage entailed familiarization with the transcripts and editing. Direct quotations from the key informants were reported verbatim under the variable or themes studied.

1.9 Ethical Considerations

Voluntary participation and informed consent was catered for. The purpose of the survey was fully explained and the respondents politely requested to participate in the study, and with the respondents given an option to refuse to participate in the study. This was provided for in the introduction part of the questionnaire and consent form. Anonymity was another concern⁶⁰. To this end, promise and principle of anonymity together with confidentiality was assured, after, the names of the respondents were not requested, and emphasis was noted that the information would be treated in aggregate and purely for research purposes. Appreciation was ensured to the respondents after participation for ethical considerations.

1.9.1 Constraints and Mitigation Strategies

Time to access participants given the nature of their work was a limitation. However, this was overcome by enormous patience and use of phone calls. Fear to give actual information about the situation the situation in South Sudan. However, this was mitigated by establishing warm rapport and promising confidentiality. In addition, it was mitigated by keeping the discussion away from others.

⁶⁰ Creswell, 2009.

CHAPTER TWO

APPROACHES FOR PEACE BUILDING PROCESS

This section looks at the approaches and strategies that women have used in post conflict peace building in South Sudan. Strategies like evoking international instruments, advocacy campaigns, training and media are reviewed and discussed.

2.1 International Instruments

The study findings from both primary and secondary data showed that women banked on international instruments to request for their slot in peace building in South Sudan. They declined to remain onlookers as the peace process was going on. The women have been activists and called on the South Sudan government to respect the international instruments. Similarly, they have requested the international community to emphasize this to the government. Women group both in the diaspora and CSOs have ensured that this demand is respected⁶¹. This conforms to other studies which have been done in South Sudan for example the South Sudan Women's Agenda; no. 1 of August 2009. This has offered women leverage and niche for their involvement in the peace building process in their motherland. This is further documented by IRIN (2005) which authentically in the IRIN news May 2005 documents that "Sudan Women demand greater inclusion in Southern peace process"⁶². This shows that the inclusion of women in the participation in

⁶¹In-depth interview with CSO. woman activists, name and date withheld

⁶²IRIN (2005). "Sudan: Women demand greater inclusion in Southern peace process", *IRIN news* May 11. [retrieved online 30 June 2017 at <http://www.irinnews.org>

the peace process did not easily come. Women had to devise options and strategies to ensure that they are involved in the process of peace for national stability.

The findings from interviews further showed that women activists in diaspora and South Sudan in leadership positions strived and ensured that the 1974 UN General Assembly declaration as the International Women's Year, held in Mexico City is put in operation in South Sudan. This was premised on grounds and the fact that South Sudan was made a UN member country and therefore has to ascent to such declarations. Following up these instruments, women have struggled to see to it that, issues like equality, development and peace are central themes in South Sudan over time involving women. Women have had to appeal to the General Assembly which adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, CEDAW. CEDAW is quite an important instrument that leveraged women emancipation world over and enlisting affirmative action for women. It is often viewed as an international mouthpiece of rights for women which helps to elaborate all sorts of discrimination against women. It has also been proven as well as a part of an international legal framework that guarantees peace dialogues that stand a taste of time since it fosters inclusion and respect of women in peace processes⁶³

Drawing on the practicalities and basic aspects of CEDAW which conveys the a strong podium for enlisting equality between women and men by appreciating that women's opportunities to equal access are realized in political and public life, not negating the right to vote and to stand for election has jimmied women to positions that enable them

⁶³ Bell, 2013

to the peace negotiation table. This same approach was revealed to pave way for attaining education which lifts knowledge and skills to discuss peace, Health and employment.

It was found out that CEDAW and UN instruments have found easy ground in South Sudan for women to demand for their slot in peace building process. This is premised on the fact that by ratifying and accenting to the convention, South Sudan, like other countries, is legally bound and required to abide by the provisions into practice. The findings from interviews showed that women aware of this provision used various platforms to remind female leaders to respect this instrument. Similarly, the men advocate who had exposure to the outside world were reported to have supported women in this endeavor.

The findings from women interviews especially from parliament noted that the third World Conference in 1985 in Nairobi has been a far much blessing in pressing for women demands. Some of the women of South Sudan were reported to have been participants in this conference and quite often have made reference to this milestone event that occurred just in the neighborhood. In practice, the conference in Nairobi had favorable progressive schemes for the development of women emancipation. In all the interviews with women, it emerged that this has been leveraged by advocates of women inclusion. It was revealed that this has been strengthened with the reference to the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, where the international global commitment to incorporate gender perspectives in peace and security issues took place.

This has served as a strong weapon for women as they propagate their approaches to see peace return in South Sudan. In practice, the conference has motivated in its exercise the gender mainstreaming as a global strategy for the preferment and elevation of gender equality. Similarly, women in South Sudan have ensured that these instruments are being respected though with difficulty.

The women have also relied and used the UNSCR 1325⁶⁴ whose goal is to appreciate women's contributions and experience in armed conflicts. The UNSCR 1325 accentuates that involvement and the immersion of women in peace processes no doubt contributes significantly to the lasting preservation of world peace and security. Given the strength of the UNSCR 1325, women in South Sudan have also been predictable as managers and mediators in building peace thus by foreseen as powerful instruments and agents for guaranteeing security. This is well realized and document⁶⁵. The UNSCR 1325 acknowledges the important role women can have and play especially at grassroots level in transformation of communities in the post conflict conversion since majority of them are at the grass root. The women also have time as home keepers. This has raised the sense and concern among Sudanese people in general, that it is important to ensure that both men and women are involved and participating in peace building and all the security processes that can restore the long-torn country that is again disintegrating. As a member country of the UN the resolution stresses that all actors involved in post conflict or conflict situations, when discussing and executing peace agreements to embrace gender standpoint as emphasized by (S/RES/1325, 2000, paragraph 8).

⁶⁴UNSCR 1325 is a UN instrument which provides a framework for women's role in the peace, security

⁶⁵ Pratt & Richter-Devroe ,2011

The findings from the interviews candidly showed that the UNSCR 1325, as an abiding instrument of UN in the Security Council which has provided a strong foundation and framework for women's role in the peace, security and conflict agenda in South Sudan. This was attained because of the presence of various partners in South Sudan who would not down play the resolution. To this end, by emphasizing the promotion and participation of women, the accenting to the resolution contributed in fostering women's inclusion and presence as a security matter. It has also increased awareness among South Sudan women political actors and opened up new spaces for dialogue for increased involvement.

It was revealed from interviews' that the conflict in South Sudan coincided with the time and transformation of the Security Council when it was rejuvenated for meaningful action. Although the UNSCR 1889 had been propagated, it was reviewed and precarious elements that promote women in affirmative action passed in 2009 to reinforce the execution and enforcement as well as monitoring of 1325. This gave women in South Sudan a platform to press for their rights and the accountability resulting from the monitoring was of great advantage. To this note, women have been requesting participation during all stages of peace processes, particularly in conflict resolution, post-conflict planning and peace building, including by enhancing their engagement in political and economic decision-making at early stages of recovery processes. This resolution further helped women in more and meaningful civil society participation. The interviews from CSOs affirmed that this has boosted their activities and other women's

organizations to interact with the Security Council more often which is a mechanism that promotes their role in nation construction.

2.2 Political Participation

Another approach women mentioned for inclusion in peace process was calling for wider political participation. This has strongly been emphasized by women. The interviews revealed that women have made it clear in various forums that the South Sudan transitional constitution guarantees women's participation in the political process of South Sudan, a condition essential to ensuring a viable economy. The interview showed that emphasis has been made that is this approach that can lead to sturdier and more comprehensive peace that can benefit all South Sudanese and the future generation. From the interviews, it emerged that the advocacy of gender inclusion in state institutions and structure, and this has happened in South Sudan where women have championed their inclusivity in governance before independence. This is well represented in literature and women have always augured that their views should be heard. In an interview, one woman remarked that Anne Itto in 2006 affirmed that women play a crucial role in negotiation not as visitors but active participants⁶⁶.

Women have vigilantly been involved and pressing for involvement in politics. The interview and documents reveal that women have been pressing for the position of speaker of parliament. Through this position once attained, they can use it for having their demands met in peace negotiations at various levels. Similarly, women have been

⁶⁶ Interview held on Phone with woman member of parliament date and name withheld

calling for national leaders to respect and implement the South Sudan's 2011 transitional constitution which provides for a quota system with 25 percent representation for women at executive and legislative levels. In addition, women among themselves are encouraged to compete for the other remaining 75 percent of the slots in leadership positions. The women interviews intimated that through similar provisions, it yielded in the interim constitution a presentation of women constituting 33 percent of South Sudan's parliament at independence. The women activists reported that the chair of the women's parliamentary caucus has been encouraging women to participate in political elective positions. The interviews reported that the women caucus chair has on various occasions reported an increase in women representation in various elections which make their involvement in peace building process mandatory.

The findings reported that there is strong political emancipation among women. They felt the pinch and agony of the ongoing political marginalization. They reported that the South Sudanese women's pact, that constituted of two hundred ladies drawn government and CSOs to "set the agenda" for leadership of Sudan women has given women courage and impetus in political involvement. The findings reported that the pact continuously focused on UNSCR 1325 with matters relating to women discussion topics such as women's legislation, empowerment, political participation, peace building and reconciliation of women. With the resolutions of convention, the women mutually and jointly suggested measures to mitigate the cultural biases for women transformation and participation in political emancipation and peace building⁶⁷.

⁶⁷ Interview with woman member of parliament name and date withheld

Majority of organizations dealing with women matters fall within the four key pillars involving peace-building work that ensures that women are equipped with the useful skills and necessary experience to accomplish their peace-building efforts. For example, considering the case of Sudan's civil war to internal clashes as a result of SPLM /SPLA split; women have greatly participated towards good governance, reconciliation activities, and economic empowerment. WATOP which was the only women organization based in Bahr El Ghazal and Wau regions actively participated in ensuring that the displaced children were able to access education while at the same time training women in basic skills including tailoring, tie-dying and providing adult education during second civil war in Sudan.

The findings indicated that women have come to believe that political muscle can transcend all other barriers to encompass peace process. Women have encouraged fellow women to take up leadership positions at all leadership structures of the country. This, they envisage, will leverage their involvement and participation in peace building and reconstruction.

The findings show that women leadership in South Sudan especially women parliamentarian caucus and SPLM Women League have played a key role in promoting equality of their fellow women. Renowned women leadership in South Sudan especially Dr. Pauline Riak, Nyoka, Anna Kima of New Sudan Council of Churches, Awut Deng Achuil, and Hakim of Sudanese Women Association in Nairobi (SWAN), were recounted to have played key role in the preparation and execution of Wunlit peace arrangement.

Alongside this, women's groups have been influential and vital in ensuring that any vital information is received by those individuals at the grassroots level. This was reported to give women clout and courage that they matter in the affairs of their country.

The findings from all the interviews and the literature revealed that women have not been politically passive. For example, when South Sudan held its referendum, women organization called South Sudan Women General Association (SSWGA) changed and localized the CPA document into the several native languages and ensured that it was circulated to every South Sudan state. This was a move to awaken people on the political progress of the country and most especially women who are always in their respective villages. This courtesy confirms that women in South Sudan are politically active and triggering fellow women and entire country at large to get involved in peace-building work as well as governance, economic empowerment, and healing and reconciliation. This is enough testaments that women have political arena to build and provide necessary knowledge, skills and expertise, which maybe vital in ensuring that peace process is initiated.

It was established from the findings that women have committed themselves to keep reminding the government where it errors or falters in fulfilling its commitments. A case in point mentioned was that they have always pushed the government to respect the Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCRSS), which mandates that inclusion of women in matters of governance. To this note the major governance pillar of the ARCRSS is that the Government of Republic of South Sudan

should at any given time nominate at least four women where at least three of them should be drawn from the SPLM-IO as ministers, with other two of them being assistant ministers. The findings revealed that women are now working to eliminate shortcomings or what they see as a loophole of ARCRSS which restrict the 25 percent requirement to the executive branch of the government, hence failing to spread it to other governance circles as required by the state constitutional especially for the judiciary branch. This is quite significant because it acts to empower women to a position where they can participate in making decisions the state level. They are ensuring that state governments should be actually practical in terms of women representation. They are ensuring that the commitment to both county and national government levels should not only remain in document and mention but rather on ground into real practice. They were proud that they have achieved in some way on having some of the political commitments met.

The women have been on the fore front advocating for political participation which would inevitably lead them to the peace negotiating table. Women have continued to challenge the notion the domination of men in politics, with this furthered through Islamic culture that looks down upon women. Thus, women have tried to bolt up the number of women's political organizations. Once this is enlisted and women find themselves on the political table, they acquire the necessary opportunity for involvement in the peace⁶⁸. In this way, they attain even mandatory slots to find themselves in the peace process at all levels of the nation building.

⁶⁸ ZaynabElSawi ,2011

In addition, the findings revealed that women through political participation have struggled to challenge and restructure various counterproductive gender roles and the negative traditional perception about women. This has bolstered women's energy at various levels in the peace building process. This has been attained in the way that women on various political platforms challenge men and even articulate issues of national concern than men do. This has given courage even to the marginalized women to come up in respective local areas; giving way to some men as women advocacy. Exclusion of women through this approach from peace forums though common since South Sudan struggle, is slowly and consistently waning. However, the interviews showed that this is something that could be realized over time given the women background of South Sudan as a country that has been raged with war and terror.

Politically, women are engaged in mass literacy campaigns. This is premised on the notion that majority of women who are facing crisis as a result of continued war do not know how to read and write hence they are considered to be sidelined during key decision making processes. Further, rural women are purported not to be as educated as their counterparts living in urban centers or rather they are unaware as to what may be happening in the country. This fact is far made worse by men's attitude, whom regards governance of the country and important issue of peace talks as for "men. This is premised on the notion that it's the majority of men who are involved in war combat.

2.3 Women CSOs strategy in peace building

The use of CSOs in attempting to register women inclusion in peace building process has not been a walk in the park. This came up with emancipation and realization that the armed conflict has seriously inflicted pain and negatively influenced the day to day lives of South Sudanese women for a long time. Women have thus struggled to have a united voice from another angle to join other women in government and international organizations. Women CSOs have been vital in pressing for peace and participating in various avenues.

The women CSOs have a long history of peace building in South Sudan. Women from both Northern and Southern Sudan come together and embarked on working together in 1990's. Through this working together, Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP); was formed which was a key umbrella body that worked to bring together women from two conflicting regions different ethnic, political and social-economic backgrounds⁶⁹. This CSO thrived on the funding by the Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE) to conduct peace building processes and activities.

In relation to the above, even before the Royal Netherlands Embassy (RNE) officially embarked on providing the necessary support for the SuWEP initiative, Women from Sudan were mindful and conscious of their economic, social, and political marginalization and relegation to things that did not matter. They were also aware that in their communities they were the most oppressed. They were marginalized by their culture

⁶⁹ZaynabElSawi, Women Building Peace: The Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP) in Sudan 2011

as they were not allowed to take part in any decision making process since their rights were not considered in any way. To this effect, women were often sidelined and were considered to be weak and lacking any significance influence within their society. In order to ensure that they were free from all these cultural constraints and stereotyping, Sudanese women ganged up to break from the traditional bondage and recognize their rights as human rights. Thus, women are using several fronts to participate in the affairs of their country. However, the findings showed that women still faced a number of hardships in a male dominated culture.

The findings from interviews and literature sources indicated that CSOs like the Women Empowerment for Peace and Development Network, have been educating women on their democratic rights so as to spur them to contribute to decision-making. These CSO among others have some literacy skills and have had opportunity to attain education. To this end, they have utilized their skills and knowledge in analyzing laws that are discriminatory against women. This is a linchpin on peace building. The interviews showed that awareness-raising about peace are no mean achievement for CSOs in South Sudan to realize social order and harmony.

The findings from interviews and literal sources further unearthed the efforts of the Nuba Women for Peace which worked on peace issues and advocacy, with most of their activities being conducted through the church and church networks. Similarly, the group was also reported to have been involved in community mobilization to facilitate the contribution of women on other women's governance and economic empowerment. This

reveals that women roles in peace building date as back as the struggle for peace in South Sudan. In addition, it was also mentioned that The National Democratic Alliance (NDA) which is also a women CSO group, has over time concentrated more on women's rights. Similarly, in tandem with attempts, like those of Women Empowerment for Peace Group, women in such networks have been able to make analysis of national laws and move a step to criticize those laws that infringe and inhibit women's active participation in decision making. This has ushered in a climate of a more democratic regime where women ideas are respected and seen as paramount in nation building.

Women groups have over time showed concern about peace stability in the country. This has made them to encourage a culture of peace by promoting awareness on the adverse effects of war on society. South Sudanese women organizations have given greater focus to peace activities based on their own efforts regardless of whether men or government gives them accord. Findings showed that groups like SWAN and SPLM had been deeply involved with peace matters with especially at the grass roots. It was affirmed from findings that despite the involvement of many women in peacemaking before the formation of CSOs like SuWEP, they were faced with a number of obstacles such as, lack of international recognition, lack of funding and little capacity to handle peace processes and security issues. It was mentioned that discussion on peace was treated as a haven of security issue. However, coalition of women in CSOs challenged this notion with international and national recognition as well as support. The traditional sentiment of women who wanted to be alive on peace issues met molestation was challenged and women fear on such matters of engaging in peace discussions waned.

The formation of women CSOs were reported to have attracted attention of the Dutch Embassies in Khartoum and Nairobi which came in to address the constraints. To this end, they provided support to amplify peacemaking activities and initiatives. These two embassies offered various assistance like training workshops to beef up the women's artistry in peace advocacy, pushing for support for peace activities, technical conflict resolution, diplomatic approaches, and offering trauma counseling for those affected by the war. These networks helped to restore the family and traditional peace mechanisms that had been eroded. The traditional peace systems of kinship that lacked female representation were restored⁷⁰.

The findings further revealed that using women feminist groups had immense contribution to peace building and amplifying woman's roles. The establishment of SuWEP as a feminist movement was instrumental. The findings showed that SuWEP as both a CSO and feminists group has had pronounced contributions to the peace process in South Sudan. It was mentioned that this group offered skills to various other women groups and individual women in conflict resolution and mediations well as other peace related areas. The SuWEP approach contained contributions on mediation, lobbying and preventive diplomacy, besides a string of meetings within organizations, individuals and parliamentarians on peace building. From the literary sources, one of the SuWEP members recollected how a training conducted in South Africa was a turning point for her in the peace making and building process: she remarked as thus:

⁷⁰Women Building Peace: The Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP) in Sudan Changing their World: Concepts and Practices of Women's Movements, 2nd ed

“I recollect acquiring skills to deal with conflict solution and Preventive anger to attain diplomacy. But I also amassed how to deal with the rush that I had carried from the clash and that was inside me. I needed to first know myself and understand my own experience from the conflict.”⁷¹

The findings from interviews showed that CSOs working committees created opportunities and avenues for women to interact with experienced political leaders of both gender. This was reported to be of critical importance since most women were not well knowledgeable on the political processes that took place in their country since independence. Women through grouping in CSOs have been able to acquire new technologies of communication leading to exchanges with the outside world on matters peace making process through the information and communication technologies like the Internet.

2.4 Awareness raising and information sharing:

Creating awareness and information sharing on the role of women and prior marginalization was a paramount approach and strategy. This is one of the main approaches the women deployed in all its fields. The women harmonized information among its members, enhance the capacity of fellow women to acquire and analyze information as peace actors, carry out advocacy work on peace, women’s empowerment and gender equity, and to build partnerships among women’s organizations. Women in

⁷¹Women Building Peace: The Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP) in Sudan Changing their World: Concepts and Practices of Women’s Movements, 2nd ed

various organizations published and disseminated a number of their publications through the Centers as well, including, various types of scholarly materials newsletters and spreading the knowledge to the mass media⁷².

Literate women were deployed to create awareness and share information. The women of the kind were said to have prepared position papers (Maastricht Declaration 2000) and formulated action plans for harmony and cohesiveness with various women, local, regional and international groups. Women published newsletters have opened websites articulate their concerns on peace building process in South Sudan. The important documents concerning the history of Sudanese women in various peace initiatives are availed on the website in various languages that can be understood-say in Arabic as well as English. The media has given the women movement a lot more attention. In a related event, have been vigilant in raising awareness and plight of women in South Sudan⁷³.

2.5 Economic Empowerment Strategy

Quoting a focus group research conducted by the National Democratic Institute (NDI) in 2011, reveal that women groups have been pivotal in peace process and have leveraged the platform to ensure economic development of women and health status of women is improved⁷⁴.

Women economic empowerment was singled out by the interviewees as key to their effective participation at all levels and to reducing poverty. Among the suggestions

⁷² ibid

⁷³ Mayesha et al, 2014

⁷⁴ Ibid

encompassed women empowerment in the agricultural sector, given that most farmers in South Sudan are women. Interviews indicated that without economic empowerment women capacity to engage in peace building remains whittled. It was established from both interviews and literature that the government of South Sudan undertaken enormous steps to raise the economic status of women. The Ministry of Gender, was reported to have received funding from the World Bank, and consequently gave funding to 109 women, who have invested in small businesses in all the ten states. This has been coupled with training on entrepreneurship with vocational training. These efforts are encouraging and it is hoped these will lead to access decision making in the national matters thereby removing hurdles that undermine their participation in it, in the private and public and sectors and in the formal and informal economy. Findings revealed that economically empowered women found it easy to approach and consult with men⁷⁵.

The findings revealed that entrusting women economically is likely to bring higher payoff, given the post conflict environment characterized by underdeveloped economic structures. It is evident that backing women involved in agricultural activities may bolster the economy by facilitating the diversification of income sources and confidence. This is indirectly providing employment in which women in the informal economy can enhance the maintenance of families and households, development of skills, poverty reduction and broadening the opportunities for economic participation in various ways.

⁷⁵ Interview with CSO woman name and Date withheld

In a nut shell women, have implored many approaches to participate in the peace building of their motherland. They have not remained in the peripheral. They have evoked international instruments, as a pivotal approach to have their cause realized.

CHAPTER THREE

WOMEN CONTRIBUTIONS IN POST CONFLICT PEACE BUILDING

This chapter looks at the typical and tangible contributions made by women in the post conflict peace process in South Sudan. Women have been reported to have leveraged and carved a niche in the peace building process. Various aspects under which women have exercised and exhibited their contribution to peace building process in South Sudan are discussed in this chapter.

3.1 Creating Enabling environment for peace building

The findings revealed that those women were to create an enabling environment for the peace process. It was revealed that since 1994, various women organizations have immensely contributed towards peace in South Sudan. SWAN (Sudanese-Women's-Association) is one of the organizations mentioned. The organization, which was operating in from Nairobi, was struggling in creating a conducive environment that would enable women from Sudan to work together despite their religious, cultural, political and ethical differences.

The findings from interviews revealed that during the 1995 and 1997 different training seminars and workshops were conducted women in Nairobi. The workshops and seminars focused on management of peace and food security in Sudan. The women from Sudan were involved in several formal and informal activities both inside and outside their country. The purpose of the activities was to enhance nation peace in Sudan by uniting men and women from the country. Consequently, the women have realized

immense success, including invitations from international conferences focusing on restoration of peace.

The findings revealed that women in struggle for independent South Sudan faced various atrocities including being motherless but they never gave up their contribution and commitment. They remained firmly involved in the armed conflict. Their contribution to the struggle involved various facets including supporting fighters, providing combatants as well as providing food and medical support to wounded soldiers. This is in part a great contribution in attaining peace from the hands of the marginalized Khartoum. Women were also on the forefront in shaping inter-ethnic war relations, thereby, producing numerous peace accords at the grassroots level. This has harmonized and achieved peace at grassroots levels. The findings revealed that women always played a fundamental and active role at in terms of restoration of peace at different levels in the country, despite roles been undervalued and ignored. They have remained with courage to the time when they realize peace⁷⁶.

The findings further revealed that the women group's final negotiations were used to pressure and organize both sides to embrace a peace process that was gender conscious. The findings showed that even when their requests were not registered; they remained courageous pressing for a peaceful South Sudan. They never gave up their struggle. Based on the findings the women have received from NGOs supported by the US including the NDI (National-Democratic-Institute). For instance, in 2004, various

⁷⁶Stewards of Peace: The Role of Women and Youth in Post-Conflict Sudan.” (2005). *National Democratic Institute for International Affairs*.http://www.ndi.org/files/1940_su_stewards_111605.pdf

workshops were conducted by the NDI. As such, the group used the seminars to empower and develop essential skills required to play an active role in the process of restoring peace and participate in the government.

The findings showed that due to the efforts of women using various avenues, gender consideration has been regarded as a requisite tool of national, regional and international peace building. To this note, it was revealed that women pressing for a working peace building environment, the final CPA (Comprehensive-Peace-Agreement) had over seventy sections that focus on women, in attaining lasting peace. Involving women in drafting of the legislation and reducing gender based violence was one of the main issues that were addressed.

The findings showed that women during the conflict were at the center of conflict providing support in various ways. During the Sudan conflict, several women joined the freedom fighters movement. However, their roles in the liberation movement have not been properly documented.⁷⁷ Equally, after most men joined the army, women were forced to assume new roles in families. Notably, some women played critical roles in the family while others joined the freedom fighters. In the army, they were on the forefront as combatants and acted as teachers, nurses and farmers. These acts in many ways gave firm foundation for women contribution to peace.

It was also evidently mentioned that the majority of women that joined the liberation struggle took on supportive and backup roles, like carrying supplies, cookery services and

⁷⁷ Bubenzer& Orly 2011.

caring for the wounded soldiers on the frontline, and logistical and managerial care. There were however, some female fighters that greatly and immensely physically contributed to the independence of Sudan. A women's battalion, known as Kateeba Baanat, was formed by the SPLA in 1984.⁷⁸ The training of the Kateeba Baanat was conducted in Ethiopia. However, the women's battalions only participated in a single attack which was unsuccessful. Subsequently, the women provided fighting troops with support such as ammunition supply and treating wounded soldiers. Although other women battalions were created, their roles were administrative and logistical. This role cannot be underestimated in the ongoing peace process in South Sudan.

Women themselves played an advocacy role among their fellow women and men. Through the growth of the civil society organizations (CSOs) after 1990s, a way was provided to increase the participation of women in peace building in South Sudan. The CSOs involvement in promotion of women involvement in peace building increased after 2000, with more response to conflict impact on women and children. The CSOs improved their capacity to contribute to post conflict reconstruction by creating more avenues for women involvement.

The findings indicated that women have been involved in post conflict reconstruction period through promotion of justice, access to health care and community-building activities. The findings showed that local capacity for demonstrate the involvement of women in peace discussions through both informal and formal structures. CSOs and NGOs majorly of women foundation have been firmly engaged in retorting to the needs

⁷⁸ Bubenzer & Orly, 2011

of the disadvantaged like the internally displaced persons, the disabled, single mothers, the orphans. The women were also reported to be offering psychosocial counseling for trauma victims and strengthening community infrastructure for peace building.⁷⁹

The findings revealed that women have established links at the community level for various reasons to attain peace building process. They have firmly been engaged in voter education to their fellow women and even men during elections of the constituent assembly. Additionally, it emerged from the findings that women have championed for increased representation of women at all level of the peace process. Women, through their charities were established to play important role in reconciliation and stabilization at the community level. At the community level, women have led peace talk shows, peace rallies, peace campaigns and peace building training. Women were reported to have used to schools as platform form for sharing peace messages, more so through the parent committee and school management committees. Courtesy of such activities, it is enough testament and demonstration that women have contributed immensely to the process in the post conflict young nation of South Sudan.

According to the findings, at times, Sudanese women coerced to provide food for fighters. Equally, women were forced to take care of the sick, children and elderly. Women continued to raise their voice in various ways and within the existing international legal framework. These actions have resulted to into the NAP (National-Action-Plan) that was ratified by the government. Women contributions in the constituent assembly have enabled even more women get involved in peace activities. To this end,

⁷⁹ Report from CSO woman interview name and date withheld

women representation in mediation activities, peace committees and as advocates for truth justice and reconciliation has increased. The advocacy activities highlighted conflict effects on women and peace building videos. This has roused the women and men on the predicament of women not only in getting involved the peace process, but also the due respect they deserve and the protection they need. This is quite a tremendous milestone in the peace process in any country.

3.2 Engendering Constitution Making and Law Reform

Women in South Sudan have engendered the constitution making more sensitive with policies which are women friendly. This is a cornerstone to peace building process. This is premised on the notion that peace process that involves women have been realized in peace building process. To these note various establishments have been used by women to influence South Sudan's constitution making. As such, the Southern Sudan's transitional constitution (TCRSS) that was sanctioned by the country's president at independence, which is a revised version of the country's interim constitution endorsed in 2005 favorable phrases for women.

Various provisions in the constitution enhance gender equality and favor participation of women. For example, Article 16 in the bill of rights gives women complete and equivalent pride of the person of women. Moreover, the constitution proposes that laws need to be enacted by so as to deal with adverse traditions and customs that abate

women's self-esteem at all government levels. With efforts of women they are obliged to participate in the national conference⁸⁰.

Women have worked to polish the customary law that undermines women and limits their confidence in various undertakings⁸¹, and as such women are beginning as a matter of right, to access property through their fathers or husbands and customary laws that are discriminatory, against widows and other groups of women.

Women were reported to have had practical activities in the communities that strengthen the notion of peace-building work. This has given women ready experiences and skills on a daily basis useful for peace-building efforts. A case in point reported was that since the raging of Sudan's civil war which culminated to internal clashes due to SPLA/SPLM split, women have played a tremendous role and have been active in economic empowerment, promoting good governance, and doing reconciliation activities in their respective communities⁸². Women have been influential in; putting to practice and ground the operation of various peace agreements⁸³. All these are significant roles.

Furthermore, women's establishments have been essential in creating knowledge on developmental issues as regards the position of peace in nation building to the grassroots.

During the referendum of South Sudan, the CPA was translated into various local dialects

⁸⁰Cherry Leonardi, Leben Nelson Moro, Martina Santschi, and Deborah H. Isser, *Local Justice in Southern Sudan* (Washington, DC: USIP and Rift Valley Institute, 2010).

⁸¹ The Transitional Constitution

⁸²Sourced from The Women's Commission for Refugee Women Children's report titled ", "Hope for Breaking the Cycle of Famine and War in Sudan."

⁸³Jenner, "When Truth Is Denied, Peace Will Not Come": The People-to-People Peace Process of the New Sudan Council of Churches

by the country's women and, in turn, distributed all ten states in the country. As demonstrated above, several women from South Sudan been involved in peace-building activities in expertise, governance and skills that could enhance the process of restoring peace. This makes the peace building process a culture among the people.

Yet more, other typical examples of the role played by women can be traced during the negotiations of the Addis Ababa peace accord where Women's Bloc were formed by female groups representing the government as well as the opposition participated in the Addis Ababa discussions. The Women's Bloc played various roles including reaching out to females in the two opposing sides. Equally, besides enacting efforts to terminate the conflict, they also advocated for representation of women from both sides in discussions of peace. Women collaborations results in confidence and trust and, creates communication channels among opposing sides.⁸⁴

It was reported that in the peace building process, the traditional judicial system is used by women as well as their families restore cultural based justice because the current law enforcement authorities is not proficient in terms of realizing the need of the community. In turn, women activists are working to break this archaic rigid legal system and traditional approach. Thus, paving way for women to have confidence and boldness in what they are doing towards peace at all levels.

⁸⁴*Nyathon James Hoth Mai* December 1, 2015 *The Role of Women in Peace-Building in South Sudan* Policy brief (cite properly)

3.3 State-Civil Society Relations

Women's organizations and networks have attempted to create a strong and diplomatic link with the government. This has been fundamental to broadcast the needs of women and communities in negotiations between the society and the state. This has created a strong way to bridge the divides, ending suffering of women and other people at the grassroots⁸⁵.

The relationship of CSO has strengthened women ties to government and appointments to government senior positions which has attracted political diversity⁸⁶. The attained platform has widened women's room to tackle various issues that hitherto would be a challenge⁸⁷. The findings revealed that these experiences catapulted women assuming serious positions of leadership especially after the signing of various peace accords. This achievement and role cannot be under estimated in the role of peace building espoused by women. It is clearly documented and emphasized by Jane Edward 2010 that after the signing of the CPA in 2005, senior and leadership positions in Southern Sudan government were assumed by activists from women's organizations⁸⁸. This strengthened women civil society organizations and their fellow women in senior government positions. This was reported to have strengthened the position of women giving them a strong and firm impetus to, continue articulating the priorities of women and advocate for elections and restoration of peace.

⁸⁵ Interview with CSO woman quoting the past remarks of Rebecca Nyandeng De Mabior

⁸⁶Susan Van Schoonhoven, ed. Emiko Noma, "The Sacrifice of Honey: Stories of the Life and Work of Rebecca Joshua Okwaci of Sudan," Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, University of San Diego, 2006, <http://www.sandiego.edu/peacestudies>

⁸⁷Jane Edward, *Sudanese Women Refugees: Transformations and Future Imaginings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007);

⁸⁸Jane Edward, "Reflecting on Untold Stories of Southern Sudanese Women," *Sudan Tribune*, March 5, 2010

The collaboration of women CSOs and women in senior positions of government have a step further been able to emphasize the need of capacity building among female groups and obtain stable and dependable sources of funds rather than on the current short-term project funding regimes. Women CSOs with support from government are able to secure and source for funding from the government and international development partners which is used to build and consolidate peace in various ways.

The collaboration of women in government senior positions with their fellow women have elicited self-confidence and assurance among women that stable peace rests in their efforts. The findings revealed that women have been able to unite where all groups of women from Sudan, representing various opposing political sides and organizations from the civil society, jointly rallied the world to restore peace in Sudan.

The findings showed that women have had a tremendous lead in a role of creating inter-ethnic war solving forums and links, thereby, leading to several accords and grassroots peace. Women participants in interviews expressed disappointment that their role has been under represented and reported. However, the critical role played by women in restoring peace at various levels has been neglected or undervalued during negotiations.⁸⁹

3.4 Engendering the War

The findings revealed that women have been able to take part directly or indirectly in the war bringing down the strong mysteries associated with men and war. This is a strong

⁸⁹Stewards of Peace: The Role of Women and Youth in Post-Conflict Sudan.” (2005). *National Democratic Institute for International Affairs*.http://www.ndi.org/files/1940_su_stewards_111605.pdf

milestone in South Sudan given its political history. This curtails the perception among men that peace is only for men.

The findings revealed that with regards to the independence of the country, appreciating the present and past roles of women in building and restoring peace in South Sudan and the current challenges faced by women, is an important project. Women feminists have played vanguard roles at war and taking vehement approach similar to militaristic when advocating for their cause (Giles 2003). Such works of women in military highlights how numerous scales that women can serve to suffocate insubordination against women as political subjects by state and society.

Women have also been able evoke the long traditional tendency that combat is only for men. Southern Sudanese women resisted the often positions of only victims and symbols of slavery and rape endorsed by the government as the conflict's battleground.⁹⁰. Based on this approach, women from Southern Sudan women have been attached in efforts for defending and producing the ever-imminent shifting notion of South Sudanese nation. South Sudanese women have challenged Government oppression during war as sex slaves through public protests. They have played a role where victims of war and soldiers were sheltered secretly, thereby, doing perilous work as guerilla movement messengers, and facilitating peace efforts in the South (Fitzgerald 2002)

It was revealed and discovered from literature that in the second phase of the conflict which occurred between 1983 and 2005, besides incorporating women into the liberation

⁹⁰ Fitzgerald 2002, Ringera 2007 & Aldehaib 2010)

movement women were recruited directly into the SPLA by John Garang, the then leader of the SPLM. Since then, women have been legitimately represented in the SPLM/A's Secretariat for Women, Gender and Child Welfare and the Department for Women's Affairs.

The findings showed during both conflicts to liberate South Sudan, women were profoundly relied upon to support their families and communities, carrying and taking on many errands conventionally undertaken by men in order for them to carry on the revolution⁹¹. This women activity became more pronounced at the 'grassroots' in SPLM areas through establishments as associations, cooperatives and women's such as the Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association (SRRA).

It was also revealed that civilians and more importantly women in particular were also covertly expected to provide the SPLM battalions with food, shelter and water. These charities and contribution were of vital significance to the revolution that brought up this apparent but being jeopardized peace. In this way women engendered the war and it could no longer be thought as the affair of men.

In conclusion, the findings that women contribution has been both direct and indirect. Women provided support during combat to attain peace while in addition, they also participated directly in combat. They have utilized their feminine advantage that cuts across ethnic boundaries to bolster their efforts to see that their mother land attains peace.

⁹¹ Ibid

CHAPTER FOUR

IMPEDIMENTS TO WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POST CONFLICT PEACE

BUILDING

Women like in other parts of the world and Africa in particular, are constructed around their gender. To this end, various factors are likely to inhibit South Sudan's peace-building process. These factors are explored below.

4.1 Patriarchal Society

South Sudan's society is actually like in other African countries is built on patriarchal norms and culture. Men are usually the household heads in patriarchal societies and exercise complete as well as inferable authority in matters dealing with the nation and the community. As such, the role of women is relegated to bearing and nurturing of children. Although these norms mostly break during conflicts, when men go to war, the women have more freedom and time to be involved in economic activities and NGOs which they resume when there is apparent peace and some negotiations. Negotiations of conflict nature are considered for men rather women. However, women revert to their normal chores one men return from wars or other activities related to the conflict that contributed to their departure and roles of nurturing to give men time for economic and social reconstruction.

In patriarchal societies, customary law practices such as bride prices impede the social progress of women in South Sudan. Bride price lends to a thinking that woman is a man's property which extreme contributes to women's long workload. In most South Sudan

societies, phrases such as we used our cows to marry the women provide members of the extended family with the right ensure that women are continuously working for them. Thus, the families' responsibilities on women physically consume women and leave them with no time to think about self-development. This gives them less pride wherever they are since they are attachments to a purchase price. The modern governance institutions have been shaped by the patriarchal philosophies that are ingrained in the culture. Irrespective of their proficiency and unique skill, women serving in influential positions are regarded as trivial. Equally, women establishments have been excluded and have received minimum consultations in various public life processes. The patriarchal philosophies have affected women in various ways. Notably, women in the grassroots are affected by severe poverty and the survival struggle. Also, given the country's size, various contradictions appear between urban and rural women.

The 2002 and 2005 peace talks held in Machakos and Naivasha respectively are examples of how women are marginalized. For example, while women purposed to send representatives and even created their positional paper, women were not involved in the negotiations. On the other hand, while the position papers presented by women were accepted, recommendations from the meeting did not reflect their concerns. Consequently, the women were coerced to represent their views through the men. Providentially, this approach has been successful.

Discrimination of women in the development path and post war conflict peace building is attributed to cultural traditions, abject poverty, high illiteracy rate among women, low

economic power and the subordination of women⁹². In addition, the women themselves have a tendency to suppress their rights and their freedoms which is deep rooted in the patriarchal beliefs and customs. There is a high belief especially in the African tradition that women should be protected from any aggression by men. Surprisingly, women have grown up to believe so. These tendencies suffocate their roles in peace building process especially of war nature. Whether this has affected the role of women in South Sudan as believed by traditions has not been explored.

4.2 Lack of Political Will

While various institutional, policy and legal frameworks for enhancing women involvement exist in Southern Sudan, the country does not have the political will to implement the mechanism. Notably, the country has failed to completely implement the 25% affirmative action. On the contrary, the MGCS do not have sufficient capacity and adequate resources to undertake their duties effectively. Moreover, the UNSCR 1325 still plays an insignificant role on the participation of women in public life. The participation of women in governance, economic development and security had acquired the political will of the government to the present policy and legal framework and to ensure that institutions promoting gender equality are funded adequately.

In the post-independence cabinet, women held only five out of 29 ministerial positions and ten out of 28 deputy ministerial positions. Women are even less represented in political institutions at local or subnational levels. The underrepresentation of women in

⁹² Kelly et al 2015

political institutions, especially elected office, undermines democratic, participatory and inclusive governance.⁹³

Political parties have also been included in the power sharing deals formulated for the country's transitional government and the various commissions related to the same process.⁹⁴ In 2003, the representation of women in the unified Sudan was extremely low. In fact, only 4% of the judiciary members were women. As such, the women represented 6% of Sudan's High Court judges and 26% of the general court's judges. By 2006, the country had only two women ministers in the Social affairs Ministry.

The new Southern Sudan government represents the same pattern of under representation of women. While 25% seat have been legally set aside for women, the quota is still unfulfilled. In South Sudan, just like Northern Sudan, women obtain their roles based on marital, ethnic and class base privileges. Equally, language has emerged as a major definition for inclusion of women. As such, women who are educated in English are better placed in the new government because most business is conducted in English. As such, language has joined education status, class and ethnicity in determining how women access power. Since most south Sudanese women have been marginalized academically and are bear most of community and family burden which, in turn, minimizes their chances of finding formal employment or participating in political office. While women played an important role in the Sudanese conflict, they were not actively involved in the peace negotiations. However, women were involved in some of

⁹³Beny Gideon Mabor. "Women and Political Leadership in Africa: A Demand in South Sudan Transitional Democracy." *Sudan Tribune*. Sudan Tribune, 22 Apr. 2013. Web. 1 May 2014.!

⁹⁴ Beswick, 2000

the negotiations that resulted in the CPA. Nonetheless, women who participated in the SPLM delegation received short-time notice on the discussion and were regularly ignored (UN Women 2012, p.8). Based on the UN report regarding the participation of women in the negotiation, there were no signatories in the agreement from women nine percent women were witnesses and 0% were involved in the mediations. (UN Women, 2012). Most groups of women and NGOs are involved in reconciliation and stabilization processes at the community level. There is no connection between bottom-up and top-down approaches in the process of peace.⁹⁵.

The leadership of the SPLM/A nominated a few women in the Machakos delegation and other rounds of the negotiation. Nonetheless, the women's participation was not strong because they were either co-opted to the delegation through a short notice with minimal consultation opportunity among themselves. Consequently, they were not fully prepared for the negotiations.⁹⁶

The quota system that allocates 25% of government positions to women is usually politically aligned representatives of women focusing on the agenda of the party rather than promoting the democratic rights of women or gender equality. The CPA, Eastern Region conflicts and Darfur peace agreements failed to deal with accountability issues regarding the Sudan government's war crimes, especially GBV against women and girls.

⁹⁵ Arino. M.V. 2008.

⁹⁶Itto, Ann. (2006). "The Role of Women in Peace Processes." *Conciliation Resources*. <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/sudan/women.php>

Women-led initiatives are usually sidelined despite their regular advocacy and lobbying activities and their willingness and capacity to support the peace process. Women's voices are seldom heard and their skills rarely recognized.

4.3 High Illiteracy Rates

Another impediment was reported to be the high women illiteracy rate in the country. The illiteracy level is over eighty percent, which in turn, completely hinders the peace-building process of women as well as other national initiatives. In addition, because of the high illiteracy rate, most women cannot benefit from training seminars and workshops provide for women to improve their knowledge. Equally, higher illiteracy levels have undermined the involvement of women in other critical aspects of public life. Again, most women in influential positions are either educated in mother tongue or in Arabic. However, the country uses English as its official language, thereby, making it difficult for literate women to communicate at the policy level. Besides, most women in the country lack technical skills that could be used for effective involvement in technical positions necessary in economic development and security, among other sectors.

The experiences and exposure of women in South Sudan is quite unique. The Human Rights Watch World Report 2014 affirms that about 50% of girls in South Sudan are married between the ages of 15 and 19; while many others are wed as early as the age 12. This makes their exposure and understanding of development issues quite minimal. It has been affirmed that women pay a high price of having their childhood impaired, characterized with innocence, loss of freedom, autonomy and the right to education. This

imbues in their ability of expression and interpretation of situations. Therefore, at the grassroots, such women who have lost their husbands at war yet circumnavigated in problems of widowhood and caring for orphans live in despair for peace and definitely peace building.

4.4 Funding and Capacity Gaps

One of the main challenges faced by women in their efforts is the difficulty of accessing funds. Women organizations do not receive financial aid from the government.⁹⁷ In the recent conflict several groups involved in peace building, networks and pacts have emerged. After the negotiations, the women groups intend to venture into projects focusing on peacebuilding. Nonetheless, most of the groups do not have sufficient funds. Equally, the groups encounter capacity gaps and, therefore, they are unable to meet funding agencies and donors demands. Moreover, the organizations are voluntary and, therefore, unsustainable.

The extensive diversity in South Sudan, at times, is counterproductive to peace-building efforts of women as well as other public activities. Notably, ethnic diversity affects collaboration among women in the peace-building process. While some women's groups have bridged the ethnic challenge, tribalism is still prevalent particularly in the formation and maintenance of groups and organizations and in information sharing. Consequently, women are unable to source adequate funds.

⁹⁷The Sudd Institute Policy Brief 2015

4.5 Ethnicity and Political Status

Ethnicity lines are counterproductive to any peace process. Basing on the fact that South Sudan is so sundry to the extent that this assortment along tribal and ethnic could become problematic to women chasing a common agenda. Ethnicity could affect women's partnerships in peace-building. Even though women's establishments have made tremendous milestones in galvanizing tribal divides, some elements of tribal issues still come up when forming and running their establishments and consortia, and in sharing information. Such factors could affect women in sourcing funds.

Given this background of ethnicity, the recent tendency of funding from donors seems to be heartening consortia and networks to access funding premising on diversity. Some women organizations have had a tendency to form consortia based on similarities in goals and objectives on them on tribal affiliations. To this end, it was also mentioned that some women tend to have inclination to the conflict in South Sudan which finally turn tribal. This has definitely eroded the peace agenda and niche that females normally possess along ethnic divides.

4.6 Militarization of the Government

The study findings from both literature and interviews showed that there is a strong culture in South Sudan of militarizing all endeavors. This has biased all attempts of the nonmilitary. It was mentioned that most political appointments appear to trail military background as one of the primary basis. This was evidenced by the presence of the caretaker state governors, who all have former or current military background. It was also

mentioned from interviews that military leaders have replaced elected state governor including the only female. In constituencies one can find leadership contestants are all men with military history background. Using military background as a criterion for leadership acknowledgment leads to disadvantage women in political life and militarizing states will minimize women's perspectives in decision-making.⁹⁸

Although South Sudanese women were active in varied ways in the resistance movement, they were for example at low ranks. This may not raise them to the equal footing with men. In fact, this military background puts such women at a bigger disadvantage since they have to respect comrades of higher ranks. For example, women were participating at low ranks in the army (Fitzgerald 2002). This has often excluded women from key positions of military and political power and marginalized within the formal structures of the SPLM⁹⁹. The high-level peace negotiations that were taking place in Addis Ababa, there were only three women at the table as of February 2014, all of them were part of opposition and no women were part of the government delegation. The government's lead negotiator, Michael Makuei was reported in January 2014 as saying, "what is important is not the gender representation of the delegation" but rather the "achievement of the objective", which he perceived as "irrespective" of whether or not women were represented¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁸**POLICY BRIEF** December 1, 2015 **The Role of Women in Peace-Building in South by Sudan1**
Nyathon James Hoth Mai CITATION!!!

⁹⁹ Fitzgerald 2002; Ringera,2007.

¹⁰⁰Marthe Van Der Wolf 2014

Women in matters of hostility are usually considered less appropriate. Given their less contribution in war make men have a feeling that their participation in the resolution may not be of paramount importance¹⁰¹. The decisions made at peace process table rarely consider the experiences of women experience¹⁰². The participation of men in post war conflict is mandatory and automatic while that of women has to be negotiated, requested and in most cases under pressure from the international community, the women organizations and activists. This out rightly makes the women less comfortable as their inclusion is secondary and more or less token for impressing certain sections of the community that want it so.

It was also established some women are also weak and accept by rot indeed that they are weak. They wait for the mandatory slots without commit themselves for other causes. They mentioned that women have used the affirmative action as a tool only to make noise without strong efforts These challenges mirror broader inequalities within the South between ethnic groups and across class that shape access to political power and that remain highly touchy¹⁰³

4.7 The Trauma of war

The impact of trauma has significant negative impact on the physical wellbeing of people. The long war experiences witnessed over periods of time have been reported to choke women's abilities in various ways and aspects. In study conducted in a pilot form

¹⁰¹ Anderlini 2007

¹⁰² Anderlini 2007

¹⁰³ Erickson and Faria, 2011.

as a project by the Swiss Academy for Development (SAD) in South Sudan 2015, it shows that about 83% of the women have been submerged with the consequences of war traumatic exposure and experiences. The experiences are rather severe and women don't like to echo on them which inhibit their abilities when it comes to peace reconstruction. Women have been reported to offer less, resilience and confidence to forge a way forward. This has destroyed the spirit of reconstruction culture, kills the efforts for social solidarity and threatens the using history as a foundation enriching a peaceful harmony and rich experiences on which to build and glue peace in society.

In a nut shell women have various challenges for involvement in the affairs of their country. These are embedded in the African traditional and cultural perspectives. These beliefs about women hamper their zeal to exert their skills and ideas in nation building and consequently peace building as a whole.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of findings

The study findings indicate that women have employed a variety of approaches in a concerted manner in order to have their contribution of significance in the peace building process. The women have called on partners and government to ensure the international instruments and legal bases and agenda are integrated in the peace building process. The effort indeed bears originality and empathy for a stable South Sudan. The approaches have ranged from forming groups at various levels both within and outside the country, lobbying and advocacy.

The findings further indicate that though women in South Sudan are perceived as voiceless in the peace negotiations, their experiences, expectations and faculties have had immense contributions to peacemaking, governance and economic reconstruction in South Sudan. South Sudan women have offered practical realities in the peace building process especially to fellow women at the grassroots. In addition, they have also offered both direct and indirect charities and contributions which are of great significance in regard to combat operations.

In spite of the zeal by South Sudan women to contribute to the peace process, they have immense challenges which range from patriarchal society where the woman's position is much marginalized and women have come to accept that culture. This traditional tendency affects women perspectives in various aspects. In relation to this, there is lack

of political will which has impeded execution of the possible and available instruments. Similarly, there is bent on militarization of the political appointments and politics in general. In addition, women have high rates of illiteracy which hinders their participation, capacity and lack of funding to facilitate their activities.

5.2 Conclusions

In line with the study findings from both primary and secondary data, the study makes the following conclusions in line with the study objectives:

Women can play effective and tremendous roles in peace processes if they are given appropriate routes and sensitized through awareness creation about the benefits of peace for all concerned and the importance of spreading a culture of peace in the community. Raising women's awareness of the need for gender equality is an integral part of these processes. South Sudan women have passion and eagerness to realize peace for their country. For this, they have used creative intelligence and innovative brilliance to realize peace. This is demonstrated in the various approaches and persistent zeal that women still exhibit in the post conflict era.

The study concludes that women of South Sudan denote and epitomize a valuable resource for post conflict peace building process. This is evident in the Government of South Sudan and others seeking to build a strong and politically sustainable nation-state. Women exhibit patience and resilience on issues that are of national interests. However, this study further concludes that supporting gender mainstreaming in government

institutions should continue. It is deemed useful to have a periodic gender audit of government programs, including gender-sensitive budgeting and analysis.

Several challenges confront the women in the socio-political context of South Sudan which inhibit the peace building process. These challenges put several divides on the efforts of women towards attaining peace. Firstly the divides appear along ethnicity, gender and politics all of which compromise peace building process. The traditional construction of women along patriarchal norms also compromises the efforts of women.

5.3 Recommendations

In line with study findings from both primary and secondary data, the following recommendations are made while keeping in mind with study objectives.

The study recommends that women in South Sudan should continue to build approaches premised on consortia and networks for women to access slots in peace negotiations. Women should form consortia based on similarities in goals and objectives rather than on tribal affiliations as this can jeopardize the intended purpose. Further, government and donors should also encourage ethnic diversity as one of the criteria for forming women groups and funding so as to minimize internal conflicts among women who are a cornerstone to attaining peace. This could go a long way to encourage women organizations to come together with open lines of communication among the conflicting communities that may be useful for healing and reconciliation efforts.

The study recommends that post conflict peace building process should set priorities for the new state through consultations and other democratic processes that involve wide participation of women and ensure women representation at all levels of government.

There should be peace-sensitive program planning which requires special consideration for activities that promote women's rights and empowerment to provide opportunities for improved livelihood as well as equal access to resources. In addition, South Sudan should collaborate with civil society and donors to promote women's grassroots participation, which could include training in leadership and other relevant skills while working to strengthen women's self-esteem.

The study finally recommends to the government of the Republic of South Sudan to address the barriers by identifying and eliminating socioeconomic, political, and cultural barriers to women's participation at the household, community and state levels. This can be done by creating an enabling environment for women's participation which should accompany quotas to ensure equal participation for women and men. In addition, the Ministry of Gender and the Ministry of Information, in collaboration with civil society, especially women's organizations, should plan and implement a campaign that raises awareness about gender equality, women's human rights, women's participation and the importance of these in building the new state and nation for ensuring a viable economy. It should address the implementation challenges of UNSCR 1325 while ensuring women's equal access to economic opportunities, remove barriers to women's entry into the workforce, and support an expanded role for women in the agricultural sector.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR WOMEN CSOS

a) Women approaches in peace building

1. How have you as a member of parliament tackled post conflict peace building process?
2. What strategies have you employed to resolve conflict both at the national and local levels?
3. How have women in general approached the peace building process?

b) Women contributions in peace building

- 4 In your own opinion what advantages have women had in fostering the peace building process?
5. In your personal observation what achievements have women registered in the peace building process in South Sudan?
6. How have women been able to link the different levels of the conflict?

c). Impediment to women in peace building

7. Do you find the conflict like of war nature a hindrance to women involvement in peace building?
8. How do you find the position of women in society influencing peace building negatively?
9. In general what could be the factors to limit women effectiveness in peace building process?
10. Any other issue for discussion regarding women and peace building in South Sudan

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

a) Women approaches in peace building

1. How have you as a member of parliament tackled post conflict peace building process?
2. What strategies have you employed to resolve conflict both at the national and local levels?
3. How have women in general approached the peace building process?

b) Women contributions in peace building

- 4 In your own opinion what advantages have women had in fostering the peace building process?
5. In your personal observation what achievements have women registered in the peace building process in South Sudan?
6. How have women been able to link the different levels of the conflict?

c). Impediment of women in peace building

7. Do you find the conflict of war nature a hindrance to women involvement in peace building?
8. How do you find the position of women in society influencing peace building?
9. In general what could be the factors to limit women effectiveness in peace building process?
10. Any other issue for discussion regarding women and peace building in South Sudan?

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR CONSORTIUM OF WOMEN

GROUPS AND NETWORKS

a) Women approaches in peace building

1. How have you as a member of women consortia approached post conflict peace building process?
2. What strategies have you and other members of the consortia employed to resolve conflict both at the national and local levels?
3. How have women in general in the consortia and other spheres approached the peace building process?

b) Women contributions in peace building

- 4 In your own opinion what advantages have women had in fostering the peace building process?
5. In your personal observation what achievements have women registered in the peace building process in South Sudan?
6. How have women been able to link the different levels of the conflict?

c). Impediment of women in peace building

7. Do you find the conflict of war nature a hindrance to women involvement in peace building?
8. How do you find the position of women in society influencing peace building?
9. In general what could be the factors to limit women effectiveness in peace building process?
10. Any other issue for discussion regarding women and peace building in South Sudan?

**APPENDIX IV: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR WOMEN COUNCILS AT
COMMUNITY LEVELS**

a) Women approaches in peace building

1. How have you as a member of women councils at the grass root tackled post conflict peace building process?
2. What strategies have you employed to resolve conflict both at the national and local levels?
3. How have women in general approached the peace building process?

b) Women contributions in peace building

- 4 In your own opinion what advantages have women had in fostering the peace building process?
5. In your personal observation what achievements have women registered in the peace building process in South Sudan?
6. How have women been able to link the different levels of the conflict?

c).Impediment to women in peace building

7. Do you find the conflict of war nature a hindrance to women involvement in peace building?
8. How do you find the position of women in society influencing peace building?
9. In general what could be the factors to limit women effectiveness in peace building process?
10. Any other issue for discussion regarding women and peace building in South Sudan?