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FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY OF CONFLICT: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOMALIA AND SUDAN WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO PEACE BUILDING

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DECLARATION

I declare to the best of my knowledge, that this is my original work submitted for the award of the degree of Masters of Diplomacy at University of Nairobi.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University supervisor.

Signature .... Date ....

Professor Maria Nzomo

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DEDICATION

To my late father Joseph Odero Onyango and my mother Elida Anyango Odero both who believed in education, despite not being scholars themselves and to my sisters Jane Odero and Penrose Odero who gave financial support for this Post Graduate Program, both who are achievers in the field of Medicine.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CS	:	Civil Society
DDR	:	Disarm, Demobilize and Reintegrate
DRC	:	Democratic Republic of Congo
ICT	:	Information Communication Technology
IGAD	:	International Government Authority on Development
MDG	:	Millennium Development Goals
PBC	:	Peace Building Commission
PRSS	:	Poverty Reduction Strategies
PSO	:	Peace Support Operations
SCR	:	Security Council Resolution
UN	:	United Nations
UNIFEM	:	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNOSOM	:	United Nations
UNSCR	:	United Nations Security Council Resolution
CEDAW	:	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
UDHR	:	Universal Declaration on Human Rights
VDHR	:	Vienna Declaration on Human Rights:
PACHRC	:	Protocol of African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa
SDGEA	:	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
UNSCR	:	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

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ABSTRACT

The study examines masculinity and femininity of conflict and specifically makes a comparative analysis of Somalia and South Sudan. Its main objective is to compare the effects of femininity and masculinity on women's contribution to peace building in Somalia and South Sudan. The study is anchored and utilizes the theory feminism and masculinity. Substantial information has been acquired from interviews with Somali and South Sudanese nationals. The study found out that conflict is gendered and women's participation in conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace building is crucial. The study therefore concluded that women should be incorporated in decision-making in every aspect of the society and especially peace building , this inclusion of women would serve to enrich conflict management and peace building strategies by making their contributions, experiences and needs an integral part of the processes. There has been relatively little work done on conflict from femininity and masculinity perspective which would seek to bring in another dimension into the limitations of women as far as their contribution to peace building is concerned.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background

In a world marred by conflict and violence, Peace building is becoming increasingly important as a means of preventing continuing hostilities. Peace building missions and efforts have focused on emphasizing such factors as security and governance to prevent these potentially volatile situations from erupting into full fledged conflicts[1]. This approach, however, has neglected the gender dimensions of conflict and Peace building by not recognizing the differential ways in which peace and conflict is affected by or affects man and women in different ways in terms of their experiences and needs during these conflict and the peace building phases. The approach also does not acknowledge the difference in the roles of men and women in effective peace building. It is this gap that this thesis seeks to address.

In as much as Peace building has become increasing important as a means of preventing continuing hostilities among previously warring factions it also paramount that a gender perspectives is included in all research, policies, strategies, programmes and implementations[2]. The gender perspective in these levels of planning would then ensure that the participation of both women and men which has been the missing link in most of the humanitarian projects over the years. Kelly and Lahti are of the idea that gender power exist as a central construct of the political world of governance. They argue that gender power permeates and follows from all facets of human

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[1] S. Beever, (2010). *Women's role in Peace building.* A Thesis Submitted to the College of Graduate Studies and Research, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
[2] Nesiah, Vasuki *et al* (2006). *Truth Commissions and Gender: Principles, Policies and Procedures.* New York: International Centre for Transitional Justice.

interaction.[3] It operates at interpersonal level as a social category within institutions and normatively it shapes political actions. While gender power varies by circumstance, since men have controlled social and political institutions in such a way as to suit their founders, men generally are advantages inside institutions they constructed.[4]

As far as conflict and peace building is concerned in most African communities, men are not only seen as inherently the more warlike sex while women are seen as advocates of peace but both are trained to take up such responsibilities right from childhood, thus even during conflict, men are often the main combatants, a factor that biologists have attributed to male sex hormone testosterone, an assumption that is not conclusive being that it is based on a medical occurrence that is not permanent because there are occasions or instances when hormones fluctuate therefore this division of labour is not based on any skills at all but purely on the basis of one's sex[5]. Recognition of this aspect is useful in peace building strategies because then femininity and masculinity of peace building processes which is a great hindrance to women's participation will be reduced to a very minimal level thus enabling the fully participation both women and men resulting in suitable and acceptable resolution to all concerned. However the continual practice of discriminatory traditions or cultures and gender insensitive policies by most African countries especially Somalia and South Sudan has given birth to gender concerns. Concern this thesis seeks to discuss.

[3] Cornwall, Andrea (2001)5.2, *men, masculinity and gender in development* gender and development fund for women (UNIFEM)
[4] Ibid
[5] World Health Organization (WHO) (2001). *Putting women first:* Ethical and safety recommendations for research on domestic violence against women, WHO publication.

Worldwide gender concerns or gender issues normally arise where there are instances of gender inequality which is recognized as unjust treatment or discrimination of either sex through insensitive policies, unequal benefits and opportunities availed to them[6]. Especially where one group of the community does not benefit or have their needs met in the development activities; this is especially evident in conflict and peace building situations where women, children and men undergo different experiences or treatments.

The men who are considered central to issues of conflict and peace building are often given the role of decision making which determines whether the conflict continues or peace is attained in both warring communities. This is done without the thought or care of what women as actors in the conflict would think, want done or suggest[7]. The continual existence of unequal societal structures also ensures a higher rate of illiteracy in African women than their male counterparts, despite the efforts by most African countries to improve their status through better education policies. as gender a concern, illiteracy in women is a fact that needs to be taken into account in all peace building projects because their concerns, needs experiences and eventual participation is anchored on their knowledge of existing avenues of addressing these issues and ability to articulate them. Ills such as sexual violence targeted at women during the conflict, in the displacement camps in the post conflict period and the additional responsibilities conflict places on women as heads of households while men go out to war also requires the full participation of all the affected parties which include men,

[6] Canning, K. (2006). 'Gender History. Meanings, Methods & Narratives' In Canning K., Gender History in Practice, Historical Perspectives on Bodies, Class & Citizenship, London, p. 3-62.

[7] Ruth Meena (1998) Conceptual issues of gender in southern Africa, Ian Ibbo Manza Ed. *Governance and human development in southern Africa*: selected essays, South African Printing and publishing house.

women and children in order for a wholesome solution to be found. Wanjiku and Kabira argue that there is need to look for an explanation for the general confusion about why women should understand the need to fully participate in the democratization process and how to identify those forces that are geared towards keeping them in their place[8]. Agnete points out that when structures fashion a situation of competition for power and status, conflict becomes cyclical, inherent, and endemic in social relations[9]. The exclusion of women from peace building in Somalia and South Sudan has been supported or has its roots mainly by the traditional patriarchal system in which most African societies live in. A patriarchal system is one that is male oriented in all its approaches whether in its societal values, political decisions or governance structures[10]. Patriarchy propagates for discriminatory division of labour among women and men by the community they live in, women being considered the weaker sex thus assigned tasks such as cooking, taking care of children, while men take the position of the protector by fighting community battles or going to war on behalf of the community and provision of food besides conducting of and leading community meetings[11].

Patriarchy is defined as a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which

[8] Kabira. W. M. & Wasamba. P. *Negotiations co-existence and governance structures.* Essays of Gender and Constitution Making. London. And National Women's Council of Kenya, (2005) Women Political Empowerment

[9] Agnete Weis Bentzon, Anne Hellum, Julie Stewart, Welshman Ncube and Torben Agersnap (1998): *pursuing grounded theory in law. South-north experiences in developing women's Law.*
[10] Gender and Democracy,an analysis of Kenya's Political Parties Manifestos by Wachira Maina & Wanjiku Mbugua
[11] United Nations General Assembly resolution, report adopted of third committee (a/61/438) *intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women*

enable them in turn to dominate women[12]. A patriarchal system results from social construction where women, men, girls and boys are socialized to believe that because of their biological differences they are therefore limited to certain duties and obligations towards the community. These limitations when practiced by the society over time results in certain discriminations from the family level to the national level. At the family level such discriminations are exhibited in several ways: the preference of birth of a boy child because of the traditional beliefs that the boy will carry the family tree while the girl will marry and go away. With Luhyas (Bukusu) the birth of a boy is marked by ceremony of a local brew drink and festivities while none for the girl: In eating habits for example women cannot eat certain parts of the chicken and animal meat, usually women eat last. Unequal sharing of workload- girls and women are overworked: The exclusion of girls from inheritance of family land: Most family decisions are made by men not understanding that a woman may be a better decision maker: women are subjected to physical abuse on pretext of discipline[13].

This kind of discrimination is reinforced at the community level by women being left out of the community decision making and power structures. The presence of women is not recognized or welcomed but a thing that is tolerated in barazas /community meetings, they are not expected to speak out their opinions on the issue at hand or sit in the front row. Within most communities work done by women i.e. childrearing, food production and home management is not remunerated and are often viewed as irrelevant to community development yet it is critical in family life, there are also

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[12] Kenrick, D. T., Sadalla, E. K., Groth, G. & Trost, M. R. (1990) Evolution, traits, and the stages of human courtship: Qualifying the parental investment model. *Journal of Personality* 58:97–116. [DTK, JMT]

[13] Women Political Empowerment by National Women's Council of Kenya, 2005

harmful cultural practices being directed at women e .g dowry payment, early forced marriage and Female Genital Mutilation[14].

Feminism precisely defining feminism can be challenging but pragmatically, a broad understanding of feminism includes women acting, speaking and writing on women's issues and rights, identifying social injustice in the status quo and bringing in their own unique perspective to bear on issues.[15] It can also be defined as the doctrine which advocates that women should have political, economic and social rights equal to those of men. It is a body of ideas which explain the status of women in society, the origin of this status and why it persists and what must be done to change this status. Although feminism has different strands, feminist theorists agree on a number of issues on the structure of relationship and gender inequalities and their effects on women in particular and the society in general.

Masculinity holds the beliefs that the nature of the man, his differentiation from a woman, that the male body is better suited for some things and the female body for others. Masculinity as a system becomes visible in patriarchal practices where the men dominate all social and political structures resulting in subordination and oppression of women.

Gender has been defined as a social construct, where female and male are allocated different roles and thereof receive differential treatment in several aspects of one's life all the way from the primary communal developmental structures to the different sectors of national governing structures[16]. It usually differs from one culture to the next and is carried on through generations by elders who teach the younger generation

[14] UN General Assembly resolution, report adopted of third committee (a/61/438) *intensification of efforts to eliminate all forms of violence against women*
[15] N. Tandon, (2008). *Feminism: A Paradigm Shift.* New Delhi: Atlantic Publisher and Distributors. P2
[16] Article 1 Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women

what values such community holds. As a term is not limited to the social definition given to being either female or male in a society but is inclusive of the economic, social, political and cultural attributes and opportunities associated with being male or female. The term also refers to the socially determined differences between women and men, such as roles, attitudes, behavior and values. Gender roles are learned and vary across cultures and over time; they are thus amenable to change. Gender is a relational term that includes both women and men.

Sex is a biologically determined state where one is either a man or a woman at birth. It is fixed and unchangeable and the choice of what sex one should be is totally beyond the control of such individual[17]. It identifies the biological differences between women and men and is genetically determined. Only a very small proportion of the differences in roles assigned to men and women can be attributed to biological or physical differences based on sex. For example, pregnancy, childbirth and differences in physiology can be attributed to sex related characteristics.

Culture is also defined as a community's or a groups integrated system of belief, values, norms traditions transmitted through learning from one generation to another[18]. These translate into shared patterns of behaviour which are learned through a process of social construction[19].

Gender Analysis is a way of looking at socio-economic and political situations to identify underlying factors related to gender that can enhance or inhibit efficacious development interventions[20]. In every conflict management or peace building intervention or strategy it is imperative that a gender analysis precedes and results are

[17]Ed Mellissa Innes Canadian International Development Agency, *Accelerating Change:* Resources for Gender Mainstreaming,
[18] Article 1 Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women
[19] Article 1 Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women
[20] Article 1 Declaration on Elimination of Violence Against Women

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evaluated to refine such a strategy in order to get the intended impact on both men and women and therefore make it a success.

Gender Awareness as a term refers to the recognition of the differences in the interests, needs and roles of women and men in society and how this results in differences in power, status and privilege[21]. It also signifies the ability to identify problems arising from gender inequality and discrimination.

Social construction has been defined as a process through which a given community assigns and institutionalizes gender roles which are simply a set of perceived behavioural norms[22]. The process of social construction is reinforced through several institutions such as the community through, households, schools churches and the Government.

The reinforcement of social construction by Schools or educational institutions manifests in the discriminatory choices the teachers encourage and make for the students. Despite the constant proof by women and girls in their academic achievements that they are equal to their male counterparts if not better, teachers or academic stewards still guide their female students on career paths they think right for girls for example nursing, literature, cookery and home science or rather feminine subjects for that matter, while for the boys they choose mathematics, engineering and the like.

This gender discriminatory practice pervades the primary school level to higher educational institutions such as universities where it continues to manifests itself in

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[21] Andrew R. Morrission and Maria B. Orlando 2004, *costs and impacts of gender violence in developing countries*: Methodological considerations and new evidence.
[22] United nations center for social development and humanitarian affairs, strategies for confronting domestic violence; a resource manual at 7.m U.N. ST/CSDHA/20 (1993)

the job placement of female and male staff- various heads of departments in the Universities or other higher learning institutions are male[23].the majority female staff are relegated to the subordinate positions.

The churches especially the Catholic Church also reinforce the social construction through their church regulations, where dedicated catholic women can only serve as sisters- apposition designed to offer subordinate service to the priests, while their male counterparts can attain training in the seminary and assume position of priests within the church, with the chance of rising to the position of the Pope of the Catholic Church. These regulations ensures that women will never rise to levels of decision making and will never give a determining voice on issues affecting them as women within the church[24]. Similar situations can be found in other religions such as Islam which is the predominant religion in Somalia and parts of South Sudan.

The government reinforces social construction through gender insensitive policy frameworks. Without formal gender equality policy in place, plans or statements towards gender mainstreaming, success in women empowerment will often be hit and miss[25]. Government policies should clearly articulate the government's commitment to gender equality and identify the broad mechanisms it will use to pursue this goal. Such a policy framework should incorporate international commitments, such as ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), or commitment to implement the Beijing Platform for Action.

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[23] Commission on gender and equality , *Gender Analysis in Kenya Report* (2008)
[24] Catholic Justice and Peace Commission, Catholic Church Human Rights Programme: Report on the *status of women in the catholic church* (2000)
[25]Ed Mellissa Innes, Canadian International Development Agency, *A accelerating change*: a tool for gender mainstreaming

Lack of political will and leadership for gender mainstreaming is also another way by which government institutions reinforce social construction. If there is lack of understanding and commitment from authorities which is crucial to creating an enabling environment for the implementation of gender mainstreaming, there can never be empowerment of women[26]. It is known world over that a mere formal acknowledgement from political leaders that gender equality is an essential component of sustainable development is a major starting point.

None or inadequate budgetary allocations for women empowerment programme is also a deterrent towards gender inequality that governments have been guilty of. Governments not allocating sufficient resources make any official commitment to women empowerment to amount to much more than lip service. Resources must be allocated to support the structures and practices required for mainstreaming activities. National budgeting bodies must allocate sufficient resources to women empowerment agencies, and other arms of the government, to encourage gender analysis and gender responsive planning and implementation. All the above concerns must be addressed within the government structures, mechanisms and processes to implement the empowerment projects to achieve gender equality[27].

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

Any analysis of conflict resolution processes will clearly show glaring gaps in women's participation, and while several researchers have covered a lot of areas in terms of women involvement in peace building, the aspects of femininity and

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[26] O. Okombo et al.(2011), *Challenging The Rulers*: A Leadership Model for Governance , Nairobi : East Africa Educational Publishers.p.191
[27] Ed Mellissa Innes, Canadian International Development Agency, *A accelerating change*: a tool for gender mainstreaming

masculinity as a hindrance to women's involvement is under-researched and is without much focus on it as a dimension in peace building research. Femininity and masculinity of conflict is guided by the belief that issues of conflict, leadership and decision making are masculine and not feminine therefore the involvement of women in these issues should be nonexistent. It not only excludes the peace building abilities and skills which women have demonstrated throughout history to date but also ensures that the concerns, needs and experiences of women as a group are not included in the peace building policies, strategies and projects[28].

The media and other reports tend to portray women as victims of fighting –a poignant story to elicit a compassionate response from humanitarian organizations and other better placed countries. However, the reality is that women also take an active role in hostilities and in their aftermath: as politicians, combatants, leaders of non-governmental organizations and social or political groups, and peace campaigners. Despite these realities the women are still viewed as being intrinsically weak, time and again the language that is used to describe women living in a war zone is as 'vulnerable' and 'helpless' despite the remarkable capacity of these women to adapt to and survive violence, loss, and deprivation that goes hand in hand with war[29]. The perception that women are weak victims upholds discrimination or the exclusion and disregards their experience of war as combatants, promoters of peace and therefore community leaders who should be involved in leadership structures. While research in Somalia and South Sudan shows that women like men are indeed victims, it also demonstrates that they are active participants in both conflicts as perpetrators of

[28] T Plummer (ed) (2010). *International Review of the Red Cross*. Geneva: Cambridge University Press. p.
[29] Gender and Democracy,an analysis of Kenya's Political Parties Manifestos
by Wachira Maina & Wanjiku Mbugua

violence, transporters of weapon and even sponsors some of the conflicts or parties to such conflict, this fact has not brought change to the slope sided and discriminatory policies and male centred humanitarian strategies which results in unwholesome humanitarian initiatives not answering to the specific needs of the affected individuals within the communities affected by the conflict in Somalia and South Sudan[30].The above scenario is perpetuated by lack of research with a gender perspective and especially one that uses femininity and masculinity as tools of analysis. Based on the above can it be said that a patriarchal society hinders the effectiveness women's contribution to peace building? This is the gap that this study intends to bridge.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to compare and analyse the effects of masculinity and femininity to women's contribution to peace building in Somalia and South Sudan

The specific objectives of this study include;

i. To ascertain the effectiveness of women in peace building in South Sudan and Somalia.

ii. To examine and analyze opportunities and challenges women face in contributions to peace building

iii. To determine how women participation in peace building can be fully realized.

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[30] Women for Peace and Security Regional consultation in the frame of the Open Day 25-26 June 2010, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

1.4 Literature Review

The review of literature will revolve around three important and fundamental concepts that are intertwined greatly in African continent, these core concepts are Governance, Gender and Conflict. the literature review will cover the National and International laws and instruments enacted or ratified by Somalia and South Sudan.

Like states and social policies, gender is about power. Through gender relations people continually recreate and reinforce the distinction between masculinity and femininity.31 Diane asserts that people, institutions and practices, privilege masculinity as universal and thereby render femininity deviant and feminism ideological. 32 Gender is an exercise of power, which privileges (some) men and (many varieties of) masculinity at the expense of women and femininity.33 Indeed Lisa argues that states and social policies are gendered even though the mutual influences of states and gender relations are generally under analyzed,34 calling for wide consultations and inclusion when it comes to issues of governance.

The literature review, thus, will investigate the interplay between Governance and Conflict, Governance and Gender and finally Gender and Conflict. It is expected that this will help give a clear understanding the effects of the masculinity and femininity of peace building processes. It is therefore upon these issues that the study is built on, and the work of other authors will be reviewed.

[31] L. Diane, (2003). *Gender and Governance*. Oxford: Altmira.p. 10

[32] Arrindell, Willem A., Ph.D. (1 October 2005) "*Masculine Gender Role Stress*" Psychiatric Times Pg.31

[33] Alice Armstrong (1998) *culture and choice*:;lessons from survivors og gender violence in Zimbabwe

[34] L. Diane, (2003). *Gender and Governance*. Oxford: Altmira.pg. 12

1.5 Gender Identities in Times of Conflict

Feminist analysis of gender identities can contribute to the understanding of shifting gender relations in times of conflict and under militarization. Gender identities - the roles and behaviours which are designated to one gender or the other - are one way to which the distribution of power between the genders is expressed[35]. Gender identities are largely culturally created and are subject to shifts, changes and manipulations. They are 'ideal' models for the genders which actual individuals may not live up to. Masculinity and femininity, whilst they may change, remain in oppositional relation to each other - to be feminine is to be that which is not masculine. In addition to being oppositional, masculinity and femininity are intimately tied up with the subordination of women. Those qualities which in a given situation are power-enhancing are those which tend to be defined as masculine and associated with men. It is important to recognise that there may he multiple and competing; notions of masculinity and femininity in any given time and context[36]. In conflict situations, gender identities become intensely politicised. For example, the process of militarization can be traced in the reforming and restating gender identities, through legal reforms, changes in employment patterns, propaganda and cultural discourse, education and the socialisation of children.

Most commonly, in situations of militarization, traditional gender ideals are stressed. Men's 'masculinity' is called on to encourage them to take up arms in defence of their country, ethnic group or political cause - and in defence of 'their' women. Women become the bearers of the culture that the men are fighting to defend. What is

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[35] Weber, Annette. 2011. 'Women Without Arms: Gendered Fighter Constructions.' *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. Vol. 5, No. 2.
[36] Ibid

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'feminine' and considered appropriate behaviour for women may be redefined. Where women take more active roles are often 'de-sexed' and no longer regarded as feminine women. However, the masculinity demanded by armies and the military does not come easily: 'Wars do not occur because men are eager to fight, on the contrary, military aggression always requires carefully controlled and systematic action at the state level, which plays upon public fears, vulnerabilities, prides and prejudices'. The training of men in armies involves the drilling into men of a particular notion of aggressive masculinity which is intimately related to misogyny[37].

The relationship between militarization, misogyny and the oppression of women should not be confused with the idea that all men will necessarily benefit from the making of war, or that women will have no room to renegotiate the formation of gender identities. In one very obvious way, men are the primary losers in war in that they make up the majority of casualties in situations of conflict. Even though conflicts increasingly affect civilian populations, men are often those primarily targeted. The dominance of refugee populations by women is a reflection of men's specific vulnerability in situations of conflict. Men, or particular men, may also lose out in the assertion of a specific notion of masculinity, possibly replacing multiple and more fluid notions of what masculinity is and how men should behave. As was mentioned above, the military ideal of masculine identity does not come naturally[38].

Women can also lose out through the political manipulation of gender ideology as part of the process of militarization; this can lead to the erosion of women's human rights

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[37] Weber, Annette. 2011. 'Women Without Arms: Gendered Fighter Constructions.' *International Journal of Conflict and Violence.* Vol. 5, No. 2.
[38] Yongo-Bure B., The Underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan, In Daly M and Sikainga A.A. (Editors) Civil War in the Sudan, British Academic Press, London 1993.

and restrictions on their mobility. Women are also expected to become the bearers of the cultural heritage of a nation or community, a notion that restricts their mode of behaviour to those that are acceptable for women as far as the society or community prescribing such is concerned. Women's reproductive rights may be particularly under pressure as high levels of fertility are sought in the lead up to, and during conflict. The holding up of women as symbolic bearers of caste, ethnic or national identity can expose them to the risk of attack by opposing side. Attacks that are evident in the widespread occurrence of rape in times of conflict has attracted particular attention and has been seen as directly related to the position of women in communities as bearers of cultural identity. It would be right therefore right to state that rape of women in conflict situations are intended not only as violence against women, but as an act of aggression against a nation or community[39]. However, there may be high costs to transgressing the culturally imposed boundaries between masculine and feminine behaviour. Men who refuse to fight risk being ridiculed, imprisoned or even killed for their lack of 'courage' or masculinity. Equally women who contradict female stereotypes by killing are often regarded as much more deviant or unnatural than men.

1.6 Constitution and legislative reform

Both Somalia and South Sudan states being members of the United Nations and other regional organizations such as African Union, have ratified several International Conventions and Charters which safe guard the rights and interests of women which include the Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR), Vienna Declaration on Human Rights, Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), Protocol of

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[39] Weber, Annette. 2011. 'Women Without Arms: Gendered Fighter Constructions.' *International Journal of Conflict and Violence*. Vol. 5, No. 2.

African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa among others. These international instruments obligate united nations member states to put in place legislative and other suitable measures to ensure not only non discrimination of women but also take conscious steps towards their empowerment in all governmental development initiatives.

1.6.1 International conventions and instruments:

1.6.2 Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

CEDAW is the blue print for human rights of women and is applauded as the first instrument in the United Nations history that specifically considered human rights of women globally[40].The committee further recognizes the fact that traditional attitudes have relegated women and exalted man, thus exacerbating practices that seriously inhibit women's ability to enjoy rights and freedoms on the basis of equality with men. The non inclusion of women from participation in leadership structures or governance processes, specifically peace building during conflict not only contravenes the CEDAW provisions but also curtails their natural right to give an opinion on issues that affect them for the family, community to the national level.

1.6.3 Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UDHR):

The declaration prohibits discrimination of any kind in enjoyment of rights. It obligates states to take measures to guarantees rights of individuals (women and men).

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[40] Convention on the Elimination of forms Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

1.6.4 Vienna Declaration on Human Rights:

Mandates state parties to eliminate gender bias in the administration of justice and deal appropriately with conflicts arising from the rights of women and the effects[41].

1.6.5 Protocol of African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa:

Like CEDAW, the protocol was an instrument that specifically addressed the human rights of women exclusively by recognizing that culture, tradition and customs are major obstacles to achievement and full enjoyment of human rights of women. It mandates state parties to modify social and cultural patterns of conduct of both man and women through public education, information and communication strategies to eliminate harmful cultural practices. It obligates state parties to take appropriate and effective measures to enact and enforce laws to prohibit, prevent, punish and eradicate all forms of discrimination against women[42]. The protocol calls on the state parties to promote peace education through curricula and social communication to eliminate traditional practices and beliefs which legitimizes the persistence and tolerance of violence against women.

It strengthens and anchors strategically women's rights which were not adequately addressed by the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

[41] Vienna Declaration on Human Rights
[42] Protocol to ACHR on Rights of Women in Africa

1.6.6 Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa:

African heads of governments including Somalia and Sudan reaffirmed their commitment to gender equality in this declaration. The declaration was born out of the concern for the persistent violence against women among other discriminatory issues.

1.6.7 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

In the year 2000 the United Nations Security Council approved Resolution 1325 On women, peace and security. A document dedicated entirely to the link that exists between armed conflict, peace building and the gender dimension[43]. It's a strive by the United Nations to link women and girls' human rights concerns to global peace and security agenda and even though the resolution's title refers to women, several points in the resolution make explicit reference to gender as a perspective in peace building[44].

The main proposal of the resolution were to : increase the number of women at decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions involved in preventing, managing, and resolving conflicts: Increase participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes: Provide women candidates from a regular-updated, centralized roster for appointment as special representatives and envoys to facilitate the appointment of more women in these positions: Expand the numbers and roles of women in UN field operations, such as military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel: Ensure that a gender component is included in field peacekeeping operations: Provide

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[43] United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
[44] Women for Peace and Security: *Regional consultation in the frame of the Open Day* 25-26 June 2010, Dushanbe, Tajikistan

training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights, and needs of women, the importance of involving women in peacekeeping and peace-building measures, and HIV/AIDS awareness in national training programs for military police, civilian police and civilian peacekeeping personnel.

The resolution also advocates for the member states to increase voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training. Adopt a gender perspective when negotiating & implementing peace agreements in areas like: Special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction: Support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution and involve women in all of the peace agreement implementation mechanisms: Ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly relating to the constitution, electoral system, the police and judiciary, Respect international law regarding the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, during armed conflicts, Take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse and violence in situations of armed conflict[45].

Despite the above the experience in most members states show that in the past ten years the UN SCR 1325 has not be implemented well because of lack of a clear accountability mechanism. Therefore, calls have been made by several member states to the UN Security Council to be responsive to the obvious failure in the implementation of the UN SCR1325 and be persistent in its strive of linking women and girls' human rights concerns to global peace and security agenda.

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[45] International Women's Tribune Centre, simplified version of UNSCR 1325 on Women, Peace and Security: prepared by the

1.6.8 Legislative Reforms towards the inclusion of women in Somalia and South Sudan:

Besides being torn apart by conflict, these two African states have made giant strides towards conflict resolution and nation building. This has brought about reformative changes in the previously existing legislations. Both states have new and comprehensive constitutions, enacted new laws which recognize and embrace human rights to a higher degree. The pre-existing laws written or otherwise, traditions and practices which governed the leadership within these two countries in the past two decades have largely lacked gender perspective or rather have been gender blind thus reinforcing discrimination against women's aspirations to any form of leadership political or social. Despite several talks and half-hearted efforts towards the inclusion of women, there has been no proper gender relation defining legislation in Somalia and South Sudan. Furthermore the social environment within these communities being patriarchal has not favored women's involvement in decision making, thus necessitating social, political and legislative reforms to cater for this gap[46].

The social, political and Legislative reforms towards conflict and gender mainstreaming in Somalia and South Sudan has involved the formulation of new constitutions in both countries and ratification of several United Nations Conventions. These international legal frameworks are benchmarks for the state parties in assessing their obligations and responsibility in matters of human rights for the enjoyment of the citizenry especially women. The recently formulated constitutions have the rights and interests of women are anchored in them, with provisions aspiring towards better

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[46] United Nations Development Fund for Women(UNIFEM), Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs *Towards achieving of the MDGS in Sudan: centrality of women's leadership and gender equality*

enjoyment of rights and freedom of expression by women as equals with men before the law. They articulate the rights of women to equal treatment in social , economical and political spheres.

1.6.9 Key provisions within the Constitution of Somalia Republic:

Article 54 on Women stating that "The state shall create for women opportunities to enable them effective take part in the political, economic and social life of the country". Article 7 provides for equality of all citizens regardless of gender, religion, social and economic status, political views, (place of) birth or language, shall have equal rights and duties before the law, and Article 14 on Human rights which states that "The state shall recognize the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations adopted on 10th December 1948."

The above statutes envisage a country where the human rights of all the citizens male or female are respected and protected

1.6.10 The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 2011

Article 9 (2) wherein "The rights and freedoms of individuals and groups enshrined in this Bill shall be respected, upheld and promoted by all organs and agencies of Government and by all persons." (3) All rights and freedoms enshrined in international human rights treaties, covenants and instruments ratified or acceded to by the Republic of South Sudan shall be an integral part of this Bill. Article 14 on the equality before the Law. "All persons are equal before the law and are entitled to the equal protection of the law without discrimination as to race, ethnic origin, colour, sex, language, religious creed, political opinion, birth, locality or social status. Article 16 on the Rights of Women (1) Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the

person with men. (2) Women shall have the right to equal pay for equal work and other related benefits with men. (3) Women shall have the right to participate equally with men in public life. (4) All levels of government shall:(a) promote women participation in public life and their representation in the legislative and executive organs by at least twenty-five per cent as an affirmative action to redress imbalances created by history, customs, and traditions; (b) enact laws to combat harmful customs and traditions which undermine the dignity and status of women; and (c) provide maternity and child care and medical care for pregnant and lactating women. (5) Women shall have the right to own property and share in the estates of their deceased husbands together with any surviving legal heir of the deceased.

From the above statues, these two countries have clearly stated their aspirations as far as women private lives are concerned, they also give guidelines on how to include women in all structures of governance and decision making including those of peace building[47].

1.7 Governance and Conflict

Governance, in Africa has not been something worth celebrating over for decades48. Conflict, on the other hand, seems to be inevitable. Aggression, warfare and violence seemingly equate with the human condition. Equally, humans have sought, as long as there has been conflict, to handle conflict effectively, by containing or reducing its

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[47] The Constitution of Somalia Republic and the Transitional Constitution of the Republic South Sudan 2011

[48] Ali Mazurui, *Panafricanism, Democracy and Leadership in Africa*: Legacy for the New Millennium. Typologies of leadership in Africa.

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negative consequences.[49] Of great importance, with regard to this issue, is the fact that problem-solving and conflict resolution cannot be removed from the social environment. Hence the gender factor is one that should be put into consideration in the quest of resolving conflict and peace building[50].

Long-term security extends beyond reforming military and police forces and is also contingent upon the conversion of warring factions into political parties that can work to manage conflicts in a manner that is conducive of positive change. Peace building operations are susceptible to breakdown when societies have a poor governance framework that exacerbates social fault lines, aggravates divisions and tensions, entrenches conflict, or provides a basis to contest the government[51].

Loran, Murray and Shaffer believe that the gap between the desire for reform and actual achievement varies from country to country, and arguably, the scope for action can be interpreted as a reflection of prevailing institutional and political complexities.[52] In Somalia, for instance, the central government disintegrated mainly due to bad governance. [53] Weller adds up to the statement that, resistance to any territorial change in Somalia was reinforced due to the fact that several of the secessionist campaigns had been connected with external military intervention and

[49] A. Tidwel, (1998). *Conflict Resolved? A Critical Assesment of Conflict Resolution.* London: Continuum.p.1

[50] Ibid

[51] Syagga.P. (2006) landownership and uses in Kenya:policy prescriptions from an equality perspective, *in reading on equality in Kenya: Sectoral Dynamics and Perspective, Nairobi*: Society for International Development (SID)

[52] R. Loran, M. Murray and R. Shaffer, (2004). *Participatory Governance.* Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited. p. 2

[53] M. Weller, 'Self –Governance in Interim Settlements: The case of Sudan' in M. Weller and S. Wolff, *Autonomy, Self-Governance and Conflict Resolution.* (2005New York: Routledge.p. 159

with horrendous violations of humanitarian principles.[54] The situation in Sudan and eventually South Sudan resulted from bad governance visible in the regional unequal distribution of natural resources among other inequalities sustained by the then undemocratic government.

Governance in peace building designs requires the development of institutional capacities such as the judiciary, the electoral system, and other agencies who work to advance policy reforms, enhance transparency, and increase representation and accountability. The World Bank's position is that participation is intrinsic to good governance.[55] Indeed, participatory development can be thought of as a local-level reflection of good governance. [56]And measures at the national level to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of government have direct parallels at the micro-level as well.[57] For example, in many peace building contexts, plans for elections are often outlined, agreed upon and signed into the peace agreements between opposing factions. Democratic electoral systems are favoured by the international institutions that orchestrate peace building missions because they have the potential to affect positive changes in societies where political transitions have been fraught with military coups, revolutions and destructive patterns of violence.

Chaterji asserts that economic development and the process of globalization are leading both in emerging countries and in developed economies to an increasing

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[54] Ibid

[55] The World Bank, (1994). Governance: *The World bank's Experience*. Washington: The World Bank. p.42

[56] Ibid

[57] UNDP (2003) (Global) *Human Development Report* (HDR) 2003 *Millennium Development Goals: a compact among nations to end human poverty*, New York: United Nations Development Programme UNDP and Oxford University Press.

interdependence and also to increasing disparities or disequilibria. [58] That may create new types of conflict between geographical areas, sectors, firms and social groups within individual countries. [59]Therefore, needless to say, government has a key role to play in promoting an environment for participation. This coincides with the World Bank's assertion that participatory development requires good governance policies and practices.[60]

1.8 Gender and Governance

Traditionally, women have been marginalized in the realm of governance. Male chauvinism is characteristic of some world religions such as Judaism, Christianity and Islam. For instance, the Christian Bible is very patriarchal[61], which explains why in the genealogy according to Saint Luke, there is no mention of any woman. Women were not considered as influential or of any impact although in reality, there were some responsible women in the lineage of Jesus. In Europe, it took centuries before women got the right of franchise or suffrage. Women were seen or are still seen in some places as 'soft industries' and were subjected to feminine roles in the health sector, education and welfare and not in the realm of governance. The domain of decision making authority was traditionally related to masculinity as well as other sectors like finance and the military. Women have been poorly represented in governance because of the assumption that the private sphere belongs to the woman while the public sphere which is the domain of political authority is the preserve of men. We live in a gendered hierarchy world in which values associated with

[58] M. Chatterji, D. Gopal and S. Singh, (2011). *Governance, Development and Conflict*. U.K. Emerald Group Publishing Ltd. p. 32
[59] Ibid
[60] The World Bank, (1994). Governance: *The World bank's Experience*. Washington: The World Bank.p. 43
[61] Arrindell, Willem A., Ph.D. (1 October 2005) "*Masculine Gender Role Stress*" Psychiatric Times Pg. 31

masculinity such as rationality are assigned higher value and status than values associated with femininity such as emotionality. Patriarchy is a common phenomenon in both Somalia and South Sudan. The discrimination of women is entrenched in the conceptual and social governance mechanisms. These mechanisms are culturally inherited knowledge base that originates from patriarchal society[62]. There are arguments by people that women could only enter into the public-sphere and participate in decision making through active involvement in the election process. They must vote and vie for positions; even so women who aspire for political office are hindered in realizing their dreams by social, economic and cultural structures[63].

Literacy and leadership as a gender concern, requires governments attention if women are to be involved in governance. Ones education and awareness level is crucial determinants to ones participation in a democratic process and despite increased level in literacy, many women in Somalia and South Sudan remain in abject poverty and ignorance which limits their understanding of issues during the conflict and peace building period, Some may not understand the language used in such forums[64].

Women leaders often encounter unfriendly media in their effort to participate in governance. Meyers (1997) observes that the news coverage of women perpetuates stereotypes and myths about women, while ridiculing and trivializing their needs and concerns instead of discussing women's political needs and capabilities. The media has perpetuated untenable myths that women are irrational, naturally weak, timid and

[62] IRIN News, 3 May 2005, Somalia: Somaliland Women Take New Roles. And interview with informant.
[63] Wachira Maina and Wanjiku Mbugua, *Gender and Democracy*: an analysis of Kenya's Political Parties Manifestos. Freidrich Ebert Foundation Publication. Pg 1-71
[64] Association of African Women for Research and Development (AA WORD) 1998*Women political leadership in Kenya*: involvement, challenges and the way forward. AA WORD publication Pg 2,6,103-105

occupied with trivialities. The media also actuate the culture of male dominance in politics by failing to accord both male and female leaders equal coverage. They highlight the male excluding women. It also tends to centre on the socially powerful persons.

Women leaders are also subjected to various forms violence and character assassination. During the Somalia peace processes the women faced a barrage of verbal assaults and threats and their attempts to public participations are normally marred by attacks on their persons and character. Those opposed to their participation or inclusion tend to get personal instead of concentrating on issues of national importance; male counterparts easily intimidate the women by attacking their character in bid to discredit them in the eyes of the community. Some women leaders tell of the instances where they have been referred to as prostitutes or their morality put to test in public. In such periods their marital status suddenly becomes a major issue of focus[65].

Both Somalia and South Sudan are guilty of subordination of women in leadership and governance structures. Surveys have shown that the few women in Somalia and South Sudan who are in the mainstream of these structures are but at the subordinate level. They rarely rise to the executive ranks of the organs leadership[66]. These women often lack family support, which important to women who aspire for leadership. They are required to strike a balance between leadership and family life. With Husbands and male relatives left to determine whether or not their wives participate in

[65] Association of African Women for Research and Development (AAWORD) 1998 *Women political leadership in Kenya*: involvement, challenges and the way forward. AAWORD publication Pg 2,6,103-105

[66] African Women Development and Communication Network FEMMNET: *Gender mainstreaming within Africa union* (AU) FEMNET publication. Pg 4,5,6,32 and 33

leadership, these traditional requirements remain factors for many women interested in participation.

The civil war in Somalia and South Sudan has had a devastating effect on women and girls chances of advancement through education. As a result of the war, only about two percent of girls in Southern Sudan complete primary school and the majority of girls who begin primary school end up dropping out after the first few years due to early marriage, pressure to contribute to household chores and income, etc.[67] Likewise, only seven percent of all teachers are female and many families are not comfortable with sending their girls to school where boys significantly outnumber girls (UNICEF & GOSS, 2006). The same can be said of Somalia, where the majority of the women and girls have gained education in other neighbouring countries like Kenya and even Europe through their status as refugees[68].

In Somalia South Sudan there is still a bias against the education of the girl child in spite of a number of attempts to promote gender equality. There remains a widespread belief that when sending children to school, girls should have a lower priority than boys.[69] In large measure this is due to the practice of the prospective husband paying a "bride price", usually in cattle, for his wife. Parents, especially fathers, are concerned that by allowing their daughters to go to school they expose them to the attentions of male students and teachers. The results of this bias are clearly seen in the schools.

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[67] AET / UNICEF, The School Baseline Assessment Report Southern Sudan
Nairobi, 2002
[68] AET / UNICEF, The School Baseline Assessment Report Southern Sudan
Nairobi, 2002
[69] SPLM, Accelerating Learning Opportunities for All. Report of the Symposium on Education, Yambio 2001.

Changwony argues that without active participation of women and incorporation of women at all levels of decision making, the goals of equality, development and peace cannot be achieved[70]. As advocated by feminist theories, women participation (gender parity) in governance is more beneficial to all societies than women. According to some feminist groups, women participation yield 'double dividend' than the single dividend when not involved in governance[71]. The UNICEF report of 2001, women do not only advance women's rights but also advance the rights of children as stipulated in international human right conventions[72]. In national legislations around the world where women are represented, they usually advocate for family friendly legislation.

Women have traditionally been very under-represented in politics and governance. Susannah Jambo says analysis of this situation has focused social theory on a group of problems often referred to as the "Women Question" one of the common problems all over the world as shown by research and several scholars is the male's culture of dominance over women and girls[73]. There is a general consensus, that both men and women are key ingredients for sustainable and wholesome development of any country, Women participation in governance will inevitably lead to community development.

[70] Smith, Bonnie G., Hutchison, Beth. *Gendering Disability*. Rutgers University Press, 2004.
[71] Cornwal, andrea (2001)5.2 *Men's Masculity and Gender in Development:* Gender and Development, United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNICEF) 2001 publication
[72]. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (1994). *Populations of Concern to UNHCR: A Statistical Overview 1994*

[73] Medecins Sans Frontieres. 2009. *Facing up to reality: Health crisis deepens as violence escalates in Southern Sudan.* Brussels: Medecins Sans Frontieres.

1.9 Gender and Conflict

In situations of armed conflict warfare and civil strife it is evident that women undergo the most pain. However, when it comes to conflict resolution and peace building the contribution of women is often ignored. Therefore understanding the conflict from a gender perspective is the best way of ensuring that policies and programs designed to implement peace will guarantee protection, rehabilitation and the healing of the whole society.

Garcia argues that as peace processes are evolving quickly there is need to put in place parliamentary government and local administrative institutions that will help place women in decision making processes. Otherwise if this is not done women will be left behind and the whole process of conflict resolution and peace building will be negatively affected[74]. Recognizing the devastating effect that conflict has inflicted on the horn of Africa region, F. Deng and T. Lyons write that it is necessary that women participate in the prevention, management and resolution of conflict. It is important to note that traditionally forces were organized on clan bases which were headed by men. Hence, decisions to go to war were made by men while women on the other hand remained faithful custodians of culture[75].

Berhane recognizes that women are concerned with a peaceful society. However, the society has denied them a chance to effectively address peace issues according to the values they hold most dear[76]. While the male gender dominates in initiating conflicts and fighting during war, the female gender on the other hand takes an active role in

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[74] Garcia, Ed (ed) Pilgrim Voices; *citizens as peace makers* , international alert, 1994: 45
[75] F. Deng and T. Lyons, (1998). Africa reckoning : *A quest for good governance*, Washington: The Brookings Institution p.1
[76] Berhane-Selassie,Tsehai , African *Women in Conflict Resolution*, Center Focus,120,march 1994: Elbushra, op cit

seeking peace. Therefore it is recognizable that the roles gender play in conflict can lead to more conflicts if the society is male dominated. Both men and women have the potential to peace building yet men have excluded women in almost all spheres of life[77]. . The women, however, seem more creative and effective in waging peace ... It is the women's emotional strength to transcend pain and suffering, and their predisposition to peace that provide them with greater potentials for peacemaking[78]. It is therefore often the case that ideas about some of women's distinctive qualities (whether these are thought to be biologically or socially determined) become identified with the way forward in peace building, and strategies, these are focused on ways to enhance, support and extend the work that women are thought to be well-equipped to undertake.

The challenge to gender relations often becomes too great for patriarchal societies and institutions (e.g. religious institutions) to maintain in times of peace, and women find their historical contribution marginalized in both official and popular accounts of conflict, and their freedoms in peacetime restricted or removed. This type of peace settlement might be called a 'gendered peace'[79], where the peace agreements are a preserve of one sex. Despite the common fact that women maintain a community bond across political divide and have capacity to make peace agreements and post-conflict efforts more viable, effective and practical, efforts that have great potential. They are seriously constrained by lack of space in mainstream peace processes leaving them to engage in activism aimed at bringing peace in warring communities-a process that often expose them to personal risks in their daily work to make their

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[77] Ibid
[78] Garcia, Ed (ed), Pilgrim Voices. *Citizens as Peacemakers, International Alert*, 1994: 45
[79] Pankhurst, Donna and Pearce, Jenny, '*Engendering the Analysis of Conflict*: Perspectives from the South', in Afshar, Haleh (ed), *Women and Empowerment*, Routledge, 1997.

communities safer[80]. Women often receive fewer resources to support their efforts, their experience, and their advice on peace building are ignored or downplayed by policy makers. Those women who make to the top decision-making organs often are suppressed.

Proponents of this view that governance and even peace building are a preserve of men, argue that a woman's place in the home and women should not indulge in activities that remove them from the realm of their family chores. This theory has been used by male chauvinists to frustrate the efforts of women aspiring to participate in other community development activities. It suffices therefore to conclude that traditional of patriarchy effect on the participation of women in public affairs especially peace building is great, through the worldwide longstanding beliefs, held by men and women alike, it has the ability to jeopardize development retaining the practice that these roles are the men's preserve.

1.10 Justification

Despite the insurmountable evidence proving that women like men contribute to both conflict and peace building processes albeit in different categories or measures and that both are affected by these situations thus their equal participation cannot be undermined, both the Somalia and South Sudan states still practice (deliberately or not) a continual exclusion of women not only in peace building processes but in all structures of governance by having in place gender insensitive policies. Upholding of discriminative cultural practices within the family, community and nationally, it is also evident that in both these states if and when women are included, they are

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[80] African Women Development and Communication Network FEMMNET: *Gender mainstreaming within Africa union* (AU) FEMNET publication. Pg 4,5,6,32 and 33

expected to assume subordinate positions or are relegated to tasks that would not give them a determining voice in whatever decision is to be made. A look at both Somalia and South Sudan peace building processes have shown that women do have skills and experiences that can contribute positively to peace building initiatives and that their tasks in the peace building processes have been great and profitable to both countries. Women and men must therefore be partners in these processes of peace building in order to attain wholesome peace agreements acceptable and satisfactory to all actors[81].

Research indicate that attitudes of sexism, racism, class, ethnic and religious discrimination originate from the same set of beliefs that some people are inherently "better" than others, hence women's empowerment should be seen as a deliberate mechanism in the process of building peace[82]. Women being the central caretakers of families in many cultures, dictates that everyone suffers when women are oppressed, victimized, and excluded from governance structures. Their centrality to communal life makes their inclusion in peace building not only essential but inescapable if a comprehensive insight into causes of conflict, experiences and needs of the different actors in the conflict and the eventual resolution of the conflict is to be made. The fact that women have the capacity for both violence and peace is another fact that necessitates encouraging women to use their gifts in building peace[83].

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[81] Amna E. Badri , Instar I. Abdel Sadiq,*Sudan between Peace and War*: Internally Displaced Women in khartoum and South and West Kordofan. African Women for Peace series. UNIFEM Publication. Pg 48-50

[82] United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Towards achieving the MDGs in Sudan: *Centrality of women's leadership and gender equality*

[83] Amna E. Badri , Instar I. Abdel Sadiq,*Sudan between Peace and War*: Internally Displaced Women in khartoum and South and West Kordofan. African Women for Peace series. UNIFEM Publication. Pg 48-50

In order to mitigate this exclusion of women from public decision-making, leadership opportunities in Somalia and South Sudan, it is important to undertake legislative reforms, implement international/regional conventions and create special programs to empower the Somalia and South Sudan women who aspire and obtain positions in public leadership positions outside the traditionally prescribed roles[84].

1.11 Hypotheses

The study tests the following hypotheses:

i) Women play a significant role in conflict and peace building.

ii) Patriarchal system is a hindrance to women's full participation in peace building.

iii) Good governance improves women's participation in peace building processes.

iv) Recommend how women's participation in peace building can be fully realised.

1.12 Research Methodology

Since the study focuses on the masculinity and femininity of conflict, data will mainly be drawn from issues relating to conflict and feminism. Specific focus will be on Africa and particularly on Somalia and South Sudan. Primary data will be acquired mainly from interviews with Somalia and South Sudan nationals. These would not be just any nationals but those who are conversant with issues of feminism, conflict and power structure in their particular countries. The Constitutions of the two countries as well as government publications will also provide invaluable primary data.

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[84] Ibid

Secondary data will be obtained from the scholarly works of those who have deliberated on this topic. Their works will be critically analysed and used to enrich the study. In the bid to be relevant and abreast with contemporary issues, newspaper articles, journals and television emissions will be consulted. So as to come up with credible information fit for the study, comparisons will be made between theory, as enumerated in the works of scholars, and practice as witnessed by the interviewees.

It is not expected that the study will lack challenges. Time, financial and travelling constraints will impede collection of data from the countries in focus: Somalia and Sudan. Secondly, security in these areas is one thing that is elusive and so it may be detrimental to venture into such areas. Collection of relevant data and compilation is expected to take a period of four weeks after which suitable and indisputable conclusions and recommendations will be made.

1.13 Chapter Outline

The study is structured around five chapters. The first chapter is an introduction to the study of masculinity and femininity of conflict. The second chapter presents a theoretical framework guiding the study. This is followed by the comparative analysis of conflict in Somalia and South Sudan. The fourth chapter comprises the critical analysis of the findings. This chapter thus examines the key issues that emerge from the study. Finally, the last chapter consists of the summary, the key findings and the recommendations derived from the study.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a brief introduction to the study. It looked at, among many other fundamental concepts, the theory guiding the study, the objectives of the study, the main hypotheses of the study and the methodology the study intended to use in the analysis of research work. The chapter indicated that lessons would be drawn from Somalia and South Sudan and comparisons on the same would be made. This chapter endeavours to analyse, justify and critique the main theory used in this study. Since feminism is the basic theory guiding the study, it shall be used to give a deep insight into the masculinity and femininity of conflict. The works of various scholars and their varied perspectives on the theory of feminism will go a long way in enriching the understanding of the issues concerned.

Feminity and masculinity as a system of belief or practice approaches conflict and peace building as a male affair to the exclusion of women not only at the community level but also at the national level. It creates a faulty picture of women only as victims who are in need of male protection and not an active participant in conflict and peace building processes while the reserve is actually true[85]. Feminism is relevant in this study because it insists that, politics and policy-making must come under moral scrutiny, places women at the level of moral educator and political actor and advocates for human dignity, social justice and fairness.

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[85] N. Tandon, (2008). *Feminism: A Paradigm Shift*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publisher and Distributors. P2

Feminism questions the assumptions implicit in conventional political analysis and social relationships. It sees the world, which is patriarchal in terms of exploitative relationships and seeks to correct such relationships. It seeks integration of women in the mainstream of social, economic and political policymaking process as a way of enhancing gender equality. Feminism also seeks to address the values and interests of women in the mainstream structures of the society. Feminism advocates for peace and cooperation. Women issues, values and interests cut across clan, ethnic and party affiliations, therefore, giving wider representation than the clans did in the Somalia conflict[86].

2.2 The Theory of Feminism.

Precisely defining feminism can be challenging but pragmatically, a broad understanding of feminism includes women acting, speaking and writing on women's issues and rights, identifying social injustice in the status quo and bringing in their own unique perspective to bear on issues.[87]

It can also be defined as the doctrine which advocates that women should have political, economic and social rights equal to those of men. It is a body of ideas which explain the status of women in society, the origin of this status and why it persists and what must be done to change this status. Although feminism has different strands, feminist theorists agree on a number of issues on the structure of relationship and gender inequalities and their effects on women in particular and the society in general. Despite the fact that feminist theories have been accused to be value laden, they have

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[86] Monga, C. (2002). A theory of democratic consolidation: Democracy and development. Journal. *West African Affairs*, 3(1), 7-27.

[87] N. Tandon, (2008). *Feminism: A Paradigm Shift.* New Delhi: Atlantic Publisher and Distributors. p. 2

countered this by exposing biases and impartiality embedded in the patriarchal mainstream structure of relationship and epistemology.

The single most important advance in feminist theory is that the existence of gender relations has been turned into a problem. Gender is the ascribed normative aspect, generally focused around the human concept of sex, a biological, physical division, that extends to a broad social construction, informing, shaping, limiting ways of being, both masculinity and feminism[88].

Heidi defines patriarchy as a set of social relations which has a material base and in which there are hierarchical relations between men and solidarity among them which enable them in turn to dominate women. This traditionally ignores aspects of humanity, where masculinity has been considered the norm leading to biased result and incomplete knowledge? All aspects of human interaction and human being are gendered. In sum, gender is a socially constructed means of assigning characteristics to sex categories.

Because societies are male-dominated, men contend that the legitimate way to resolve conflicts is the product of male values of aggression and dominance. Feminism holds that since women are assumed to be affected by conflict differently from their male counterparts, if included in decision-making and in politics in general the peace building efforts will be wholesome thus Feminism places gender inequality in the structure of the society that is patriarchal, under representation, participation and

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[88] Humm, Maggie. *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory*, 1990, p. 23.

sexual discrimination[89]. Feminism contends that, in an egalitarian society, women's more natural concerns would become part of the social and political milieu. Relationships based on caring, collaboration, cooperation, and consensus-building would replace those that rest on domination and subordination.

The above initiatives will lead to the transformation of the relationships in the society where Preoccupation with power and conflict would be replaced by cooperation and collaboration, and by a more ecological orientation, exemplified by the effort to save the mother's society[90]. Langston has expounded various strands of feminism among them liberal feminisms and radical feminism. Radical feminists posit that male supremacy was the root of all other forms of oppression. They reject institutions such as marriage, the family, heterosexuality and love which propagate the oppression of women.

2.3 Liberal Feminism

While radical feminists focused on oppression in private relations, liberal feminists focused on oppression in the public sphere. Liberal feminism endeavours to minimize differences between men and women and among women. Liberal feminists have consistently focused on legal inequalities, employment barriers and participation of women in public places[91]. Liberal feminists recognize that women's secondary status is institutionalized and have endeavoured to work with men to address barriers towards women's empowerment. Stand point feminism on the other hand values the

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[89] Kenrick, D. T., Sadalla, E. K., Groth, G. & Trost, M. R. (1990) Evolution, traits, and the stages of human courtship: Qualifying the parental investment model. *Journal of Personality* 58:97–116. [DTK, JMT]

[90] Monga, C. (2002). A theory of democratic consolidation: Democracy and development. Journal. *West African Affairs*, 3(1), 7-27.

[91] Rhodes, R. A. W. 1985. 'Power-Dependence, Policy Communities and Intergovernmental Networks,' *Public Administration Bulletin* 9, 4-30.

unique contributions contribution of women as women, and contends that women can bring in a different perspective in social processes. In conflict for example women's experience in nurturing and human relations is considered important in conflict resolution.

Liberal feminist views the essential differences between men and women as being trivial or non- existent. They see men and women as equal and are against the exclusion of women in positions of power in international relations but do not believe that including women would fundamentally change the nature of life. Liberal feminists seek to include women more often as state leaders, soldiers and other women operating outside traditional gender roles in society[92].

Some of the beliefs of the liberal feminists include: through education women will gain knowledge and skills to enable them to engage and participate in political decision-making: meritocracy, the harder you work, the more empowered one is, and as a result more opportunities will become available: gender inequality results from formal and informal discrimination, accepted because of custom and tradition.

2.4 Critiques and limitations of Liberal Feminism

Despite the strong support that liberal feminism has received from national governments, bilateral institutions, regional and sub-regional governmental and non-governmental institutions and the United Nations, it has faced criticism within the feminist movement.

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[92] Rhodes, R. A. W. 1985. 'Power-Dependence, Policy Communities and Intergovernmental Networks,' Public Administration Bulletin 9, 4-30.

Some of these criticism are that: the whole tradition of liberal individualism is fundamentally flawed because it artificially abstracts people from both physical bodies and their social relationships and treats them as autonomous, selfish and self-sufficient: the importance that liberalism attaches to rationality, self determination and equal competition is said to be the result of male perspectives that deny the value of qualities traditionally associated with women: an uncritical acceptance of male norms is also meritocracy, which means that the harder you work, the more empowered one is, and as a result more opportunities will become available[93].

It is believed that the liberal feminists rejection of patriarchy and gender as conceptual and analytical tools, limit its capacity to advance women's issues. Another significant weakness of liberal feminism is its failure to challenge the public dichotomy. Valerie Bryson notes that liberal feminism has had no way of conceptualizing the possibility that the family itself may be an institution that oppresses and exploits women physically, emotionally and sexually, or of understanding the ways in which sexuality and sexual experiences may be related to the dominant power structure: domestic violence is thus rendered invisible, rape becomes an unfortunate personal experience and sexual activity and orientation become simple matters of individual choice[94]."

From a practical point of view, liberal feminism has failed to address issues of difference; its focus on equality ignores the fundamental flaws of capitalism, hetero-sexism, patriarchy, class and racism. This has limited its potential to contribute to an effective inclusive framework for global feminism and despite its success at the

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[93] Zillah Eisenstein 1979) (Chris Kramarae & Paula A. Treichler. Amazons, Bluestockings, and Crones, Pandora Press, 1992, p. 85.) (Foucault, 1997/1984, pg. 167 cited in Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre, pg.14).
[94] V. Bryson, (ibid) (1992; 170)

international level, western liberal feminism failed to support the interests of women from developing countries[95].

2.5 Radical Feminism

In defining radical feminism, Robyn Rowland and Renate Klein, state that, radical feminism contends that the oppression of women is the first and primary oppression. Radical feminism is a woman centred interdependent theory and practise, which takes its starting point from women's lived experience, making the personal political[96]. It maintains that men oppress women through patriarchy, a system of structures, institutions and ideology created by men in order to sustain and recreate male power and female subordination[97]."

Valerie Bryson identifies four key aspects of radical feminism: radical feminism is a theory of, by and for women; as such it is firmly based on women's experiences and perceptions and sees no need to compromise with existing political perspectives, radical feminism sees the oppression of women as the most fundamental and universal form of domination and it aims to understand and end this[98].

Radical feminists believe that patriarchy as a social system is responsible for women's multiple and varied oppression and subordination. They contend that political institutions are steeped in patriarchal ideology and traditions that privilege men to the disadvantage of women.

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[95] C. Johnson Odim 1993; 316-327.

[96] Dworkin, Andrea. "Dworkin on Dworkin." In Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed,edited by Diane Bell and Renate Klein. 203-17. North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1996.

[97] Butler, Judith. Gender Trouble : Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York: Routledge, 1999. doi:99029349. 1990

[98] Ibid

Although radical feminists believe that institutional reforms are important as this can change women's lives, they however advocate for institutional transformation to change patriarchal cultures and practices that excluded women.

The groups other beliefs include: that women as a group have interests opposed to those of men and these interests unite women across race and class, that male power is present in both the public and private, therefore traditional concepts of power and politics are challenged and extended to the personal areas of the family and sexuality which are areas of male domination[99].

Radical feminism puts women at the centre of the situation and considers male supremacy as responsible for women's oppression in several ways. This school of feminist thought rejects social reform as the means for women's liberation contending that nothing short of a revolution in human consciousness will dismantle patriarchy and bring about women's full liberation[100]. Radical feminists believe that women were, historically, the first oppressed group and that women's oppression is the most widespread, existing in virtually every society[101].

Radical feminism has provided the basis for the development of multiple and diverse feminisms. It is from radical feminism that a wide-range of feminisms have emerged leading to it being labelled, "the breeding ground of many of the ideas arising from feminism; ideas which get shaped and pounded out in various ways by other branches

[99] Dworkin, Andrea. "Dworkin on Dworkin." In Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed,edited by Diane Bell and Renate Klein. 203-17. North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1996.
[100] Johnson, Sonia. "Taking Our Eyes Off the Guys." In The Sexual Liberals and the Attack on Feminism, edited by Dorchen A. Leidholdt and Janice G. Raymond. New York: Pergamon Press, 1990.
[101] Rosemary Tong; 1998; 46

of feminism[102]." It begun when women who experienced discrimination and sexual harassment in groups working in pro-independent movements in the colonies and for civil rights in the west, began to question the adequacy of liberal feminism ideas for women's empowerment[103]. They also questioned the relevance of several theoretical frameworks for women's political participation. These included debates and questions of the perceived benefits of nationalism and the relationship between capitalism and patriarchy. Women from post-colonial states wanted to explore the impact of nationalism as well as the effects of western imperialism on the status and condition of women. In view of the emerging and changing political fortunes radical feminism emerged to guide alternative feminist organizations[104].

Radical feminism views gender as a social category that is formed through a system of domination and subordination. Gender theory recognizes equal potential while allowing for differences between the genders. Gender theory emerges out of radical feminist theorizing on gender relations. Cindy argues that through gender politics, radical feminism questions why women must adopt certain roles based on their biology, just as it questions why men adopt certain other roles based on their sex. Radical feminism attempts to draw lines between biologically determined behaviour and culturally determined[105].

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[102] Morgan, Robin. "Light Bulbs, Radishes, and the Politics of the 21st Century." In Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed, edited by Diane Bell and Renate Klein. 5-8. North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1996.
[103] (Louise Antony 1997; 1-5)
[104] Morgan, Robin. "Light Bulbs, Radishes, and the Politics of the 21st Century." In Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed, edited by Diane Bell and Renate Klein. 5-8. North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1996.
[105] Cindy Tittle (ibid)

2.6 Critique and Limitations of Radical feminism

There is a concern whether it is just a theory of no practical relevance, a concern that many a scholar has tried to address in their various researches. It's often criticized for paying too little attention to the differences between men and women, for essentialism and a failure to critically analyse cultural specificities, its feminism strategies are viewed as unattainable and unfeasible.

2.7 Radical Feminist Criticism of Liberal Feminism

While liberal and radical feminists may work together, and at time use similar strategies for social transformation, radical feminism differs from liberal feminism in its philosophical and conceptual framework and strategies. At the heart of radical feminism's core assumptions is that patriarchy is the fundamental form of oppression for women.

Radical feminists believe patriarchy dominates all social and political structures and institutions throughout history and this has resulted in the subordination and oppression of women. Unlike liberal feminism, radical feminism sees class, gender and racism as central to understanding women's multiple and varied oppressions[106].

Whereas, liberal feminism believes in strong barriers between the private and public spheres, radical feminism, believes in weakening the barriers and encouraging closer scrutiny in the private especially when women's rights are violated through violence. In addition radical feminism sees women's individual choices as subject to male

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[106] Morgan, Robin. "Light Bulbs, Radishes, and the Politics of the 21st Century." In Radically Speaking: Feminism Reclaimed, edited by Diane Bell and Renate Klein. 5-8. North Melbourne: Spinifex Press, 1996.

control and abuse. For example radical feminism does not view prostitution as a choice but a male dominated scheme of control and sexual abuse.

2.8 Feminism and Marxism

Sexuality is to feminism what work is to Marxism: which is most one's own yet most taken away. Marxist theory argues that society is fundamentality constructed by the relations people form as they do and make things needed to survive humanly[107]. Work is the social process of shaping and transforming the material and social world. Material worlds, creating people as social beings as they create value. It is that activity by which people become who they are, class is its structure, production its consequence, capital a congealed form and control its issue[108].

Implicit in feminist theory is a parallel argument; the moulding direction and expression of sexuality organizes society into two sexes; women and men. As the organised expropriation of the work of some deprives a class, workers, the organised expropriation of the sexuality of some for the use of others defines the sex, woman. Heterosexuality is its social structure, desires its internal dynamic, gender and family is congealed forms, sex roles its qualities generalise to social phenomenon, reproduction a consequence and control its use[109].

Marx believed that the governing ideology in a society is determined by the economic interest of the ruling class, the capitalist in this case of its own and contemporary society. This he states forcefully is the German ideology. The ideas of the ruling class

[107] C. Mackinon, (1989. *Towards a Feminist Theory of the State* Havard University. Press.Havard
[108] Johnson, Sonia. "Taking Our Eyes Off the Guys." In The Sexual Liberals and the Attack on Feminism, edited by Dorchen A. Leidholdt and Janice G. Raymond. New York: Pergamon Press, 1990.
[109] ibid

are in every epoch the ruling ideas. I.e. the class which is ruling material force of the society is at the same time ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has the control over the means of mental production; thereby generally speaking the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.[110]

Marxism has long occupied an important place in feminist thinking as Einstein points out; the importance of Marxist analysis to the study of women oppression is too full[111]. First it provides a class analysis necessary for the study of power; second it provides a method of analysis which is historical and dialectical[112]. Although the dialectic (as methods) is most often used by Marxist to study class and class conflict, it can also be used to analyse patriarchal relations governing women existence hence women revolutionary potential.

In recent years, many feminist have turned their attention to the influence of Marxism in examining the role of the welfare state in defining and constraining women's life; examine the intervention of the state in the economy and its role in organizing family life and sexuality.[113]

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[110] J. Donovan (2006). *Feminist Theory; The Intellectual Traditions. Fredrick Ungar Publishing co.*
[111] Johnson, Sonia. "Taking Our Eyes Off the Guys." In The Sexual Liberals and the Attack on Feminism, edited by Dorchen A. Leidholdt and Janice G. Raymond. New York: Pergamon Press, 1990.
[112] ibid
[113] D. Kelly. (1993) *Female Legal Theory; Foundations,* Temple University Press USA

2.9 Conclusion

The chapter has widely deliberated upon the theory of feminism. It has revealed that the theory is not abstract but actually practical in today's society. Feminism has revealed what a patriarchal system in the society does to women's efforts in private and public life, how it relegates their opinions, needs and experiences to the background when it comes to decision-making. It is therefore upon the society to change its way through to bring women aboard in matters of decision-making especially in peace building situations. In addition, the women have to propel themselves up and come out strongly to defend their rights, an advancement that can only be achieved through the application of feminism in the evaluation of all developmental measures taken by all governments. This research will utilize a combination of the liberal feminist approach and standpoint feminisms.

CHAPTER THREE

MASCULINITY AND FEMININITY OF CONFLICT: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SOMALIA AND SOUTH SUDAN

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two presented endeavoured to analyse, justify and critique the main theories used in this study. Feminism is the basic theory guiding the study and so it was it used to give a deep insight into the effects masculinity and femininity of conflict. The works of various scholars and their varied perspectives on the theory of feminism were used to enrich the understanding of the issues concerned. Studies on gender dimensions of conflict clearly show that men and women experience conflict differently. While men are mostly the aggressors during conflict, women provide logistical support to the male combatants. Some women, though few, take part in conflicts as combatants. The consequences of war are different for the two genders. While more men than women are killed, women constitute majority of displaced persons.

Women experience sexual violence during the conflict, in the displacement camps and in the post conflict period. Conflicts also place additional responsibilities for women as become heads of households. That women and children are affected by war more than any other group is not in doubt. Conflict resolution is an important presents an opportunity for reconciliation, healing and reconstruction. This process requires the participation of all the affected parties.

For many people the states of Somalia and Southern Sudan are synonymous with lawlessness, anarchy and violence. For over two decades the international community has struggled to find ways to manage, contain, and ultimately resolve the political crisis in the Somalia and Sudan regions. The significance of the involvement of women in peace building processes in these two states cannot be overlooked. The conflict in both states shattered many traditional norms; the roles of women were transformed with the introduction of firearms and the militarization of conflict. At first, women became victims only as "collateral damage" but gradually they were seen as legitimate targets, both for sexual and other types of violence. This prompted many women to stand up and play an active role with the aim of finding a lasting solution[114].

This chapter will critically interrogate the peace building processes in Somalia and Southern Sudan with a view of examining the role played by women. The similarities and differences in the roles they played the in peace building processes in these two countries will be highlighted. In addition to these the difficulties they encountered in their efforts will also be explored.

3.2 The Somalia Peace Process

Since 1991, when the state of Somalia collapsed, numerous foreign and domestic diplomatic, military and state building interventions failed to deliver security and

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[114]Byrne, Bridget, Marcus, Rachel and Powers-Stevens, Tanya., . Gender, conflict and development Volume II: Case studies: Cambodia; Rwanda; Kosovo; Algeria; Somalia; Guatemala and Eritrea. (December 1995). *Bridge Development Gender, conflict and development Volume II: Case studies: Cambodia; Rwanda; Kosovo; Algeria; Somalia.*

restore a functional state[115]. During the Somalia civil war many women found themselves at the centre of conflicts. The disintegration of traditional kinship structures beginning with the household greatly affected women as their husbands were killed or maimed while some men deserted the family altogether, leaving women to provide for and protect the children[116]. Following the ouster of Sayid Barre in 1991, the first two international reconciliation meetings aimed at re-establishing a Somali government took place in Djibouti in June and July 1991. Six organizations participated. However the reconciliation meeting failed to resolve the political stalemate and a bloody civil war ensued.

In March 1993, fifteen parties to the Somali Civil War signed two agreements for national reconciliation and disarmament. This was an agreement to hold an Informal Preparatory Meeting on National Reconciliation, followed by the 1993 Addis Ababa Agreement made at the Conference on National Reconciliation. In spite of this the fighting continued and the agreement later fell apart.

From November 1996 to January 1997, a conference on national reconciliation was held in Sodere, Ethiopia. It created a 41 member National Salvation Council (NSC) charged with the responsibility of organising a transitional government. The conference was however boycotted by some warring factions and by the government of Somaliland. A similar conference in Sana'a, Yemen, did not include all the parties of the conflict, and was rejected by those not attending.

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[115]'Peace in Somaliland: An Indigenous Approach to State Building' available at http// www.interpeace.org
[116]more at: http://www.c-r.org/accord-article/somali-women-and-peacebuilding#sthash.oRhePmZW.dpuf

A fourth reconciliation meeting was held in Cairo, Egypt in December 1997. The reconciliation meeting was all inclusive and saw 28 signatories to the ensuing agreement dubbed the Cairo Declaration. The Cairo Declaration provided for a 13 person Council of Presidents, a prime minister, and a national assembly but did not provide for a national leader.

The 2000 Somali National Peace Conference (SNPC) held in Arta Djibouti was a significant step towards finding a lasting solution to the Somalia conflict. It included extensive participation by unarmed civic leaders, intellectuals and religious leaders. The conference culminated in the Arta Declaration and the formation of the Transitional National Government (TNG) which was the first Somali government since 1991 to secure a measure of international recognition, enabling Somalia to reoccupy its seat at the UN and in regional bodies.

This was followed by the Somalia National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC) held in Eldoret Kenya in 2002 which produced a Ceasefire Agreement signed by 24 faction leaders stipulating the need to create a federal structure. The 15th Somalia National Reconciliation Conference (SNRC) was held in Nairobi Kenya in September 2003. At this peace conference, a new united movement was formed dubbed the Transitional Federal Government. The most significant milestone of this peace conference was the adoption of the Transitional Federal Government Charter. From 9th to 29th January 2004 a conference was held in Nairobi at which the TFG developed further. This peace conference saw the establishment of Transitional Federal Institutions as well as elections. This was followed by the inauguration of a Transitional Federal Parliament,

the election of a president and a prime minister and the establishment of a Transitional Federal Government (T.F.G).

3.3 The involvement of Women in the Peace Building Process in Somalia

At the local level Somalia women played a leading role towards the realisation of peace by influencing elders to intervene and end conflict, they also mobilised resources to finance peace meetings and support demobilisation[117]. While men typically focused on achieving a political settlement, with the assumption that peace will ensue, women's vision of peace exceeded this by including efforts towards sustainable livelihoods, education, truth and reconciliation.

In the internationally-sponsored peace processes Somalia women successfully lobbied for places in decision-making forums. At the Arta conference in Djibouti and the Mbagathi conference in Kenya, the women made inroads with their participation and representation.[118]At the Arta conference women lobbyists succeeded in convincing Djibouti President Omar Guelleh to secure a position for women in the talks and quota of 25 seats for women in the 245-member parliament. Two years later, at Mbagathi, conference organisers categorised women together with civil society.

At the Arta Conference 55 women were assigned positions, 21 women as officially registered observers and 34 women as official voting delegates. Of these, 26 women took part as members of faction groups or the Transitional National Government (TNG). A woman sat on each of the Reconciliation Committees established as part of the process, and two women participated in the powerful 'Leaders Committee',

[117] Ahmed Christine Choi, *Finely Etched Chattel: The Invention of a Somali Woman*, ed. Ali Jimale Ahmed (Lawrenceville, N.J.: Red Sea Press, 1995), 164, 171.
[118]Supra note 2

consisting of 22 faction leaders and five members of civil society: neutral in the peace building process.

One of the most outstanding approaches adopted by women leaders in the Somalia peace building process was the formation of the "Sixth Clan". In Arta, for the first time, 100 women out of the total number of women delegates were selected to serve as representatives of their clans. At this conference women's groups begun cooperating across clan and kinship lines at the start of the conflict in order achieve a common agenda; ensuring women's inclusion in the leadership structures. The women realized that a peace based strictly on the traditional clan structure would permanently leave women's voices out of decision-making structures.

On May 2, 2000, a group of 92 women delegates gathered outside a large military tent in Arta and agreed to break out of their clan-based allegiances to vote as single bloc. When the conference opened, the women lobbied successfully to be recognized as a Sixth Clan, transcending clan identity. The Sixth Clan Coalition focused its efforts not only on encouraging male delegates to work toward peace, but also to include the women's agenda in the discussions and draft language of any agreement. The Sixth Clan Coalition campaigned for 10 % representation for women, or 25 seats within the parliament. During the conference, 70% of the women in the coalition voted as a bloc and were able to bring about the creation of a National Charter that reserved 25 of the seats in the 245-member TNG for women. The charter that the women helped to negotiate also guarantees the human rights of children, women, and minorities.

3.4 The South Sudan Peace Process

The citizens of Southern Sudan have endured over two decades of civil war and inter-ethnic conflict. The nation suffered from the devastation of violence and instability, the society's most vulnerable and marginalized members: women, children and youth, bore the brunt of the effects of the conflict[119]. Under the mediation of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the warring parties signed a series of six agreements commonly known as Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA). The signing of the CPA on January 9, 2005 under the auspices of IGAD by the Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM/A) signalled and ushered an opportunity for peace in Sudan. The Sudan Women played critical and varied roles both at the local and international level towards the realisation of peace in Sudan.

3.5 The involvement of Women in the Peace Building Process in South Sudan

In South Sudan, majority of the women are involved in peace-building activities through civil Societies[120]. Since the conflict begun in Southern Sudan in 1994 up to 2013, the women at the village level are still very active with a People –to-People peace initiative that has successfully managed to stop inter-ethnic violence in the Upper Nile region. These women have used their knowledge in traditional conflict management mechanisms, experience and influence within their families and communities to work for peace. Sudan women in exile have also formed their own civil organizations.[121] The Sudan Women for Peace in Nairobi has placed peace

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[119]'Stewards of Peace, *The role of Women and Youth in Post Conflict Sudan*' available at http:// www.ndi.org
[120]South Sudan Women's Empowerment Network (SSWEN), *Women and the National Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan* (Juba: SSWEN)
[121]Jok Madut Jok, *"Diversity, Unity, and Nation Building in South Sudan,"* Special Report no. 287, U.S. Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 15

building and the strengthening of the role of women in peace building the top agenda. Regional networks have been developed to unite women of the Horn of Africa and to promote their role in conflict resolutions and peace building. These include The Network for Gender Equality and Women's Rights in the Horn of Africa (SIHA), an indigenous organization based in Khartoum. The main objective of SIHA are promoting gender equality and constructing peace.

At the local level Sudanese women worked very hard to keep families and communities from disintegrating during conflicts through singing peace songs, persuading their husbands, sons and brothers to stop fighting[122]. They also risked their lives through dangerous peace missions across enemy territories to unite or reconcile warring communities[123]. There are instances when these women managed to stop the conflict from escalating by defying or opposing decisions by male members of the community to go to war. In one case women from a community in southern Sudan were reported to have threatened not to comply with their conjugal obligations until their husbands stopped killing each other, In some areas of the south women threatened to expose their nakedness (a curse in most Sudanese customary beliefs) to protest ethnic conflict.

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[122]Hutchinson, Sharon and Jok Madut Jok. 2002. 'Gendered Violence and the Militarisation of Ethnicity:A Case Study from Southern Sudan.' In Richard Werbner, ed. *Postcolonial Subjectivities in Africa*. London: Zed Books.
[123]Badri E. Amna and Intisar I Abdel (1998) *Sudan Between Peace and War, Internally Displaced Women in Khartoum and South and West Kordofan* Nairobi United Nations Development Fund For Women (UNIFEM) P. 15

In order to effectively address social, economic and general problems resulting from the conflict, many women organised themselves into groups, networks and NGOs on both sides of the political divide[124]. These activist networks included the Sudan Women's Voice for Peace, New Sudan Women's Federation, and New Sudan Women's Association. These activist networks went all over the world advocating for peace and drawing the attention of the international community to the worsening humanitarian crisis in Sudan. In Washington DC, the UN Headquarters in New York, The Hague and Beijing, these women groups lobbied the international community to pressure Sudan's warring parties to end the war[125].

Despite all the effort they made and capacity for peace building these South Sudan women demonstrated, when the time for official national peace building process began, they were not included as actors during the negotiation process for the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. There were only two women involved in this process from the SPLA side, but they were assigned observer positions and only participated nominally as negotiators. Instead, during the negotiations, women were treated as passive victims of war and their needs or concerns as victims of war were not properly addressed. These concerns never properly incorporated into the discussions that led to the final agreement[126].

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[124]Schirch Lisa, Manjrika Sewak. (2004 and 2005.). *The Role of Women in Peacebuilding*. USA, india: Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict and serves.
[125] Supra note 4
[126]Amel Aldehaib '*Sudan's Peace Comprehensive Agreement viewed through the Eyes of the women of Southern Sudan*' available at http//: www.ijr.org.za/publications/IJRsudan.php

3.6 Challenges faced by women in the peace building processes in Somalia and Southern Sudan

The women from these two states faced numerous challenges and rough opposition to their efforts to be included in the peace building processes. Cultural norms, traditions and practises plus the destruction of traditional community-based protection mechanisms contributed in exposing women to these challenges[127].there were similarities and differences in their experiences.

In their efforts to contribute to peace-building and recovery, Somalia and South Sudan women faced internal and external challenges. Internally, traditional conflict management mechanisms in these countries are neither democratic, nor do they promote gender equality when addressing communal conflicts at the village and national levels. Both societies being patriarchal, do not accept women as capable of exercising leadership in the conflict resolution arenas or any other arena for that matter.

Discriminatory cultural practises: The protracted civil war in both states significantly destroyed the education infrastructure resulting in high illiteracy levels in the youth who were not able to get education for over 20years. These youth have now become the leaders in the present Southern Sudan[128]. The cultural practice of early and forced marriages of girls resulted in illiterate young women who in 20years later have become women leaders in political or social arenas. This affected the capacity of the women to effectively participation of women in the peace negotiations as their

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[127] Gaylard, M. (26 January 2004). *"Senior UN Relief Official Condemns Murders of Women and Children.* UN News.
[128]Mulama, J. (19 June 2003.). Politics-Somalia: *Women Hopeful for New Gov't, Despite Setback.* Inter Press News Agency.

knowledge and ability to clearly articulate their issues was hampered. There is a general expectation of the women to take up subordinate positions in leaders and stay in the private spheres of the community. This has seen negative labelling of politically active women.[129]

The role of women peace activists was not fully appreciated in peace-building efforts supported by international organizations. This is because peace building conferences held outside Somalia did not take into account the views of the women on the ground as the international peace building models focused more on power-sharing arrangements instead of addressing the conflict's root causes that the women viewed as more important. As a result international reconciliation conferences gave priority to the warlords and the few Somalia political elites, while bypassing civil society groups, including those led by women, youth and religious groups.

Religious driven politics witnessed during the Somalia peace conferences presented a challenge to women. Some Islamic groups were supportive of women's participation in politics and peace building processes while others were against it. This threatened to undermine the gains that women had made. [130] At the local level, the increased violence deepened insecurity for everyone and especially women and children and thus undermining and stalling the community peace initiatives started by women in these two states[131].

[129] Yongo-Bure B., The Underdevelopment of the Southern Sudan, In Daly M and Sikainga A.A. (Editors) Civil War in the Sudan, British Academic Press, London 1993
[130] Supra note 2
[131] Somali: Women Call for Peace. (10 Jun 2003.) UN OCHA Integrated Regional Information Network

The Somalia culture and way of life imposes a number of restrictions on women especially during conflict. While Men can travel freely, this freedom of movement, particularly in nomadic areas, is not enjoyed by women. Their movements and travel are more restricted in that if a woman were to travel to other areas than that of her family or husbands family she must have a very good reason for doing so and must be in the company of a male escort, a thing that hinders their involvement in leadership or participation in peace building especially where they lack the family support in such pursuits. Despite their efforts to bring peace, Sudanese women were not been represented in peace processes at the official levels. The official peace talks/negotiations were male dominated irrespective of women's efforts to participate in resolving the conflict and promoting peace.[132] In South Sudan all public and political arenas is regarded as male domains. Therefore, the Comprehensive Peace Agreements which lay a foundation for a post- conflict South Sudan was gender blind leaving out the concerns, experiences and needs of women and children.

3.7 Women's contribution in the peace building processes in Somalia and Southern Sudan: A comparative analysis

In both the two states women played a significant role towards ending the conflict in their respective countries. Initially there was reluctance on the part of the conveners of the various peace conferences to include women. However this situation changed after the realisation that little would be achieved if women were not empowered to play an active role in the process.

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[132]Graney, D. W. (2010). *Women's Rights in Somalia: Women's Role in Conflict Resolution.* Orem, Utah: Utah Valley University.

The women in both this countries struggled with articulation of their concerns and interest during the peace building conferences due to high levels of illiteracy. There also had to go through discrimination, character assassination, verbal, and sexual abuses buy their male counterparts. They not only showed perseverance but also proved that they could endure such violence with dignified resilience.

When the women eventually got a chance to be involved in the leadership, they were relegated to subordinate positions: A statement that there is still a lot of ground to cover in gender equality.

The patriarchal nature of both societies made the women understand that they could not succeed in realizing their agenda by themselves therefore they lobbied for the support of men. They also need the support or permission of their husbands and male relatives to participate in leadership. This constrained their efforts to a great degree. One outstanding difference between the roles women played in the peace building processes in the two states was the approach adopted. The role of women in the peace building missions in Somalia on the international sphere was more prominent compared to their counterparts in Southern Sudan whose role was largely confined to the domestic level. The participation of women from Southern Sudan in the negotiation of the CPA was very minimal when compared to the role that Somalia women played during the Arta and Mbagathi Peace Conferences. At the end of these processes, both Somalia and South Sudan women successfully lobbied got seats within their present parliaments and other positions of leadership within their respective governments. This has ensured that the voices of women and other vulnerable groups are represented in all development plans.

In both Somalia and South Sudan women realised that ethnic and tribal divides are lines that hinder the attaining of women agendas in all societies. Women suffer the same misfortune in conflict situations irrespective of their geographical position in the world. They had to cross these lines in order to achieve their agenda.

In both the countries, the women in their own initiatives formed grass root peace building networks that supported the regional and international networks. These networks served as voices for the larger Somalia and South Sudan people to the international community.

3.8 Conclusion

As clearly demonstrated in the peace building processes by their attendance and participation in both national and international conferences and seminars Somali and South Sudan women played a very significant role in the peace building processes in their respective countries. Their effort disqualifies the argument of defenders of masculinity of conflict, a perception that resists the participation of women in decision making. They have shown that given equal opportunities women can effectively contribute to peace building. Their commitment towards the attainment of peace saw them overcome numerous political and socio-cultural obstacles varying from lack of political will, illiteracy, inadequate funding, lack of family support, unfriendly media and violence and character assassination among others in their efforts to reconcile the warring factions.

To overcome these challenges and obstacles the women had to evade the limitations and barriers set by clannism system, patriarchal beliefs and come together in the quest

of their agenda as women. This and the support of the international community saw them excel. It is therefore important to appreciate the fact the relative peace and stability currently prevailing in these two states can be traced back to the undying resolve of women to overcome various hardships and play an active role in the peace processes[133]

[133]Rehn Elizabeth and Sirleaf Ellen Johnson, *Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and the Role of Women in Peace-building* (New York: United Nations Development Fund for Women, 2002), 78

CHAPTER FOUR

FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY OF CONFLICT: A CRITICAL

ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter was an examination of on women's contribution to peace

building in Somalia and South Sudan. It found out that women in Somalia and South

Sudan were not only victims but active perpetrators of violence and able peace

builders. The chapter also highlighted the challenges faced by these women in their

efforts to participate in the peace building processes.

This chapter presents a critical analysis of the findings of the study as set out in the

research objectives and methodology, findings from the National Statutes,

international and regional covenants or instruments that the two states have ratified.

The study into the conflict situations of these two countries came up with several

issues that acted as deterrents to women's aspirations to fully participate in peace

building processes and certain enabling factors towards the realization of their

effective participation. These key findings were divided into deterrent factors and

enabling factors towards women's contribution to peace building.

4.2 The deterrent factors to women's contribution to peace building

Some people argue that women could only enter into the public-sphere and participate

in decision making through active involvement in the election process. They must

vote and vie for positions. Nevertheless women who aspire for any kind of office are

hindered in realizing their dreams by social, economic and cultural structures[134]. The main deterrent factors in the order of priority by the informants are;

4.2.1 Literacy

Ones education and awareness level is a crucial determinant to their participation in any democratic processes, whether by elections, voluntary or through nominations. It is therefore imperative that all individual interested in leadership positions of whatever kind, acquire at least minimum level of education. Despite increased level in literacy world over, many women in Somalia and South Sudan remain in abject poverty and ignorance. This high illiteracy rate among the women limited their understanding of issues of importance during the conflict and peace building processes. Some did not even understand the language used in the negotiation seminars or conferences[135]. The education infrastructure of Somalia has been weakened by decades of colonial neglect, followed by the outbreak of a civil war in 1990 that has led to widespread population displacement and paralysis of social services. The sector continues to suffer from severe managerial, technical and financial resource limitations and a lack of consistency in standards across regions. Superimposed on this context are challenges facing access to education for girls. A 2004 study by the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) found that Somaliland illiteracy is also widespread in the breakaway Republic of Somaliland, particularly amongst women[136]. According to UNICEF, the region had only a 22 percent primary school

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[134] Wachira Maina & Wanjiku Mbugua : *Gender and Democracy*, An Analysis of Kenya's Polititical Parties Manifestos .

[135] UNICEF/Lucy Njambi Kimani. (2004). "A situational analysis of primary education in Somalia: a gender perspective".

[136] UNICEF/Lucy Njambi Kimani. (2004). "A situational analysis of primary education in Somalia: a gender perspective".

enrolment in 2004, nine percent of which were girls. That figure dropped to six percent for secondary school.[137]

The current economic and environmental factors in Somalia have seen a country-wide shift from traditional pastoralist and agricultural livelihoods to a high degree of urbanization yet this lack of education limits the employability of these new rural-to-urban migrants. At a national level, poor education of government personnel permeates Somalia's limited governance infrastructure, raising serious longer-term concerns for future leadership at the various levels of government. Cultural norms and practices have contributed to disproportionately low access to schooling by girls; Somalia culture assigns women and girls subordinate roles in the society, roles requiring no leadership skills that a good education would sharpen. Women and girls lack educational opportunities and has resulted in their very low representation in both the education, political and economic sectors. The number of female teachers are few than those of their male counterparts in the schools. Education is an integral component in rebuilding Somalia, particularly in the South and Central areas, where the majority of the population has largely been deprived of education due to lack of consistent centralized governance.

The old Somali adage, "A mother's purpose is to be a cook, laundrywoman, nurturer and wife to her husband," describes to some degree the traditional role of women in Somalia, where women remain at the bottom rung of the social ladder. The women and girls continue to be subjected to serious injustices such as female genital mutilation, early and forced marriages.

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[137]UNICEF/Lucy Njambi Kimani. (2004). "A situational analysis of primary education in Somalia: a gender perspective".

In South Sudan there is still exist discriminatory practices against the girl child. The education of the girl child is not apriority. One would rather educate a boy who is expected to get some knowledge and eventually assume the position of leadership while the girl is groomed for motherhood. In spite of a number of attempts to promote gender equality, there remains a widespread belief that sending girls to school, is not profitable to parents or the larger community.[138] The girls are expected to be traded off to the next family with the prospective husband paying a "bride price", usually in cattle, for his wife. In the rural South Sudan Parents, especially fathers, are concerned that by allowing their daughters to go to school they expose them to the attentions of male students and teachers who may sexual abuse them. This has resulted in the low enrolment of girls in primary and secondary schools.

The civil war in Sudan also negatively impacted on the lives of women and girls and completely changing their role within the family and the community. The breakdown and disintegration of family and community support systems has forced women to assume new roles of protector, sole provider and even decision makers. The numbers of female-headed households are still on the increase due displacement, detainment and death of men.

4.2.3 Tradition of patriarchy

The participation of women in peace building and public affairs in both Somalia and South Sudan has been jeopardized by the longstanding beliefs, held by men and women alike, that these roles are the men's preserve. Proponents of this view argue that a woman's place in the home and women should not indulge in activities that

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[138] SPLM, Accelerating Learning Opportunities for All. Report of the Symposium on Education, Yambio 2001.

remove them from the realm of their family chores. A line of reasoning used by male chauvinists to frustrate the efforts of women aspiring to participate in community development activities.

4.2.4 Violence and character assassination

Research shows that; as Somalia and South Sudan women leaders took steps towards involvement in the peace building processes, they become the subject of various forms of violence. The women faced a barrage of verbal assaults, threats and attacks on their persons and character. Sexual harassment against women during the international peace building processes was also common place. There were reports that Somali women delegates received beatings from their male counterparts. At least one third of women participants received some form of verbal or physical sexual harassment or abuse.

Their male counterparts who were opposed to their involvement tended to get personal instead of concentrating on issues of national importance; the men easily intimidated the women by attacking their character in bid to discredit them in the eyes of the community. Some women leaders tell of the instances where they were referred to as prostitutes or their morality put to test in public. In such periods their marital status suddenly becomes a major issue of focus[139]. This went on even as the male leaders were accepted as fit and able community leaders without questions of whatever nature on their morality or standing in the community.

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[139] Amna E. Badri , Instar I. Abdel Sadiq,*Sudan between Peace and War*: Internally Displaced Women in khartoum and South and West Kordofan. African Women for Peace series. UNIFEM Publication. Pg 48-50

The Somalia Women participants in the peace building conferences found themselves in a dilemma over how to conduct themselves in negotiations. Women who were seen to be aggressive in negotiations attracted condemnation for behaving like men. Behind this condemnation was the feeling that women should be able to bring the feminine characteristics and qualities into the process. Yet, a femininity which is seen as synonymous with passiveness gentleness has no place in such highly competitive processes. A large number of female participants were considered weak.

4.3.5 Subordination of women in leadership and governance structures

The findings on the position of women in the governing structures in both Somalia and South Sudan show that their participation in governance and leadership is at the subordinate level. Women are often relegated to the back bench when positions of leadership are contested over or distributed in nomination processes. The design of the governance structures does not allow women to rise to the executive ranks of the organs leadership where their voices or votes would count. A factor that hinders their ability to have their opinions, experiences and needs made part of the national agenda.

4.2.6 Family support

The Islam religion which is the predominant religion in the whole Somalia and parts of South Sudan region tends to place women within the domestic domain. The cultural practices leaves women little or no opportunity for public obligations except in water fetching, food gathering and marriage celebration gatherings. Even women community leaders are often required to strike a balance between leadership and family life. Husbands and male relatives determine whether or not their wives

participate in leadership, these traditional requirements remain factors for many women interested in participation.

Even though there is an acceptance that women's rights are human rights are human rights, in Somalia and South Sudan there still exist the silent policy that the women's rights movement is *a western* imposition therefore the silent resistance to women's empowerment. Even when women's rights are accepted at the level of rhetoric they are frequently ignored in practice. The real barrier to women's enjoyment of their rights is the fact that there are still too many cultural, economic and institutional barriers that undermined efforts to make these rights meaningful for many women.

A decade ago casual glance at any document from Somalia and South Sudan would reveal that women's rights were either altogether not incorporated into official documents , or included in such documents without serious intention that they would be implemented[140].

4.2.7 Unfriendly media

In both Somalia and South Sudan, the media does not attach much importance to the voices of women, a thing seen even in local seminars or national conferences. The attention is all on men who are believed to be better informed in national issues, literate and therefore able to articulate the issues in question.

Meyers (1997) observes that the news coverage of women perpetuates stereotypes and myths about women, by ridiculing and trivializing their needs and concerns instead of discussing women's political needs and capabilities. The media has perpetuated

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[140] Interview with an informant in NBI, the Constitutions of Somalia Republic 1976 and the Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan 2011

untenable myths that women are irrational, naturally weak, and timid, occupied with trivialities. In both countries the media also actuated the culture of male dominance in politics by failing to accord both male and female leaders equal coverage. They highlight the male excluding women. It also tended to centre on the socially powerful persons[141].

If the media are serious about the representation of women, letting their voices be heard, giving them space and visibility, then they need to go little further than they are doing now, it is not enough to have a little page filler on some woman. The challenges are now more on how to present the stories, the headlines and what they reflect, the amount of space, who gets to speak and has the last word and the kind of analysis. In summary it's about access, representation, participation, visibility, space, language and interpretation. (Ever Joyce win an analysis of newspapers coverage of gender issues January-December 2000)

4.3 Enabling factors to women's effective contribution to peace building

Some informants for the study emphasized that effective contribution of women to peace building or any form of decision making cannot take hold without a number of "preconditions" in place. Others countered that if women's representation in these forums were to wait for too many of these preconditions to be in place, peace building strategies will never get off the ground[142]. A consensus was reached based on their experiences, and a number of enabling factors critical to gender mainstreaming were agreed upon. These enabling factors for women's contribution to peace building were:

[141] Interview with an informant in Nairobi
[142] Margaret Lole/Lucy Odero (January 2013) Interview in Nairobi, *South Sudan Women Peace Building Initiatives.*

4.3.1 Political Will and Leadership

Understanding of women's concerns and commitment on gender equality by the authorities is critical to women's participation in leadership. This understanding and commitment is crucial to creating an enabling environment for the implementation of women's empowerment projects and achieving their involvement in all levels of decision making. It is a known fact world over, that a formal acknowledgement from political leaders that women's concerns is an essential component of sustainable development is a starting point. The government must demonstrate political will by undertaking legislative and institutional reforms that would provide guidelines to implementations of these aspirations.

4.3.2 Policy Framework

Without a formal specific gender equality policy in place, every plan, statement or success on gender equality will often be hit and miss. Therefore these policies must clearly articulate the government's commitment to women's involvement in all levels of decision making and identify the broad mechanisms it will use to pursue this goal. The past decade saw these two countries uphold national laws, cultural practices and attitudes that were discriminatory to women. However there has been a legislative shift towards embracing ratification of international conventions on the rights of women and overall of human rights.

A policy framework should also include international commitments through ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), or commitment to implement the Beijing Platform for Action and other women focused conventions or instruments. Gender inequality

continues to prevail in Somalia and South Sudan because of the deeply rooted in patriarchy though both the governments in their current constitutions have been seen to embrace women rights. Somalia remained for a long time one of the few countries worldwide that has not yet ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, although the Cabinet has approved it subject to ratification by parliament[143]. After the peace processes the situations seem to be taking a turn in Somalia and South Sudan where women are increasingly being seen, by men as well as women, as active agents of change: the dynamic promoters of social transformations that can alter the lives of both women and men. Understanding the agency role is thus central to recognizing people as responsible persons: not only are we well or ill, but also we act or refuse to act, and can choose to act one way rather than another. And governments must endeavour to articulate policies to this effect[144]. Gender issues cut across all sectors of society regardless of the political, economic and social context, and their articulation in situations of political violence and armed conflict are often particularly marked. Consequently, the impact of armed conflict and political violence on gender relations and gender equality becomes a key issue in policy framework.

4.3.3 Government Structures, Mechanisms and Processes

The workings of government should be consistent with the goals of gender mainstreaming and contribute to the integration of gender perspectives within government processes. These include planning, priority setting, resource allocation,

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[143] UNICEF/Lucy Njambi Kimani. (2004). "A situational analysis of primary education in Somalia: a gender perspective".
[144] Rudd, Joy. 1982. 'On the Margins of the Power Elite: Women in the Upper Echelons.' In *Power, Conflict and Inequality*, Mary Daly, Liam O'Dowd and James Wickham (eds.), 159-170. Dublin: Turoe Press, 1982.

implementation, monitoring and evaluation. Both Somalia and South Sudan both being young states with a lot of teething problems, the governments work towards official recognition of national and community level women's machineries as advocates and expect them to provide leadership in gender mainstreaming, gender analysis, co-ordination and monitoring within the countries.

4.3.4 Sufficient Resources

Without sufficient allocation of resources, any official commitment to women's involvement in decision making will not amount to much more than lip service. In the development plans by both states, adequate resources must be allocated to support the structures and practices required for gender mainstreaming activities such as gender analysis and gender responsive planning and implementation.

4.3.5 Sex-disaggregated Data and Information Systems

Most of government development initiatives lack the backing of sex disaggregated data on the impact of conflict on both women and men, to enable thorough planning that would enable effective response to the needs of all community members. The current information system in both Somalia and South Sudan does not effectively. Evidence on the impact of conflict on both men and women must be gathered to document the differences in circumstances and opportunities between women and men to provide the basis for policy, program development and evaluation.

Beyond the level of ideology, the processes of conflict clearly involve immense social, political and economic disruption. A gender analysis should be an automatic element in the planning and practice of external interventions in situations of conflict.

This would ensure that those who are frequently the most vulnerable (women, and also the elderly, young disabled and minority ethnic groups), and who often have a crucial role in the rebuilding of their societies, are not further marginalised by inappropriate interventions. A gender and development analysis would seek to trace the ways in which these changes impact on gender relations. In particular, it would look at the extent to which women's social, political and economic marginalisation are increased during and after conflict as well as whether there are opportunities for improving women's position as a result of the changing situation.

External interventions in conflicts, particularly internal conflicts, are the subject of increasingly heated debates which a gender analysis and sharing of such data would settle a lot of questions raised by the humanitarian actors. No intervention by an aid agency can be said to be neutral and in situations of scarcity, the distribution of resources will always have a political, social and economic impact. Equally, no intervention can be regarded as gender-neutral, Interventions in any sector are likely to have an impact on gender relations hence the Distribution of resources, capacity building or services delivered, either to men or women will affect gender relations, to the extent that it changes or reinforces the status quo. In conflict situations, the politics of intervention, what should be done, when it should be done and with whom it should he done are particularly complex. Conflict is, by its very nature, a situation of change and it is important to assess how interventions will affect both those forces which lead tit an escalation of conflict and those which tend towards stability[145].

[145] Purdin, Susan and Roselidah Ondeko. 2004. *Understanding the Causes of Gender-Based Violence*. Forced Migration Review 19.

4.3.6 Tools and Knowledge for Gender Analysis

The conflict situation in Somalia and South Sudan caught both governments without proper emergency response mechanisms in place. There was no conflict situation monitoring and evaluation tools or knowledge on how to use such tools. This scenario is replicated in most governments and aid organization involved in relief work.

Humanitarian agencies and government planners in times of conflict must have access to tools to conduct gender analysis in order to effectively develop women's involvement strategies in conflict situations. They must also have the skills to use these tools effectively. For an appropriate action, a greater understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and of the particular vulnerabilities with which they have to contend is required. It is vital to ensure that the teams of both men and women work in the field so as to understanding the realities of conflict as experienced by women. This understanding would enable humanitarian organizations and government personnel to respond more appropriately to their needs and improve their situations[146].

4.3.7 Adequate Motivation

Women's involvement requires that individuals working within government sectors are not only given the opportunity to develop new skills and take on new responsibilities, but have the motivation to do so. There needs to be encouragement and incentives for both male and female government employees participating in the process. The common association of women and the female gender with peace,

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[146] T Pfanner (ed) (2010).*International Review of the Red Cross*. Geneva: Cambridge University Press. p. 23

suggests that in order for policies to succeed men must work with women as a foundation to peace building processes[147].

4.3.8 Demand from Civil Society

Although government agencies such as a national women's machineries may provide the initial impetus for women's empowerment activities, these strategies will not be effective or sustainable if individuals and groups within a society do not understand the importance of the change being sought. Civil society has an important role to play in motivating government to fulfil its commitment to gender mainstreaming.

Women in South Sudan as well Somalia have initiated several attempts at the grass root levels towards peace building, this grass root networks lack national presence and that where the civil society would come in.

Julia Aker Duany who works with fellow female activists from the Murle and other Jonglei tribes to find ways of turning women into agents for peace. She and her fellow Juba-based activists want to bring together the women from different Jonglei tribes to share their experiences, develop mutual understanding, and bring pressure on the men in their communities to stop the violence. She says: Women in South Sudan don't know their influence; they don't know how to use their power. But they have a lot of power. Women have to galvanize and change the common direction[148].The task is not easy. Although there is strong support for the initiative among the women of Jonglei, even the journey to a neutral meeting ground exposes them to the risk of attack. Yet many think that finding and establishing such neutral ground is their only chance of survival.

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[147] UN, 1986, op cit: para 266; UN, Platform for Action, Beijing, 1995: E
[148] Weber, Annette. 2011. 'Women Without Arms: Gendered Fighter Constructions.' *International Journal of Conflict and Violence.* Vol. 5, No. 2.

Before the intervention of international community into the Somalia conflict, Somalia women organized demonstrations, walks and prayer meetings to advocate for peace. But they were considered in sideshows by their male counterparts.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

Using examples from Somalia and South Sudan, the study attempted to analyse the effects of masculinity and femininity on women's contribution to peace building. The study's basic assumption is that states, social and political policies are gendered[149], yet the mutual relations of states and gender are generally under analysed. Since conflict is endemic and so conflict resolution strategies ought to be effective, the study dictates that such strategies should not fail to bring in the gender perspective when preventing and resolving conflict.

The basic problem in the study is that peace building strategies have not fully recognised the particular needs and experiences of women and have not acknowledged the significance of women's contribution to peace building in war torn communities.[150] Moreover, femininity and masculinity of conflict has served to sideline women from all political governing structures and positions of decision-making which includes peace-building process.

The basic theory guiding the study is the theory of feminism. The study acknowledges that though there are different strands of feminism, the basic concept behind all these strands is that they all refuse to accept that inequalities between men and women are

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[149]Diane, L. (2003). *Gender and Governance*. Oxford: Altamira.p. 1

[150]Anderlini, S. (2007). *Women building Peace*: what they do, why it matters. Lynne Rienner Publishers.

natural and inevitable. They all insist that these inequalities should be questioned and completely done away with.[151]

An in depth look at the social, economic and political way of life, institutions and governance structures in Somalia and South Sudan reveals that the theory of feminism is tenable. It is the men who are at the top of decision-making structure, be it in the family, clan or governance system. Women are relegated to subordinate positions to be objective of men's decisions and never part of the decision-making bodies.

The Somalia culture for instance revealed that women were subordinate from participating in directly in important gatherings, to hold positions of community responsibility or to testify as legal witnesses. However, it was encouraging to note that efforts to do away with such unlawful culture are forthcoming. President Syaad Barre, for example during his tenure made efforts to uplift the status of women by promulgating the family law of 11th January 1975 against the wishes of religion and conservative leaders[152].

A comparative analysis of the masculinity and femininity of conflict in Somalia and South Sudan indicated that women can be victims, perpetrators of violence and as well as agents of peace[153]. Since women fully participate in war and conflict, they are

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[151] M. Meyer and E. Haworth, (1997). *Gender Politics in Global Governance*. New York: Haworth Press. p. 3

[152] Mohamed, H. and Hoehne, M. (2013). The impact of civil war and state collapse on the roles of Somali women: a blessing in disguise, Journal of Eastern African Studies, 7:2, 314-333.

[153] Akolawin N O (1973) Personal Law in the Sudan-Trends and Development. *Journal of African Law*, 17(2): 149-195

as much part of the conflict as their counterparts, the men. Therefore they understand the intricacies of conflict and are capable of coming up with viable ways of preventing and resolving conflicts.

The study also revealed that six major issues that undermines women's capacity for effective contribution to peace building. These issues included illiteracy, tradition of patriarchy, violence and character assassination, subordination of women in leadership and governance structures, family support and unfriendly media. These Issues are inter-related and have partnered up to inhibit a gendered perspective of conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building.

5.2 Key Findings

An unquestionable finding of this study is that inclusion of women and their contributions to conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building is long overdue. Their advice, suggestions and full participation in decision-making is also not a privilege but is vital so as to ensure permanency of resolutions.

The study found out that in moments of armed conflicts and violence, it is the women and children who suffer the most. It is the women who mostly suffer from displacement. Secondly when their husbands go to war or are killed in war, it is they who double up as mothers and fathers of the children[154]. Worse still rape is often used

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[154] Fitzgerald, Mary Anne (2002): Throwing the Stick Forward: *The impact of war on southern Sudanese women*. Nairobi, UNIFEM & UNICEF.

as a war tool and those who bear the pain of such unfathomable moves are the women. They end up having unwanted pregnancies, raising fatherless children and even contracting sexually transmitted diseases if not dead.

The study revealed that women were significant social actors generally and in particular in peace-making process in the new Somalia and in South Sudan. Although their stories were consistent with the theories on war and peace, it challenges feminist critique by painting a picture of how they were able to create a place for themselves in their community through their role in peace-making, a role not necessarily defined through men[155].

5.3 Conclusions

There has been relatively little work done on conflict from a gender and development perspective. This thesis has brought about an understanding of masculinity and femininity as critiqued; it is argued that feminist research on gender identities, in particular in the process of militarization, is an important element of any examination of conflict situations from a gender perspective. However, from high level diplomacy to the nuts and bolts of food distribution, international agencies involved in conflict situations are largely blind to their impact on gender relations[156]. Consequently, it is likely that power, both at the household and national level, will be further concentrated in the hands of men, or those with the force of arms behind them.

It is important, at this stage of nascent interest in gender and conflict, to examine the

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[155] Hutchinson, Sharon and Jok Madut Jok. 2002. 'Gendered Violence and the Militarisation of Ethnicity:A Case Study from Southern Sudan.' In Richard Werbner, ed. Postcolonial Subjectivities in Africa. London: Zed Books
[156] Byrne, B., with Baden, S., 1995,'Gender, emergencies and humanitarian assistance', BRIDGE Report, Brighton: IDS

constraints which face integration of gender concerns into international interventions. Many of these are the same as those identified by the linking relief and development debate. Perhaps the most important of these are the institutional and staffing obstacles which result in a 'culture clash' between those who work in development, and particularly on gender, and those who work in relief and conflict situations. Relief operations are driven by a sense of urgency, which tend to favour top-down, donor dependent expatriate-run operations, reliant on a narrow range of indicators. On the other hand integration of development and gender concerns requires a fuller understanding of gender relations and a more bottom-up participatory method. In the culture of speed, gender considerations can seem to be an unjustifiable luxury. In addition, in situations of conflict, there is a reluctance to under- take actions which may be perceived as challenging traditional norms and structures or as politically contentious. The provision of contraceptives to women in situations of conflict between ethnic groups may, for example, be seen as a highly political act. There is also the concern that interventions may increase gender conflict at times of community stress and vulnerability. In addition, staff within organisations may be hostile to the implementation of gender policies, which may challenge deeply held personal beliefs[157].

The roles of women have evolved throughout the decades of conflict in South Sudan and Somalia. While they were once considered inviolable, the advent of war and the introduction of small arms eroded norms of protection. In the CPA's interim period, women came to be seen as legitimate targets in protracted cycles of tribal attacks and retaliation. Today, there are signs that women are viewed as legitimate—even

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[157] Hensman, R., 1992, 'Feminism and ethnic nationalism in Sri Lanka, Journal of Gender Studies, Vol 1 No 4

preferred targets. While many act as conscious or unwitting provocateurs to inter-tribal violence, others act as peace advocates. Yet for the majority of South Sudanese women, their primary roles in times of conflict are those of family protector, victim, and survivor.

If social norms on the protection of women and children can change for the worse, they can also improve. Women themselves can act as powerful catalysts. Groups of articulate and educated women in Juba are striving to find solutions to the communal conflicts that plague South Sudan, but meaningful action can only come from women in rural areas. With assistance, these women could capitalize on their strengths in numbers and in solidarity as women for positive, peaceful change. In the past, South Sudanese women were able to serve as peacemakers by transcending ethnic identity when they married into another tribe, thereby joining two communities together. Today, they have the potential to serve as more than mere symbols by becoming active as brokers of peace.

Whilst some of these concerns may be fully understandable and indeed justified, it is important to remember that, at its most basic level, a gender approach is seeking to ensure that the position of women not only worsen, but improves. Gender analysis can also simply ensure that interventions are effective, through enabling better distribution of resources to those who need them most. It is here that the culture of speed needs to be challenged if neglecting to ensure consultation procedures results in ineffective or even dangerous interventions. However, it is also important to emphasise that the failure to recognise gender-specific needs of women and to act to fulfil them can severely compromise women's human rights. It is also important to view conflict as a

process in which change is inherent. In this context, no intervention is neutral and the key analysis is to determine to what extent increasing women's access to and control of resources and increasing their influence in society will contribute to long- term stability and positive change. The study also concludes that women have very limited opportunities to participate in formal Somali and South Sudan peace processes. However, their involvement may be the necessary catalyst for speedy and stable peace building activities[158].

5.4 Recommendations

From the findings in chapter four and the summary above, the study recommends that the Somalia and South Sudan Government design ways of incorporating women in their peace building missions and how to educate them to create self reliance. Some specific measures that the government can take to empower are:

5.4.1 Affirmative action

Those that argue against affirmative action say that women are not a minority and therefore they need no social protection. Secondly, they pose the question: should women get a position merely because she is a woman? It is said affirmative action undermines standards. Thirdly affirmative action is reverse discrimination; well qualified and deserving men are left out in preference to women. But the fact is that affirmative action is not a remedy exclusively for disempowered minorities. It is a remedy for securing power and position for historically repressed groups. Women like historical minorities, must be given access to the instruments and organs of the state

or parties that make decisions affecting how they live[159]. The women in Somalia and South Sudan are sidelined and do not participate in the peace building process. To the question whether women should get position merely because she is a woman –A Canadian judge when asked whether her appointment as a judge because she was a women bothered her, she responded "I would rather be a judge just because I am a woman, than not be a judge just because I am a woman[160]."

The government of Somalia and South Sudan should make every attempt to encourage women's participation in the peace building processes, particularly within civil society and the formal government. While this can be accomplished through a variety of means, it requires a commitment to gender mainstreaming on all levels. It is particularly important to address the structural problems that exclude women from the negotiations realm in Somalia and South Sudan. In particular, peace negotiators are generally political and military leaders, positions that women are unable to obtain or be involved in. Thus, creating mechanisms to ensure women's political participation such as instituting gender quotas as it has happened in their neighbouring country Kenya will be a positive step toward equality both in government and at the negotiations table.

5.4.2 Constitutional and legal reforms

Though most women argue that the most serious obstacle to women empowerment is culture and not law, the law is itself part of the problem. In order to ascertain women's participation in conflict and peace-building processes the government must

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[159] By National Women's Council of Kenya, 2005, *Women Political Empowerment* .pg 55

[160] By National Women's Council of Kenya, 2005, *Women Political Empowerment.* Pg 55

legislate laws which eliminate some of the existing legal barriers and create an enabling legal environment. Eliminate all laws that uphold discrimination against women, where the law is weak then an amendment would be appropriate[161]. These two countries have ratified several international and regional covenants and instruments; these should be backed with policy framework towards a speedy implementation.

5.4.3 Women economic empowerment

Frequently, women capacity to participate effectively in economic activities is hampered by family obligations that ought to be shared with men but are exclusively left to the women. There is also the persistent conflict resulting from land use by communities that need to be resolved because in the rural areas, tenure systems are crucial to control, access and use of the land. Somalia and South Sudan governments must both legislate laws and put policy frameworks in place, that clearly endow women with equal rights to have interest in land as an economic enablement strategy. Marx believed that the governing ideology in a society is determined by the economic interest of the ruling class, the capitalist in this case of its own and contemporary society. This he states forcefully in the German ideology. The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas. I.e. the class which is ruling material force of the society is at the same time ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has the control over the means of mental production; thereby generally speaking the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.[162]

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[161] Ibid pg 57-60
[162] J. Donovan (2006). *Feminist Theory; The Intellectual Traditions. Fredrick Ungar Publishing co.*

5.5 Conclusion

Conflict will continue for as long as men in power continue to exclude women's socially constructed traditional values of private life. Therefore in all situations of conflict, a thorough assessment should be carried out to identify which social group is the most vulnerable, and why. Women are not a homogenous group, and, as shown above, they experience war in a multitude of ways — as victims, combatants, and promoters of peace. The adoration of male characteristics and tendencies in international relations has the effect of downplaying the women's role. It indeed has the capacity to make women in leadership positions feel inadequate, by instilling in them the feeling that they would accomplish their tasks better and earn recognition they deserve if they were men.

For women there used to be a perceived security-a sense that as a woman, especially as a mother, one would be spared the excesses of warfare[163]. Present Somalia and South Sudan conflict situational analysis show that all too often this perception does not correspond to reality and that for women to effectively participate there has to be a restructuring of the international system to appreciate the feminine values in the international system.

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

A SURVEY ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO PEACE BUILDING IN SOMALIA

TARGET GROUP: SOMALIA DISPLACED COMMUNITY IN EASTLEIGH NAIROBI, KENYA

Questionnaire for Religious and Community Leaders

(A) Demographic Characteristics

1. Age ☐

2. Sex ☐   Male/Female ☐

3. Level of Education ☐

(a) No formal education ☐

(b) Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling) ☐

(c) Primary schooling ☐

(d) Secondary schooling ☐

(e) University level ☐

4. Marital Status ☐

(a) Married ☐

(b) Single ☐

5. What is your current source of income?

....

....

....

6. What was your occupation before displacement?

....

....

....

7. What was your original place of residence?

....

....

....

8. Why did you flee home?

....

....

....

9. Who did you flee with?

....

....

....

10. Did you lose anything or anybody during the conflict?

....

....

....

11. How long have you lived in Eastleigh Kenya?

....

....

....

12 Is there a leadership structure within the Somalia community residing in Eastleigh?

YES ☐ NO ☐

13. If yes, what are the roles of the leaders?

14. What is the composition of the leadership?

....

....

....

15. What are the main concerns within the Somalia community in Eastleigh?

....

....

....

16. Do these concerns differ between men and women?

YES ☐ NO ☐

17. If yes, how and why?

....

....

....

18. If no, please explain

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19. Have these concerns been addressed?

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....

....

(B) Experience during the Conflict in Somalia

20. When did the conflict in Somali begin?

....

....

....

21. What was the cause of conflict in Somalia?

....

....

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22. Who were the main actors in the conflict?

....

....

....

23. Besides the government personnel like the police, army and groups like Alshabab,

did civilian men take part in the conflict?

....

....

....

24. If yes, what role did the men play in the conflict?

....

....

....

25. Did the women play a role in the conflict?

....

....

....

26. If yes, what role did women play?

....

....

....

27. Were there any concerns during the conflict?

....

....

....

28. What were the specific concerns for women?

....

....

....

29. Were this concerns addressed and if yes, by who?

....

....

....

(C) Violence during the conflict

30. What are the types/forms of violence experience during the conflict?

....

....

....

31. Were there any sexual and gender based violence during the conflict?

....

....

....

32. Who were the main victims of violence during the conflict?

....

....

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33. What factors contribute to vulnerability of women and girls during conflict?

....

....

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34. How can these vulnerabilities be addressed?

....

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APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

A SURVEY ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO PEACE BUILDING IN SOUTH SUDAN

TARGET GROUP: SOUTH SUDAN DISPLACED COMMUNITY IN NYAYO HIGHRISE NAIROBI, KENYA

Questionnaire for Religious and Community Leaders

(B) Demographic Characteristics

1. Age ☐

2. Sex ☐ Male/Female ☐

3. Level of Education ☐

(a) No formal education ☐

(b) Informal schooling only (including Koranic schooling) ☐

(c) Primary schooling ☐

(d) Secondary schooling ☐

(e) University level ☐

4. Marital Status ☐

(a) Married ☐

(b) Single ☐

5. What is your current source of income?

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6. What was your occupation before displacement?

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7. What was your original place of residence?

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8. Why did you flee home?

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9. Who did you flee with?

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10. Did you lose anything or anybody during the conflict?

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11. How long have you lived in Nyayo High rise Kenya?

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12 Is there a leadership structure within the South Sudan community residing in

Nyayo High rise?

YES ☐ NO ☐

13. If yes, what are the roles of the leaders?

14. What is the composition of the leadership?

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15. What are the main concerns within the South Sudan community in Nyayo High rise?

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16. Do these concerns differ between men and women?

YES ☐ NO ☐

17. If yes, how and why?

....

....

....

18. If no, please explain

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....

....

19. Have these concerns been addressed?

....

....

....

(B) Experience during the Conflict in Sudan?

20. When did the conflict in Sudan begin?

....

....

....

21. What was the cause of conflict in Sudan?

....

....

....

22. Who were the main actors in the conflict?

....

....

....

23. Besides the government personnel like the police, army and groups like SPLM,

did civilian men take part in the conflict?

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24. If yes, what role did the men play in the conflict?

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25. Did the women play a role in the conflict?

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26. If yes, what role did women play?

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27. Were there any concerns during the conflict?

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28. What were the specific concerns for women?

....

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29. Were this concerns addressed and if yes, by who?

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....

(C) Violence during the conflict

30. What are the types/forms of violence experience during the conflict?

....

....

....

31. Were there any sexual and gender based violence during the conflict?

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....

32. Who were the main victims of violence during the conflict?

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....

33. What factors contribute to vulnerability of women and girls during conflict?

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34. How can these vulnerabilities be addressed?

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