EXAMINING THE ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 IN FOSTERING INCLUSIVE AND SUSTAINABLE PEACE IN SOUTH SUDAN

BY

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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY – AFRICA

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UNITED STATES INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY – AFRICA

SUMMER 2019
DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, institution or university other than the United States International University-Africa in Nairobi for academic credit.

Signature ____________________________ Date ___________________

Martha Adundo Wanjala (654811)
Student

This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed Supervisor.

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Dr. Fatuma Ahmed Ali
Supervisor

Signed: ____________________________ Date: ___________________

Prof. Martin C. Njoroge
Dean, School of Humanities and Social Sciences (SHSS)

Signed: ____________________________ Date: ___________________

Ambassador Prof. Ruthie Rono
Deputy Vice Chancellor, Academic and Student Affairs (DVCASA)
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARCRSS</td>
<td>Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan</td>
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<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>BPFA</td>
<td>Beijing Platform for Action</td>
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<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against women</td>
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<td>CPA</td>
<td>Comprehensive Peace Agreement</td>
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<td>CRSV</td>
<td>Conflict-Related Sexual Violence</td>
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<td>CSOs</td>
<td>Civil Society Organizations</td>
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<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration</td>
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<td>FDG</td>
<td>Financing Discussion Group</td>
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<td>FPCT</td>
<td>Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory</td>
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<td>GAI</td>
<td>Global Acceleration Instrument</td>
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<td>GAPS</td>
<td>Gender Action for Peace and Security</td>
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<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-Based Violence</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>HRW</td>
<td>Human Rights Watch</td>
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<td>ICC</td>
<td>International Criminal Court</td>
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<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<td>IGOs</td>
<td>Intergovernmental Organizations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labour Organization</td>
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<td>NAPs</td>
<td>National Action Plans</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non-Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>PKO</td>
<td>Peacekeeping Organization</td>
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<td>SDGs</td>
<td>Sustainable Development Goals</td>
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<td>SEA</td>
<td>Sexual Exploitation and Abuse</td>
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<td>SGBV</td>
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<td>SPLM/A</td>
<td>Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army</td>
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<td>SRRA</td>
<td>Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association</td>
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<td>South Sudan Women General Association</td>
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<td>South Sudan Women Peace Network</td>
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<td>SWEP</td>
<td>Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace Networks</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNAMID</td>
<td>African Union Mission in Sudan and the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children's Fund</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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<td>UNOCHA</td>
<td>United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs</td>
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<td>UNSCR</td>
<td>United Nations Security Council Resolution</td>
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<td><strong>USIP</strong></td>
<td>United States Institute of Peace</td>
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<td><strong>VAWG</strong></td>
<td>Violence Against Women and Girls</td>
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<td><strong>WAPSD</strong></td>
<td>Women’s Agenda for Peace and Sustainable Development in South Sudan</td>
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<td><strong>WPS</strong></td>
<td>Women, Peace and Security</td>
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<td><strong>WIPNET</strong></td>
<td>Women in Peace building Network</td>
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ABSTRACT

The position of women has been strengthened in conflict resolution efforts globally, since the United Nations Security Council unanimously adopted resolution 1325 in 2000. Since then, as peace building practice continues to evolve globally, there is a notable shift from being regarded as a male dominated sphere to a rather more inclusive and collaborative process. Various studies including a 2015 Global study on the Implementation of the resolution 1325 have acknowledged and recognized how conflict affects girls and women differently from men and boys, and that the former must be part and parcel of any conflict resolution for long-term and sustainable Peace building.

This study examines the role of the United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 in fostering inclusive and Sustainable Peace in South Sudan. The study gives an in-depth analysis of the role of women in conflict, as perpetrators, victims and peace builders. The study also assesses how conflict disproportionately affects women and girls and its impact on them. The research furthermore analyzes the significance of the UNSCR 1325 in ensuring women’s involvement in peace and security issues by looking at the four pillars of the resolution, that is Participation, Protection, Prevention and Relief and Recovery. The study then makes both policy and practice recommendations on strategies needed in strengthening and promoting women’s participation in peace building. This is a qualitative research study which uses both primary and secondary data.
CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

War, armed conflict, terrorism and violent extremism have differential and devastating consequences for women and girls. In the face of this, women all over the world are leading movements for peace and to rebuild communities. Moreover, there is strong evidence suggesting that women’s participation in peace processes contributes to longer, more resilient peace after conflict (UN Women, 2019). Yet, despite this, women remain largely invisible to, and excluded from, peace processes and negotiations.

To address these challenges, a robust set of internationally agreed norms and standards have been put in place to guide the work on Women, Peace and Security (WPS). So far, eight United Nations Security Council resolutions form the foundation of the Women, Peace, and Security agenda. Equally, other key international and regional frameworks such as the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development commonly referred to as the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action adopted from the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), recognizes that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men, and development. They put forward strategic objectives and actions to be taken (United Nations, 1995, pp. 91-100).

At the continental level, the Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and the Rights of Women in Africa known as the Maputo Protocol guarantees comprehensive rights to women and contains provisions on the participation of women in peace processes and the protection of women in armed conflicts, including requiring states to
ensure the increased participation of women in structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels.

In this regard, in October 2020, the world will be commemorating the 20th anniversary of the adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security at its 4213th meeting. One of the important outcomes of the UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions has been the growing global recognition of the different ways in which conflict affects women and men, their potential to build recovery and peace, and how they can complement each other in peacebuilding efforts. This resolution further focused attention on women as multi-faceted actors in conflict and post-conflict situations, while promoting women’s participation at all stages.

One of the most inspired decisions and crowning achievements for the United Nations Security Council was the Resolution 1325. The recognition that peace is inextricably linked with gender equality and women’s leadership was a radical step for the highest body tasked with the maintenance of international peace and security (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 5).

However, turning the Security Council’s words into actions and real change has been a challenge in some countries, especially those in conflict situations. According to a Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325, Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace, there remains a crippling gap between the ambition of the commitments and actual political and financial support. There is a struggle to bridge the declared intent of international policymaking and the reality of domestic action in the many corners of the world where resolution 1325 is most needed (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 5).
As mentioned previously, Resolution 1325 has been celebrated as the first ever global commitment to ensuring that women and girls are more systematically and sustainably integrated into peace and security matters, including mediation and peace and state building. Therefore, there is need for worldwide effort from all key stakeholders to implement this resolution. The UN has led the way through various initiatives such as introducing the office of a Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict by the Secretary-General. Similarly, relevant UN agencies and other developmental bodies support member states in developing their National Action Plans (NAPs), capacity building of the implementation process and advocacy around the issues. (Magawi, 2018).

However, the successful implementation of Resolution 1325 relies upon the respective United Nations member states, Civil Society Organizations, Development Partners and other key stakeholders. Since its adoption, UN member states have put the tenets of the resolution into action through the development of government-led National Action Plans (NAPs) or other national and regional level strategies. These NAPs process helps countries to identify priorities and resources, determine their responsibilities, and to hold the government responsible. These Action Plans are critical elements to the effective implementation of the Resolution worldwide (Magawi, 2018). According to a Women Peace Study (2018), out of the 193 UN member states, only 79 countries have adopted a NAP in support of UNSCR 1325 as of December 2018. This indicates that not enough progress has been made since 2000 in regard to the adoption of a 1325 NAP and implementation of its principles worldwide.

South Sudan declared independence from Sudan on 9 July 2011, after a bloody civil war with the ethnically Arab North that had lasted decades. Almost 99 percent of the voters
voted for independence in a referendum, and the new country was swiftly recognized by the international community (BBC, 2011). However, since independence, the country has faced several problems such as high poverty rate, ethnically diverse political movements, vast untapped natural resources and political infighting in the past few years. South Sudan has had a long history of civil war and continues to face ongoing internal conflict, armed insurgency and election-related violence, most of which disproportionately affect women and girls (BBC, 2011).

Despite this, women in South Sudan have never simply been guests at the negotiating table. During the Pre-South Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (2005) and the post South Sudan Independence conflict of 2013 and until recently when conflict broke out between forces loyal to the President Salva Kir and those aligned with the former Vice President Dr. Riek Machar, the roles women played as combatants, supporters of fighting forces and peacemakers qualified them to sit at the negotiating table and to assume an active role in the implementation.

After the declaration of independence and through the post-independence fragility, a number of frameworks aimed at bolstering women engagements in the peace process have been developed among them the Country’s ratification of CEDAW in 2014, South Sudan National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 in 2015, the Women’s 7-Point Agenda for Implementing the Peace Agreement and the Women’s Agenda for Peace and Sustainable Development in South Sudan (WAPSD). These advocacy frameworks became the blueprints on women’s concerns and demands at the mediated peace negotiations in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia by clearly calling for inclusivity in the promotion, participation and protection in peace building and conflict resolution. Since the inception of the December 15th 2013
political crisis, the women of South Sudan through the South Sudan Women Peace Network (SSWPN) have tremendously mobilized at national and grass roots level in search for a peaceful outcome to the ongoing political crisis between warring parties (SANGMPAM, 2014).

However, despite the concerted efforts made by South Sudanese women in promoting leadership and coordinating their engagement in the ongoing peace process, a lot remains to be achieved. Although progress has been made, the issues of women’s underrepresentation in decision-making, their insufficient involvement in peace processes, conflict prevention and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) persist in South Sudan. This is because the gaps continue to exist in the implementation of the commitments, limitations related to the framing of the resolution and the inherent disconnect between the declared intent of 1325 and the reality of domestic action in the country. Therefore, this study sought to examine the role of UNSCR 1325 in fostering inclusive and Sustainable Peace in South Sudan.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Globally since the unanimous General Assembly approval of the first resolution (65 / 283) on peace mediation and UNSCR 1325 (2000), the position of women has been strengthened in conflict resolution efforts. As Peacebuilding practice continues to evolve globally, there is a notable shift from being regarded as a male-dominated sphere to a rather more inclusive and collaborative process. Besides, various studies including a 2015 Global study on the Implementation of the UN Security Council resolution 1325 have acknowledged and recognized how conflict affects girls and women differently from men and boys, and that
the former must be part and parcel of any conflict resolution for long-term and sustainable Peacebuilding.

This is indeed a significant change from the initial conventional approach of protecting women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence which was solely recognized as a priority challenge for humanitarian and peacekeeping practice. Women’s peace coalitions have grown in strength and are in some contexts able to put women’s concerns on the agenda of peace talks. Furthermore, transitional justice mechanisms are increasingly responding to war crimes against women and girls with more overt attention to the ways conflict affects women and with specific arrangements to protect women witnesses. Therefore, post-conflict needs assessments, planning processes and financing frameworks have in some cases, acknowledged the need to put women’s participation and concerns at the center of peacebuilding and recovery processes.

South Sudanese women’s multifaceted roles during the conflict as combatants, supporters of fighting forces, victims and peacemakers qualified them to sit at the negotiating table and to assume an active role in the implementation. Similarly, South Sudanese women have mobilized women through their high-level advocacy initiatives and continuously called for peaceful resolution to the conflict.

However, women’s participation in general peace processes remains one of the most unfulfilled aspects of the Women, Peace and Security agenda. As remarked by Kofi Annan; “We can no longer afford to minimize or ignore the contributions of women and girls to all stages of conflict resolution, peacemaking, peace-building, peacekeeping and reconstruction processes”, sustainable peace will not be achieved without the full and equal participation of women and men (United Nations, 2002, p. 1).
As indicated above, despite the concerted efforts made by South Sudanese women in promoting leadership and coordinating their engagement in the ongoing peace process, a lot remains to be achieved. Liaising with different actors on promoting gender responsive Peacebuilding has been met with a number of challenges including the recurring violence, lack of the rule of law, and more often distrust among the various stakeholders, including women themselves. More so, amidst all this, women are faced with the daunting tasks of rebuilding the country, dealing with the violence of the past; combatting impunity; reconciling the nation and building a shared national vision. Similarly, insecurity remains a challenge in South Sudan, which continues to hamper South Sudan Women’s efforts in mobilizing and reaching out to all women across the country. It is against this background that this study sought to examine the role of UNSCR 1325 in fostering inclusive and Sustainable Peace in South Sudan.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of this study is to examine the role of UNSCR 1325 in fostering inclusive and sustainable peace in South Sudan.

The following specific objectives guided this study:

1. To understand the role and impact of conflict in South Sudan;
2. To analyze the significance of the UNSCR 1325 in ensuring women’s involvement in peace and security issues in South Sudan
3. To make recommendations on strategies needed in strengthening and promoting women’s participation in peace building in South Sudan.
1.3 Research Questions

1. What is the role and impact of the South Sudan conflict on women?

2. What is the significance of the UNSCR 1325 in ensuring women’s involvement in peace and security issues in South Sudan?

3. What could be done to strengthen and promote women’s participation in peace building in South Sudan?

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is critical in showcasing the importance of UNSCR 1325 as a significant tool in fostering inclusive and sustainable peace in South Sudan. By showcasing the achievements, challenges and potential opportunities for states and the international community in promoting visibility for women and acknowledging their role in peacebuilding, this study will be used as a best practice to be emulated, and will be critical in adding to the existing knowledge on the subject matter, especially in 2020 when the world will be taking stock of the gains made and challenges in the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

The findings of this study contribute to the knowledge production that can be utilized by Scholars, policy makers, governments and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) as well as the general public in coming up with approaches and programmes to strengthen and promote women’s participation in peace building processes.

1.5 The Scope of the Study

This study focuses on South Sudan covering the period before and after the resolution was adopted. South Sudan is the most preferred case for this study because it is one of the
countries with protracted conflict situation in Africa, yet it has strong women’s movements when it comes to peace building, and it has a National Action Plan on the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

1.6 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis comprises of five chapters with the introduction and conclusion of the themes studied.

Chapter One covers the general introduction of the study. It encompasses the background to the study, statement of the study problem, objectives, research questions, as well as the significance of the study.

Chapter Two provides an in-depth contextualization of the issues through literature review. It contains background information about the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, a review of the Role of Women in Peace processes and a review of the South Sudan country context, especially the women’s movements and their involvement in the resolution of conflict and peace building. It also provides the theoretical framework and the knowledge gap identified in the literature review.

Chapter Three looks at the research design and methodology for this study. It identifies the research design, the sampling and data collection methods and techniques used, and the data interpretation and analysis. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations used in the study.

Chapter Four offers a detailed report of the analysis and findings of the research. It is presented according to the objectives of the study, that is the role and impact of conflict in South Sudan on women, the significance of the UNSCR 1325 in ensuring women’s
involvement in peace and security issues in South Sudan, and strategies needed in strengthening and promoting women’s participation in peace building in South Sudan.

Chapter Five gives the general conclusion of the study and makes recommendations on how better to improve women’s participation in conflict resolution in South Sudan. This chapter also provides areas for further research.
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an in-depth contextualization of the issues through literature review. The chapter contains background information about the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and its significance in strengthening and promoting women’s involvement in peace processes in South Sudan. It also provides a review of the multifaceted roles of Women in Peace processes and a review of the conflict in South Sudan, especially the women’s movements and their involvement in the resolution of conflict and peace building. The chapter also gives an overview of two theories of peace in relations to women, peace and security, that is the Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT) and the Social Exclusion Theory. The chapter concludes with an identification of the knowledge gap in the literature review.

2.1 The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

It has been 19 years since the first resolution on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325, was adopted by the United Nations Security Council on 31st October 2000 after being advocated for by various peace activists and international women’s groups and organizations. The passage of the SCR 1325 is considered to be a historic feminist moment in the realm of international security (Basu, 2019, p. 282). For the first time, since the formation of the United Nations, the Security Council clearly articulated the fact that during armed conflict, the majority of women and girls are intolerably affected by abuses committed against them by virtue of their gender, ranging from rape, sexual violence, sexual slavery, forced pregnancies, murder, terrorism, torture and abduction. By adopting the resolution on Women, Peace and Security, the
Security Council recognized the political significance of women and gender for the sustainability of international peace and security.

The objectives of the resolution are to protect women’s rights during armed conflicts, prevent impunity for gender-based crimes, mainstream gender aspects in peacekeeping operations and increase women’s participation in the various phases before, during and after armed conflicts. SCR 1325 includes provisions to address a range of concerns relating to women and armed conflicts such as women’s participation in peace processes and conflict. Moreover, Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV) against women during armed conflict, are clearly recognized for the first time by the Security Council in this resolution.

The ‘3 Ps’ that often appear in the text of SCR 1325, and were later widely adapted in the advocacy literature, are participation, protection and prevention. The focus is on the humanitarian aspect of armed conflict and the formal and informal processes associated with conflict resolution (Basu, 2019, p. 41).

The UNSCR 1325 emphasizes on the fundamental role of women in both the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace mediations and negotiations, peace-building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and post-conflict reconstruction. The Resolution also reiterates the importance of women’s equal participation, full and meaningful involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security (United Nations, 2019). It urges all relevant actors, both state and non-state actors, to increase the participation of women and incorporate gender perspectives in all peace and security efforts. It also calls on all parties in conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, which are mostly used as a weapon of war during armed conflict. The resolution provides a number of important
operational mandates and guidelines, with implications for the Member States and the entities of the United Nations system.

The Resolution 1325 contains stipulations by the Security Council on the following key points: Involvement of women in peace and security decision-making processes (Articles 1-4 S/RES/1325), Incorporation of a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and field missions together with gender-sensitive training for mission personnel (Articles 5-7 S/RES/1325), Incorporation of a gender perspective when negotiating and implementing peace agreements (Article 8 S/RES/1325), Protection of women and their rights during and after armed conflicts (Articles 9-15 S/RES/1325), and Incorporation of a gender perspective in United Nations measures, reports and processes (Articles 16-17 S/RES/1325) (UN, 2000).

One of the important outcomes of the SCR1325 and subsequent resolutions has been the growing global recognition of the different ways in which conflict affects women and men, their potential to build peace, and how they can complement each other in peacebuilding and recovery efforts. This resolution further focused attention on women as multi-faceted actors in conflict and post-conflict situations, while promoting women’s participation at all stages. The resolution provides both a broad blueprint and concrete suggestions to help the international community incorporate gender perspectives into the women, peace and security agenda.

While Resolution 1325 is signaled as being the first United Nations Security Council Resolution to officially recognize the importance of women’s full inclusion in decision-making in peace and conflict processes, it follows on from years of earlier legal and policy frameworks that recognized the need for a global strategy to advance women’s rights as human rights. The equal and meaningful participation of women and men in both public and
political life is recognized by the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action for Equality, Development and Peace.

At the continental level, the Protocol of the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights and the Rights of Women in Africa known as the Maputo Protocol guarantees comprehensive rights to women and contains provisions on the participation of women in peace processes and the protection of women in armed conflicts, including requiring states to ensure the increased participation of women in structures and processes for conflict prevention, management and resolution at local, national, regional, continental and international levels. UNSCR 2121 adopted in 2013 further recognizes the need for greater emphasis on the leadership and participation of women, for addressing the root causes of armed conflicts and of threats to the security of women and girls through an integrated approach to sustainable peace, covering the political dimensions of security, development, human rights-including gender equality-the rule of law and justice (United Nations, 2002, pp. 3-4).

As the Peace building practice continues to evolve globally, there is a notable shift from being regarded as a male-dominated sphere to a more inclusive and collaborative process. Various studies including a recent global study on the implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 have acknowledged how conflict affects girls and women differently from men and boys, and that the former must be part and parcel of any conflict resolution for long-term and sustainable Peace building (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 3). Much has changed from the initial approach of protecting women and girls from sexual and gender-
based violence which was solely recognized as a priority challenge for humanitarian and peacekeeping practice.

Furthermore, women’s peace coalitions have grown in strength and are in some contexts able to put women’s concerns on the agenda of peace talks. Also, transitional justice mechanisms are increasingly responding to war crimes against women and girls with more overt attention to the ways conflict affects women and with specific arrangements to protect women witnesses. Post-conflict needs assessments, planning processes, and financing frameworks have in some cases acknowledged the need to put women’s participation and concerns at the center of peacebuilding and recovery processes.

2.2 The Significance of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in Ensuring Women’s Involvement in Peace and Security Issues in South Sudan

To create lasting peace, the voice of women is imperative. Their contribution spans from the prevention and resolution of conflict to facilitating post-conflict recovery and reconciliation process. According to research, involving women in peace and arbitration processes leads to an increased likelihood that the agreement will last for over 15 years by as much as 35 percent (UN Women, 2018). But women’s participation in peace processes goes beyond just representation and quotas. Meaningful participation means that women are at the table when negotiations are taking place, women’s interests and lived experiences are fully reflected in peace processes, and that women are equally considered in recovery efforts in the aftermath in conflict.
The UNSC Resolution 1325 is vital in addressing the gender equality gap as it formally recognizes the role of women in realizing peace and long-lasting stability amid situations of armed conflict. It should be noted that the acknowledgment came as a result of the worldwide call by international organizations, national governments, civil society organizations and women’s movements around the world to establish what we now know as the Women, Peace and Security Agenda (WPS).

The salient role of women in attaining a culture of peace has and continues to be affirmed in various normative instruments of the United Nations, but perhaps most importantly in the landmark Security Council resolution 1325 on peace and security, and its subsequent resolutions including the resolution 2122, which essentially added the weight the role of women in peace and security, mentioning gender equality as necessary to ensure sustainable peace. UNSCR 1325 is termed a landmark ruling as it formally acknowledges the changing nature of warfare, in which civilians are more targeted now, with women continuously being to be exempted from taking part in the peace processes. Particularly, Resolution 1325 addresses how women and girls are significantly and disproportionately impacted by conflict and war and therefore recognizes the critical role that women can, and already do play in conflict prevention, resolution and peace building efforts. It further affirms that peace and security efforts are more sustainable when women and girls are equal partners in the prevention of violent conflict, the delivery of relief and recovery efforts, and in the forging of lasting and sustainable peace. (USIP, 2015, p. 5).

As such, there are four pillars of Resolution 1325; Prevention, Protection, Participation, and Relief and Recovery. They reflect on the need to incorporate gender
perspectives in peace and security efforts at all levels. Below is a broad overview of the UNSCR 1325 four-pillar on women, peace and security.

2.2.1 Participation

Recent research on gender has demonstrated that achieving gender equality is one of the critical ways of preventing conflict. More so, in situations where women are involved, whether by leading and or participating in the processes, peace lasts and is more sustainable. Consequently, the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS) was a groundbreaking addition to the global peace and security infrastructure. The resolution served as the first global affirmation that women both disproportionately suffer from conflict and have an integral role to play in conflict resolution, peace negotiation, peace building, and humanitarian and peacekeeping efforts.

Evidence has also shown that involvement of women in peace processes expedites the outcome through pushing for the commencement, resumption or finalization of negotiations, especially when momentum has stalled or talks have faltered. (Coomaraswamy, 2015). Resolution 1325 calls for increased participation of women at all levels of decision-making, including in national, regional, and international institutions such as the United Nations itself; in mechanisms for the prevention, management and resolution of conflict such as mediation; in peace negotiations; in peace operations, as soldiers, police, and civilians; and as Special Representatives of the U.N. Secretary-General.

There is strong supporting evidence on the importance of including women in the various stages of making sustainable peace agreements. For instance, a study by The International Peace Institute has done on 182 signed peace agreements in the period between 1989 and 2011 found that when women are engaged in peace processes, there is a 35 percent
increase in the probability that a peace agreement will last 15 years or more (UN Women, 2015). Moreover, women participants in peace processes are usually less inclined on the spoils of the war but instead more focused on reconciliation, economic development, education, and transitional justice – all critical elements of sustained peace.

Inclusion of women in these processes may occur in various forms, especially in the effort to address rising global violent conflict, that since the end of the Cold War has occurred within states, with armed insurgencies or civil wars tearing countries apart (USIP, 2017). The end to these conflicts cannot be through only a top-down peace approach where armed actors are the only ones allowed at the negotiating table. Instead, it calls for a more inclusive process—one that includes women playing more pivotal roles in building peace from the bottom up as well as from the top-down, engaging multiple stakeholders affected. Parties brought together should come from not only the capital but also the local level where affected communities are found and more affected by the conflict when it is not fully addressed.

In 2015, the United States Institute of Peace launched a major project to support a network of women peacebuilders and women-led organizations committed to nonviolence and mediation in Colombia. With members that were from every sector of the society, this network completed a formal peace process as it got underway. Notably, the Women’s groups negotiated local ceasefires with armed groups and were successful with the hostages being released. They later pressured insurgents to lift roadblocks while documenting the human rights violations. They also protested the budget priorities of local governments and called for solutions to end drug trafficking and other ongoing illegal activities. Some of these women were requested to take part in the Colombia peace talks in the city of Havana. A
third of the participants were women. Notably, they turned out to be the ones pushing for concerns of the war’s victims to be reflected in the reconciliation and accountability mechanisms enshrined in the final ratification.

Such results were also significantly catalyzed by the landmark United Nations Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security that was passed in October 2000. It demonstrated the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and reiterated the salient need for equal participation if not full involvement in these processes.

Before the passing of the United Nations Women, Peace and Security act, 664 peace agreements were investigated in the period 1990-2000 by UN Women. It turned out that only 11% of this agreement included any form of reference to women’s security and inclusion during their development. To add on that, the cases occurring between 1992-2011 indicated that only 4% of signatories and less than 10% of negotiators were women (UN Women, 2018). This has since then changed significantly with progress is being made. For instance, in 2015, provisions designed to address women’s security and inclusion were included in 7 out of 10 peace agreements signed that year.

In conclusion, systematic and representative inclusion of women in a broad range of peace and security issues is not only important to ensure a successful negotiation, but also for ensuring that women’s interests are being addressed. Thus, security has been linked to the ability of women to sustain peace through their leadership roles and the ability to build peace when recognized in the process. Gender equality is a stronger indicator of a state’s peacefulness than other indicators, such as GDP.
2.2.2 Protection

Increased attention has also been vivid against violence against women and girls. Particularly, sexual violence in conflict has received greater visibility, high-level advocacy, as well as the development of technical tools. Despite this, too little funding is allocated to programming and services for survivors. In this regard, the protection pillar of Resolution 1325 calls explicitly for the protection of women and girls from sexual and gender-based violence before, during and after conflict, including in emergency and humanitarian situations, such as in refugee camps.

Rape and sexual violence have most times been used as a weapon of war. However, wartime rape is neither ubiquitous nor inevitable (USIP, 2017, p. 1). The level of sexual violence has been observed to differ significantly across different entities aggregated by countries, conflicts, and responsible armed groups. For example, some armed groups can and do prohibit sexual violence in their operation. Such variations suggest that policy interventions should also put in consideration so that the armed groups, as well as their commanders in control of their troops, are legally liable for patterns of sexual violence caused to the victims. Wartime rape is also characterized uniquely during certain types of conflicts or geographic regions; it occurs in ethnic and non-ethnic wars, in Africa and elsewhere (USIP, 2015, p. 3).

State forces turned out to be more likely to be reported to be perpetuating sexual violence as compared to rebels. That means they may be more susceptible than rebels in naming and shaming campaigns regarding sexual abuse. In some cases, perpetrators and victims may not be who is expected them to be. To make matters worse, those who perpetrate sexual violence during the conflicts are often civilians and not armed actors as would be
expected. Furthermore, perpetrators are not usually a particular gender as stereotyped just as the victims. This therefore calls for policymakers to be vigilant of stereotyping the two categories of individuals by gender when handling them (USIP, 2015).

Wartime rape does not have to be ordered to occur to on a large extent. It is often not an intentional strategy of war: it is more frequently tolerated than ordered. However, as noted, commanders in effective control of their troop are legally accountable for any sexual violence caused by the members in their troops (USIP, 2017).

A lot remains unearthed about the wartime sexual violence patterns and causes. In particular, available data cannot determine fully the trends of this type of violence, such as whether or not wartime sexual violence is increasing, decreasing, or constant on a global level. Policymakers should consequently focus on variation at lower levels of aggregation, and especially across armed groups.

### 2.2.3 Prevention

States with lower gender inequality prevalence are less likely to resort to the use of force. It, therefore, calls for stronger recognition to influence the gender norms, gender relations, and gender inequalities on the potential for the eruption of conflict. The UNSC Resolution 1325 therefore calls for the improvement of interventions and strategies in the prevention of gender-based violence against women and girls, as well as by prosecuting those responsible for violations of international law; strengthening women’s rights under national law; and supporting local women’s peace initiatives and conflict resolution processes.

Former UN secretary-general Ban Ki-moon has recognized Sexual Exploitation and Abuse (SEA) as well the current UN Secretary-General António Guterres as a risk to
peacekeeping operations, which has led to a series of new policy responses (Westendorf, 2017, p. 2). As institutions start adopting new policies for the prevention of SEA by international interveners, existing scholarship on conflict-related sexual violence must be translated and integrated into SEA prevention efforts so that these two fields find common ground.

Rising attention to sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by the military, police, and civilian personnel associated with UN peacekeeping operations and conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) by state and non-state armed groups reveals policy silos that showcase similarities between the two and result in ineffective prevention efforts (Westendorf, 2017). Instead of being regarded as separate types of activities, SEA and CRSV come out best as occurring on a behavior spectrum that may occur as strategically motivated or opportunistic.

Interestingly, much of this behavior is based on around power and is rooted in structural factors such as gender inequality, displacement, poverty, and economic deprivation, among other reasons. Policymakers on CRSV need to put in more weight on the need for accountability. On the one hand, and the prevention of SEA through conduct and discipline on the other and address the underlying causes of sexual violence in conflict and postconflict situations, namely, gender inequality and the political, social, and economic vulnerabilities of civilian populations.

In conclusion, therefore, efforts to address SEA and CRSV should emphasize both legal accountability and appropriate conduct and discipline, as well as the root causes of such behaviors.
2.2.4 Relief and Recovery

Women based in conflict-affected as well as recovering countries lack vital economic opportunities necessary for survival, they remain confronted by daily violence in their homes and communities, keep struggling to cope with heavy burdens of care and dependency, and also continue to endure the emotional and physical scars resulting from conflict, without being supported or recognized. The aftermath of conflict, violence against women often increases, underlining the importance of rebuilding the rule of law institutions.

The UNSC Resolution 1325 calls for progression of relief and recovery efforts and measures to address all international crises through a gendered lens, including by respecting the civilian and humanitarian nature of refugee camps, and considering the needs of women and girls in the design of refugee camps and settlements.

Across the board, women constitute almost fifty percent of the entire human population. However, they are the most excluded and unequal in fragile societies economically, politically, and socially compared to their male counterparts. This has large repercussions for continued fragility. According to the World Bank, progress on gender-related issues in fragile states appears to be stagnating or losing ground altogether (USIP, 2017).

Comparisons between countries reveal a strong correspondence between the physical security of women and the peacefulness of states. In countries where women’s civil liberties are restricted, tend to be less stable politically. Also, women’s participation in peace processes has been linked to the more successful rebuilding of institutions and legal frameworks.
2.3 The Role of Women in Peace Processes

Historically, women have always participated informally in the negotiations and peacebuilding. It occurs on an unrecognized level and rarely visible to the among the rest of the peacemakers and keepers of peace in the formal sector. Women have surrounded buildings to protect their leaders stay in the room, such as the occasion in Liberia; in Northern Ireland, they elected themselves as a third force; the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo demanded that justice be part of any peace process; the Women in Black of Serbia rallied the country with calls for peace in their country (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 40).

The role of women in peacebuilding has continued to receive significant attention in recent years, particularly with the upcoming 20th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 and the development of 1325 National Action Plans by member states. There now exists a strong evidence base on the contribution of women towards peace and security processes and how much their participation enhances their operational effectiveness in the process – by strengthening protection efforts, improving prevention and accelerating economic recovery (UNDP, 2016). Women’s meaningful involvement also helps ensure that agreements will be sustainable (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019).

According to research undertaken by the Graduate Institute of Geneva from 2011 to 2015, an in-depth analysis of 40 peace processes since the end of the Cold War, have shown that in cases where women’s groups exercised a strong influence on the negotiation process, the chances that an agreement would be reached on time were higher compared to when women’s groups exercised weak or no influence on the process. Actually, in cases where women’s participation and strong influence was in action, the outcome of an agreement being reached was almost guaranteed. Moreover, a strong influence of women in negotiation
processes positively correlated with a higher likelihood of the accords being implemented (Krause, 2018). A research was conducted on commissions set up after the peace agreement to implement major aspects such as the one responsible for drafting and adopting a new constitution, monitoring disarmament or a ceasefire, and setting up a truth and reconciliation commission. The analysis established that the more specifically an inclusive composition of these commissions is written into the agreement, the more effective they have been in practice (Caprioli, 2010).

Despite claims of the risk of burdening processes through the inclusion of women, in these 40 case studies, there was no single case where organized women’s groups hurt a peace process. Hence, the observation that does not hold for other social actors (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 40). Quite the contrary, one of the most repeated effects of women’s involvement in peace processes was pushing for the commencement, resumption, or finalization of negotiations when the momentum had stalled, or the talks had faltered (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 41).

Despite these efforts and almost twenty years after the adoption of resolution 1325, statistics collected by international organizations, focusing on formal processes, record only a small percentage of women, if any, involved in peacemaking and more than half of peace agreements continue to highlight minimal women participation. (Coomaraswamy, 2015, p. 40). In fact, according to data from UN Women and the Council on Foreign Relations (5 January 2018), women constituted only 2 percent of mediators, 8 percent of negotiators, and 5 percent of witnesses and signatories in all major peace process between 1990 and 2017 (Council on Foreign Relations, 2019). Despite having led peace movements and driven community recovery after a conflict, women have conspicuously been left out of peace
negotiations talks. Exclusion from reconstruction limits their access to opportunities to recover economically, opportunity to gain justice for human rights abuses, and opportunities to participate in shaping the rule of law. This sidelining of women in a society to participate in formal decision-making limits policy and decisions that favor gender equality this widening the gender equality gap (Domingo, 2015).

As a result, a great deal of effort and programming at the international level has gone into including women in formal peace processes and in the formal politics of the country concerned. At a technical level, this has meant that a great deal of donor money has been poured into women’s programs that attempt to develop political leadership for women in formal processes. This is important, and there must be a sustained effort to increase their numbers because research shows that this has an important impact. International commitments provide the normative basis for women’s level of participation in peace and security (Dr. Eunice Njambi, 2014).

Women have a right to participate on equal terms in political, civic, and family life, including in conflict-affected countries. However, women can only exercise this right in practice if they can alter the gender hierarchies that deny them power and choice. Therefore, women’s participation in the economic development of families and communities should be the cornerstone of their participation in development and peace initiatives. Women have the right to take part in designing and managing local development projects, formal peace, and reconciliation initiatives and local governance structures. (Eunice Njambi, 2014).
2.3.1 The Role of Women as Combatants and Perpetrators

In various conflicts in the conflict-ridden regions of Africa such as Liberia, Sierra-Leone, Eritrea, Angola, and Rwanda women have often been involved as combatants. In discussing the role of women during conflict and post-conflict, one encounters glaring differences. In her article on the reintegration of female soldiers in post-conflict societies in Africa, Barthe (2002), observes that during the war, women may perform tasks usually performed by men. In some instances, women are themselves soldiers and combatants in the conflict. She notes that once a war is over, women's contributions during the conflict rarely receive recognition, the reason being that the needs and priorities of a post-conflict society are very different from those of a society at war.

While both men and women are encouraged to act out similar roles such as those of soldiers in an army or guerrilla movement during the conflict, post-conflict society encourages difference between the gender roles (Barthe, 2002). The role of women in violence demonstrates that gender is a key component of discourse in conflict and peace. Shekhawat (2015) avers that an examination of the theory and practice of women's participation in violent conflicts shows that both conflict and post-conflict situations are gender insensitive. While carrying out a research on male and female actors and ex-combatants in South Asian conflict-ridden regions of North and East India, Nepal and Sri Lanka, she observed that the conflict scenarios were similar in one aspect, because women were visible in conflict-making but invisible in peace-making (Shekhawat, 2015).

The International Labour Office also noting that little research had been done on the lives of female combatants in violent armed conflicts, examined the dimension of sexual violence against women and whether and how sexual violence and gender-based
discrimination has affected the women’s decisions to join armed forces and what role gender-based violence played during and after combat. Their report was informed by and sought to raise national and international public awareness on the problem of sexual violence as a weapon of warfare and its consequences (Specht, 2006). The report found that the issue of women as actors in conflict needs to be explored further due to the ever-increasing presence of women in conflicts across Africa and the world. It claims that war is not exclusive to men, and women are not necessarily always peaceful or always the victims. War is widely understood as a masculine endeavor for which women may serve as victims, spectators, or prize (Goldstein, 2003). For this reason, it is important to adopt a holistic approach in considering the reasons for women involved in conflict as combatants and ultimately, their involvement in conflict resolution as peace builders.

Cunningham (2003), in attempting to understand the spectrum of women’s involvement in violence, explained the complexity of what drives women to be involved in wars. He narrowed down the several factors that prompt their involvement to be domestic/international enforcement, conflict, and social dislocation. Similarly, Shekhawat (2015), notes that the enlistment of women in armed conflict is prompted by mundane and contingent factors, partly as a response to the conflict situation and partly to the pre-conflict situation and maintains that there are women who commit violence voluntarily, and there are others who are forced to commit violence.

Excluding women from conflict resolution and peace processes in all aspects; as combatants and peace-builders is an issue of global concern (Shekhawat, 2015). The International Labour Organization’s (ILO) reports that the process of disarmament and demobilization can only be successful if strong reintegration support, including that of
women combatants, follows immediately after conflict (Specht, 2006). Additionally, Stone (2011) echoes Specht’s argument that due to the failure of many programs to address the special needs of women, and girls, use of female combatants is very useful in Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR).

2.3.2 Women as Victims in Conflict

The United Nations SCR 1325 continues to be a landmark resolution, providing the first legal and political international framework recognizing the disproportionate impact of armed conflict on women and the role of women in peacebuilding. The resolution characterizes women’s roles beyond victims to equal participants and decision-makers across peacemaking and peacebuilding issues. Through its 18 provisions, the United Nations SCR 1325 provides a framework for women’s participation in activities such as: negotiating peace agreements, planning humanitarian and peacekeeping operations, and rebuilding war-torn communities (Boehme, 2015).

The resolution further places firm obligations and accountability upon all member states, the Security Council, and the Secretary-General (SG) and non-state actors to protect women’s human rights as well as to ensure a gender lens across all peace and security initiatives (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010). Similarly, the resolution acknowledges and endorses the role of civil society in all aspects of the peace process, providing women’s organization and other NGOs formal recognition for their efforts. (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

Sexual violence is rampantly used as a weapon of war by perpetrators and combatants in conflicts across the globe where women and girls are shamefully singled out for rape,
imprisonment, torture, and execution (Ali, 2007). Terming rape as the most intrusive of traumatic events, United Nations Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF) has documented its use in many armed conflicts including those in Bangladesh, Cambodia, Cyprus, Haiti, Liberia, Somalia, Uganda, Rwanda, Syria, and Sudan (UNICEF, 2014).

UNICEF (2014) further reports that systematic rape is often used as a weapon of war in 'ethnic cleansing' where many of the women and girls who became pregnant are later ostracized by their families and communities thus suffering double tragedy. Furthermore, sexual violence against women not only erodes the fabric of a community but is also an attack on her family and culture, especially considering that in many societies women are viewed as repositories of a community's cultural and spiritual values (UNICEF, 2012).

Various measures have, however, been put in place by the International Community as an effort towards the protection of the victims of sexual violence that comes with war and other conflicts. One such measure or mechanism for deterrence of violence against women is the International Criminal Court (ICC) whose jurisdiction extends to genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes. The jurisdiction which covers individuals accused of these crimes includes persons who are directly responsible for committing the crimes as well as those who may be liable about aiding, abetting or assisting in the commission of the crimes (UNICEF, 2012).

The jurisdiction of the ICC and the provisions of Article Seven of the Rome Statute drive state leaders and other concerned public officers to be in the frontline in ensuring such atrocities of sexual violence are not committed within their territories whilst setting up an effective criminal justice system at domestic level to ensure justice is served within the rule of law (Rome Statute, 1999). Finally, the inclusion of rape, sexual slavery, enforced
prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity against women in the definition of crimes against humanity invaluably adds to the fight against such forms of violence against women (Rome Statute, 1999).

However, the picture remains grim in some conflict-ridden regions where the rule of law barely exists. As observed by the Human Rights Watch (HRW) in its 2016 World Report, patterns of rape in South Sudan in 2014 and 2015 show that various South Sudanese units have purposefully committed rape and other forms of sexual violence against large numbers of women in many attacks at various locations and times. Despite this, no one is known to have been held accountable (Human Rights Watch, 2016). Due to the sexual and gender-based violence that women face, South Sudanese women are fearful of male military peacekeepers and therefore including female peacekeepers in troops helps build trust and reduce the cases of sexual violence against women (Haastrup, 2016).

The pressure is now piling on the African Union Mission in Sudan and the United Nations Peacekeeping Mission (UNAMID) to increase their investigations and public reporting on abuses while protecting civilians who live under constant threat from all warring parties in the volatile region. It is necessary for the African Union, the United Nations and other players in the International Community to counter the prevalence of sexual violence which reflects wider discrimination against women and girls across conflict-ridden regions through creation of awareness, training and inclusion of women in conflict resolution and generally empowering human rights defenders, who cannot defeat this scourge alone (Human Rights Watch, 2016).

In South Sudan, the perpetrators of sexual and gender-based violence are men who are part of the official military of the country and those from the militia affiliated with the
opposition (Haastrup, 2016). In its aim to reduce the cases of sexual and gender-based violence, the United Nations Security Council in its Resolution 1888 of 2009 encourages female peacekeepers to engage with local women and encourage them to participate in building a strong security sector that is responsive and accessible to all women. The Resolution, therefore, urges local women to join the national armed and security forces to gain access and positions that can help them participate fully in transforming the security sector of the country (Coomaraswamy, 2015).

The victimization of women in conflict has, however, been used to overshadow their contribution in peacebuilding processes. Women are portrayed as victims in need of aid, and this obscures their ability to participate in conflict resolution and peacebuilding, which increases the chances of success with the involvement of women (Dahlstrom, 2012). According to Itto (2016), often women’s role and participation in peace negotiations and processes, in general, is overlooked and instead, they are treated as victims of war as opposed to active players and actors in the society.

2.3.4 The Role of Women in Conflict Resolution in South Sudan

There are numerous opportunities for women to access and be involved in peace processes. Women, for example, gain access to official peace processes through international support. In Burundi, UN Women formerly UNIFEM formed an All-Party Burundi Women’s Peace Conference which encouraged women’s participation by bringing together women from nineteen negotiating parties, IDPs, observers and refugees to take part in the Burundi peace process (UN Women, 2015). In South Sudan, the UN Women has also been actively involved in lobbying women to bring peace through active participation.
Sharing of information is another strategy that offers women an opportunity to participate. By creating an open and transparent communications avenue and strategy, an environment of trust is created, and women can be deeply involved in peace processes, particularly conflict resolution. This method has been employed in the past by Burundian women earning them a strong mandate to discuss their experiences during peace negotiations. South Sudan similarly employed this strategy through SWEP, which encouraged the use of an open communication strategy to earn the trust of all people through social media and distribution of informative newsletters (Mbae, 2017).

Women’s experiences in informal peace processes are of high relevance for official peace processes. Due to barriers such as illiteracy, cultural, and traditional practices, not many South Sudanese women have been actively involved in official peace processes. They are, however, quite experienced in informal conflict resolution methods. This offers them a great opportunity to participate in the peace process. They gain experience as agents for change in local peace activism, which gives them an opportunity to reach out to other locals to spread the message of peace (USIP, 2017).

In Liberia, for example, women worked tirelessly by using informal conflict resolution means to convince the conflicting parties to embrace negotiations. Women’s groups such as the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) organized public marches in 1991 to advocate for peace, and by 1993, peace talks were underway (Bekoe, 2007). The group spearheaded a campaign; the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace Campaign, to confront the rebels directly to lay the ground for peace talks. The women traveled to all camps to meet the rebels and convince them to a cease-fire (Bekoe, 2007). This informal
conflict resolution method championed by Liberian women shows the impact of women’s participation in conflict resolution.

Local and national political campaigns also offer an opportunity for women’s participation as they promote the rights of women and the relevance of their participation in peace processes. Such campaigns offer a great opportunity to mobilize large numbers of people from different backgrounds from ethnic, religious, or educational backgrounds for the agenda of peace. This kind of support through local campaigns gives women a voice to be heard and to contribute ideas and strategies that are useful for conflict resolution. South Sudan’s SWEP embraced this strategy in its peace building efforts in South Sudan (UN Women, 2015).

South Sudanese women have played significant roles in resolving past conflicts, making them better equipped with skills and experiences that are essential in tackling the issue of conflict resolution. Women’s activities in peace processes not only support healing but also encourage reconciliation efforts within the community. Women are often a bridge in divides relating to conflict and hence are strategically positioned to encourage the peaceful resolution of conflict. The war impacts men and women differently, and as such, the needs of women and their priorities in peace building are significantly different from those of men (Domingo, 2015).

Despite their eagerness to be involved and to actively participate in conflict resolution processes and peacebuilding initiatives, women have on occasion been unfairly represented and underrepresented in peace processes. Women are particularly well suited to carry out diverse essential peacekeeping duties and tasks such as interviewing victims of sexual and gender-based violence. They are also better suited to take up jobs in women’s prisons,
nursing, and assisting former female combatants and mentoring female police officers (UN Women, 2015). For example, in 2007 in Liberia, the presence of women in uniform appeared to encourage Liberian women to report the sexual atrocities they experienced (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

### 2.4 Challenges of Women’s Participation in Conflict Resolution

In groups of women have been trying to penetrate the barriers of women’s participation. In the past, the women have sort assistance from the international community to intervene in their country’s affair. However, women’s participation has been barred by several challenges and obstacles. The challenges identified by this study on South Sudan include, ethnic divisions, absence of a formal place for women at the peace tables, stringent traditional gender roles and expectation, cultural barriers that place peace and security as male-dominated agendas, absence of or limited female local leadership positions, high level insecurity and potential threat to the individuals, a disconnect between government obligations, commitments and implementation of the obligation (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

Further obstacles towards women participation include; high illiteracy levels among South Sudanese women which poses a challenge to their inclusion in peace processes, absence of proper communication and consultation networks between the women’s organizations and the community, lack of resources available to women that may aid or even contribute to promoting education and facilitating the training of women. There is also a lack of unified advocacy strategies to advocate for women’s rights to participate as well as other rights of women, cultural impunity and lack of accountability also pose a challenge to their
full participation. Other obstacles include lack of proper documentation of crimes against women and limited or no access to victims of conflict (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

The disconnect between government obligations, commitments, and implementation pose a great obstacle to women’s full participation. Even with the passing of Security Council Resolution 1325, South Sudan has not been in a position to fully implement and incorporate the provisions of this resolution into its laws (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010). Female representation in peace tables is not assured as is stipulated by the resolution. Leadership positions for women both at the national and community level are yet to be availed. Lack of training for leadership positions and the reluctance in promoting and supporting women’s leadership also causes major impediments to women’s participation in conflict resolution (Adeogun, 2015).

Gaps between the government and the legislative policies pose a big challenge to women’s participation and need to be closed. Women are often utilized as tools for peace but continue to be excluded from peace talks and decision-making roles in both peace negotiations and the government. Senior government officials often lack the motivation to push the agenda of women’s participation. Therefore, there is need to include women in leadership positions hence placing them at a strategic position to push for agendas for women as opposed to women being reduced to political puppets (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

Familial obligations create time constraints that also pose a hindrance to women’s participation. Participation in peace processes and leadership positions require constant resource investment and commitment in organizing campaigns and meetings and working significantly longer hours in parliament and local government. This ends up being strenuous to women who have to manage family commitments and have to choose between familial
obligations and participation in societal and the country’s processes (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

The absence of resources also poses a challenge to full women’s participation (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010). Due to the high levels of illiteracy amongst the South Sudanese women, there is a need for adequate resources to facilitate their education and training needs to prepare them to take up significant positions in peace processes and government. The lack of these resources ends up leading to the exclusion of women peace building and leadership positions. Training is needed to address this shortcoming as well as the availing of necessary resources to empower and promote women into participating in peace processes.

The absence of functioning consultation and communicating community networks is also an obstacle to women’s full participation. Women are often the victims of violence and face grave insecurity but are rarely consulted in regards to addressing this insecurity or reshaping security structures. Women in organizational networks and community groups use innovative community strategies to address security issues (Dahlstrom, 2012). They are however unable to translate their local knowledge and expertise into national policies hence the need for women’s networks to coordinate with the community women’s groups and offer consultation on national level matters of peace and security (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

Traditional patriarchal structures and institutional barriers pose a major challenge to women’s participation. In South Sudan, security is still viewed as a man’s world, and this intimidates many women who wish to venture in the sector. While the stronger male-dominated institutional barriers pose a challenge, it is evident that women also face the barrier of seeing gender in security as a women’s issue as opposed to viewing it as an
essential component of overall security (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010). This type of socio-cultural stereotyping of women and the strict division of labor distinguishing the roles of men in the public and private issues in the country prevents women from participating in officially peace processes.

Lack of attention to former female combatants. The absence of proper care and attention being accorded to ex-combatants poses a challenge for women’s participation in conflict resolution, especially in the capacity of peacekeepers. There is an absence of programs that assist female ex-combatants in facing the world when they return from conflict. Due to stigmatization, they receive from the community in return; some opt-out of the peacekeeping system. In many cases, rejection from the local community, minimal training on reintegration skills continue to hamper the reintegration process for the women (Suthanthiraraj & Ayo, 2010).

The high level of insecurity in South Sudan has also been an obstacle to women’s access and participation in peace processes. The insecurity possesses a personal threat to women. With women likely to face hostility in the course of the peacekeeping and peacebuilding processes, some women opt to avoid taking up such roles and tasks that expose them to the prevailing danger in the country. One of the contributing factors to the making of the decision to refrain from peace processes particularly those involving the cessation of hostilities is that a large number of women are widowed as a result of the conflict (Mbae, 2017). This leaves them as the sole providers for their children.

Women in South Sudan recognize their impact in the society and are pursuing their rights of expression and right to be heard tenaciously. They are actively participating in peace processes by taking a seat at the peace table both as direct representatives of the
conflicting parties or as neutral actors through civil society organizations (Elsawi, 2011). Women continue to advocate for the concerns and interests of all the women in South Sudan and the South Sudanese population as a whole. The women have made use of various forums to express their strong desire to find ways of ending hostilities and focus on peace-building and nation-building (UN Women, 2015).

2.5 The South Sudan Context

In 1956, when Sudan attained independence from the British, several critical issues were left unresolved, which became a source of conflict that devastated the country. At independence, the Sudanese Constitution had been expected to resolve the contentious issues of whether the country would be a secular or Islamist state and also provide for the adoption of a federal structure (Republic of South Sudan, 2010). Unfortunately, both topics were neglected by the Arab-led government in Khartoum, prompting a rebellion by southern army officers that eventually sparked the first civil war, which lasted from 1955 to 1972. This, in effect, divided Sudan between the predominantly Muslim north and the south, which was mainly Christian and animist. This first civil war ended with the signing of the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement between the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement and the Government of Sudan, which granted a degree of regional autonomy to Southern Sudan (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

The autonomous region consisted of the three provinces of Equatoria, Bahr el-Ghazal, and Upper Nile, with Juba as the regional capital (Republic of South Sudan, 2010). For about a decade, there was relative peace in Sudan, until 1983, when President Jaafar Nimeiri introduced Sharia law and went against the spirit of the Addis Ababa Agreement (Shinn,
Once again, civil war erupted, with the South taking up arms under the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) against the Government of Sudan. In June 1989, President Nimeiri was overthrown in a military coup by General Omar Al-Bashir. The civil war continued until 2005, ending with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (Human Rights Watch, 2006).

The second civil war lasted for 21 years, leaving an estimated two and a half million people dead and over four million people displaced, mainly in the South. The extended period of armed conflict left behind a shattered economy dismantled social fabric with very fragile social support systems, a traumatized population and disintegrated communities, all brewing risks, and security threats, especially for women and children (Republic of South Sudan, 2015). Today, the after-effects of the conflict are still evident, with disrupted community and family structures, a huge presence of small arms in the hands of civilians and vigilantes, the pervasiveness of trauma in the populace, increased alcohol and drug abuse, widespread unemployment, poverty, weak security institutions and an inadequate justice, law and order sector (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

South Sudan declared independence from Sudan on 9 July 2011. Almost 99 percent of voters voted for independence in a referendum, and the new country was swiftly recognized by the international community (BBC, 2011). However, since independence, the country has faced several problems such as high poverty rate, ethnically diverse political movements, largely untapped natural resources and political infighting in the past few years. The history of South Sudan is characterized by civil war and continues to face ongoing internal conflict and armed insurgency, most of which disproportionately affect women and girls (Hove, 2017).
Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic fighting over grazing lands and water sources, together with cattle raiding, have existed in the culture of most South Sudanese ethnic groups, but the scale, intensity, and impact of violence was not as intense as it became with the advent of modern weaponry in the country (Republic of South Sudan, 2015). Traditionally, rudimentary weapons, such as spears, were used and like in all African societies, women and children were never seen as legitimate targets in war. Not until the second Sudanese civil war (1983–2005) did the country begin experiencing a huge influx of unregulated small arms and light weapons that exposed many unarmed civilians to grievous bodily harm and death (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

According to a report by SaferWorld on Civilian disarmament in South Sudan (2012), having illegal firearms in the hands of civilians became common place and brought about a transformation of culture, in which guns replaced spears and arrows. With firearms, the act of killing or injuring other people was depersonalized, promoting impunity and physical attacks on women and children. Increased weapons in the community translated into more violence against women and girls in their homes and the public sphere. Men became more violent and explosive, not only towards enemy soldiers on the battle field but even toward their loved ones and unprotected females in their homes, who had no fallback position for redress or attainment of justice (Skinner, 2012).

While women’s participation during the first civil war (1955-1972) is not well documented, there is ample evidence that South Sudanese women during that period challenged oppression by the Government of Sudan through public protests and by secretly sheltering soldiers and war victims (Republic of South Sudan, 2015). Women also undertook very dangerous work as messengers and decoys for the guerilla movement, and they
facilitated efforts towards peace in the South while based in countries of transition or refugee (Faria, 2011). During the second civil war (1983-2005), the leader of the SPLM, Dr. John Garang, formally sought the incorporation of women into the resistance movement and they were directly recruited into the SPLA through the Women’s Battalion (Katiba Banat), formed in 1984 (Faria, 2011).

In the war, some women fought alongside the men, but in Sudanese culture military operations and physical combat is a male domain and the contribution made by women is not well recognized or documented (Varjavandi, 2014). Because of their contribution in 1986, women demanded a special unit within the SPLA/M that would address women’s affairs, and this led to the creation of the position of Director for Women’s Affairs in 1989, which was later to be known as the Commission for Women, Youth, and Social Welfare. After the signing of the CPA, the Commission was elevated into a fully-fledged ministry, the Ministry of Gender, Social Welfare and Religious Affairs (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

Women activists did substantial work to popularize and support the liberation struggle, while others, both in rural and urban settings, took on responsibilities traditionally done by men to support their families and communities (Faria, 2011). Single-handedly, women maintained families under extreme hardships and situations of deprivation in the absence of the men. And as the war intensified, women at the grassroots-level in SPLM-held areas risked their lives, working with associations, cooperatives and women’s groups and at a more centralized level with the Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association (SRRA) to provide SPLM battalions with food, shelter and water (Faria, 2011). Other women performed important non-combat roles, like being porters, cooks, field nurses, special agents, and at times informal intelligence officers for the army. Much as they were not involved in
physical combat, tens of thousands of women risked their lives, and their contributions were extremely critical for the success of the armed struggle (SANGMPAM, 2014).

In the absence of the men, the armed conflict presented southern Sudanese women with new leadership and decision-making opportunities, and they were able to mobilize for peace negotiations through their grassroots organizations and women’s coalitions (Varjavandi, 2014). The advocacy done by women’s organizations, like the Sudanese Women’s Voice for Peace, New Sudan Women’s Federation and New Sudan Women’s Association, attracted international attention to the impact of the civil war on women and children, prompting loud calls for peace talks and cessation of hostilities (Republic of South Sudan, 2015). Unfortunately, not much value was attached to what the women offered in comparison to the more glorified masculine military combat roles played by their male counterparts (Varjavandi, 2014). Because of the belief that military operations were governed by masculinity values of courage, honor and physical strength, women activists were excluded from key military and political power positions and marginalized within the formal structures of the SPLM. During the official peace processes, women’s representation and participation remained negligible, with only three women nominated for the SPLM/A peace negotiating team (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

Across South Sudan, women and girls were severely abused, and their rights violated. Many were killed, abducted, forcefully impregnated, enslaved, and deliberately infected with HIV and AIDS (Hove, 2017). As refugees and Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs), women and girls were exposed to sexual violence by the warring factions as well as by men living in the displaced camps (Faria, 2011). Being in an unfamiliar environment in crowded camps without husbands or male family members, and often having to travel longer distances
in search of firewood and water, exposed women and girls too much greater risks of sexual violence. Traditional patriarchal practices of forcing single women and girls into marriage continued even in the camps, exposing many of them to risks of unwanted pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases and risky child births (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

Unfortunately, there has been no justice for the widespread injuries and violence women and girls experienced during the wars, and until now, the issue has been systematically neglected during the peacebuilding and reconstruction period (Caprioli, 2010). Generally, women have not been given a chance to heal and reconcile with their past and effective mechanisms to enable the survivors of violent conflict-related crimes to access justice are lacking (Hove, 2017). It is imperative to note that even in the CPA women’s critical concerns – such as, human, economic, political and social security, health issues, including reproductive health, property rights, food security, access to justice and sustainable livelihood opportunities - were not addressed since the negotiations focused on issues related to power and wealth sharing between the north and south, restoration of security in respect to attaining a ceasefire between the warring factions, instituting security sector reforms, establishment of power structures, such as the executive and the legislative branches, strengthening the judiciary and putting in place systems for the administration of states (Human Rights Watch, 2006).

In 2015, the South Sudanese, Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare launched the South Sudan National Action Plan 2015-2020 on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and Related Resolutions. The Action Plan provides a framework that guides decisions on defense, diplomatic, humanitarian and development activities to ensure the provisions of the UN resolutions on women, peace, and
security are incorporated into the Government of South Sudan’s work (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

The overall purpose of the National Action Plan (NAP) is to ensure the decreased impact of conflict on women and girls and increase women’s representation and participation in decision-making. The objectives of the National Action Plan are to protect women and girls, including those with disabilities, against any form of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV); Respect human rights, human dignity and equality; Enable peace and security stakeholders in South Sudan to galvanize the instituted efforts and promote the implementation of gender-sensitive peace and security-focused initiatives at national and state levels; and Increase women’s participation in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, the maintenance of peace and security, and guarantee their participation in post-conflict peace building (Republic of South Sudan, 2015).

The various activities supposed to be implemented under the National Action Plan according to the UNSCR 1325 mandate are categorized under the four pillars namely; Prevention: Reduction in conflict including all other known forms of structural and physical violence against women, particularly SGBV; Participation: That is the inclusion of women and women’s interests in all decision-making processes related to the prevention, management, and resolution of conflicts; Protection: Women’s safety, physical and mental health and economic security are assured and their human rights respected; and Relief and Recovery: Women’s specific needs are met in conflict and post-conflict situations. Where a National Steering Committee comprising of government ministries, commissions, United Nations agencies, and civil society organizations was formed to coordinate and monitor the implementation of the National Action Plan.
2.6 The Impact of Conflict on Women in South Sudan

These were the findings on the roles played by women during the conflict as actors, that is as perpetrators, victims and peace builders before, during and after the conflict, and the impact of conflict on women in South Sudan.

In times of conflict, women’s lives, like those of men, are disrupted. Conflict often results in insecurity, violence, loss of lives and livelihoods, poverty, and displacement. The impact of conflict on women is however, distinct from that of men in that in times of conflict; women are susceptible to acts that constitute human rights violations. In addition to insecurity, poverty, and displacement, women and girls are exposed to acts of violence which undermine their human rights and deny them a chance at equality (Agbalajobi, 2009). These include sexual and gender-based violence, exploitation, early and forced marriages, and abductions (GAPS, 2017). Similarly, women lack access to medical centers and medical facilities that lead to either their death or that of their children during child birth. These are some of the impacts of conflict that are addressed in this section.

Displacement of people is one of the impacts in the conflict in South Sudan. As of May 2014, an estimated nine hundred and twenty-three women had been internally displaced in South Sudan, and thousands had fled the country and have become refugees in neighboring counties (Perez, 2014). As of 2016, the number of internally displaced people had risen to one million, six hundred and sixty-six thousand and the number of South Sudanese nationals who fled to neighboring countries as refugees stood at two hundred and sixty-five thousand, seven hundred (UNOCHA, 2016). Most of the displaced people are either women or children. Due to the insecurity in the region, women are forced to flee with their children in search of refuge.
According to a 2016 report by the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), one in every five people in South Sudan has fled their homes since the conflict began. This disrupts their lives as they are forced to leave behind their sources of food, homes, and livelihoods in search of safety. The displacement not only leaves them homeless but also results in the separation of families. As women escape the violence that comes with conflict, in some cases, families are split, and women end up losing their children and family members in the process. UNOCHA (2016) records an estimate of ten thousand children in South Sudan who have been registered as missing or separated since the start of the conflict.

Conflict leads to the loss of lives. Husbands, fathers, and sons lose their lives during the violence. With the demise of their husbands, women are left with the role of being the head of the household. They are left to care for their children on their own and instances where both parents have been killed during the war; young girls take up the burden of being the primary care givers for their younger siblings. In a statement made by the UN Women Executive Director in 2014, fifty-eight percent of households in South Sudan have females as the heads of the households while an estimated thirty-four percent of households are missing one or more members of the family (Perez, 2014).

Women experience psychological and mental strain in times of conflict. This is mainly because of the overwhelming responsibilities they are left with when their spouses go to war or are killed in the war. UNOCHA (2016), estimates that about sixteen thousand children in South Sudan are recruited by the armed forces. Women assume the roles of the head of the household and have to ensure that their children are safe and have access to basic needs in times of conflict. This takes a toll on them as they have to deal with the traumatic
experiences they face which not only include mourning for their loved ones lost at war but also adapting to the new conditions of living in the refugee camps. They suffer psychological and mental breakdowns because they lack the proper support system to help them move on in times of conflict.

They also face the fear of not being safe as refugee camps are not always safe for them and their children in times of conflict. The new living conditions also create uncertainty among women as they are often not sure of what to expect in terms of safety for their families at the refugee camps (Perez, 2014).

Conflict breeds poverty because, in situations of violent conflict, the insecurity leads to a decline in the economy of the entire country. This is because people flee their homes in search of safety, abandoning their sources of livelihood. Similarly, those who do not flee are unable to access their work places and stations due to the violence. For this reason, many people lack income-generating activities to sustain them in times of war. This results in poverty and economic decline. Women in such cases have to leave their jobs and their farms as they flee to safer regions leaving them with no ability to cater for their children financially and hence end up in situations where they have to rely on food from relief organizations (Charlotte Lindsey-Curtet, 2004). UNOCHA (2016), reports that in 2015, an estimated thirty thousand people in South Sudan faced severe food insecurity, which resulted in starvation and ultimately, death.

The lack of access to infrastructures such as medical centers and schools is also an impact of a conflict that directly affects women. Even though hospitals and medical centers are granted protection status under international humanitarian law, violence often extents to the health centers and the staff flee for their lives. For this reason, women are left with no
access to medical facilities. This is often catastrophic for expectant mothers who need medical services for delivery. According to a 2017 report by the Gender Action for Peace and Security (GAPS), one of five pregnant women die of child birth in South Sudan, and one in three pregnant, or lactating mothers die due to malnutrition. Death by malaria is also attributed to lack of access to proper medical services by women in South Sudan (UNOCHA, 2016).

Schools in South Sudan have been destroyed as a result of the conflict. UNOCHA (2016) gives an estimate of about nine hundred thousand children who cannot access education because one in three schools in the country has been destroyed during the conflict. Girls are therefore not able to access education, and thus, there is high illiteracy in South Sudan among girls. As a result, these victims are forced to fall into early marriages.

The conflict in South Sudan has been perpetually characterized by severe human rights violations. Rape, sexual assault, gender-based violence, and sexual exploitation have been witnessed in South Sudan since the conflict broke out (GAPS, 2017). Rape has become a common weapon of war in South Sudan (Awokoya, 2015). UNOCHA (2016) reports that over one thousand three hundred women and girls were raped from April to September 2015, while one thousand six hundred women and children were abducted within the same time in Ler, Koch and Mayendit counties of Unity in South Sudan. Sexual and gender-based violence is also being used in the country to reward fighters for their involvement in the conflict (UNOCHA, 2016).

Sexual and Gender-Based Violence is, however, not just a component of conflict, it may keep reoccurring even after the conflict has ended. The impact of sexual and gender-based violence is manifested by the increased number of unwanted pregnancies, sexually
transmitted infections and diseases, and stigmatization within the community (Ali, 2010). In times of conflict, SGBV is often a consequence of insecurity, discrimination against women, discriminatory laws that do not protect women against impunity. Women are, therefore, not in a position to access education or gain financial independence (Ali, 2010). Sexual and gender-based violence is the most prevalent form of human rights violation against women in South Sudan since the conflict broke out in the country.

2.7 Knowledge Gap

The role of women in peacebuilding has been a subject of discussion receiving significant attention in the recent years, particularly with the 19th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 and the development of 1325 National Action Plans by the UN member states. However, while much call has been made at the national and international levels, resulting in a proliferation of research, policy and advocacy literature, and reports, little of the same call has been employed to the local level leadership and participation in the pre, during and post-conflict periods. Even though women have led peace movements and engaged in community recovery after the conflict, they are hardly involved in the final peace negotiations. As a result of this exclusion from reconstruction, this limits access to opportunities to recover economically, to gain justice for human rights abuses, and to participate in shaping reformed laws. Exclusion of women in a society to participate in formal decision-making further limits policy and decisions that favor gender equality.

There now exists strong evidence that women’s participation in peace and security processes is core to their operational effectiveness – by strengthening protection efforts, improving prevention, and accelerating economic recovery. Women’s meaningful
participation also helps ensure that agreements will be sustainable, yet, nineteen years after the adoption of resolution 1325, more than half of peace agreements continue to highlight minimal women participation. This study is therefore aimed at filling the ‘gap’ in the current literature and will focus on what women are doing at the local level in peacebuilding, conflict prevention and post-conflict reconstruction; and specifically for women in South Sudan.

2.8 Theoretical Frameworks

There are various theories that are associated with peace and conflict, especially of women in conflict settings. For example, Karl Marx’s conflict theory claims that society is in a state of perpetual conflict because of competition for scarce resources. It holds that social order is therefore maintained by domination and power, rather than consensus and conformity. In this regard, women are always left out of conflict resolution settings, given their limited economic status. This study will, however, base its arguments on two theories of conflict; the Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT) and the social exclusion theory.

2.8.1 The Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT)

Feminist theories are common in that they seek to understand power relations between men and women and how masculine and feminine identities are constructed. (Sjoberg, 2009). The Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory (FPCT) express the need to recognize women in conflicts and peace processes. This theory explains the relationship and connection of all forms of violence be they domestic, societal, intra-state or inter-state and their relation to gender. The theory critically discussed the issue of women in peace processes and has led to a broader understanding of peace and security issues. The theory brings to light the realities encountered by women in war by recognizing the plight of those affected by conflict (Weber, 2006).
The Feminist Peace and Conflict Theory also analyses the moral argument of men as makers of war and women as victims of war. For essentialist feminists, the aggressive nature of men is the main cause of war. Furthermore, feminists, such as Mary Daly and activists in the Ecofeminist movements, also agree with this line of reasoning. The common agreement between the feminists within this theory is that women are essential for peace processes because they make vital contributions to the maintenance of peace. Essentialist feminists also recognize the potential for change by stressing the non-violent potential; what they call ‘feminine virtues’ to create a peaceful world (Weber, 2006).

Sara Ruddick, a feminist, coined the notion of maternal thinking by arguing that care is the main pre-condition for a more peaceful society. In an effort of acknowledging women’s experiences in war, both as active fighters as well as victims, the question of the permanence of peace and maternal thinking, were brought to question (Weber, 2006). However, despite the different opinions offered by different feminists, the one common argument that is favored by all is that women participation plays an essential role in peace processes which is what this research sought to establish by examining the different dimensions of women’s participation in conflict resolution.

The Feminist Peace and Conflict theory help illuminate the place of women in conflict resolution particularly about South Sudan and also makes the challenges faced by women in conflict resolution processes relatable by explaining the different challenges women face and the importance of their inclusion in conflict resolution processes (Weber, 2006).
2.8.2 The Social Exclusion Theory

Liberal feminists argue that women have, for a very long time, been excluded from many of the most important public spheres of modern social, political and economic life (Sjoberg, 2009, p. 32). Liberal feminists have sought to draw attention to the legal barriers to women’s participation in the public world and overcome these barriers. Regarding the studies of peace and conflict, the activities of women in war have been the object of research. Important tools for the operationalization of women’s rights have been in the United Nations for human rights. Women continuously suffer from economic, social, and political discrimination (Sjoberg, 2009, p. 12).

The theory of social exclusion is also relevant to this study. Social exclusion as a theory encompasses the inability to fully and effectively participate in political, economic, social, and cultural aspects of life Silver, 2007). Such exclusion may be based on an individual’s race, age, gender, or class. Furthermore, women often face exclusion based on their gender, particularly in matters of peace and conflict resolution. Luchsinger (2010) explains the concept of the vicious cycle of exclusion as one where an individual or group, specifically women, are excluded from conflict and post-conflict situations and activities.

This means that there is minimal or no participation of women in processes such as the drafting of ceasefire and peace agreements, creation and implementation of security reforms and even disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration processes. The Social Exclusion theory gives an understanding of why women are often ignored in peace processes and explain the cycle of exclusion as about women’s participation in South Sudan based on issues such as cultural practices, patriarchal systems, political inclusion and lack of economic might.
The feminist movement in the 1970s argued that there should be equal participation by both men and women in home matters, the labor market, governing of the country, and security matters (Gichuru, 2014). Similarly, Mac Carthy (2011) argues that due to the sizeable number of women in any population, they should be fully involved in efforts of achieving sustainable peace if such efforts are to be successful.

In conclusion, both theories address the need to have equal participation by both men and women in not only peace processes but also other activities aimed at creating development in any country. Women’s views and experiences are different from those of men and often prove to be useful for conflict resolution in societies and countries where women’s role and participation in conflict resolution are recognized.
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter elaborates the research design and methodology used for this study. It identifies the research design, the sampling, and data collection methods, and techniques used, and the data interpretation and analysis. The chapter concludes with the ethical considerations used in the study.

3.1 Research Design

The researcher used a descriptive research design that is qualitative. A descriptive research design provides an appropriate technique of collecting information concerning the study by describing systematically the facts and characteristics of the population and area of interest, factually, and accurately.

3.2 Sampling Design

In collect primary data, a questionnaire was developed; the survey technique was used. Furthermore, for this study, the researcher used a purposive sampling technique. As Rescoe (1975) cites in Sakaran (2000:296), “sample sizes larger than 30 and less than 500 are appropriate for most research”. Having in mind these limitations, the sample size used consisted of about 50 questionnaires, designed for key informants from Multilateral organizations such as the United Nations and African Union (AU), South Sudanese women’s groups, non-governmental organizations and the ministry of Gender in South Sudan.
3.3 Data Collection Methods

For this research, and to achieve the objectives of the research, the researcher used both primary and secondary data. The secondary data contributed towards the formation of background information, needed by both the researcher to build constructively the research and the reader to comprehend more thoroughly the outcomes. Secondary data used was included a review of books, journals, reports, policy documents and government pronouncements such as the South Sudan National Action Plan 2015-2020 on 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and other related resolutions. Primary data was collected in two ways. Firstly, self-administered and mailed questionnaires were conducted with the identified sample group. Secondly, semi-structured interviews were also carried out with key strategic informers using an already developed interview guide.

3.4 Data Analysis and interpretation

Qualitative data was obtained from the key informants and the structured questionnaires and interviews. A three-step data analysis was used in assessing and analyzing the data collected. Step one involved collecting and documentation of all the relevant information from the secondary data, questionnaires, and interviews from the various key informants. The second step involved clustering of all the issues under three specific thematic areas according to the objectives of the study. Finally, step three was the analysis and deriving meaningful conclusions from the thematic areas about the key study objectives. Emerging issues from the key informant interviews were clustered into thematic areas upon which interpretation and findings were then drawn.
3.5 Ethical Considerations

Given the sensitive nature of this research and the volatile situation in South Sudan, the researcher employed the following ethical considerations throughout the study: advocacy and safety of the interviewees or respondents, anonymity, confidentiality and privacy, Voluntary and informed consent and objectivity.
CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter offers a detailed report of the analysis and findings of the research. It is presented according to the objectives of the study, that is the role and impact of conflict in South Sudan on women, the significance of the UNSCR 1325 in ensuring women’s involvement in peace and security issues in South Sudan, and strategies needed in strengthening and promoting women’s participation in peacebuilding in South Sudan.

4.1 The Role and Impact of South Sudan Conflict on Women

The study findings from both primary and secondary data showed that the abuses that women and girls encounter during conflicts are often ignored or under-reported, due to fear of social stigma and punishment especially when it comes to sexual violence. It is crucial for the world to draw attention to how women are affected by conflict.

South Sudan is among the youngest country in the world. However, the escalating conflict has made it extremely difficult for the country to make any strides as far as its independence and reconstruction goes. The international community has been ringing the alarms, creating an urgent call for attention and immediate humanitarian assistance over time. However, the information received about South Sudan in the west is minimal, at least in the context of the mainstream media. The low coverage and scanty reporting masks the gravity of the situation: for example, the numbers of people in need are alarming, and women and girls are disproportionately affected. Since the conflict started, thousands of people have been
internally displaced, and thousands have become refugees in neighboring countries, of which many are women.

As the civil war in South Sudan continues, unprecedented levels of displacement, insecurity, and violence have been witnessed in this nation. Figures show that by September 2016, the total number of South Sudanese being sheltered in the neighboring countries had soared to over a million, and more than 1.73 million people recorded to be internally displaced by violence (UNOCHA, 2016). The majority of the displaced victims that continue to bear the brunt of the armed conflict were displaced are women.

Conditions for women and girls, already dire before 2013, have drastically deteriorated in recent past. One out of five pregnant women fails to survive at childbirth. Also, one in three pregnant or lactating women is malnourished according to a study done (UNOCHA, 2015). Out of all the school going children still in school, only 40% are girls; an adolescent girl in South Sudan is three times more likely to die in childbirth than to complete primary school. Violence against women and girls (VAWG) may manifest in the form of; rape, intimate partner violence, sexual exploitation and assault, early and forced marriage and abduction. These continue to be reported to humanitarian agencies and other organizations. According to an initial analysis on the prevalence and study on VAWG in South Sudan (2017) shows that in some areas of the country, over 70% of women have experienced sexual and physical intimate partner violence.

Furthermore, the study shows that one out of three women has experienced some form of sexual abuse (including rape and transactional sex) (Global Women’s Institute at George Washington University, IRC, CARE and Forcier consulting, 2017). Space for women’s participation in formal conflict prevention and the ongoing peace process is
minimal. The South Sudan Women’s Peace Network has repeatedly called for 25% representation of women in institutional and constitutional reform processes, but women’s groups remain marginalized.

Though gender-based violence does not prevail exclusively during conflict situations, it is more rampant during the conflict. Rape as a weapon of war has been widely used in many different conflicts in the world. Sexual violence has been inflicted on women and girls as a method to exercise social control, to humiliate and demoralize the enemy and to dominate or forcibly relocate civilian members of a community or ethnic group. In the case of South Sudan’s conflict, according to the statement given by the UN Women Executive Director at the Security Council briefings on South Sudan (2015), 40 percent of women in South Sudan have been affected by physical and sexual violence. In the same breath, the UN News Center reported that parties involved in the conflict have been calling men from one community to commit sexual abuses to women from a different community in the past. More personal testimonies were recorded such as one from missionary sister Elena Balatti. She confirmed that the violence was taking place against women in this conflict through her statement: “Before taking the plane to Juba, I brought a 12-year-old girl who was part of a group of 9 young girls who had been raped in the Church of Christ the King to the Red Cross hospital.”

From the interviews, it emerged that during conflict, women are not only targets for sexual abuse but also end up assuming different gender roles. That is to say, conflict disrupts the family balance forcing them to become the new breadwinners and head of the household. When women are forced to flee their towns and seek protection for themselves and their children, their husbands and elder sons are often killed or recruited into the armies. Also,
other girls who lose their parents to conflicts at a tender age end up becoming the caretakers of their younger brothers and sisters. According to a similar statement made by the UN Women Executive Director (2015), 58 percent of households are headed by a female, and 34 percent of households have lost one or more family members to the conflicts. This unanticipated change of gender role often occurs in hostile, challenging, and unexpected circumstances for most of them. They are forced to deal with the consequences of the traumatic experience resulting from, the new conditions they find themselves. For instance, looking at life inside the refugee camps, women in these camps are not necessarily safe from violence, while carrying the responsibility of looking after the well being of their families.

Reports by organizations and media in these regions indicate that the level of women vulnerability is still alarming even while carrying out their daily duties such as fetching water. The journey between their homes and water spots are among the natural factors that exacerbate their risk and susceptibility. On the other side, Latrine amenities in refugee camps are not sufficient, thus affecting the privacy and safety women need.

From the interviews, it came out clearly that justice, humanitarian, or peacebuilding initiatives need to be more inclusive of women needs and demands when implementing their activities. Policymakers also need to develop accountability mechanisms and set penalties for the different forms of sexual abuses because they fall into the category of prohibited weapons/tactics of war. The process should go way into setting the reparation that victims should be accorded for the harm caused. Zainab Hawa, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in conflict, once said “It is time that rape is treated as a security issue with real consequences, not a second-class crime that happens to second-class citizens… this war tactic is as effective as any bomb and as destructive as any mine,
and it needs to be addressed with the same determination as any other deadly weapon used in war”.

4.2 The Significance of the UNSCR 1325 in Ensuring Women’s Involvement in Peace and Security Issues in South Sudan

The study findings from both primary and secondary data showed that women banked on international instruments to request for their slot in peace building in South Sudan. They declined to remain, onlookers, as the peace process was going on. The women have been activists and called on the South Sudan government to respect the international instruments.

The women have also relied upon and used the UNSCR 1325, whose goal is to appreciate women’s contributions and experience in armed conflicts. The UNSCR 1325 accentuates that involvement and the immersion of women in peace processes no doubt contribute significantly to the lasting preservation of world peace and security. Given the strength of the UNSCR 1325, women in South Sudan have also been predictable as managers and mediators in building peace, thus by foreseen as powerful instruments and agents for guaranteeing security.

The UNSCR 1325 acknowledges the important role women can have and play, especially at the grassroots level in the transformation of communities in the post-conflict conversion since the majority of them are at the grass root. The women also have time as home keepers. This has raised the sense and concern among Sudanese people in general, that it is essential to ensure that both men and women are involved and participating in peacebuilding and all the security processes that can restore the long-torn country that is again disintegrating. As a member country of the UN, the resolution stresses that all actors
involved in post-conflict or conflict situations, when discussing and executing peace agreements to embrace gender standpoint as emphasized by (S/RES/1325, 2000, paragraph 8).

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

Resolution 1325 remains to be one of the crowning achievements of the global women’s movement and among the most inspired decisions of the United Nations Security Council (UNSCR). The recognition that peace is inextricably linked with gender equality and women’s leadership was a radical step for the highest body tasked with the maintenance of international peace and security. Turning the Security Council’s words into actions and real change has been a central pillar of UN Women’s work since the entity was created, and the driving passion of many other actors since the resolution was adopted as a global norm in 2000.

UNSCR 1325 is a crucial international tool on WPS because it recognizes the power of engaging women in peace with compelling proof. It shows that women’s participation and inclusion makes humanitarian assistance more effective, strengthens the protection efforts of peacekeepers, contributes to the conclusion of peace talks and the achievement of sustainable
peace, accelerates economic recovery, and helps counter violent extremism. The resolution enforces the need for promoting women’s participation in all stages of conflict management and peace building.

The resolution also notes that women’s participation is the key to sustainable peace. Through its implementation by various actors, it demonstrates that the involvement of women at all levels is key to the operational effectiveness, success, and sustainability of peace processes and peacebuilding efforts. Mediators, facilitators, and leadership in peace operations must be proactive in including women in all aspects of peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. The Global Study (2015) describes the substantial increase in the frequency of gender-sensitive language in peace agreements, and the number of women, women’s groups and gender experts who serve as official negotiators, mediators, signatories, witnesses or in advisory bodies. Nonetheless, in many conflict-affected contexts, women’s formal participation may be temporary, their delegated roles may be more symbolic than substantive, and their influential capacity may be directly resisted by cultural norms.

The resolution pushes the WPS agenda forward by looking at its standard requirements, implementation, enforcement and accountability measures that should nudge all actors into complying with these norms and living up to their promises. South Sudan’s National Action Plan 2015-2020 on 1325 on WPS and other related resolutions details measures the Government is taking to ensure that the normative framework spurred by resolution 1325 is not just given periodic visibility and attention, but that it implemented and resourced for.

Through the resolution’s four-pillar, there is an emphasis on both prevention and protection of women from SGBV and access to justice. All the perpetrators must be brought
to book, and justice served transformatively. Perpetrators of grave crimes against women should be held accountable for their actions so that women receive justice and future sins are deterred. At the same time, justice in conflict and post-conflict settings must be transformative, addressing not only the single violation experienced by women but also the underlying inequalities which render women and girls vulnerable during times of conflict and which inform the consequences of the human rights violations they experience. Various studies on the implementation of 1325 explore both the importance of fighting impunity for crimes against women through criminal justice proceedings, while also recognizing the central role played by reparations, truth, and reconciliation processes and in ensuring that victims and their communities heal and recover together.

Development of the National Action Plans on 1325 provides for localization of approaches and inclusive and participatory processes to ensure the success of national and international peace efforts. The NAPs ensures detailed mapping and understanding of local conditions with the participation of women themselves before programs are designed, formulated, or implemented. The ‘one-size-fits-all’ policy, transferring ‘best practices,’ is not always what is needed in many situations of conflict. The NAPs ensures that peacebuilding period is as an opportunity to transform societies and work toward gender equality; to build economies and institutions that recognize and seek to address the specific challenges women face.

4.3 Strategies of Strengthening and Promoting Women’s Participation in Peace Building in South Sudan.

When asked about best practices and potential strategies of strengthening and promoting women’s participation in peace building, women in South Sudan responded with a
few key examples from recent and more distant history. Notably, the models they provided were primarily of women’s political participation and representation, and financing of the WPS agenda.

4.3.1 Political Participation and Representation

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

The interviews revealed that women have made it clear in various forums that the South Sudan transitional constitution guarantees women’s participation in the political process of South Sudan, a condition essential to ensuring a viable economy. The interview showed that emphasis had been made that this approach can lead to a stronger and more comprehensive peace that can benefit all South Sudanese and future generations. From the interviews, it emerged that the advocacy of gender inclusion in state institutions and structure is happening in South Sudan, where women are championing their inclusivity in governance before independence. It emerged that women play a crucial role in negotiation, not as visitors but active participants.

Women have vigilantly been involved and pressing for involvement in politics. Similarly, women have been calling for national leaders to respect and implement South Sudan’s 2011 transitional constitution, which provides for a quota system with 25 percent representation for women at executive and legislative levels. Also, women among themselves
are encouraged to compete for the other remaining 75 percent of the slots in leadership positions.

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

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

Majority of organizations dealing with women matters fall within the four key pillars involving peace-building work that ensures that women are equipped with the useful skills and necessary experience to accomplish their peace-building efforts. For example, considering the case of Sudan’s civil war to internal clashes as a result of the SPLM /SPLA split; women have substantially participated in good governance, reconciliation activities,
and economic empowerment. WATOP which was the only women organization based in Bahr El Ghazal and Wau regions actively engaged in ensuring that the displaced children were able to access education while at the same time training women in necessary skills including tailoring, tie-dying and providing adult education during the second civil war in Sudan. Alongside this, women’s groups have been essential in ensuring that any vital information is received by those individuals at the grassroots level. This was reported to give women clout and courage that they matter in the affairs of their country.

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

It was established from the findings that women have committed themselves to keep reminding the government where it errors or falters in fulfilling its commitments. A case in point mentioned was that they have always pushed the government to respect the Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCRSS), which mandates
that inclusion of women in matters of governance. To this note, the major governance pillar of the ARCRSS is that the Government of Republic of South Sudan should at any given time nominate at least four women where at least three of them should be drawn from the SPLM-IO as ministers, with other two of them being assistant ministers. The findings revealed that women are now working to eliminate shortcomings or what they see as a loophole of ARCRSS which restrict the 25 percent requirement to the executive branch of the government, hence failing to spread it to other governance circles as required by the state constitutional especially for the judiciary branch. This is quite significant because it acts to empower women to a position where they can participate in making decisions at the state level. They are ensuring that state governments should be practical in terms of women representation. They are ensuring that the commitment to both county and national government levels should not only remain in document and mention but rather on the ground into real practice. They were proud that they have achieved in some way on having some of the political commitments met.

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

### 4.3.2 Financing of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

From the findings, it was noted that despite the wealth of evidence highlighting the benefits that investing in women can bring in terms of conflict prevention, crisis response, and peace, the failure to allocate sufficient resources and funds has been one of the most likely serious and persistent obstacles to the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda. The scarcity of funds for the WPS agenda is in line with the enormous global funding gap for gender equality more generally. Research shows a consistent, striking disparity between policy commitments to gender equality and women’s empowerment, and the financial allocations to achieve them.

To address the stark financing gaps long recognized as a significant obstacle to the implementation of the women, peace and security agenda as well as women’s engagement in humanitarian action, a Women, Peace and Security Financing Discussion Group (FDG) was established in June 2014. Composed of representatives from donors, conflict-affected Member States, UN entities, and civil society, this unique multi-stakeholder body met over a year to consider strategies for dedicated and scaled-up financing support.

After exploring a number of options and mapping existing financing instruments, the FDG agreed to support the establishment of a Global Acceleration Instrument (GAI) on Women, Peace and Security and Humanitarian Action, a pooled funding mechanism that aims to re-energize action and stimulate a significant shift in the financing for women’s
participation, leadership and empowerment in crisis response, and peace and security settings.

However, recommendations from those interviewed indicate that there needs to be long-term financial support, not driven by donor priorities for projects, to address the structural inequalities which drive conflict in South Sudan and Africa as a whole. Recommended strategies included that member states, CSOs and the UN should set numerical targets such as the UN’s target of allocating 15 percent of peacebuilding funds to projects whose principal objective is to address women’s specific needs and address gender equality.

The South Sudan NAP on 1325 notes that its successful implementation will be determined by the availability of funding from Government and development partners and will rely on the cultivation of political will to ensure responsible, enthusiastic and sustainable action by the various stakeholders. Based on the National Action Plan, government institutions and implementing partners are required to develop detailed activity plans related to their areas of operation and budget for these activities, as well as take full financial responsibility for their implementation. Although the NAP calls for coordination and synergized efforts by the executing partners at the national and sub-national levels, there are no specific amounts allocated to its implementation.

### 4.4 Conclusion

The impact of conflict on women is distinct from that of men. While it is evident that women face challenges similar to those experienced by men during the conflict, there are violations and forms of violence that are unique to women. Women are often left to fend for
their families as heads of the household when their husbands are away during the war or conflict. The effect is felt not only as a financial burden on the women but also an emotional one. The violation of women’s human rights through rape, sexual violence, and sexual exploitation portrays that women are most vulnerable during the conflict. It is therefore essential that women embrace the culture of participating in conflict resolution because they are best suited to address their needs as they experience them. Women should also be treated not just as victims of conflict but also perpetrators and combatants during the conflict. Their position as combatants is vital, especially because they can address the issues that affect them during the conflict and also offer protection to other women during conflict.

In South Sudan, sexual and gender-based violence is prevalent with rape being used as a weapon of war and women being used as trophies for the fighters. In such situations, female combatants are best suited to intervene to ensure that the rights of women are protected and that justice and equality for women are upheld during the conflict.

While women’s participation is important, women face many challenges in their pursuit of conflict resolution. Illiteracy has been a challenge as most women are not educated and cannot access education in times of conflict. Young adolescent girls are exposed to early marriage, which interferes with their learning resulting in many of them dropping out of school. The absence of proper communication channels also possesses a challenge to women’s involvement in conflict resolution. Other problems include familial obligations, existing government and legislative policies, highly patriarchal traditional structures, and lack of proper care for female combatants during and after the conflict. It is, however, important to note that despite all the challenges women face, there are those who are
constantly striving to increase their participation in conflict resolution by coming up with strategies that overcome the existing barriers to their participation.

In conclusion, Resolution 1325 brings to attention two major points – the inordinate impact of that violent conflict and war has on women and girls, as well as the unique role that women hold, and already playing in the prevention of conflict, resolution, peacemaking and peacebuilding initiatives. The full participation and engagement are critical towards achieving and sustaining peace and stability within a community. The Resolution urges all actors to increase the participation of women and additionally incorporate gender perspectives in all United Nations peace and security efforts. Parties engaged in conflict must take extraordinary measures to protect women and girls from all forms of gender-based violence, especially rape and other forms of sexual abuse that are particularly widespread during times of violent conflict. Each of its mandates falls into one UNSCR 1325’s four fundamental pillars: participation, protection, prevention and relief and recovery.
CHAPTER FIVE: GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.0 General Conclusions

The October 2000, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR 1325) was adopted. It was celebrated as one of the hallmarks for women involved in peace and security around the world. This landmark legal and political framework not only acknowledges the impact of conflict on women but also reiterates the importance of involving the women and inclusion of gender perspectives in decision-making, conflict resolution and peace processes, humanitarian planning, peacekeeping, and post-conflict peacebuilding.

With the arrival of the resolution’s twentieth commemoration of the anniversary, the attention has shifted slowly from policy and planning to critically analyzing the progress and impact thus far. At this stage, it is imperative to consider a pause and reflection evaluate how much and to what extent the international community has translated the spirations of SCR 1325 into real actions. A very fundamental question in the evaluation being: Has the resolutions' potential as a useful operational tool been realized. The more recent practice strongly suggests that it has not been done entirely. SCR 1325 constitutes of four thematic areas in its agenda. Theses are; participation, protection, prevention, and Relief and Recovery by mainstreaming of a gender perspective. This study has generally captured current discourse, trends, and practices in this specific area, and therefore sought to contribute to the advancement of other approaches to attain meaningful implementation as envisioned in the provisions of SCR 1325. Going forward, the level of support and awareness raised over the past twenty years, the question is no longer whether to support the enhancement of women’s participation, but how most effectively to achieve it.
5.1 Recommendations

The recommendations below are divided into two: Policy and Practice. They aim to provide an easily accessible ‘how-to’ reference, in the form of operational guidelines for key actors, to enhance the participation of women in conflict resolution and peace processes. They identify areas of policy and practice, measures, and activities to promote women’s involvement specifically in dialogue, mediation, peace processes, and related activities for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. It also highlights examples of women’s representation and participation in specific situations and seeks to identify what has worked and what has not. Options, challenges, and policy-relevant recommendations are presented to inform good practice and maximize women’s meaningful involvement in the indicated areas.

The target audience includes policy and decision-makers in government, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, academia, community and civil society actors, official and non-official mediators and other intermediaries, and the professional staff that support their work.

The following is a summary of some of the recommendations that the thesis offers to address key areas of policy and practice to enhance women’s participation in dialogue, mediation, and peace processes.

### 5.5.1 Recommendations for Policy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Policy Area</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leadership Positions</td>
<td>• Identify individuals representing women in a peace process and begin active support and guidance at an early stage</td>
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<td>Quotas</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<td>• Assess how quotas have been used in peace processes, agreements</td>
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<td>and post-conflict societies to increase women’s participation and to</td>
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<td>what effect</td>
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<td>• Assess and proactively address real and potential negative</td>
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<td>perceptions about quotas</td>
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<td>• If quotas are used, they should apply to all levels of decision-</td>
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<td>making.</td>
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<th>Developing Knowledge and skills</th>
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<td>• Establish a network of women who have received training in</td>
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<tr>
<td>dialogue, mediation, negotiation, team building, and communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>strategies</td>
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<td>• Develop a roster of experienced women practitioners to serve as</td>
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<td>intermediaries and mentors, develop skills, deliver trainings, etc..</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Develop practical, accessible resources for training and reference</td>
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<tr>
<td>to reach and develop the knowledge and skills of women who are</td>
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<td>otherwise unable to attend formal trainings.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Valuing women’s experience</th>
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<tr>
<td>• Identify the skills, abilities, and knowledge that women develop</td>
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<td>informally and determine how to transfer these to the negotiating</td>
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<td>table and other areas</td>
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<tr>
<td>• Develop methods, training and work programs to enable the</td>
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<td>continued meaningful involvement of pregnant and lactating mothers</td>
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<td>and mothers of young children</td>
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<td><strong>Coordination</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Access and power dynamics</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Resource allocation and support</strong></td>
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the UN Security Council, for UN-led negotiations and support to peace processes

- In principle, UN Member States should refuse to fund or support any unsponsored peace negotiations that do not have women as meaningful participants at the table.

| Monitoring and evaluation | • Create guidelines for monitoring the impact of peace agreements, adherence to agreed standards, commitments and timelines, and measures to ensure compliance
• Review progress, according to monitored measurements, on an annual basis and take steps to stimulate forward movement (that is increases in effective participation) and to stop backsliding. |

## 5.5.2 Recommendations for Practice

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of engagement</th>
<th>Recommendations</th>
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| Consultation | • Third-party actors should plan and pursue formal and informal consultative activities for information-gathering and develop links with and between actors at different levels
• Define aims of consultation(s) and identify a representative group of participants
• Women leaders and organizations should prepare talking points, actively pursue opportunities to participate, and propose permanent consultative mechanisms. |
| Confidence building                                                                 | • Use consultations and conflict analysis to identify 'low-hanging fruit', the low-risk and relatively easy issues to address. Include if possible a tractable gender-specific concern  
• Use confidence-building measures to integrate women into the earliest stages of a process. |
| Facilitation, mediation and negotiation                                              | • Intermediaries should seek technical support through the appointment of a gender focal point or gender advisor to their team to identify points of entry and liaise between women's organizations and the various parties in the process  
• Intermediaries should to the extent possible seek to ensure women's presence among representatives of conflict parties  
• Women's groups and civil society organizations should seek out and offer to assist the third-party actor and facilitation/mediation/negotiation team(s)  
• Governments and IGOs should reflect on recent UN peacekeeping practice (all-women police forces in PKO) and assemble all-women mediation teams with a mandate to engage parties in conflict and pre-conflict situations. |
| Implementation                                                                       | • Women at community level should continue to lobby local, national and international implementing agencies for a voice in policy and project decisions  
• Intermediaries should seek to secure concrete plans for policy, procedural and other measures to address key issues, and seek |
guarantees of women’s involvement in their implementation with the commensurate resources.

| Technical advice and assistance | • Women representatives should be engaged as technical advisors around gender and other issues of concern which relate to the peace process  
• International experts should identify opportunities for direct operational support to women in non-official processes, and to empower women to participate in official processes  
• Third-party actors and international experts should carefully assess and devise strategies to address the resistance of men to women’s involvement in peace processes. |
| Monitoring and evaluation | • Informal monitoring and evaluation networks of women should be developed with links to relevant official institutions and non-governmental organizations. |

5.2 Suggestions for further research

The study identifies the economic impact of women’s participation in conflict resolution as a relevant area for further research.
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file:///C:/Users/mwanjala/Desktop/Adundo/IRD/Spring%202018/IRL%206200B/Individual%20assignment/The%20UNSC%20&%20Women_%20On%20the%20Effectiveness%20of%20Resolution%201325%20-%20Australian%20Institute%20of%20International%20Affairs%20-%20Australian%20Institute


http://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/


https://www.usip.org/gender_peacebuilding/about_UNSCR_1325


APPENDIX

STUDY QUESTIONNAIRE

Declaration: The information given will be treated confidentially and for the purpose of academic research only.

Country:

Town…………………………

Age ……………………………. (Years)

Gender: Male……………….. Female……………………..

Education: No education…… Primary………Secondary……..University……Other specify……

Occupation……………………… Organization ………………………

1. Have you heard of the UNSCR 1325?

A. Yes

B. No

2. In your own opinion, do you think women are equally and well represented in decision-making process on peace and conflict? Explain you answer?

………………………………………………………………………………

3. In conflict Resolution, do women play a role, if yes which roles?

………………………………………………………………………………
4. Do you know of any organizations fighting equality for women in your Country? Please list?

5. Does South Sudan have a National Action Plan for the Implementation of UN resolution 1325?

6. What Impacts has resolution 1325 brought forth since its inception in your country?

7. Do you think gender equality can be achieved globally?
   A. Yes
   B. No

8. If yes, which measures should be taken to achieve the same?

9. In your opinion, what challenges can face UN resolution 1325 implementation in your country?
10. What are your recommendations in support for gender equality in your country, especially in conflict resolution
RESEARCH CONSENT FORM

Name of Researcher(s) Martha Adundo Wanjala

Title of study: The role of UNSCR 1325 in tapping the full potential of South Sudan Women and girls in fostering inclusive dialogue and Sustainable Peace

Please read and complete this form carefully. If you are willing to participate in this study, tick the appropriate responses and sign and date the declaration at the end. If you do not understand anything and would like more information, please ask.

- I have had the research satisfactorily explained to me in verbal and / or written form by the researcher. YES / NO
- I understand that the research will involve physical and telephone recorded interviews and questionnaires YES / NO
- I understand that I may withdraw from this study at any time without having to give an explanation. YES / NO
- I understand that all information about me will be treated in strict confidence and that I will not be named in any written work arising from this study. YES / NO
- I understand that any audiotape material of me will be used solely for research purposes and will be destroyed on completion of your

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research.

- I understand that you will be discussing the progress of your research with your supervisor at USIU

YES / NO

I freely give my consent to participate in this research study and have been given a copy of this form for my own information.