UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG
SCHOOL OF GLOBAL STUDIES

Women's Recognition in Peacebuilding

Implementing Security Council Resolution 1325

in South Sudan

Ida Dahlström

12th November 2012

Supervised by Ludwig Gelot

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN GLOBAL STUDIES

University of Gothenburg

30 HP

Abstract

The signing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security" in October 2000, marked the first time in the UN history that women's role in maintaining peace and security was recognized by the Council. The resolution has been described as the most significant political success of women peace activists and a mile stone in women's peace work. However, critics maintain that the talk of assuring women's participation in peacebuilding most often remains political rhetoric with little impact on mainstream work.

This study seeks to explore the gap between the rhetoric and the reality on the ground by looking at the implementation of SCR 1325 in regards to women's participation in peacebuilding as well as to increase the understanding of why women are excluded in the peacebuilding process in South Sudan. To understand the prevailing challenges to include women in peacebuilding, this study looks on one hand at the critique on a policy level and on the other hand at the circumstances under which women live and work in South Sudan.

South Sudan, a post-conflict country which gained independence on 9th of July 2011, has several challenges standing in the way of a realization of the message in the resolution. This research indentified five areas of concern including 'political will to implement SCR 1325', 'gendered roles', 'awareness of SCR 1325', 'cultural and structural obstacles' and 'recognition of women in peacebuilding'.

The study concludes on recommendations including using a comprehensive approach and adjusting efforts to implement SCR 1325 to South Sudan's specific conditions. The message of SCR 1325 otherwise runs the risk of remaining political rhetoric without any sustainable impact on the society to the great loss of both South Sudanese women in particular and the country at large.

Key words: peacebuilding, gender, SCR 1325, South Sudan

Acknowledgements

Maps of South Sudan

Source: CIA World Factbook: www.cia.org

ABBREVIATIONS

ACCORD	the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AMWISS	the Association of Media Women in South Sudan
CCR	Centre for Conflict Resolution
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSW	the Commission on the Status of Women
GNU	Government of National Unity
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IKFF	Internationella Kvinnoförbundet för Fred och Frihet (Swedish section of WILPF)
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGOWG	NGO Working group on Women and Armed Conflict
SCR	Security Council Resolution
SIDA	Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency
SPLA/M	Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the Research Problem

The signing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (hereafter referred to as SCR 1325) on "Women, Peace and Security" on October 2000, is described as the most significant political success of women peace activists and a mile stone in women's peace work (Anderlini, 2007; Cockburn, 2007). Resulting from extensive lobbying by women's groups, this was the first time in the UN history that women's role in maintaining peace and security was recognized by the Council (ibid). However, after twelve years of signing the resolution, many still criticize the Council's difficulty in translating words into action (see e.g. Taylor and Mader, 2010; CCR 2009; Hendricks and Chivasa, 2009; Anderlini, 2007; Cockburn, 2007; IKFF, 2011). Despite being a landmark in the women, peace and security field, there is still a large gap between SCR 1325's normative international framework and the effectiveness on the ground when it comes to involve women in peacebuilding (ibid). This is argued to be a great loss both for women and for processes of building peace (Potter, 2008).

SCR 1325 reads that the Security Council is: *"Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution" (2000).* SCR 1235 also stresses that *"[Women's] full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security"* (ibid).

The significance of the message of SCR 1325 is proved by research showing that women's exclusion is affecting the society as a whole (Ringera, 2007) and that sustainable peace cannot be reached unless both women and men are heard (UNIFEM, 2005b). At the same time, it has been stressed that many women are already active in community peacebuilding, though their skills are not formally recognized (Porter, 2003). However, despite the importance of the message of SCR 1325, it is argued that ensuring women's participation in peacebuilding often remains a political rhetoric with little impact on mainstream work and even though some progress is made, women, especially in conflict-affected areas, rarely see it (Anderlini, 2007). Adding to this dilemma is also a reported lack of research looking at the factors contributing to women's poor participation (Afshar, 2004; Klot, 2007; Hendricks, 2011; Potter, 2008). Following the gap in the research, this study will explore issues that can explain the delayed

implementation of SCR 1325 in regards to women's participation in peacebuilding. This will be done by looking at the case of South Sudan. The Republic of South Sudan, that gained independence from Sudan on 9th of July 2011, has suffered the longest lasting armed conflict in Africa and is now one of the world's most underdeveloped states (CIA, 2012a; International Crisis Group, 2010; International Crisis group, 2011). Women, peace and security issues are therefore competing with many post-conflict demands (ACCORD, 2012) and South Sudan has not yet developed a National Action Plan (NAP) to implement the SCR 1325, as has been done in many other countries (Peacewomen, 2012). A newly undertaken study on strategies for the application of SCR 1325 in South Sudan indicates several challenges standing in the way of a full implementation of the resolution (ACCORD, 2012). As this study will show, South Sudan has many country-specific concerns in regards to the women, peace and security field that are not prevalent in the Western societies that form the majority of the countries that have already developed a NAP to implement SCR 1325. Studying the case of South Sudan can hence contribute to an increased understanding of why women, to such a large degree, are still excluded from peacebuilding processes.

1.2 Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this study is to explore the factors that contribute to the delayed implementation of SCR 1325 in South Sudan regarding women's participation in peacebuilding. In order to understand why women are still excluded in peacebuilding efforts it is necessary to explore both the critique on a policy level, that applies to the implementation at large, but also to know the circumstances under which women live and work in South Sudan specifically. The rhetoric will just be empty words unless problematic areas are identified and the message of SCR is applied to local circumstances.

This study will therefore analyze the issue from two angles. On one hand I will look at the general critique on the implementation of SCR 1325 and its relevance for South Sudan in particular. On the other hand I will explore the living and working conditions for women in South Sudan in order to understand the prevailing challenges in regards to women's participation in peacebuilding.

The study would address the following questions:

1. In what ways is the critique against the implementation of SCR 1325 useful to understand its implementation in South Sudan?
2. In what ways can women's living conditions and the recognition of their contributions to peace building in South Sudan explain the implementation of SCR 1325?

As the first question indicates, main critic against SCR 1325 will be identified and applied to the specific conditions of South Sudan. The second question will explore living conditions for women in South Sudan, relevant to understand women's participation in peace building. More specifically I will study structural circumstances that might hinder women from taking part in peace building work. In cases where women's peace building work is taking place I will study circumstances that might hinder women from having influence and that can further explain why women's peace building skills are not taken into account.

1.3 Research Approach

Qualitative approach seems to be the most appropriate method for this study given that it is "a means of understanding the complexity of a situation by exploring the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social problem" (Creswell, 2009, p.4). I also opted for qualitative research because it has been associated with a feminist sensitivity, best allowing women's voices to be heard and emancipatory goals to be realized (Bryman, 2008). In relation to this approach, the study is shaped by what Creswell calls an 'advocacy/participatory worldview' (2009). Keywords within this view is 'politics', 'empowerment-issue orientation' and 'change-orientation' (ibid). This position arose from individuals arguing that research needs to be intertwined with politics and that "the constructivist stance did not go far enough in advocating for an action agenda to help marginalized people" (ibid, p.9). This worldview hence seeks to address inequalities and oppression by calling for political reform and change in practices that may improve the lives of the group that is studied (ibid). The research can provide a voice for the participants in the study and often also include and engage the participants actively in the study (ibid). Although it is beyond the scope of this study to carry out this kind of advocacy work in the field, the viewpoint has been useful when collecting and analyzing secondary sources by seeking data relevant to the understanding of how women's situation can be improved.

As in the case of this study, qualitative research typically views the relation between research and theory inductively (Bryman, 2008). Although, as Creswell (2009) suggests, the abovementioned viewpoint has been used as an overall lens to shape questions asked, data collection and analysis; the main theory has been derived inductively from the data rather than being outlined before the data was collected (Bryman, 2008). Typically with this strategy, detailed information is gathered and formed into categories and themes (Crewell, 2009). Rather than starting with a hypothesis in mind, this tactic allowed me to gather a vast amount of data on the situation for South Sudanese women with an open-minded approach to my findings, later leading me to a theoretical understanding of the problem. The fact that the themes are based on a number of sources and other researchers' findings is also adding to the reliability and validity of the study (Crewell, 2009).

Though the results of this study are likely to relate to other countries, it is not my intention to generalize about problems related to the implementation of SCR 1325 since the challenges are different in different parts of the world. It should be mentioned that SCR 1325 is not just applicable on countries in conflict; in fact most of the countries that have adopted a NAP on SCR 1325 are European (Peacewomen, 2012). I am also aware of the fact that the circumstances vary widely between different groups of women within South Sudan. It is however not within the scope of this thesis to give voice to all women in South Sudan but rather to increase the general understanding of women's exclusion in peacebuilding.

1.4 Delimitations

SCR 1325 (2000) is broadly focusing on four areas regarding women, peace and security: women's participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution; the use of a gender perspective in peacekeeping missions; the protection of women and girls in armed conflict and the mainstreaming of gender in the UN reporting and implementation system. Although these areas are sometimes interlinked, my main focus is on women's participation in regards to their inclusion in peacebuilding and related decision-making. SCR 1325 is often used to put focus on the ways women are abused in war; it is however beyond the scope of this study to discuss women's victimization and protection.

Since South Sudan became a country on 9th of July 2011, some of the literature used did not distinguish between Sudan and South Sudan. When the term Southern Sudan is used it is

because the information comes from literature written before South Sudan's existence. To be more explicit, avoid confusion and produce a reliable study, I tried to use as much literature as possible written after independence. In the cases this has not been possible, I have been careful to make sure that data collected concerns what was previously called Southern Sudan; this to avoid confusion with issues more typically related to women in Northern Sudan (now Sudan).

1.5 Outline of Chapters

After the introductory chapter that clarifies the research problem, aim, approach and delimitations of the study; Chapter 2 aims at providing a framework for as well as presenting a theoretical discussion and key definitions of the study. Chapter 3 thereafter explains the methods used to collect the data in the study. Chapter 4 and 5 represent the two main parts of the study, presenting the findings in relation to the research questions. Whereas Chapter 4 is focusing on SCR 1325, Chapter 5 focuses on women in South Sudan. In Chapter 6, findings in Chapter 4 and 5 will be further analyzed along with the theoretical framework in Chapter 2. This is followed by the conclusion in Chapter 7.

2. THEORETICAL DISCUSSION AND KEY CONCEPTS

This chapter has two purposes. One is to provide a framework for the study by demonstrating the importance of the subject and showing how the study fits into previous research. The other is to provide necessary tools to analyze the implementation of SCR 1325.

The chapter will point out gaps in the literature that motivates the study, both in regards to what has been written about the implementation of SCR 1325 and what has been written about women in South Sudan. It will also outline a summary of approaches taken in the literature on women in conflict and explain where the study fits in the discourse. Thereafter, it will be justified why women should be included in peacebuilding and hence why it is important to implement SCR 1325. Finally, the chapter will describe and define the concepts of peacebuilding, gender and feminist approaches and their relevance for the study.

2.1 Identifying Gaps in the Literature

As pointed out in the literature, the process of achieving SCR 1325 has led to a great number toolkits and guidelines for practical action as well as books and papers published commercially, by NGOs and by the UN itself (Cockburn, 2007; Potter, 2008). Nevertheless, changes on the ground have been slow and Potter (2008) argues that literature and case studies on post-conflict situations show "a depressing paucity of examples of implementation, and in particular strategic or holistic implementation" (p.107). There is a confound imbalance between recommendations and actual experience where women and their knowledge are massively under-represented at the same time as there is a failure in higher levels to take the implications of this exclusion seriously (ibid). Also Hendricks (2011) argues that there is a gap in explanations for the "disjuncture between policy formulation, implementation and a continued patriarchal system in which women remain disproportionally affected by conflict and general violence" (p.22). In an independent expert paper it is further stated that "although women's participation and gender equality is a 'predictable' peacebuilding gap, it is striking how far this core issue is lacking in institutional capacity, policy and operational guidance, programme implementation, data, monitoring and evaluation, knowledge and resources" (Klot, 2007, p.9). Given the gap between theory and practice, Afshar (2004), stresses the importance of moving beyond projects that involve women and look at the factors that contribute to the poor implementation of them. By exploring the delayed implementation of

SCR 1325 in South Sudan, this study is hence addressing an important subject as well as adding to needed research on South Sudanese women, further discussed below.

Recent studies reveal that there is a great lack of research and analysis on women in South Sudan (Bubenzer and Stern, 2011). Just as women in war commonly have been portrayed in general, South Sudanese women have often been positioned as victims (Faria, 2011). The conflict did however affect women in South Sudan in many ways. Some were displaced, abducted or left the country as refugees, others joined the armed opposition as combatants, supporters and caregivers (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; Itto, 2006). Women have also held positions as spiritual and political leaders, contributing to conflict prevention and peacebuilding on a grassroots level as well as nationally and internationally via various organizations and activist networks (see e.g. Aldehaib, 2010; Itto, 2006; Ali, 2011; Faria, 2011). Recognizing women's, often unacknowledged, contributions to peace, both in the past and ongoing, together with the challenges they are faced with, is argued to be vital (Faria, 2011). However, many studies point out a great lack of research, analysis and documentation on women, peacebuilding and gender issues in South Sudan (see e.g. Bubenzer and Stern, 2011; Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; Badri, 2008). This can partly be explained by the strong patriarchal dominance that has prevented the account of female leadership from being fully recalled (Aldehaib, 2010). Written communication on a grassroots level has also been obstructed by the high illiteracy rate (Ali, 2011). As this study further will show, these obstacles are also relevant in explaining women's poor participation in peacebuilding. In 2005, a conference in Oslo was organized with the purpose of gathering women from South Sudan and let them voice their priorities for a sustainable peace (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). It was then concluded that South Sudan has a great need for research on women's situation and that such documentation can improve women's status in the communities, facilitate advocacy work and help stating problematic areas (ibid). These findings are pointing to the importance of bringing up and highlighting women's issues as well as emphasizing structural circumstances that are hindering South Sudanese women's participation and recognition in peacebuilding work.

2.2 Perspectives on Women in Conflict

In the literature, news and government propaganda, women in conflict have remained almost invisible over the years since accounts of war have reduced them to passive, innocent victims (Pankhurst, 2003). The different ways women participate in and live through war has however become clearer as women's experiences now are more broadly known (Pankhurst, 2003). Nonetheless, a large part of the literature is still focusing on the ways women suffer in war. In a recently published review on gender and security in Africa, Hendricks (2011) write that there is abundant literature showing how women are targeted and impacted by violence in conflicts, a large part focusing on issues such as sexual violence, forced marriages, killings and large-scale displacement. This literature, that regards women as victims, emphasizes the inclusion of women in mediation and peace negotiations on the grounds that their experiences and needs must be recognized in post-conflict reconstruction (ibid). The international response to 'rape as a weapon of war' has also given way to policies aiming at protecting women in war zones (ibid). Other sets of studies essentialise women as peaceful and call for their rights to be included in peacebuilding to put forward unique female interests (ibid). The belief that women are more peaceful then men by nature, was brought up by some feminists in the 1970s and 1980s and has been criticized by many others (Confortini, 2006). This idea is said to reproduce gendered dichotomies and power hierarchies as well as idealizing a masculinity that is depending on the construction of women as passive and in need of protection (ibid). Several feminist researchers point out, that viewing men as more violent by nature can serve as an argument to maintain women's subordination as well as keeping women out of influential political and military positions (ibid). Many have also remarked that the association of women as naturally peaceful is disempowering for both women and peace as well as for male peacemakers who have to accept the idea that they are 'emasculated' (ibid). This view can hence also contribute to the victimization of women, even though it focuses on the way women act. In contrast to the studies viewing women as inherently peaceful, other sets of literature has now brought up women's experiences as activists and combatants in war (Hendricks, 2011). This focus on female combatants has for example been useful when dealing with 'disarmament, demobilization and reintegration'- programmes failing to address the special needs of women and girls (Stone, 2011). A few studies have also begun to discuss the construction of feminine and masculine gender roles in conflict (Hendricks, 2011). Issues of male identities and men's gendered roles in conflict are a growing but still relatively small part of the literature (Potter, 2008).

The need to look at conflicts with a gendered perspective has become clearer since conflicts now increasingly are affecting civilian populations and hence involve women in many ways: as combatants, peace advocates, targets of violence as well as bearers of contested communal identities (Reilly, 2007). Anderlini (2007) however argues that the international community seems unable to relate to the complex reality of women's experiences in conflict. As mentioned above, women are either portrayed as helpless victims in need of protection or as the inherently peaceful solution to all evils (ibid). Yet, regardless of the view taken, practice is at best ad hoc and despite the sometimes taken anticipation that women are more peaceful than men, this expectation is rarely translated into acknowledging how women can more resourcefully promote peace (ibid). The victimization of women in conflict has also many times obscured their contributions in peacebuilding processes (Schirch and Sewak, 2005). Gizeli (2011) argue that "research on women and post-conflict reconstruction tends to focus primarily on women as victims and passive targets for aid rather than conceptualizing peacebuilding as a process where greater participation by women may help increase the prospects for success" (p.522).

In this study, the discussion of women's victimization is highly relevant, as findings will show that women's contributions in peacebuilding in many ways has been undervalued or ignored in South Sudan. Despite the important roles women played in peacebuilding, it is argued that women, during the peace negotiations, has been perceived as passive victims of war rather than active players in the society and in politics (Itto, 2006). It is therefore essential to look at how women have taken part in peacebuilding in South Sudan and in what sense their efforts have been acknowledged. The study will look at where and how women are building peace as well as factors in the society that can explain why women's efforts are undervalued and ignored. More precisely, the thesis will study women's contributions to peacebuilding during the civil war as well as and how their opinions were taken into account during and after the CPA negotiations. Potentials for change after independence will also be analyzed.

2.3 Why Women should be Involved in Peacebuilding Processes

Many activists spend a lot of time explaining why women should be involved in peacebuilding in attempt to satisfy decision makers who keep requesting proof that the inclusion of women will make a positive difference (Schirch and Sewak, 2005; Anderlini,

2007). Since their arguments also illustrate the importance to implement SCR 1325 they will be further discussed hereafter with a particular focus on South Sudan.

Having in mind the role women in South Sudan can play in an effective and an efficient peacebuilding, UNIFEM (2005b) writes that a common argument why women should be included in peacebuilding is that men and women often have different experiences from war and peace and therefore usually also different priorities and expectations in peace processes. Consequently it is argued that sustainable peace can only be reached if both women and men are heard (ibid). Women's peacebuilding work is also often originating from their daily struggles connecting the matter of their participation to issues of socio-economic inequalities and exclusions which are disproportionately affecting women (Reilly, 2007). When women are not democratically represented, neither are their interests and their exclusion hence affects the whole society, threatening justice, development and political stability (Ringera, 2007). In South Sudan, women's exclusion from social, economic and political processes is limiting their ability to voice their concerns which in turn alienates them from the nation and the state (Bubenzer and Stern, 2011). It is argued that "given the pivotal role that women play in South Sudanese society, this alienation and non-participation runs the risk of severely hampering the national healing and reconciliation project that is so vital to the building of a prosperous South Sudan" (ibid, p. xiv). Recent research also show that "women stand at the forefront of the reconstruction efforts" and "it is unlikely that South Sudan will fully achieve its goals of peace and sustainable economic and social development" unless women are participating fully and effectively (Namadi, 2011, p.189).

As in the case of South Sudan, it is further important to note is that women are often already active in community peacebuilding but their political skills are often not recognized and therefore not made used of in formal arenas (Porter, 2003). Women are often involved in relationship building and conflict resolution activities that precede formal negotiations and their issues of concern involve political, social, civil, economic and judicial matters that don't always reach the negotiation table (ibid). Embracing these issues is nevertheless important since peace negotiations are not only about ending a conflict but also "an opportunity to contribute to the foundations of a reconstructed society based on justice, rights and equality" (ibid, p.250). To promote and ensure peacebuilding in South Sudan, Potter (2008) argues that peace negotiations and agreements would be richer and more firmly rooted in the societies with a greater participation of women and issues important to them. That women's peacebuilding skills from civil society should be embraced and further cultivated is also

important given Porter's argument that peace supported at grassroots level is more likely to be sustainable (Porter, 2003). UNIFEM (2005a) states that examples from around the world show how women can build a foundation for and catalyze peace negotiations as well as complement official peacebuilding. Women can bring different perspectives by raising issues otherwise ignored and also foster reconciliation and set examples to move societies forward (ibid). In countries emerging from conflict, supporting women's participation in decision making can serve as a shift away from the status quo that catalyzed the conflict (Anderlini, 2007).

Finally, it should be said that regardless of having a positive or a negative impact, women, as well as men, have the right to participation (Anderlini, 2007). UNIFEM (2005a) argues that "inclusiveness is necessary to ensure the legitimacy of the decision-making process, to encourage a broad base of participation and to make sustainable peace and development possible" (p.3). Overlooking half of the population implies a loss of resources and capacities and it is also compromising the peace process (Anderlini, 2007; UNIFEM, 2005a). Including women is hence a matter of social justice and their absence is minimizing the prospects for just politics in post-conflict periods (Porter, 2003). South Sudan is faced with many post-conflict challenges that can, but should not, be used as an excuse to sideline gender issues since women's participation is argued to facilitate both peace and security and a strong economy (Ali, 2011). It is argued that with a clear political will, the new nation-building process can be used as a platform to rethink women's roles and open up possibilities for women's empowerment and participation (ibid). By ensuring gender equality and women's human rights, South Sudan can both meet important obligations and ensure a functional state, thereby setting an example for other post-conflict countries (ibid).

If SCR 1325 had been properly implemented in South Sudan, issues of including women would have been better addressed and if all the above mentioned arguments hold, then they are highly relevant for the case of South Sudan. When analyzing the findings in this study, especially important to note among these arguments is women's lack of representation in peacebuilding and the negative effects it has on the process of reaching sustainable peace according to the message in SCR 1325.

2.4 Peacebuilding

Peacebuilding, as defined in this work, takes a stand in Porter's argument that women's understanding of peacebuilding is broader and more holistic than the way the UN is using it (Porter, 2003). I find it relevant to discuss the concept of peacebuilding in a broader context to understand what it entails before stating Porter's stance which is used in this work.

According to Ramsbotham et.al., (2011) peacebuilding is underpinning peacemaking (that works towards a voluntary settlement between parties in armed conflict) and peacekeeping (referring to the interposition of international armed forces to separate fighting parties) by addressing structural issues and long-term relationships. The three concepts can be related to Galtung's theory that recognizes three types of violence in a conflict: direct, structural and cultural (Galtung, 1990; Galtung and Höivik, 1971). In order to reach a complete, 'positive' peace, Galtung argues for a strategy that integrates the whole society as opposed to an approach focusing primarily on ending direct violence (Galtung, 1964). The latter can only lead to what Galtung calls 'negative' peace since a society cannot be called peaceful unless also unjust structures and relationships are addressed and removed (Galtung, 1964; Ramsbotham, et.al. 2011). The three forms of violence can also be related to Galtung's model of conflict where he views contradiction, attitude and behavior as three parts of a conflict that are constantly changing and influencing each other (Galtung, 1996). Combining the two models; "we end direct violence by changing conflict behavior, structural violence by removing structural contradictions and injustices, and cultural violence by changing attitudes" (Ramsbotham et.al., 2011, p.11). These approaches, in turn, relate to the strategies of peacekeeping (controlling the actors to prevent them from destroying each other), peacemaking (transforming attitudes and assumptions) and peacebuilding (overcoming contradictions at the root of the conflict) (Ramsbotham et.al., 2011; Galtung, 1996). Peacebuilding also "includes constructing the conditions of society to foster peace through development and aid, human rights education, reconciliation, and restoration of community life" (Porter, 2003, p.255). Adding a gender-conscious approach, we can better understand structures of domination and hidden power relations, hence complementing Galtung's theory (Confortini, 2006).

Applicable to the case of South Sudan and as discussed above, women's peacebuilding work often take place on a community level, originating in daily struggles and relationship building that doesn't always reach the negotiation table (Reilly, 2007; Porter, 2003). According to

Galtung's theory, this type of relationship building is nevertheless vital to reach a complete peace (1964). However, Porter (2003) argues that the UN typically uses peacebuilding to refer to formal approaches in post-conflict reconstruction. She stresses that this "renders invisible the many women who are involved in informal practices that they believe are integral to building peace" (ibid, p.256). Women have, through community activities, redefined peacebuilding to include all processes that build peace which can be connected to their view of social justice and a sustainable peace that meets their needs in the everyday life (ibid). That the UN positions peacebuilding as part of formal peace processes (ibid) is hence problematic in regards to the implementation of SCR 1325, given that women often are excluded from these arenas.

2.5 Gender

In this work, gender (as opposed to biological sex) is referred to "the historical and social construction of role differences between men and women" as defined by Ramsbotham, et. al. (2011, p.305). This definition "implies a relationship of power, which has a pervasive effect on all areas of behavior and in all social institutions and practices" (ibid). Since the conflict continuum also is a constructed social practice, it is hence argued that the field of conflict resolution and attempts to solve conflict non-violently cannot afford to be gender blind as several critics indicate (ibid). It is important to note that gender issues often tend to represent women's issues, leaving out the particular ways men are affected by conflict (ibid). Although this study is focusing on women, it is also acknowledging Potter's argument that gender should not be understood as a concern for women only, since "the consideration of women's gendered roles in conflict and its aftermath is incomplete without the consideration of the gendered roles of the men with whom they share and must rebuild their societies" (ibid, p.109). Given these thoughts, the concept of gender should consequently not be disregarded in peacebuilding processes.

Especially post-conflict periods, applicable to the case of South Sudan, can be a complex time when societies have to adapt to women's newfound identities during conflict, or more commonly, try to put women back into their pre-conflict gendered roles (Potter, 2008). Women's roles in the society have therefore opened up for a discussion on how conflict can alter gendered roles (ibid). Examples from Somalia and Eritrea show that conflict can provide a way for women to take on new roles in the society and achieve greater equality, however the

challenge to hold on to these gains is great (ibid). A discussion of gender will prove to be highly important to understand the findings in this study since gendered roles and patriarchal tendencies are affecting women's lives, development and empowerment in several ways. Gender stereotypes also hinder many women from taking part in peacebuilding work, take on influential roles in the society and from being taken seriously on the political arena. It is therefore also relevant to look at feminist theories, further discussed below.

2.6 Western and African Feminist Perspectives

Feminist theories have in common that they seek to understand power relations between men and women and how masculine and feminine identities are constructed (Kronsell, 2009). Different schools of feminism approach and explain these power relations differently (ibid). This study will especially emphasize the concept of feminism in an African context. To better understand its distinction, other main schools of thought will first be briefly recalled for.

In the peace movement, 'difference feminism'[1] point to the diversities between men and women and relate femininity with peace (Kronsell, 2009). This stand argues that female qualities are underemphasized and that the society would be more peaceful if these qualities were better appreciated (ibid). On the contrary, 'liberal feminism' point to the similarities between men and women and find explanations to gender inequalities in discriminating legislation and institutions that hinder women's entrance into the public sphere (ibid; Edward, 2007). Changing these laws would thereby give women more influence in the conflict field (Kronsell, 2009). Another school of thought is 'radical feminism' that is problemizing gendered power relations by pointing to the ways women are dominated and exploited by men (ibid). This type of feminism is highlighting sexual exploitation and violence, arguing that a change in perception and values in the military is needed in order to change these oppressive power relations (ibid). Lastly, 'post structural feminism' is stressing the social construction of gender and gendered power relations arguing that femininity and masculinity are shaped and produced in the social context in which we live (ibid). With this point of view, the key to change is to make conscious and question our historically shaped gender identities (ibid).

---

[1] This term is in the original text referred to as 'särartsfeminism' which has been translated to 'difference feminism' in comparison with English literature.

Edward (2007) argues that it is important to distinguish between African feminism and Western feminism since they raise and address different issues. The term 'mainstream Western feminism' is defined as perspectives and knowledge developed by privileged, white, middle-class, heterosexual women with the roots in the social movement of the 1960s and 70s (ibid). Typical issues raised by feminists in the West are said to be the liberal feminist focus on equal pay between men and women and the radical feminist focus on men's control over women's bodies and sexuality (ibid). Black and third world feminists have however pointed out the neglect of racism and imperialism when discussing women's issues which has led to a realization that feminism is not universal but rather diverse, historicized and context-specific (ibid). Mikell (1997) argues that African feminism differs radically from Western forms of feminism as it origins in different dynamics that have largely been shaped by a resistance to Western hegemony and its legacy in the African culture. Many women in Africa are found to be ambivalence toward and even rejecting the term and concept of feminism (Arndt, 2002). However, Arndt argues that "their distancing is not directed at the feminist ideas as such, but is due to the Whiteness of feminism" and white women's ignorance of specific problems of African women (ibid, p.33). Edward's research (2007) shows that feminism has always existed in Africa, manifested in women's daily struggles to improve the living conditions for themselves, their families and their societies; what is foreign is the Western feminist terminology. This foreignness of feminism to Africa can be used by Africans, especially men, to silence women challenging oppressive cultural practices just as promotion of women's involvement can be dismissed with the argument that Western values are being imposed on non-Western societies (ibid; Anderlini, 2007). African feminists have also challenged the way the Euro-American discourse have portrayed African women as homogenous, illiterate, voiceless and powerless (Edward, 2007).

Edward, nevertheless, argues that feminism is relevant to Africa both in regards to women's oppression as well as in regards to what women do in their everyday lives and that feminism can be used to evoke the power of African women (ibid). It is however important that the "globally valid basic definition of feminism" is "modified and contextualized within each given society to which it applies" (Arndt, 2002, p.72). In Africa, women (as well as men) suffer not only from sexism and patriarchal social structures but are also victims of many other forms of discrimination such as socio-economic oppression, corrupt systems, neo-colonialism and religious fundamentalism (Arndt, 2002). The African feminist critique of gender relationships is therefore often combined with one or more of these challenges (ibid).

In regards to family life, African feminists are concerned with traditional forms of discrimination such as circumcision, early arranged marriages, polygamy and customs regarding bride price, widowhood and inheritance (ibid). Although Arndt argues that motherhood is not questioned, African feminists maintain that women should be able to define themselves beyond mother and wifehood (ibid). They are therefore concerned with issues such as woman-to-woman discrimination (especially against daughter-in-laws) as well as how to make women's daily work easier (ibid). Problems affecting women's lives within the family as well as in the larger society is often stressed, including matters of basic needs, water, food, shelter and health (Edward, 2007). These are issues that have not traditionally been defined as feminist but should nevertheless be included (Arndt, 2002).

Western feminist theories are not enough to provide a comprehensive view of the situation in South Sudan why the African feminist approach discussed above is needed when analyzing gendered roles and patriarchal structures in the South Sudanese society. It is important to take on a broader approach of analysis and look not only at issues of inequalities between men and women but also at women's country specific, daily struggles that affect their living conditions and ultimately their possibilities to take part in peacebuilding and decisionmaking. These struggles include stereotypical gender roles and customary laws that are hindering women's advancement and empowerment, poor health care, lack of education as well as post-conflict concerns such as poor infrastructure, lack of telecommunication and poverty.

3. METHOD

When first setting out on this thesis project, I was considering conducting a field trip to South Sudan and carry out the study on the ground. I was also granted a scholarship from the Nordic Africa Institute to accomplish this study. However, during the course of this study the situation in South Sudan has been unstable coupled with the fact that I would not be covered by the insurance policy of Gothenburg University. Due to these reasons, data has predominately been collected from secondary sources complemented with interviews carried out in Stockholm with South Sudanese informants.

3.1 Secondary Sources

Great benefits of using secondary sources in this relatively small study are the savings it provides in terms of cost, working time and practical difficulties, especially since the research considers a different country (Bryman, 2008). This method allowed more time for analysis freed from not having to collect first-hand data (ibid). A limitation is, however, the lack of control of data quality (ibid).

In order to meet the goals of this study, an effort has therefore been made to collect data from sources as reliable as possible. Among the sources include books, reports, scholastic articles, documents and papers from the UN and other trustworthy organizations. This has been an advantage since, as Bryman (2008) points out, it has allowed me to examine data with higher quality than would have been possible to collect first hand for this type of study. Although there is a reported lack of documentation and research on women in South Sudan, I found enough reliable data to carry out a research that merits the aims of this study. A large part of the data was collected from the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala from where I could access all necessary information on the topic. Since South Sudan is a new country I have used sources as recent as possible. Information on South Sudanese women was mainly found in conference and workshop papers, UN-documents, reports from well-known organizations, academic articles and chapters in books. A few whole books on the subject has also been useful including the recently published Bubenzer and Stern (2011), Badri (2008), Fitzgerald (2002) and the dissertation of Ringera (2007). A new report of ACCORD (2012) on the implementation of SCR 1325 in South Sudan was provided to me by SIDA and has been very valuable. Reports from women's organizations as well as workshops and conferences with

South Sudanese participants have proved to be useful in addition to academic texts since they provide views from the ground that complement theoretical discussions. These reports in addition to the fact that several scholars and authors cited are South Sudanese/Sudanese may also compensate for any biases I might have as a Western women.

3.2 Semi-Structured Interviews

In addition to secondary data, I carried out interviews with South Sudanese participants taking part of a training programme in Stockholm in May 2012. I came into contact with the interviewees via one of the course coordinators, providing me a great opportunity to meet and discuss the thesis topic with people from the field. The Advanced International Training Programme called 'UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Women, Peace and Security' is offered by SIDA and carried out by Indevelop and Kvinna till Kvinna in collaboration with the Department of Peace and Conflict at Uppsala University and Operation 1325. The aim of the training is to provide participants with knowledge and tools in order to contribute to the implementation of SCR 1325 in their home countries and it was hence highly relevant for my study. The views of the participants are applicable given that they could bring in experiences from the ground as well as reflections on issues related to SCR 1325. Representatives came from five countries and I was able to talk to all the five South Sudanese participants, representing both the government and local organizations. Although too few to constitute the main source of data, the interviews proved to be very useful since they confirmed the facts collected in secondary data and gave me a valuable chance to discuss the issues in this study with South Sudanese engaged in and working with women on the grounds. The low number of interviewees did not raise any bias or limitation to the study but rather complemented on the findings of the secondary data. Before conducting the interviews I reflected on the difficulty to guarantee the interviewees anonymity due to the fact that all South Sudanese participants within this particular programme were interviewed. To make sure that this would not constitute an ethical dilemma, all the participants were asked and gave their consents for me to state their names in this study. A list of the participants is provided in the Appendix A.

I used a semi-structured interview guide, allowing me to use a list of fairly specific topics at the same time as it gave the interviewees freedom when answering (Bryman, 2008). This suited my purpose best as I had certain questions in mind at the same time as I wanted the interviews to be flexible enough to allow me to follow up on interesting answers. Semi-

structured interviews were also found to be most suited for this study since they put emphasis on how the interviewee understands and explains the issue discussed (ibid). In order to understand the relevance of the answers, questions where firstly constructed in order to get to know the participants working areas, pre-knowledge and experience about working with SCR 1325-related issues. The questions where thereafter directed towards the participants opinions about women's situation in South Sudan, obstacles to women's participation in peacebuilding and their views on what needs to be done to improve the situation. The topics covered are presented in Appendix B.

Every interview lasted for at least 30 minutes. None of the interviews were recorded for the reason that they took place in a conference premises with many other participants of the training programme present nearby which disturbed the sound quality. However, notes were taken during the talks and printed and partly interpreted immediately after the interviews to avoid later misinterpretations. It was of great help for me to perform the interviews a few months into the data-collection period since I was then very familiar with the subject. It was also an advantage that the interviews took place on the second last day of the course when the participants had gained needed knowledge about SCR 1325.

4. UN SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325

This chapter is the first of the two main chapters presenting the findings of the study. It relates to the first research question by exploring the general critique on the implementation of SCR 1325 and its relevance for South Sudan. To understand the context of SCR 1325 the chapter begins by providing a background account of how SCR 1325 came about which is important in order to understand the significance it has had on women's peace movement and how women's peace organizations have been involved, lobbying for women's inclusion, for the resolution and for its implementation. This is a work that is ongoing and therefore relevant for a discussion regarding the awareness of SCR 1325 and its message in South Sudan today, a knowledge that will prove to be low. In order to understand the substance of the message in the resolution, the next part will highlight its most important paragraphs in regards to women's participation in peacebuilding. While the main focus is on SCR 1325, this text will also draw on the message in the later signed SCR 1889 (2009) that is strengthening and encouraging the implementation of SCR 1325. Finally, main critique put forward in regards to the implementation of the resolution as well as how this critique relates to the situation in South Sudan, will be discussed. These findings, together with issues found in Chapter 5, will be further analyzed in Chapter 6.

4.1 Background to UN Security Council Resolution 1325

The signing of SCR 1325 on "Women, Peace and Security" in October 2000, is described as a mile stone in women's peace work, being the first time in the UN history that women's right to protection and their role in maintaining peace and security was recognized by the Council (Anderlini, 2007). The Security Council had previously only dealt with women peripherally as vulnerable groups and the resolution is therefore significant in the way it treated women as a subject in their own right, highlighting their under-valued role in conflict resolution (Reilly, 2007). SCR 1325 is also unusual in the sense that the groundwork, lobbying and drafting was almost entirely the work of civil society and mainly the work of women (Cockburn, 2007).

Women's groups have raised campaigns for the recognition of gender issues as governance matter since the creation of the UN in 1945 with some key advancement such as the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) that defined and established a framework against discrimination of women (CCR and

UNIFEM, 2005). UN's emphasis on the role of women in peacebuilding and conflict is nevertheless argued to have been negligible up until the middle of the 1990s where after there has been an increased focus on the impact of conflict on gender relations and the need for the inclusion of women in decision-making processes in international debates and resolutions (ibid). The groundwork leading to the signing of SCR 1325 was laid by women attending the UN series of World Conferences on women (Cockburn, 2007). Of particular importance was the fourth conference in Beijing in 1995 that resulted in the 'Platform for Action' in which 'Women and Armed Conflict' was presented as one of twelve 'critical areas of concern' (ibid). Instead of just highlighting women's victimization, the Chapter on 'Women and Armed Conflict' was addressing women's agency in promoting peace and calling for increased participation of women in conflict resolution (Anderlini, 2007). This added something new to the agenda and gave way to an increasing growth in women's activism in peace and security (ibid). In the following years, regional and international networks were taking shape and women's capacities for promoting peace began to be supported by NGOs and donors (ibid). In 1998, the Chapter on 'Women and Armed Conflict' was debated and reviewed at a CSW (The Commission on the Status of Women) conference in which hundreds of women discussed how the proposals in the Chapter could be operationalized (Cockburn, 2007). Coordinated by WILPF (Women's International League for Peace and Freedom), a group of international NGOs called 'Women and Armed Conflict Caucus' led a process of drafting an outcome document (ibid). At this point, the emphasis shifted from "getting armed conflict on to the UN 'women agenda' to getting 'women and armed conflict' on to the main agenda" (ibid, p.140). In 2000 the caucus became the 'NGO Working group on Women and Armed Conflict' (NGOWG)[2] a group that carried out intensive lobbying during the months leading up to the signing of SCR 1325 and that continues to provide analysis and recommendations on the implementation of the resolution today (NGOWO). The so called 'Beijing Plus Five' in 2000 was an important event in which a global appeal for a Security Council resolution was launched (Anderlini, 2007). During this year, other key events took place that helped legitimize a discussion at the Security Council (ibid).   In March, the

---

[2] As of September 2010, the NGO Working Group consists of: Amnesty International, Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, Femmes Africa Solidarité, Global Action to Prevent War, Global Justice Center, Human Rights Watch, International Action Network on Small Arms, International Alert, International Rescue Committee, Open Society Institute, Refugees International, The Institute for Inclusive Security, Women's Action for New Directions, Women's Division, General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and Women's Refugee Commission.

formerly Ambassador of Bangladesh and president of the Security Council, Anwarul Chowdhury, issued a formal statement recognizing women's need for protection as well as their contributions to peacebuilding (Anderlini, 2007). Later on in May, the government of Namibia hosted the seminar 'Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations" during which a formal plan of action known as the 'Windhoek Declaration' was issued (ibid). The NGOWG intensified their work in getting one of the UN Security Council's Ambassadors to pick up the matter on women and armed conflict, ideally wanting it to be a country that had experienced conflict, giving the issue stronger authority (Cockburn, 2007). Finally, under Namibia's presidency, a two day open session was held on 24 and 25 October, being the first time in UN history that the Security Council gave full attention to women's experiences in conflict (ibid). SCR 1325 was there after passed on October 31st, 2000 (ibid).

SCR 1325 is unique in the sense that it is the first binding international law endorsing issues regarding women, peace and security, hence providing a "critical legal and political framework through which, for the first time in history, women worldwide can claim their space and voice their views on peace and security matters" (Schirch and Sewak, 2005; Anderlini, 2007, p.7). Since 2000, plenty of toolkits and guidelines for practical action have been published and a vast range of NGOs and other organizations are now working on the implementation of its recommendations (Potter, 2008; Schirch and Sewak, 2005). This resolution hence sent an important message and changed the relationship between the civil society and the international system, in particularly between women's organizations and the Security Council (ibid). Perhaps being the most significant political success of women peace activists, SCR 1325 has become a tool for women's advocacy and empowerment, enabling women to mobilize globally and assert a place in the peacebuilding process (Anderlini, 2007).

However, despite being a landmark in the women, peace and security field, raised awareness of SCR 1325 is still needed in many parts of the world, including South Sudan (ACCORD, 2012). Anderlini holds the view that progress on SCR 1325 is made much in the same way as other human rights instruments honoring women's rights; "on average, however, women, particularly those living in conflict-affected areas, activists or not, rarely see, touch, or feel it" (2007, p.193). This problem is applicable to South Sudan were knowledge of SCR 1325 is reported to be very limited, both on the grassroots level and among leaders (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). In order to implement SCR 1325 in South Sudan, ACCORD is recommending that UN Mission Departments and Agencies "promote a vigorous awareness-

raising to ensure political commitment to the full implementation of UNSCR 1325" (2012, p.49). Awareness-raising campaigns, advocacy activities and mobilization of support for the resolution are part of one of the first proposed steps needed to implement the resolution (ibid). Government departments and implementing partners also need to be made aware of the commitments of SCR 1325 (ibid). The lack of awareness of SCR 1325 was confirmed during interviews in this study that revealed that the participants had very little or no knowledge of SCR 1325 before conducting the training programme (interviews, 2012-05-24). Mr. Oci Geoffrey was of the view that not many people are aware of SCR 1325 in South Sudan and that knowledge among civil society organizations is almost negligible (interview, 2012-05-24). Also Mr. Peter Lasu, presumed knowledge among rural populations to be very low considering the low knowledge among his own colleagues (ibid). He regarded proper awareness on the grassroots level to be a key to enhance women's empowerment (ibid). Also Ms. Mary James Ajith was of the opinion that it is not enough with an acceptance on a governmental level; the grassroots need to see and know about SCR 1325 in order for more and more to follow (ibid). This is confirmed by the report of ACCORD (2012) showing that the role of civil society in South Sudan is central to the implementation of the resolution. This argument is supported by CCR and UNIFEM (2005) reporting that "the resolution can only serve to address women's experiences in conflict and post-conflict situations if civil society groups, working at a local level, know how to use it" and this is "especially important in holding national and international bodies accountable to the obligations laid out in the resolution" (p.30).

In conclusion, this part has shown that despite being a mile stone in the women, peace and security field, a lot still remain to make governments, civil organizations as well as the grassroots in South Sudan aware of the essence of SCR 1325 and how it can be used to promote a greater participation of women in peacebuilding. In order to recognize the message in SCR 1325, the next part will highlight the most important parts of the resolution in regards to women's participation in peacebuilding.

4.2 SCR 1325's Message on Women's Participation in Peace Processes

SCR 1325 (2000) consists of 18 articles, broadly presenting four areas of concern: women's participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution; the use of a gender perspective in peacekeeping missions; the protection of women and girls in armed conflict

and the mainstreaming of gender in the UN reporting and implementation system. The following text will give attention to the part regarding participation. Since 2000, the Security Council has adopted other resolutions related to SCR 1325, with specific mandates to achieve its goals (Operation1325). These are Resolution 1820 (2008), 1888 (2008) and 1960 (2010), all focusing on sexual violence in conflict and more important for this study: 1889 (2009) that is strengthening SCR 1325 concerning women's increased participation in peace processes (Operation1325). The following section will highlight important parts of SCR 1325 and 1889 in regards to women's participation in peace processes. I will also put forward how SCR 1325 has been interpreted by UNIFEM in their annotated version (UNIFEM, n.d.).

One of the first paragraphs in SCR 1325 reads that the Security Council is:

"Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peacebuilding, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution".

Member states are urged to increase representation of women at all decision-making levels and the resolution also expresses a willingness to take gender considerations into account in Security Council missions, including through consultation with women's groups, locally and internationally (SCR 1325). Since the passing of the resolution, Council missions are said to "have been under increased pressure to include consultations with women's organizations on their agenda"(UNIFEM, n.d., p.12). The resolution is also emphasizing the need to involve and support local women's peace initiatives as well as value indigenous processes when negotiating and implementing peace agreements (SCR 1325, §8; UNIFEM, n.d.).

Paragraph 8 *"Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia: [..] b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements [..]"*

UNIFEM (n.d) notes that "importantly, this paragraph suggests that the content of agreements needs to reflect gender issues, regardless of who is doing the negotiating or implementing" (p.8). UNIFEM (ibid) points out that, negotiations persist throughout the various stages towards peace and agreements can therefore include issues of power-sharing and human rights as well as education, health and the empowerment of the civil society. Hence, peace

agreements can "provide a unique opportunity to transform institutions, structures, and relationships within society, and can affirm gender equality through constitutional, judicial, legislative and electoral reform" (ibid, p.8). SCR 1325 is further recognizing the paucity of data on the impact of conflict on women (ibid). UNIFEM (ibid) argues that data is not only "lacking in assessment, monitoring, reporting, evaluation and research on the political, humanitarian and human rights aspects of conflict" (p.5), women's potential and actual role in peacebuilding is also argued to have been insufficiently understood and there is a shortage in reliable information on peace-building activities that women undertake in their communities. The importance of understanding the impact of conflict on women as well as the relation between their participation and international peace and security is stressed both in SCR 1325 and the related SCR 1889.

SCR 1889 reads that *"effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their [women's and girl's] protection and full participation in the peace process, particularly at early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding, can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security"*.

In SCR 1889, member states are encouraged to continue the implementation of SCR 1325. SCR 1889 is "expressing deep concern" about the under-representation of women and the persistent obstacles to women's full involvement in conflict prevention, resolutions as well as post-conflict public life. It continues to highlight the important role women play in building peace by:

"Reiterating the need for the full, equal and effective participation of women at all stages of peace processes given their vital role in the prevention and resolution of conflict and peacebuilding, reaffirming the key role women can play in re-establishing the fabric of recovering society and stressing the need for their involvement in the development and implementation of post-conflict strategies in order to take into account their perspectives and needs" (SCR 1889).

SCR 1889 also goes further in describing the problems that women face in their communities. Among obstacles concerned are mentioned lack of security and rule of law, cultural discrimination and stigmatization, socio-economic factors and lack of equal access to education. This resolution recognizes that:

"the marginalization of women can delay or undermine the achievement of durable peace, security and reconciliation".

SCR 1889 is also expressing a particular concern for women in post-conflict situations by recognizing:

" the particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations, including , inter alia, physical security health services including reproductive and mental health, ways to ensure their livelihoods, land and property rights, employment, as well as their participation in decision-making and post-conflict planning, particularly at early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding".

Further, SCR 1889 is: *"Noting that women in situations of armed conflict and post-conflict situations continue to be often considered as victims and not as actors in addressing and resolving situations of armed conflict and stressing the need to focus not only on protection of women but also on their empowerment in peacebuilding"*.

The empowerment of women is said to be a contributor to effective post-conflict peacebuilding (SCR 1889). In order to increase this empowerment, a vital need of funding for women's early recovery is underlined as well as a financing and recognition of women's capacity to engage in public decision making.

In summary, SCR 1325 and 1889 gives an impression that there is a great and critical need to involve women in peacebuilding. SCR 1325 is calling for an increase of women's representation at all decision-making levels in prevention, management and resolution of conflict but also for the support and involvement of local women's peace initiatives in conflict resolution, peace agreements and Security Council mission. SCR 1889 is further stressing the need for a focus on women's empowerment in peacebuilding and not just their protection. This is said to be a contributor to effective post-conflict peacebuilding as well as to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security (ibid). SCR 1889 is also looking at women's broader needs in post-conflict situations, stating that the marginalization of women can undermine the achievement of durable peace (ibid). If the inclusion of women is this important for peace and security, the question is then to what degree these statements are being taken into account in reality? To understand this issue, the next part will look at the critique that has been put forward in regards to the implementation of SCR 1325.

4.3 The Critique against the Implementation of SCR 1325

The realization of SCR 1325 is said to be faced with numerous obstacles and it is frequently criticized for its structural problems and shortcomings in terms of implementation (see e.g. Reilly, 2007; IKFF, 2011; NGOWG, 2004). NGOWG (2004) argues that there is "a large gap between the diplomatic conceptions of prioritized gender perspectives and what occurs on grass-root levels" and since women are rarely included in decision-making processes, "implementation continues to be the most challenging part of the work" (p.8). This gap between the normative international framework and the effectiveness on the ground has been highlighted in many other reports and books (See e.g. CCR 2009; Hendricks and Chivasa, 2009; Anderlini, 2007; Cockburn, 2007). Even though advancements have been made, NGOWG reports a difficulty from the Council in translating words into action, a lack of accountability and an inconsistency when considering women, peace and security matters (Taylor and Mader, 2010). Despite a range of actions, statements and reports NGOWG maintain that "the Council appears to struggle with transforming Women, Peace and Security obligations into practice" (ibid, p.11). The following part will therefore bring up main critique against the implementation of SCR 1325 and look closer at the relevance of this critique in the case of South Sudan in particular.

Despite being legally binding, and hence a stronger tool to support women's human rights claims than the Beijing Platform of Action (Reilly, 2007); SCR 1325 still has legal limitations. As opposed to resolutions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, SCR 1325 comes under Chapter VI and it can therefore not be enforced, neither can non-fulfilling member states be penalized (Anderlini, 2007). While most Security Council resolutions require annual reporting, SCR 1325 does not have any such follow-up time frame (Klot, 2003; Cockburn 2007). In contrast to other Security Council Resolutions, SCR 1325 is also lacking in clear instruments to follow up and distribute responsibilities; hence, no sanctions can be put forward when commitments are not undertaken (IKFF, 2011). Therefore, even though resolution 1325 is an important normative framework, its application will in practice continue to be voluntary (Klot, 2003). The UN can encourage member states to adhere to its principles but remains constrained if the members are unwilling to take ownership of these principles and root them nationally (Anderlini, 2007). This legal limitation becomes a problem since some member states are against the resolution, disregarding women's issues as "soft" issues, while other member states are not aware of it at all (IKFF, 2011).

In 2004, the NGOWG stated in a report that a majority of civil society respondents regarded their governments' actions in implementing resolution 1325 to be insufficient and they therefore called for programs on women, peace and security to be part of national budgets for a systematic integration of SCR 1325 (NGOWG, 2004). In SCR 1889, member states are encouraged to develop a NAP on the implementation of SCR 1325 and Peacewomen reports that 35 countries now have adopted this kind of plan (Peacewomen, 2012). 21 out of the 35 are however European which indicates that SCR 1325 has been implemented to a higher degree in Western countries (ibid). South Sudan has not developed a NAP to implement SCR 1325 but has been recommended to do so in a recently undertaken study on the application of the resolution in South Sudan (ACCORD, 2012). In this study, it is pointed out that "women's representation in public decision-making is currently inhibited by traditional patriarchal structures and mindsets, which influence politics and South Sudanese society as a whole" (ibid, p.12). To realize an adoption of an action plan to implement SCR 1325 in South Sudan there is a need to ensure buy-in at the highest level and the mobilization of political will is indicated to be the first step in the NAP formulation process to ensure that women, peace and security issues are given support and resources (ibid). During interviews one informant pointed out the importance of a NAP and argued that the issue of improving the situation for women needs to be pushed to the governmental level in order for the message to be spread from above and down (Ms Gemma Hellen Pita in interview 2012-05-24). The need to bring a plan to the parliament was also brought up by Mr. Peter Lasu as well as Mr. Oci Geoffrey who held the view that the political motivation plays a big role in implementing SCR 1325 (interviews, 2012-05-24). Ms Gemma Hellen Pita further said that the international community can support South Sudan in creating a plan by providing expertise and capacity-building (ibid). Bringing in a consultant to analyze gender issues and provide workshops was also sought-after by Ms Mary James Ajith and Mr. Oci Geoffrey argued that the international community plays a big role in realizing SCR 1325 (ibid). However, the importance of rooting the issue locally was also brought up and capacity building for civil society and the involvement of the grassroots was said to be important (Mr. Oci Geoffrey, Ms Regina Ossa Lullo, Mr. Peter Lasu, interviews, 2012-05-24).

A problematic issue brought up by all the participants is however the great lack of funding to support SCR 1325-related initiatives both on a grassroots level but also on a governmental level; Ms Regina Ossa Lullo at the ministry of gender, child and social welfare told that she was faced with the problem of colleagues not wanting to finance her proposals (interview,

2012-05-24). This is confirmed in the report of AMWISS (2012) where several women pointed out that there are inadequate funds and resources to support and facilitate women's groups, activities and aspirations. The ministry of gender is also reported to receive the smallest budget of all the ministries (Ali, 2011), a problem since adequate funding is stated to be crucial for a successful and sustainable implementation of SCR 1325 (ACCORD, 2012). However, women, peace and security issues are competing with many other post-conflict demands (ibid). Informants told during interviews that the general security in South Sudan is an obstacle to implement SCR 1325 since the government is prioritizing other issues such as the border crisis with Sudan, ethnic clashes and infrastructure over gender related matters (Mr. Oci Geoffrey and Ms Mary James Ajith in interviews, 2012-05-24). Mr. Peter Lasu stated that there are so many problems in South Sudan that you don't know where to begin which is affecting women's empowerment (ibid). He did however argue that women need to be involved in all these issues and have their say in the development of the country (ibid). Ali's article (2011) is indicating that urgent priorities in post-conflict South Sudan such as lack of basic services, education, health and security can "be used by anyone opposing social change and equality between women and men to delegitimize concerns for gender equality and women's human rights" (p.2). Earlier research also shows that before independence, winning the war was prioritized and women's empowerment postponed until peace had come (Fitzgerald, 2002). "Let's have liberation first and worry about women's issues later" was an argument put forward in this research (ibid, p.22). These findings are compatible with earlier research showing that throughout modern history "women have been told that they will receive equality with men, after the war, after liberation, after the national economy has been rebuilt and so on: but after all of these 'outside' forces have been conquered, the commonplace demand is for things to go back to normal, and women to a subordinate place" (True, 1996, p.223).

It is however argued that women's participation can facilitate peace and security; gender equality is also stated to be "essential to building a strong and equitable economy and to ensuring a functional state that maximizes the full potential of all South Sudanese" (Ali, 2011, p.1). As previously highlighted, the message in SCR 1325 as well as in SCR 1889 stressed the relationship between women's participation and peace and security and the importance of involving women in the early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding and development. South Sudan's post-conflict challenges should therefore not be used as an excuse to sideline gender issues. Nevertheless, given SCR 1325's legal limitations, prioritizing its message continues to

be voluntary and the South Sudanese Government cannot be penalized when not implementing the resolution (Klot, 2003; Anderlini, 2007). This critique against SCR 1325 is therefore both applicable and problematic in the case of South Sudan.

Further, the poor implementation is coupled with the constraint that SCR 1325 does not entail any regular monitoring and reporting on its implementation, on actions taken and obstacles encountered (Klot, 2003; NGOWG, 2004) a flaw that is hindering improvement and exchange of experiences (Anderlini, 2007). Taylor and Mader (2010) report that "information flows are inconsistent and inadequate at reflecting the realities of women in conflict areas; policy options are not consistently acted upon; and Council outputs tend to be ad hoc" (p.9).

The tendency to fund initiatives in an *ad hoc* manner is major critique in regards to the implementation of SCR 1325 (NGOWG, 2004). Anderlini (2007) argues that there is some good practice in every institution but a general lack of systematic practice and integration of the question into mainstream activities. She stresses that the many publications, policy statements and speeches on the subject can give an impression that priorities and commitments are made when in fact speeches are often given on particular occasions and publications produced by small gender units (ibid). Ad hoc practices are often odd projects and last-minute attempts to address gender that feeds "the feel-good notion of something being done" (Anderlini, 2007, p.218). The initiatives are however seldom implemented more broadly and have little impact on the mainstream work (ibid). Hence, despite endless calls for participation, involving of women is still not a given and "the wheel is invented over and over again" (ibid, p.215).

Professionals taking on expertise roles in women, peace and security issues are also often faced with the two-facedness of systems having to prove the significance of their knowledge at the same time as they get marginalized by the institution they work for; an exhausting task often burning out the staff that takes it on (ibid). The initiatives will therefore not make a difference unless the major actors grasp the importance of the issue (ibid). Ringera argues that the goal should be to train both female and male members of parliament "to make visible, include and value the voice of all, including women, within a gender sensitive parliamentary system" (2007, p.102). In South Sudan, however, women's participation in political and public affairs is a fairly recent phenomenon as involvement in politics has not been regarded as a role for women (Edward, 2011). Recent research show that patriarchal tendencies, traditional cultural practices and stereotypical gender roles are still major prevailing obstacles

to women's participation and recognition in public affairs and politics in South Sudan (Arabi, 2011; Faria, 2011; Edward, 2011). Traditional expectations and patriarchal mentalities regarding women as subjects to men's authority are also stated obstacles to women's meaningful participation in politics (Arabi, 2011). Arabi's research shows that even though women now hold leadership positions in most states of South Sudan, their positions are often just given to add 'cosmetic value' and they are not necessarily empowered to make the changes they have envisioned (ibid). Instead, women in leadership positions are often faced with stereotyping, negative attitudes and intimidation (ibid). This argument is confirmed by several women in leadership positions in South Sudan, reporting that they often face lack of recognition and respect from men opposing female politicians and community leaders (AMWISS, 2012). They say that many men do not understand core issues affecting women and they describe cultural taboos and negative traditions undermining women as well as a resistance to accept women as equal partners in the development of the society (ibid). Many men are also said to reject decisions made by women considering them to be inferior (ibid). The situation was confirmed by Mr. Oci Geoffrey who said that men undervalue women in South Sudan and that there is a general thinking that women's ideas are not good to rule the country (interview, 2012-05-24).

However, at the same time as politics is not regarded to be a suitable task for a woman, another interview showed that there is a resistance among men to work with gender issue as this is regarded to be a concern for women (Mr. Peter Lasu in interview, 2012-05-24). Mr. Peter Lasu had himself received some critique being a man working with these issues (ibid). Ms Regina Ossa Lullo also said that people in South Sudan think women are not able and she is sometimes faced with problems from colleagues taking decisions without here (interview, 2012-05-24). Hence, it is a major dilemma if gender is regarded a women's problem at the same time as women in leadership positions are not empowered to perform their work. These findings imply that even though women are given important positions, it is difficult for them to perform any meaningful work if their opinions are not taken seriously. The critique that SCR 1325 related initiatives are seldom implemented more broadly with little impact on the mainstream work (Anderlini, 2007) should therefore be taken seriously in South Sudan.

In conclusion, this part of the chapter had shown that SCR 1325 has legal limitations in the sense that it is, in practice, voluntary to implement. This is problematic in South Sudan since the government has not developed a plan to implement the resolution and there is also a great lack of funding to support initiatives attempting to do so. The government is thereby ignoring

the message in both resolution 1325 and 1889 stressing the relationship between women's participation and peace and security as well as the importance of involving women in the early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding and development. The critique that practices that do take place tend to be ad hoc, has also proved to be relevant in the case of South Sudan where patriarchal mentalities and traditional expectations are obstacles to women's equal and meaningful participation in politics. There is consequently a risk that women holding leadership positions are not empowered to make changes envisioned.

In order to further understand the poor the implementation of SCR 1325, the next chapter will look closer at the circumstances under which women live and participate in peacebuilding in South Sudan.

5. WOMEN AND PEACEBUILDING IN SOUTH SUDAN

This chapter represents the second of the two chapters presenting the main findings of the study. It hence relates to the second research question by looking closer at structural issues and related circumstances under which women live and engage in peacebuilding in South Sudan. This data will give a better understanding of the preconditions for women's participation in peacebuilding. To give the reader an understanding of the situation in South Sudan, the chapter begins by providing a summarized background to the north-south Sudanese conflict as well as a brief description of the situation in South Sudan after independence. The chapter is thereafter divided into two parts; the first one is discussing women's living conditions and related structural problems, the second section is focusing on how women have participated in peacebuilding and to what degree their efforts have been acknowledged. These parts together with the findings in Chapter 4 are the basis of the analysis in Chapter 6.

5.1 Background to the North-South Sudanese Conflict

The Republic of South Sudan gained independence on 9th of July 2011 (CIA, 2012a). This was following a referendum held in January the same year when 98% voted in favor of a separation from Sudan (ibid). The situation in Sudan has been characterized by centre-periphery tensions since independence 1956 as a result of a separation into north and south during British rule when the northern elite were given the political power, marginalizing the south (International Crisis Group, 2010). The country has since suffered from nearly constant civil war, the deadliest being between the North and the South in 1956-1972 and 1983-2005, and more recently in the north-western states of Darfur (ibid). Although statistics vary, according to CIA, the second war resulted in over two million deaths and about four million people being displaced, further affecting all the neighboring states, which are hosting over half a million Sudanese refugees (CIA, 2012b). Southern grievances formed around the Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) led by John Garang (International Crisis Group, 2010). Under the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), on-off negotiations were held between the government and the SPLA/M between 1994 and 2001, however with little progress (ibid). The North-South conflict involved many factional groups, issues and interests and numerous resolution initiatives were taken to solve it (Ogunsanya, 2007). It was not until January 2005 that the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement

(CPA) under the Naivasha Accords officially ended the North-South war that was the longest lasting armed conflict in Africa (International Crisis Group, 2010, Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). This agreement was the culmination of several Peace Negotiations, Declarations, Covenants, Homeland Calls, Charters and other agreements (Ogunsanya, 2007). The CPA granted the South a six-year period of autonomy and incorporated the SPLA/M into a Government of National Unity (GNU) (International Crisis Group, 2010; CIA, 2012a). This period followed by the abovementioned referendum in January 2011, resulting in South Sudan's independence (CIA, 2012a).

The Sudanese conflict is often simplified as having the northern Arabic and dominantly Islamic North against the southern, African and dominantly Christian, South (Johnson, 2011). However, the country is too diverse for the conflict to be explained in simple cultural, ethnic or racial terms (ibid). Sudan was the largest country in Africa before the separation and had, according to CIA, a population of over 45 million people making the country varied environmentally, in terms of rural and urban living conditions as well as in ethnical terms (CIA, 2012a; CIA, 2012b). The state is inhibited by a large amount of ethnic groups speaking numerous local languages and dialects (CIA, 2012a; CIA, 2012b; Johnson, 2011; Aldehaib, 2010). Regrettably, these diversities have not been used as a strength to unite the country, but instead been a source of conflict since independence in 1956 (Aldehaib, 2010). Disputes have been economical, cultural and political, concerning political power; management of land, oil, water and cattle; economic development; regional inequalities in education as well as ethnic and faith-based identity (Erickson and Faria, 2011). Alongside the two major civil wars, although not further mentioned here, Sudan has also suffered from countless local and regional conflicts, including those among rebel factions in the South and between rebels and government-sponsored militia in Darfur (ibid). Religion, economic exploitation, colonial and post-colonial interventions as well as local perceptions of race and social status are according to Johnson, all parts of the civil war but none can fully explain the conflict by itself (Johnson, 2011).

Despite South Sudan's independence, tensions still remain between the North and the South, in particularly in connection to the oil-rich Abeyi-area on the North-South border (International Crisis group, 2011). Conflicts are also prevailing within South Sudan, recent reports showing large outbreaks of violence and killings between local communities in the Jonglei area (IRIN, 2012). Cattle raids are often the cited explanation of this ongoing conflict but the cause is also said to go beyond the raids, stemming in a political and security-related

isolation that has given rise to parallel authorities in the region (ibid). Another key-driver of the conflict is the neglect in terms of development such as a complete lack of schools and hospitals in the attacked areas along with a great need for roads and telecommunication networks to connect people (ibid). These examples give an insight into the multiple problems South Sudan has to deal with being one of the world's most underdeveloped states (International Crisis group, 2011). Part of the reconstruction process is also the challenge of integrating large amounts of refugees and displaced persons returning to South Sudan (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). Moreover, the new country is facing significant challenges building a genuine democracy (International Crisis Group, 2011).

The North-South war and the prevailing ethnic conflicts in South Sudan have particularly affected women by lack of social services and an increased burden of care due to war-related injuries, food shortages, violence and forced migration (United Nations, 2010, Allagabo in Kinoti, 2011). Southern Sudan is also described as one of the least developed regions of Africa having few educational opportunities and health services for women and girls (ibid). SCR 1325 has received critique for not dealing with structural issues that undermine gender mainstreaming (ACCORD, 2010). Patriarchal believes and systematic challenges reflected in cultural practices and social institutions are making a full implementation of SCR 1325 difficult (ibid). Hence, recognizing the circumstances under which women live in South Sudan is important in order to understand their possibilities to take part in the peacebuilding process. The next part of this chapter will therefore discuss women's living conditions which are in turn related to structural problems restraining women's advancement in South Sudan.

5.2 South Sudanese Women's Living Conditions

The Association of Media Women in South Sudan (AMWISS) has published a report introducing 58 female leaders and their opinions on the challenges women face in South Sudan (2012). Some main problems are recurring in this report. One set of problems is related to the domestic sphere and include the tradition of forced and early marriages, wife inheritance, sexual harassment, domestic violence and large family burdens (ibid). Another concern is poor health facilities and sanitation including lack of family planning and maternal health services, ignorance about HIV/AIDS as well as lack of support to those traumatized by the war (ibid). A third major issue is the low level of education that has resulted in a very high illiteracy rate among women in South Sudan, further leading to many being unemployed or

employed in low-paid jobs (ibid). These areas of concern have been highlighted in many reports and other publications and will therefore be further discussed below in order to give an understanding of the structural issues affecting women in the South Sudanese society.

In South Sudan, involvement in politics has not been seen as a role for women and their participation in political and public affairs is therefore a fairly recent phenomenon (Edward, 2011). Cultural practices, stereotypical gender roles and patriarchal tendencies that regard women to be suited only for domestic responsibilities and nurturing are argued to be major obstacles to women's participation in public affairs and politics (ibid). Early, forced and arranged marriages are part of these traditions (ibid). Boys and girls are socialized into their roles from birth and the patriarchal system means that most women are under the authority of either a father or a husband and expected to be obedient of male relatives, even young children (Stern, 2011).

Further, family law is based on customary laws obstructing women from breaking away from the domestic roles and hindering their development and empowerment (Edward, 2011; Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). Over 90% of criminal and civil cases are reported to be executed under customary law and it is hence the predominant source of law (Akechak Jok, Leitch and Vandewint, 2004). There are further over 50 different tribes in southern Sudan using their own customary law system, however with that in common that they share a basic discriminatory and patriarchal structure inconsistent with women's rights (ibid; Paulino in Tønnesson and Roald, 2007; Aldehaib, 2010). Aldehaib (2010) describes the customary law system as perpetuating "unjust gender relations that serve the social, psychological and economic interests of men, by bringing women into a position of subordination and inequality in the family and the community" (p.6). Men are said to be undisputed heads of the families and "the role of women in this social pattern is that of cementing family ties through 'bride-wealth' and of producing children" (Akechak Jok, Leitch and Vandewint, 2004, p.7). It is even pointed out that "to the outside observer, particularly one whose culture is based upon the rights of the individual, the status of women in this role is that of property" (ibid). In customary courts, decision makers have commonly all been men and the laws also tend to be biased in favor of men (Allagabo in Kinoti, 2011). An example of unequal judgment is in the case of adultery when women can face up to a year in prison while men are usually not brought to court at all (ibid).

Tønnesson and Roald's research (2007) also show that violence is socially accepted. After liberation, many husbands have found their traditional gender roles as head of the families changed and turned their frustrations into various forms of domestic violence (Aldehaib, 2010). Rape is also a typical way to marriage since courts make sure that a boy who rapes an unmarried girl marries her (Tønnesson and Roald, 2007). As the bride price of a raped woman is lowered, a man can force a reluctant woman to marry him by raping her, knowing that she will then have no choice (D'Awol, 2011).

The laws are further hindering women's economic empowerment by not letting women inherit or own land (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). When a husband dies, a woman is therefore left totally without resources unless she has a son, making women dependent on relatives for their survival (ibid). Widow' inheritance' is also prevalent, when the women, who is not entitled to inherit, has to marry a male relative to the deceased husband in order to keep the dowry in her original family (Tønnesson and Roald, 2007). Related to this problem is the importance of creating more jobs for women (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). This is especially crucial since many households have become female-headed and many women have had to support extended families in the absence of men leaving home to join the combat (ibid; Stern, 2011).

Even though customary laws in one way are valuing mothers and daughters they are said to marginalize women's voices and rights as well as justifying their exclusion in decision-making processes (Edward, 2011). Politically active women can face the challenge of being labeled by both men and other women as 'unfeminine' and 'irresponsible wives and mothers' (ibid). Nor is not getting married an attractive option since single, as well as divorced, women are commonly ridiculed and their opinions are not taken seriously (Stern, 2011). Stern's research also shows that unmarried women are not eligible to hold governmental positions since it is the family of the husband that nominates a woman to parliament (ibid). These findings show that the potentials for women's equal participation and full involvement in peace and security efforts as well as an increase of women in decision-making regarding conflict prevention and resolution according to the message in SCR 1325 are interlinked with the gender roles in the South Sudanese society; roles that are in many ways preventing women's participation in political decision-making.

The domestic situation for women is further interlinked with both health and educational issues. Women's reproductive health, early marriages, domestic violence and a culture of

silence surrounding HIV/AIDS are all highlighted health problems (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). South Sudan has one of the highest maternity mortality rates in the world (Ali, 2011) and in 2005, UNIFEM (2005b) highlighted the fact that "a Sudanese woman is much more likely to die in childbirth than to finish eight years of school" (p.24), a quote that sheds light on the poor living conditions for women in South Sudan. One interviews also showed that the health concerns are connected to women's economical empowerment since women are depending on men financially and may not be able to pay for health care if the man is not giving her money, for instance if he is spending his money on alcohol (Mr. Peter Lasu, interview, 2012-05-24). The acute need for food and medicines in the villages also makes it hard to talk about gender issues since people will first of all ask for basic aid-related things (Mr. Oci Geoffrey, interview, 2012-05-24).

Another great concern in South Sudan is the low level of education and improvement in this area is stated as a prerequisite to the realization of women's rights (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). Lack of education is frequently stated as a problem in the literature and was also mentioned by all the interviewed respondents as an obstacle to advance women's participation in decision-making (interviews, 2012-05-24). Ignorance is a big concern since many women are not aware of their rights (AMWISS, 2012). Adult education is therefore called for to teach women about political system functions, civic rights and responsibilities as well as the meaning of documents such as SCR 1325 and the CPA (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; CCR and UNIFEM, 2005). As was shown in chapter 4.1, awareness about SCR 1325 is low in South Sudan (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; ACCORD, 2012). Translations of information into local dialects could increase the knowledge (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). However, statistics also point to the fact that few people are able to comprehend written information. In July 2011, the Ministry of Education estimated 73% of the South Sudanese population to be illiterate, out of which women are the majority (Edward, 2011). Statistics suggest that only 16% of the women are able to read and write, among men the number is 40% (CIA, 2012a). This is one of the highest illiteracy rates in the world (ibid). Most women at grass root level do not have formal education and very few have access to higher education (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). Adding to the low attendance is the fact that schools usually are situated in towns, making them very hard or impossible to reach from smaller villages, due to long distances and lack of transportation (Elfatih and Badri, 2008). Further, most existing schools are not suitable for learning being inadequately built with poor water and sanitation facilities coupled with a great lack of qualified teachers and schooling material (ibid).

The low literacy is a consequence of many schools being destroyed during the war but also cultural perceptions undervaluing women's education (Edward, 2011). During the liberation war, girls and women were expected to take care of the house and hence prevented to go to formal school (AMWISS, 2012). Still today, girls being confined to cattle camps and child marriages prevent them from going to school (ibid; Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). The bride price on girls and women also lead to communities regarding them as economic resources and hence see no value in their education (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). It is pointed out that women play a part in this tradition themselves and they should let girls get enough time off household chores in order to attend to school (ibid). Ms Regina Ossa Lullo, Director General for Gender and Child Welfare, stressed the importance of supporting girls' education but also the importance of improving the lives of grown-up women in order for them to have time to study and learn (interview, 2012-05-24). Low education among women, cultural biases and lack of knowledge in human rights are all obstacles to women's participation in peacebuilding, she said (ibid). Opportunities for women to study could also be created if practicalities, such as water and energy in the households, were provided, making cooking, washing and fetching of water less time consuming tasks (ibid).

In conclusion, it is clear that South Sudanese women, especially in rural areas, are faced with several difficulties stemming not only from conflict but also including lack of education, poor health care, domestic violence as well as problems deriving from cultural norms and customary laws (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; Ogunsanya, 2007; United Nations, 2010; Ali, 2011). Their empowerment is therefore needed politically, economically, legally as well as culturally (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). SCR 1889 encouraged Member States in post-conflict situations to design strategies addressing socio-economic conditions, health services as well as women's access to justice. SCR 1889 is also urging Member States to "take all feasible measures to ensure women and girls' equal access to education in post-conflict situations, given the vital role of education in the promotion of women's participation in post-conflict decision-making". To fully be able to implement the message in SCR 1325 these issues should therefore be taken seriously in South Sudan. Given the circumstances under which South Sudanese women live, an important question is to what degree women still have managed to participate in peacebuilding? The next part of this chapter will therefore discuss the ways women have been able to participate as well as how these efforts have been acknowledged.

5.3 South Sudanese Women's Participation and Recognition in Peacebuilding

As previously discussed, participating in politics and public affairs has historically not been regarded as a woman's role in Sudan although women have begun to access these areas during the second half of the 20th century (Edward, 2011). The strong patriarchal dominance has prevented the account of female leadership from being fully recalled (Aldehaib, 2010). Women have, nevertheless, held positions as religious leaders, clan leaders as well as political leaders in the past (ibid). Traditionally, women are also reported to have been non-partisan medics on battlefields and mediators behind the lines (Fitzgerald, 2002). The aim of this part of the study is therefore to highlight the ways women have participated in peacebuilding during the liberation struggle despite the many obstacles brought up in the previous part of this chapter. Regarding how these efforts have been acknowledged in the Sudanese peace process will help to further understand the poor implementation of SCR 1325 in South Sudan.

The liberation struggle provided several opportunities for women. Itto (2006), among others, points out that the now late Dr Garang, former leader of the SPLM/A, publicly recognized women as the 'marginalized of the marginalized' and that he also, long before the peace negotiations, used "affirmative action (quota and training) aiming at creating a critical mass of women capable of influencing policies and decisions" (p.58). Women therefore often gained both educational and job opportunities by joining the SPLA/M (Beswick, 2000). During the liberation struggle, women took on new roles and traditionally male responsibilities and became increasingly independent which affected the gender roles in households, in the community as well as at the political level (Aldehaib, 2010; Faria, 2011; Bubenzer and Stern, 2011). John Garang also sought to formally incorporate women into the resistance struggle through the Women's Battalion, formed in 1984 (Faria, 2011). The second civil war (1983-2005) and the foundation of the SPLA/M therefore gave way to a significant military participation of women when many females joined the movement (Beswick, 2000; Arabi, 2011). Women were also officially represented through the SPLM/A's Secretariat for Women, Gender and Child Welfare as well as through the Department for Women's Affairs, which held workshops and conferences on women's rights and empowerment from 1994 and throughout the conflict (ibid). Women's activists undertook a lot of this work (ibid). Faria however writes that despite the fact that women were active in many ways in the resistance movement in South Sudan, "they were often excluded from key positions of military and political power and marginalized within the formal structures of the SPLM" (Fitzgerald, 2002 and Ringera, 2007 in Faria, 2011, p.23). Partly due to their marginalization in formal

negotiations, women have most commonly demonstrated their political activism through peace-work in civil society groups (Faria, 2011). They were heavily relied upon to support families and communities during both civil wars, a work that became formalized via associations, cooperatives and women's groups at the 'grassroots' in SPLM and, at a more centralized level, through the Southern Sudan Relief and Rehabilitation Association that included women, although in a restricted way (Faria, 2011).

Women also played a key role in peacemaking efforts within Southern Sudan (Palmberg, 2004; Fitzgerald, 2002). During times of ethnic violence within the SPLM in the 1990s, women were predominately involved in peace-building initiatives on a grassroots level (Palmberg, 2004). A significant moment for civil society was a women's conference for civic groups in 1994 with over 700 attending female leaders and members of grassroots organizations (ibid). This is regarded as one of the first times that military institutions recognized the role of civil society and it was a valuable networking opportunity for civic society (ibid). Since then, several women's organizations and other civil society groups with women in leadership positions have taken shape and many representatives have, during the past decade, participated in international conferences concerning women's empowerment and inclusion in peace negotiations and political decision making (ibid). Women's activist networks such as Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace, New Sudan Women's Federation and New Sudan Women's Association lobbied worldwide for an ending of the Sudanese conflict (Itto, 2006). Over the years, many South Sudanese women have developed significant peacebuilding skills from their roles as spiritual and political leaders as well as from their experiences of exile and displacement (Ali, 2011). Despite the lack of formal learning discussed in the previous part of this chapter, many women in South Sudan have great skills keeping communities together and upholding local culture, which may prove vital to sustainable peace (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). It is however argued that although women's roles in the liberation struggle was significant, their efforts have been commonly unacknowledged (Faria, 2011; Erickson and Faria 2011; Bubenzer and Stern, 2011). This is clear when looking closer at how women were recognized during the CPA negotiations.

Southern Sudanese women's involvement in formal peace negotiations is almost negligible despite years of advocating for inclusion (Ringera, 2007; Gumbonzvanda and Okonji, 2005). Itto (2006) was a member of the SPLM's delegation to the Naivasha talks (that led to the signing of the CPA) and a minister in the GNU when she wrote the article referred to here. She argues that Southern Sudanese women play a central role in the society, in conflict

prevention and peacebuilding (ibid). Women have taken leading roles in resolving inter-ethnic conflicts, creating forums leading to many grassroots peace accords and lobbied for peace worldwide through several organizations (ibid). Itto holds the view that these roles, along with other ways women have participated in the liberation struggles as combatants, supporters and caregivers, qualified women to join the peace negotiations and take an active part in the implementation of the CPA (ibid). They should have been encouraged to participate and have their perspectives taken seriously but instead, Itto argues, women's roles have been underestimated or ignored during negotiations, perhaps due to the misconception of women as passive victims of war (ibid).

SCR 1325's emphasized need to involve and support local women's peace initiatives when negotiating and implementing peace agreements was consequently not taken in account. Despite the fact that several women's organizations were registered observers with the IGAD and presented technical papers in the Machako talks in 2002 they were formally sidelined (Abusharaf, 2005). The SPLM/A leadership nominated a few women leaders to the Machako negotiations; however it didn't facilitate a strong participation (Itto, 2006). Itto (2006) describe that "the women were often co-opted to these delegations at short notice with very little opportunity to consult with each other and develop a women's peace agenda; they were expected to contribute to the overall party position which was gender-blind to begin with; and they were always a minority, ill-prepared for debates with seasoned politicians who ridiculed or intimidated anyone who dared to spend much time on gender issues" (p.58). Itto (2006) further states that "even when women were consulted about gender issues or directly included in the peace negotiations, it was only a gesture to showcase democracy and inclusiveness: their perspectives and their experiences in peacebuilding and negotiation were not recognized or fully utilized" (p.58). In 2002, only six women delegates from the SPLM/A negotiated with the north but they were later taken off the official list with no explanation (Palmberg, 2004). This led to organized demonstrations and meetings were women issued their statements (ibid). However, during the CPA negotiations in Naivasha, women were still not allowed to the main table despite international awareness about including women in peacebuilding, the Sudanese commitment to the Beijing Platform of Action, policy recommendations of IGAD and a clause in the SPLM/A's constitution promoting affirmative action (Gumbonzvanda and Okonji, 2005; Tønnesson and Roald, 2007). From the SPLM/A's side only two women participated and then only as observers and nominal negotiators (Aldehaib, 2010). When the Sudanese Government prevented women to board a plane taking them to Naivasha women

from the North and South joined to protest against their exclusion (Abusharaf, 2005 and 2009). Eventually however, Abusharaf (2005) writes, "women's organizations were forced to present their papers with recommendations to the parties by pushing them under the closed doors of the negotiation room" (p.44). The CPA was hence, despite serious lobbying, negotiated with a minimal of women's representation and ultimately, women's concerns were not properly incorporated in the negotiations leading to the agreement (Ogunsanya, 2007; Aldehaib, 2010; Ringera, 2007). During the negotiations, the role of women was "based on a perception of them as passive victims of war, not active players in politics and society" Itto argues (2006, p.4), and yet "even their needs as victims of war were not properly addressed" (Aldehaib, 2010, p.6).

Despite taking place five years after the signing of SCR 1325, it is clear that the resolution's call on all actors to adopt a gender perspective when negotiating peace agreements was not adhered to during the CPA negotiations, which were in fact excluding all other political parties other than the SPLM/A and the National Congress Party as well as civil society organizations, including women's organizations (Aldehaib, 2010). Itto (2006) argues that the CPA negotiations "neglected other constituencies and the fact that a just and sustainable peace, based on a good governance, equity, justice and democracy, requires an environment where every citizen has the opportunity to contribute to decision-making and development" (p.1). The main focus was that of negative peace and structural injustices was not properly addressed (Aldehaib, 2010). This lack of gender identity as a category of analysis is making the CPA a gender blind agreement as pointed out by many (Aldehaib, 2010; Itto, 2006; Tønnesson and Roald, 2007). Tønnesson and Roald (2007) write that the CPA "at first glance appeared equitable because it was written in terms of an abstract gender-neutral citizen" (p.36) but its narrow understanding of democracy is however argued to be based on masculine norms, and its implementation relying on men (Aldehaib, 2010; Itto, 2006). Faria (2011) writes that also "the power sharing formula used for the creation of the transitional Government of Southern Sudan and various commissions developed to implement the agreement only included political parties, with few women sitting on these commissions, and with no involvement of civil society organizations" (p.22). In fact, it was not until the political parties were pressured via the gender symposium in Oslo (see Karamé and Prestegard 2005) that women were included in these commissions and by 2005 six to seven women sat on the Constitutional Review Committee (Faria, 2011).

Even though the CPA is criticized for excluding women, the peace agreement and independence it is also said to have provided some opportunities for gender equality (Faria, 2011). Independence was by all interviewees asked, expressed as something positive for women, with progress is now taking place, however slowly (Interviews, 2012-05-24). An opening for women is the now independent South Sudanese Government's expressed commitments to gender equality and women's participation in the constitution (Ali, 2011). Endorsed at independence in 2011, the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan is an amended version of the Interim constitution from 2005 (ibid). This law is declaring that women "shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men" and "have the right to participate equally with men in public life" (2011, article 16). Yet, the constitution is problematic since it is also recognizing customary laws that often discriminate against women (Ali, 2011). However, to help realize the commitments to gender equality in the constitution, the government has established a Ministry of Gender, Social Welfare and Religious Affairs with a mandate to mainstream gender in government institutions and establish women's empowerment initiatives (Lullo, in Arabi, 2011). In my own interview, Lullo said her working tasks include women's economical empowerment, gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting (interview, 2012-05-24). Although a step in the right direction, funding is however a problem, since, as previously discussed; the ministry of gender is reported to receive the smallest budget of all the ministries (Ali, 2011).

Another often cited breakthrough for women's participation in politics is the 25 % quota for women in government, invented by the Government of South Sudan after the signing of the CPA, which gave way to an increase of women in politics during the interim period 2005-2011 (Edward, 2011; Arabi, 2011). Article 16 of the Transitional Constitution is now declaring that all levels of Government shall "promote women participation in public life and their representation in the legislative and executive organs by at least twenty-five per cent as an affirmative action to redress imbalances created by history, customs, and traditions". Although a quota system is sometimes argued to be an effective way to increase women's political participation, it is also problematic (Arabi, 2011). While quotas address the gender imbalance in decision-making they do not guarantee a change in perceptions of women's abilities since "the practice often lacks support from political actors and may well meet opposition from communities that have strong patriarchal traditions" (Arabi, 2011, p.198). The quota does therefore not necessarily guarantee real political power and it is even argued that underlying discriminatory norms and practices may be strengthened unless related

challenges such as traditional believes and women's access to education are addressed (ibid). This is a problem highly relevant to South Sudan, considering the findings presented in Chapter 4.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown that despite the structural obstacles presented earlier, women have participated significantly in many ways in conflict and peacebuilding in South Sudan. Yet, as pointed out by many authors, their efforts have many times been underestimated or ignored, as shown during the CPA negotiations. SCR 1325's message to include women equally and increase their roles in decision making in conflict resolution was hence not taken into account, neither was its note to support local women's peace initiatives. The independence and the new state constitution have provided a potential for increased gender equality and greater political participation of women. However, traditional gender role expectation and patriarchal attitudes are still prevailing obstacles hindering a meaningful participation of women. In the next Chapter, the findings in Chapter 4 and 5 will be analyzed and linked to the theoretical framework provided in Chapter 2.

6. DISCUSSION: IMPLEMENTING SCR 1325 IN SOUTH SUDAN

The purpose of this study has been to explore factors that contribute to the delayed implementation of SCR 1325 in South Sudan in regards to women's participation in peacebuilding. Although numerous guidelines and recommendations have been published since the signing of the resolution, critics maintain that the gap between the normative framework and the effectiveness on the ground is still large, to the disadvantage of both peace processes and women (Potter, 2008). In order to understand the preconditions to implement the message of the resolution in South Sudan, the problem has been approached from two angles: firstly, the general critique on the implementation of SCR 1325 has been analyzed in relation to South Sudan in particular; secondly cultural and structural obstacles for women in South Sudan have been explored. The collected data reveals a gap between rhetoric and reality that needs to be tackled from several angles. In order to better understand why the implementation of SCR 1325 is still ineffective, a number of contradictions in regards to the involvement of women in peacebuilding have been identified in the previous chapters and linked to five problematic areas: 'political will to implement SCR 1325', 'gendered roles', 'awareness of SCR 1325', 'cultural and structural obstacles' and 'recognition of women in peacebuilding'. These will be further discussed below.

6.1 Political will to Implement SCR 1325

SCR 1325 is clearly stating the necessity to involve women in peacebuilding but has legal limitations. Coming under Chapter VI, SCR 1325 cannot be enforced and its implementation therefore continues to be voluntary and depending on the member states willingness to root the principles nationally (Klot, 2003; Anderlini, 2007). Member states have, in SCR 1889, been encouraged to develop NAPs on the implementation of SCR 1325 which has so far been done by 35 countries (Peacewomen, 2012). South Sudan is however not one of them. Interviews in this study as well as recent research indicate that this is not prioritized by the government and mobilization of political will is pointed out to be the first step in a South Sudanese NAP formulation process (ACCORD, 2012). Buy-in at the highest level of political leadership is also argued to be critical to ensure that women, peace and security issues are given support and resources (ibid). The second step towards formulating a NAP in South Sudan is to dedicate adequate funding which is stated as crucial for a successful and sustainable implementation of SCR 1325 (ibid). In South Sudan, gender issues are however

competing with many other post-conflict demands such as security threats, economic constraints, lack of infrastructure, education and health services (ACCORD, 2012; Ali, 2011). Such demands can, and are in South Sudan, used to delegitimize concerns for women's human rights and gender equality (Ali, 2011). This is however a mistake since gender equality is argued to be "essential to building a strong and equitable economy and to ensuring a functional state that maximizes the full potential of all South Sudanese" (Ali, 2011, p.1) and should be included in all issues in order for women to have their say in the development of the country (Mr. Peter Lasu in interview, 2012-05-24). Women are playing an essential role in the South Sudanese society and their exclusion from social, economic and political processes along with their limited ability to voice their concerns run the risk of slowing down the national healing process necessary to build a prosperous nation (Bubenzer and Stern, 2011). SCR 1325 and SCR 1889 are both highlighting the relationship between women's participation and peace and security as well as the importance of involving women in the early stages of post-conflict peacebuilding and development.

It could therefore be argued based on the findings of this study that South Sudan's post-conflict challenges should not be used as an excuse to sideline gender issues.

6.2 Gendered Roles

Gendered roles in the South Sudanese society have proved to be a challenge when it comes to include women in decision-making since participation in political and public affairs has traditionally not been regarded as a role for women (Edward, 2011). In ACCORD's study (2012) on the implementation of SCR 1325, it is pointing out that "women's representation in public decision-making is currently inhibited by traditional patriarchal structures and mindsets, which influence politics and South Sudanese society as a whole" (p.12). In relation to this dilemma is the problem that women who have managed to reach decision-making and leadership positions are often faced with stereotyping, negative attitudes and lack of recognition and respect (Arabi, 2011; AMWISS, 2012). Many men are reported to reject decisions made by women considering them to be inferior (AMWISS, 2012). Women on decision-making positions are therefore not necessarily empowered to make the changes they have envisioned (Arabi, 2011). However, findings also show that working with gender issues is not regarded to be a concern for men (Mr. Peter Lasu in interview, 2012-05-24). Hence, there is a paradox in the fact that gender is regarded as a woman's issue at the same time as

women's representation in political decision-making is limited by the assumption that this is a role for men. This leaves the question; who is able to work with gender issues in a meaningful way and with an actual impact on the mainstream work? Implementing SCR 1325 in South Sudan is hence holding different challenges compared to countries where men and women are already relatively equal. Involving women in decision-making regarding peace and security brings about a discussion of men and women's roles in the South Sudanese society. Potential for equal participation is therefore related to socially constructed gender roles and possibilities for a deeper change in perceptions regarding these roles. Bubenzer and Stern (2011) argue that women's involvement in the Sudanese conflict "has had a significant impact on traditional gender roles, a development that has the potential to alter the social structure of the country as a whole" (p.xiii). As Potter (2008) pointed out, the conflict could therefore provide a way for women to take on new roles in the society, achieve greater equality and open up for a discussion on gendered roles in the South Sudanese society.

This study has therefore established that South Sudanese women are not traditionally regarded as fit to make decisions binding on men and the society at large, hence the need to educate the population against that negative perception which leads to their exclusion from most social, political and economic processes as mentioned by Bubenzer and Stern (2001). This is important given Potter's (2008) argument that peace negotiations and agreements would be richer and more firmly rooted in the societies with a greater participation of women and issues important to them.

6.3 Awareness of SCR 1325

SCR 1325 is described as a significant political success of women peace activists that can be used as a tool for women's advocacy and empowerment, enabling women to mobilize globally and assert a place in the peacebuilding process (Anderlini, 2007). The role of civil society is also argued to be central to the implementation of the resolution as it can take the role of observing and monitoring governmental efforts (Cabrera-Balleza and Popovic, 2010). In order to use the resolution to address women's experiences as well as to hold national and international bodies responsible to its obligations, it is however important that civil society groups know how to use the resolution (CCR and UNIFEM, 2005). This is problematic in the case of South Sudan since the awareness of SCR 1325 is proved to be very limited (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; interviews, 2012-05-24). Illiteracy and lack of education is a frequently

stated obstacle to advance women's participation in decision-making and adult education is therefore greatly needed to teach women about political system functions, civic rights and the meaning of SCR 1325 and the CPA (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; CCR and UNIFEM, 2005). For women to guarantee and ensure their rights, they are recommended to network and organize themselves (Allagabo in Kinoti, 2011; AMWISS, 2012). However, this is a challenge in South Sudan since there are inadequate funds and resources to support and facilitate women's groups, activities and aspirations coupled with the lack of infrastructure and transport to reach grassroots women physically (AMWISS, 2012). Although the understanding of women's rights issues is higher amongst the elite than at the grassroots (Allagabo in Kinoti, 2011), new research show that there is a need to raise awareness of the commitments of SCR 1325 also among government departments (ACCORD, 2012).

This study has shown that there is the need for a civic education at both the basic level and the adult education level to create the awareness and bring to fore the need to embrace SCR 1325 in South Sudan. Similarly, vigorous awareness-raising has therefore been recommended to ensure political commitment to a full implementation of the resolution (ACCORD, 2012).

6.4 Cultural and Structural Obstacles

The gap between rhetoric and mainstream work in terms of women's participation in peacebuilding can partly be explained by SCR 1325's shortcoming in recognizing structural issues that is reflected in a systematic, everyday marginalization of women (ACCORD, 2010).

The findings in this study show a large gap between the rhetoric and women's everyday living conditions, conditions that are affecting women's preconditions to participate in peacebuilding and important to take into account in order to implement the message of SCR 1325. South Sudanese women are faced with many challenges that are not prevalent in the Western countries that form the majority of the countries that have developed a NAP to implement SCR 1325. It is therefore important that the implementation process is related to local circumstances. Reilly (2007) holds the view that "the full and equal participation of women in political decision making and policy design and implementation […] requires positive measures to counter gender inequality across the board: economic, social, cultural, legal and political" (p.8). This view is highly applicable to the case of South Sudan where

women clearly have been, and continue to be excluded from most social, economic and political processes (Bubenzer and Stern, 2011).

The findings in this study further show that South Sudanese women are faced with a range of difficulties including lack of education, poor health care, domestic violence as well as problems deriving from cultural norms and customary laws (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005; Ogunsanya, 2007; United Nations 2010; Ali, 2011). The patriarchal system that children are socialized into result in most women being under the authority of either a father or a husband and expected to be obedient of male relatives (Stern, 2011). Cultural practices and patriarchal tendencies refer women to the domestic sphere and customary laws not letting women inherit along with practices such as bride price and widow heritance, are obstructing women from breaking away from the domestic roles and hindering their development and empowerment (Edward, 2011; Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). Along with these cultural and structural barriers, many South Sudanese women are also struggling with a lack of practicalities such as water and energy as well as an acute need of food and medicines, making it hard to prioritize gender issues (Mr. Oci Geoffrey and Ms Regina Ossa Lullo in interview, 2012-05-24).

Since these issues are normally not prevalent in Western countries, Western feminist theories are inadequate to fully analyze South Sudanese women's situation since they leave out many problems that are specific to African women (Arndt, 2002). Used in the right way and contextualized within the given situation, feminism can however be used to invoke the power of South Sudanese women (Edward, 2007). South Sudanese women's problems must however be approached with an African feminist perspective described by Edward (2007) as manifested in women's daily struggles to improve the living conditions for themselves, their families and their societies. This includes a focus on patriarchal social structures and domestic discrimination affecting women but also a focus on basic needs and broader discrimination such as socio-economic oppression, corrupt systems and neo-colonialism that affects the whole society (Arndt, 2002; Edward, 2007). These are all issues needed to be taken into account in order to fully understand the implementation of SCR 1325 in South Sudan.

6.5 Recognition of Women in Peacebuilding

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that South Sudanese women, despite the many obstacles mentioned above, have already in many ways taken part in peacebuilding in South

Sudan. Itto (2006) argues that women have played a central role in the society, in conflict prevention and peacebuilding. Women have taken leading roles in resolving inter-ethnic conflicts, creating forums leading to many grassroots peace accords and lobbied for peace worldwide through several organizations (ibid). Many women have thereby developed significant peacebuilding skills as spiritual and political leaders (Ali, 2011). Despite the lack of formal learning, women are also reported to have great skills keeping communities together and upholding local culture, which may prove vital to sustainable peace (Karamé and Prestegard, 2005). It is however argued that women's contributions have been commonly unacknowledged, underestimated or ignored (Faria, 2011; Erickson and Faria 2011; Bubenzer and Stern, 2011; Itto, 2006). Despite years of advocating for inclusion, women's involvement in formal peace negotiations has been almost negligible (Ringera, 2007; Gumbonzvanda and Okonji, 2005). Looking back at the CPA negotiations, it is clear that the message of SCR 1325 to adopt a gender perspective when negotiating peace agreements was not adhered to. This peace agreement leading to South Sudan's independence has therefore been called gender blind by many scholars (Aldehaib, 2010; Itto, 2006; Tønnesson and Roald, 2007).

Anderlini (2007) has described the role of women in peacebuilding as two parallel universes at play. On a civil society level women are very active and present but at the same time they are invisible, given limited roles in the management of power and in directing their own lives (ibid). This marginalization is serious given the argument that sustainable peace can only be reached if both women and men are allowed to make themselves heard in the peace process (UNIFEM, 2005b). Sidelining women's interests is said to affect the whole society, threatening justice, development and political stability (Ringera, 2007). In South Sudan, women's exclusion in public decision-making can partly be explained by the patriarchal structures and mindsets in politics and in the society as a whole (ACCORD, 2012). On a policy level, the exclusion can also be explained by the way peacebuilding is defined. Porter (2003) argues that the UN typically uses peacebuilding to refer to formal approaches in post-conflict reconstruction which renders women involved in informal peacebuilding invisible. Women's understanding of peacebuilding is stated to be broader and more holistic than that the way the UN is using it since their work often take place on a community level, originating in daily struggles and relationship building that doesn't always reach the negotiation table (Reilly, 2007; Porter, 2003). Hence, it is also argued that peace negotiations and agreements would be richer and more firmly rooted in the societies with a greater participation of women and issues important to them (Potter, 2008).

This study has established on the above subject that the South Sudanese society would have a lot to gain by acknowledging women's experiences and letting women participate fully in all peacebuilding efforts along the lines with the message in SCR 1325.

7. CONCLUSION

Despite being a landmark in the women, peace and security field when signed in 2000, many scholars argue that there is still a large gap between SCR 1325's normative international framework and the effectiveness on the ground when it comes to involve women in peacebuilding (see e.g. Taylor and Mader, 2010; CCR 2009; Hendricks and Chivasa, 2009; Anderlini, 2007; Cockburn, 2007; IKFF, 2011). It is also argued that talk of ensuring women's participation in peacebuilding tend to remain political rhetoric with little impact on mainstream work and with little outcome for women in conflict-affected areas (Anderlini, 2007). In addition, there is a lack of research looking at the factors contributing to women's poor participation (Afshar, 2004; Klot, 2007; Hendricks, 2011; Potter, 2008).

With reference to the purpose of the study which was to explore the factors contributing to the delayed implementation of SCR 1325 in regards to women's participation in peacebuilding and also to increase the understanding of why women are excluded in the peacebuilding process in South Sudan, this research has revealed a large gap between the political rhetoric on the normative level and the situation on the grounds in South Sudan. Contributing to this gap are five identified areas of concern, namely 'political will to implement SCR 1325', 'gendered roles', 'awareness of SCR 1325', 'cultural and structural obstacles' and 'recognition of women in peacebuilding'.

Among others, the study showed that South Sudanese women are faced with many challenges ranging from basic needs to structural problems such as a lack of education, poor health care, domestic inequalities and discriminative laws. These challenges are all affecting their possibilities to participate in decision-making regarding peacebuilding. Yet, when looking at women's peacebuilding efforts it is clear that many women have developed significant peacebuilding skills during the Sudanese conflict. Their contributions have however been commonly unacknowledged, underestimated or ignored in formal peace negotiations.

It is worth mentioning that the exclusion can partly be explained by patriarchal structures and mindsets regarding political and public affairs to be a male sphere. The South Sudanese gender roles are also hindering women on leadership positions from making meaningful contributions since they are often faced with negative attitudes and lack of recognition and respect.

In sum, it is clear that South Sudan has many country-specific challenges in regards to women, peace and security issues that are not prevalent in the Western countries that form the majority of the countries that have already developed a NAP to implement SCR 1325. Furthermore, the application of SCR 1325 is challenging traditional gender roles that determine men's and women's positions in the South Sudanese society. These roles have led to a marginalization of women across political, economical, legal, social and cultural spheres. There is also a lack of political will and general awareness of the resolution. The issue of including women in peacebuilding must therefore be dealt with using a more comprehensive approach that includes all levels of the society.

After undertaken this research, I would suggest that if the efforts to implement SCR 1325 are not adjusted to South Sudan's specific conditions, such as basing it on its local circumstances and accepting women as partners of peacebuilding process there is the risk that the message of SCR 1325 will remain political rhetoric without any sustainable impact on the society. This would thereby be a great loss for South Sudanese women as well as for South Sudan, complementing Namadi's argument (2011) that it is unlikely for the new country to fully achieve its goals of peace and sustainable economic and social development without a full and effective participation of its women.

REFERENCES

Abusharaf, R.M., 2005. Sudanese women waging peace. *Forced Migration Review*, No 24, November. pp. 44-45.

Abusharaf, R.M, 2009. *Transforming displaced women in Sudan: Politics and the body in a squatter settlement.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

ACCORD, 2010. *Resolution 1325 in 2020: Looking Forward, Looking Back.* [online] Available at: http://www.accord.org.za/downloads/reports/1325_in_2020.pdf [Accessed 23 August 2012]

ACCORD, 2012. *The implementation of UNSCR 1325 in South Sudan. A research report prepared for the Republic of South Sudan.* Made available through SIDA. Document dated 30 March 2012.

Afshar, H., 2004. Introduction: War and Peace: what do women contribute? In: H. Afshar and D. Eade, ed. 2004. *Development, Women, and War: feminist perspectives.* Oxford: Oxfam. pp. 1-7.

Akechak Jok, J.A., Leitch, R. and Vandewint, C., 2004. *A Study of Customary Law in Contemporary Southern Sudan.* [online] World Vision International. Available at: http://www.gurtong.net/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=VjBn4P%2FhMio%3D&tabid=343 [Accessed 11 May 2012]

Aldehaib, A., 2010. *Sudan's Comprehensive peace Agreement viewed through the eyes of the Women of South Sudan.* Fellows Programme Occasional Paper 3. Wynberg, South Africa: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. [online] Available at: http://www.ijr.org.za/publications/IJRsudan.php [Accessed 13 February 2012]

Ali, N.M., 2011. *Gender and Statebuilding in South Sudan.* Special Report 298. Washington: United States Institute for Peace. [online] Available at: http://www.usip.org/files/resources/SR298.pdf [Accessed 24 January 2012]

AMWISS, 2012?. *Profiles of women leaders in Southern Sudan.* [online] Published 7 February 2012. Available at: http://www.isis.or.ug/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/02/south-sudan-profile-layout-2.pdf [Accessed 5 May 2012]. Document not dated, however the text suggests that it was not published before 2011.

Anderlini, S.N., 2007. *Women building peace: what they do, why it matters.* Boulder, Colo.; Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Arabi, A., 2011. 'In power without power': Women in politics and leadership positions in South Sudan. In: F. Bubenzer and O. Stern, ed. 2011. *Hope, Pain & Patience. The lives of women in South Sudan.* Auckland Park, South Africa: Fanele. Ch. 8

Arndt, S., 2002. *The Dynamics of African feminism: Defining and classifying African-feminist literature.* Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Badri, B., 2008. Feminist perspectives in Sudan. In: B. Badri, ed. 2008. *Sudanese women profile and pathways to empowerment.* Omdurman: Ahfad University for Women. Ch. 2

Beswick, S., 2000. Women, War and Leadership in South Sudan (1700-1994). In: J. Spaulding and S. Beswick ed. 2000. *White Nile, Black Blood: War, Leadership, and Ethnicity from Khartoum to Kampala.* Lawrenceville, NJ: The Red Sea Press. pp.93-111.

Bryman, A., 2008. *Social Research Methods*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bubenzer, F. and Stern, O. eds., 2011. *Hope, Pain & Patience. The lives of women in South Sudan.* Auckland Park, South Africa: Fanele. Introduction

Cabrera-Balleza, M. and Popovic, N., 2010. *Costing and financing 1325: examining the resources needed to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 at the national level as well as the gains, gaps and glitches on financing the women, peace and security agenda.* [online] Hague and New York, Cordaid & GNWP. Available at: http://www.gnwp.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/Final-July-25-2011-Costing-Financing_contents.pdf [Accessed 22 December 2011]

CCR and UNIFEM, 2005. *Women and peacebuilding in Africa.* Seminar Report no 9. Cape Town, South Africa 27-28 October 2005. Cape Town: University of Cape Town [online] Available at: http://www.ccr.org.za/images/stories/Vol_9-WPA_Report_Final_Web-small.pdf [Accessed 22 December 2011]

CCR, 2009. *Peacebuilding in Post-Cold War Africa: Problems, Progress, and Prospects. Seminar Report No. 33.* Gaborone Sun, Botswana 25-28 August 2009. [online] Available at: http://www.ccr.org.za/images/pdfs/Vol_33_peacebuilding_africa.pdf [Accessed 24 January 2012]

CIA, January 2012a. *The World Fact Book: South Sudan*. [online] Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/od.html [Accessed 10 February 2012]

CIA, January 2012b. *The World Fact Book: Sudan*. [online] Available at: https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/su.html [Accessed 10 February 2012]

Cockburn, C., 2007. *From where we stand: war, women's activism and feminist analysis.* London; Zed Books, cop.

Confortini, C., 2006. Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance. *Peace & Change*, 31(3), pp.333-367.

Creswell, J., 2009. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage cop.

D'Awol, A., 2011. 'Sibu ana, sibu ana' ('leave me, leave me'): Survivors of sexual violence in South Sudan. In: F. Bubenzer and O. Stern, ed. 2011. *Hope, Pain & Patience. The lives of women in South Sudan.* Auckland Park, South Africa: Fanele. Ch. 3

Edward, J.K., 2007. *Sudanese women refugees: Transformations and future imaginings.* New York : Palgrave Macmillan

Edward, J.K., 2011. Women and political participation in South Sudan. *Sudan Tribune*. [online] 7 September. Available at: http://www.sudantribune.com/Women-and-political-participation,40086 [Accessed 9 May 2012]

Elfatih, T. and Badri, A., 2008. Sudanese Girls and Women Educational Attainment. In: B. Badri, ed. 2008. *Sudanese women profile and pathways to empowerment.* Omdurman: Ahfad University for Women. Ch.5

Erickson, J. and Faria, C., 2011. "We want empowerment for our women": Transnational feminism, Neoliberal Citizenship, and the Gendering of Women's Political Subjectivity in Postconflict South Sudan. *Signs*, 36(3), pp. 627-652.

Faria, C., 2011. Gendering War and Peace in South Sudan. The Elision and Emergence of Women. *The Association of Concerned Africa Scholars (ACAS).* Bulletin no.86: 'The Sudans: Which way?' November, pp.20-29.

Fitzgerald, M.A., 2002. *Throwing the stick forward: the impact of war on southern Sudanese women.* Nairobi, Kenya: UNIFEM and UNICEF.

Galtung, J., 1964. An Editorial. *Journal of Peace Research*, 1(1), pp.1-4.

Galtung, J. and Höivik, T., 1971. Structural and Direct Violence: A Note on Operationalization. *Journal of Peace Research*, 8(1), pp.73-76.

Galtung, J., 1990. Cultural Violence. *Journal of Peace Research*, 27(3), pp.291-305.

Galtung, J., 1992. *Peace by peaceful means: Peace and Conflict, Development and Civilization.* London: Sage

Gizeli, T., 2011. A Country of their Own: Women and Peacebuilding. *Conflict Management and Peace Science,* 28 (5), pp. 522-542.

Gumbonzvanda, N. and Konji, G., 2005. Sudanese women's role in peacemaking. *Forced Migration Review*, No 24, November, pp. 48-49.

Hendricks, C. and Chivasa, M., 2009. *Women and Peacebuilding in Africa*. Workshop Report. Tschwane, South Africa 24-25 November 2008. Tschwane: Institute for Security Studies. [online] Available at: Http://dspace.cigilibrary.org/jspui/bitstream/123456789/30921/1/WomanPeaceNov08.pdf?1 [Accessed 24 January 2012]

Hendricks, C., 2011. *Gender and security in Africa. An overview.* Discussion Paper, 1104-8417; 63. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrika Institutet.

International Crisis Group. December 2010. *Sudan Conflict History.* [online] Available at: http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/regions/africa/horn-of-africa/sudan.aspx [Accessed 10 February 2012]

International Crisis Group. July 2011. *Sudan after the South's independence.* [online] Available at: http://www.crisisgroup.org/en/publication-type/key-issues/country/preventing-implosion-in-sudan.aspx [Accessed 13 February 2012]

IKFF, February 2011. *UNSCR 1325.* [online] Available at: http://www.ikff.se/fokusomraden/fn/srs-resolution-1325/ [Accessed 18 January 2012]

IRIN, 2012. South Sudan: Moving beyond violence in Jonglei. *IRIN, Humanitarian news and analysis* [online] 23 January. Available at: http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=94706 [Accessed 13 February 2012]

Itto, A., 2006. *Guests at the table? The role of women in peace processes.* Accord No 18 [online] Available at: http://www.c-r.org/sites/c-r.org/files/Accord18_19Guestsatthetable_2006_ENG.pdf [Accessed 16 May 2012]

Johnson, D., 2011. *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars: Peace or Truce.* Rev. ed. Woodbridge, Suffolk [U.K.]; Rochester, NY: James Currey; Kampala: Fountain Publishers

Karamé, K. and Prestegard, L., 2005. *Sudanese Women and the Peace Process. Priorities and recommendations for women's inclusion and empowerment.* Conference Report. 13 -15 January 2005. Oslo: Norwegian Institute of International Affairs.

Kinoti, K., 2011. *South Sudan: What Will Independence Mean For Women?* [online] AWID (Association for Women's Rights in Development), 11 March. Available at: http://awid.org/News-Analysis/Friday-Files/South-Sudan-What-will-Independence-mean-for-Women [Accessed 9 May 2012]

Klot, J.F., 2003. Women and Peace Processes – An Impossible Match? In: L. Olsson, ed. 2003. *Gender and Peace Processes - an Impossible Match?* Uppsala: Collegium for Development Studies. pp. 17-24.

Klot, J. F. 2007. *Women and Peacebuilding*. Independent expert paper commissioned by the UNIFEM and PBSO. Social Science Research Council. [online] Available at: www.un.org/en/peacebuilding/pdf/doc_wgll/wgll_backgroundpaper_29_01_08.pdf [Accessed 24 January 2012]

Kronsell, A., 2009. Feminism. In: J. Gustavsson and J. Tallberg, ed. 2009. *Internationella relationer.* Lund: Studentlitteratur. Ch.6

Mikell, G., 1997. *African Feminism: the politics of survival in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Philadelphia, Penn: University of Pennsylvania Press

Namadi, J., 2011. Taking on new challenges: South Sudanese women in service delivery. In: F. Bubenzer and O. Stern, ed. 2011. *Hope, Pain & Patience. The lives of women in South Sudan.* Auckland Park, South Africa: Fanele. Ch. 7

NGOWG. [online] Available at: http://womenpeacesecurity.org/ [Accessed 4 April 2012]

NGOWG, 2004. *Four years on: An Alternative Report and Progress Check on the Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325.* [online] Published October 2004. Available at: http://womenpeacesecurity.org/media/pdf-NGOWG-FourYearsOnReport.pdf [Accessed 20 April 2012]

Ogunsanya, K., 2007. *Women Transforming Conflicts in Africa: Descriptive Studies from Burundi, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone, South Africa and Sudan*. Project Report. Occasional Paper Series, 2 (3). Durban: ACCORD [online] Available at: http://www.accord.org.za/publications/occasional-papers/494-women-transforming-conicts-in-africa [Accessed 5 August 2012]

Operation1325, no date. *Why is it necessary?* [online] Available at: http://www.operation1325.se/en/requirements [Accessed 18 January 2012]; *Related Resolutions.* [online] Available at: http://operation1325.se/en/related-resolutions [Accessed 2 April 2012]; *Good example.* [online] Available at: http://operation1325.se/en/good-example [Accessed 5 August 2012]

Palmberg, E., 2004. A Passion for Peace. *Sojourners Magazine*, September Issue, pp. 32-37.

Pankhurst, D., 2003. The 'sex war' and other wars: towards a feminist approach to peacebuilding. In: H. Afshar and D. Eade, ed. 2004. *Development, Women, and War: feminist perspectives.* Oxford: Oxfam. pp. 8-42.

Peacewomen, 2012. *National action plans.* [online] Available at: http://www.peacewomen.org/pages/about-1325/national-action-plans-naps [Accessed 25 April 2012]

Porter, E., 2003. Women, Political Decision-Making, and Peace-Building. *Global Change, Peace & Security,* 15 (3), pp.245-262.

Potter, A., 2008. Women, Gender and Peacemaking in Civil Wars. In: J. Darby and R. Mac Ginty, ed. 2008. *Contemporary Peacemaking: Conflict, Peace Processes and Post-War Reconstruction.* 2nd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Ch.8.

Ramsbotham, O. et. al., 2011. *Contemporary conflict resolution: the prevention, management and transformation of deadly conflicts.* 3rd ed. Cambridge: Polity

Reilly, N., 2007. Seeking gender justice in post-conflict transitions: towards a transformative women's human rights approach. *International Journal of Law in Context*, 3 (2), pp. 155-172.

Ringera, K. L., 2007. *Excluded voices: Grassroots women and peacebuilding in southern Sudan*. PhD. University of Denver.

Schirch, L. and Sewak, M., 2005. Women: Using the Gender Lens. In: P. van Tongeren, M. Brenk, M. Hellema and J. Vorhoeven, ed. 2005. *People Building Peace II: Successful Stories of Civil Society.* London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. Ch.7.

Stern, O., 2011. "This is how marriage happens sometimes": Women and marriage in South Sudan. In: F. Bubenzer and O. Stern, ed. 2011. *Hope, Pain & Patience. The lives of women in South Sudan.* Auckland Park, South Africa: Fanele. Ch. 1

Stone, L., 2011. "We were all soldiers": Female combatants in South Sudan's civil war. In: F. Bubenzer and O. Stern, ed. 2011. *Hope, Pain & Patience. The lives of women in South Sudan.* Auckland Park, South Africa: Fanele. Ch. 2

Taylor and Mader, 2010. *Mapping Women, Peace and Security in the UN Security Council: Report of the NGOWG Monthly Action Points for 2009-2010.* [online] NGOWG. Published October 2010. Available at: http://womenpeacesecurity.org/media/pdf-NGOWG_MAPReport_2009-2010.pdf [Accessed 20 April 2012]

The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 9 July 2011, [online] Available at: http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/4e269a3e2.html [Accessed 30 May 2012]

True, J., 1996. Feminism. In: S. Burchill, et.al, 2005 *Theories in international relations.* 3rd ed. Basingstoke: Palgrave Mcmillan. Ch.9

Tønnesson, L. and Roald. A.S., 2007. *Discrimination in the Name of Religious Freedom: The Rights of Women and Non-Muslims after the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in Sudan.* [online] Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute. Available at: http://www.cmi.no/publications/file/2704-discrimination-in-the-name-of-religious-freedom.pdf [Accessed 23 March 2012]

UNIFEM, date unknown. *Security Council Resolution 1325. Annotated and explained* [online] Available at: http://www.womenpeacesecurity.org/media/pdf-SCR_1325_Annotated_ENG.pdf [Accessed 23 August 2012]

UNIFEM, October 2005a. *Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes.* [online] Available at: http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/Securing_the_Peace.pdf [Accessed 18 January 2012]

UNIFEM, 2005b. *Towards Achieving the MDGs in Sudan: Centrality of Women's Leadership and Gender Equality*. Compiled by Danbolt, I.L., Gumbonzvanda, N. and Karamè, K. [online] Available at: http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/TowardsAchievingMDGsInSudan_eng.pdf [Accessed 9 May 2012]

United Nations, 2010. *Women Count for Peace: The 2010 Open Days on Women, Peace and Security.* [online] Available at: http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/WomenCount4Peace_OpenDays_Report_en.pdf [Accessed 18 January 2012]

United Nations Security Council, 2000. Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. S/RES/1325(2000)

United Nations Security Council, 2009. Resolution 1889 on women, peace and security. S/RES/1889(2009)

APPENDIX A: Overview of people interviewed.

Ms Gemma Hellen Pita, Gender and Community Coordinator at the 'Organization for Non-violence and Development' (ONAD).

Mr. Oci Geoffrey, Program manager at the 'Generation Agency For Development & Transformation' (GADET). Juba

Regina Ossa Lullo, Director General for Gender & Child Welfare. Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare. Juba.

Mary James Ajith, 1st legal counsel. Ministry of Justice. Juba.

Peter Lasu, Deputy Director, National Legislative Assembly, Research & Library Department. Juba

All interviews took place in Stockholm 24th of May 2012.

APPENDIX B: Interview guide.

Semi-structured interviews were held around the following topics:

What did you know about SCR 1325 before this training programme?

What kind of work are you undertaking in South Sudan?
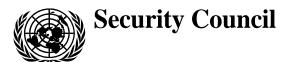
Have you worked with SCR 1325 related issues before?

What obstacles are there for women's participation in peacebuilding in South Sudan?

What needs to be done to improve the situation for women in South Sudan?

What can the international community do to help?

How has the situation changed for women since independence?

Security Council

Resolution 1325 (2000)

Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on 31 October 2000

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1.   *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2.   *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3.   *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4.   *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5.   *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6.   *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7.   *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

8. *Calls on* all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to

submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.

_____