THE INTRA-STATE FIERCE AND WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION IN AFRICA: UNDERSTANDING UNSC 1325 TENACITY AND FEMINISM PERFECTIVE IN JONGLEI, SOUTH SUDAN

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Abstract:

The study focused on The Intra-State Fierce and Women Participation in Conflict Resolution in Africa: Understanding UNSC 1325 Tenacity and Feminism Perfective in Jonglei, South Sudan The study used a cross-sectional research design. Data was collected using questionnaires and focus group discussions. A simple random sampling technique was used to select women groups and purposive sampling was used to select UNSC officials. The study covered 104 respondents all had information on the of NGOs in involving women in peace building. Data presentation was done using different frequency polygons showing frequencies and percentages. Data analysis was done using a computer package of SPSS. The field findings revealed that; The study findings indicated that; full implementation is negatively related to exclusion of women (r = -335**, p<.01). The results further showed that working conditions was positively related to conflict resolution (r = .732**, p<.01). The results also showed that exclusion of women was positively related to conflict resolution. Also, table 4.9 in chapter four shows an influence of full implementation, exclusion of women, working conditions on conflict resolution (r =.576, .432, .732, .342 P-value < 0.01) which indicates that for conflict resolution to be possible in any society like Bor-Jonglei State. The study concluded that; among others, 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 conflict resolution. Yet, when looking at women's conflict resolution efforts it is clear that many women have developed significant conflict resolution skills during the Sudanese conflict. Finally, a number of recommendations were made such as; there should be increased sensitivity towards gender-issues: the mainstreaming of gender in all processes,

official or non-official, related to peace and security, is essential. If gender issues are ignored by national governments, it will be difficult to facilitate women's organisations and activists through for example proper funding mechanisms. The lack of a broader structural framework for the implementation of gender related policies and the lack of a political commitment are currently limiting initiatives in this field. Further, if gender is not treated as an integrated issue in politics in general, it may be difficult to argue for gender-sensitivity in a situation of conflict, where both human capital and finances are often marginal

Introduction

The people of South Sudan have historically known more war than peace. For the past 4 generations, citizens have only known war as a result of conflict, and this pattern will continue until an alternative way arises. South Sudanese believe now that they are their own nation; it's time to teach people how to solve conflict using a different means other than guns. It's time to teach a way of peace (Pact Sudan Country Program, 2010). Currently, there are little to no resources on peace building available to the South Sudanese. Schools and churches do not have the tools, processes, or activity training they need to teach healthy conflict resolution and encourage sustainable peace. In addition to the lack of peace building tools, there are few trained South Sudanese people who are leading peace building efforts (Pact Sudan Country Program, 2010). A decade ago, the UN Security Council unanimously adopted UNSCR 1325 on women, peace, and security. This landmark document is a legal and political framework under which national governments, regional organizations, the UN system, as well as non-state actors are obliged to address the situation of women in crises and war to protect them from violence and increase their participation in conflict prevention, resolution, and peace building. It is the first such resolution Acknowledging the need for and contributions of half the world's population to international peace and security (Abusharaf, 2005). UNSCR 1325 is a product of its time and persistent, organized advocacy by women worldwide. It emerged a decade after the end of the cold war when new kinds of violence and warfare were already evident, including intra-state conflicts and the bitter manipulation of ethnicity and religion for power and resources. Similarly, the resolution's attention to the protection of women's physical well-being, as well as their legal and political rights, is not simply an end in itself. Rather it is recognition of the fact that if half the population faces discrimination and violence, peace is not viable. Moreover, UNSCR 1325 (and subsequent resolutions) acknowledges that violence against women especially sexual violence is itself a gross provocation and threat to peace and security (Edward, 2011). In adopting the resolution, the Security Council provided the international community with an entry point for addressing the complexities of peace building and introducing an inclusive approach to peace negotiations to better address the challenges of the 21st century. Equally importantly (and perhaps more interestingly) "1325" is an important tool for women, giving recognition to their peace work, enabling them to mobilize on a global scale to assert their claims and demands for a place at the table where issues of war peace and security are addressed and resolved. Faria, C., (2011) asserts that; it has marked a turning point in the relationship between civil society, especially women's organizations, and their expectations of the international system and The Security Council in particular. Its impact could and should be profound.

If statistics are the judge however, the resolution, the actors, their activities and systems developed have had limited impact. According to United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), women have been fewer than 7 percent of negotiators on official delegations in peace processes

since 2000, and just 2.7 percent of signatories. In 13 major comprehensive peace agreement processes between 2000 and 2008, not one single woman was appointed as a mediator. Graca Machal was appointed as one of three mediators to the 2008 Kenyan crisis talks. Moreover, for most women living through violence in places like Sudan, the DRC, Sri Lanka and Afghanistan, neither the words nor the promise of the resolution is a reality. Wars have continued impunity for rape and sexual violence prevails, peace negotiations remain the exclusive domain of war-makers, while those who seek non-violent solutions are still shut out (Akechak, C. et al, 2014).

UNSCR 1325 with its promise of inclusivity and premise of comprehensive peacemaking is even more valid today. But it still remains peripheral. The adoption of UNSCR 1325 did not prompt a UN-wide or global public education campaign explaining the origins, rationale and substance of the document. Over the decade, where progress has been made in state and multilateral structures it has been largely due to individual staff deeply committed to moving this agenda forward, often hampered by ad hoc leadership (Gumbonzvanda, N. and Konji, G., 2005). Apart from a handful of committed senior figures, the UN's leadership has not championed the resolution or supports its full implementation either. The net effect is that a decade on, across the UN and diplomatic System especially in country offices and government ministries awareness, knowledge and understanding of the resolution is still haphazard. Many professional personnel who would have responsibilities associated with the resolution are not sufficiently familiar with it. This lack of awareness or misunderstanding is a critical obstacle to effective implementation. Because it comes from the Security Council, there is also confusion and suspicion about its intent. Some governments perceive it as a tool of western cultural dominance threatening indigenous cultures and systems of gender relations. Others are wary of the Security Council's extended reach into new terrain. Among NGOs working at national level, too, lack of information about the resolution can prompt suspicion. For example, In Colombia Many women's peace groups viewed it as a prop for co-opting them into the state's security policies. Elsewhere because UNSCR 1325 is often framed as a women's rights resolution rather than a peace and security framework, many question its relevance and necessity given the existence of the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (NGOWG, 2004).

The localization of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 program initiated by Global Network of Women Peace builders (GNWP) in South Sudan is a bottom up approach that convenes local government authorities, indigenous leaders, traditional leaders, civil society and other local leaders to raise awareness and formulate strategies for practical implementation of the of UN Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325 and 1820 on Women, Peace and Security and the National Action Plan (NAP) where they exist. Localization complements the efforts of governments, civil society and other national actors and ensures that the Women and Peace and Security (WPS) resolutions-and NAPs-are owned and carried out at the local level. It guarantees the alignment and harmonization of local, national, regional and international policies and community-driven strategies to ensure local ownership and participation (Potter, A., 2008). Currently, South Sudan has a draft NAP but with no corresponding budget and is yet to be presented to the Cabinet Council. South Sudanese civil society actors believe that it is now more than ever that the NAP is needed. They see it as an important instrument that could institutionalize women's participation in peace building and political processes including elections and constitution building (Pankhurst, D., 2003). It can also systematize the information sharing on the peace process and other important decisions taken at the national government. Many local authorities and civil society have expressed concern that there is very limited information that reaches them even on issues that affect them directly such as peace and security in their communities. Since the NAP is in limbo at the national level, the Localization program appears to be the best catalyst to move the process forward.

Literature Review

Influences that contribute to jam-packed implementation of UNSC 1325 regarding women's participation in conflict resolution.

As pointed out in this 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' peace building 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" m (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.

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 peace building on a grassroots level as well as nationally and internationally via various organizations and activist networks (see e.g.

Aldehaib, A et al, (2011) asserts that; 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, peace building and gender issues in South Sudan (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 peace building. 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 peace building work.

Letherby (2003) claims that operating with the category of `woman` undifferentiated by for example class or nationality is unhelpful in intellectual analysis of the socio-political impact of women's groups. A distinction has therefore been suggested between two broad kinds of women's empowerment groups, the *feminist* and the *feminine* (Haynes, 1997: 128.131). The distinction between these categories is set to be in the strategic or practical concerns of the groups. Whereas feminist groups, concerned with strategic goals consist of mainly educated, middle-class women, the feminine groups, consisting of lower-class women, are concerned with practical goals and mobilize women around general gender-related issues. This characterization is used both academically and by member of the groups themselves (ibid.). However, a dichotomizing of these types of groups is not necessarily a fruitful approach, as the distinction is often blurred. Practical goals often lead to a concern with more strategic questions, and a fruitful way to see the concerns would rather be as a continuum (Fisher, 1993: 103).

Implementation is an essential part of policies, as judgement on the quality of policy is inheritably linked to the implementation of the policies. Policy formulation and procedures of good intent or inputs can never substitute for implementation, action results and outcomes (Squires, 1999). Implementation of SCR 1325 in this context is understood as the realisation of the content of SCR 1325. Thus, in Uganda, formal implementation of SCR 1325 is when policies fulfilling the content of SCR 1325 are adopted and achieved. Policy is here understood as a chosen course of action affecting a large number of people. In addition, policy is understood as the operationalization of political intentions. Thus, policy is both goals and the actions taken to realize and maintain them (Hill and Hupe, 2002: 4-5). Unofficial implementation, however, is understood as the processes and strategies for the realisation of SCR 1325 which are initiated by non-governmental actors not responsible for implementing the resolution in any official sense.

According to Miller (2001: 98), one has to calculate with a time-lag, not only between policy and implementation, but also between statements of principles and practices based upon those principles, when implementation is dependent on those who stand to be dispossessed by complying with the intent of their ideals. Thus, the slow pace by which SCR 1325 is realised, even though adopted more than five years ago, should not be unexpected. According to Hill and Hupe (2002), the understandings of implementation processes are plentiful. Traditionally, studies of implementation focus on those factors that contribute to the realisation or non-realisation of policy objectives. However, this view is somewhat top-down as it understands policy as something which is introduced at the top-level by the decision-makers and transmitted down a hierarchy to those implementing it at the lower levels (Hill and Hupe, 2002: 3-7).

Reasons as to why women are still excluded in conflict resolution efforts

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 essentialist women as peaceful and call for their rights to be included in peace building 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 peace building as a process where greater participation by women may help increase the prospects for success" (p.522).

Many activists spend a lot of time explaining why women should be involved in peace building 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 peace building, UNIFEM (2005b) writes that a common argument why women should be included in peace building 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 peace building 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 shows 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 peace building 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 peace building 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 peace building 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 peace building. 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, 2008). 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).

The circumstances for women in post war conflicts

A problem identified by both NGOs and the UN Secretary-General, related to the implementation of SCR 1325 is the lack of economic commitment, both at the national and international levels. Further, an ad hoc approach to the participation of women creates a lack of a generally acknowledged strategy for implementation. In addition, NGO-initiatives for implementation of SCR 1325 need to be recognised to a larger extent.35 Further, after key UN resolutions on gender and peacekeeping had been adopted, most notably SCR 1325, the so-called Brahimi-report, meant to reform UN Peacekeeping was launched (Bellamy et al, 2004: 75-76, 165-166). This report, almost

completely disregarding the gendered aspects of peacekeeping operations, was a disappointment to all those engaged in gender mainstreaming in the UN (Olsson and Lindestam, 2003: 3-5). Finally, the dependency on voluntary engagement regarding the implementation of UN resolutions is both strength and a weakness in the case of SCR 1325. The weakness is that the adoption of such resolutions is not followed by any sanction mechanisms or proper funding for its implementation. A strength, however, is that the great engagement with SCR 1325 among several NGOs and activist's world-wide results in attention and visibility. The UN Secretary-General has called on all member countries to develop policies, action plans, guidelines and indicators for the implementation of SCR 1325. Further, he urged the governments of the UN member states to support initiatives by women's groups for implementation of SCR 1325. They wanted the world community to acknowledge and include women in peace and security decision-making. They knew through experience that the 20th century systems for resolving warfare where governments and violent actors alone were legitimized in peace processes were no longer adequate for 21st century conflicts and violence. They were demanding attention to the complex issues and people that define peace and peace building, not just the ending of warfare or power-sharing. As a result, while often dubbed as the women's resolution, UNSCR 1325 is first and foremost about peace and security. The resolution is not about the inclusion of women for the sake of political correctness. It is rooted in the premise that women's inclusion–their presence and participation in the process, their perspectives and contributions to the substance of talks, will improve the chances of attaining viable and sustainable peace. It is also rooted in the knowledge that gender equality itself is a source of sustainable peace (Johnson, 2011).

In Aceh, for example, the devastation wrought by the 2004 tsunami was the primary catalyst for the peace agreement to be signed and cooperation to begin between the Indonesian government and the Free Aceh Movement (GAM) rebels after 30 years of conflict. Yet the political arrangements made during the negotiations led to the exclusion of women from the political space. In the post conflict period Islamic Shari'a law has been imposed in Aceh with significant and likely negative implications for women. Thus while the nature of conflict and range of actors involved have changed radically in the post-Cold War period, processes to make peace have not evolved sufficiently to meet the demands. Track-two initiatives have facilitated productive negotiations in many conflicts, but peace processes are still largely in the exclusive domain of political and military leaders those who bear and use the arms. Civilians and civil society groups that are major stakeholders in peace and are often involved in pragmatic peace building efforts remain systematically excluded. The emphasis is on "ending the war" rather than the complex range of issues and people that define *peace* and peace building (Hendricks, C. and Chivasa, M., 2009). In Colombia for example, UNSCR 1325 was at the foundations of a major women's network. With all its problems (including confusion about the message as discussed below), the resolution has been used to organize and galvanize a global women's peace movement. There is clear overlap with long-standing women's right groups, but there are also distinctions. Across all six cases (similar to other countries) there has been a recent concerted effort to spread the information more widely, but there is still a major gap. The participation issue is further confused by proponents who believe women simply have a right to be present, regardless of their capacity and contributions, versus those who believe that women should participate because they bring different perspectives to the substance and process of negotiations and can make positive qualitative difference to the outcomes. The former argument is valid but it generates little traction (Reilly, N., 2007).

The latter argument is powerful because it suggests the possibility of transformation for peace, political and social relations, and women's status. It was the message of women building peace that captured the imagination of diplomats and catalyzed support for the resolution. Two of 1325's norms on participation the significance of gender perspectives and the inclusion of women peacemaker have been overshadowed by the broader and more established women's rights and development actors, whose demands are rights-based. As a result, the message and rationale for

participation gets blurred. To some, the resolution is primarily about the promotion of women's rights and women's empowerment in peace processes – ensuring peace and equality for women. To others, the protection agenda, especially against SGBV, is the take-away message. It is age-old, easily understood and less threatening than that of women as actors. It frames women as an issue to be addressed, not as agents or, assets who can shape decisions and challenge the status quo. Post-conflict recovery processes remain gender-blind, addressing neither the needs of women or men. The failure to address women's security needs is indicative of more systemic problems. Some 40 percent of peace processes still fail within the first 10 years. Many never reach fruition in the first place. Of the six cases to review include, in four Sri Lanka, Colombia, Israel Palestine, and Uganda the peace process failed to reach a conclusion. In Sri Lanka, Colombia, and Uganda, ending war through military victory became the states' strategies. The Israeli--Palestinian confrontation is marked by fitful peaceful negotiations buffeted by the violence of occupation, blockade, and resistance. The incentives and mechanisms to sustain the process of peacemaking are not in place. Even where negotiations to end war have been successful, new forms of violence have emerged, creating a perpetual state of something between war and peace for civilians, especially women (Karamé, K. and Prestegard, L., 2005). When discussing women's security, the UN discourse on women and security is of interest. The UN discourse on gender and conflict resolution, according to Väyrynen (2004a), contains some challenges. The issue of disadvantages and injustices experienced by women because of their gender has been neglected both within UN organs established for the monitoring of the UN human rights, and also in traditional human rights NGOs (Connors, 1996: 148). Gender, in the UN discourse is equaled with women, and women are differentiated from men. In ignoring the possible performative construction of gender, the discourse is founded on essentialist and biologically binary hierarchy of sexes (Väyrynen, 2004b). This discourse leaves women with the restricted roles of objects of protection. In a continuation of these gender roles, women's agency is also limited.

However, SCR 1325 is an example of a new approach which suggests an enlargement of the concept of security. The resolution, at least rhetorically, includes gender aspects in deliberations on peace and security, and thus matches feminist demands for a broader definition if security. However, Väyrynen (2004a: 26) criticises the UN for avoiding to ask an essential question regarding gender and conflict resolution/peace building, namely; How does the UN itself produce certain type of femininity and masculinity as hegemonic. She further claims that there is a need for structural changes within the UN in order to reach gender equality. One strategy for bringing alternative thinking on peace, war and gender into the UN discourse is through the ongoing dialogue between the UN, NGOs and the civil society (ibid.). SCR 1325 calls on an increase in both respect for and cooperation with these fractions of society. Thus, the implementation of SCR 1325 is one approach to challenge both the UN discourse on gender, peace and conflict, and more deeply, the current structures of the UN which discriminates against women. Finally, South Sudan is a poor country and differs from e.g. Norway in both BNP and human development. The Norwegian government launched an action plan for the implementation of SCR 1325 the 8th of March 2006, while South Sudan has not yet produced or promised such a document. However, even though budgets are more limited in South Sudan, politics is always to some degree a question of priorities, and the full implementation of SCR 1325 by South Sudan government is an obligation the country has, both as a member of the UN and as a government responsive to needs and rights of its population.

Methodology

The study used a cross-sectional research design **to assess respondents' views.** Cross-sectional research design is designed to look at a variable at a particular point in time and focuses on finding relationships between variables at a specific point in time. The study, the target population 141 was

drawn from Jonglei State, South Sudan and included those involved in gender activities at the UNSC was divided with in four (4) categories comprising of the following: the UNSC officials, NGO officials, women groups, Jonglei State officials and other authorized persons. Purposive sampling was used on the second category of respondent who are officials in Jonglei State, South Sudan. And the random sampling was used to other respondent categories and other authorized persons because respondents had equal chance of being selected.

Category, target population, sample size and sampling technique that was used in the study

Category	Target Population	Sample size	Sampling Techniques
United Nation Security Council (UNSC) officials	10	10	Purposive sampling
NGO officials	30	24	Purposive sampling
Women groups	40	20	Simple random sampling
Jonglei State officials	11	10	Purposive sampling
Other authorized persons	50	40	Simple random sampling
Total	**141**	**104**	

The questionnaires were subjected to expert raters. The rated findings were used to compute a content validity index using the formula 0.7 validity. The researcher also measured the reliability of the questionnaire items. Cronbach's alpha was also used to determine the coefficient between a sincere response and all other sincere responses of the same item that were drawn randomly from the same population of interest. The formula used was $\propto = kr/(1+(k-1)r)$. It made use of the number of variables or question items in the instrument (k) and the average correlation between pairs of items (r): The researcher ensured reliability by constructing thorough conceptual framework in which the terms used in data collection instruments was explained and analyzed using Statistical package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Findings

The finding indicates that both male and female respondents participated in the study. However, females were more than males. The percentage was 57.00% females and 43.00% males implying that they greatly participated in the study and this was attributed to the fact that the study itself was about women in conflict resolution so it made their numbers high compared to male respondents. indicates that majority of the respondents that is 57.00% were in the age bracket of 18 - 35 years. On the other hand, respondents over 50 years constituted only 13.4%. This implies that majority of the respondents are youth and are in a dynamic age that can easily play a big role in the conflict resolution in Bor-Jonglei State, South Sudan. It also shows that the majority of the respondents were holders of Bachelor's Degrees (38.4%), followed by secondary respondents (28.8%) (24.0) were found with Diplomas Few (8.9%) of respondents had Masters' Degrees implying that at least almost all the respondents knew what it takes to resolve a conflict and they determine whether if women given a chance they can help in conflict resolution in Jonglei State, South Sudan.

Relationships between the Variables

The objectives of the study were; to explore the factors that contribute to full implementation of UNSC 1325 in South Sudan regarding women's participation in conflict resolution, to establish reasons as to why women are still excluded in conflict resolution efforts in South Sudan, to assess the conditions for women in South Sudan in order to understand the prevailing challenges in regards to women's participation in conflict resolution. In order to establish the relationship between the variables, Pearson (r) correlation coefficient was computed given the interval nature of the data and the need to test the direction and strength of relationships between the study variables.

Pearson Rank Correlations Matrix

Variables	1	2	3	4
Full implementation (1)	.314**	1.000		
Exclusion of women (2)	-.323**	-.335**	1.000	
Working Conditions (3)	.433**	.554**	-.645**	1.000
Conflict Resolution (4)	.576**	.432**	.732**	.342
** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).				

Source: field data, 2014

The results in Table 7 revealed that full implementation is negatively related to exclusion of women (r = -335**, p<.01). The results further showed that working conditions was positively related to Conflict Resolution (r = .732**, p<.01). The results also showed that exclusion of women was positively related to conflict resolution.

The relationship between jam-packed implementation and conflict resolution

The results in table 4.9 indicated a significant positive relationship between full implementation and conflict resolution (r =. 335**, p<0.01). This implied that 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.

Similar argument was brought out by Hendricks (2011) who argued 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". In an independent expert paper, it is further stated that "although women's participation and gender equality is a 'predictable' peace building 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". In addition, recent studies by (Bubenzer and Stern, 2011) reveal that there is a great lack of research and analysis on women in South Sudan. Just as women in war commonly have been portrayed in general, South Sudanese women have often been positioned as victims. 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. Women have also held positions as spiritual and political leaders, contributing to conflict prevention and peace building on a grassroots level as well as nationally and internationally via various organizations and activist networks.

The relationship between full implementation and working conditions

The results in table 4.9 indicated a significant positive relationship between full implementation and working conditions (r = .314**, P-value < 0.01). This implied that 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. 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. 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. The same views were put forward by (Reilly, 2007) who revealed that, in Colombia for example, UNSCR 1325 was at the foundations of a major women's network. With all its problems (including confusion about the message as discussed below), the resolution has been used to organize and galvanize a global women's peace movement. There is clear overlap with long-standing women's right groups, but there are also distinctions. Across all six cases (similar to other

countries) there has been a recent concerted effort to spread the information more widely, but there is still a major gap. The participation issue is further confused by proponents who believe women simply have a right to be present, regardless of their capacity and contributions, versus those who believe that women should participate because they bring different perspectives to the substance and process of negotiations and can make positive qualitative difference to the outcomes. The former argument is valid but it generates little traction.

Full implementation (Beta = 0.506) explained more to exclusion of women, followed by working conditions (Beta = 0.397) and conflict resolution (Beta = -0.186). This implied that for conflict resolution to be effective in any society like Bor-Jonglei State, South Sudan, full implementation, inclusion of women accompanied by good working conditions must be advocated for. This is because when there is full implementation that promotes participation of women in all national conflict resolution programmes, accountability of civil servants, and responsiveness for all servants, transparency in all government departments plus rule of law; then working conditions is possible and with the support from international organisations, then conflict resolution can easily have achieved.

Factor Loadings of full implementation, exclusion of women, working conditions and conflict resolution

This research used factor loading in order to check how much a variable load into its corresponding factor. To understand how each item is loaded into its relevant principal component we use table 4.10 for the factor loading of each item. Straub 2004 suggests to us that value of each item in factor loading should be at least 0.40 into its relative principal component.

Factor Analysis Results of full implementation

Factor Loadings of full implementation

Variables	Participation	Accountability	Responsiveness	Transparency
Government should be able to allow participation of all the citizens in all the activities	0.970			
All stakeholders' participation helps in conflict resolution in the Bor-Jonglei State society	0.951			
There is inclusive participation and representation of all the stakeholders	0.922			
Because of the government initiatives, citizens have started living together in a harmony and peaceful environment	0.899			
International organisations have strengthened opportunities for those leaving their armed groups.		0.933		
There has been social and economic development of the ex-combatants		0.904		
Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration is imperative in the transition from war to peace		0.886		
Arrangements based on security to trust that can sustain peace and democracy have been made			0.920	

There has been building norms and institutions that bridge the structures of wartime based on violence			0.891	
Dialogue between people of different faiths ethnicity can develop trust and toleration have been organized				0.914
There has been an increase of efficiency and economic sustainability, particularly for projects requiring community and women involvement				0.885
International organisations have helped in the process of empowerment and effective citizens				0.836
Eigen Value	**2.119**	**1.503**	**1.101**	**0.853**
Variance %	**69.66**	**16.18**	**11.25**	**2.99**
Cumulative	**69.66**	**85.84**	**97.09**	**100**

Source; primary data

The issues that contributes to jam-packed enactment of UNSC 1325 in South Sudan regarding women's partaking in conflict resolution

UNSC 1325 is clearly stating the necessity to involve women in peace building but has legal limitations. Coming under Chapter VI, UNSC 1325 cannot be enforced and its implementation therefore continues to be voluntary and depending on the member states willingness to root the principles nationally. Member states have, in SCR 1889, been encouraged to develop NAPs on the implementation of UNSC 1325 which has so far been done by 35 countries. South Sudan is however not one of them

> *"according to interviews responses 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 formulation process".*

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 UNSC 1325. 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. UNSC 1325 and UNSC 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 peace building and development.

> *"As one respondent from the interview guide was quoted "In South Sudan, gender issues are however competing with many other post-conflict demands such as security threats, economic constraints, and lack of infrastructure, education and health services"*

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" and should be included in all issues in order for women to have their say in the development of the country.

Reasons as to why women are still excluded in conflict resolution efforts in South Sudan

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.

> "*Views from the interview guide revealed that on the implementation of* UNSC *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".*

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. It was also found out that many men are reported to reject decisions made by women considering them to be inferior. Women on decision-making positions are therefore not necessarily empowered to make the changes they have envisioned. However, findings also show that working with gender issues is not regarded to be a concern for men. 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 UNSC 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. t was also argued that women's involvement in the Sudanese conflict as a respondent was quoted to have said "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". Respondents also 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. Established that South Sudanese women are not traditionally regarded 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 an international organisation official. This is important given their 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. The findings from the field study showed a large gap between the rhetoric and women's everyday living conditions, conditions that are affecting women's preconditions to participate in peace building and important to take into account in order to implement the message of UNSC 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 UNSC 1325. It is therefore important that the implementation process is related to local circumstances. Respondents from the women's groups 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".*

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. Further findings in this study showed 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. 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. 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. 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.

The Conditions for Women in South Sudan

UNSC 1325 was described by the key respondents from the field 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 peace building process. 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. 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. This is problematic in the case of South Sudan since the awareness of UNSC 1325 is proved to be very limited and lack of education is a frequently. Respondents from the field 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 UNSC 1325. *"For women to guarantee and ensure their rights, they are recommended to network and organize themselves".* 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. Although the understanding of women's rights issues is higher amongst the elite than at the grassroots, new research shows that there is a need to raise awareness of the commitments of UNSC 1325 also among government departments.

Field findings have described the role of women in peace building 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. 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. 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 peace building is defined. Respondents also argued that the UN typically uses peace building to refer to formal approaches in post conflict reconstruction which renders women involved in informal peace building invisible. Women's understanding of peace building 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. 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.

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 UNSC 1325's normative international and the effectiveness on the ground when it comes to involve women in conflict resolution. It is also argued that talk of ensuring women's participation in conflict resolution tend to remain political rhetoric with little impact on mainstream work and with little outcome for women in conflict-affected areas. In addition, there is a lack of research looking at the factors contributing to women's poor participation. With reference to the purpose of the study which was to explore the factors contributing to the delayed implementation of UNSC 1325 in regards to women's participation in conflict resolution and also to increase the understanding of why women are excluded in the conflict resolution 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 UNSC 1325', 'gendered roles', 'awareness of UNSC 1325', 'cultural and structural obstacles' and 'recognition of women in conflict resolution'.

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 conflict resolution. Yet, when looking at women's conflict resolution efforts it is clear that many women have developed significant conflict resolution 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 mind-sets 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.

As expressed by several of my informants, there is an implementation gap between the intentions of UNSC 1325 and the actions for change taken at official levels in Jongeli State. However, actions taken at lower, unofficial levels are arguably broad and activities in line with the goals of the resolution. I found that efforts made in implementing UNSC 1325, differs at the various levels of professionalism within and outside the political sphere. In the introduction I argued that there are both rights-based and efficiency-based reasons for the realisation of UNSC 1325. The rights-based aspect concerns the fact that women are increasingly targeted in conflicts and women have a right to protection and to participate in decisions that concerns their own future. When it concerns the efficiency-based aspects, it is argued that it is more likely that sustainable peace can be achieved if currently marginalised groups in the area of conflict are included in the peace process. Thus, independent on the value of realising women's rights, their participation may work as a catalyst for conflict resolution. I see my respondents' arguments and strategies for the implementation of UNSC 1325 as touching upon both these spheres of reasoning. They argue both for the uncontested value in realising women's rights in conflict areas, and for the positive effect an inclusion of women would have for the creation of sustainable peace in Jonglie state. However, I understand their as work first and foremost as a long term project of changing the patriarchal structures of the Sudanese society which currently discriminates against women. They work simultaneously with empowering IDP women in affected areas and pointing at the failure by the South Sudanese government of realising the country's constitution, which guarantees women's rights through among others including elements of CEDAW. Based on their own accounts on their work I find some limitations to their projects. Both in terms of implementing SCR 1325 and in terms of realising women's rights

in Soudan in general. For one, the relations several of my informants explained they were striving to build up with women in the conflict areas were difficult.

After undertaken this research, I would suggest that if the efforts to implement UNSC 1325 are not adjusted to South Sudan's specific conditions, such as basing it on its local circumstances and accepting women as partners of conflict resolution process there is the risk that the message of UNSC 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 key informant argument 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. Further, all my informants mentioned funding as an obstacle for implementation of UNSC 1325. Lack of funding directly hindered their projects, and sometimes limited the ability to follow up projects they had already started. Consequently, reforming their projects after the lessons-learned principle was difficult. Another limitation which can be addressed from two sides was the relationship to official decision-making institutions, such as the Sudanese government. On the one hand, my informants claimed that they often experienced difficulties in getting these bodies, if not to listen, then to act on the issues of gender inequalities they presented them with. This is evident in the official policies regarding the implementation of UNSC 1325 which are, as already mentioned, limited even though the pressure from organisations and activists on these issues is quite strong. Thus, even though some of my informants stated otherwise, it is my impression that their political influence had its limitations. On the other hand, those of my informants who were closest to the official decision-making bodies said that they were careful in criticising the politicians in fear of losing this close contact. Even though they claimed that this gave them real opportunities to affect the politics on gender, I suggest that this carefulness might limit the watchdog-effect they intended to have. Returning then to theories on women's international organisations presented in chapter two. It was claimed that women's international organisations are most effective when they operate far from the power-centres. I am not sure if this account for just women, but the dilemma closeness to power-holders creates was experienced as real in the context of my research.

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