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**Relationship between incorporating gender mainstreaming in
conflict management process and peace sustainability**

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1.1 Background to the Research Problem

At the international level norms and commitments have been developed to ensure that gender mainstreaming issues are included in conflict management processes and post conflict recovery. The first UN articulation linking gender equality to peace was the 1975 UN Conference on Women in Mexico City, and later the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) which defined discrimination against women and set up an agenda for national actions. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995 highlighted several gender specific impacts of armed conflict on women and girls. Paragraph 135 of the Platform reads, “while entire communities suffer the consequences of armed conflict and terrorism, women and girls are particularly affected because of their status in society and their sex”. The adoption of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on „Women, Peace and Security“ in October 2000 called for the incorporation of gender perspectives in all areas of conflict and peace management, a major concept shift that recognized women in international law as active agents in peace building and development rather than merely as victims of war. This resolution is the first ever passed by the Security Council that specifically addresses the impact of war on women and women’s contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace.

Following the adoption of Resolution 1325, there has been a new wave on the inclusion of gender mainstreaming in international peace building and security initiatives. Several documentary contributions since 2002 have made insights into the implementation of Resolution 1325. This research study argues that incorporating a gender perspective to conflict management process is a major transformative step towards realization of sustainable peace in the Sudan. An examination of gender, “the social roles that define women and men in a specific cultural context” provides insights on assumptions and stereo types of values and qualities associated with each.

During conflict, civilians and combatants suffer immensely, experiencing internal displacement, the breakdown of institutions, traditional support structures, inability to tend their farms, heightened levels of gender based violence, and massive loss of lives.¹ Women are the most vulnerable and victimized group during armed conflicts along with children and the elderly and it is only fair that this be equally reflected in their participation in peace building processes.² However, the most dominant image in relation to women and conflict is that of vulnerability and victimization, ignoring the contribution they make in resisting invading forces and maintaining the society during conflicts. In addition, women’s role in formal and traditional peace negotiation is not sufficiently recognized.³ In the light of this contradictory situation, this research study attempts to bring to the fore and highlight the potential role of women in conflict management, in recent conflicts especially in the Sudan during the IGAD led Peace Process.

¹ Byrne, Bridget; Marcus, Rachel; and Power-steyvens, Tanya, 1996. „Gender Conflict and Development: Case Studies; *Bridge Report*; No. 35. IDS, Brighton, University of Sussex.

² Byrne, Bridget. 1996. „Towards a Gendered understanding of conflict“. *IDS Bulletin*, No. 273, IDS. Brighton. University of Sussex. ³ Ibid

Most of the wars waged in the Horn of Africa since 1960 can be described in terms of ethnic conflict, both by the adversaries themselves and by external analysts. Sudan's independent history is spotted with chronic, exceptionally cruel warfare that has largely divided the country on racial, religious, and regional grounds and displaced millions of civilians.³ Sudan has had two major ethnic wars (between the Nuer and the Dinka clans) dating as far back as 1955, with the first Sudanese war taking place from 1955 to 1972 when a cessation of the north-south conflict was agreed upon under the terms of the Addis Ababa Agreement. This led to a ten-year break in the national conflict.⁴ The second major civil war was reignited in 1983 and this war is said to have damaged Sudan's economy and led to food shortages, resulting in starvation and malnutrition. The complicated dynamics of this ethnic war that pits northerner against southerner, on one hand, and southern ethnic groups and clans against each other, on the other, has overwhelmed traditional methods of conflict resolution and post conflict management.

This study will question how the problems of 'conflict' and the desired goal of 'peace' are conceived and the strategies used to achieve sustainable peace where gender perspective is ignored and yet peace holds a different promise and reality for women than it might for men, whose wartime obligation is fulfilled at the frontline. Traditional role of elders to resolve disputes has been eroded by war. Women have stepped into this void and are drawing on the positive aspects of their traditional role as peace makers to rebuild their communities. Incorporating gender analysis and perspectives into formulating responses so that discriminatory policies are not perpetuated in post conflict situations is essential. Gender analysis elicits different questions about the causes and effects of conflict on different sectors within society and their particular relationships and roles with each other.⁵ IGAD recognized the need to establish a women's desk as one of its institutional gender mainstreaming efforts, to oversee gender mainstreaming and related issues in its priority projects and programmes. The IGAD women's desk undertakes the responsibility of engendering policy and planning processes within IGAD⁶. But despite this vital institutional strengthening, IGAD is yet to fully incorporate women participation in its peace processes in the Sudan. In fact, women's groups and Muslim and Christian church leaders have been urging IGAD to include women in the dialogue but this has not borne much fruit. This in essence has had an impact on rebuilding peace in Southern Sudan despite the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Sudanese People's Liberation Front (SPLM) and the Khartoum Government in 2005⁷. Indeed it is the contention of this study that lack of inclusiveness could be the culprit for lack of sustainable peace.

³ Ann Mosely Lesch, *The Sudan: Contested National Identities* (Bloomington, 1998), p.185.

⁴ M.A.Fitzgerald, *Throwing the Stick Forward: The impact of war on southern Sudanese women*, Africa Women for Peace Series, UNIFEM, 2002 pp3-11

⁵ UNIFEM/ACCORD, *Conflict Trends, Special Issue on Women, Peace and Security*, 3/2003 pg 14

⁶ IGAD, *Report of Training in Advanced Negotiation and Mediation for Women in Peace Making Leadership and Development*, pp9

⁷ Ibid

This research study aims to draw attention to the need to incorporate gender mainstreaming in conflict management aimed at increasing the involvement of women in decision-making processes during conflict management and reconstruction. It will demonstrate that failure to incorporate a gender mainstreaming aspect in peace affects successful peace management and sustainability.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The situation of women in armed conflict has been systematically neglected. In post conflict situations where law enforcement is weak and judicial systems are ineffective, women continue to suffer violence from combatants, family members, neighbours or others, increasing their susceptibility to starvation and vulnerability to HIV/Aids⁸. However, finding a lasting solution to sustainable peace could be the only hope for those affected many of who are dependent on emergency assistance. Yet women who suffer most are nearly always left out in conflict resolution, management and search for sustainable peace.

Indeed, many studies⁹ attest to the fact that women are typically left out in most of these conflict management processes, either deliberately or otherwise, and this has had a negative impact on the attainment and management of sustainable peace. Most gender studies have made important contributions to the broader field of peace and conflict studies, including insights into the costs to societies due to exclusion of women, understanding the value of non-hierarchical relationships for the prevention and resolution of conflicts, new knowledge on integrative agreements based on processes of consensual decision making, and the need to include marginalized groups and voices for building durable peace. The proposed research study will look in to the contribution of gender perspective in the conflict resolution and peace management and demonstrate that lack of gender perspective in the case of Sudan contributes to lack of a sustainable peace.

It is the contention of this study that new strategies for peace need be explored, incorporate the views and experiences of women and that women also participate more in preventing, managing and resolving conflicts in Africa.

Women and men civilians and combatants have suffered immensely in the conflict in Sudan, experiencing internal displacement, the breakdown of every institution, traditional support structures, inability to tender their farms, heightened levels of gender based violence, and massive loss of lives.¹⁰ And yet, justice for cases of sexual violence for instance is a key element in successful conflict management process and eventual sustainable peace.¹¹ And while this is happening, women may require opportunities to make informed choices during reconstruction.

⁸ See UNIFEM/IGAD, *Placing Gender in the Mainstream: IGAD policy Seminar on Peace and Conflict Resolution*, Khartoum, October, 2000, pp 9

⁹ United Nations, *Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*, United Nations Institute for Social Development, 2005 pp233-237

¹⁰ ICRC Report.(2005) *Women and war*: pg 23

¹¹ Ibid

But it would appear that this is however relegated to the background in reality while designing the conflict management strategies and this could be the culprit for lack of sustainable peace.

1.3 Study objectives

To determine the relationship between incorporating gender mainstreaming in conflict management process and peace sustainability

2.0 Literature Review

A review of literature is centered on the role of gender in conflict management. Specifically, the literature discussed emphasizes the need to include women in the peace process so as to ensure sustainable peace. The literature also discusses the mandate of IGAD II and its role in bringing peace to Southern Sudan. The literature review also uses the feminist approach in its discussion of the term gender as compared to women which has a double advantage in that it put women into a context, focusing on the socially constructed relation between women and men and by so doing making visible the aspect of power in gender relations.

2.1 Literature review on conflict prevention and the overlapping roles of women.

Conflict prevention and resolution in Africa is a much debated subject in recent years. Africa has and continues to witness numerous conflicts most of which have defied any efforts at resolution.¹² These conflicts have had various faces, ranging from Interstate conflicts, intrastate conflicts, others that are spread over several countries, and potential conflicts like those over transboundary water resources like the River Nile. Some others have been caused by poor governance and exclusion from the sharing of power. But the biggest problem has been poor conflict resolution and management leading to fragile peace arrangements despite the world community's willingness to assist and provide enormous resources.¹³ Scholars such as Kent and McIntyre¹⁴ see this as partly due to lack of gender perspective in these processes.

According to Kent and McIntyre¹⁵, despite the myriad of overlapping roles of women in conflict, women have not been considered to have the leadership skills necessary for peace building and reconstruction¹⁷. Evidently, the complexities of gender roles, priorities and responsibilities have not been adequately recognized. Yet conflict management and peace building is a complex endeavor that must take into account the differences and inequalities between women and men

¹² See for instance the Somali civil war

¹³ Smock, David R., "Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict in Africa" in *Peaceworks* No. 6 (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 1996)

¹⁴ Kent and McIntyre, "From Protection to Empowerment", p.5

¹⁵ Kent and McIntyre, "From Protection to Empowerment", p.5¹⁷

Ibid

in relation to their position in the economy, distribution of domestic responsibilities and mobility patterns¹⁶

The focus on satisfying human needs is derived from the conflict resolution theories of Burton.¹⁷ Unless people are given a chance to reach their full potentials, they may not then be effective actors in peace building. In fact, the structure of relationships and culture may either exclude or inhibit some actors from achieving their full potentials, which can be perpetuated by structural and social stereotypes.

Licklider¹⁸ argues that the ending of overt violence via a peace agreement or military victory does not necessarily mean the achievement of peace. Robert Rothstein¹⁹ further argues that the ending of violence or „post conflict“ situation as provides “a new set of opportunities that can be grasped or thrown away”. According to Spence, “the process of peace building calls for new attitudes and practices: ones that are flexible, consultative and collaborative and that operate from a contextual understanding of the root causes of conflict”.²⁰ Ignoring gender inclusivity can undermine the very process of conflict management and peace building.

Conflicts present complex challenges to which neither the parties to the conflict nor the international community have been able to provide adequate responses. The amount of human suffering resulting from violent conflicts is immense and the emergency measures required after conflict are also immense. Capson²¹ in his study of the possibilities of peace in Post-cold war Africa observes that despite the favorable developments in the regional and international system, conflict remains a serious problem. There is a growing need to carry out an in-depth examination of many factors that have made conflict management and peace processes not achieve the goal of enhancing peace in the region while evaluating all the strategies that might affect these factors in order to achieve peace. This study will look into the contribution of gender perspective and where it has been infused into the peace process, why it has failed the test of sustainable peace.

In Africa the utility and relevance of women’s analysis, information and insight on peace and security issues in general and particularly conflict management are underestimated²². women do not participate in sufficient numbers, or sufficiently in influential positions, at forums where the terms of such processes are decided. And because their presence, opinions and experiences

¹⁶ Report of the Secretary- General, “Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Keeping Activities” A/57/731 (New York: United Nations, 2003), p.11

¹⁷ J.W. Burton, “Human Needs Theory” in *Conflict: Resolution and Prevention*, London, Macmillan, 1990, pp.36-48

¹⁸ Licklider, P, “In search of peace through Violence” Pg 7

¹⁹ Robert Rothstein, 2001, “Peace management in Violence situations”, pp 32

²⁰ Rebecca Spence, “Post–Conflict Peace building”, p. 145

²¹ Capson D ,2000, “ Peace in Post cold war Africa, pp 35

²² Report of the Secretary- General, “Gender Mainstreaming in Peace Keeping Activities” A/57/731 (New York: United Nations, 2003), p.11

are routinely overlooked, vital opportunities to develop more accurate gender and age disaggregated pictures of conflict and conflict management strategies are often lost.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 makes an explicit recommendation that²³ “women be involved in the processes that accompany conflict management processes”. The resolution acknowledged that women and men, both civilians and ex-combatants and their dependants have different needs in the peace process²⁴. While successive and inclusive peace processes offers a rare opportunity to transform a war torn community into one in which combatants can become citizens and civilians begin to rebuild shattered lives under the protection of the rule of law, to “ignore women in such a crucial moment is not only a violation of their right to participate but also to undermine the very objective of the processes of conflict management, reintegration, sustainable and equitable development”.²⁵

2.2 Literature review on gender attention during negotiations

Gender refers to the socially constructed roles as ascribed to women and men, as opposed to biological and physical characteristics. According to UNESCO’s Guidelines on GenderNeutral Language, a person’s sex is a matter of chromosomes; a person’s gender is a social and historical construction and the result of conditioning.²⁶ Mbote²⁷ considers gender to mean a state of being male or female which is distinguishable physically by sex or reproductive differences. Gender roles vary according to socio-economic, political and cultural contexts. They are learnt and changeable, while gender equality²⁸ is a goal to ensure equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities for both men and women. The Beijing platform for Action, in paragraph 141, notes that “in addressing armed conflicts an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective into all the policies and programmes should be promoted so that before decisions are taken an analysis is made of the effects on women and men respectively.”²⁹, This study will recognize women’s roles as victims and active agents during conflict and post conflict reconstruction leading to sustainable peace.

²³ United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 of October 2000

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ UNIFEM: *Getting it right, Doing it Right: Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration*, 2004 pg 1

²⁶ UNESCO, Guidelines on Gender - Neutral Language, (Paris, 1999), p. 5. Go to <http://www.unesco.org>.

²⁷ Patricia K. Mbote, Gender, Conflict and Regional Security, in M. Mwagiru, *African Regional Security in the Age of Globalization*, (Nairobi:Heinrich Boll Stiftung, 2004), pp83-94

²⁸ Equality is not a synonym for anti-discrimination. It is not equality *de jure* either, meaning that all genderbased obstacles in legislation are removed. Equality must be considered as a positive entitlement, or equality *de facto*, related to women’s and men’s rights to diversity and difference. It also implies that women and men are free individuals and that the relations between them evolve constantly. For these reasons, the concept cannot be simplified and reduced to the categories of male and female.

²⁹ In Women, Peace and Security, United Nations, 2002, Study submitted by the Secretary General pursuant to Security resolution 1325 (2000), pg4.

During negotiations of ceasefire agreements and/or peace accords, there is usually very little or no attention paid to gender issues, for fear of scaring away an imminent settlement.³⁰ As a result, a gender perspective regarding the orientation of interventions during reconstruction is lost. In addition, women in areas of conflict are faced with a restricting social organization that dictates that they remain at the periphery of social life. To the credit of international organizations, programmes are designed to include the participation of women, but in actual fact, men dictate their participation particularly in Africa.

2.3 Literature review on Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

The Inter-Governmental Authority on Drought and Desertification, (IGADD) was established in 1986 with a narrow mandate around drought and desertification, which caused periodic widespread famine, ecological degradation and economic hardship in the region.³³ In 1994 IGADD started to undertake conflict management tasks when the Authority hosted and facilitated negotiating sessions between the Sudanese government in Khartoum and the rebel forces from Southern Sudan in an attempt to end the civil war. This led to the change in the name in April 1995 to IGAD and the creation of a department for conflict management.³¹ Talks on the Sudan conflict continued sporadically amidst intensifying international pressure until, the signing of a framework agreement in June 2004, which outlined provisions for power sharing, wealth sharing and transitional security arrangements. The negotiations were finalized in 2004 resulting in the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in January 2005.³⁵

In 1998, the need for gender representation and participation in the operations of the revitalized IGAD was mooted during a trade Policy Harmonization for Women in Business workshop held in Nairobi, Kenya. IGAD has a Gender Affairs Programme, with specific mandate, vision and objectives. But despite these structures and the fact that the Women's Desk had been approved by as early as 1999, there is little success to show on the ground as concerns its contribution to sustainable peace in Sudan, numerous calls for the inclusion of women in peace monitoring processes and for making resources available that would be directed to ensuring that post conflict reconstructive processes are gender responsive, notwithstanding.³²

In the long run, it should be appreciated that women, as human agents, play indispensable roles in preventing wars, ending strife, managing conflict, and building peace. The empowerment of women is now widely viewed as essential for economic growth, improved health status, decline of poverty, sustainable management of the environment, and consolidation of democracy, while

³⁰ Young, J., "Sudan's changing relations with its neighbours and the implications for war and peace," paper presented to the Institute of Governance Studies, Simon Fraser University. ³³ Ibid

³¹ ibid

³⁵ ibid

³² In Women, Peace and Security, United Nations, 2002, Study submitted by the Secretary General pursuant to Security resolution 1325 (2000), pg4.

progress for women may as well mean progress for all".³³ This study will further demonstrate that though gender has been recognized as an important ingredient to by IGAD and other players, this may only be so on paper.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

The current discourse on the role of women on conflict management and transformation owes many of its fundamental assumptions to the feminism approach. This perspective makes the assumption that philosophical and socio- scientific theories of the past have been cognitively inadequate because they have failed to take into account the stand point, activities and experiences of women. Further that to correct gender blindness it is necessary to identify a set of experiences, activities as well as patterns of thinking, feeling and acting which can be characterized as „female“. Such activities and experiences are seen by the proponents of this approach as a consequence of women's social position or of their position within the sexual division of labor; whereas men are seen as having been active in the public sphere of production, politics, war and science while women's activities have been confined to the domestic/ reproductive private spheres³⁴. These feminist arguments may correspond well with arguments regarding exclusion and or inclusion of women in conflict management where arguments are rife that conflict management practice and theory has failed to take into account the activities, experiences and knowledge of women and that the dominant discourse of conflict management and prevention has been gender blind and thus excluding women's experiences, activities and patterns of thinking, feeling and acting. And although feminist theories have been accused of being value laden, they have been able to expose biases and impartiality embedded in the patriarchal mainstream structure of relationship and epistemology³⁵, exposing also male centered assumptions, values and interest. It is possible and sometimes necessary, however, to analyse gender in political activity from perspectives other than those of feminists.

Signe Arnfred³⁶ observes that Feminists wanted to criticize the dominant women-indevelopment (WID) approach for dealing with integration of women into existing development policies, with no critical analysis of development as such, and with no criticism of the unequal power relationships between men and women. Seen from the point of view of the feminists then, the term gender as compared to women had a double advantage in that it put women into a context, focusing on the socially constructed relation between women and men and by so doing making visible the aspect of power in gender relations.

Feminists like Spike Peterson, Mary Daly and Rebecca Grant conceptions of human behaviour are frequently based on the observations of men and since societies are male dominated; men's legitimize aggression and dominance as a way to resolve conflicts. The task of a gendered

³³ Skjelsbaek, Inger.1997.*Gendered battlefields.A gender Analysis of peace and conflict*. International peace research Institute(Prio): Oslo

³⁴ UNIFEM/ACCORD, Conflict Trends, Special Issue on Women, Peace and Security, 3/2003 pp 7 - 8

³⁵ Louise Antony, Quine as Feminist: The radical import of Naturalized Epistemology..in Keith Lelier (ed), The Coherence Theory of Knowledge Philosophical Topics, Vol. 14 (1986) pp 539-573

³⁶ Signe Arnfred, Questions of Power:women's Movements, Feminist Theory and Development Aid, as cited in Sida Studies no.3, Discussing Women's Empowerment-Theory and Practice, pp 73

perspective in conflict resolution practice and theory then is to make the lived experiences, activities and perspectives of women part of the gender for conflict management and peace building. Feminism seeks to integrate women in the mainstream of social, economic and political policy making process to enhance gender equality, thus laying a strong basis for addressing the gendered needs of women in conflict and their role in conflict management and peace building.

In conclusion, the feminist approach was preferred over WID approach due to its point of view of the term gender as compared to women as it has a double advantage in that it put women into a context, focusing on the socially constructed relation between women and men and by so doing making visible the aspect of power in gender relations.

3.0 Methodology of the Research

The study will take the form of a desk study though a few interviews will be conducted in an effort to capture the respondent's view of the role of gender participation in the IGAD II peace process and the role of gender in sustainable peace. A desk study was preferred due to the nature of the problem statement and the sensitivity of the physical area under study (Southern Sudan). Therefore, it is not feasible to carry out a field study and hence data collection exercise in Southern Sudan. Consequently, secondary sources of data will be accessed from relevant published and unpublished works. These will include books, periodicals, journals, articles, newspapers, bibliographies, print media and internet sources.

4.0 Gender based impact of the war in Southern Sudan

The gender impact of war can be analyzed and categorized into physical effects, economic and social effects. It is to be noted that the effects are experienced during war and post war periods. Below is a discussion of these effects and a brief analysis of the policy framework to address these effects.

4.1 Physical impact: Deaths, Injuries and incapacitation of women in Southern Sudan

Sudanese women and girls account for a smaller percentage of casualties from landmines and unexploded munitions than their counterparts, men and boys³⁷. However, as a result of sociocultural perceptions the consequences for Sudan female victims are different. They continue to suffer stigma and rejection and may also have less access to prosthetic and rehabilitation services. Anti-personnel landmines and other explosive remnants of war (ERW) strike blindly and senselessly, often injuring civilians more than any other victims. Long after the fighting stopped, mines continued to cause death and destruction and when they don't kill, the injuries they cause are particularly horrific, disabling survivors for life³⁸. Most victims of mines and unexploded ordnance are Sudanese men who were working outdoors at the time of the accident. Sudanese women and girls tend to remain in or around their homes, and are thus less likely to be exposed. Nevertheless, going about their daily routine puts them in harm's way.

³⁷ ICRC Report, 2005: *Women and war*:

³⁸ ICRC Women and War team (2004). *Addressing the Needs of Women Affected by Armed Conflict*. Geneva: ICRC, pp. 59 - 60

In many regions of Sudan, women must venture beyond the perimeters of their town or village to find food, water and firewood. Populations fleeing violence and threats, mostly women and children, are particularly vulnerable to landmines in border areas. Higher rates of illiteracy and less contact with the public sphere mean that Sudanese women and girls may not get enough information about the threat of mines.³⁹

4.2 Conflict management and conflict resolution

Tanner⁴⁰ has defined conflict management as the limitation, mitigation and /or containment of as conflict without necessary resolving it. Wallensteen⁴¹ has also defined conflict management as a change in the mode of interaction from destructive to constructive. Swanstrom further asserts that the process of conflict becomes the foundation for more effective conflict resolution. In sum, it could be argued that conflict management and conflict resolution are two mechanisms at different sides of a continuum, which are used to deal with the same conflict in different settings.⁴²

Conflict management indicates in the first instance the perspective of the so called “third party” (a mediator, conflict advisor, conflict manager, or supervisor), which is called to help, or engages itself after its own incentive, in order to provide assistance to both conflict parties (and eventually one of them). One can speak about conflict dealing also when during the conflict both parties look for a consensual solution, without asking for an external assistance. The forms of approaching and dealing with conflicts could be of very different nature. What then is a conflict management mechanism?

The basis for a definition can be found in what makes parties accept a solution, since without the acceptance of a mechanism, there can be no conflict management. Galtung⁴³ has argued that “one way of accepting the mechanism lies in its institutionalization”. This means that there would be a lesser acceptance of ad hoc mechanism, and it is only mechanisms that have reached some form of institutionalization that are accepted, both for formal and informal mechanisms.

According to Swanstrom, conflict management mechanism can thus be defined as an institutionalized instrument under which the information is coded and decoded to offer a solution to a problem. Further, he distinguishes between formal and informal conflict management mechanisms. Accordingly, formal conflict management mechanism are institutionalized structures aimed at minimizing disputes through rule based regulations whereas informal conflict management mechanisms are institutionalized structures aimed at minimizing

³⁹ Ibid

⁴⁰ Tanner Fred, 2000, “ Conflict prevention and conflict resolution: limits of multilateralism”, International review of the Red Cross, Vol 82;541-559

⁴¹ Walensteen Peter, 1981, “ Incompatibility confrontation and war: Four Models and Three historical systems 1816-1976”, Journal of Peace Research , No. 1 vol xviii

⁴² Swanstrom, “Regional Cooperation and conflict management: lessons from the Pacific Rim”. Department of Peace and Conflict Research; Report No. 64, 298 pp-Uppsala. ISBN 91-506-1632-3

⁴³ Johan Galtung, “Violence, peace and peace research” in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1969).

disputes through negotiations in a power or consensus based way.⁴⁴ The same structure will apply for conflict resolution, with the exception that conflict resolution is always rule based.

Thus it would not be possible to operationalize an informal conflict resolution mechanism since no disputing parties would accept a resolution mechanism without any predictability or formality.⁴⁵

5.0 Conclusion and Recommendation 5.1 Conclusion

The article expounded on the role of local structures for conflict management in Sudan as well as providing highlights to the inner workings of the local traditional peace processes and their limitations to the management and resolving the Sudan's north-south conflict hence the necessity of the IGAD peace process. The chapter concludes that while local Sudan peace processes were not able to stop a large conflict, they helped prevent small disputes from escalating into larger conflicts. However, Local conflict management's potential effectiveness was diminished where traditional authority had eroded and armed authority had increased. This is so simply because these trends run counter to traditional values and ways of social organization, including those of handling conflict.

The next chapter will discuss the IGAD II peace process, its origin and the challenges the peace process faced in its quest for sustainable peace

The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) ended a long and devastating war and was a source of pride for both the region and Africa as a whole because it demonstrated Africa's ability to resolve its conflicts, notwithstanding the importance of the support from the international community. However, with due respect to the achievements of all parties to the agreement, mediators and the international community, the role permitted to women during negotiations was based on a perception of them as passive victims of war, not active players in politics and society. This is clearly reflected in the CPA's lack of clear gender targets or timelines for the parties to meet, limiting the effective utilization of women's experiences, expertise and perspectives in decision-making in the post conflict period. Democracy is about freedom and rights of participation in decision-making, but the democracy bequeathed by the CPA and DPA will be lopsided, lacking a level playing field for women.

In this study, it was hypothetically argued that failure to incorporate gender mainstreaming in the IGAD led Sudan Peace Process has negatively impacted on peace management and sustainability in Sudan. In addition, it was also stated in form of a hypothesis that mainstreaming gender in conflict management and peace building processes enhances sustainable peace. For women, girls and women leaders involved in armed opposition groups and women leaders within civil society, their meaningful participation in peace negotiations marks a pivotal step in

⁴⁴ Swanstrom, "Regional Cooperation and conflict management: lessons from the Pacific Rim". Department of Peace and Conflict Research; Report No. 64, 298 pp-Uppsala. ISBN 91-506-1632-3

⁴⁵ *ibid*

setting post conflict governance and reconstruction agendas that takes women's and girls' needs and priorities into account. This was clearly illustrated in the case of South Africa. Token inclusion of women at the peace negotiations, where it was demonstrated that towing the agenda set by the male leaders, does not produce positive results for women and girls in the frameworks and agendas that emerge.

Another good example is the peace negotiations of Sudan conducted in Kenya. Failure to include women in the peace talks meant that the issues affecting the socio economic and political aspects of women were not addressed afterwards. Furthermore, the study has demonstrated that failure to include women in the IGAD II Process has contributed greatly to the lack of everlasting peace after the signing of the peace accord. Were the women involved, they would have brought a different dimension to the peace table in terms of putting agendas forward that would have safeguarded peace and reduced the effects of war on the civilians in general and women in particular.

When women negotiators and women representatives are not present at the peace talks, women's issues, concerns and priorities are usually also absent at the peace table. In fact despite international laws such as CEDAW and the Protocol on the Rights of Women in Africa, and important initiatives like SC Res 1325 that stipulate the need for gender inclusivity and non discrimination and although women had participated in the armed struggle, most were excluded from decision-making positions in the new governments and security forces that were established. Most of the male combatants on the other hand were well incorporated into the new government and contributing to the rebuilding of their country. On the other hand, most of the women, especially former combatants are still languishing in poverty, some unable to return home for fear of being shunned by their communities.

The study has established a number of reasons why women in Sudan continue to be underrepresented in decision-making positions even after the signing of the peace accord. Patriarchal traditions, practices and national and customary laws are central factors contributing to women's inability to enter these positions. Further, high levels of illiteracy and poverty, unequal work burdens within their homes and communities are often the result of these patriarch customs, practices and laws and are among the main factors why for instance women and especially leaders formerly associated with fighting forces as well as women civilians have a difficult time accessing the formal political sphere and, thus, why they have correspondingly low representation in decision-making positions, including in peace negotiations and reconstruction activities. Often times and even in other instances outside of the Sudan Peace Process, cultural reasons are given to justify women's continued exclusion. However, it is important to recognize that culture is dynamic and that taboos about women being decision makers could fade in time if women entered the public, civil and political arena.

Although it is unclear whether or not women formerly associated with fighting forces are among those who could or should play a public role in advocating for more inclusive and just social, political and economic change, it is clear is that they face a daunting task in accessing both public decision-making forums and civil society spaces. Notably, civil society organizations whose agendas are women's rights, peace, equality and reconstruction often have similar goals to those of women leaders coming from fighting forces. However, networks and alliances with

such organizations are particularly difficult for women formerly associated with fighting forces to build, often because there is little agreement or trust among the former women fighters, civil groups and the general public. Indeed, civil society, women focused groups, and women rights groups in particular, are wary of building alliances with those formerly associated with the fighting.

Consequently, women formerly associated with fighting forces would have to engage in much negotiation, truth-telling and reconciliation with other members of civil groups, and in particular women's groups, for the forming of such alliances to occur. Importantly, it is likely that only through such alliances that women formerly associated with fighting forces would likely be able to achieve the kinds of change they are seeking within their societies. Though this group of women has not been solely the focus of this study, they form a critical mass whose role and experiences can inform peace processes in a more encompassing way so as to incorporate all views. This is an area that may require further examination.

In conclusion therefore, this study has found the IGAD II led Sudan peace process was did not mainstream gender in its processes and that this lack of inclusion of women in the IGAD II peace process contributed in and hence was responsible for the part failure of the objectives of the process. Hence, the hypotheses are true.

5.2 Recommendations

This study notes that the CPA did create a new democratic political space and committed the government to good governance and the rule of law, justice, equity and respect for human rights. Sudanese women need to rise to the challenge of building a solid foundation for democracy by doing everything possible to increase their political participation and create an equal and level playing field for all citizens. The greatest hope now for women across Sudan is that they will be able to expand on the Bill of Rights in the Interim National Constitution as well as effect change through the mid-term elections and effective mobilization. The peace agreements and their shortcomings are important areas for their campaign, making women realize the need to increase their representation in legislative assemblies at state and national levels, to gain more influence