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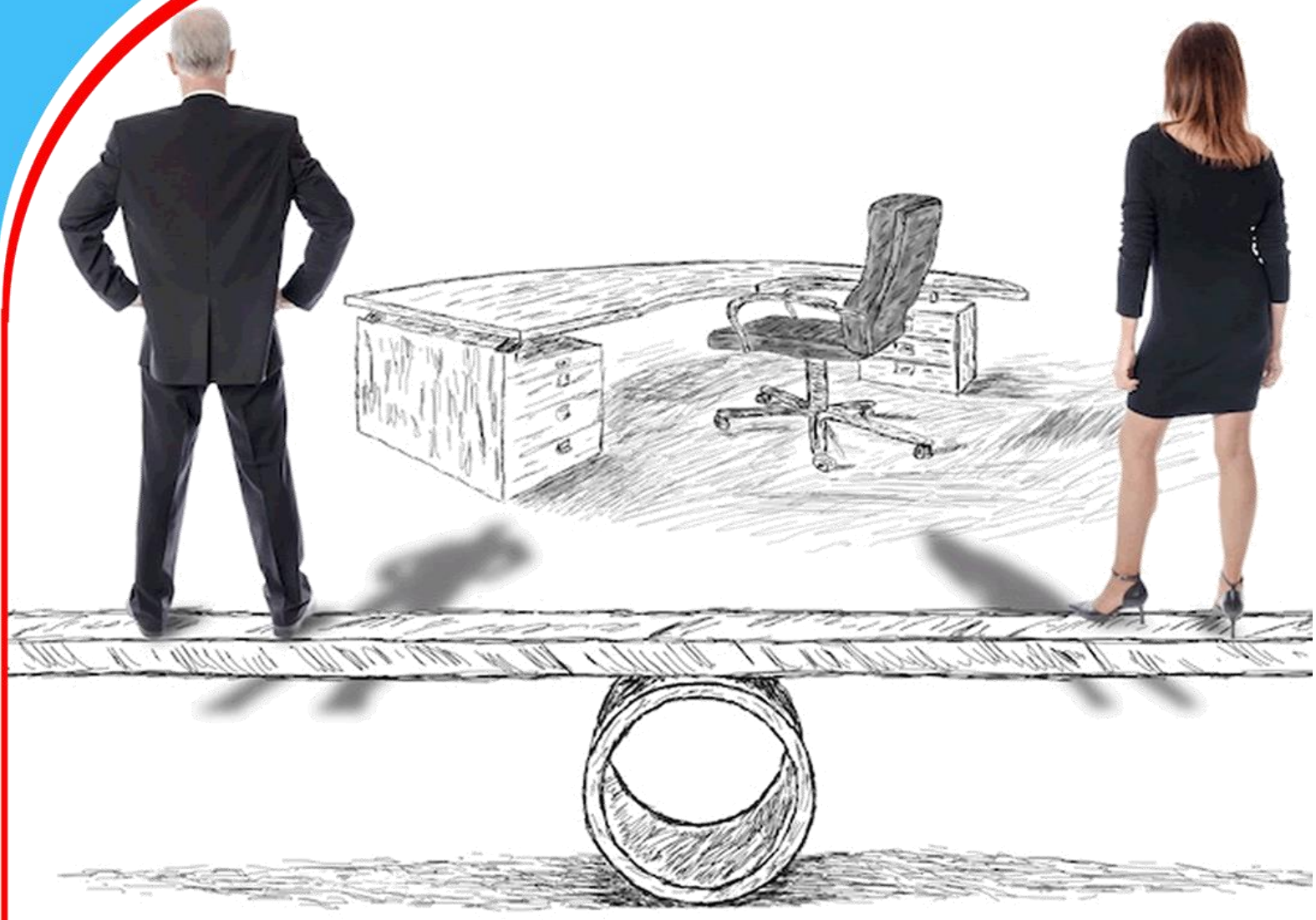

GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA: THE CASE STUDY OF THE IGAD II SUDAN PEACE PROCESS, 1994-2006

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GENDER MAINSTREAMING AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN AFRICA: THE CASE STUDY OF THE IGAD II SUDAN PEACE PROCESS, 1994-2006

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ABSTRACT

Purpose: The overall goal of the study was to demonstrate that gender mainstreaming in conflict management enhances sustainable peace.

Methodology: The study took the form of a desk study though 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.

Unique contribution to theory, practice and policy: Women suffer from discrimination in employment and education and in society in general. Women must be empowered through access to information about rights and to skill-building so they can affect positive change. The government needs to provide equal rights under the law to both males and females. In the same vein, both the government and civil society must heighten national awareness that some cultural and religious beliefs are discriminatory.

Keywords: *gender mainstreaming, peace sustainability, conflict management, peace process*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

At the international level norms and commitments have been developed to ensure that gender mainstreaming issues re 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.

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[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.[4] 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.[5] 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.[6] 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 IGAD[7]. 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 2005[8]. Indeed it is the contention of this study that lack of inclusiveness could be the culprit for lack of sustainable peace.

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

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

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

[6] UNIFEM/ACCORD, Conflict Trends, Special Issue on Women, Peace and Security, 3/2003 pg 14

[7] IGAD, Report of Training in Advanced Negotiation and Mediation for Women in Peace Making Leadership and Dvelopment,pp9

[8] Ibid

to suffer violence from combatants, family members, neighbours or others, increasing their susceptibility to starvation and vulnerability to HIV/Aids[9]. 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 studies[10] 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.[11] And yet, justice for cases of sexual violence for instance is a key element in successful conflict management process and eventual sustainable peace.[12] And while this is happening, women may require opportunities to make informed choices during reconstruction. 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 Objectives of the Research

The overall goal of the study was to demonstrate that gender mainstreaming in conflict management enhances sustainable peace.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

- To determine the relationship between incorporating gender mainstreaming and peace sustainability.
- To demonstrate that the continued exclusion of women in formalized conflict management processes negatively affects peace sustainability.

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

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

[11] ICRC Report.(2005) *Women and war*: pg 23

[12] Ibid

- To determine whether IGAD's led Sudan Peace Process was all inclusive and how this has impacted on sustained peace in the Sudan.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Empirical Studies

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.[13] 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.[14] Scholars such as Kent and McIntyre[15] see this as partly due to lack of gender perspective in these processes.

According to Kent and Mclntyre[16], 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 reconstruction[17]. 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 in relation to their position in the economy, distribution of domestic responsibilities and mobility patterns[18]

The focus on satisfying human needs is derived from the conflict resolution theories of Burton.[19] 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.

Licklider[20] argues that the ending of overt violence via a peace agreement or military victory does not necessarily mean the achievement of peace. Robert Rothstein[21] 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

[13] See for instance the Somali civil war

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

[15] Kent and McIntyre, "From Protection to Empowerment", p.5

[16] Kent and McIntyre, "From Protection to Empowerment", p.5

[17] Ibid

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

[19] J.W. Burton, "Human Needs Theory" in Conflict: Resolution and Prevention, London, Macmillan, 1990, pp.36-48

[20] Licklider, P, "In search of peace through Violence" Pg 7

[21] Robert Rothstein,2001, "Peace management in Violence situations" ,pp 32

attitudes and practices: ones that are flexible, consultative and collaborative and that operate from a contextual understanding of the root causes of conflict".[22] 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. Capson[23] 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 underestimated[24]. 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 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 that[25] "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 process[26]. 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".[27]

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.[28] 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,

[22] Rebecca Spence, "Post –Conflict Peace building", p. 145

[23] Capson D ,2000, " Peace in Post cold war Africa, pp 35

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

[25] United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 of October 2000

[26] Ibid

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

[28] 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.

programmes are designed to include the participation of women, but in actual fact, men dictate their participation particularly in Africa.

3.0 METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The study will take the form of a desk study though 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 filed 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 RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Effectiveness of Conflict Management through Local Traditional Structures in Sudan

4.1.1 Conflict management and conflict resolution

Tanner[29] has defined conflict management as the limitation, mitigation and /or containment of as conflict without necessary resolving it. Wallensteen[30] 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.[31]

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 assists 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. Galtung[32] has argued that "one way of accepting the solution lies in the acceptance of the mechanism lies in its institutionalization". This means that there would be a lesser acceptance of ad hoc mechanism,

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[29] Tanner Fred, 2000, " Conflict prevention and conflict resolution: limits of multilateralism", International review of the Red Cross, Vol 82;541-559

[30] Walensteen Peter,1981, " Incompatibility confrontation and war: Four Models and Three historical systems 1816-1976", Journal of Peace Research , No. 1vol xviii

[31] 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

[32] Johan Galtung, "Violence, peace and peace research" in *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (Oslo: International Peace Research Institute, 1969).

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 disputes through negotiations in a power or consensus based way.[33] 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 operationalise an informal conflict resolution mechanism since no disputing parties would accept a resolution mechanism without any predictability or formality.[34]

4.1.2 Effectiveness of local traditional structures in Sudan conflict management

Indigenous conflict mitigation mechanisms[35] can address some of the proximate factors that help fuel conflict at the local level—access to land or water, competition over foreign assistance—and can provide appropriate, sustainable and long-term solutions. While local Sudan peace processes were not able to stop a large conflict, they helped prevent small disputes from escalating into larger conflicts. Many communities in Sudan perceived conflict resolution activities directed by outsiders as intrusive and unresponsive to indigenous concepts of justice, and prefer to resolve conflicts within the community.

Conflict management mediators from the Sudan local community were generally more sensitive to local needs than outsiders and were immersed in the culture of the violence-afflicted community. Their activities were rooted in conflict's context, addressed some of its immediate causes, and therefore brought long-term solutions. They drew people away from the conflict, breaking its momentum.[36] Indigenous conflict management and resolution mechanisms in Sudan aimed to resolve conflicts locally, preceding or replacing external dispute resolution and thereby reducing reliance on external structures. Traditional mediation helped the community keep control over the outcome of the dispute.

Implementing this approach did not require sophisticated party structures or expensive campaigns; it provided a low-cost, empowering means of resolving conflicts within a relatively short timeframe. In many societies, elders had traditional jurisdiction in facilitation, arbitration, and monitoring outcomes. Local conflict mediators typically possessed moral status, seniority, neutrality and respect of the community; they were acceptable to all parties and demonstrated leadership capacity. Resolutions were generally accepted and respected by all concerned parties.

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[33] 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

[34] ibid

[35] John Paul Lederach. Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies. Pg 56: Tokyo: United Nations University, 1994.

[36] ibid

Documentation on the effectiveness of Sudan grassroots conflict prevention mechanisms is inconsistent[37], yet indicates that indigenous mediation may be powerless to address some of a conflict's root causes—centrally-instigated conflict, predatory behaviour linked to exploiting economic advantage, external meddling. Indigenous mediators often bring important social influence but may lack the power and the means to enforce the resolutions adopted. Advice is only accepted when both parties agree to it, and both parties must feel their concerns were properly addressed. Traditional structures' power to prevent the occurrence of violence is limited.

Some of Sudan traditional conflict mitigation efforts were weakened by age or gender bias—for example, in cases with no women elders, some women believed that male elders were biased against women and that this was reflected in their decisions. Indigenous, traditional authorities generally were not progressive elements of social change.[38] Local conflict management's potential effectiveness was diminished where traditional authority has eroded and armed authority had increased. This is so simply because these trends run counter to traditional values and ways of social organisation, including those of handling conflict.

International agencies' efforts to build local capacity and enhance participation in Sudan should question whether traditional authority structures are being undermined, what their role is in keeping the society intact and managing conflict, and whether it is important to make efforts to retain such structures. Indigenous mediation has a dynamic of its own and does not always respond positively to external prompting. Indigenous mediation requires delicate and knowledgeable management, and external actors must bring an intimate understanding of local conditions.[39]

The process of strengthening international and regional institutions has neglected internal solutions. Conflict is inherent in society; so are mechanisms for dealing with it. The decline of traditional authority and its role in conflict mediation has contributed to the development of large-scale conflict (as in Liberia, Somalia and Sudan).[40] In other cases (Rwanda and, to a lesser extent, Burundi) the parties to broader conflicts have subverted traditional mediation mechanisms or included them in the conflict. External initiatives can renew indigenous forms of peacemaking and conflict resolution to restore the balance in society that was destroyed by modern internal war. Such work must rebuild indigenous peacemaking capacity from the bottom up, and from the periphery in.

Traditional mechanisms have been less effective in areas where foreign aid resources were heavily concentrated; such aid may have stimulated conflict and undermined local structures and

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[37] Rahim Afzahir, 2000, "Empirical studies on managing conflict". International Journal of conflict management. Vol II

[38] Ibid

[39] Ibid

[40] Reimann, Cordula (2005), "Assessing the state-of-the-art in conflict transformation", in David Bloomfield/Martina Fischer/Beatrix Schmelzle (eds.), Berghof handbook for conflict transformation, Berlin, http://www. berghofhandbook. net/articles/reimann_handbook. pdf.

mechanisms. High-profile peace fora financed and organized by external parties may interfere with more than assist in producing plausible settlements, especially if conducted without coordinating with local non-military leaders. At the national or international level, such efforts may require external support, such as logistical assistance, and probably should be accompanied by other actions to prevent the immediate outbreak of violence.

4.3 The Igad II Peace Process

4.3.1 The IGAD Peace Process

Sudan has suffered war for most of its existence as an independent state and many hoped the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 9 January 2005 would not only end the long-running southern civil war, but provide the momentum and serve as a model for resolving other conflicts in the country[41]. While the jury is still out on whether the CPA will survive until the 2011 referendum on southern self-determination, it has not served as the stimulus to end the war and humanitarian crisis in Darfur. Nor to date has the CPA advanced any reconciliation between the people of north and south Sudan, provided hope that its commitment to 'make unity attractive' is being fulfilled, or is ushering in a democratic transformation of the country.

There is a widespread acceptance that the CPA and the broader peace process it fostered is at best stalling, or at worst is collapsing. Indeed, on 13 April 2007 at a meeting in Nairobi the IGAD Council of Ministers concluded the implementation of the CPA was 'lagging behind schedule' and urged an extraordinary meeting of the IGAD Heads of State be held to consider the problem [42]

IGAD's engagement in the Sudan peace process began on 7 September 1993 when it established a Standing Committee on Peace to assist negotiations and end Sudan's civil war. A DoP was proposed and quickly accepted by the SPLM/A as a basis for negotiations, but was not endorsed by GoS until 1998. By this time the peace process was floundering and in an effort to re-activate it the mandate was renewed by the IGAD Sub-Ministerial Committee on the Conflict in Sudan[43]. This Committee established a 'Secretariat for the IGAD Peace Process on the Sudan' based in Nairobi with the mandate 'to carry out continuous and sustained mediation efforts with a view to arriving at a peaceful resolution of the conflict'. This phase of the peace process led by Special Envoy Ambassador Daniel Mboya also floundered and the next and final phase – which is the subject of this evaluation - began under Special Envoy Lt. General Lazaro Sumbeiywo in May 2002[44].

On 20 July 2002 the Government of Sudan and the SPLM/A signed the Machakos Protocol as a framework for the conduct of the negotiations and after two and one half years of negotiations endorsed the CPA.[45] The Sudan mediation under Special Envoy Sumbeiywo was widely

[41] Young, John. 'Sudan IGAD Peace Process and Sign Posts for the Way Forward. ' African Studies Programme. Institute of Security Studies. Occasional Paper 86. Institute of Security Studies. Pretoria. March 2004.
[42] Ibid
[43] Young, John. 'Sudan: A Flawed Peace Process Leading to a Flawed Peace. ' *Review of African Political Economy.* No. 103. Vol. 32. 2005.

[44] Ibid

[45] Ibid

appreciated for its effective management of the process and financial accountability, particularly when measured against earlier weaknesses of the IGAD mediation. The mediation was also applauded for its impartiality, success in maintaining the integrity of the process, the generally positive role of the advisors, resource people and ambassador envoys from the region, achieving good relations with the donors, and the steady production of protocols that culminated in the CPA, and these will be duly noted and commented on as lessons to be learned.

The mediation also linked together the parties to the conflict, IGAD as the regional organisation, and elements in the international community in an innovative structure[46]. However, the Sudan peace process is in a state of crisis which is not simply due to failures in the implementation of the agreement, but is a result of its narrow approach and short-sighted vision[47]. By assuming a limited definition of peace, focusing solely on the north-south dimension of the conflict, refusing to involve other political parties and civil society, treating the media as a threat to the process, and leaving the fate of the process to SPLM/A leader Dr. John Garang and First Vice President Ali Osman Taha, it was successful in reaching an agreement based on an acceptance of the lowest common denominators of the parties.

But this approach largely precluded the realisation of its own stated objectives, which included a sustainable peace, Sudan's democratic transformation, and making unity attractive.[48] The weaknesses of the IGAD mediation include: 1) Lack of inclusivity of interested parties in southern Sudan, notably civil society and other political parties, and at the national level for a peace process that claimed to be comprehensive. The result is an agreement that is effectively a bilateral arrangement between the SPLM and the NCP for which most people in Sudan feel no sense of ownership. 2)The peace process never developed trust and understanding between the parties, and in its absence and the failure to commit to wide-ranging reconciliation, the mediation followed Western practice and emphasised legal requirements and time-tables. But the great number of bodies and commissions formed to regulate, monitor, and adjudicate disputes have not managed to overcome the lack of trust between the SPLM and the GoS, and as a result the implementation of the agreement is far behind schedule. 3)The elitist approach of the mediation was also manifest in its distain for the media. Instead of viewing the media as a partner in the peace process, a valued critic, and a crucial instrument with which to engage the Sudanese public and provide a measure of accountability, it was treated as an enemy and a threat. 4)The lack of inclusivity of the peace process means that the Sudanese people can only pass judgement on the CPA through national elections, but the elections have been delayed and the difficulties in demarcating the north-south border and ending the conflict in Darfur may result in a further postponement. In addition, the development of a democratic culture conducive for the holding of fair elections has not been permitted to emerge in either north or south Sudan where security regimes dominate. Lastly, the National Assembly has passed legislation that prohibits parties participating in the national election unless they endorse the CPA, thus precluding a negative

[46] W. Waihenya. *The Mediator: Gen. Lazaro Sumbeiywo and the Southern Sudan Peace Process.* Nairobi. Kenway Publications. 2006.

[47] Young, John. 'Sudan's Peace Process: Laying the Basis for Future Conflict. ' Conference on Peace and Security in the Horn of Africa. Inter-Africa Group and the Center of Policy Research & Dialogue. Addis Ababa. 12-13 March 2007.

[48] ibid

assessment of the agreement. 5)The narrow focus of the mediation and the emphasis on reaching an agreement meant its implications were not fully appreciated. Thus the agreement to dissolve OAGs threatened to unleash a war between the SPLA and the South Sudan Defence Force, while the power sharing arrangement which gave the SPLM and the NCP the lion's share of state power undermined efforts to reach a settlement in Darfur and have encouraged secessionist sentiments in the country. 6)While international engagement in the peace process is necessary, the mediation failed to appreciate that this engagement posed a threat to the sovereignty of Sudan and the IGAD region. The conclusion of the US and its allies that their security and the 'war on terror' necessitates heightened military and diplomatic involvement in the Horn raises fears that the region could again – as it was during the Cold War – become a focus of competition and conflict for external interests. 7)Although never stated, the mediation was carried out on the basis of a narrow model which focused on ending the violence (many respondents referred to it as an extended cease-fire), instead of laying the basis for a sustainable and comprehensive peace in the south and the country at large. [49]

The lessons to be learned from the weaknesses of the Naivasha process include the need for a strong commitment to democratic change as the cement upon which any peace agreement should be built, and that in turn necessitates a comprehensive conception of peace[50]. It requires a much wider involvement in the process, robust reconciliation, and respect for the media. This approach also recognises that endemic conflict, such as that suffered in Sudan, is the result of deep seated problems which necessitate structural change. The lessons to be learned also include the need for the mediation to weigh the effect of its endeavours on other conflicts. Although the Sudan peace process needed the financing, expertise, and legitimacy provided by the international community, the injection of external foreign policy concerns into the process posed a threat to national and regional sovereignty which IGAD needs to be aware of and respond appropriately. Lastly, the experience of the Naivasha peace process makes clear that peace processes do not end with the signing of a peace agreement, but must continue into the post-conflict period.[51] These lessons form the basis of an alternative approach which will be longer, more complex, stress process and principles over legalised agreements, and offer no promises of success.

At the close of the sixth round of peace talks, the AU had called for stronger actions and commitments by partners and parties to the talks to include more women directly in the negotiations, and better reflect gender issues in its content. The AU has now appointed a Senior Gender Advisor to the Peace Talks, Dr Mary Maboreke, and the number of women in delegations has increased in the current round to reach a total of eight women (two from government and six from the Movement, a bloc representing the Justice and Equality Movement and the Sudan Liberation Movement).

The inclusion of women in the peace negotiations acknowledges that the women of Darfur are not only victims and survivors of violence, but also fundamental contributors to peace efforts. The "technical" status accorded to the team in the negotiations means that they are officially

[49] Ibid
[50] Young, John. 'Naivasha and the Search for a Comprehensive Peace in Sudan.' Conference to launch an IGAD Strategy for Peace and Security in the Sub-region.' Khartoum. 1-3 October 2005a.
[51] Ibid

recognized by all parties, partners and the mediation team as a main resource to draw from on gender issues.

The successful facilitation of the team's participation has led to the Sudanese government requesting for four more women from Sudan to join the team, especially women from government ministries with specific mandates for gender issues

4.4 Gender Mainstreaming in the Igad Peace Process

4.4.1 Gender mainstreaming as a quality-improving strategy

As we have noted above, the UN system generally defines 'gender mainstreaming' as a strategy aimed at addressing the concerns and experiences of both women and men. Mainstreaming a gender perspective into peace-building processes – also when the focus is on women only – necessitates assessing the implications "…for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in any area and at all levels."[52]. Four closely interrelated dimensions characterize a successful gender mainstreaming:

Gender balance

On the relief/work/peace operation side*:* in all groups and committees planning or carrying out a humanitarian assistance/ post-conflict programme, there should be a gender balance – on all levels and in all stages of the work – to ensure that the needs and concerns of women are taken into consideration. For the benefit of the reconstruction of the civil society, these issues should be included from the very beginning of the process.

On the host-society side: local women on all levels should be integrated into the process, and their voices heeded from the first day. It must be borne in mind that 'women' do not constitute one single, homogeneous category, but are individuals who may have varying needs and aspirations[53].

Ensuring a gender balance among the international personnel – preferably fifty per cent women – will not in itself guarantee that more attention is paid to gender issues. It is necessary to provide training for both women and men in the following three areas: *Gender awareness*

By this is meant the ability to recognize and integrate a gender aspect into each and every activity. It is a combination of gender analysis and equitable action, aimed at improving the situation of the target group: individual, family, community or society. It includes awareness of changes in gender roles and the consequences of these on the relations between women and men. For instance, it has been found that domestic violence tends to rise among refugees and internally

[52] Sumie Nakaya (2003) 'Women and Gender Equality in Peace Processes: From Women at the Negotiating Table to Postwar Structural Reforms in Guatemala and Somalia' in *Global Governance 9* (2003), pp.459–476, at p.462.

[53] For further development of this point, see Nakaya (2003), pp.461–463.

displaced persons, as well as on the return of combatants to their families[54]. This will in turn have an impact on women's security and their capacities as agents in the peace-building process. Both women and men peace operators have to be trained in gender awareness.

Cultural sensitivity

Peace and humanitarian operations usually take place in countries with cultural values different from those of the international personnel. For the success of the mission, it is important to avoid cultural conflicts with the host society. Such conflicts often concern contacts between foreign male personnel and local women. This is not to say that contact between international personnel and all members of the host society is to be avoided, however: it is indeed necessary and desirable. International personnel on their side often wrongly assume that women's roles in a host society (above all in Muslim societies) are restricted to the private arena, and that they therefore are not in a position to act as partners. The challenge is to find ways to work together with local women without violating local norms. Ensuring the presence of women among the international personnel – on all levels and in all functions – is one way to do this. All personnel have to be trained in cultural sensitivity – and in ways of overcoming eventual cultural barriers to good co-operative working relations.

Local knowledge

Different conflicts have different dynamics and characteristics. This is a point that international assistance should take into consideration, in planning and in implementing peace operations. This is equally true for the civilian population, including the women. In wartime, the majority of the killed, the disappeared and the prisoners of war are men, which mean there will be a majority of women, and of female-households. In post-conflict Rwanda, for example, women comprise seventy per cent of the population, and fifty per cent of the households are headed by women. The role of women in the peace-building process and – equally important – the massive demographic changes – have necessarily had repercussions on the situation of women.

Five ministers and 25.7 per cent of the Members of Parliament are women, as are thirty per cent of the Gacaca court judges. On the other extreme, many of the women who were raped during the genocide and infected with HIV, are now – nine years later – starting to die, "causing a crisis at the family level as so many of them are single household heads, and at the level of state infrastructure as women had assumed a greater role."[55] This situation will be reflected in the needs and the capacities of the women of Rwanda in their further participation in the post-conflict reconstruction of society.

There may be important disparities in needs and capacities between women from the educated elite and women from poorer segments of society. In Africa, however, it would seem that, whereas mainly women from the elite form organizations, these organizations then function

[54] Julie A. Mertus (2000) *War's Offensive on Women*: The Humanitarian Challenge in Bosnia, Kosovo, and Afghanistan, Bloomfield, CT., Kumarian Press, Inc., p.97.

[55] *Gender Profile of the Conflict in Rwanda,* UNIFEM/WomenWarPeace.org, n.d.

across societal dividing lines. One good example is MARWOPNET – a network of women's organizations in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Guinea, established in May 2000 to contribute to the search for regional peace and security. To date, MARWOPNET's most notable achievement is its success in bringing the heads of state of their three countries back to the negotiating table in 2001.[56]

4.4.2 Lessons drawn from gender mainstreaming in the peace processes of other countries

The PFA calls for Governments to establish National machineries for the implementation of the platform. There is also a call for collaborative efforts between NGO's and Government agencies. There have been several national initiatives to increase the participation of women in the National Peace processes. In selected African Countries that have experienced conflicts, women's groups have taken up bold and effective strategies to ensure their participation in the peace process. During the inter-Agency Best Practices in Peace Building and Non-Violent Conflict Resolution Conference in Addis Ababa in 1998, several case studies were revealed[57].

In Liberia, women organized themselves effectively through two national networks to influence the peace process. After the active participation of women, a long-term sustainable peace process was developed that was inclusive of both women and men. In Sierra Leone, Sudan, Somalia and Northwest Somalia various women's movements for Peace was formed to promote a peaceful resolution of the conflicts. In Rwanda, women's action was centred on influencing the central political process.[58]

In the Republic of Congo, women participated in the development of two peace pacts, namely those of 1994 and 1997. In Mali the participation of women in an internal conflict involving the Northern Tuareg peoples has played an important role in reconciliation and restoration of trust between the communities[59]. The experience of Liberian women in the peace talks held in Accra, Ghana where they organized a delegation of six women to make a forced entry into the 1994 Accra Clarifications Conference, demonstrates that Governments and regional bodies may still be gender-biased against women in peace initiatives. Yet the strategic presence at the conference gave the women a high visibility through the print and electronic media. The Governments of Liberia and Burundi also took steps to include the participation of women in the peace building process. The Liberian government supported a woman Interim President who was instrumental in negotiating the lasting peace that this country enjoys today[60].

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[56] Africa Recovery, February 2003, p.17.

[57] Ibid

[58] Rehn & Sirleaf (2002) *Women, War, Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peace-building*, New York, UNIFEM.

[59] Kari Karamé (1999): 'Women and War: a highly complex interrelation' in Helland, Karamé, Kristensen and Skjelsbæk eds: *Women and Armed Conflicts.* A study for the Ministry of Foreign affairs, Oslo, NUPI, pp.4–35.

[60] Ibid

4.4.3 Women and Peace-building

The suggestions that follow as to the use that might be made of international law for developing a gendered framework for post-conflict peace-building in Africa are general, as in each instance account must be taken of local conditions[61]. Just as women experience war differently from men (and different women experience war differently from each other), so are their experiences of post-conflict gendered. However, there are some important starting points. First, there can be no assumption that, for women, the violence stops with a formal ceasefire. The forms and locations of gendered violence may change at the cessation of active conflict, but violence against women is likely to persist[62]. The collapse of civilian structures may mean continuing and pervasive lawlessness. The widespread availability of small arms, unemployment and economic insecurity, and demobilized former (mostly male) combatants all contribute to continued violence against women. Second, post-conflict, women's relations with war-traumatized children, family members and former fighters all place gendered demands upon them[63]. Third, demographic changes flowing from the conflict, in particular the disproportionate number of women and women-headed households,[64] impact upon issues such as access to and ownership of property, housing, caring responsibilities, and return after internal or international displacement. Fourth, concepts of reconstruction and rehabilitation may be misnomers in the case of women. Both concepts assume an element of going back, restoring to a position or capacity that previously existed. But this is not necessarily what women seek[65].

In many instances conflict will have empowered women and opened up new opportunities that did not previously exist. The goal should rather be societal transformation – not restored dependence and subordination, but a continuation of any positive changes in women's status and an accepted new social position that accords full citizenship, social justice and empowerment based upon respect for standards of women's human dignity and human rights. As Sheila Meintjes has expressed it: "women do gain from the shifts in gender relations during the war, they may lose their wartime gains in the cusp, in the period between war and peace. Thus the transition from war to peace emerges as a critical moment in the shifting terrain of gender power"[66].

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[61] *An Agenda for Peace*, *Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping*, Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992, UN Doc. A/47/277 - S/24111, 17 June 1992, para. 21.

[62] Ibid

[63] The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace in Africa, Report of the Secretary- General, April 1998, para. 63.

[64] The PRWA, article 20, covers widows' rights.

[65] Ibid

[66] Sheila Meintjes, (2001) 'War and Post-War Shifts in Gender Relations' in Meintjes, Pillay and Turshen (eds.) *The Aftermath: Women in Post-Conflict Transition*, London and New York, Zed Books, p. 64.

Those involved in peace-building must be careful not to make assumptions about the needs and priorities of women within the conflict zone. Women themselves often have very clear ideas about priority issues within their own context, and the fullest account should be taken of their views. For example, women in Burundi asserted the need for measures to protect women and girls, including mechanisms for the prosecution of crimes of sexual violence, legalisation of women's right to inherit land and access to education for girls. Liberian women united over the need for disarmament over elections[67]. The goals of women from the DRC[68] were the inclusion of women in transitional government, addressing violence against women, addressing impunity, disarmament, reintegration of child soldiers[69] and support for traumatised civilians. What women need is a safe and secure space to be able to reflect on what they most need, to articulate their conclusions and to have them taken seriously in peace-building.

Certain categories of women may have specific needs. Former women combatants may face particular difficulties in reintegration, especially where they are perceived as having transgressed gender roles or where demobilisation programmes, including rehabilitative measures, are directed towards male combatants. Some women may have been active in the transfer of small arms, and face destitution if this is stopped. Those who are pregnant or who have given birth to children as a result of rape may require particular assistance. So too do those who have sexually transmitted disease, including HIV/AIDS. There may be girls who were abducted and forced to 'marry' the abductor. Women from the diaspora might find on returning that their perceptions and goals differ from those who have lived throughout the conflict[70].

'Top-down' efforts to impose programmes and policies must be avoided. International and even regional agencies may be ignorant of local initiatives and programmes; without finding out the position of women on the ground, they may marginalise local women's groups. Telling is a comment from Kosovo that 'the international community has marginalised us women in a way we never have been before. We have never felt so pushed aside as we feel now.'[71] At the same time it cannot be assumed that greater community involvement necessarily ensures greater attention to women. International and regional personnel may focus on liaison with male-dominated community groups and be willing to accept myths and stereotypes of women's place within the community without testing the reactions of local women. It is also important that issues do not become labelled as either 'women's issues' or as other 'important' issues. There are gendered dimensions to all aspects of peace-building – political, economic and social – and in

[67] S. Anderlini, *Women at the Peace Table: Making a Difference* (UNIFEM, 2000), p. 20.

[68] Femmes Africa Soldiarite, Paper prepared for Expert Group Meeting, 'Peace Agreements as Means for Promoting Gender Equality and Ensuring Participation of Women', UN DAW, November 2003 available at http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/egm/peace2003/reports/OP1FAS.PDF.

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

[71] Member of Motrat Qiriazi, an umbrella of four Kosova rural women's networks, cited in OSCE, *Gender Aspects in Post-Conflict Situations*, 1. Code and Custom, p. 5, available at http://www.osce.org/secretariat/gender/

this sense gender mainstreaming is required throughout all substantive discussions and operational measures[72].

4.4.4 Gender mainstreaming in Sudan peace process

Women suffered disproportionately in Sudan's civil war[73]. They lost fathers, brothers, husbands and sons to fighting and forced conscription, and were even occasionally frontline soldiers themselves. All too often, women along with their children suffered at the hands of combatants who perpetrated terrible crimes against them, such as forced displacement, rape, abduction and slavery. In Sudan as in many countries, women are the main socializers in the family, and the primary link that joins family to society. Culturally, women are the peacemakers in the family, and by extension can and do act as a stabilizing force for peace in society as a whole. Because of this societal role, women's participation is vital to sustaining peace in Sudan. However, women have been largely excluded from the peace negotiating and peace implementation processes for varied reasons. First, the enormous loss of life in Sudan's civil war has created massive economic insecurity and left a staggering number of women as heads of households. Due to limited resources, many Sudanese women and their children live in abject poverty. This obstacle as well as a traditional gender bias has led to a marginalization of women in the efforts that produced the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the Government of Sudan and the Sudanese People's Liberation Movement. An Operation Lifeline Sudan report noted that there was scant involvement of women in the Sudanese peace process. "The women of Southern Sudan would be expected to overcome their acute trauma and contribute in new ways to the future of their communities… [however] all but a handful of those sitting around the table discussing the future of Sudan are men," said the report.

As Sudan enters a new era guided by the CPA, laws will be enacted to create and protect the rights of women. Already, it is anticipated that a new national constitution will address the question of gender bias and that affirmative action will be considered in the South. In spite of the progress that has been made, women are ill-prepared to fully embrace the opportunities these new developments will offer due to the devastation of the war and the numerous obstacles it created. In addition, although women of both the North and the South suffered during the war and share many common concerns, communication difficulties and cultural prejudices have kept women from joining forces in the efforts to improve their lives to promote peace in Sudan.

The issue of engendering the peace process in the Sudan emerged from the Nairobi Forward looking strategies for the advancement of women to the year 2000, following the Mexico discussion in 1975[74]. The Beijing (1995) International Platforms & Beijing+5 put great support for action to be implemented in regard to gender studies and the ideals of equality, democracy and peace. Accordingly, many women groups in the Sudan are started to involve in peace building at both sides of the conflict: The Sudanese Women Union (SWU), New Sudan Women

[72] Ibid

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

[74] International Conference on Sudanese Women & Peace Making Maastricht, the Netherlands 11th-13th April 2000 (unpublished paper).

Federation (NSWF), SPLA women's movement, Sudan Council of Churches (SCC), New Sudan Council of Churches (NSCC), Babiker Badri Scientific Association for Women Studies (BBSAWS), Sudan National Committee on Traditional Practices (SNCTP), Women Action Group (WAG), Sudanese Women Association in Nairobi (SWAN), Nuba Women Peace Group, Mandi Group and the Nuba Relief Rehabilitation and Development Society (NRRDS). In fact, many individual organizations and group organizations from the above mentioned put great efforts in raising various initiatives and training in the issue of peace building[75].

Another example is the Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace. Founded in Nairobi, Kenya, in 1994, it works across ethnic lines in South Sudan, and also meets with women from the northern part of the country. The organization was represented at the Machakos Protokol negotiations in July 2003, where its members had to face the reluctance of many men who refused to sit together with women. According to one leading member, three quarters of the women in South Sudan are widows; as sole breadwinners of the family, they must work hard to keep it together. They have to find ways to cope with the new situation. Some opt to fight as soldiers, leaving the children with their own mothers; other work for peace and reconciliation within the community. "The peace process should be inclusive. Women should not be sidelined: they should be part of the process."[76] Other goals of Sudanese women's peace movements are: to educate the Sudanese people on their rights, improved access to education and health facilities, respect for the culture and the languages of the people, and self-determination for the people of the South and other regions. They ask for regional and international guarantees to the conflict solution in the Sudan.[77].

It is essential that women play a key role in the peace building process in conflicts around the world. Although UN Security Council Resolution 1325 urges states to engage the equal participation of women in conflict resolution and peace building, women too often continue to be underrepresented[78].

As women often bear the brunt of the effects of war, including sexual violence, abandonment, and increased economic burden, women have a right to partake fully in the resolution of conflicts and subsequent reconstruction efforts. Furthermore, without the full participation of women, such efforts will not be as democratic or as successful**.** The many victims of rape as a weapon of war and other forms of horrific violence know firsthand the hardships of conflict and would likely be the first to promote peace[79].

Women have a unique opportunity to rebuild their communities after conflicts have ended. Frequently left in the majority after violent conflicts, women have both greater need and

[75] Sudanese Women in the Civil Society Agenda for Peace , 15th Jan 2000 (unpublished paper).

[76] The passage on the Sudan is based on an interview with Awut Deng published in *The East African* (Nairobi), 20 January 2004.

[77] Ibid

[78] Ibid

[7979] Amna Rahma, Women & Peace Making in Sudan; Roles and Vision of Sudanese Women, paper to Hague appeal for peace conference, 11th –15th May 1999 (unpublished Ibid paper).

opportunity to support their families through creative entrepreneurism. In addition, post conflict situations can offer women increased prospects for leadership in newly formed governments or civic organizations. There is a dire need for women's participation in peace building around the world; women survivors of war possess the drive, insight, and power to contribute to the conclusion of conflicts worldwide[80].

At the Machakos and Naivasha negotiations between the Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) it was assumed that resolving the Sudanese conflict meant sharing power and resources between political forces along regional or geographical divides. This approach neglected other constituencies and the fact that a just and sustainable peace, based on good governance, equity, justice and democracy, requires an environment where every citizen has the opportunity to contribute to decision-making and development. In particular, Sudanese women play a very central role in their society, in physical and psychological welfare as well as conflict prevention and peace building. It is therefore important that women are not just seen as passive victims, or as representatives of political parties, or as having no political affiliation or perspective, but that they are encouraged to participate fully and see their perspectives taken seriously and incorporated into solutions to political conflicts.

5.0 RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Conclusions

In this study, it was hypothetically argued that failure to incorporate a gender perspective 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 leaders involved in armed opposition groups and women leaders within civil society, their meaningful participation in peace negotiations marks a pivotal step in 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 they must tow the agenda set by the male leaders, does not produce positive results for women and girls in the frameworks and agendas that emerge. A good example is the peace negotiations of SUDAN conducted in Kenya. Failure to include women in the peace stalks meant that the issues affecting the socio economic and political aspects of women were not addressed afterwards. Furthermore, failure to include women in the IGAD Process has been responsible 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. Therefore, this study concludes that the lack of inclusion of women in the IGAD II peace process was responsible for the part failure of the objectives of the process. Hence, the hypothesis are true.

[80] Ibid

5.2 Recommendations

Women suffer from discrimination in employment and education and in society in general. Women must be empowered through access to information about rights and to skill-building so they can affect positive change. The government needs to provide equal rights under the law to both males and females. In the same vein, both the government and civil society must heighten national awareness that some cultural and religious beliefs are discriminatory. Women should lobby for the ratification of Covenant on the Elimination of Discrimination Among Women.

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