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Master's Thesis

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From Rhetoric to Reality? Analyzing Gendered Dimension in Peace Processes

Master's thesis

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Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.

2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.

3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on 31st of July 2023   Nivedita Gokarn

References

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Abstract

According to UNSCR 1325, the involvement of women in peace processes is evaluated in this article. It draws attention to the discrepancies between 'representation' in peace accords like the R-ARCCSS and JPA and 'participation' in the peace negotiations to determine the degree to which their perspectives were considered, and overall gender aspect was highlighted. This article contends that women's involvement in the peace talks in South Sudan was only a checklist activity. The social structure of the society and the absence of institutional mechanisms hindered the substantive representation of women. The paper goes on to say that since female negotiators must shoulder the burden of a peace deal, symbolic inclusiveness may even have unintended consequences. The investigation discovers a significant discrepancy between the peace accords and the whole process. It also makes note of the fact that Sudanese society tends to make it difficult for members to participate meaningfully, which has an effect on how long the peace will survive. Consequently, this research emphasizes how institutional processes are gendered by adopting a constructivist viewpoint.

Abstrakt

Podle UNSCR 1325 se v tomto článku hodnotí zapojení žen do mírových procesů. Upozorňuje na rozdíly mezi "zastoupením" v mírových dohodách, jako je R-ARCCSS a JPA, a "účastí" na mírových jednáních, aby se zjistilo, do jaké míry byly zohledněny jejich perspektivy, a celkově byl zdůrazněn genderový aspekt. Tento článek tvrdí, že zapojení žen do mírových jednání v Jižním Súdánu bylo pouze kontrolní činností. Sociální struktura společnosti a absence institucionálních mechanismů bránily podstatnému zastoupení žen. Článek dále uvádí, že vzhledem k tomu, že vyjednavačky musí nést břemeno mírové dohody, může mít symbolická inkluze dokonce nezamýšlené důsledky. Šetření odhaluje značný rozpor mezi mírovými dohodami a celým procesem. Všímá si také skutečnosti, že súdánská společnost má tendenci ztěžovat svým členům smysluplnou účast, což má vliv na to, jak dlouho mír vydrží. V důsledku toho tento výzkum klade důraz na to, jak jsou institucionální procesy genderově podmíněné, a to přijetím konstruktivistického pohledu.

Keywords

UNSCR 1325, Gender, Peace Agreements, Conflict Resolution, Security, Gender Based Violence, Feminist Constructivism

Klíčová slova

UNSCR 1325, gender, mírové dohody, řešení konfliktů, bezpečnost, genderové násilí, Feministický konstruktivismus

Title

From Rhetoric to Reality? Analyzing Gendered Dimension in Peace Processes

Název práce

Od rétoriky ke skutečnosti? Analýza genderové dimenze v mírových procesech

Acknowledgement

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations

UNSCR: United Nation Security Council

WPS: Women Peace Security

ARCSS: Agreement for the Settlement of the Conflicts in the Republic of South Sudan

JPA: Sudan Peace Agreement (Juba Agreement)

SGBV: Sexual and Gender Based Violence

VAW: Violence Against Women

IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority for Development

ACCROD: The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes

Introduction

The exclusion of women from peace negotiations is a widely known issue (Nduwimana, 2006). The attempts for peacekeeping and resolution of conflicts are ineffective without taking a gender-specific context into account (Reimann, 2012). It is not a question of political correctness to have a gender-specific framework for peace processes; rather, it is a matter of factual analysis and the viability of an equitable approach. The UN Security Council's adoption of Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS), however, marked the beginning of the fight for their full participation in peace processes (UNMISS, 2019). Despite the WPS agenda, which contains Resolution 1325 and seven other resolutions and focuses on women's involvement in peace processes at different levels, there have been difficulties in operationalizing its mandate because of information gaps about women's involvement in such processes (Ellersby, 2013). Ever since, there has been significant research highlighting women's participation in peace agreements. In negotiations for peace, the inclusion of women and the notion of gender integration are limited to a "technocratic category," wherein they are essentially "check box" activities (Paffenholz et al., 2016).

In order to close these gaps, the study will look at how women are portrayed and participate in peace initiatives at different points throughout the way to the final agreement. Therefore, doing an analysis based on gender that underlines the significance of women and other marginalized genders in negotiations and takes into account their role in the dynamics of conflict and trends. It is necessary to address the absence of timely strategic analytical data necessary to sway the narrative regarding security and peacekeeping policies from a gender viewpoint, as well.

With the framework created for the "Broadening Participation" research undertaken for the UN women, the objective of the paper is to analyze how gender- specific context is included at various stages of the peace process. By using a constructivist perspective to the existing empirical findings, this research seeks to fill in the gaps in the literature. The ontological viewpoint here thus maintains that gendered power dynamics permeate social structures thus preventing both men and women to play an equal role in peace processes. Feminist constructivism therefore concentrates on the study of how gender ideologies affect the efforts of conflict resolution. It focuses on the similarities between feminism and constructivism's "ontology of becoming" as the core principle(Locher & Prügl, 2001). While the epistemological standpoint highlights 'gender' as a 'construct' and how it influences the peace processes as a whole.

 The research question guiding the study is as follows:

What is the extent of women's participation and representation in peace processes ever since the introduction of UNSCR 1325 in the case of South Sudan?

The objectives are:

- To see if gap between representation and participation (if any)

- To see impact of participation on the overall process in terms of outcome

1. Resolution 1325: Operationalization and Discrepancies

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed landmark resolution 1325 on women, peace, and security. The motion reiterates the crucial role played by women in preventing conflicts and resolution, peace agreements, peacebuilding, peacekeeping efforts, humanitarian assistance, and post-conflict restoration., and It also emphasizes the necessity of their complete and equal engagement in all initiatives aimed at preserving and advancing security and peace(Secretary-General, 2002). All countries are encouraged by Resolution 1325 to improve the representation of women and take gender equality into account in all UN peacekeeping and security initiatives., Moreover, it demands that every side in the conflict take extra precautions to safeguard women and girls in conflict situations against gender-based violence, notably rape and other kinds of sexual abuse(Secretary-General, 2002). This is specifically due to the fact that instances of domestic and sexual violence continue to be very prevalent in post-conflict situations because disbanded combatants who are ready to use force have to deal with changing gender norms at home or the dissatisfaction of unemployment (O'Reilly et al., 2015). The resolution contains many significant operational demands that have an impact on both the member nations and UN system institutions (Secretary-General, 2002). Thus Ellersby for its functionality divides the operationality into 4 principles; the first "representation" dealing with decision making, second, "incorporation" highlighting gender balance; Third, "protection" in terms of safety from GBV and equality in terms of accessing resources and finally "recognition" which summarizes having gender perspective in agreements as a result of all the principles (Ellersby, 2013).

Although there are many valid objections, such as the fact that the implementation proved to be a very difficult uphill fight with only very minor benefits. Women continue to be

notably underrepresented in peacebuilding and transition efforts, years after the historic United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted(Paffenholz et al., 2016). The lack of evidence-based understanding about the specific function and effects of women's involvement on peace processes is a major obstacle.

Carol Cohn highlights an array of problems. Beginning with the reality that, despite knowing that one of the most significant aspects of 1325 was the recognition of women as political actors in matters related to security, the Security Council and other international organizations have set a far greater value on "women as victims" than on women's political agency in the years since its enactment(Shepherd, 2016). The so-called "protection mandate" has been interpreted very narrowly, with the majority of attention being given to physical, sexualized assault against women's bodies in the context of armed conflict rather than to any other form of abuse toward females, such as violence based on gender in general, or assault on women's homes, belongings, and other components of their means of survival (Cohn, 2017). The WPS resolution 2122 (2013) does acknowledge that historically unequal citizenship rights, sexist asylum regulations, and a lack of identity documents make women more vulnerable after and during conflicts, particularly in relation to forcible displacement. However, protection does not cover the full range of women's human rights. The biggest potential of affecting the prospects for peace, however, still seems to lie in 1325's invitation for the participation of women in decision-making "at all levels" concerning peace and security(Cohn, 2017). Women's rights activists within and outside of the UN have been frustrated with the glacial growth in this field since the "engagement mandate" has undoubtedly gotten less attention and considerably less work than the protecting against sexual assault in conflict. In organizations of civil society, more emphasis has been focused on securing women's participation at the peace table for a bigger range of women, but ever

since 1325 was approved, it has been the duty of the women to ensure their access to such tables(Cohn, 2017). This was recognized in the 2013 resolution 2122, which for the first time placed the United Nations Security Council, amongst other Member States, and representatives, mediators, and facilitators, in charge of bringing women to the negotiation table. Getting women to take part in a peace process has been excruciatingly difficult ever since, notwithstanding this conceptual change.

Even though 1325 has been ground-breaking and helpful, it is important to recognize that its reach is rather constrained. For instance, even though the resolution's motivation is in war-torn areas, it fails to address some of their primary concerns.

1.1 Case Study

The research's case study will examine the situation in South Sudan. The nation often has a history of conflict, which has impeded social progress and disrupted peace. South Sudan has experienced cyclical violence for several decades. Successive efforts to resolve conflicts have failed. Continued delays in the implementation of the peace agreement have sparked an increase in subnational and inter-communal violence related to national political actors(Dowd & Kumalo, 2022). The first overt mention of women's participation in the peace process was made in 2015 when women signed the Agreement for the Settlement of the Conflicts in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS)(Sebba, 2020). Despite the fact that only males signed on to represent the opposing sides of the dispute, 7 among the 17 participants representing civil society were women. Since then, both the focus on the Women, Peace and Security agenda stipulated by UNSCR 1325 and the inclusion of concerns affecting women in final peace agreements have continuously grown(Sebba, 2020). In light of this, it is

envisaged that the study look at how women participated in the South Sudanese negotiations and how the gender perspective is represented in the peace accords.

1.1.1 Conflict Dynamics

On July 9, 2011, South Sudan declared its autonomy from Sudan. Violent disputes have plagued South Sudan ever since. Power struggles among Salva Kiir, the country's president, and his running opposition, formerly vice president Riek Machar, swiftly turned into a conflict between the Nuer and the Dinka, the two biggest communities in South Sudan(Kezie-Nwoha & Were, 2018). Hundreds of individuals were killed as a result of the violence. Out of an overall populace of 13 million, 1.4 million people have been forced to leave the nation, and more than one million have sought safety abroad in nearby Kenya, Uganda, and other nations(Kezie-Nwoha & Were, 2018). During this time women were often the victims of war in wars, suffering traumatic events on both a family and personal level. Women often deal with pervasive sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), long-term wounds, unintended pregnancies, sexually transmitted diseases, post-traumatic stress disorder, and relocation. Due to their experiences, women are significant stakeholders and an invaluable resource on violations of human rights(Hoth Mai, 2015). The majority of these incidents are based on gender, and healing in these domains can only be accomplished with long-lasting results by including women in the decision-making process and in the implementation process.

Thus, it is crucial to analyze the demand for inclusion as a component of the broader UN resolution 1325-inspired call for women's engagement and inclusiveness in peacebuilding. The resolution is supported by research that shows how civil society, particularly women's

groups, may improve peace results when they are involved in peace negotiations. The process of negotiation is legitimated by civil society. Therefore, implementing the same framework in the case of South Sudan would help in bridging the gap between the normative understanding and empirical evidence of the success of resolution 1325 in terms of women's participation in peace processes. The paper makes the case that South Sudanese women's attempts to participate in the peace talks were tokenistic, which prevented them from making a meaningful contribution. The study finds a large disparity among the peace agreements and the overall process. It also points out that the character of Sudanese society tends to prevent meaningful participation, which has an impact on how long the peace will last. Consequently, by using a constructivist perspective, this study highlights how institutional mechanisms are gendered.

The dissertation is divided into several chapters. The second chapter explores the theoretical underpinnings, concentrating on Constructive Feminism and its key ideas. It also introduces the "Broadening Participation" project as the analytical framework and considers how well it aligns with the research topic. The research methodology chapter describes the approach that was used, with special emphasis on the use of content analysis for data gathering and analysis. The study results will be presented and interpreted in the analysis chapter while incorporating the theoretical and analytical frameworks. The conclusion chapter will aim at summarizing the key results, discussing their ramifications, considering the limits, and offering potential directions for further study.

2. Theoretical Framework

The main theoretical ideas and epistemological frameworks underlying this study are laid forth in this chapter. Given the variety of theories and concepts that exist regarding the relationship between gender and peace processes, it is critical to illustrate those that serve as the foundation for this study and that contribute to our understanding of how gender influences peace processes and, conversely, how peace processes affect gender relations. The primary viewpoints embraced in this section—feminist and constructivist epistemology—are presented in the chapter.

2.1. Gender as a construct

Among the numerous applications and interpretations of the term "gender," a popular place to start is by realizing that gender is a social structure that affects people's identities and way of life(Cohn, 2013) .It affects how individuals view themselves and are perceived by others. In this sense, it's critical to recognize the difference between "sex" as a biological construct and "gender" as a social construct(Glenn, 1999). Gender has to do with the expectations and identities that are associated with both men and women(Goldstein, 2003). Not all gender issues should centre on the examination of women. Males may be feminine, and women can be masculine, but men are expected to be masculine while women are meant to be feminine. Gender is defined as the socially created labels that are placed on either male or female bodies and behaviour that is proper "masculine" or "feminine" behaviour (Smith, 2018).

It influences the kinds of everyday pursuits and paid employment that people are inclined to pursue. It influences the kinds of economic and cultural resources they have access to as well as the sorts of authority and power they may exercise. Gender, more broadly speaking, is a

way of classifying, ordering, and exemplifying power, of hierarchically structuring connections between many various groups of people, and of diverse human actions symbolically linked to masculinity or femininity (Cohn, 2013). This is because "gender" is not just a set of concepts regarding men and women and their proper relations to one another. Rationality, power, independence, and the public realm are all characteristics of masculinity. The traits of femininity are irrationality, desire for protection, domesticity, and privacy. These socially constructed gender identities have an impact on relationships, philosophy, and international politics because they reinforce preconceived notions regarding who must do what(Kardam, n.d.). The power associated with these gender identities, particularly patriarchal power, which places women and feminine gender identities under those of males and masculine gender identities, is also present (Smith, 2018). This indicates that the power structures that affect how women are represented in peace processes are socially created gender identities.

2.2. Epistemological Underpinnings: Feminism and Constructivism

Constructivism and feminism both adhere to an ontology of becoming, which may be used as a starting point for discussion (Locher & Prügl, 2001). Researchers who approach gender inclusion from a constructionist viewpoint, view gender as a by-product of human interpretation and definition impacted by historical and social causes. The premise of constructivism is that individuals shape the worlds in which they engage. The feminist perspective that regards knowledge as socially created and in line with constructivism. Being socially created does not imply that something is not real; rather, it indicates how it is the result of human action(Danaj, 2022).

According to this viewpoint, gender roles in peacebuilding are not "natural" or unchanging; rather, they are contextually determined, contentious, and revised in various historical and social contexts(Adjei, 2019). According to De Beauvoir, gender roles are created by social and institutional practices, as well as formal and informal conventions, which are not set in stone and may be altered. This concept is in line with constructivism's first essential tenet, which holds that political systems are social constructions undergoing constant development. In this regard, constructivism and feminism share a "ontology of becoming" (Lombardo & Johanna, 2021). Gender is a persistent by-product of regular social activity and a social organizing principle of institutions that goes beyond reproductive distinctions (Danaj, 2022). Hence, gender is 'far more than a position or an individualized attribute: it is a mechanism whereby situated social behavior leads to the reproduction of social structure'(West & Fenstermaker, 1995). This definition emphasizes how gender functions to create and perpetuate asymmetrical relationships, societal inequities, and dominance and subordination systems(West & Fenstermaker, 1995). Men and women are impacted differently during a war, according to constructionists; as a result, including women in the peace process is crucial to accurately portraying the distinctive experiences of women (Adjei, 2019). There is widespread agreement in the literature that it is "more advantageous to perceive women survivors, with energy and creativity to contribute positively to peace processes" rather than concentrating on women as victims of violence and conflict in need of protection(Reimann, 2012).This is true regardless of the perspective a researcher takes to analyse women's involvement in peace processes.

2.3. Gendered Institutions and Power Relations

A fundamental concept of feminist peace is a more transformational approach that pays close emphasis to power and gender relations and how they both influence and are shaped by war and post-conflict processes. A crucial conceptual link exists between peace and feminism : each are concerned with ending coercive power over privilege structures of dominance as a foundation for interpersonal and collective interactions (Warren & Cady, 1994). To add value to peace that benefits everyone, including other underrepresented groups and individuals as well as women in all their diversity, feminist peacebuilding should seek to identify, unpack, and reshape the intricate power structures that sculpt the lives of those crafting and taking part in peacebuilding programs (Santos, 2022). Feminist scholars and activists acknowledge that peace is created and reproduced in regular settings and behaviours, just like gender relations and power structures. Many have emphasized the fact that aggression suffered during conflict is closely related to oppression and abuse encountered in the private domain and provides a "continuum" that stretches from war to peacetime, specifically for women and gender and sexual minorities (Santos, 2022). Feminists contend that the societal production of conflict and violence is influenced by gendered power dynamics. Positioning violence and war in contrast to peace and nonviolence is a gendered manoeuvre that reproduces the male/female hierarchy into the social world and, with it, superior status of violence over nonviolence(Confortini, 2012).

"Another central aspect in understanding women and peace processes is the facet of 'gendered institutions'. Armed insurgents, state militaries, private military and security firms (PMSCs), global financial institutions, national diplomatic corps, arms producers, developmental aid organizations, local and regional non-profit groups, parliaments, transitional governments, foreign and defence ministries, courts, police, families, and

educational systems"(Cohn, 2013) . All of circumstances wherein women experience conflict, struggle to survive, and work to bring about peace. They are all gendered in different ways. Within each of them, there are gendered divisions of work and power. Additionally, each of them has presumptions about gender — including gendered identities and gender as a symbolic system — built into them. These assumptions influence how they conceptualize their goals and picture the most efficient methods to accomplish those tasks. In order for the gendered roles, labor practices, and power dynamics of the institutions to feel acceptable, rewarding, and even enticing, they each need on family members and employees to possess the gendered identities and self-perceptions (Cohn, 2013). They not just to depend on but also contribute to theories about acceptable masculinities and femininities, which in turn affect cultures outside the institution's walls. In the end, these institutions make up the social, organizational, and material practices that, in a dynamic interplay with gendered identities and discourses, are the day-to-day, minute producers and reproducers of hierarchical gendered power relations.

2.4. Gendering peace

Those engaged in peacebuilding as well as other peace and security activities are embodied -and gendered - subjects, feminist academics of peace processes have also noted that policies intended to support peacebuilding rely on ideas, such as the idea of "peace" itself, which is inherently gendered(Santos, 2022). When realists characterized "peace" negatively as the absence of conflict and derided it as "idealistic," "passive," and "utopian," they were really delegitimizing and gendering the concept of peace(Confortini, 2012). In addition to other peace academics, feminists have noted that the idea of peace is really quite disruptive since it seeks to overthrow the status quo. Despite this widely held belief, peace studies has fallen

short in its examination of how the notion of peace is gendered, the manner in which the existence or lack of violent conflict affects women and men differently, and the inclusion of women's experiences and feminist perspectives on peace (Confortini, 2012). Early discussions of the gendered dimensions of conflict "tended to emphasize a simple separation of roles: males were the offenders... whereas women were the victims," according to such study(Shepherd, 2012). However, gendered realities of war are "much more complicated than this ancient myth implies," as per Carol Cohn. Women's roles in and experiences of war are much more essential and varied than this masculinized myth allows. War itself is more complicatedly gendered than this narrative allows. Consistently portraying women as "victims of violence" limits their agency and prevents the creation of suitable peacebuilding-related initiatives that consider the entire range of women's experiences both during and after conflict (Shepherd, 2016). However, it is not as straightforward as just flipping the logics of the discourse to give women agency in the language of peacebuilding.

2.5. Rejecting Essentialist Notions

Women's participation in peace processes is no longer seen as essential by feminist theorists like Elshtain and Goldstein who instead support a more thorough examination of female coping mechanisms in civilizations that have experienced war and civil war(Goldstein, 2003). A great deal has also been written about the politics of portraying women as "agents of change" in peacebuilding-related activities, insofar as it runs the danger of reinforcing a link between femininity and peace that depends on essentialist views of what it is to be a woman and how by virtue of their feminine (one's maternal talents), women are better suited to work towards peaceful resolutions to conflict. Although there are difficulties, these essentialisms have been deliberately used to try to open conversation and decision-making

for women in peacebuilding initiatives (Santos, 2022). Scholars such as Laura Kaplan contested the essentialist pacifist feminists' idea of maternal thought. They challenged the idea that mothers had an innate capacity for peace and said that without the support of the mother role, men's acts of violence could not be justified. Mothering and caring were questioned, and it was raised if the caregivers should support the military cause (Weber, 2006). Mothers actively participate in mobilizing their communities by creating images of the adversary, as well as moms sacrificing their kids and partners to fight in battle to defend women. The use of maternal thought as a dubious moral superiority by feminist essentialists was also criticized for failing to examine the embedded military logic in the division between the militarized defender and the non-combatant caregiver (Weber, 2006).

This dissertation will draw upon literature that exposes and dismantles socially imposed gender stereotypes. Feminism has shown the creation of gendered identities that uphold normative beliefs of what men and women should accomplish by articulating any meaning of international relations in a manner that considers both women and gender seriously.

When it comes to the study of conflict and the measures for its management and resolution, the words "women" and "gender" have undergone both an evolution and an overlapping usage, both theoretically and practically(Sikoska & Solomon, 1999). An analytical framework centred around on a social level of ascribed positions and identities to men and women is more beneficial in its application to specific societal issues than the framework focused on women alone. The consequences of the difference between women and gender, however, are more semantic ones(Sikoska & Solomon, 1999). We must determine if women and men as actors in society and politics are bearers of separate and unique sets of values as a result of gender as an analytical category.

2.6 Analytical Framework

The goal of this research is to use the guidelines established by the findings of the study "Broadening Participation in Political Negotiations and Implementation" that was conducted between 2011 and 2016 at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies. This study outlines seven distinct modalities at various stages of the peace process as mentioned in the guidelines above.

The inclusion of women extends beyond the negotiating table. Women's rights advocates have up to now placed an undue amount of emphasis on the peace process' primary track— the negotiation table. Policymakers consider concerns and goals at each step of the process: problem description and agenda establishing; policy measure design and adoption; policy implementation; and policy assessment that might result in policy termination or change. Pre-negotiation, negotiation, and execution are the traditional divisions of the negotiation process (Paffenholz et al., 2016). The negotiating table, however, is not the sole avenue for involvement nor ought it serve as only one entrance point for women's engagement, according to the "Broadening Participation" study project. Instead, the formal 'negotiating table' itself may have a number of access points that would allow women's involvement to take varied forms.

Any one of the seven inclusion modalities may be present, either independently or concurrently, in any specific peace or transition process. The amount of impact that women may have varies depending on the inclusion strategy (Paffenholz et al., 2016).

2.6.1. Direct representation:

Women's participation at the negotiating table is referred to as the direct representation mode. Direct representation often takes place during the negotiating stage, while discussion procedures may take place as part of carrying out a previous agreement (Paffenholz et al., 2016). This modality may be separated into two components

a. women's inclusion within the delegation\s

b. women's own delegation

Women's quotas have been successful in increasing the number of women at the table. Yet, since party loyalty sometimes outweighs women's interests, quotas alone do not always increase the power of women(womenwagepeace, 2017). When women are able to tactically synchronise among themselves across delegations to advance shared interests, such as by establishing shared stances on crucial issues and/or forming unified women's alliances across formal delegations, women have a greater opportunity of exerting influence at the negotiating table.

2.6.2. Observer status

While they play no formal part, observers are given a direct seat at the table throughout the discussions (Paffenholz et al., 2016). This negotiating strategy is often used throughout the negotiation stage of both peace and constitution-making discussions.

Observers are often knowledgeable about the negotiating agenda since they are present in the same room. Due to this first-hand experience, mediators may use observers to assume a crucial watchdog role, to provide informal advice to them and the parties to the negotiation dispute as required, and to forge an alliance together with the other observing groups to aid in the facilitation of a final agreement (Paffenholz et al., 2016). Women seldom have any

power over the process even when they are given observer status. Women's ability to utilise their observer role during talks varies depending on the circumstances, therefore no trends analyzing their impact as observers have evolved.

2.6.3. Consultations:

The most frequent method of including women in transition and peace processes has been found to be the establishment of official or informal consultative groups to identify important concerns, demands, and ideas made by women—in tandem to existing peace discussions. Consultations may occur before to, concurrently with, or after formal negotiations. Elite, general, or open consultations are all possible. Each of these formats may be either a formal component of the negotiating architecture or an unofficial effort by a party to the negotiations, the mediator or facilitator, or organizations seeking to have some kind of influence on the negotiations(womenwagepeace, 2017). Yet, for such forums to have an impact in reality, it is vital to set up efficient transfer channels that routinely inform negotiators and mediators of the consultations' findings. In general, women have the biggest influence during discussions when they are able to develop consensus views on important topics(womenwagepeace, 2017). The key negotiation parties are then supplied with joint viewpoints, sometimes in brief papers, and are then either technically obligated or unofficially urged to take this input into account while formulating a final peace accord.

2.6.4. Inclusive commissions

While they are sometimes used to set up or manage a portion of the negotiation process, inclusive commissions are most often encountered in the post-agreement stage. For a nation's future, it is essential to set up commissions and particular procedures for peace accord

implementation (Paffenholz et al., 2016). There are typically three different kinds of commissions: those created to plan and manage peace and transition processes, post-agreement commission, and long-term permanent committees. Women's involvement, particularly in post-agreement committees, is largely a consequence of gender-sensitive measures that were included in the peace deal. In order for specific gender equality measures to be included in the text of a final peace agreement, women's involvement in all commissions throughout all stages of a peace process must be ensured.

2.6.5. Problem solving workshops:

Problem-solving sessions bring together people who are close to the leadership of the parties involved in the disagreement and provide them a forum for conversation without any pressure to come to a resolution. They are informal and often go unnoticed. Furthermore, problem-solving workshops are time-limited gathering places that are often planned for and led by INGOs or educational institutions (Paffenholz et al., 2016). It has been discovered that women are notably underrepresented in this category. At workshops created especially for women as a way of resolving any political conflicts and issues, there have been exceptions to this overall result. These situations often lead to the creation of joint roles, which subsequently strengthen the power of women generally.

2.6.6. Public decision making:

Democracies often have public decision-making procedures as a core component. The populace may be asked to ratify peace accords or new constitutions, with the results often being legally obligatory. In addition to protecting the negotiated agreement, democratizing the negotiation process, and ensuring public support and durability of the accord, public

endorsement of a peace agreement aims to achieve all of these goals(Paffenholz et al., 2016). Sometimes the public is asked to vote on newly negotiated peace treaties or new constitutions. In certain cases, women have been effective in starting a public campaign to support passing a peace agreement (womenwagepeace, 2017). Accurate gender-disaggregated statistics on voting patterns are generally absent; nevertheless, when certain information is accessible, it has been found that the voting habits of women do not vary from those of males.

2.6.7. Mass action:

The majority of the time, public protests are the primary method of citizen-led mass mobilization. As the world's events over the past ten years have demonstrated, mass action continues to be a very effective tool for putting pressure on political elites and established powers, especially when used in conjunction with social media and mainstream media, such as live satellite broadcasts of large-scale actions. A unifying objective of national interest, such as political changes to end autocratic government, the cessation of war and armed conflict, or the signing of a peace agreement, is the focus of most mass action, which is often the product of grassroots, bottom-up dynamics(Paffenholz et al., 2016). Women have participated in mass action campaigns in support of peace agreements greater than any other category. They have exerted pressure on warring sides to initiate talks and sign peace accords(womenwagepeace, 2017). Women have also organized large-scale protests to force their entry into institutional procedures that exclude women.

These techniques will be used in the case of South Sudan to examine the evolution of the gender factor in peace processes. By implementing the framework outlined in the

"Broadening Participation" initiative, the inclusion and agency of women may be strengthened and shown. The simple act of participating in the peace process, regardless of stage, is a manifestation of women's agency. It is challenging to draw generalizations about how inclusive peace would affect the final accord and society at large since inclusive peace is a process rather than a single step between one position to other(Danaj, 2022). These ideas support comprehension of women's experiences in times of conflict and the empowering aspect of their involvement (or lack thereof).

3. Methodology:

This chapter will include the methodology adopted for the study, the sources utilized, and the constraints to the previously stated research objectives. The study will employ qualitative content analysis

3.1. Qualitative analysis

Knowledge of the human nature in various circumstances and a perceived situation are both aided by qualitative research(Bengtsson, 2016). A qualitative methodology based on gender analysis will be employed to address the research topic. The focal point is the methodical gathering and analysis of data on social interactions and gender inequalities to identify, analyse, and address gender-based differences. The mapping of actors and stakeholders involved in the implementation of such peace processes, as well as its gender responsiveness and associated laws and policies, is the focus. Investigating inclusion in political transitions and peace processes in a post-conflict country is the goal. to determine how and in what circumstances women actors engage in and influence negotiation processes and its implementations, and to reflect the dynamic concept of inclusive negotiations. Various modalities that explain the spectrum of potential formats through which stakeholders other than the primary negotiating parties have been incorporated in informal and formal negotiation processes will serve as the foundation for this study.

3.1.1. Content analysis

Content analysis was selected as the research methodology because it is an organized approach to studying and analysing texts(Drisko & Maschi, 2016). As a result, the researcher gathers already existing information rather than developing or co-creating raw data for analysis by means of interviews, ethnographic research, or surveys. A qualitative research

approach called content analysis seeks to provide a brief but comprehensive explanation of the underlying phenomena. The goal of content analysis is to arrange the material in a concise and understandable manner without losing any of its information. Content analysis tends to summarize a subject rather than provide every detail. A range of sources, including reports, papers, articles, books, interviews, and many other sorts of information that may be put into a written format, can serve as appropriate research data for the analysis of content.

Although content analysis is a widely used approach in the social sciences, its framework is not predetermined by any set of criteria. Depending on the purpose of the study, different texts have different formats, units, and levels of analysis. -The current dissertation utilized systematic literature reviews as a part of its content analysis. When a study's aim is to better understand previously known facts or occurrences, a systematic review of the literature is seen as a useful technique. Identifying the problems that are derived from the research question and - emerging - key topics for the study is the first stage of the research process(Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health, 2023). The information may then be split into several overarching themes. The content analysis is utilized to analyze the peace accords in the initial stage of the study and the papers written by other scholars on the instances in the second half. The content analysis assists in identifying several themes on the subject, in this example, the patterns of how women are referenced and how they contribute to peace accords.

3.1.2. Conceptual Analysis

To further sub-categorize the type of content analysis selected for the dissertation is conceptual analysis. The primary objective is to look at the frequency of chosen words in the information being analyzed(Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health,

2023). Terms may either be implicit or explicit. Explicit words are simple to recognize. Coding implicit phrases is more difficult since it depends on the researcher to choose the degree of implication and make subjective determinations(Gerring, 2009). Determining the the research topic before selecting any samples for analysis to start a conceptual content analysis is essential(Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health, 2023). The text then has to be classified into easily administrable content categories. Essentially, this is a selective reduction procedure. The researcher may concentrate on and code for certain terms or patterns that support the study in hand by breaking the text down into groups.

3.2. Key sources utilized during the content analysis

The review of key documents focused on the South Sudanese peace process, news reports - regarding women, discussion reports, official announcements, and taskforce recommendations for peace and security, and official interviews, including but not limited to peace agreements, were all part of the data collection process. Primary data such as government records as well as secondary data were obtained via an examination of the literature, and publications from South Sudanese authorities as well as continental and regional organizations. For the purpose of obtaining peace agreements in South Sudan, the University of Edinburgh's peace agreement database was referenced(Gerring, 2009)(Columbia University Mailman School of Public Health, 2023).

The following documents have been chosen for the analysis:

Type	Name	Source
Press releases	Women's Representation Vital to Realizing South Sudan Revitalized Agreement, Peacekeeping Chief Tells Security Council	UN WOMEN

	Women demand inclusion in South Sudan peace process	
	Women Bloc of South Sudan in partnership with UN Women and JMEC sensitize women of South Sudan ahead of the next phase of the High-Level Revitalization Forum of the Peace Agreement	UN WOMEN
	Sudanese women show that peace requires participation not just representation	Open democracy
Articles	South Sudan Initiative	ACCORD
	ACCORD conducts conflict assessment skills training for South Sudanese female parliamentarians	
Policy Brief	The Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)	IGAD
	Women Participation in the Peace Process in South Sudan	CMI
Reports	Taskforce for the Engagement of Women In Sudan and South Sudan Statement and Recommendations	The Institute for Inclusive Security
	20 years of Implementing UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in South Sudan	Women's International Peace Centre
Agreements	Agreement on the resolution of the conflict in South Sudan	Edinburgh database

	Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)
	Juba Peace Agreement

3.3. Delimitations and limitations

The following steps were undertaken for the process of delimitation and choosing the sample for the analysis.

Data collection

Search engines such as Google and Google Scholar were utilized to gather the data. Specifics such as the dates (2000–2022) and key words/phrases like South Sudan, Resolution 1325,women's participation, gender, peace agreements, inclusive processes, etc. were used to streamline the collection process. Further to get an overall idea of the entire peace process, not just the agreements but reports, briefs, article published around the time were chosen via random sampling.

Selection criteria/ preparation for analysis

First, the peace accords from 2000 were analyzed, and from this, the instances were chosen based on who acknowledged women and their responsibilities instead of not addressing women at all or solely as victims of violence or abuse. Thus, South Sudan was chosen as a case study through the process of delimitation. Given that the technique used for this thesis is a case investigation, the research on which it will be based was carried out by several

academics, each of whom used a distinct perspective to arrive at somewhat different conclusions about the various instances.

Thus following understanding of the main concepts will be taken into account; hence forth mention of these terms would be in accordance with the definition provided below.

Gender : Variables describing disparities in duties, responsibilities, opportunities, requirements, and limits are included. Socially created characteristics of each sex in a specific country and culture. disparities across and within cultures.

Gender based approach: To successfully address the many difficulties presented by gender inequality in war and post-conflict situations, a gender-based analytical approach is required(Nduwimana, 2006). Four primary levels of activity are included -The creation of political structures cantered around gender equality; the development, execution, and planning of gender equality programs; the administration and assessment of gender equality programs; an examination of the economic, political, and cultural environment.

Peacebuilding from a gender perspective: A crucial stage of the peace process is peacebuilding. It provides a consistent and cogent structure whereby the enhancement of peace, the sustainability of crisis-resolution mechanisms, and the maintenance of successful political achievements create a set of interconnected objectives. This viewpoint suggests that peacebuilding entails both resolving and avoiding conflict.

The following definition of codes were taken for the study. These codes are based on the dataset created by University of Edinburgh to analyse gender dimensions in peace agreements(Bell et al., 2020).

"Participation	refers to clauses in agreements that outline a specific quota commitment or define the percentage of women who must participate.
Equality	Generic socio-political or legal equality clauses, as well as clauses prohibiting discrimination based on gender or sex
Development	relates to the rehabilitation and rebuilding programs with specific consideration for women, such as comprehensive social and/or economic reconstruction programs.
Gender based violence	any express restriction or reference to rape, sexual assault, or other sexual offenses.
Institutional reforms	any reference of women in relation to the creation or revision of a constitution
Implementation	any mention of how the agreement would be implemented with respect to women, including any mention of gender-sensitive implementation procedures or giving women a distinct role in doing so Signing or witnessing an agreement "as women" is

	when women sign as members of a designated women's organization or women's delegation, NOT by themselves or any other women (Bell et al., 2020)."

Practical implications

Being qualitative research, the analysis heavily relies on secondary sources. This indicates that the study is restricted by research that has already been conducted. No ethical implications were faced as all the data acquired was published on the internet for the public.

4. Analysis and Discussion

This chapter aims to examine the data in terms of the pre-selected categories based on the 'UN broadening participation' project and deductive codes charted out by the Edinburgh PA-X Codebook: Women, Girls, and Gender (PA-X Gender)'. As per the chosen analytical framework, the analysis is conducted based on seven major themes. 'Direct representation' 'observer status' 'consultations' 'inclusive commissions' 'problem solving workshops' 'public decision making' and 'mass actions. Further identified codes included 'participation', 'equality', 'institutional mechanism', 'international law', 'violence against woman', 'transitional justice' and 'implementation'.

The main parts are divided into three major themes: first, explains and contrasts the statistically significant involvement of women in the formal peace discussions. Women's civil society organizations had to mobilize outside the table since they had been excluded from the formal discussions, even though women subsequently obtained representation in the formal talks. The qualitative inclusivity of the agreement is assessed from a gender viewpoint in the latter part of the first section. Several gender safeguarding measures were incorporated in the agreements despite the surprisingly low numerical representation of women. The second part deals with sexual and gender-based violence, highlighting the impact of societal structure of South Sudan on the institutional mechanisms to establish preventative measures for the same. The third part highlights efforts by international organization and women's organization at grassroot levels to achieve a fair share at the table by challenging the gender norms. The final section of the chapter summarizes the analysis by viewing it though a constructivist lens.

Although peace agreements may not include the whole of a peace process, they often mark pivotal moments in the passage from violence to peace and have the power to create and establish inclusive agendas that last for years after hostilities have ended. Thus, as a focus of this study not only the agreements, but the whole peace process was analyzed for understanding gender dimension in peace processes of South Sudan.

4.1. From representation to participation: A long way to go

One of the main aims of this research was to highlight if there is any gap between the representation in peace agreements and participation in peace processes. Thus, further section elaborates all the provision in the chosen peace agreements that dealt with gender and enhancing aspects of women's participation as well as addressing the issues that have been historically ignored when it comes to inclusive agreements.

There was a significant difference shown in the data where great strides regarding inclusive agreements were made on paper, but other reports including articles, briefs indicate that on ground reality was quite different. It was highlighted that the peace process itself lacked actual participation due to the structure of the society in South Sudan, thus meaningful impact overall was missing.

4.1.1. Representation

As per the UN analytical framework and the PA-X codebook, the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS) and Juba Peace

Agreement (JPA) had the most substantial mention of gender and women in general. In terms of direct representation and participation specifically in R-ARCSS stated:

"the nominees to the council of Ministers, where the incumbent TGoNU nominated no less than six women, the SPLM/A-IO nominated no fewer than three women, and the SSOA nominated no fewer than one woman, are covered by Article 1.4.4 (i.e., page 5, chapter 1) of the R-ARCSS, which mandates a 35 percent women representation"(*Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)*, 2018). This constitutes general participation; however, further, the agreement charts out 'effective participation' by making a compulsion of having women as Vice-Speaker (nominated) and Vice-President (elected). Furthermore, involvement of Gender and youth clusters (i.e., page 12, chapter1)(*Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)*, 2018).

Further 'inclusive commissions' mentioned as one of the analytical categories of this study, were ensured as well by nominating women's organizations to CTSAMVM (Ceasefire & Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring & Verification Mechanism) and nominating woman's bloc in anti-corruption commission in the post transitional phase. Although the R-ARCSS has significant provisions for women and gender inclusion, the tone seems to be more rhetorical and aspirational without any procedural or institution arrangements in the agreements to support these provisions (*Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (R-ARCSS)*, 2018). Whereas the Juba Agreement has significant provisions and modus operandi to achieve it with 40% women's quota assigned in the agreement(*Sudan Peace Agreement*, 2020). The Juba Peace agreement (JPA) has also made the presence of women as well as gender allocations additionally explicit for various commission. The reference of women was all time high in the JPA as per the PA-X

gender(Bell et al., 2020). Following table shows the mention of gender in terms of the previous stated codes and number of references:

Participation	75
Development	66
Gender based violence	56

4.1.2. Participation

-Notably, the peace negotiations for both R-ARCSS and JPA lacked inclusivity. In terms of R-ARCSS, The two heads of state who were negotiating for peace, Presidents Omar al-Bashir of Sudan and Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, had enormous influence over the key players and used it to press for a settlement (Stamnes & coning, 2022). However, only two women, -representing a women's organization such as the 'Women's Coalition' and the 'Gender Empowerment for South Sudan Organization' had signatory status as stakeholders. The tokenistic representation of women has been the case in terms of peace processes in South Sudan, clearly affecting the durability of the agreement, R-ARCSS broke down soon after its implementation. This highlights the fact that there are substantial differences in women's participation and meaningful impact in peace processes. This adds to the notion of lack of durability of an agreement due to its non-inclusiveness. Women continue to be underrepresented in official peace processes despite having made many contributions to peacemaking during the conflict, as well as during comprehensive peace discussions and the peaceful referendum. The exclusivity of the agreement, particularly the lack of participation from important parties, particularly women is problematic in itself. The ceasefire agreements specifically have no mention of women. It is important to consider

why, despite the involvement of women's activists and advocates for gender equality in the relevant peace processes, present involvement with specific procedures or process stages continues to result in gender-insensitive agreements (specifically at the pre-negotiation, cease-fire, and implementation stages).

As mentioned by one of the activist in the analyzed article, "*Women were not present in Juba, only a handful of women were there and we don't even know most of them, this is why we saw that the different women issues that we continue to highlight are invisible in the document*"(Abbas, 2021).

Additionally, the absence of well-established women's Leagues among the parties who signed the R-ARCSS seriously impairs the chances of women participating in the Revitalized Interim Government of the Nation's Unity at every level. It is still necessary to invest in women's capacity building to increase female participation in management, government, and political processes; to do this, laws must be implemented, particularly those prohibiting harassment and violence against women during political and electoral procedures (Sebba, 2020).

The JPA represented a significant improvement for Sudanese women's involvement in peacekeeping and decision-making processes. Successful initiatives were undertaken by women's rights organizations within Sudan to secure women's participation in the negotiation process(*Sudan Peace Agreement*, 2020). This participation in tracks 1 as well as track 2 of these discussions which was made possible by UN Women's assistance in Sudan via the IGAD mechanism. The language of the signed agreements makes it very obvious that women may really make significant modifications to render these agreements gender sensitive and reflect the gender viewpoint. However, the most delicate aspects of the peace process—the security arrangements—remain rather unaffected by gender. Many of the

agreement's clauses made it apparent that the 1325 resolution was included, while others made it less clear. There shall be complete segregation among religious and governmental organizations, as stated in paragraph (1.7)(*Sudan Peace Agreement*, 2020). In light of the discrimination of religious institutions and unfair treatment of women based on religion, this clause is crucial for women. Regarding the character of the state, the clause is still debatable, but it is certain that religious organizations will no longer rule South Sudan.

In Sudan, gender conventions that say women shouldn't engage in politics generally or in peace negotiations in particular are deeply ingrained in local and religious practices and beliefs(Abbas, 2021). Women have always been consigned to "women's issues" whenever they have participated in politics(Abbas & Tønnessen, 2022). Usually, this is done via the women's or gender secretary inside political organizations, which is advertised as a way of empowering women across the organizations but really serves to isolate them from the greater political scene. Such gender stereotypes show themselves during peace negotiations by undermining women's involvement in the discussions. Women who take part in the discussions face two difficulties. The first is to take part in the institutions that have already been put in place and whose design takes into account the wants, requirements, and organizational style of the people who started the peace process. And secondly, changing these negotiating institutions, which were probably built using patriarchal plans that did not consider how challenging it is for many women to engage in talks. These may originate from a number of reasons, one such reason seen in the study was lack of allocation of economic resources.

4.2. Sexual and gender-based violence – still a taboo?

The JPA in Sudan, which was also the most extensive agreement for gender provisions across every issue, it had the most substantial mentions to violence against women (VAW), sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)(Wise, 2021). Aiming to protect refugees and displaced women from "all kinds of harassment, abuse, along with sexual- or gender-based violence," the agreement encompasses clauses that recognize rape survivors who are both male and female as "victims of the conflict in Darfur"(Wise, 2021). In general, the Juba Peace agreement's inclusion of more substantial measures to combat assault involving women as well as gender-based violence stands out as a singular accomplishment. The reality that males may be victims of rape has only lately been a topic of discussion, despite the fact that international agreements have begun to more often acknowledge sexual assault against women during times of conflict(Abbas & Tønnessen, 2022). In addition, the agreement undertakes to defend women and children who have been internally displaced and refugees against sexual or gender-based violence (i.e., chapter 5, article 2.3), as well as more broadly from assaults, intimidation, and harassment (i.e., chapter 5, article 4.1.11)(*Sudan Peace Agreement*, 2020). Instead of only considering women as the victims of violence, the JPA adopted a constructivist conception of gender (Wise et al., 2019). The phrases "women and men" or "daughters and sons" were often used throughout the agreement documents to refer to the rights and positive discrimination requirements, including percentages in all the sector, giving into the fact that gender is a construct and violence especially sexual in nature is not limited to a specific section of the spectrum. Although other than the single mention of victims of war using a gender-neutral tone, The JPA overall has a heteronormative perspective of gender, and neither the inclusion of transwomen (i.e., people who identify as

women) in the category of "women and girls" nor the more general recognition of the LGBTQ+ community is suggested. If not completely but the JPA showed a positive switch towards progressive language used in the documents (Abbas & Tønnessen, 2022). However, it also demonstrated that the presence of gender-sensitive wording in a peace deal should not be confused with women's involvement. Women may contribute much more than just gender-related concerns to a peace process; thus their involvement does not ensure that gender-related concerns will be fulfilled. Nevertheless, powerful women's organizations often advocate for both peace and gender-sensitive regulations(O'Reilly et al., 2015).

However, even after mentioning SGBV measures and the fact remains that women's involvement in these proceedings is not expressly safeguarded by the framework constitutes one of the key causes of worries about the administration of justice and peacemaking process. The procedures that would be used did not take gender equality into account while offering additional protection to female victims or witnesses. The concerns of SGBV were not even specifically discussed or addressed in the text; rather, they were just grouped along with other types of offenses, war crimes, or violations. However, this is insufficient to guarantee that women are completely protected and get favorable treatment while seeking justice and taking an active role in accountability, particularly for SGBV offenses. One of the issues with gender judicial and equality in the document is the "Traditional Justice" procedure that would be carried out by "tribal leaders.(*Sudan Peace Agreement*, 2020)" The problematic part being that traditional leadership in South Sudan has always been dominated by males, which raises severe questions concerning the role of women in these processes. Additionally, it raises questions regarding the potential for harassment towards women and SGBV victims. It was unclear if instances of SGBV would be taken into consideration under

the traditional justice process. The conventional justice system should only look at situations that fall beyond the purview of the various transitional justice procedures.

The data revealed that the women who were represented at as well as around the peace table lacked political experience because of the traditional gender norms that had generally excluded women from public spheres(Abbas & Tønnessen, 2022). Thus, taboo topic such as SGBV were a difficult to address within the process due to a lack of progress. This largely relates to the concept of gendered institutions where even after being present at the negotiation table the gender power dynamics at play, jeopardize the full capacity of women's participation thus it just becoming a "check box" activity (Ellersby, 2013). There were no specific criteria adopted for representation of women, in a setting where politics has historically been a male-only club, having political experience and knowledge of gender norms should have been requirements for significant admission and representation. Thus, it highlights a rather essentialist outlook where women are seen as "agents of change" but with no real effect on the outcome of the process and with the danger of reinforcing the link between peace and femininity that women are best suited to work towards peaceful roles, as established by the social context and convention. Consistently portraying women as "victims of violence" limits their agency and prevents the creation of suitable peacebuilding-related initiatives that take into account the entire range of experiences that women have both during and after conflicts.

4.3. International organization and grassroots mobilization – a saving grace?

Local conflict settlement attempts often continue to get greater attention and support when national resolution of conflicts efforts have stagnated(Wise, 2021). It is evident in case of South Sudan that women have taken part in regional peace initiatives(Wise et al., 2019). For instance, women are often strong community players, and their capacity to start and shape local peace initiatives may have a larger positive impact on other women within the community as well as enhance the general efficacy of the peace accord. Local peace processes are typically seen as being highly contextually dictated in ways that international players should respect, but they are also sites of authority and legitimacy that have complex links to the national war. Therefore, it is important to avoid any "standardized" method for handling what local accords contain and to support the involvement of women (Wise et al., 2019).

Efforts by organization such as African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD) and Crisis Group has served a saving grace by promoting local peace processes in the absence of a strong government, an absence of political determination at the national level to promote a ceasefire or transition process, or as an effort to get around stalled peace negotiations, and as a result, become the main focus of the reconciliation activities of international organizations. By organizing conflict resolution workshops and experience sharing sessions for women and gender specific training for female parliamentarians to navigate through the peace processes and provide constructive solutions. The IGAD taskforce detailed out a plan for proposed structure of the peace negotiation which would represent women from all sections of the

society. however, even after the efforts it was not seen to be implemented during the actual negotiations.

However, efforts to exclude women have also sparked their activism outside of the established power structures and served as a means of influencing, particularly if they are backed by the global actors. Such a mobilization occurred in Sudan to demand that women be included in the mission from civil society in Juba as well as the formal discussions. In order to comprehend the contemporary conflict-resolution method referred to as the tracks model and to devise approaches to place gender on the peace agenda, meetings for women's organizations were arranged. Despite prior conflicts and breaking down, being a member of a civil society delegations offered opportunities for various women's organizations to collaborate. Along with the Sudanese Women's Union and the 'No to Women's Oppression Initiative', the 'Sudanese Women in Civic and Political organizations (MANSAM)' that is possibly the biggest coalition of women organizations, took the lead. There was little cooperation between this organization and the Sudan Women Platform, nevertheless, and as a result, there were differences in Juba that have polarized their relationship. Although the idea of bringing together women's organizations is frequently critiqued as a patriarchal notion intended to minimize the diversity of viewpoints and de-radicalize them, the majority of scholarship in the area suggests that without such collectively mobilization, it grows extremely hard for women for the accessibility to the structures of patriarchal power(Ariño, 2010).

The mass mobilization and lobbying that took place for an inclusive negotiation process for JPA proved to be a key aspect for greater, if not significant inclusion on women in terms of participation(Abbas & Tønnessen, 2022). Sudanese women were mainly excluded from the

Juba talks on peace, which resulted in the JPA signing for Peace, especially during the transitional phase(Awad, 2020). Women were not asked to participate in the discussions once the pre-negotiation process began in September 2019. In order to advocate for their inclusion, women's rights activists even encountered sexist and racial taunts from members of the Peace Commission, including the chairman. Women eventually gained 10% representation in the formal negotiations between the Transitional Government (i.e., a total of 7 women) and the Sudanese Revolutionary Front (i.e., 16 women), which was established in 2011 to bring together militant organizations to oppose Bashir's regime (1989-2019), due to the mobilization of women's groups(Awad, 2020).

4.4 Discussion

As a result of UNSCR 1325, there currently has been an increase in global awareness of the significance of having more women participate in official peace discussions. Although this is unquestionably crucial and a vital first step in forging lasting peace accords, -the current case study demonstrates that it is absolutely insufficient(Abbas & Tønnessen, 2022). In fact, the current research on women, peace, and security has mainly ignored the possibility that the nominal participation of women may potentially have negative impacts, such as backlash effect, this has been prevalent in South Sudan especially after the JPA. Regarding women's concerns, the peace accord establishes a 40% quota for women, establishes UNSC 1325 as the foundation for women, peace, and security, and promotes the signature of agreements that protect the rights of women. However, it does not explain whose rights it refers to, it prioritizes girls' education without laying out any criteria, and it just states that the government must provide free access to basic reproductive, and essential healthcare.

Political participation for women got more challenging as their political circumstances became more complicated and disagreements turned towards ethnic violence as well as property disputes. This is due to their new public position was tied to the controversial agreement, which made matters even more complicated. In fact, since they are stigmatized in the political system and blamed for the failure of the peace process and the accord, this could very well exclude women from any future involvement in the negotiation process(Abbas & Tønnessen, 2022). When approaching a conflict from the viewpoint of gender, it may be highlighted the abilities and capabilities of both men and women and recognize lost possibilities to advance women's abilities in humanitarian work. But more significantly, it highlights chances for reducing social obstacles that perpetuate and worsen prejudice against women. conflicts impact both men and women, but not equally or to the same degrees(Nduwimana, 2006). For men and women, the reasons for displacement, the requirements for seeking protection and aid while displaced, and the difficulties associated with reintegration and repatriation are not the same. To provide men and women with equal rights and opportunities while taking into consideration their different requirements from a gender viewpoint entail providing them with suitable solutions(Nduwimana, 2006). This does not seem to be the case.

Overall, in terms of larger categories the data clearly highlight inclusion of four modalities: direct representation, inclusive commissions, mass mobilization and problem-solving workshops. The former two where essentially part of the agreements were as the latter two were highlighted in reports and briefs and articles as measures taken by the international actors such as UN and other NGOs and organizations present in South Sudan. However, there was no reference of women consultation group in the analyzed data. Which points

towards the fact that women had no role in the transitional phase to influence the decision making. for such forums to have an impact in reality, it is vital to set up efficient transfer channels that routinely inform negotiators and mediators of the consultations' findings. Which was completely absent in this case. Decision-making processes are crucial in both negotiation and discussion formats because they exclude or undervalue the contributions of female participants, negating the advantages of inclusion. In fact, despite direct involvement of women around the table in practically all national conversation procedures under consideration, the final say-so has been held by a small number of previously influential, mostly male players.

The concept of gendered institutions coined by Carol Cohn seems to be the case of South Sudan where institutions in the economic, political, as well as educational spheres are necessary to realize and support a power-distribution system that favors certain groups of people at the cost of others. Additionally, an approach that supports that uneven access is necessary; it must somehow "make sense" or seem acceptable that some individuals have possession of resources while others do not(Cohn, 2013). This was evident from the data that authoritarian rule and violent war prevented Sudan's political scene from developing a civil political framework that would allow women to play an active role in politics, which is why politics is primarily seen as a male domain as stated throughout the section. The hoesh al-nisa, or "women's yard," refers to the customary partition of place in the Sudanese household wherein women have their own section in the residence that they are expected to stay in. Women are often consigned to domestic duties(Abbas, 2021). The research by Cohn emphasizes how gendered rhetoric and language may influence how policies are carried out(Cohn, 2017). In the case of South Sudan, the language and context surrounding the peace talks might support gender norms and conventional roles for men and women. The scope of

women's engagement may be restricted as a result to activities that are seen as "soft" or "feminine," such as social welfare and humanitarian concerns, rather than participation in significant security and governance-related decision-making.

Thus the understanding of feminist peace involves more than just "adding women" or "adding gender" to peacebuilding initiatives and discussions(Weber, 2006). It is imperative to emphasize the significance of using the word "gender" correctly. This notion has been somewhat "depoliticized" as a result of the generalization in use. The word gender has evolved into the notion of just adding women, rather than expressing the importance of concerns like power. To get away from politically correct ideas that ignore power disparities and women's subjugation under patriarchy, a feminist reappropriation of gender identity is required. Gender inclusion in peace processes won't happen unless both of them are raised. Gender must direct peace processes in their full political meaning, not via narrow viewpoints that reduce gender to the concept of bringing women into the general public sphere without challenging it(Ariño, 2010).

Feminist concepts will not necessarily be included in peacekeeping and post-conflict rebuilding just because there are women present in the space or at the table. Similar to this, "mainstreaming" gender equality into programs for reconciliation and rebuilding "rarely transform the underlying power (structural) asymmetries" in post-conflict settings(Santos, 2022). The functions that women perform and those who identify as women are going to continue to differ greatly, so much that their real-life experience consistently contradicts theories and vice versa. Women can simultaneously be the 'victims of violence' and the 'drivers of change' as suggested by Shepherd in her article. What is interesting is the way the concept of "women" is used in peace rhetoric to produce certain "peacemaking practices"

which may or may not be connected to the aforementioned exclusions in reality(Shepherd, 2016). For instance, once a specific significance is given to "women," like "agent of transformation" or "helpless victim," likely initiatives for policy become "thinkable," even essential, while other initiatives are omitted(Shepherd, 2016). Understanding how organizations and individuals give meaning to subjects is crucial because by looking at the way meaning is constructed; one can look at how possibility is produced.

Conclusion

The research question guiding this study was: what is the extent of women's participation and representation in peace processes ever since the introduction of UNSCR 1325 in the case of South Sudan? With the objectives focusing on analyzing the gap between mere "representation" and actual "participation", thereby affecting the inclusivity of the entire peace process. To answer the question, in South Sudan, women's involvement in the quest for peace is mostly the product of their own effort to carve out spaces for themselves. Women who have proven able to mobilize across political, religious, and ethnic boundaries to promote gender equality and women's empowerment because they are not driven by the political agenda at hand but rather by their own interests of security. Women took part in the peace process in a variety of ways, such as by being present there at the negotiation table, actively participating, and mass mobilizing. However, as established in the previous section not all groups of women found their way to the table lacking a substantial share to indigenous groups as well as other specific minorities. Even though women's participation in the official peace process was defined by symbolic representation, there are still debates over how much of an impact women had. As per Weber just adding "women" is not sufficient, it also needs to address the structural asymmetries (Weber, 2006). Although women initially aimed to bridge political, racial, and cultural barriers, their impact was limited by a number of circumstances, such as patriarchal systems that denied women a platform. The main objective of this study was to highlight this gap between "representation" and "participation". Ever since the introduction of UNSCR 1325, terms such as women's participation or gender perspective, gender sensitive have been used technocratically without much depth to it. Thus, the reality is that the structural violence against women due to power asymmetries is still evident(Galtung, 1969). To add value to peace that benefits everyone,

including other underrepresented groups and individuals as well as women in all their diversity, feminist peacebuilding should seek to identify, unpack, and reshape the intricate power structures that sculpt the lives of those taking part in it(Santos, 2022)

The primary obstacle is still how to put these agreements into practice. The majority of the agreement's clauses need further explanations and legal frameworks to guarantee that its execution would live up to the hopes of the Sudanese women. Women's organizations in Sudan will need to keep fighting for changes to some of the legislation, as well as for the inclusion of a gender viewpoint in the creation of commissions and committees. Therefore, in order for Sudanese women to fully participate at all stages, all stakeholders must assist them. Through the accomplishments in this agreement, women in crisis zones and across Sudan have an unprecedented chance to confront patriarchal political and social conventions. However, the primary goal of this study was to examine the peace accord from the viewpoint of women in order to better understand the chances and difficulties of changing the balance of power in Sudan in favor of gender equality. Even if it may seem that the accomplishments of the agreements outweigh the worries or flaws, the worrying problems remain crucial and, if not adequately resolved, which might result in the ultimate collapse of the entire peace process. The key to building a lasting peace is addressing problems like women's safety and protection against SGBV as well as having access to accountability and justice. thus, the strides made were significant, but the structural adjustments needed to secure gender equality and actual women's involvement, not merely "representation," must take precedence in the endeavor to establish peace.

The scope of women's involvement and representation in negotiations for peace is highlighted in this study. Constructivist feminism contends that women may have

traditionally been excluded from decision-making processes due to established gender norms and roles, making it difficult for them to participate in peace discussions. The study's emphasis on the discrepancy within "representation" and "participation" highlights the need of challenging ingrained gender conventions that would have prevented women from actively participating in peace negotiations. An attempt to address gender imbalances and encourage women's involvement in resolving conflicts and rebuilding is indicated by the reference of UNSCR Resolution 1325. This settlement would be seen by constructivist feminism as acknowledging the gendered dynamics of power in negotiation processes and as a step toward removing gender-based obstacles to women's involvement. The inclusiveness of the peace process was the main focus of the study. True inclusiveness, according to constructivist feminism, entails identifying and dismantling historical power imbalances that have favored particular populations over others. This research would probably go beyond just looking at gender to take into account how other intersecting identities, including race and class, can also affect how people access power and make decisions.

The mention of the JPA and the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) shows attempts to incorporate gender equality within the peace process. Such efforts would be commendable, but which would also stress the need to move beyond mere symbolism and guarantee that women actively participate in and have control over the results of the peace process. Constructivist feminism recognizes that despite advancements in gender inclusiveness in peace processes, difficulties still exist. A persistent need for attempts to address gendered power relations may be seen in ongoing violence and the slow implementation of crucial legislation(Cohn, 2017). Conclusively, constructivist feminist analysis of the South Sudanese peace process emphasizes the significance of seeing

gender as a social construct and comprehending how gender conventions and power relations affect women's representation and involvement in peace discussions.

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