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**A REVIEW OF WOMEN'S ENGAGEMENT  
IN PEACE PROCESSES IN ETHIOPIA,  
SOUTH SUDAN, SUDAN & UGANDA:  
GOOD PRACTICES AND LESSONS LEARNED**







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# LIST OF ACRONYMS

ACCORD	African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes
AGA	African Governance Architecture
APSA	African Union Peace and Security Architecture
A-RCSS	Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AU CRF Peace	African Union Continental Results Framework on the Women, and Security Agenda
AU D-PAPS	AU Department for Political Affairs, Peace and Security
AU DPoA	AU Decade and its Plan of Action
AU HLP	AU High Level Panel
AU PEP	AU Panel of Eminent Persons
AU PSC	African Union Peace and Security Council
AWLN	African Women's Leadership Network
CAAC	Children Affected by Armed Conflict
CAAFAG	Children Associated with Armed Forces and Armed Groups
CAC	Children in Armed Conflict
CEDAW	Convention on elimination of All forms of discrimination Against Women
CoHA	Cessation of Hostilities Agreement
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease 2019
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CTRH	Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing
CWVND	Coalition for Women's Voice on the National Dialogue
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DDR	Demobilization, Disarmament and Reintegration
DDRR	Demobilization, Disarmament, Rehabilitation and Reintegration
DHS	Demographic and health Survey
DPCSF	Darfur Community Peace and Stability Fund
EAC	East African Community
EEBC	Eritrea - Ethiopia Boundary Commission
EIP	Ethiopian Institute for Peace
EHRC	Ethiopian Human Rights Commission
EHRDC	Ethiopian Human Rights Defenders Center

# LIST OF ACRONYMS

ELF	Eritrean Liberation Front
EPLF	Eritrean People's Liberation Front
ELWA	Ethiopian Legal Women's Association
EPRDF	Ethiopia People Revolutionary Democratic Front
ENDC	Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission
ENDF	Ethiopian National Defence Forces
EWHRDN	Ethiopian Women Human Rights Defenders Network
EWHRDC	Ethiopian Women Human Rights Defenders Coalition
ERC	Ethiopian Reconciliation Commission
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GIZ	Gesellschafts fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit
FBOs	Faith-Based Organizations
FECCLAHA	Fellowship of Christian Councils and Churches in the Great Lakes and Horn of Africa
FemWise	Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation
FGC	Female Genital Cutting
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FIDA	Uganda Association of Women Lawyers
GaPI	Gender and Peacebuilding Initiative
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GERD	Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam
GESF	Gender and Elections Strategic Framework
GEWE	Gender equality and women's empowerment
GFDRE	Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia
GIMAC	Gender is My Agenda Campaign
GoSS	Government of South Sudan
GPPAC	Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict
GPI	Global Peace Index
GPSP	Gender, Peace and Security Programme
GSDRC	Governance and Social Development Resource Center
HCSS	Hybrid Court for South Sudan
FFC	Forces of Freedom and Change
FGRE	Federal Government of the Republic of Ethiopia
FGS	Federal Government of Somalia
HD Centre	Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue

# LIST OF ACRONYMS

HDR	Human Development Report
HIV	Human Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome
HLRF	High-Level Revitalization Forum
HoA	Horn of Africa
HLP	High Level Panel
HLRF	High Level Revitalization Forum
HRW	Human Rights Watch
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICGLR	International Conference on the Great Lakes Region
ICCPR	International Convent for Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Convention on Economic Social Cultural Rights
ICGLR	International Conference for Great Lakes Region
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IDMC	International Displacement Monitoring Centre
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGAD OSESS	IGAD Office for the Special Envoy of South Sudan
IGAD MSU	IGAD Mediation Support Unit
IGAD WPF	IGAD Women and Peace Forum
IGAD YPF	IGAD Youth and Peace Forum
IHL	International Humanitarian Law
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
IOM	Institute of Migration
IPHRD-Africa	International Center for Peace, Human Rights and Development
IPSS	Institute of Peace and Security Studies
IPSTC	International Peace Support Training Centre
IRCU	Inter-religious Council of Uganda LRA Lord's Resistance Army
ISS	Institute for Security Studies
ISPCA	International Society for the Prevention of Child Abuse and neglect
IWF	Internet Watch Foundation
JPA	Juba Peace Agreement
JEM	Justice Equality Movement

# LIST OF ACRONYMS

JMEC	Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission
KIWEPI	Kitgum Women's Peace Initiative
LCs	Leaders Committees
LPDCs	Local Peace and Development Committees
LPIs	Local Peace Infrastructures
LPI	Life and Peace Institute
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MANSAM	Women of Sudanese Civic and Political Group
MoP	Ministry of Peace
MoU	Memorandum of Agreement
MPs	Members of Parliament
MRG	Mediation Reference Group
MRM	Monitoring and Reporting Mechanism
MSSG	Mediation Standing Support Group
MSU	Mediation Support Unit
NAP	National Action Plan
NAPI	First National Action Plan
NAPII	Second National Action Plan
NAPIII	Third National Action Plan
NCA	Norwegian Church Aid
NCDA	National Child Development Agency (of Rwanda)
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NCP	National Congress Party
NCPWG	National Child Protection Working Group
NEW	Network of Eritrean Women
NAHT	Forum of Women in Forces of Freedom and Change
NGO	Non-governmental organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NGOWG	NGO Working Group on Women and Armed Conflict
NEWA	Network of Ethiopian Women's Association
NPA	Norwegian People's Aid
NPAC	National Plan of Action for Children
NRM	National Resistance Movement
NSC	National Steering Committee on Peacebuilding and Conflict Management

# LIST OF ACRONYMS

NSPP	National Social Protection Policy
NSPS	National Social Protection Strategy
NTJRC	National Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
NSC	National Security Council
NUEW	National Union of Eritrean Women
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PANWISE	Pan-African Network of the Wise
PCRD	Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development
PDCs	Peace and Development Committees
PoC	Protection of Civilians
PRDP	Peace, Recovery and Development Plan
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
PRC	Permanent Representative Committee
PSC	Peace and Security Council
PSOs	Peace Support Operations
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress disorder
PW	Panel of the Wise
RAP	Regional Action Plan
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RC	Reconciliation Committee
RCs	Resistance Committees
RIGOs	Regional Inter-Governmental Organizations
RMs	Regional Mechanisms
R-ARCSS	Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RJMEC	Reconstituted Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Committee
RMs	Regional Mechanisms
RSF	Rapid Support Forces
SAF	Sudan Armed Forces
SAWLs	Small arms and light weapons
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SFCG	Search for Common Ground



# LIST OF ACRONYMS

SHE WINS	Supporting Her Empowerment: Women's Inclusion for New Security
SIHA Network	Strategic Initiative for women in the Horn of Africa
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SLA	Sudanese Liberation Army
SOPs	Standard Operating Procedures
SPA	Sudanese Professional Association
SPLA	Sudanese People's Republic Army
SPLM	Sudanese People's Republic Movement
SPLM/A-IO	Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army in Opposition
SPLM- N	Sudan People's Liberation Movement- North
SNRC	Somalia National Reconciliation Conference
SNWO	Somali National Women's Organization (SNWO)
SPSA	State of Peace and Security in Africa
SSCC	South Sudan Council of Churches
SSCSF	South Sudan Civil Society Forum
SSDF	South Sudan Defence Forces
SSOA	South Sudan Opposition Alliance
SSR	Security Sector Reform
SSRB	Southern Sudan Referendum Bureau
SSRC	Southern Sudan Referendum Commission
SuWEP	Sudanese Women Empowerment for Peace network
SSWAP	South Sudan Women Advocacy for Peace
SSWGA	South Sudan Women's General Association
SWAN	Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi
SWDC	Siqqe Women's Development Organization
TDF	Tigray Defence Forces
TJRC	Truth, Reconciliation and Justice Commission
TJWG	Transitional Justice Working Group
TLC	Transitional Legislative Council
TNC	Transitional National Council
TNG	Transitional National Government
TNLA	Transitional National Legislative Assembly
TNPG	Transitional National Parliament and Government
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
TRAFIG	Transnational Figurations of Displacement

# LIST OF ACRONYMS

TEWPA	Teso Women Peace Activists
UCDP	Uppsala Conflict Data Program
UPDF	Uganda People's Defence Forces
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNESCO	United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNPBSO	United Nations Peacebuilding Support Office
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNMISS	United Nations Mission in South Sudan
UNOAU	United Nations Office for the African Union
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UWONET	Uganda Women's' Network
WOP	Women's Peace Initiative-Uganda
WAN	Women's Advocacy Network
WAAC	Women Affected by Armed Conflict
WAAFG	Women Associated with Armed Forces and Groups
WB	World Bank
WCG	Women Consultation Group
WHO	World Health Organization
WILPF	Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
WWAP	Wajir Women's Association for Peace
VAC	Violence against children

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study focuses on the gendered review of the participation of women in the peace processes, and examines peace agreements signed in Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan, and Ethiopia, with a specific focus on the Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan; the Jeddah Agreement, the Darfur Peace Agreement Comprehensive Peace Agreement; the Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (A-RCSS) as well as the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan- R-ARCSS and the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement for Ethiopia (CoHA). The review of peace agreements is meant to analyze whether these peace agreements have incorporated gender-sensitive provisions in the peace agreements.

Using the four countries as a springboard for reflection, the paper is aimed at generating robust evidence on the rationale and added value for women's meaningful participation in peace processes in the region. The paper also analyzes outstanding gaps and challenges, which act as barriers for women's full and effective participation. The paper also emerges with recommendations and for policy action to facilitate the achievement of more inclusive and gender-responsive peace processes in the region.

The study is preceded by the policy recognition regarding women's participation in peace processes, especially the United Nations Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace, and Security (UNSCR 1325), which was adopted in October 2000. UNSCR 1325 called for women's enhanced participation in peace processes, especially given the gendered impact of conflict and the disproportionate burdens borne by women in conflict. UNSCR was accompanied by the adoption of nine additional Resolutions, which are collectively known as the WPS Agenda. The study also recognized the efforts at continental levels, which include the adoption of the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), also known as the Maputo Protocol and the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA), which was adopted in 2004.

The study methodology included desk review, virtual interviews and consultations with women peacebuilders from civil society organizations (CSOs), the media, academia as well as from faith-based organizations. Consultations were also undertaken with policy actors from regional economic communities/ regional mechanisms (RECs/ RMs) and the continental body, the African Union to identify strategies that have been taken at policy level to advance the participation of women in peace processes.

The study highlights that in the four case studies (Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda, women's participation in peace processes differs from context to context with some cases demonstrating women's active involvement in influencing the content of the peace agreements, while other cases demonstrate women's participation in the post-agreement processes. In South Sudan's Agreement of the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (A-RCSS); and the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of South Sudan (R-ARCSS), the study notes some notable improvement in the participation of women in peace processes, not just quantitatively, but also qualitatively, especially since women were able to significantly influence the integration of gender-sensitive provisions in the peace agreement and in the post-agreement policies.

However, in Ethiopia especially in the process leading to the Cessation for Hostilities agreement for Ethiopia (CoHA), and Sudan (the Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan and the Jeddah Peace Agreement), the participation of women in peace processes was relatively marginal, as women did not get a platform to participate as negotiators or

observers, although the resultant agreement. Similarly, the Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan was characterized by minimal participation of women, also includes some provisions on promoting gender equality.

Against this background, this paper provides strategic proposals aimed at strengthening women's participation in peace processes, including calling for the development of Guidance for Gender-Responsive-Mediation, developing minimum standards for women's participation in peace processes, and incentivizing conflict parties and political parties to delegate women in their negotiation teams, as well as providing avenues to strengthen the capacities of women peacebuilders, activists and networks of organizations working towards peace.

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# SECTION ONE



## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

### 1.0 The Context of Conflicts in Eastern Africa and Gendered Impact:

Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda are located in the Eastern Africa region. They have been part of a tapestry of various types of conflicts, including inter-state conflicts, cross-border conflicts, communal violence as well as emerging peace and security threats such as climate change, public health challenges, including pandemics, as well as the growing burden of displacement, all of which have significant gendered impact, with women and girls bearing the disproportionate burden.

Examples of intrastate conflicts experiences in the region include the conflict that have been experienced in the Eastern and Horn of Africa region include the conflict in, Northern Uganda between the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), led by Joseph Kony<sup>1</sup> and the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF). Driven by perceptions of political and socio-economic inequalities, as well as successive power struggles that had affected Uganda since independence,<sup>2</sup> the conflict in Northern Uganda resulted, in devastation and vulnerability, manifested through the massive displacement of the population. Over the 20 years of the conflict (between 1988-2008), more than two million were internally displaced over a period of 20 years, and of those displaced, the majority were women and children. Forcibly displaced populations had limited access to basic social services, such as education, healthcare and livelihoods.

The Northern Uganda conflict was also characterized by immense human rights violations, including the commission of sexual violence against women and children, the killing and maiming of populations, abductions as well as forced recruitment of children into conflict, all of which severely resulted in psychological trauma. The LRA was accused of forcibly recruiting children into armed conflict, using boys as fighters, while the majority of girls were used as servants and sexual slaves.

Ethiopia has also experienced various forms of internal struggles. Since 2018, regions such as Ahmara, Oromia and Tigray regions have experienced repeated incidences of clashes between local armed groups and the Federal Government. The most prominent intrastate was the one in Tigray, which was at its height between 2020-2022, was manifested by violent attacks between the Ethiopian National Defence Forces (ENDF) and the Tigray People's Liberation Front/ Tigrayan Defence Forces (TPLF/ TDF).

1 Before the LRA, Northern Uganda experienced another insurgency, organised under the Holy Spirit Movement, led by Alice Lakwena. The LRA emerged in 1988, and it was led by Joseph Kony

2 See brief historical view of the northern Uganda conflict in the *Peace Recovery and Development Plan for Northern Uganda (PRDP 2007-2010)*, Government of Uganda 2007, pp. 7-11

The conflict in was accompanied by human rights violations, including massive internal and external displacements, with women and children being more disproportionately affected. A 2022 Report by the International Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC)<sup>3</sup> reported that the combined effects of the conflicts in Afar, Ahmara and Tigray resulted in more than 5.1 million displacements within Ethiopia. The protracted violence in Tigray also significantly affected socio-economic activities such as farming and going to markets, resulting in decline in agricultural production, massive job losses, loss of livelihoods, and a massive humanitarian disaster.

Sudan has also experienced protracted internal conflict, including a civil war in Darfur, as well as devastating violence in regions such as the Blue Nile and South and North Kordofan. Currently, Sudan is battling with internal conflict, which emerged April 2023, following clashes between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces (RSF), four years after the ouster of former President Omar-Al Bashir in 2019. Collectively, these conflicts have not only devastated local economies, and disrupted social service provision, but they have also led to massive internal displacement, with women and children being disproportionately affected. Furthermore, the internal conflict in Sudan has also resulted in increased cases of violence against women, including sexual violence in conflict zones. Internal conflict in Sudan has also been accompanied by.

**Since gaining independence from the North, South Sudan** has experienced two main internal conflicts (2013-2015) and (2015-2018), since gaining independence from Sudan in July 2011. The internal conflict in South Sudan is estimated to have resulted in more than 400,000 deaths, while it led to massive displacement, with more 3.9 million people reported as forcibly displaced internally and externally (UNHCR, 2018). The two civil wars were respectively ended through negotiations and the signing of peace agreements, namely the Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (A-RCSS) of 2015, and the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS), signed in September 2018.<sup>4</sup> While these formal peace agreements remain in place, South Sudan continues to experience intra-communal violence, which has become a big threat towards the promotion of peace and stability in the country.

Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda also experience new forms of conflict, driven by the impact of climate change and environmental degradation. Increasing competition over limited resources such as pasture and water has fed into existing fractures at community level, thereby contributing to heightened cases of communal violence. For example, increasing competition over scarce resources such as land and pastures in Uganda's refugee hosting districts,<sup>5</sup> has contributed towards conflicts at the local level. Similarly, repeated waves of communal violence and clashes have been recorded along the South Sudan-Ethiopian border, Gambella region, as well as the Karamoja region between Uganda and Kenya borders. Communal violence in these four countries is further compounded by the proliferation of small arms and light weapons (SALWs), which add towards the gendered human rights violations and commission of acts of sexual violence against women and girls.

3 International Displacement and Monitoring Centre (IDMC) and Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC). 2022. Global Report on Internal Displacement. [IDMC\\_GRID\\_2022\\_LR.pdf \(internal-displacement.org\)](#)

4 The R-ARCSS was signed between the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU), the main opposition (South Sudanese People's Liberation Movement/Army-In Opposition – SPLM/A-IO), the South Sudan Opposition Alliance (SSOA), Former Detainees (FD), and Other Opposition Parties (OPP).

5 Uganda has 13 refugee-hosting districts (Adjuman, Isingiro, Kampala, Kamwenge, Kikuube, Kiryandongo, Kyegegwa, Koboko, Lamwo, Madi-Okollo, Obongi, Terego and Yumbe). The refugees are hosted in 13 settlements (Adjumani, Bidibidi, Imvepi, Kiryandongo, Kyaka II, Kyangwali, Lobule, Nakivale, Oruchinga, Palabek, Palorinya, Rhino Camp and Rwamwanja), in addition to the urban refugees in Kampala. For details, see: [UNHCR Uganda Factsheet\\_January - March 2021.pdf](#)



## 1.2 Scope and Rationale of the Review

This paper undertakes a gendered review of women's participation in peace processes in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda, and pays special attention to strategies used to foster women's meaningful participation, as well as the emerging results. The paper examines how the involvement of women in peace processes has yielded positive impacts in the region, including shaping the post-conflict agenda, and ensuring the peace, security and protection of women. Focus is also on analyzing the different opportunities for women's involvement after the signing of peace agreements in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan, and Uganda. This is done through examining the extent to which the peace agreements that were signed in these countries have addressed gender issues, and specifically addressed the needs of women and girls.

The paper outlines good practices to strengthen women's meaningful participation and representation in all aspects of peacemaking. Emphasis will be on interrogating factors that have made some peace processes and agreements more impactful than others in terms of women's participation and gender-sensitive provisions, including factors that militated against positive outcomes. Furthermore, the review also examined the challenges inhibiting women's effective participation in peace processes in the region, with a view to identifying policy opportunities as well as priorities for action.

## 1.3 Research Questions

The following questions guided this paper:

- What are the global, continental, regional and national policy commitments, focused on promoting the participation of women in peace processes in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda? To what extent are these policy commitments being operationalized?
- Focusing on four countries (Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda), what is the extent, nature and shape of women's participation in peace processes in the region?
- How has women's participation in peace processes shaped the outcomes of the peace processes and contents of peace processes? How has the participation of women in peace processes ensured that peace agreements included gender language and addressed women's concerns?
- In the four countries, what has been the nature and impact of women's participation in post-conflict, transitional and peace implementation mechanisms?
- What have been the challenges and constraints experienced by women in participating in peace processes in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda?

How can the participation and meaningful engagement of women in these peace processes be strategically supported and further strengthened by the RECs/ RMs, the Africa Union, United Nations, CSOs and international actors engaged with peace processes?

## 1.4 Methodology

This paper was undertaken using mixed-method research which sought to examine the extent, nature shape and extent of women participation in peace processes. Focus was on how women in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda have been participating in peace processes, with particular interest in the strategies that have been employed to influence more gendered and inclusive peace processes. The mixed methodology, which included desk research, interviews, virtual consultations and the administration of questionnaires with various peace actors in the region. also examined the institutional, political, security, socio-cultural, economic challenges and limitations of women's participation in peace processes.

The approach facilitated clearer understanding and identification of good practices, along with lessons learned on how to foster the meaningful engagement and participation of women in peace processes. The study also focused on investigating the impact of women's participation in peace processes, to make the case and generate support and political will towards advancing their full, effective and meaningful engagement in such processes. From this approach, the end goal was to outline strategies that can be employed to enhance and strengthened more inclusive and gender-responsive approaches to mediation, negotiation and other peacebuilding processes.

The research design is outlined in detail as follows:

- **Legal and Policy Analysis:** Desk research was undertaken over a four-month period, between mid September to end of December 2023, with a focus on identifying global, continental, regional and national policy frameworks which advance the WPS agenda, particularly the strengthening of women's participation in peace processes. Examples of global, continental and regional frameworks which were examined included the following:
  - United Nations Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325), and the additional nine UNSC Resolutions on the WPS Agenda.
  - Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979.
  - Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1999).
  - Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995); as well as the UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (1993).
- Other global frameworks include the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), especially SDG5, which focuses on achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls; as well SDG16, which seeks to promote peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels.
- Reviewing continental and regional instruments in support of the WPS Agenda, including the AU Constitutive Act (2000) and the Protocol Leading to the Establishment of the Peace and Security Council, which both provide for women's participation in the continent's development, as well as its peace and security processes. The policy and legal analysis also entailed reviewing documents such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (1981), especially its emphasis on the need to protect women's rights in all contexts. Other AU normative frameworks that were examined included the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of

Women in Africa, better known as the Maputo Protocol, adopted in 2003; the Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa, which was adopted by the African Union (AU) Assembly in 2004.

- **The continental blueprint, the AU's Agenda 2063 was also analyzed, especially Aspirations 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Agenda 2063**, which collectively call for a peaceful and secure Africa, characterized by the mainstreaming of gender considerations into the efforts in creating *"The Africa We Want."*
- At the regional level, the review also looked at enabling regional policies such as the IGAD Regional Action Plan on WPS, the IAGD Regional *Gender Equality Strategy 2023-2030 "Equality, Inclusion, and Empowerment; the IGAD Peace and Security Strategy; the East African Community's WPS Strategy and the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region's Regional Action Plan on WPS.*
- The review also examined existing legal and policy framework that supports the effective implementation of the WPS agenda. This includes analyzing the National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 as well as other policy measures designed to advance the WPS Agenda, especially in the four countries (Uganda, Sudan, South Sudan and Ethiopia).
- **Desk Review:** The gendered review was enhanced by analysis of publications from national governments, civil society organizations (CSOs), academia, think tanks, the media, regional and international organizations. Specifically, the desk review helped to reveal the extent to which peace agreements signed in Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Uganda have integrated gender provisions, specifically the provisions of UNSCR 1325 and other nine additional Resolutions, which are part of the WPS Agenda.
- Analysis of past and recently signed peace agreements in these four countries was undertaken, including review of the Juba Agreement (for Uganda), the Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan; Jeddah Agreement, Darfur Peace Agreement Comprehensive Peace Agreement; the Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (A-RCSS) as well as the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan-R-ARCSS. A Table of the existing peace agreements in Uganda, Ethiopia, Sudan and South Sudan was drawn, and it provided an analysis of specific articles that have gender provisions, as well as the extent of the implementation of these Articles.
- Desk review also focused on analyzing documentary evidence on women's participation in post-conflict, transitional and post-agreement peace implementation structures and mechanisms. This enabled the analysis of women's participation in peace processes and the integration of gender issues in peace agreements and post-agreement phases. Areas of focus included how gender issues and women's needs and concerns were integrated into transitional processes such as demobilization, disarmament and reintegration processes (DDR), security sector reform (SSR) processes, National Dialogue processes, constitutional reform processes, Security Sector Reform, as well as transitional justice processes.
- **Consultations with Policy Actors and WPS Practitioners:** The desk review was augmented and corroborated by consultations with relevant UN Women Country Offices, especially Desk Officers who are responsible for the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) portfolio in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda. This consultation helped with provision of more nuanced data on what each respective country office was doing towards supporting women's participation in peace processes.
- Additionally, the perspectives of policy actors in the African Union (AU), as well as the relevant regional economic communities/ regional mechanisms (RECs/ RMs) such as the East African Community (EAC), the Intergovernmental Authority on Development

(IGAD), the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) will also be solicited. These RECs/RMs were selected because of their roles in actualizing the WPS Agenda. The four RECs/RMs the four countries (Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda) are members of these multiple RECs/RMs.

- Consultations with RECs/RMs focused on how they can play a more strengthened role in ensuring that the WPS agenda is integrated more strategically across different types of peace processes, including ceasefire agreements, peace negotiations, transitional processes and post-conflict reform and reconstruction processes.
- **Consultations with individual women and networks of women peacebuilders and civil society organizations:** Consultations were held with women involved in various forms of peace processes, including peace activists and peacebuilders, as well as members of networks of women in peacebuilding to seek their perspectives on women's participation in mediation and negotiation processes, as well in peace implementation activities at local, national and regional levels.
- Networks such as the African Women's Leadership Network (AWLN), the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation, officially referred to as *FemWise-Africa* were consulted, in addition to soliciting inputs from CSOs that support women's participation in peace processes. For example, interviews were conducted with representatives from organizations such as the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCOR), the Women's International Peace Centre (The Peace Centre) and the Institute for Peace, Human Rights and Development (IPHRD-Africa), especially given their role in supporting the capacity strengthening of women from the Horn of Africa in mediation and negotiation.
- The interviews these sought to examine women's involvement in peace processes, including in post-conflict and transitional activities in the aftermath of peace agreement. These consultations focused on how women in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda have been participating in peace processes at all levels (Track I, II and III), the barriers they face, as well as their proposed recommendations and proposals for advancing women's participation in peace processes.

# SECTION TWO



## UNPACKING CONCEPTS AND ISSUES

### 2.0 Conceptualizing Peace Processes

Peace processes are political, diplomatic and informal initiatives that seek to support the prevention, management and resolution of conflict, and they include strategies such as dialogue, negotiation and mediation, which collectively are aimed at mitigating the negative effects of all forms of violence. The objective of peace processes is to prevent recurring cycles of violence, build social cohesion, and foster just and inclusive societies. Peace processes aim to not only identify the root causes of conflict, but they also seek to develop strategies for resolving the conflicts. Peace processes can be undertaken at multiple levels, including international, regional, national and local levels. The goal of peace processes is to create and sustain durable and long-lasting peace. The process does not end with the signing of peace agreements, but more often, it includes measures that are taken in the aftermath of conflict to facilitate post-conflict transition, peacebuilding and recovery processes.<sup>6</sup>

7

### 2.1 Multi Track Approach to Peace Processes

This paper utilizes the multitrack approach to peace processes, which is based on systems thinking. The multi-track conceptual approach recognizes that peace processes are intricate and mutually reinforcing processes with various feedback loops and connections between actors who are involved in initiatives to address violence and insecurity at various levels of society. Multi-track peace processes are in essence, multi-layered, often mutually collaborative activities, which seek to prevent violence as well as to manage and transform already existing conflict situations. A multi-track approach to peace processes recognizes the interplay and complementarity between formal or official peace processes (Track I) and informal and unofficial processes (Track II and III). Against this background, the following three main “tracks” have been developed:<sup>7</sup>

- **Track I peace processes:** These are also known as the official or formal peace processes, which are usually facilitated at the highest level by intergovernmental organizations such as the United Nations (UN), the African Union (AU) and Regional Economic Communities/ Regional Mechanisms (RECs/RMs). Track I peace processes often involve political, government, diplomatic and security leaders, as well as armed groups who are often at the heart of the conflict.

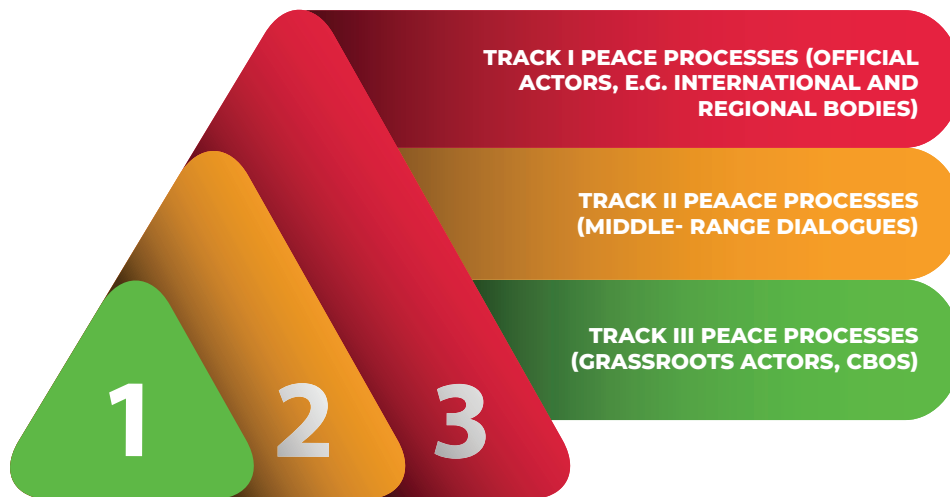
6 This definition is in line with the conceptualization by scholars such as Galtung (1967), Lederach (1997), Sandole (1999), Saunders (2001) and Sisk (2001).

7 Saunders, Harold. (2001)

- **Track II peace processes:** These are semi-formal and quasi-formal and unofficial peace processes, and they are characterized by the participation of civil society organizations, women's groups and youth networks and associations, mostly in parallel processes that are designed to influence the official or more formal negotiations. Track II peace processes seek to ensure that those groups that are not formally participating in the official processes, still find a way of influencing the substance, content, direction and outcomes of the peace process.
- **Track III peace processes:** These are grassroots-based and unofficial peace processes, aimed at preventing violence, mitigating its impact, while also promoting sustainable peace. Track III processes are usually undertaken by local actors such as community-based organizations (CBOs), traditional, customary and religious leaders as well as women and youth groups and associations., Track III processes often seek to address violence and insecurity at the local level, although, by so doing, the end up ultimately having a larger impact on the whole peace and security landscape.

It must be noted that multi-track approach to peace processes recognizes the complementarity between the various tracks, as often, there will be communication and feedback loops among the various actors in each of the tracks.<sup>8</sup> have conceptualized peace processes to occur in layers, which are mutually-reinforcing. For example, the peacebuilding pyramid is one of the models which looks at the multiple levels upon which peace processes can take place.<sup>9</sup>

**FIGURE 1:  
TRACK OF MEDIATION AND NEGOTIATION PROCESSES**



Peace processes are multilayered and non-linear, which often include three key phases such as the pre-negotiation phase, negotiation phase and the post-agreement phase. Saunders and Bell however, caution that rather than seeing these peace processes as occurring in a linear fashion, we must conceive them as complex and cyclical, meaning that they can move from one stage, graduate into another or even go back to the previous stage. While there is often continuity between preceding and incoming phases, it is

8 Diamond, Louise and John McDonald. 1996. *Multi-Track Diplomacy: A Systems Approach to Peace*. Third Edition. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

9 Lederach, J.P., 1997. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, DC

equally important to recognize that peace processes do not occur in such a neat manner, but can move in sequences, as outlined in detail below:<sup>10</sup>

- **Pre-negotiation Phase:** Involves efforts to create a framework and roadmap for substantive issues that are negotiated upon.
- **Negotiation Phase:** Includes processes to facilitate a conducive and safe place for conflict parties and those affected to dialogue and negotiate.
- **Post-Agreement Phase:** Involves efforts sustain the peace agreement stage by addressing the identified socio-economic, political, security, environmental and cultural drivers of conflict. It includes initiatives in support of the post-conflict reconstruction and development agenda, including transitional justice processes.

**FIGURE 2: THE PHASES OF PEACE PROCESSES**



## 2.2 Importance of Women's participation in Peace Processes

The engagement of women in peace processes is motivated by several factors, including growing concerns about the physical security of women in situations of armed conflict and violence. It is recognized that violent conflict tends to have more devastating consequences on women and children. In addition to being disproportionately represented among the casualties and displaced, women in conflict and post-conflict contexts are often confronted by the threat and reality of the use of sexual violence as a weapon of war.

Participation of women in peace processes is enshrined in global and continental instruments. For example, the United Nations Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325) not only outlines the role of women in conflict resolution and peace processes, but it calls for the adoption of gender perspectives into peace agreements, and their implementation mechanisms, and for the protection and respect of their rights.

Additionally, there is consensus that women's participation in peace processes strengthens the substance, durability and outcomes of such processes, especially considering that women bring additional perspectives on the drivers of conflict as well as on solutions to the conflict. More often, women's participation in peace processes tends to contribute towards enhanced understanding of the gendered dimensions of conflict, especially on issues that affect other women and girls. Furthermore, women's participation in peace processes assists towards crafting a more inclusive and board-based peace, which is based on holistic approaches to resolving conflict. In today's complex and evolving challenges, it would be remiss if peace processes end up being one-sided, by excluding women.

<sup>10</sup> Saunders, Harold H. (2001) Pre-negotiation and Circum-negotiation: Arenas of the Multilevel Peace Process. US Institute of Peace, Washington DC.

Calls for women's meaningful participation and engagement in peace processes are also premised on the recognition that women are agents of social change and sustainable peace, whose participation enhances the creating long-term and a more sustainable peace. In fact, research has demonstrated that the participation of women in peace processes increases the sustainability and the quality of peace, especially since women tend to emphasize the need to incorporate humanitarian and human security concerns into peace agreements. A UN Women study investigating eighty-two (82) peace agreements in forty-two (42) armed conflicts between 1989 and 2011 revealed that peace agreements with women signatories are closely associated with durable peace.<sup>11</sup> Another study revealed that peace agreement have a higher change of lasting, if women participate in the peace process and the crafting of the issues in the agreement.<sup>12</sup>

Despite this recognition, the representation of women in peace processes remains nominal. A 2012 global study by UN Women revealed that of out of 31 major peace processes undertaken globally between 1992 and 2019, only 13 percent of negotiators during peace talks were women.<sup>13</sup> This was confirmed by a similar study conducted by the Council of Foreign Relations (2019), which analyzed forty-two (42) peace processes and agreements across the globe, between 1992-2019, and revealed that women comprised an average of 9.5 percent of the Mediators.<sup>14</sup> Several factors account for the under-representation of women in formal peace processes, including patriarchy and the culture of exclusion. In most peace processes, women are often viewed as victims of conflicts – as opposed to agents of change in conflicts.

The United Nations Security Council Resolution on Women, Peace and Security (UNSCR 1325), adopted in October 2000, seeks to address challenges of women's under-representation in peace and security processes. UNSCR 1325 highlights women's role in peace and stability, calling on them to take a central stage in addressing conflicts at various levels in society. The Resolution stresses the importance of the equal participation and full involvement of women in all efforts to maintain and promote peace and security.<sup>15</sup>

UNSCR 1325 calls for meaningful inclusion of women into peace processes as they are disproportionately affected by conflict. The Resolution has contributed enormously to advancing the debate on engendering peace and security processes and mechanisms and has expanded the understanding and acceptance of women's diverse roles in conflict resolution and peacebuilding. UNSCR 1325 acknowledges the agency of women in conflict resolution, including in mediation and negotiation

Following the adoption of UNSCR 1325, nine additional resolutions on WPS have been adopted, and these focus on integrating the needs of women at all stages of conflict, and they are part of what is called the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda.<sup>16</sup> The WPS Agenda calls for the prevention of violence against women, the protection of their rights during and after conflict. The WPS Agenda focuses on the promotion of their participation in decision-making at all levels, and the integration of a gender

11 Krause, J. Krause, W & Bränfors, P. (2018). Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace, *International Interactions*, 44:6, 985-1016

12 Statistical analysis by Laurel Stone, as featured in Marie O'Reilly, Andrea Ó Súilleabháin, and Thania Paffenholz, "Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes," (New York, June 2015), 12-13.

13 See UN Women (2018), Infographic: Women's Meaningful Participation Builds Peace. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/multimedia/2018/10/infographic-womens-meaningful-participation-builds-peace>

14 [Women's Participation in Peace Processes \(cfr.org\)](#)

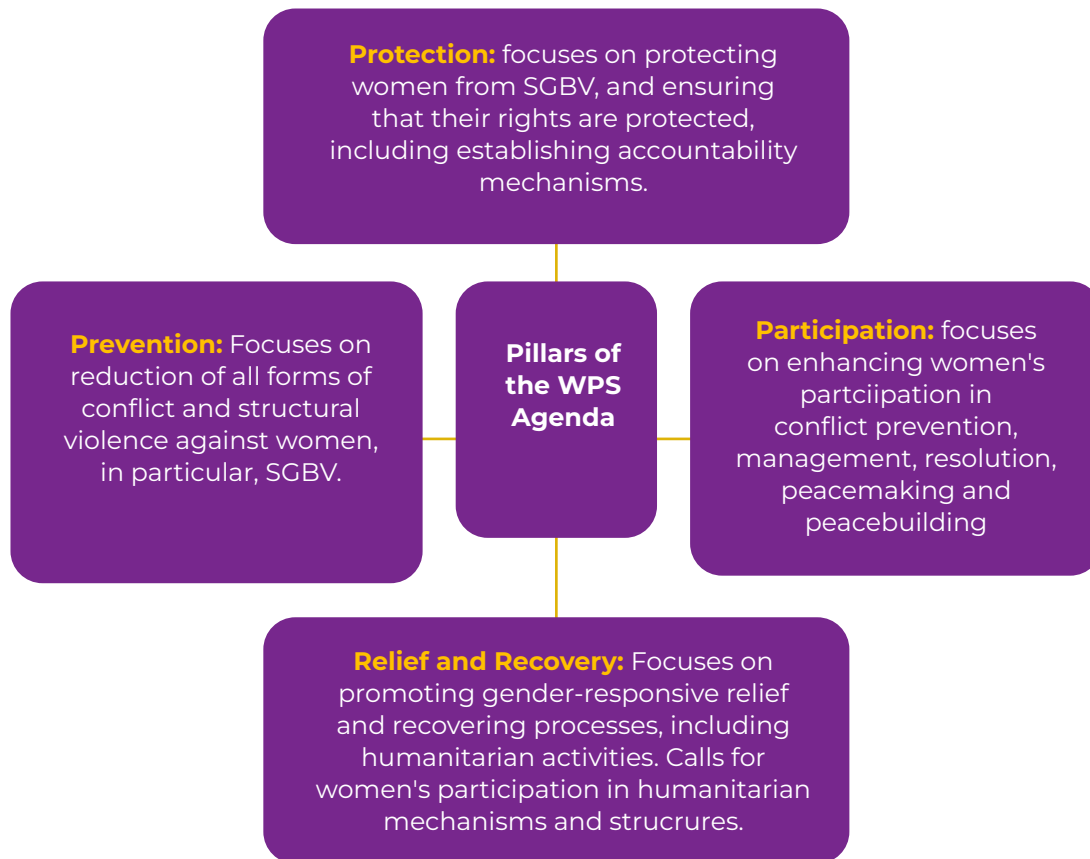
15 Before the adoption of UNSCR 1325, African stakeholders played an important role in pushing for attention to the issue of women in armed conflict, through the Windhoek Declaration of May 2000, which was championed by Namibia. The Windhoek Declaration provided the impetus for the United Nations Security Council to adopt the first landmark resolution on women, peace, and security later that same year.

16 These additional Resolutions are UNSCR 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013) and 2242 (2015). Following its passing, nine additional resolutions focusing UNSCR 1325



perspective in conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding processes.<sup>17</sup> Structured along four pillars: **prevention, protection, participation, and relief and recovery**, the WPS Agenda recognizes the need of women's full, equal and meaningful participation in conflict resolution and peace building processes. The four pillars of the WPS Agenda are visually outlined as follows:

**FIGURE: FOUR PILLARS OF THE WPS AGENDA:**



In addition to these Resolutions cited above, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)'s General Recommendation 30 also discusses measures to ensure protection of women during and after conflict. CEDAW General Recommendation 30 also calls upon all conflict actors to comply with the convention's obligations on equal participation by women in conflict prevention, resolution and peace negotiations.

The following Table provides an outline of global instruments which call for the participation of women in peace processes:

<sup>17</sup> UNSCR 1325 is anchored on four pillars of prevention, protection, participation, relief, and recovery,

**TABLE 1:  
GLOBAL COMMITMENTS AND INSTRUMENTS ON THE WPS AGENDA AND WOMEN'S  
PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES:**

	Global Instrument	Provisions
1.	UNSCR 1325 (2000)	First recognition of unique role, and active agency, of women in conflict, peace and security
2.	UNSCR 1820 (2008)	Recognition of sexual violence as weapon of war
3.	UNSCR 1888 (2009)	
4.	UNSCR 1960 (2010):	Focuses on the importance of women as peacebuilders at all stages of the peace process;
5.	UNSCR 2106 (2013):	Reiterates the importance of ending sexual violence in conflict;
6.	UNSCR 2122 (2013)	Addresses the operational details in combatting sexual violence;
7.	UNSCR 2242 (2015)	Focuses on stronger measures and monitoring mechanisms to allow women to engage in conflict resolution and recovery;
8.	UNSCR 2272 (2016)	Examines the obstacles faced in the implementation of UNSCR 1325, including challenges of incorporating the Resolution into the UN itself. This is the first UNSC Resolution to link the WPS agenda to preventing and countering violent extremism.
9.	UNSCR 2493 (2019)	Provides measures to address sexual exploitation and abuse in peacekeeping operations, and calls for Troop Contributing Countries to address impunity by putting in place measures such as prosecution of offenders;  Reaffirms the provisions of UNSCR 1325 and calls for the participation of women in all UN-led peace processes and urges Member States to ensure timely support to strengthen women's participation.

At the continental level, the African Union (AU) had adopted several normative instruments to advance the WPS Agenda, including the following:

- AU Constitutive Act (2000), which identified women as important partners in strengthening solidarity and social cohesion.
- Protocol Leading to the Establishment of the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC), which is also known as the AU PSC Protocol.
- Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), also known as the Maputo Protocol.
- Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (SDGEA), which was adopted in 2004.
- AU Continental Results Framework: Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Africa (AU CRF), which is for the period, 2018–2028.
- African Union Commission's (AUC) Common African Position on the 2020 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture

- AU Gender Policy (2009).
- AU Strategy for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (2018–2028)
- AU Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development Policy (2006)
- AU Transitional Justice Policy (2019)

The AU's Agenda 2063 recognizes that the continent's development is hinged on the full and active participation of women and young people in all its development, governance, peace, and security processes. **Agenda 2063** recognizes that realization of the vision of Africa's development, peace and integration cannot be accomplished without the active participation and leadership of its women. **Aspirations 3, 4, 5 and 6 of Agenda 2063** collectively call for a peaceful and secure Africa, characterized by the mainstreaming of gender considerations into the efforts in creating "*The Africa We Want*." Specifically, **Aspiration 6**, talks about "*An Africa, whose development is people-driven, relying on the potential of African people, especially its women and youth.*"

The **AU's Silencing Guns initiative**, which is part of the AU's flagship projects, also recognizes the role of women as one of the critical areas to ending all wars in Africa. The African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) incorporates the WPS agenda. Both the AU's Master Roadmap and Practical Steps to Silencing the Guns by 2020 and the APSA Roadmap 2016-2020 contain commitments to mainstreaming gender, including enhancing the role of women in peace and security. The APSA Roadmap prioritizes gender mainstreaming and the use of gender-sensitive indicators to monitor performance and delivery on gender, peace, and security outcomes.

The following Table provides an outline of AU Instruments which provide for women's participation in peace processes.

**TABLE 2:  
AU INSTRUMENTS WITH PROVISIONS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES.**

Continental Instrument	Provisions
1. African Union Constitutive Act (2000)	Identifies women as important partners in strengthening solidarity and social cohesion. Gender equality is enshrined in Article 4 (L) of the Constitutive Act of the African Union.
2. Protocol to the Establishment of the AU Peace and Security Council (2002)	Recognition of sexual violence as weapon of war
3. Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003)	<p>Article 11 provides for women's the right to a peaceful existence and the right to participate in the promotion and maintenance of peace.</p> <p>Article 12 calls for the protection of women in situations of crisis, including armed conflict. It confers special protection on vulnerable groups, including persons with disabilities who are often more disproportionately affected by situations of armed conflict.</p>
4. Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa (2004)	Commits African leaders to ensure the full and effective participation and representation of women in peace processes including the prevention, resolution, management of conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction in Africa as stipulated in UNSCR Resolution 1325.
5. African Union Policy Framework for Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development (2006)	Calls for the participation of women in all phases and stages of the post-conflict and reconstruction processes. The AU PCRD policy mainstreams gender and women-specific issues across all its sections and addresses women and gender as standalone issues;
6. African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (2009)	Calls for special measures to protect women IDPs from sexual and gender-based violence;
7. African Union Gender Policy (2009)	Provides for gender parity in the AU's institutional architecture to ensure equal representation of women and men in most elected official positions of the Organisation, including the leadership of the Commission.
8. African Union Policy Framework for Security Sector Reform (2011)	Underlines the importance of mainstreaming gender into security sector reform processes;
9. AU Transitional Justice Policy (2019)	Calls for the promotion of gender justice in transitional justice processes in addition to underlining the participation of women in transitional justice structures and mechanisms;
10. AU Strategy for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (2018–2028)	Provides a framework document to strengthen women's agency in Africa and ensure that women's voices are amplified. The AU's GEWE Strategy has a Peace and Security constitute one of the four pillars, which has an objective of strengthening the implementation of the WPS Agenda and ensuring that all African countries adopt and implement National Action Plans (NAPs) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Continental Instrument	Provisions
<p><b>11.</b> AU Continental Results Framework: Monitoring and Reporting on the Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Africa (AU CRF), 2018–2028.</p>	<p>Provides a framework document to strengthen women's agency in Africa and ensure that women's voices are amplified. The AU's GEWE Strategy has a Peace and Security constitute one of the four pillars, which has an objective of strengthening the implementation of the WPS Agenda and ensuring that all African countries adopt and implement National Action Plans (NAPs) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325.</p>
<p><b>12.</b> African Union Commission's (AUC) Common African Position on the 2020 Review of the United Nations Peacebuilding Architecture</p>	<p>Provides a Framework for monitoring and reporting on progress towards the implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.</p>
<p><b>13.</b> African Women's Decade 2010-2020 (2009)</p>	<p>Calls for efforts to facilitate women's economic empowerment as a strategy to facilitate the creation of gender equality and social equality.</p>
<p><b>14.</b> Declaration of the African Women's Decade of Women's Financial and Economic Inclusion (2020-2030)</p>	<p>Re-commits African leaders to scale-up actions for progressive gender inclusion towards sustainable national, regional and continental development and calls for amplified efforts to consolidate the gains realised over the years in efforts to close the existing gender gaps.</p>
<p><b>15.</b> African Union's Agenda 2063</p>	<p><b>Aspiration 4 talks about</b> "a peaceful and secure Africa, and the participation of women in the development of the continent."  <b>Aspiration 6 calls for an</b> "Africa whose development is people driven, relying on the potential offered by African people; especially its women and youth, and caring for children."</p>

Since 2017, the AU Peace and Security Council (PSC) has convened sessions, on the WPS agenda, and the theme has become a priority to the AU. Since 2020, the AU has also been convening annual WPS Forums, to provide a platform for continued reflection on the importance of the WPS Agenda. The Forums also seek to strengthen the role and leadership of women in peace processes, through experience sharing and reflection.

To strengthen the role and leadership of women in peace processes, the African Union established the Network of African Women in Conflict Prevention and Mediation (FemWise) in 2017, with the mandate of building the capacity and a pool of women mediators who can be deployed to support ongoing peace processes at local, national and regional levels. FemWise comprises of renowned women involved in conflict prevention, preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and mediation at Tracks I, II and III. FemWise is in the process of undertaking a decentralization process aimed at establishing Regional and National Chapters as a way of strategically positioning the network to have more impact. Ethiopia and Uganda launched already launched their FemWise National Chapters in September and November 2023, respectively.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, some members of FemWise-Africa have been deployed to contexts where they can contribute to peace efforts and the implementation of peace agreements, including in Chad, Sudan, and South Sudan. Similarly, the African Women Leaders Network (AWLN), an Africa-wide women movement that aims to scale up women's voice and enhance women leadership in the transformation of the continent. One of AWLN's thematic areas focuses on enhancing women's leadership in peace and security.

Within the region, IGAD adopted a Regional Action Plan (RAP) on UNSCR 1325, which cover the period, 2023-2030,<sup>19</sup> and which provides for Member States and the Regional Economic Community (REC) to undertake deliberate and intentional actions which are aimed at promoting the meaningful involvement of women in peace and security processes. Additionally, the IGAD Strategy (2021-2025) acknowledges the roles played by women as agents for peace. Furthermore, IGAD's Mediation Support Unit (MSU) has developed programmes that engage women in mediation and negotiation processes, with a focus on capacity strengthening.

The East African Community's normative framework for the advancement of the WPS Agenda include its Regional Implementation Plan and Framework on United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) (2015-2019),<sup>20</sup> which integrates a gender perspective into peace and security efforts. The Framework calls for the incorporation of the needs of women and girls in all peace processes and outlines a series of strategies to protect the rights of women and girls during conflict situations, in addition to calling for concrete efforts to promote women's participation in conflict prevention, management and resolution. The EAC Framework identifies CSOs as critical partners and stakeholders in all efforts designed to advance UNSCR 1325.

Additionally, the EAC's East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) adopted the Gender Equality and Development Bill, which recognizes the need for special protection for women and girls during conflict as well as the need to institute measures to ensure women have equal representation in conflict resolution and peace-building processes. Other activities in advancement of the WPS Agenda within the region include the Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI), which is anchored on the promotion of gender equality in all efforts that are geared towards regional development.

18 [Ethiopia Opens FemWise-Africa National Chapter - ENA English](#)

19 [Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security for the IGAD Region from commitment to actions! 2023 – 2030 - IGAD](#)

20 [The East African Community Regional Framework on United Nations Security Council Resolutions \(UNSCR\) 1325 \(wpsfocalpointsnetwork.org\)](#)

The International Conference for the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) adopted its Regional Action Plan (RAP) for the implementation of the UNSCR 1325 (2018-2023),<sup>21</sup> which people has a focus on protecting women, girls, men, and boys from sexual and gender-based violence in peace time, during conflict, and post-conflict situations. The ICGLR RAP prioritizes preventing violence against women and girls (VAWG) as well as sexual and gender violence (SGBV). The RAP is being operationalized through a series of concrete initiatives, including the establishment of the ICGLR Regional Training Facility (ICGLR-RTF) on Preventing Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) in the Great Lakes Region, which is based in Uganda. The Training Facility undertakes research, in addition to promoting awareness-raising and capacity building of security sector and justice actors to effectively respond to cases of SGBV in ICGLR's Member States. The ICGLR-RTF focuses on strengthening institutional capacity and accountability.

The Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) has various efforts at the normative and institutional levels, which seek to advance the WPS Agenda. Article 163 of the COMESA Treaty, which focuses on the Scope for Cooperation, of COMESA Member States highlights the importance of peace and security, as well as conflict prevention towards = the attainment of regional economic development and integration. Furthermore, COMESA adopted its Gender Policy (2002) and the Gender Mainstreaming strategic Framework (2008), whose pillars include a focus on strengthening women's leadership in decision-making. The COMESA's Gender, Peace and Security Unit (GPS) as well as the Gender and Social Affairs Departments, are some of the institutional mechanisms established to advance the WPS Agenda and gender equality, respectively.

At the national level, several countries have taken significant steps towards advancing the WPS agenda and promoting women's participation in peace processes, including adopting and implementing gender responsive laws and policies. For example:

- The Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia (FDRE), adopted in 1995, establishes the equal rights of women and men across economic, social and political spheres, including education, employment, and access to and management of resources.
- The ruling party, the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) adopted a voluntary political party quota, which provides for a minimum of 30 percent women's representation in leadership positions and in the candidate lists for elections.<sup>22</sup> Since the adoption of the voluntary quota, the percentage of women in the national assembly has increased significantly, from 7.6 percent during the elections held 2000 to 38.8 percent during the election held in 2015.<sup>23</sup>
- As a result of such measures, Ethiopia also made significant progress in bolstering women's political empowerment, when in 2018, the Ethiopian parliament appointed the first woman to serve as president of the country (President Salhe-Work Zewde), in addition to Prime Minister Abiy's appointment of a Cabinet that had 50 percent women's representation.<sup>24</sup>

21 [REGIONAL ACTION PLAN FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 \(unmissions.org\)](https://www.unmissions.org/1325)

22 Muhammed Hamid Muhammed & Abebe Yirga Ayenalem (2023) Women's political participation at the local level in Ethiopia: Does number really matter? Cogent Social Sciences, 9:1,

23 Ibid

24 Dahir, Abdi Latif. 2018. Ethiopia's new 50% women cabinet isn't just bold—it's smart. October 16. Accessed October 10, 2019. <https://qz.com/africa/1426110/ethiopias-new-cabinet-is-50-women/>.

- Similarly, South Sudan's Interim Constitutional provides for at least thirty-five percent representation of women in public decision-making.
- In 2020, South Sudan drafted an Anti-Gender-Based Violence Bill, which is aimed at protecting and supporting survivors of SGBV. The Bill has since been tabled to Members of Parliament and is still awaiting adoption and passage into law.<sup>25</sup>
- Sudan's Constitution also provides for 25 percent quota for women in decision-making. This affirmative action is also integrated into the National Elections Act (2008), which requires *25 percent of seats in the national and state parliamentary elections to be allocated to women*.
- Article 32 of the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda (1995), provides for affirmative action to strengthen women's participation in decision-making structures at all levels. The Constitution outlines a 30 percent quota for various mechanisms of decision-making, including the national assembly and local commissions and committees.
- Affirmative action in Uganda is also reflected in various legislative measures, including the Uganda's Electoral Commission Act, the Parliamentary Elections Act (2005), the Political Parties and Organization Act (2005), the National Women's Council Act, and the Equal Opportunity Commission (EOC) Act of 2007, provide for affirmative action policies. Specifically, the Parliamentary Elections Act (2005) provides for 30 percent of reserved seats for women at national and sub-national levels of decision-making.<sup>26</sup>

South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda adopted National Action Plans (NAPs) for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325, while Ethiopia is in the process of developing its NAP. Each of these NAPs on UNSCR 1325 provides for specific measures, not only to address the gendered vulnerabilities and insecurities faced by women during conflict and in peace times, but the NAPs also provide for the strengthening of women's decision-making at all levels, including in politics, public service, governance and in peace processes. For example:

- Sudan's first NAP on UNSCR 1325 (2020-2022) has a huge focus on protecting the rights of women at all phases of conflict, including protecting them from sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) as well as violence against women (VAW). and the Sudan NAP underlines the need to put an end to impunity, as well as the provision of support to victims of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV).
- Sudan's NAP also calls for the strengthening of women's decision-making and leadership in public life, conflict prevention, management, transformation, resolution, peacebuilding and peace negotiations.
- South Sudan's second National Action Plan UNSCR 1325 on Women's Peace and Security (SSNAP II), which runs from 2023-2027, provides for measures to strengthen the participation of women in peace and security processes, including conflict prevention, management, resolution, transformation, peacebuilding as well as post-conflict reconstruction and recovery.<sup>27</sup>
- The SSNAP II also provides for the integration of a gender perspective and inclusion principles into the design and implementation of peace and security policies, programmes and initiatives. The SSNAP II, which is costed, provides for a resource mobilization

25 [Expedite enactment of anti-GBV Bill, SSSL urges lawmakers - Sudan Tribune](#)

26 This is complemented by the Local Government Cap 243 which provides for third of council composition to be comprised of women. This has enhanced and increased the number of women in Local Councils.

27 [1325naps.peacewomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/SS-NAP-1325.pdf](#)



strategy which underlines the importance of government to play a leading role in funding the activities that are aimed to advance the WPS Agenda

- Uganda is third iteration of the National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (NAPIII) (2020-2025), focuses on addressing the underlying socio-cultural and economic barriers to women's meaningful participation and leadership in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding. It also includes a huge focus on strengthening and promoting women's economic empowerment (WEE) as a strategy of empowering them to play a bigger role in peace and security processes.
- Uganda's NAP III also underlines the country's contribution to promoting the WPS Agenda both internally and externally. A huge focus of the NAP III is on integrating gender consideration in dealing with Uganda's role as one of the biggest refugee-hosting countries in Eastern Africa.
- Uganda's NAP III also focuses on emerging threats to peace and security, including climate change environmental disasters, transnational organized criminal (ToC) as well as political and election-related conflict. The NAP also provides for measures to strengthen and promote women's decision-making in peace processes.
- The NAP III incorporates lessons reflections and lessons learned from the implementation of NAP I and NAP II, which respectively ran from 2008–2010 and 2011–2015. Emerging lessons included the need for horizontal and vertical coordination, inter-agency collaboration, as well as coordination between national, subnational and local structures.
- Uganda's NAP III also underlines the importance of the engagement of non-state actors, such as civil society organizations (CSOs), faith-based organizations (FBOs), community-based organizations (CBOs), the media, academia, women and youth organizations. The NAP III also has a huge emphasis on data collection, monitoring, evaluation and reporting on progress. To this end, Uganda's NAP III is accompanied by a robust and Monitoring and Evaluation framework, which is operationalized by the various NAP coordination mechanisms.
- Uganda's NAP III also underlines the importance of promoting the localization efforts, through the development of Local Action Plans on UNSCR 1325 (LAPs). Uganda is one of the few countries to develop LAPs, which are context specific and are designed to address specific district needs, rather than the broad NAP goals. The move towards translating the broader NAP into more nuanced and context-specific LAPs on UNSCR 1325 has been cited as a best practice globally that a number of countries have begun adopting.
- Ethiopia is in the process of adopting its first NAP on UNSCR 1325, the Government of Ethiopia's expression of interest towards developing its first NAP to advance the WPS Agenda. In response to this call, UN Women, in collaboration with other development partners such as the United Nations Development Programme's Regional Service Centre for Africa (UNDP RCSA) and IGAD, undertook a series of activities to support the Government.
- These activities included facilitating stakeholders' consultations, undertaking research and convening a workshop to unpack the WPS Agenda within the context of Ethiopia. The workshop was convened in December 2021, and it focused on unpacking the WPS Agenda, underlining the importance of a NAP on UNSCR 1325, as well as outlining the NAP development process and steps.<sup>28</sup> A series of background documents were also

<sup>28</sup> [The women, peace and security agenda: Enhanced participation of women in peace and conflict resolution in Ethiopia | Publications | UN Women – Africa](#)

produced by UN Women,<sup>29</sup> such as the **NAP Background Brief for Ethiopia**, another policy brief focusing on “The Women, peace and security agenda: Enhanced participation of women in peace and conflict resolution in Ethiopia,”<sup>30</sup>

- UN Women and other development partners have continued to be involved in efforts to support Ethiopia’s NAP Development processes, particularly through the capacity building of the Ministry of Women and Social Affairs, as well as through induction trainings targeted towards the Technical Committee, which was established to coordinate the NAP development process.<sup>31</sup>

Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda have adopted National development policies as well as National Development Plans, which, to some extent, integrate the WPS Agenda, especially through the emphasis on promoting enhancing gender equality and strengthening women’s participation in decision-making, public life and governance. Examples include the following:

- The Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia has committed to gender equality, as outlined in the **National Action Plan for Gender Equality**.
- South Sudan’s **Revised National Development Strategy (R-NDS) (2021-2024)**<sup>32</sup> underlines the need for mainstreaming gender equality and inclusiveness in all development and economic advancement processes. The R-NDS (2021-2024) outlines strategies for empowering women and youth in all initiatives which fall under the pursuit of the humanitarian, development and peace nexus approach.<sup>33</sup>
- While Sudan does not currently have a National Development Plan or Strategy, the African Development Bank (AfDB) commenced the process of supporting the development of the country’s long term Development Vision (2022-2040) to promote sustainable peace and development. The Strategy seeks to promote gender mainstreaming across all sectors of development.
- The Republic of Uganda’s **Vision 2040 and the third National Development Plan**, also underscore the importance of gender-responsive and inclusive development.

29 Developing a National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security in Ethiopia, [English NAP background brief UN Women ECO 2022\\_0.pdf](#)

30 [English policy brief on WPS UN Women ECO 2022.pdf](#)

31 [Induction Training for Ethiopia Ministry of Women and Social Affairs. \(igad.int\)](#)

32 [Revitalized South Sudan NDS \(2\).pdf](#)

33 In 2021 the ‘Revitalised Transitional Government of National Unity’ (RTGoNU) started the process of developing a revised national development strategy with the assistance of UNDP.

# SECTION THREE



## GENDERED REVIEW OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN PEACE PROCESSES IN ETHIOPIA, SOUTH SUDAN, SUDAN AND UGANDA

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### 3.0 Gender Review of Peace Processes in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda

In Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda, women's participation in peace processes in these countries has taken place at different periods, owing to the countries' various experiences with conflict. Despite their different history in terms of conflict episodes, what has been cross- is women's determination to knock on doors and demand for their inclusion in peace processes. Women in these four countries have undertaken relentless advocacy efforts to ensure that the peace processes that are undertaken at the formal level are inclusive and gender responses. They have various approaches which include network building working across their political, ethnic and religious differences, seeking capacitation, building solidarity with women from other countries, as well as engaging in awareness raising and advocacy efforts.

This chapter outlines how women from Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda have realized the importance of collective mobilization to influence conflict parties, Governments, the United Nations (UN), the AU, REC / RMs), international organizations, and development partners to promote more inclusive, gender-responsive and durable peace. The participation of women peace processes in these countries, undoubtedly contributed to an improved outcome of the peace processes, including ensuring that social and humanitarian issues were considered during peace negotiations. The experiences and impact of women's participation in peace processes in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda are outlined greater detail in the section below:

## 3.1 Ethiopia: Gendered Review of Women Participation in Peace Processes

### 3.1.1 The Nature of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

Ethiopian women have not been significantly involved in the recent formal peace processes, including the Joint Declaration of Friendship and Peace between Ethiopia and Eritrea, signed in July 2018 and the Jeddah Agreement for Peace, signed in September 2018. The Jeddah Agreement led to cessation of hostilities between Ethiopia and Eritrea,<sup>34</sup> and it was largely crafted between Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed and his Eritrean counterpart. The Jeddah Agreement was preceded by the historic embrace between the two leaders in Asmara, in June 2018, and the subsequent signing of a joint declaration in Asmara on 9 July.

Most recently, in 2021, during the AU-led peace negotiations, which led to the signing of the **Agreement for Lasting Peace and Cessation of Hostilities on 2 November 2022 (CoHA)** between the Federal Democratic People's Republic of Ethiopia and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF), Ethiopia women were not afforded the opportunity to participate in the negotiation process, and unfortunately lacked official channels to meaningfully engage in the peace negotiations. Additionally, there was under-representation of women among the delegates of the parties to the conflict. For example, there was only one-woman negotiator on the government's side and none on the TPLF side. The CoHA did not have any woman signatory.

While the AU-led mediation process on the conflict in Tigray had a gender-mixed High-Level Panel of mediators, which included Former President Olusegun Obasanjo of Nigeria as AU High Representative for the Horn of Africa, former President of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta, and former Deputy President of South Africa, Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka.<sup>35</sup> Although this peace process helped to establishing a foundation for cessation of the violence, it was criticized the limited participation of women and or not being sufficiently gender- responsive. For example, **Article 6 of the CoHA** talks about Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration of 200,000 combatants of TPLF but does not explicitly mention women and child combatants, thereby ignoring to address the needs of the few women who were active combatants during the conflict, or the women associated with armed forces and groups (WAAFgs).<sup>36</sup>

### 3.3.2 Impact of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

Despite the absence of official channels for women's participation in the formal AU-led negotiations and the relative under-representation of women in the delegations from the FDRE and the TPLF, the mediators, especially Madame Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka s helped strengthen the prominence of gender and inclusion issues during the peace process. For example, Madame Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, a Member of the AU High-Level Panel for the peace process in Ethiopia, collaborated with the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), a think tank based in South Africa, to convene an informal dialogue of women peacebuilders from Ethiopia, which took place in Pretoria, South Africa.<sup>37</sup>

34 Signed on 18 September 2018, the Jeddah Agreement facilitated the resumption of diplomatic and trade relations between Ethiopia and Eritrea, following 20 years of war (1998-2018).

35 The peace talks were convened by the AU and supported by various stakeholders such as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the United Nations, the United States of America and other partners. For details, see: [Cessation of Hostilities Agreement between the Government of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia and the Tigray Peoples' Liberation Front \(TPLF\) - Ethiopia | ReliefWeb](#)

36 The New Humanitarian | As Ethiopia's Tigray peace deal is hailed, a tricky implementation lies ahead.

37 Reflecting on the Status of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda at the Global, Continental, National and Local level; See: [Reflecting on the Status of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda at the Global, Continental, National and Local level – ACCORD](#); [Retreat of Ethiopian Women Peace Capacity building training – The Diplomatic Informer](#)

During the dialogue, held in March 2023, Ethiopian women from CSOs and other non-state mechanisms outlined practical steps on what needed to be done to further strengthen their efforts and contributions towards the peace process in Ethiopia. They developed a Common Position for Peace on the WPS agenda, in the Post-Agreement between the Ethiopian Government and the TPLF.<sup>38</sup> highlighted critical substantive issues that were required for the sustainability of the peace agreement and made a clarion call for women to be engaged and involved meaningfully in the Ethiopian transitional and post-agreement processes. The initiative by ACCORD and Madame Mlambo-Ngcuka highlighted the importance of creating parallel peace tables and spaces for women to highlight key issues, which can be considered in the more formal peace process. It is envisaged that this initiative will contribute towards strengthening women's participation and contribution towards the recently launched Ethiopia national dialogue process.

The parallel discussions enabled Ethiopian women to find consensus on the need for gender-responsive humanitarian action. As a result, one of the agenda items during the peace talks was the need to respond to the humanitarian situation in Tigray. The AU High-Level Panel engaged the conflict parties to ensure that a priority would be restoration of social services in Tigray. Key provisions of the CoHA include the resumption of unhindered humanitarian access with a special emphasis on protection of civilians. For example:

- **Article 5 of the CoHA** refers to the need to address specific needs of women in humanitarian contexts, especially the needs of Internally Displaced People (IDP), the majority of whom are women.<sup>39</sup>
- **Article 4 (2) of the CoHA**, which focuses on “**Protection of Civilians**,” condemns sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and violence against women, girls, children and the elderly.
- **Article 10 on “Transitional Measures,”** calls for a comprehensive justice policy, which recognizes the cases of SGBV as an area to be addressed in the transitional period, in addition to providing redress for victims and survivors. The CoHA also provides for the restoration of services as well as the facilitation of national healing and reconciliation processes.

Given the momentum that was created through the meeting in Pretoria, there is need for continued mobilization of women and capacity strengthening to ensure that Ethiopia women play an important role in the effective implementation of the CoHA. There is also opportunity for advancing the participation of Ethiopian women in the monitoring of the peace agreement. Following the signing of the peace agreement, there was a proposal for a Monitoring, verification, and compliance mechanism (MVCM) to be established, and it was expected to be comprised of the Ethiopian parties, a representative from the AU high-level panel, and a representative from the regional body, IGAD.<sup>40</sup>

Although the MVCM has undertaken some post-agreement meetings to follow up on issues that were discussed during the peace process and to discuss outstanding issues,<sup>41</sup> much remains to be seen on how women can be integrated in the post-agreement

38 African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), Reflecting on the Status of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda at the Global, Continental, National and Local level, ACCORD Conflict and Resilience Monitor, 30 March 2023. [Reflecting on the Status of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda at the Global, Continental, National and Local level – ACCORD](#)

39 Report of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC)/Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) Joint Investigation into Alleged Violations of International Human Rights, Humanitarian and Refugee Law Committed by all Parties to the Conflict in the Tigray Region of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. See: <https://ehrc.org/download/ehrc-ohchr-joint-investigation-report-on-tigray-conflict/>

40 The African Union launched the African Union Monitoring, Verification and Compliance Mission (AU-MVCM) in Mekelle, Tigray region, Ethiopia in December 2022. For details, see: [The African Union Launches the African Union Monitoring, Verification and Compliance Mission in Mekelle, Tigray Region, Ethiopia - African Union - Peace and Security Department \(peaceau.org\)](#)

41 [The AU Convenes the 3rd Joint Committee Meeting of the Ethiopian Peace Process -African Union - Peace and Security Department \(peaceau.org\)](#)

processes. However, it must be mentioned that when the AU deployed its first team of the AU Monitoring, Verification and Compliance Mission (AU-MVCM) in Tigray, there were two (2) women out of thirteen 13 experts deployed.<sup>42</sup>

At national level, there are ongoing efforts by women groups towards ensuring that dialogue processes are inclusive. Following the establishment of the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission (ENDC) by the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia's House of Peoples' Representatives in December 2021,<sup>43</sup> various women's networks have been trying to influence the integration of gender into the national dialogue process. Women's coalitions such as the Network of Ethiopian Women's Association (NEWA), the Ethiopian Women Lawyers' Association (EWLA) have been at the forefront of ensuring gender-responsiveness and inclusiveness would be critical standards that are adhered to in the national dialogue processes. Unfortunately, despite this advocacy, out of the eleven (11) commissioners for the Commission that were finally selected, only three (3) are women, which is 27 percent.<sup>44</sup>

The Coalition for Women's Voice on the National Dialogue (CWVND)<sup>45</sup> developed a **Women's Agenda**, outlining a set of common proposals for ensuring a more inclusive and gender-responsive process. The CWVND has engaged with the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission to explore ways to strengthen the meaningful participation of women in the national dialogue processes being led by the Ethiopian government. One of the early positive outcomes of initiatives such as the ones led by the CWVND has been the mobilization of women from diverse political, religious and ethnic backgrounds to influence the shape, nature, direction as well as substantive issues in peace processes.

## 3.2 South Sudan: Gendered Review of Women Participation in Peace Processes

### 3.2.1 The Nature of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

Since the process leading to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005, there has been growing commitment to ensure not only their participation, but also to deliberately integrate gender issues and women's needs and concerns into the resultant peace agreements. South Sudanese women participated actively during the negotiations between 1999–2005, which led to the signing of the CPA. For example, ahead of the CPA peace talks, women from the main political movement, the SPLM, organized a Women's Conference held in New Kosh, Sudan, from 21-25 August 1998 to agree on a consolidated agenda for presentation to the negotiating teams. During these peace negotiations, led by IGAD, two women were nominated as observers by the Sudanese People's Liberation Army/ Movement (SPLA/M), including Dr. Anne Itto, the then Deputy Secretary-General of the SPLM.<sup>46</sup>

42 [The African Union successfully deploys the full team of its Monitoring, Verification and Compliance Mission in Mekelle, Tigray Region of Ethiopia-African Union - Peace and Security Department \(peaceau.org\)](#)

43 On December 29, 2021, Ethiopia's National Assembly, ratified the proclamation for the establishment of the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, Proclamation No. 1265/ 2021.

44 However, Article 12 (3) of the Proclamation to establish the Ethiopian National Dialogue Commission, require that "the list of candidates must take into account gender and other forms of pluralism." See UN Women (2023). [Humanitarian Gender Alert, Women, Peace and Security in the Context of Humanitarian Action in Ethiopia. Humanitarian Gender Alert April 2023 TY FINAL \[78\].pdf \(unwomen.org\)](#)

45 The Coalition for Women's Voice in the National Dialogue was established on 16 March 2022 representing several civil society organizations (CSOs) working for the advancement of women's rights in Ethiopia. Currently, CWVND has membership of more than fifty (50) CSOs, who are pushing for the meaningful involvement and engagement of women in the National Dialogue process. The CWVND seeks to ensure that the national dialogue is inclusive, and it considers the gendered issues in the issues affecting the country, by prioritizing women's needs and perspectives.

46 Itto, Anne. 2006. "Guests at the Table? The Role of Women in Peace Processes." Accord (18): 56-59.

Women worked across their political, ideological, religious and ethnics differences to participate in the thematic working groups of the negotiation process. These working groups enabled them to engage delegates and mediators to ensure that gendered concerns and needs were reflected in the negotiation process.<sup>47</sup> They worked in existing and newly formulated networks such as the New Sudan Women Federation (NSWF), the Sudanese Women's Association (SWAN), the New Sudan Women's Association, to undertake outreach with women groups, as well as with other constituencies and mobilize for support towards women's inclusion and meaningful engagement during the negotiation processes.

In addition to demanding their equal and meaningful participation in the peace processes, South Sudanese women took advantage of the various capacity strengthening initiatives, which were designed to assist them with understanding negotiation processes, as well as identifying entry points to influence the peace talks. International non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Search for Common Grounds (SFCG), Oxfam and Norwegian People Aid (NPA) helped women to conduct more targeted advocacy campaigns, which were designed to influence the peace processes, including supporting the women to build synergies among themselves to ensure a coherent and united front.

### 3.1.2 Impact of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

The participation of women during the CPA negotiation resulted in the successful lobby for gender-sensitive provisions, including the adoption of a 25 percent quota for women in South Sudan's post-CPA Interim Constitution. Specifically, the Transitional Constitution of the Republic South Sudan (TCRSS) of 2011, provided for a 25 percent quota for women in the Executive, including in the Council of Ministries. However, the 25 percent quota was not applied in the composition of state governments.

After the signing of the CPA, women in the SPLM/A were appointed to various commissions of the new South Sudanese transitional government, including the South Sudan Referendum Bureau (SSRB), the Constitutional Review Committee of Sudan, the Draft Committee of the South Sudan Interim Constitution as well as the Petroleum Commission. Despite these wins, the participation of women in the Transitional National Legislative Assembly and the Council of States was limited.

South Sudanese women remained relentless in ensuring the peace implementation created opportunities for women's participation. Following the country's independence in July 2011, women continued to demand for their meaningful participation in the post-conflict and transitional processes. For example, South Sudanese women joined their northern counterparts and established a Coalition of Women Leaders from Sudan and South Sudan. During the 20<sup>th</sup> African Union Summit held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in January 2013, the women's Coalition issue a communiqué titled "**Women Shaping Peace in Sudan and South Sudan**,"<sup>48</sup> which highlighted their pledge to promote peaceful coexistence between Sudan and South Sudan

Following South Sudan's independence in July 2011, violent conflict soon erupted in December 2013. During the negotiations aimed at addressing the post-independence political stalemate and violence, South Sudanese women advocated for their meaningful participation during the mediation and negotiation processes that followed. Women demanded accountability from IGAD, especially the Council of Ministers and other key

47 Aldehaib, A. (2010). Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement viewed through the eyes of the Women of South Sudan. Africa Portal, <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/sudans-comprehensive-peace-agreement-viewedthrough-the-eyes-of-the-women-of-southsudan/>

48 □Communiqué: Women Shaping Peace in Sudan and South Sudan,□ Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, January 22, 2013, 1, available at [www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Communique\\_Women-Shaping-Peace\\_2013.pdf](http://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/Communique_Women-Shaping-Peace_2013.pdf)

stakeholders such as the Troika (United Kingdom, Norway and USA), GAD, the African Union (AU), the United Nations (UN) as well as the European Union (EU) to ensure that they would be involved in the peace negotiations.

This collective mobilization by women played a key role in centering gender into the peace negotiations, as well as ensuring a broader commitment to women's inclusion in the process. Persistent advocacy by women's groups resulted in sustained calls for women to be included in the delegations for the peace talks in. For example, mediators, regional bodies as well as supporters of the peace process were unanimous in giving the parties to the conflict the condition to include women in the list of delegates for the peace talks, resulting in women participating in the peace negotiations as observers and witnesses. Women also influenced the content of Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (A-RCSS).<sup>49</sup>

Additionally, South Sudanese women leveraged on existing institutions such as the Women Parliamentarians' Caucus and new networks such as the Women Cry for Peace Coalition, to call for an end to the war. The Women Cry for Peace Coalition managed to send a group of women to Addis Ababa, where the negotiations were taking place, to lobby negotiators and mediators.<sup>50</sup> Other networks included the South Sudanese Women's Bloc, which played a critical role in lobbying IGAD mediation team to appoint a Senior Gender Advisor to the peace process. The Senior Gender Advisor not only advised the mediation team but also consulted with women's groups on issues for consideration by the mediators and negotiators and advocated for women's meaningful participation within the peace processes.

During the South Sudanese peace negotiations for A-RCSS, women played key roles in raising awareness of citizens on the peace process, including engaging Sudanese refugees in neighbouring countries such as Kenya and Uganda. For example, women highlighted the humanitarian and security impact of the conflict on civilians and called for the participation of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the negotiations. They lobbied for the A-RCSS process to include provisions on the provision of relief, voluntary and dignified repatriation, rehabilitation and resettlement of IDPs and returnees.

Women's lobbying during the A-RCSS negotiations further ensured that transitional mechanisms underlined the importance of accountability for crimes committed against women. As a result, A-RCSS was credited for provisions of measures to address conflict-related sexual violence (CRSV) and sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), including the proposal to establish the Hybrid Court for South Sudan (HCSS),<sup>51</sup> which is expected to prosecute crimes against humanity, including SGBV and CRSV crimes committed against women.<sup>52</sup>

Women's participation in the A-RCSS peace process was credited for the adoption of a 25 percent gender quota, which provided a legal framework for women to participate in post-conflict and transitional mechanisms. A-RCSS provided for the creation of subcommittees and caucuses to focus on women's security issues during the implementation of the

49 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (South Sudan, 2015), available at [http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/final\\_proposed\\_compromise\\_agreement\\_for\\_south\\_sudan\\_conflict.pdf](http://www.sudantribune.com/IMG/pdf/final_proposed_compromise_agreement_for_south_sudan_conflict.pdf).

50 Soma, Esther. (2019). Our Search for Peace: Women in South Sudan National Peace Processes: 2005-2018. Oxfam, UN Women and Born to Lead [r-women-south-sudan-peace-processes-300120-en.pdf \(openrepository.com\)](https://www.born-to-lead.org/our-search-for-peace-women-in-south-sudan-national-peace-processes-2005-2018)

51 This Hybrid Court has not yet been established, although once active, the Hybrid Court would be a key instrument for accountability and transitional justice in South Sudan. HCSS is expected to address cases related to war crimes, crimes against humanity, sexual crimes, gender-based crimes and other serious crimes under both international and South Sudanese laws.

52 HCSS is expected to be supported by the African Union institutions such as the African Commission on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR) as well as the African Court of Justice. The African Union Commission (AUC) was cited as one of the key actors responsible for the establishment of the HCSS and in this regard, is required to sign a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) with the government to operationalise the court.



peace agreement. The A-RCSS reserved a position for women in the Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) as well as in the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangement Monitoring Mechanism (CTSAMM). Currently, 43 percent of the members of Ceasefire Transitional Security Arrangement Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (CTSAMVM) are women.

Reporting to the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC), the CTSAMM was tasked with reporting on the progress of the implementation of the permanent ceasefire as well as collecting information on violations of the ceasefire, and it had one representative from the South Sudan Women's Bloc.<sup>53</sup> The participation of women in these mechanisms was critical in ensuring that security arrangements took into cognisance the gender security needs. CTSAMM was tasked with monitoring acts and forms of sexual and gender-based violence, including sexual exploitation and harassment during the transitional period.

However, some of the gender-sensitive provisions of A-RCSS were not fully implemented. Following the signing of the peace agreement and the establishment of TGoNU, a Presidential Order Number 36 was adopted in October 2015, and it created 28 states, which resulted in the appointment of new Governors. However, all the twenty-eight (28) Governors were men.

A-RCSS also included a focus on humanitarian issues, courtesy of the lobbying by women to include language on humanitarian issues. Women insisted that the Articles on humanitarian issues should focus on addressing the needs vulnerable groups, including women, children, the elderly and internally displaced persons (IDPs) and returnees. As a result, ARCSS talked about the need to promote voluntary and dignified repatriation, rehabilitation and resettlement of IDPs and returnees.

Women's participation in the South Sudan peace negotiations ensured that women's socio-economic needs were incorporated to the peace agreements. Chapter IV of the AR-CSS provided for the establishment of the Public Finance and Economic Management, the Enterprise Development Fund (EDF), the Economic and Financial Management Authority (EFMA) as well as a Women Enterprise Development Fund (WEDF).<sup>54</sup> The Women's Fund seeks to support provide technical and financial support to women entrepreneurs as a strategy of promoting economic and financial inclusion in South Sudan. Although the Women's Fund had not yet been established, the Government of South Sudan has already mandated the Ministry of Gender, Child, and Social Welfare (MGCSW) to oversee the establishment of this Fund.

Women's participation in the South Sudan peace process provided impetus for a gender-responsive Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) and Constitution.<sup>55</sup> The South Sudan TGoNU included mechanisms such as the Transitional Legislative Assembly, the Council of States, and the National Constitutional Amendment Committee.<sup>56</sup> Articles 1-10 of A-RCSS included several provisions that explicitly require that certain positions be allocated to women. The A-RCSS had provisions which provided for the creation of a Ministry of Gender, Child and Social Welfare.

53 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan Ch. II, art. 6.1.9-6.1.11 (South Sudan, 2015)

54 Article 4.15.1.5 of the R-ARCSS calls for the establishment of Women Enterprise Development Fund (WEDF) which will provide women with subsidized credit to do business. For details, see: Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan Ch. IV, art. 7.1.5 (South Sudan, 2015).

55 The agreement lays out power sharing in the national legislature in the ratio 60:23:9: 6:2 respectively (332, 128, 50, 30, and 10 members respectively, totalling 550 members), and in the ministerial council, positions are shared 20 to TGoNU, 9 to SPLM/A-IO, 2 to FD, and 1 to OPP.

56 Chapter I of the Agreement lays out the mandate and composition of the TGoNU Additionally, this chapter describes the structure and gendered composition of transitional structures such as the Transitional Legislative Assembly, the Council of States, and the National Constitutional Amendment Committee.

**Article 14 of the Agreement**, titled, “**Provisions of the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan and ARCSS**,” underlined the importance of women’s participation in transitional structures. Article 5 of the ARCSS provided for the Revitalized Transitional Government for National Unity (RTGoNU) to initiate legislation for gender-sensitive transitional justice institutions, ensuring that these would observe the 35 percent women representations.<sup>57</sup> ARCSS provided for the establishment of the gender-responsive justice and accountability measures to safeguard the rights of women and girls, who had been disproportionately affected women and girls. Specifically, **Article 5.1** of A-RCSS had provisions for the establishment of a Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing (CTRH), while **Article 5.1.1.2** provided for independent hybrid judicial body, to be known as the Hybrid Court for South Sudan (HCSS), and **Article 5.1.1.3** provided for a Compensation and Reparation Authority (CRA).

The CRA is expected to provide material and financial support to citizens whose property was destroyed by the conflict, and to help them to rebuild their livelihoods. R-ARCSS also provide for the establishment of a Disarmament Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) Commission. Collectively, these mechanisms were also expected to undertake broad-based consultations to ensure that the experiences of women, men, girls and boys were sufficiently documented and to ensure that the findings of such consultations would be incorporated into the programme of work of these transitional structures.

Despite the R-ARCSS providing a progressive framework to deal with the legacies of violence in South Sudan in a gender-responsive manner, many of the core commitments made during the peace negotiations are yet to be implemented. For example, the proposed Commission for Truth Reconciliation and Healing, the Hybrid Court, as well as the Compensation and Reparation Authority (CRA) have still not yet been established. In fact, South Sudan’s Parliament is expected to enact legislation which can enable the establishment of the Hybrid Court. However, there does not seem to be any headway made at the level of the National Assembly to facilitate the establishment of this transitional justice mechanisms.

A report by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan noted that despite the R-ARCSS provisions, South Sudan remains fractured and divided, with persistent political contestation resulting in gross human rights violations among the population.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, a report by Amnesty International notes the lack of political will to hold perpetrator of human rights violations accountable.<sup>59</sup> The lack of implementation of the mechanisms of transitional justice included in Article 5 of R-ARCSS have led to despondency over the generalized lack of accountability in post-conflict South Sudan.

Following the signing of the A-RCSS, women, through mechanisms such as the South Sudan National Women’s Peace Dialogue, continued to lobby for gender-responsive approaches to peace implementation. In May 2015, more than 500 women from all States of South Sudan adopted a **7-point agenda**, which was titled, “*The South Sudan We Want*,” and it focused on how to implement a gender-responsive peace agreement.<sup>60</sup> One of the minimum standards that was requested by women regarded the appointment of

57 The transitional structures were expected to promote the common objective of facilitating truth, reconciliation and healing, compensation and reparation in South Sudan, and were tasked to work closely with the African Union, the African Commission on Human and People’s Right, as well as the UN to ensure gender-sensitive design and implementation of their work.

58 Commission on Human Rights in South Sudan. (2023). Entrenched repression: systematic curtailment of the democratic and civic space in South Sudan, A/HRC/54/CRP.6, 54<sup>th</sup> Session of the Commission. [A\\_HRC\\_54\\_CRP.6.pdf \(un.org\)](#)

59 Amnesty International, 2022. South Sudan: African Union must set precedent for African-led justice by establishing court for South Sudan, 23 November 2022. [African Union must establish court for South Sudan | Amnesty International](#)

60 The 7 Point agenda was adopted during a National Women’s Peace Conference from 25–26 May in Juba, titled “Women Strive for Unity in Diversity.”

a Senior Gender Advisor to the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC), to ensure gender-sensitive monitoring of the agreement. The Senior Gender Advisor involved women and consulted them in monitoring the violations of the Peace Agreement.

South Sudanese women continued to engage in peace processes through their participation in grassroots peacebuilding. They continued to work at the community level, to influence communities to choose peace and nonviolence. The participation of women in South Sudan's peace processes in 2014-2015 peace processes leading to A-RCSS, was pivotal in pushing for the implementation of the WPS Agenda in the country. For example, during the negotiations, women's participation in the A-RCSS process provided the impetus for South Sudan to ratify the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979), which legally binds State Parties to guarantee gender equality and women's political, economic, Social and Civil Rights. The Government of South Sudan ratified CEDAW in September 2014.

The aftermath of A-RCSS was followed through by the adoption of the South Sudan National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (2015-2020), which prioritizes the protection of women from sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). The NAP also provides for measures to strengthen women's decision-making and participation in conflict prevention, management, resolution, transformation, peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstructions. South Sudan has since adopted a second NAP on UNSCR 1325.

Women also participated in the peace negotiations leading to signing of the Revitalized Agreement on Resolution on the Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS) in December 2018. R-ARCSS negotiations<sup>61</sup> included the participation of women from diverse religious, ethnic and political lines who engaged with the stakeholders and conflict parties on a cohesive and coherent manner. They established networks such as the South Sudan Women's Coalition (SSWC), which developed a seven-point agenda<sup>62</sup> on how peace process could become more inclusive and gender-responsive. The SSWC, worked with other networks such as the South Sudan Civil Society Forum (SSCSF) to advocate for women's participation in the peace processes, in addition to calling for gender-sensitive provisions in the peace agreements.

The SSWC and SSCSF lobbied the IGAD, the AU, the Troika (USA, Norway and United Kingdom) as well as regional neighbours such as Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan and Uganda to create platforms for women to participate in the formal peace talks. Some of the successes emerging from women's lobbying included the inclusion of women in the delegations of parties to the conflict. For example, the SPLM/A-IO nominated three (3) women on its official delegation. Furthermore, women representing civil society and political parties were awarded twelve (12) seats to **participate in the peace process - six from civil society, and three each for the two parties.** The participation of women enabled them to be part of the key milestones of the peace process. For example, Dr. Rebecca Garang, who was one of the leaders of the Former Political Detainees (FDs), was one of the signatories to the R-ARCSS.<sup>63</sup> Women from<sup>64</sup> were also incorporated as signatories to the R-ARCSS.<sup>65</sup>

61 The negotiations led to the peace agreement between the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU), and the main opposition (SPLM/A-IO), the South Sudan Opposition Alliance (SSOA), Former Detainees (FD), and Other Opposition Parties (OPP), Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan [South-Sudan-Peace-Agreement-September-2018.pdf \(pca-cpa.org\)](#)

62 This was based on recommendations provided by more than 500 women from across the country.

63 In 2020, Dr. Garang went on to be appointed as the fourth Vice President of Sudan, in line with the provisions of the R-ARCSS.

64 Emmily Koiti—a civil society activist who was a signatory in the R-ARCSS.

65 Soma, Esther. (2020). *Our Search for Peace: Women in South Sudan's National Peace Processes, 2005–2018*; Godi, Patrick (2023). *The Role and Contributions of South Sudanese Youth in the Signing of the 2018 Peace Agreement*, Joint Learning Initiative on Faith and Local Communities, iDove. [Patrick-Godi\\_January-2023.pdf \(jliflc.com\)](#)

The participation of women in the R-ARCSS negotiations significantly shaped conversations during the peace processes, ensuring that the resultant peace agreement had gender-sensitive provisions. Sustained lobbying ensure that the R-ARCSS had gender-sensitive provisions. For example, R-ARCSS provided for 35 percent women in the Executive, and specifically outlined that the TGoNU should nominate no fewer than six (6) women to the Council of Ministers, while the SPLM/A-IO was called to nominate no fewer than three (3) women, and the SSOA was called to nominate no less than one (1) woman.<sup>66</sup> Article 1 of R-ARCSS stipulated that one of the five interim Vice Presidents, must be a woman. The R-ARCSS also provided for a minimum of 35 percent of the positions in the transitional structures, including the executive branch of Government.<sup>67</sup>

The 35 percent quota secured during the R-ARCSS negotiations entailed that women were supposed to occupy decision-making positions in public sphere, including in the transitional structures. Figures provided by the Reconstituted Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (RJMEC) reveal that the appointment of members to the reconstituted Political Parties Council (PPC), adhered to the R-ARCSS provision of ensuring that, as currently this Council comprises of 50 percent women's representation. Additionally, the reconstituted National Constitutional Review Commission (NCRC) comprises of 33.3 percent members who are female. However, the National Elections Commission (NEC) has also not adhered to the 35 percent quota, as currently it includes 22.2 percent women.<sup>68</sup>

The Agreement also provided for women to be nominated into several post-transition monitoring bodies and technical committees, including the Revitalized Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Committee (RJMEC), which is responsible for overall monitoring and overseeing the implementation of the R-ARCSS, including encouraging the adherence of the Parties to the agreed timelines and implementation schedule.

The RJMEC oversees the work of the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring and Verification Mechanism (CTSAMVM), the Economic and Financial Management Authority (EFMA), the Strategic Defense and Security Review Board (SDSRB), the National Elections Commission (NEC), and all other transitional institutions and mechanisms created by the R-ARCSS. In fact, Angeline Teny was appointed as the chair of the Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) Board, in addition to being appointed as the defence minister in 2020.

Women's participation in South Sudan's peace processes has had a transformative impact on the resultant peace agreement. Their engagement with the peace process, resulted in the R-ARCSS provisions for undertaking gender-responsive disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) programmes. Women called for negotiators to consider the unique and special needs of women, youth and children associated with armed forces and groups (WAAFG, YAAFG and CAAFG) in security sector reform (SSR) processes.

Although the R-ARCSS provides for 35 percent quota for women's participation in the transitional Government, this has not been fully attained, especially when it comes to

66 R-ARCSS 2018, Article 1.4.4.: „Provisions of the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan and ARCSS on participation of women (35%) in the Executive shall be observed. In their nomination to the Council of Ministers, Incumbent TGoNU shall nominate no fewer than six (6) women, SPLM/A-IO shall nominate no fewer than three (3) women, and SSOA shall nominate no less than one (1) woman.” For details, see the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan, [South-Sudan-Peace-Agreement-September-2018.pdf \(pca-cpa.org\)](#)

67 Article 1.4.4 of the R-ARCSS (2018) says, “Provisions of the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan and ARCSS on participation of women (35%) in the Executive shall be observed. In particular, in their nomination to the Council of Ministers, Incumbent TGoNU shall nominate no fewer than six (6) women, SPLM/A-IO shall nominate no fewer than three (3) women, and SSOA shall nominate no less than one (1) woman. “

68 [RJMEC MEETS IN JUBA: WELCOMES RECONSTITUTION OF KEY BODIES, EXPRESSES CONCERN ON UNIFICATION OF FORCES \(jmeccsouthsudan.org\)](#)

Ministerial, state governor appointments and in the commissions and mechanisms that were established to facilitate the implementation of the peace agreement.<sup>69</sup> For example, despite the 35 percent gender provision in R-ARCSS, the representation of women in decision-making structures remains marginal. Currently, Sudan's Presidium includes only one woman and five men, as indicated in the Table below:

Position	Parties	Gender
1. President	IT-GNoU	Male
2. Vice President	SPLM-IO	Male
3. Vice President-Economic Cluster	IT-GNoU	Male
4. Vice President -Service Delivery Cluster	IT-GNoU	Male
5. Vice President – Infrastructure Cluster	South Sudan Opposition Alliance (SSOA)	Female
6. Vice President – Gender and Youth Cluster	IT-GNoU	Male

Source: [Gender-Matrix-RARCSS-South-Sudan-April-2020.pdf](#)<sup>70</sup>

Additionally, a review undertaken in 2020 by the South Sudan Women's Coalition for Peace, women politicians from different political parties, academia, Youth Coalition and representatives from civil society organizations, revealed that out of the current thirty-five members of the Council of Ministers and ten deputy ministers, only nine women (26 percent) were appointed to the Council of Ministers and only one woman among the Deputy Ministers (10 percent) out of the three provided for by the R-ARCSS.<sup>71</sup> Furthermore, women remain under-represented in most of the country's transitional structures and other levels of governance and political decision-making process, including at state, county and payam level. For example, in December 2023, an assessment by the Informal Expert Group of the United Nations Security Council on the WPS Agenda in South Sudan, revealed that women currently comprise of 32 percent of the National Constitution Review Commission, 22 per cent of the National Election Committee, and 40 per cent in the Political Parties Council. Furthermore, only one of South Sudan's ten Governors is a woman.<sup>72</sup>

The 35 percent quota for women's representation in government, public service and in the political sphere has also not been fully implemented, especially by political parties. This has led to concerns that the forthcoming elections in December 2024 are likely to result in a gender-blind National Assembly.<sup>73</sup> Many political parties that have launched their manifestos, have not been explicit about the importance of promoting gender equality and inclusion in the forthcoming electoral process. Furthermore, the 2023 National Elections Act, which was signed into law on 27 September 2023, is not explicit about compelling political parties to nominate women during elections. Furthermore, constant government reshuffles have made it difficult for women's representation in the executive to remain consistent.

69 [Women intellectuals decry violation of 35% affirmative action quota | Radio Tamazuj](#)

70 [Gender-Matrix-RARCSS-South-Sudan-April-2020.pdf](#)

71 According to Article 1.4.4. of the R-ARCSS, the Parties are required to observe the 35% women representation in their nominations to the Executive, by ensuring that Transitional Government of National Unity nominates no fewer than six (6) women, SPLM/A-IO nominates no fewer than three (3) women, and SSOA nominates no less than one (1) woman. Article 1.12.5 requires that no fewer than three (3) of them must be women. For details, see: Report on the Status of Implementation of the Revitalized Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan for the period 1 January-31<sup>st</sup> March 2020, [JMEC-1st-Qtr-2020-Report-FINAL 1.pdf \(reliefweb.int\)](#)

72 [Members of the Security Council's Informal Expert Group on Women, Peace and Security visit South Sudan | UN Women – Africa](#)

73 Radio Tamazuj, 22 July 2021, Activists raise red flag over violation of 35% quota for women's representation in governance, [https:// radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/activists-raised-red-flag-over-violation-of-35-quota-for-women-representation-in-governance](https://radiotamazuj.org/en/news/article/activists-raised-red-flag-over-violation-of-35-quota-for-women-representation-in-governance).

Additionally, the R-ARCSS did not specify for women to be part of the Board of Special Reconstruction Fund, which was tasked with assessing and determining the priorities for post-conflict reconstruction and development (PCRD), including relief and recovery.

### 3.3 Sudan: Gendered Review of Women Participation in Peace Processes

#### 3.3.1 The Nature of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

Post-independent Sudan has had a series of peace processes, where women have historically played critical roles in political processes and key turning points in their country's history including the 1964, 1985, as well as in previous peace processes, such as the Darfur Peace Agreement and the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA signed between the National Congress Party of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement of South). During the 2018/19 revolution in Sudan, women worked through platforms such as Sudanese Professional Association (SPA)<sup>74</sup> to advocate for democratic transformation in Sudan.

Following the ouster of Al-Bashir and the establishment of a Transitional National Council, women organized themselves into one coalition known as the Women of Sudanese Civic and Political Groups (MANSAM).<sup>75</sup> This coalition was one of the organisations that signed the January 1 declaration creating the Forces of Freedom and Change (FFC), the alliance that negotiated with the Transitional Military Council (TMC) after the toppling of Omar Al Bashir. MANSAM demanded for women to be included in form the Transitional Legislative Council. However, only two women were appointed to the Supreme Council.

Post-revolution advocacy by MANSAM enabled Sudanese women to achieve remarkable results, including attaining 40 percent quota for women in in Sudan's national legislative assembly and all governmental bodies During the post-revolution era, Sudanese women, through MANSAM and other mechanisms continued to campaign for gendered transformation in Sudanese society, including calling for the reform of the family law and the repeal of laws allowing for female genital mutilation. One of the wins recorded by the women's movement was that in 2020, Sudan's transitional government ratified CEDAW and repealed the archaic family law, which led to the criminalization of female genital mutilation.

The momentum created by women's participation in the democratic transition contributed towards Sudan adopting its first National Action Plan (NAP) on women, Peace and Security in March 2020 for the period 2020-2022. The NAP on UNSCR 1325 provides for the protection of women from sexual and gender-based violence, in addition to advancing women's representation in decision-making processes at all levels. However, the existence of the NAP and the prominence of women during the 2018/2019 revolution have not translated into meaningful representation of women in transitional structures in Sudan.<sup>76</sup>

During the negotiations leading to the Juba Peace Agreement in 2020,<sup>77</sup> women's

<sup>74</sup> The SPA included women from all backgrounds, including lawyers, CSOs activists, members of the media as well as women in universities, who engaged in sustained protests to call for democratic transformation in Sudan.

<sup>75</sup> MANSAM comprises of more than 60 political and civil society organizations, political actors, academics, lawyers, researchers and women experts.

<sup>76</sup> During the period, 2020-2021 (period of the Transitional Council), out of 14 members in the Supreme Council only two were women, and within the executive body, out of 20 ministers only four were women.

<sup>77</sup> The Juba Peace Agreement for Sudan (JPA) was signed on 3 October 2020, between the Government and most of the Armed Groups of Sudan, including the Sudan Revolutionary Front, and the Sudan Liberation Movement. Supported by IGAD and international partners and facilitated by South Sudan, the JPA attempted to mark a twin transition from both armed conflict and authoritarian rule.

participation was even more marginal, as women were blatantly excluded from the formal peace process. Nonetheless, despite these limitations, Sudanese women's groups and networks engaged in advocacy campaigns to influence the peace process. Groups such as the Sudanese Women Rights Action advocated for women's representation in both the formal and informal negotiations which took place from 2019-2020 in Juba, South Sudan. The women were supported technically, logistically and financially by organizations such as UN Women, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Inter- Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). The support ensured that seven women from the Sudanese government, sixteen (16) women from the Armed Revolutionary Front, and seven women from the Sudanese People Liberation Army participated in the peace process.<sup>78</sup> Despite this nominal win, the Juba Peace process was criticized for not ensuring the prominent participant of women from civil society groups.

The structure of the negotiations was one of the reasons for women's exclusion in the peace process. Participation in the peace talks was by geographical representation, whereby delegates had to represent five regional entities, namely Darfur, Blue Nile and South Kordofan,) Central Sudan, northern Sudan, and eastern Sudan. The categorization of the negotiation into geographical tracks hampered women's opportunity to build coalitions across regions.

In early January 2022, women were also excluded from the series of talks which were launched following the stepping down of the Prime Minister. Despite the importance of these talks towards the advancement of the democratic agenda, there was however, no women who participated. Similarly, women were also under-represented in the peace process between the Sudan Transitional Government (STG) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement North, under the leadership of Abdelaziz El Hilu (SPLM-N El Hilu).

Despite their exclusion from the formal peace process, Sudanese women from diverse background and various organisations, including political parties, civil society organizations, and women representing the displaced people camps and marginal areas continued with advocacy efforts and engaged with various actors such as IGAD, the AU and development partners, not only to call for their participation, but also to demand for the peace agreement to include gender-responsive provisions.<sup>79</sup>

In April 2021, UN Women, supported Sudanese women from twenty-two (22) diverse entities mobilized to mobilize together to establish a coalition known as the "The Women's Agenda Group." A series of confidence building and conflict resolution initiatives among the women enabled them to reach a consensus on issues of mutual concern, which resulted in the women developing the women's agenda for peace and advocacy action plan.<sup>80</sup> The women leveraged on ongoing advances in the formal peace process between the STG and the SPLM-N El Hilu, which was reflected through the signing of the Framework Agreement and the Declaration of Principles in March 2021 to ensure that the needs of women were considered and integrated into the peace process. Sudanese women advocated for the inclusive and equal participation of women in the peace a process and continued to call for gender-responsive provisions.

The advocacy efforts by the Sudanese women, was bolstered by support and "good offices"

78 [Sudanese women show that peace requires participation not just representation | openDemocracy](#)

79 [Women's issues on the agenda for El Hilu-Sudan peace negotiations - Dabanga Radio TV Online \(dabangasudan.org\)](#)

80 The twenty-two (22) entities were invited by UN Women to nominate their representatives to attend four workshops in March 2021 (15 – 30 March 2021). The composition of the entities included women representatives from the revolutionary front, Civil Society Organizations, political parties beside four women classified as activists. For details, see a UN Women Country Office Internal Report, titled, Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Before, During and After the First Round of the Peace Talks in Juba – Achievements, Challenges and Ways Forward: The Peace Talks Between the Sudan Transitional Government and Sudan Popular Liberation Movement (SPLM) North – Abdel Aziz El Hilu: Summary Report

from the UN, through the UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan (UNITAMS), UN Women and UNDP. The support proved to be vital towards facilitating women's engagement with the STG, the Transitional Sovereignty Council (TSC), the Sudanese Peace Commission (SPS) and the Mediators to the peace process. Women continued to outline the importance of women's participation. As a result of the continued and relentless advocacy, "The Women's Agenda Group," enabled 24 women from the TWAG to participate peace advocates, observers and experts in the peace negotiations which were taking place in Juba, South Sudan. They shared briefing notes with the mediation team on how to mainstream gender into the agenda and emerging discussions during the peace negotiations. Additionally, ten (10) women from SPLM-N El Hilu were facilitated to join the political delegation in Juba.

Some of the main outcomes of women's participation in the Juba negotiations included the commitment made by the STG delegation to recruit a Gender advisor for the negotiation team of STG, as well as the pledge to increase the number of women in the technical committees. As a result of women's advocacy for inclusion, the SPLM-N El Hilu also committed towards increasing increase the number of women in the technical committees.

However, the quest for women's participation in the STG- SPLM-N El Hilu peace process was not without its own challenges. One of the major challenges has been the struggle by Sudanese women's coalitions, alliances and networks to develop coherent, comprehensive and transformative common agendas, which allows them to set aside their diversities. The failure to manage diversity has often contributed to a fragmented approach to women's participation in peace processes. During the April-May 2021 negotiations between the Sudanese Transitional Government and the SPLM-N El Hilu, which were held in Juba, there was initial mistrust between women from the SPLM-N El Hilu and women from the Revolutionary Front. Women from the SPLM-N El Hilu perceived the women from the RF as representing entities signatories of Juba Peace Agreement of 2020, an agreement which was criticized by the SPLM-N El Hilu for not significantly addressing the root causes of the conflict.

Furthermore, there was initial lack of consensus between the Women's Agenda for Peace and another parallel group known as the Women of Sudanese Civic and Political Groups (MANSAM). The Women's Agenda could not reach consensus with MANSAM on participating as a united front. Furthermore, another parallel group known as "No to Oppression Against Women Initiative" was also in Juba, and they insisted on undertaking their own advocacy.<sup>81</sup> As a result of the fragmented nature of the women's groups, each group presented their own issues to the conflict parties, members of the negotiation delegations and the South Sudanese mediators, which made the process confusing.

### 3.3.2 Impact of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

Despite their generally exclusion, Sudanese women peace activists continued to demand more access, more influence, and more direct participation in the peace process. The Women's Agenda and other women's organizations and networks such as the Women of Sudanese Civic and Political Groups (MANSAM)<sup>82</sup> managed to spotlight the gendered impact of conflict in the country. The women also managed to make the peace process more inclusive by mobilizing other women from displaced camps and CSOs to participate in parallel peace negotiations and to highlight their needs and perspectives,

81 The "No to Oppression Against Women Initiative" was initially part of MANSAM, but they parted in 2019 due to political and ideological differences.

82 MANSAM is an alliance of women from political groups, CSOs and youth groups, which was active during the Sudanese Revolution.



which resulted in gender-responsive provisions of the peace agreement.<sup>83</sup> the Juba Peace Agreement (JPA) had some elements of gender-responsive provisions.

For example, the Juba Peace Agreement re-affirmed the commitment of the transitional government's constitutional document to secure a 40 percent quota for women participation in the national and regional governments as well as in parliament.<sup>84</sup> The Juba Peace Agreement also provided for women's equal access to the mechanisms of reparation, restitution and transitional justice. For example, Article 51.1 of the Blue Nile and Kordofan Agreement provides that 'sons and daughters' of the provinces should be hired to join the judicial sector. Additionally, the Juba Agreement for Peace provided for the repeal of gender discriminatory laws.

Despite the achievements highlighted above, the status of women in Sudan has not radically improved and their participation in peace processes remains marginal. The status of women in Sudan and their persistent under-representation in peace processes is compounded by strict gender norms, which are embedded religious customs and beliefs, which often suggest that women should not participate in public spaces such as peace talks. Sudan's patriarch culture, and associated cultural environment, especially the prevailing unequal gender norms are further compounded by absence of progressive legal and policy frameworks which allow for women's activism and salience in political and peace processes. One of the challenges facing women in Sudan is that the country has not ratified important normative framework, including the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (also known as the Maputo Protocol) and **Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)**. This raises concerns about legal safeguards for women.

Furthermore, the lack of formal recognition and substantive representation of women in formal peace processes makes women's substantive contributions difficult. In fact, the gains made by women during the Juba peace process were somewhat eroded during the **July 2023 Jeddah peace process**, held between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF)<sup>85</sup> The peace talks, which were led and supported by the United States of America (USA) and Saudi Arabi, did not sufficiently consult women's groups, and neither did they create spaces for their participation. Sudan's conservative patriarchal social norms, which are enforced by military, political and customary leaders played a key role in the lack of inclusivity of the Jeddah peace process.

Despite their exclusion from the formal peace process, several women-led peace initiatives were established, including the Peace for Sudan Platform, (PSD) the Women Against War Network (WAAR), the Cease Fire Initiative of Darfur (CFID), the South Red Sea Organizations' Initiative (SREO) the Women's call to Resist War and Demand its End Initiative, the Women and Children Organization for Development and Peace (WCODP) and the Mothers of Sudan network (MOSN).<sup>86</sup> These initiatives comprise of women from various backgrounds, including CSOs, academia and professional associations. Collectively, women in Sudan continue to advocate for peace in the country, through documenting human rights violations against women, exerting pressure on military and political leaders, sharing information about the peace processes, calling for observance of the ceasefire, as well engaging the Sudanese Diaspora to advocate for peace.

83 [Juba Agreement for Peace in Sudan - Official ENGLISH.PDF \(constitutionnet.org\)](#)

84 Article 5 of the Blue Nile and Kordofan Agreement provides that there should be a 40 per cent female participation rate at the national level. That principle is confirmed throughout the Agreement. Article 34 of the Blue Nile and Kordofan Agreement provides that women should make up at least 40 per cent of the parliament. Article 3 of the Eastern Path Agreement provides that the participation rate should be 'at least 40 per cent'.

85 These negotiations between representatives of the Sudanese Armed Forces and the Rapid Support Forces led to a ceasefire agreement, which was signed on 20 May 2023.

86 UN Women, *Women are leading humanitarian response in Sudan*, Feature News, 5 July 2023. [Women are leading the humanitarian response in Sudan | UN Women – Headquarters](#)

Sudanese women have remained relentless in their quest for inclusive and gender-responsive peace. Women have continued to mobilize and build alliances to identify opportunities for influencing the peace process. Women have continued to knock on doors among various partners to ensure that they have platforms for coordination and alliance building. For example, in October 2023, women in Sudan developed **Guidelines to strengthen Coordination among Anti-War Women's Groups**.<sup>87</sup> These Guidelines highlight the need for consensus building among women from diverse backgrounds, including ensuring that there is collaboration and coordination between women from the political sector and women from civil society.

long and short term.

In November 2023, more than twenty (20) women-led initiatives and coalitions of Sudanese women from diverse backgrounds as well as various regions of Sudan convened in Cairo, Egypt to coordinate their efforts towards advocating for peace in Sudan.<sup>88</sup> Such platforms remain critical towards ensuring that Sudanese women can continue to coordinate their advocacy efforts to not only denounce the hostilities and human rights violations, but to also advocate for the participation of women in the country's peace initiatives. This meeting highlighted the potential and importance of platforms for women peace activists to meet, as a strategy for amplifying the voices of Sudanese women in peace processes. One of the outcomes of the meeting in Cairo was the agreement by South Sudanese women to establish a coordination group for women's organizations advocating for women's political participation, as well as to advance women's participation in peace processes.

Sudanese women have also been engaging with the African Union to not only call for an end to the violent conflict, but also to highlight the gendered impact of the conflict on women and girls and to mobilize support to women's peacebuilding and protection efforts in Sudan. Since the conflict in Sudan erupted, Sudanese women, in their various capacities have been calling for a comprehensive, immediate, and unconditioned ceasefire. For example, networks such as the Peace for Sudan Platform and the Women Against the War,<sup>89</sup> have partnered with the African Union Office of the Special Envoy on Women, Peace and Security in their calls for an end to hostilities and promotion of peace in the country.<sup>90</sup> They continue to engage with various allies including regional women-led organizations and networks to further raise awareness on the gendered dimensions of the conflict, and to call for more strengthened participation of women in the peace process as well as the integration of gendered provisions in the peace agreement, in line with the provisions of UNSCR 1325.<sup>91</sup>

There are also notable Sudanese women's organizations that have remained involved in local peacebuilding efforts, including the **Ceasefire Initiative in Darfur** who are involved in ceasefire monitoring activities and calling for conflict de-escalation. Other Sudanese women's organizations have been in undertaking gender-responsive humanitarian

87 [Guidelines to enhance coordination\\_31Oct2023.pdf - Google Drive](#)

88 The Sudanese women were supported by UN Women, the UN Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in the Sudan (UNITAMS), as well as international CSOs such as Crisis Management Initiative (CMI - the Marti Ahtisaari Peace Foundation) and Inclusive Peace, [Sudanese women meet up in Cairo to coordinate efforts for peace \[EN/AR\] - Sudan | ReliefWeb](#)

89 Women Against the War, comprises more than 200 prominent female advocates and human rights activists who have been active on social media and in documenting human rights violations against women.

90 UN Women (2023). African Women Leaders unite in solidarity with women in Sudan. UN Women News, 22 May 2023. [African Women Leaders unite in solidarity with women in Sudan | UN Women - Africa](#)

91 For example, on 22 May 2023, the Peace for Sudan Platform held a solidarity meeting with the AUC Office of the Special Envoy on WPS. The meeting was attended by Mme. Bineta Diop, the African Union Special Envoy for Women Peace and Security; H.E Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Former President of the Republic of Liberia and Patron of AWLN; Ms. Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, former UN Women Executive Director, Member of the Panel of the Wise of the AU and Co-Convenor of the AWLN, and Ambassador Raychelle Omamo, Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kenya, among others.

initiatives, which prioritize the needs of women, including providing provision of basic services, addressing the plight of displaced persons and providing psycho-social support for women survivors and victims of sexual and gender-based violence. Examples of Women's Networks such that have played this role include the Red Sea Organizations Initiatives s.<sup>92</sup> While the participation of women in local level peacebuilding initiative is commendable, the challenge is that their participation in official processes continues to be limited.

### 3.4 Uganda: Gendered Review of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

#### 3.4.1 The Nature of Women's Participation in Peace Processes

In Uganda, although women did not participate as delegates of the parties in the formal mediation processes between the Uganda People's Defence Forces (UPDF) and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), they nonetheless shaped the peace process significantly. One of the prominent women in the quasi-formal negotiations between the UPDF and the LRA is Madame Betty Bigombe, who was the lead negotiator for the conflict between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

In 2004, when she was the state minister **for the Pacification of Northern Uganda**, Mme Betty Bigombe was tasked by the Government to identify opportunities for ending the conflict in the north. Madame Bigombe later became an independent mediator in the initiative for peace, which became colloquially known as the **"Bigombe Talks."**<sup>93</sup>

When the Northern Ugandan communities saw the advances that Madam Betty Bigombe was making, this promoted initiatives such as the Acholi Religious Leaders Initiatives to support the peace process, and in some cases, accompany Madam Bigombe during her mission to engage the LRA. This example showcases how women's participation in mediation process can be an avenue for enhancing support for the peace process, while also promoting relationship building.

Although these peace talks led by Madame Bigombe did not result in any formal peace agreement, they played a key role in building the confidence of both the Government of Uganda (GoU) and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA, as well as in addressing the decades of mistrust between the conflict parties. Efforts by Madame Bigombe undoubtedly contributed towards some shift in tone among the conflict parties, and they were integral towards paving way for the more formal process known as **the Juba Peace Talks.**<sup>94</sup>

Following the **"Bigombe talks,"** there was a more formal peace process held in Juba, between the LRA and the Government of Uganda.<sup>95</sup> These peace talks took place over a two-year period, 2006-2008, and they were characterized by participation of an all-male delegation. The peace talks were facilitated by the Government of Southern Sudan, led by the then Vice President of the government of Southern Sudan, Dr. Riek Machar, who was the Chief Negotiator. In August 2006, former President of Mozambique H.E. Joaquim

92 CMI Insight: The long journey of Sudanese women from the margins of politics to influential roles in official processes, CMI Insight, 14 June 2023. [CMI Insight: The long journey of Sudanese women from the margins of politics to influential roles in official processes - Sudan | ReliefWeb](#)

93 On 15 November 2004 the government declared a seven-day ceasefire to enable Betty Bigombe, a former minister, to pursue talks with the LRA. These talks were supported by international partners, including the US, the UK and the Netherlands

94 Conciliation Resources (2010). "Initiatives to End the Violence in Northern Uganda: 2002-09 and the Juba Peace Process," Accord, update to issue 11, London: Conciliation Resources

95 Hendrickson, Dylan and Tumutegyeize, Kennedy. (2012). Dealing with complexity in peace negotiations: Reflections on the Lord's Resistance Army and the Juba talks, Conciliation Resources. [1918-Dealing-with-complexity-2012-01.pdf \(cmi.no\)](#)

Alberto Chissano joined the Juba peace talks, in his capacity as the Special Envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General for LRA- Affected Areas, and his participation held to lend credibility to the negotiations.

Among the negotiators from the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the LRA, there was no women representation. The Government of Uganda was represented by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda, while among the LRA delegation, the negotiators were Dr. David Matsanga and Vincent Otti, one of the four deputies of Joseph Kony. Official observers were the US Government, represented by Mr. Timothy Shortley, as well as the European Union, the UN and some four (4) African governments.<sup>96</sup>

The initial round of talks resulted in the signing of the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement (CoHA) between the parties on 26 August 2006. The CoHA provided for the cessation of armed hostilities between the two parties, namely the UPDF and the LRA, and it ushered in some hope for the peaceful resolution of the conflict, as well as the return of IDPs to their original homes.

The CoHA provided for the establishment of a Cessation of Hostilities Monitoring Team (CHMT), comprised of two (2) representatives each of the negotiating parties, one (1) senior member of the SPLA (the Chair of the negotiations) and two senior military officers appointed by the AU. The mandate of the CHMT included investigating and verifying allegations of violations, monitoring the delivery of food supplies to the LRA and reporting on breaches of the Agreement to the mediator, among others. However, the composition of the CHMT was all-male, and it had no mandate to examine women's security issues. This made the reporting on implementation of the CoHA gender blind.

The peace talks were led to the "**Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions Between the Government of the United Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army**,"<sup>97</sup> which was signed in Juba, Southern Sudan in 2007.<sup>98</sup> Furthermore, an Agreement on Permanent Ceasefire was signed on 23 February 2008, and it provided for a Ceasefire Monitoring Team (CMT) to replace the CHMT. The CMT was comprised of 22 persons, including a five-person liaison team from the UN, which provided an opportunity to give greater protection to women and children during the demobilization, disarmament and reintegration processes.

The Juba peace talks, leading to the **Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions Between the Government of the United Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army**, were structured around five major issues, namely, i) cessation of hostilities ii) comprehensive political solutions; iii) justice and accountability; iv) demobilization, disarmament and reintegration; and v) permanent ceasefire solution.

A gendered analysis of this preliminary Agreement reveals that there was some marginal attention to gender issues. However, specific clauses in the agreement reflected some attempt at integrating gender-sensitive language. For example,

- **Items 2.1, 2.11, 2.1.4 and 2.2 (c) of the Agreement** affirmed the parties' commitment towards undertaking a comprehensive and inclusive DDR process, which would also benefit women and girls associated with armed groups and forces, as well and women and girls in the community.

96 Smock, David. (2008). Uganda/Lord's Resistance Army Peace Negotiations: An Update from Juba: USIP Peace Briefing: United States Institute for Peace, Washington DC: USIP.

97 [UG\\_070502\\_AgreementComprehensiveSolutions.pdf \(un.org\)](#)

98 Uganda: Government, LRA agree to address root causes of conflict, ReliefWeb, 3 May 2007. [Uganda: Government, LRA agree to address root causes of conflict - Uganda | ReliefWeb](#)

- **Item 2.1.11 of the Agreement** talked about prioritizing the needs of women and girls during DDR processes, especially pregnant and lactating mothers. The Agreement also referenced the UNSCR 1325, and specified the need for women and girls to benefit equally from the resources that would be earmarked for DDR processes, and underlined that where possible, funding should be earmarked for women and girls during DDR processes.
- **Article 3.3 of the Agreement** stipulated that preparation for DDR should conform to gender and child specific UN IDDRS standards; while Article 4.6 provided for CMT members to receive training on international standards for ceasefire monitoring, which includes monitoring of security issues of women and girls.

During the peace negotiations, parties to the conflict (Government of Uganda and the LRA) committed to implement affirmative action for marginalised groups and to promote equitable land distribution in Northern Uganda. The agreement provided for the safe return and resettlement of IDPs, and underlined the need to ensure that resources would be available for recovery programmes in conflict-affected areas of Northern Uganda. For example:

- **Item 2.9 of the Agreement** specifically addressed the need to provide educational opportunities for women and girls as part of the post-conflict recovery and reconstruction agenda. This Article provided for the Government of Uganda to develop and implement a policy for the support and rehabilitation of war victims and to provide for other vulnerable groups such as female headed households, persons living with HIV and child-headed households in accordance with existing policies and through “special assistance programmes” in the affected areas.<sup>99</sup>

The preliminary agreement also included provisions for transitional security arrangements which provided protection to the LRA leaders, combatants and personnel during transition from conflict to peace.

- **Articles 7.1 of the Agreement** included provisions for regional, social and gender diversity in national politics.
- **Article 7.2. of the Agreement** called for efforts towards restoration and strengthening of the rule of law in conflict affected areas and increasing access to justice.
- **Article 27 of the Agreement**, which was titled, “Victims and Vulnerable groups,” provided for a National Reconciliation policy to be developed, in line with the principles and mechanisms relating to the Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation.<sup>100</sup> The same Article also provide for the payment of reparations, and for the establishment of a Special fund, from which reparations would be paid.<sup>101</sup>
- **Article 3.1 of the Agreement, titled, Accountability and Reconciliation** provided for justice and reconciliation processes, including a truth-telling mechanism, as a key strategy to promote durable peace. It called for the provision and undertaking of reconciliation initiatives, including through the promotion of traditional processes and methods of reconciliation.<sup>102</sup>
- **Articles 10 -14 of the Agreement** provided for the human rights violations against

99 *Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and Lord's Resistance Army/Movement, Juba, Sudan, 2 May 2007, Article 2.9.*

100 *Ibid, Article 27*

101 *Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and Lord's Resistance Army/Movement, Juba, Sudan, 2 May 2007, Article 27.*

102 *Agreement on Accountability and Reconciliation, 29 June 2007, Article 3.1*

women and children to be investigated as part of documenting the causes of the war. Articles 10 and 11 of the Agreement specifically made provisions for funding mechanisms to be availed in the reintegration phase, and to specifically target women and girls in the DDR programmes.

- **Articles 13 and 14 of the Agreement** also provided for the establishment of witness protection mechanisms and programmes to protect women and girls reporting violations that were committed against them. **Articles 10-14** also provided for the establishment of a special unit for investigations and prosecutions.

Despite the above gendered provisions, one of the challenges of this Agreement is that it focused on political preservation of the actors that had committed human rights violations during the war. The Agreement provided for blanket amnesty on crimes against humanity, including crimes committed against women and girls. Fortunately, this blanket amnesty was not recognized by the international community, as of the LRA's senior commanders, including the group's leader, Joseph Kony, were indicted by the International Criminal Court on charges of war crimes and crimes against humanity.<sup>103</sup> In the end, the Juba negotiations did not result in a fully-fledged peace agreement, as the talks collapsed and the LRA leader, Joseph Kony remained at-large.<sup>104</sup>

After the collapse of the Juba process, in December 2008, the Government of Uganda through the Uganda People's Democratic Forces (UPDF) launched **Operation Lightning Thunder**, which was meant to militarily attack the LRA camps and put pressure on Joseph Kony to sign the agreement. The LRA also responded militarily and engaged in brutal attacks against civilians. While the peace process notably collapsed due to the resumption of violence, the Juba peace negotiations nonetheless left a lasting legacy on opportunities for dialogic means of resolving conflict and the important roles played by women and CSOs in advocating for a more inclusive peace. As a result, the aftermath of the Juba peace process included an emphasis on community-based approaches to peace.

Alongside the formal peace processes, women also engaged in activities that were designed to influence the peace process. For example, several women's associations and networks emerged to advocate for an end to the violent conflict. In 1989, the Gulu District Women's Development Committee mobilised other women in a peaceful demonstration demanding an end to the violence. Women-led CSOs also played a pivotal role in drawing international attention to the conflict. Organizations such as the Teso Women Peace Activists (TWPA), the Uganda Women's' Network (UWONET), the National Association of Women's Organisations in Uganda (NAWOU), the Women's Peace Initiative-Uganda (WOPI), the Women's Advocacy Network (WAN), the Uganda Association of Women Lawyers (FIDA), and the People's Voice for Peace (PVP) raised awareness on the gendered impact of the conflict by documenting the impact of the conflict on civilians.<sup>105</sup>

In 2005, the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI), supported by the Acholi Paramount Chief, helped to convene Track II and III processes, designed to mobilize support for the peace process. The ARLPI also acted as crucial link between the formal

103 Following a self-referral of the cases of crimes against humanity by the Ugandan government to the ICC in December 2003, the Chief Prosecutor of the ICC, Louis Moreno Ocampo, formally opened investigations in July 2004. In July 2005 the ICC issued arrest warrants for crimes against humanity for five LRA commanders: Joseph Kony, Vincent Otti (now deceased), Okot Odhiambo, Raska Lukwiya (now deceased) and Dominic Ongwen. For details, see: Branch, Adam. (2007) 'Uganda's Civil War and the Politics of ICC Intervention.' *Ethics and International Affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 2, Summer 2007. pp179-198

104 The Final Peace Agreement between The Government of the Republic of Uganda and The Lord's Resistance Army/Movement, Juba, Southern Sudan and Implementation Schedule remained unsigned by LRA leadership.

105 Conciliation Resources (2013). Case study: Northern Uganda. [Case study: Northern Uganda | Conciliation Resources \(c-r.org\)](https://www.conciliationresources.org/c-r.org)

peace processes and the grassroots peacebuilding processes. More importantly, the religious and cultural leaders in Northern Uganda helped to establish and maintain a communication link between the LRA High Command and the Government of Uganda.

To augment this process, several women's networks emerged, and they played a critical role in raising awareness on the gendered impact of the conflict in Northern Uganda, in addition to calling for an end to the hostilities. Examples of such networks included the Women's Peace Coalition in Uganda, which emerged in 2003, to push for peace talks rather than the pursuit of military solutions.<sup>106</sup> Additionally, in 2006 women's organisations formed a coalition aimed at ensuring that women's perspectives and demands would be taken into consideration during the talks. This process was called the "**Juba Peace Caravan**," and it comprised of women from diverse backgrounds who sought not only to stand in solidarity with the people of Northern Uganda, but also aimed at raising awareness and mobilizing Ugandans to support the peace process.<sup>107</sup>

During the negotiations that were held in Juba between 2006-2008, women's organizations from Uganda travelled to Juba to influence the discussions, and they were allowed to be observers during the peace process. They would often, unconventional way, request for audience with the mediation team to highlight some of the needs, concerns and priorities of women, as well as of the affected populations. For example, members of the Women's Peace Coalition in Uganda would often write notes and pass them to the Uganda and Southern Sudan government delegations, advising them on key issues to insist upon. Organizations such as the UWONET would often conduct consultations with communities affected by the conflict in Northern Uganda, including consulting with IDPs. They also organized stakeholder workshops to highlight the importance of women's participation in the peace negotiations. When the Juba peace talks reached a stalemate, Uganda women's groups organized themselves and presented a unified front to the mediators and negotiators and presented them with a Peace Torch, which signified that Uganda communities were tired of war and wanted peace to reign.

Ugandan women's groups also organized a series of meetings and capacity building events with Members of Parliament, CSOs as well as the media, which were supported by organizations such as the then United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the Institute for Inclusive Security. They also undertook coalition building strategies with women from neighbouring countries, including Kenya and South Sudan. Importantly, women's networks and groups were critical in ensuring that peace negotiators and mediators considered the issues affecting women and communities. For example, they highlighted the root causes of the Northern Uganda conflict, including unequal processes of land tenures well as issues related to the socio-economic marginalization of the population.

In February 2008, advocacy efforts by women's groups resulted in the development of an Implementation Protocol to the Agreement on Comprehensive Solutions, which was adopted on 22 February 2008. Also known as the Women's Protocol, this document highlighted the gender issues in the Agreement and provided greater details for implementation in their protocol. For example, on issues related to promoting political participation at the national level in the post-conflict phase, the women called for implementation of existing instruments and policies such as the Constitution of Uganda (1995), which upholds the principle of gender and regional inclusiveness. Women also called for the adoption of democratic principles such as term limitations for positions such as the presidency and the legislature. Additionally, the women demanded the operationalization of the Equal Opportunities Commission.

106 International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN). (2017). Robinah Rubimbwa on How Women Played a Crucial Role in Peace Talks with LRA in Uganda, [Robinah Rubimbwa on How Women Played a Crucial Role in Peace Talks with LRA in Uganda - ICAN \(icanpeacework.org\)](#)

107 Musoke, Nabukeera. H (2012). 'Women Making a Difference to the Juba Peace Negotiation Process', unpublished paper, Isis-WICCE, Kampala

Women also called for the integration of reconciliation and justice elements into the peace negotiations, and particularly called for the gender-responsive post-conflict transitional justice processes. Through the Women's Protocol, there was a provision on the need for psycho-social support to communities affected by the 20 years of war. Women also advocated for Government of Uganda to develop a witness protection policy to assist towards promotion of confidential investigation of sexual and gender based crimes.

Articles 6 of the Women's Protocol recommend that all evidence on cases of SGBV committed against women during the war, must be heard in camera. Additionally, the Women's Protocol provided for interviewees of SGBV cases committed against women and girls to be undertaken by female interviewers who speak the local language. For SGBV cases committed against minors, the Women's Protocol provided for the parent/guardian to be present during the evidence taking. The protocol also provided for the provision of counseling of survivors of SGBV before and after their evidence is heard.

The women's protocol also requested for Ugandan women be given a role in the administration of traditional justice, in addition to calling for the repeal of inimical aspects of traditional justice. The women's protocol further calls for the establishment of a women's trust fund by the Government to facilitate the rehabilitation of women and girls.

Women also highlighted the need for gender-responsive DDR processes, and particularly called for the resettlement and reintegration of children returning from captivity. This created an enabling environment for sustainable peace at the grass-roots level. The above examples are indicative of how, during the peace process for the conflict in Northern Uganda, women were able to organize themselves into a strong and transformative force which played multiple roles, including being peace advocates, peacemakers and peacebuilders. Ultimately, the contribution by Ugandan women is credited for creating an enabling environment for sustainable peace at the grass-roots level.

Since the end of the conflict with the LRA, a lot of peacebuilding and peacemaking work by women in Uganda is being undertaken at community level. Given that Northern Uganda still recovering from decades of conflict between the UPDF and the LRA, much of the focus by women and youth peacebuilders has been towards addressing the post-conflict trauma healing and building community resilience. For example, civil society organizations (CSOs) such as the Kitgum Women's Peace Initiative (KIWEPI) provide psycho-social support, legal advice as well as including vocational and life skills training for women and girls, who were abducted by the LRA. Women CSOs have been providing support to survivors of sexual and gender-based violence.

### 3.4.2 Impact of Women's Participation in Peace processes

Uganda has also institutionalized the participation of women in mediation and negotiation processes through the creation of Women Peace Committees (WPCs), Women Peace Monitors (WPMs) and Women Situation Rooms (WSRs). These mechanisms play critical roles in facilitating grassroots-based peacebuilding activities as well as mediating cases of land and family disputes WPCs provide a platform for women to respond to incidences of violence at community level and they have been critical in facilitating dialogues in conflict hot spots such as Nyumanzi, Maaji and Kotido and Yumbe Districts. Such initiatives are playing a role in fostering understanding, and cooperation among affected groups.<sup>108</sup> The institutionalization of WSRs and WPCs in Uganda demonstrates the critical roles played by women in national and community-based early warning systems. WSRs are also being used to monitor early signs of violence before, during and after elections. WSRs in Uganda have been credited for leading peace outreach efforts during the 2016 and 2021 electoral processes.

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108 [Women-Leading-Mediation-in-Uganda-A-Reflective-Report-2.pdf \(wipc.org\)](#)



# SECTION FOUR



## CHALLENGES, GAPS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 4.0 Challenges and Remaining Gaps

This paper has outlined the remarkable and admirable roles played by women in peace processes in Ethiopia, South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda. Across all the four case studies, women have not only played the critical role of highlighting the impact of conflict on vulnerable groups such as women, children, youth, the elderly and displaced populations, but they also advocated for more inclusive and gender-responsive peace processes. They employed various strategies including advocacy, persuasion, and relied on the “good offices” of the IGAD, AU, UN to exert pressure on conflict parties to consider gender issues in peace processes. Women also shaped peace negotiations by influencing the issues and agenda items that are discussed by conflict parties, negotiators and mediators. Women were also critical in bringing on board local actors to support peace processes, through raising awareness on the importance of peace, as well as through capacity strengthening of grassroots peace actors.

Despite the roles and contributions by women in peace processes in Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan, and Uganda, challenges remain, and these include the following:

- **Under-representation of women in formal peace processes:** The under-representation of women in formal peace processes remains a perennial challenge. While women in South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda managed to successfully lobby for their inclusion in formal peace processes as observers, witnesses and advocates, much needs to be done to ensure that their participation of women goes beyond these roles, where women tend to be semi-outside the peace processes. Being observers and witnesses has its limitations, including the reality that it does not allow women to engage more meaningfully with the content of the peace negotiations.
- **State-Centric Approaches to Formal Mediation Processes:** Historically, state-centric approaches to peacemaking have tended to dominate the peace and security field. For example, most mediation processes are led by State Parties or their representatives, RECs/ RMs, continental bodies or global bodies, which are the sum-combination of states.
- By default, the nomination processes for mediators tend to be elitist and state-centric, often drawing from a pool of high-level political figures, diplomats, military people or other elites, which leaves out women from CSOs, Faith-based organizations, the media and the private sector, among others. In most cases, the mediators that are often appointed by AU or RECs such as IGAD or nominated by Member states often must demonstrate that they previously held high-level political, diplomatic or security

positions. Such stringent requirement is one of the key reasons why women are often excluded in official mediation processes.

- **Persistence of Gendered Norms of Exclusion:** Women's capacities to influence are undermined by longstanding patriarchal cultural and social norms, which have contributed to the exclusion of women in social, economic, political and public life. These patriarchal norms have often contributed towards the under-representation of women in leadership positions across different institutions. The exclusion of women from decision-making processes across societal institutions and persistent undervaluing of women's contribution towards formal peace processes, has tended to result in peace processes that are exclusionary and unequal.
- **Under-representation in public decision-making and politics:** Women are not just under-represented in formal peace process, but they are also hugely under-represented in political life and public decision-making processes. While countries such as Ethiopia and Uganda have made progress towards promoting and strengthening women's representation in political processes and mechanisms, in Sudan and South Sudan, women continue to be excluded from political processes and decision-making. Despite the 35 percent and 40 percent quotas provided by South Sudan and Sudan's peace agreements, men in these countries continue to dominate political parties. Furthermore, there also seems to be no political will to implement in full, the required legal reforms and political changes to ensure women's equal access to political power and decision-making.
- **Economic barriers:** This study in the four case studies revealed that women face socio-economic barriers, which militate against their effective participation in peace processes. From Ethiopia to South Sudan, Sudan and Uganda, women's access to economic resources remains limited, especially their ownership of land, property and other means of production. The limited access to land by women is driven by prevailing customary norms and practices which hamper women's ability to accumulate economic resources and exercise decision-making power.
- **Inaccessibility of Official Peace Processes:** In most cases, as reflected in experiences in the region, most official peace processes have tended to be exclusionary, inaccessible and closed-off from non-state actors, leading to the sidelining of women. Furthermore, calls by women and demands for their participation in peace processes are often not accommodated, as the key actors argue that their primary objective is that of ending armed violence. Sometimes, women's access to the peace negotiations, is beyond physical access and includes not having access to the documents of the negotiation such as the Agreement framework and the agenda. Other factors that prevent access include the limited logistic and technical support to facilitate women's ability to meaningfully influence peace processes. Without adequate logistical arrangements, women often find themselves unable to effectively lobby for their involvement and engagement in the peace processes.
- **Exclusion from private sessions where conflict parties are negotiating:** During the A-RCSS and R-ARCSS negotiations, while women could participate in larger plenary sessions and forums, they were not allowed to participate in the more private and technical sessions between the conflict parties. This was the same case in the negotiations between the STG and SPLM-N El Hilu, which also included technical committees, where only members of the two parties would be allowed. This resulted in missed opportunities for women.
- **Lack of Clear Communication Channels:** While women have often succeeded in gaining recognition on the need for participation during peace processes, in most

cases their influence is inhibited by the lack of clearly outlined modalities of their participation. There is often the assumption that the women who are selected to represent others are aware of their modalities for engagement during peace processes. Sometimes, conflict parties and mediators are not sufficiently capacitated on how to engage with non-parties, including with women seeking to influence the peace process. For example, during the April-May 2021 negotiations between the SPLM-N El Hilu, there was initial confusion related to the roles of women observers, advocates and experts in the peace process. There was also a limited understanding among the women selected in the peace process on how they would connect not only with each other, but with other women who were outside of the peace talks. Among the women, there was lack of clarity on the selection mechanism for women who were nominated as experts, observers and advocates to the peace talks.

- Lack of Consensus among diverse women's groups involved in peace processes:** In some cases, women's effective and meaningful participation in peace processes is often hampered by lack of consensus and trust between women, especially since the women advocating for inclusion in peace processes tend to come from diverse ethnic, political, linguistic and regional groups. Often, the lack of consensus among women's coalitions and networks advocating for peace is often driven by several factors including the failure to manage political, religious, ethnic, regional or intergenerational diversity as well as the failure to address emerging conflicts between members.
- Intergenerational differences and challenges:** Another challenge for women's participation in peace processes is the failure to manage intergenerational differences. This was particularly expressed by younger women in all the four case studies, who often cite feeling marginalized during advocacy efforts for peace. Younger women posit that, when it comes to nominating representatives to participate in peace processes, the older generation of women peace activists tends to exclude younger women, thereby replicating the same exclusionary, hierarchical and hegemonic values. The exclusion of younger women from the advocacy efforts for peace is a missed opportunity as it prevents the development of more strategic and transformative agendas that challenge the roots of gender inequality, exclusion and women's oppression.
- Limited Implementation of commitments made during peace processes:** The limited implementation of commitments made during peace agreements is one of the enduring challenges faced in these four countries. The failure to implement commitments agreed-upon during peace processes is often driven by lack of political will. For example, in South Sudan, although the R-ARCSS provides for 35 percent quota for women's participation in the transitional Government, this has not been attained in most of the transitional bodies and commissions.
- Protection Threats for Women:** Safety and security concerns by women remain one of the biggest barriers to women's participation. Unresolved safety and security issues, manifested through the persistence of violence at the local level, often discourage women from participating in peace processes. The prevalence of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), coupled with threats to women's, emotional and digital well-being ultimately impacts negatively on women's participation in peace processes.
- Capacity Gaps:** Across the four case studies, the participation of women in peace processes is constrained by the capacity gaps within women organizations. While advances have been made towards training women in mediation and negotiation through the FemWise Secretariat at the AUC, the IGAD MSU and CSOs such as ACCORD and the Women's International Centre for Peace, there is still a capacity deficit for women who are undertaking grassroots peace processes.

- **Limited Funding and Material Resources:** Lack of funding is one of the biggest impediments to the meaningful participation of women in peace processes. Women's peacebuilding work is underfunded, and this becomes even more uneven when one looks at women's peacebuilding networks in conflict contexts. Development partners have not yet figured out ways to fund emerging and organic networks which are created in conflict situations. The common funding modalities by donors is to fund well-established organizations. However, it is common for women's peace networks to emerge in the wake of conflict organically. Many such organizations would not be registered because the operational environment.
- Another challenge is the underfunding of the WPS Agenda, which is manifested through the limited resource allocations to national and sub-national Gender Machineries as well as other government departments and agencies tasked with implementation of the WPS Agenda.

#### 4.1 Recommendations

The following recommendations are directed at the AU, RECs/ RMs, CSOs, think tanks and development partners:

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##### Recommendations to IGAD/ AU Member States:

- **Provide an enabling environment for women's participation:** Ensure the creation of enabling environment to improve women's participation in peace and security processes, by establishing gender quotas in mediation processes and in mechanisms for peacebuilding and transitional justice. This includes setting aside spaces for women to participate in National Commissions, Committees and Councils, conflict prevention, preventive diplomacy, conflict management, and resolution.
- **Ensure that all Peace Processes have a Gender Advisor:** All AU-led and RECs-RM-led peace processes must be supported by a Gender Advisor, whose mandate is to ensure that gender considerations are sufficiently integrated into the substance, content and structure of peace processes. Gender Advisors should be one of the minimum standards required in any peace process. The participation of such expertise in a peace process is poised to ensure that women's rights, needs and concerns are sufficiently incorporated at every stage of the peace processes. Another envisaged role of Gender Advisors is to create spaces for women's participation, to ensure that women are provided with a platform to directly influence the peace negotiations.
- **Adopt measures to promote women's representation decision-making:** Promote women's decision-making at all levels to enable them to carve out a niche for themselves in peace processes. This can be done through supporting women's participation in politics, public service, the private sector and other arenas as a strategy of building and strengthening their experience. This will also strengthen their confidence to participate in formal peace negotiations, dialogues, peacemaking, and peacebuilding.
- **Accelerate the Resourcing and Implementation of National Action Plans on WPS:** Member States should ensure that they provide adequate budgetary and material support for the implementation of the WPS Agenda. Provision of budgetary allocations will ensure that the adopted NAPs can be implemented to facilitate the integration of women into local, subnational and national peace processes, Additionally, govern-

ments in the four countries must provide support towards the establishment of local and national mechanisms to facilitate women's participation in peace processes at all levels. This includes supporting National Chapters of FemWise and ALWN, where these exist, as in the case of Ethiopia and Uganda. Such national mechanisms can play a critical role in pushing for women's participation in peace processes.

- **Capacity building of Women Peace Actors:** Provide the necessary technical support to strengthen the capacities of women peacebuilder and peace advocates national and local levels. This should be augmented by the developed of National Databases and Rosters for women involved in mediation, negotiation, dialogue and other peacebuilding processes.
- **Enhance Protection of women peacebuilders:** Establish and enhance protection mechanisms for women peace activists and peacebuilders, to enable them to undertake their work without being concerned about the digital, emotional and physical security. This requires measures at the policy level to catalyze activities by conflict actors, security forces as well as relevant national mechanisms to strengthen prevention and response efforts to SGBV and CRSV. Furthermore, during peace processes, there must be key and minimum requirement for all parties to put in place strategies for the improved protection and security measures for women participating in peace processes. Special measures must be taken to address threats, harassment, violence and hate speech against women peacebuilders.

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### Recommendations to the AU, IGAD and other Regional Economic Communities/ Regional Mechanisms

- **Develop Tools and Programmes to strengthen the participation of women in peace processes:** In line with the UNSCR 1325, the AU and RECs/ RMs should work more closely with Member States to support gender-responsive and inclusive peace processes. This includes developing and utilizing guidance, frameworks and standard operating procedures (SOPs) for ensuring that gender-responsive lens is integrated into all peace processes. Member States should be capacitated on how to ensure that women are sufficiently engaged in peace processes.
- **Ensure that all AU and RECs/ RMs-led peace processes insist on women's participation: In mediation Terms of Reference and Guidelines for mediation,** the AU and regional actors should insist women's participation in in peace processes. This includes creating gender quotas for peace processes. Mediation Teams should be debriefed before deployment on how to effectively mainstream gender and women's need into peace processes. Among the mediation teams, it should be mandatory to include Additionally, there should be Gender Advisors, who can work with mediators to create structures and platforms to enhance women's participation and to ensure that women can meaningfully engage with the processes.
- **Undertake Monitoring and Evaluation of Women's Participation in Peace Processes:** The AU, and RECs/ RMs should utilize the AU CRF to institutionalize the monitoring of the participation of women in peace processes. The AU CRF can be a viable tool for tracking gender-responsive provisions in peace agreements and post-conflict policies and programmes.

## Recommendations to International Development Partners

These recommendations are aimed development partners, who have a critical role in ensuring that mediation and negotiation processes are more inclusive.

- Provide requirements and incentives and women participation in peace processes:** Donors and development partners can leverage on their gravitas to demand that all peace processes must be gender-responsive and inclusion. For example, donor support to peace processes should be contingent upon the meeting of minimum standards such as quota systems for women participation for all peace processes.
- An example of how donors can influence gender-inclusive peace processes is to demand a minimum percentage of women delegates to peace processes. Donors can also support women who are not part of the conflict to participate in peace processes through avenues such as joining thematic working groups, becoming members of advisory committees and being observers and witnesses o peace processes.
- Support women’s participation in transitional structures:** Development partners should support the integration of gender equality and the WPS Agenda into all transitional and post-conflict processes. In addition to women’s representation in the crafting of peace agreements, donors should ensure that peace implementation and transitional structures and mechanisms deliberately provide for the participation of women. Additionally, the monitoring of peace agreements and peace implementation should be guided by gender-responsive indicators.
- Development partners should support and engage governments and transitional structures to ensure that they intentionally create space for women’s meaningful participation. Women should also be provided with adequate platforms to lead transitional mechanisms, in addition to ensuring that their shape transitional processes related. Transitional mechanisms focusing on security, justice, accountability, reconciliation, healing, relief and recovery should intentionally focus on enhancing women’s leadership and decision-making.
- Provide flexible, sustainable and equitable support to women peacebuilders:** Development partners should provide more sustainable, accessible and flexible funding to enable women to participate more meaningfully in mediation and negotiation processes. There should be funds set aside to enable the promote and rapid deployment for women peacebuilders in processes at all levels.
- Address Protection threats faced by women in peace processes:** Development partners should work with governments and local partners to address safety and security threats faced by women in peace processes. Development partners must also raise these protection and security threats faced to conflict parties, mediation teams as well as other key stakeholders. Additionally, resources and funding should be made available to experienced organizations to provide legal, psycho-social, funding and repatriation support towards women peacebuilders.

## Recommendations to Civil Society Organizations, Think Tanks and Faith-Based Organizations

The following recommendations are for civil society organizations (CSOs), think tanks, faith-based organizations (FBOs) as well as community-based organizations (CBOs).

- **Document the roles and contributions of women in peace processes:** Document the good practices of women's contribution to peace processes, while also identifying outstanding challenges and gaps, including policy opportunities.
- **Undertake capacity building and Support Women's Movements for Peace:** CSOs should support undertake capacity building for women peace actors, in addition to organizing regional dialogues and workshops, aimed at promoting cross-regional learning. Capacity building should also focus on developing consensus and solidarity among the various groups of women. CSOs must tailor their capacity building support to address women's concerns, such their security, and well-being.
- **Support Peace Actors in Gender Mainstreaming and Inclusion:** Undertake gender-responsive capacity strengthening for all actors in peace processes, not only to facilitate their understanding of the gendered impact of conflict, but also to promote their adoption of measures to enhance the meaningful participation of women in peace processes. Development partners should work with the AU) RECs/ RMs to ensure that they develop gender-responsive guidelines and tools for facilitating women's participation in peace processes.
- **Undertake continuous outreach on the WPS Agenda:** CSOs have a responsibility to engage local communities through outreach and awareness-raising efforts on the WPS Agenda. Outreach and community engagement processes by CSOs should be undertaken to ensure that communities understand the imperative of gender-responsive and inclusive peace processes. The outreach efforts should also be designed to solicit community perspectives on how to ensure that peace processes are locally driven. Additionally, community engagement would also be used as a strategy to ensure that there is localized implementation of the WPS Agenda.
- **Monitor Progress in Implementation of Peace Agreements:** Regional and national should undertake research and documentation to monitor progress on the implementation of the WPS Agenda. This includes monitoring the implementation of the gender-sensitive provisions of the peace agreements, to identify gains made, while also examining the gaps and challenges that remain. Research and documentation of peace processes is critical towards supporting evidence-based lobbying and advocacy.
- **Strengthen capacities of women peacebuilders:** CSOs must provide sustained capacity strengthening efforts for women's associations and networks to strengthen their ability to support peace processes more effectively. The capacity building agenda should also focus on the monitoring of the peace agreements, ensuring that women play a more prominent role in the transitional and post-conflict phases. Capacity building should also focus on building consensus among the various groups of women.
- **Advocate for and support women's economic empowerment:** CSOs have a role to play, not only in Governments to address economic drivers of conflict, but they also have a responsibility to initiate programmes that address issues of economic inclusion and livelihoods for wome. This includes supporting women's economic empowerment.

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# GENDERED REVIEW OF PEACE AGREEMENTS

## South Sudan

### Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (2112 (peaceagreements.org))

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
CHAPTER 1: REVITALISED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY	1.1. Establishment, Seat and Term of TGoNU	No specific gendered provisions	N/A
CHAPTER 1: REVITALISED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY	1.2. Mandate of the RTGoNU	No specific gendered provisions	N/A
CHAPTER 1: REVITALISED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY	1.3. Composition of the RTGoNU	No specific gendered provisions	N/A
CHAPTER 1: REVITALISED TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY	1.4. General provisions applicable during the Pre-Transitional Period	This is the chapter of ARCSS that has the most elaborate gendered provisions. Out of 12 articles in this sub-section, one (1) article is specific about gendered provisions (8.33%), i.e., <b>Article 1.4.4, which talks about the importance of women's representation in the Executive of the Transitional Government, including the Council of Ministers</b>	<p>Women's representation stands at <b>32 percent of the National Constitution Review Commission.</b></p> <p>Women's representation stands at <b>22 percent of the National Election Committee.</b></p> <p>Women's representation stands at <b>40 percent in the Political Parties Council.</b></p> <p>There <b>is only one of South Sudan's ten Governors is a woman.</b></p> <p>Data from: <a href="#">Members of the Security Council's Informal Expert Group on Women, Peace and Security visit South Sudan   UN Women – Africa</a></p>

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
		<p>1.4.4 Provisions of the Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan and ARCSS on participation of women (35%) in the Executive shall be observed.</p> <p>In particular, in their nomination to the Council of Ministers, Incumbent TGoNU shall nominate no fewer than six (6) women, SPLM/A-IO shall nominate no fewer than three (3) women, and SSOA shall nominate no less than one (1) woman</p>	<p>Only one (1) woman (Dr. Rebecca Garang) is in the TGoNU Presidency out of the 6 spaces available.</p> <p>She is the Vice President – Gender and Youth Cluster</p>
		<p>1.12.2. In accordance with the agreed guarantee of 35% participation of women in the Executive, the Parties to the RTGoNU shall nominate no fewer than twelve (12) women to the Council of Ministers in line with Article 1.4.4 above. Parties shall give due consideration to national diversity, including regional representation, in nominating their candidates.</p>	
	1.5. Structure of the Executive of the RTGoNU	No specific gendered provisions	
	1.6. President of the Republic of South Sudan	No specific gendered provisions	
	1.7. First Vice President of the Republic of South Sudan	No specific gendered provisions	
	1.8. Vice Presidents of the Republic of South Sudan	No specific gendered provisions	
	1.9. Powers, Functions and Responsibilities to be exercised by the President, the First Vice President, and the Vice Presidents through consultation and agreements:	No specific gendered provisions	
	1.10. Council of Ministers of the RTGoNU	No specific gendered provisions	
	1.11. Deputy Ministers	No specific gendered provisions	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
	1.12 Allocation/ Selection of Ministries and Appointment Procedure for Ministers and Deputy Ministers	1.12.4 Unless agreed otherwise, Deputy Ministers nomination shall follow the same formula above.	
	Allocation/ Selection of Ministries and Appointment Procedure for Ministers and Deputy Ministers	1.12.5. In accordance with the revitalised provisions on the participation of women in the executive, no fewer than three (3) of the Deputy Ministers shall be women.	
	1.13. Replacement and Removal Procedures		
	1.14. The Transitional National Legislative Assembly and the Council of States	This sub-section contains specific gender provisions, which call for women's representation in the TNLA.  1.14.3. The Speaker of the TNLA shall be nominated by the Incumbent TGoNU. One Deputy Speaker shall be nominated by SPLM/A-IO; another, who shall be a woman, shall be nominated by the Incumbent TGoNU; and a third Deputy Speaker to be nominated by OPP.	
	1.15. Number and Boundaries of States	No specific gender provisions. <b>Out of 17 Articles, in this sub-section, there is no mention of women or gender.</b>	
	1.16. State and Local Governments		
	1.17. The Judiciary	No specific gender provisions. Out of 7 Articles in this subsection (from Article 1.17.1 to Article 1.17.7, there is no mention of women, gender or inclusion.	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
	1.18. Pre-Transitional Period and National Constitutional Amendment Committee (NCAC)	<p>Out of nine (9) Articles in this sub-section, one Article mentions women and gender. Specifically, this article discusses the composition of the National Constitutional Amendment Committee (NCAC) and <b><u>outlines the need for the 15-member NCAC to have at least one woman.</u></b></p> <p>Article 1.18.4 The reconstituted NCAC shall be composed of fifteen (15) members nominated as follows: TGoNU: five (05); SPLM/A-IO: two (02); SSOA: one (01); FDs: one (01); OPP: one (01); Representatives of IGAD: two (2) - Chair and Deputy Chair; Civil Society: one (01); Women (01); and Youth: one (01)</p>	
CHAPTER II: PERMANENT CEASEFIRE AND TRANSITIONAL SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS			
	2.1. The Permanent Ceasefire	<p>Out of 11 Articles in this sub-section (Article 2.1.1 to Article to 2.1.11, <b><u>only one Article discusses the issue of protection of women.</u></b></p> <p>Article 2.1.10.12. discusses the “<i>protection of the needs of women, girls and those of other groups with special needs.</i>”</p>	
	2.2. The Pre-Transitional Period	<p>Out of nine (9) Articles in this sub-section, (Article 2.2.1 to Article to 2.2.9), none specifically mentions gender and the needs of women. <b><u>However, Article 2.2.3.1. discusses issues of civilian disarmament and the protection of sites that have social value.</u></b></p> <p>Article 2.2.3.1 Civilian areas shall be immediately demilitarized. This includes schools, service centers, occupied houses, IDP camps, protection of civilian sites, villages, churches, mosques, ritual centers and livelihood areas</p>	
		Article 4.15.1.5 Establish a Women Enterprise Development Fund for provision of subsidized credit for women-based enterprise development and capacity building of women entrepreneurs.	
	2.3. The Transitional Period	Out of 5 Articles in this sub-section (Articles 2.3.1 to 2.3.5), there is none that provides a gendered provision.	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
	2.4. Mechanisms for Security Arrangements	<p>Out of 11 Articles in this sub-section (Articles 2.4.1 to 2.4.11), <b>only one provides a gendered provision, and it is the Article that discusses the composition of the</b> Strategic Defence and Security Review Board (SDSRB). It calls for women's participation in the SDSRB, through nomination from the Women's Bloc.</p> <p><b>Article 2.5. Strategic Defence and Security Review Board (SDSRB)</b></p> <p>Article 2.5.1. The current Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) shall be reconstituted during the Pre-Transitional Period of the Agreement through the restructured multi-stakeholder Revitalised Strategic Defence and Security Review Board (RSDSRB) comprising the following:</p> <p>Article 2.5.1.1. Three (3) from each of the warring parties.</p> <p>Article 2.5.1.2. Two (2) Former Detainees.</p> <p>Article 2.5.1.3. One (1) Other Political Parties.</p> <p>Article 2.5.1.4. One (1) Faith-Based Leaders.</p> <p>Article 2.5.1.5. One (1) Eminent Personalities;</p> <p>2.5.1.6. One (1) academia; Article 2.5.1.7. One (1) Women's Bloc and Other Women groups one (1); Article 2.5.1.8. One (1) Youth; 2.5.1.9. Two (2) CSOs.</p>	
CHAPTER III. HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND RECONSTRUCTION	3.1. Agreed Principles for Humanitarian Assistance and Reconstruction	<p>Out of 5 Articles in this sub-section (Articles 3.1.1 to 3.1.5), <b>only one Article discusses gender issues and women's needs.</b></p> <p>Article 3.1.2.2 mentions that the RTGoNU shall "offer special consideration to conflict-affected persons (children, orphans, women, widows, war wounded, etc.), in the provision of public services delivery, including access to health and education services and grant the host communities the same benefit, protection and humanitarian services;"</p>	
	3.2. Special Reconstruction Fund (SRF)	No specific gendered provisions. Out of the nine (9) Articles in this sub-section (3.2.1 to 3.2.9), none <b>of them provides gendered provisions.</b>	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
CHAPTER IV: RESOURCE, ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT	4.1. General Principles	No specific gendered provisions. Out of the seven (7) Articles in this sub-section (4.1.1 to 4.1.7), none <b><u>of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	
	4.2. Institutional Reforms	Out of three (3) Articles in this sub-section, one of them discusses women's representation in the institutional structures for resource, economic and financial management.  Article 4.2.2.5 mentions that the Bank of South Sudan "shall have a board of nine (9) members, at least 3 shall be women, appointed by the President in consultation and agreement with the First Vice President and the Vice Presidents."	
	4.3. Ministry of Finance and Planning	No specific gendered provisions. Out of the eight (8) Articles in this sub-section (4.3.1 to 4.3.8), none <b><u>of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	
	4.4. Anti-Corruption Commission	Out of the seven (7) Articles in this sub-section (4.4.1 to 4.4.7), one <b><u>of them provides gendered provisions, and calls for the participation of women in anti-corruption efforts.</u></b>  Article 4.4.1.5 calls for the South Sudan Anti-Corruption Commission to "involve <i>media, civil society, women's organizations, youth and faith leaders in policy advocacy against corruption and raising public awareness to strengthen capacity of the public to resist and prevent corruption.</i> "	
	4.5. National Audit Chamber	Out of the four (4) Articles in this sub-section (4.5.1 to 4.5.4), none <b><u>of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	



	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
	4.6. New Institutions	The one Article in this sub-section has implicit <b><u>gendered provisions, especially provisions for the establishment of the health care support fund (Article 4.6.1.5)</u></b>  4.6.1.1. Public Procurement and Asset Disposal Authority. 4.6.1.2. Salaries and Remuneration Commission. 4.6.1.3. Environmental Management Authority (EMA). 4.6.1.4. Research and Development Centers: Natural Disasters, Strategic Studies and Scientific Research. 4.6.1.5. Health Care Support Fund. 4.6.1.6. Students Support Fund.	
	4. 7. Review of National Legislations	No specific gendered provisions	
	4.8. Resource Management	Out of the fourteen (14) Articles in this sub-section (4.8.1 to 4.8.14), none <b><u>of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	
	4.9. Environmental Protections	No gendered provisions.	
	4.10. Public Finance and Economic Management	No gendered provisions.	
	4.11. Wealth Sharing and Revenue Allocation	No gendered provisions. Out of the six (6) Articles in this sub-section (4.11.1 to 4.11.6, none <b><u>of them provides gendered provisions</u></b>	
	4.12. Public Expenditure	No gendered provisions. Out of the eight (8) Articles in this sub-section 4.12.1 to Article 4.12.8, <b><u>none of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	
	4.13. Borrowing	No gendered provisions. Out of the five (5) Articles in this sub-section 4.13.1 to Article 4.13.5, <b><u>none of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	
	4.14. Public Finance Management	No gendered provisions. Out of the ten (10) Articles in this sub-section 4.14.1 to Article 4.14.10, <b><u>none of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
	4.15. Enterprise Development Funds	No gendered provisions. Out of the ten (10) Articles in this sub-section 4.15.1 to Article 4.15.10, <b><u>none of them provides gendered provisions.</u></b>	
	4.16. Economic and Financial Management Authority (EFMA)	<p>Out of the seven (7) Articles in this sub-section 4.16.1 to Article 4.16.7, <b><u>one of them provides gendered provisions, and it calls for the</u></b> Economic and Financial Management Authority (EFMA) to be governed by the Board of Economic and Financial Management Authority (BEFMA, which should comprise of women's representative (Article 4.16. 2)</p> <p>Article 4.16.2 indicates that the “ <i>EFMA shall be governed by a board to be known as Board of Economic and Financial Management Authority (BEFMA) comprising the President and the First Vice President of the RTGoNU as Chair and Deputy Chair respectively, the four Vice Presidents and Ministers of Finance and Planning, Petroleum, Mining, Roads and Bridges, Governor of the Bank of South Sudan (BoSS), National Revenue Authority, Chair of the Parliamentary Committee dealing with Public Accounts; representatives of Political Parties, South Sudan Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (SSCCIA), Civil Society, women representatives, youth and academia;</i>”</p>	
CHAPTER V: TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE, ACCOUNTABILITY, RECONCILIATION AND HEALING	5.1. Agreed Principles for Transitional Justice	<p>Out of the five (5) Articles in this sub-section (Article 5.1.1 to Article 5.1.5), only one Article mentions gender and women.</p> <p>Article 5.1.1.1 to Article 5.1.1.3 calls for 35% representation of women in all transitional justice institutions, such as the Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing (CTRH); the Hybrid Court for South Sudan (HCSS), and the Compensation and Reparation Authority (CRA).</p> <p>Article 5.1. Upon establishment, the RTGoNU shall initiate legislation for the establishment of the following transitional justice institutions (observe the 35% women representations in these institutions):</p> <p>5.1.1.1. The Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing (CTRH).</p> <p>5.1.1.2. An independent hybrid judicial body, to be known as the Hybrid Court for South Sudan (HCSS).</p> <p>5.1.1.3. Compensation and Reparation Authority (CRA).</p>	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
	5.2. Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing (CTRH)	<p>Out of the five (5) Articles in this sub-section (Article 5.2.1 to Article 5.2.5), <b><u>only one Article mentions gender and women, and it discusses the need to integrate the voices of women in all healing and reconciliation processes.</u></b></p> <p>Article 5.2.1.3. calls for the “Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs of the RTGoNU, in collaboration with other stakeholders and the civil society, shall conduct public consultations for a period not less than one (1) month prior to the establishment of the CTRH, to inform the design of the legislation referred to in Chapter V, Article (5.1.1) above. Such consultations shall ensure that the experiences of women, men, girls and boys are sufficiently documented, and the findings of such consultations incorporated in the resultant legislation.</p> <p>Article 5.2.2.3.5 calls for the Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing (CTRH) to “record the experiences of victims, including but not limited to women and girls;”</p> <p>Article 5.2.2.4 calls for the CTRH to “issue quarterly progress reports updating the RTGoNU on its progress in meeting its objectives. The CTRH shall 61 make sustained efforts to publicly and regularly inform and involve the people of South Sudan in all its tasks and activities and be responsible for carrying out public education, awareness-raising and civic engagement activities to inform the public, in particular with youth and women, about the Commission’s work, and solicit continuous feedback.”</p> <p>Article 5.2.3.2 provides for the CTRH to be composed of seven (7) Commissioners, four (4) of whom shall be South Sudanese nationals, including two (2) women. The remaining three (3) Commissioners shall be from other African countries, of whom at least one (1) shall be a woman. The CTRH shall be chaired by a South Sudanese national, deputised by a non-South Sudanese national.</p> <p>Under sub-sub-section on 5.2.4. Rights of Victims and Witnesses, Article 5.2.4.1 provides for the CTRH to “implement measures to protect victims and witnesses, in particular, youth, women and children. Such protection measures shall include which shall not be limited to the conduct of in camera proceedings and the protection of the identity of a victim or witness.”</p>	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
	5.3. Hybrid Court for South Sudan (HCSS)	Article 5.3.2.1.4, under the subsection 5.3.2. <b>Jurisdiction Mandate and Supremacy of HCSS, mandates the Court to preside over serious crimes under international law and relevant laws of the Republic of South Sudan including gender-based crimes and sexual violence.</b>	
	5.4. Compensation and Reparation Authority (CRA)	5.4.2.2.2. provides for the Compensation and Reparation Authority (CRA) to ensure women's participation, by providing for representatives of CSOs, Women groups, Faith-based leaders, Business Community, youth and traditional leaders to be part of the CRA.	
	5.5. Ineligibility for Participation in the TGoNU or Successor Government	No specific gendered provisions.	
CHAPTER VI: PARAMETERS OF PERMANENT CONSTITUTION		<p>Out of sixteen (16) Articles in this sub-section (Article 6.1 to Article 6.16, two <b>Articles mention gender and women, specifically the need for women to participate in the National Constitutional Review Commission.</b></p> <p>Article 6.6 provides that <i>"the Executive of the Revitalized TGoNU after adequate consultations with all stakeholders including the political parties, Civil Society Organizations, Women groups, youth and Faith-based groups, shall reconstitute the National Constitutional Review Commission (NCRC) and appoints a preparatory sub-committee for convening a National Constitutional Conference (NCC) in accordance with the Act governing the constitution making process."</i></p> <p>Article 6.14 provides for the RTGoNU to review the ongoing permanent Constitution-making process and reconstitute the National Constitutional Review Commission (NCRC). Specifically, it says, <i>"In order to ensure quality of participation and inclusiveness in the reformulated Constitution review process, the composition of the reconstituted NCRC shall include but not be limited to representatives of the RTGoNU, Political Parties, faith-based groups, women groups, youth, ethnic minorities, representatives of the private sector, CSO groups, academics, people with special needs and other professionals."</i></p>	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
CHAPTER VII: JOINT MONITORING AND EVALUATION COMMISSION (JMEC)		<p>Out of fourteen (14) Articles in this sub-section (Article 7.1 to Article 7.14, two <b>Articles mention gender and women, specifically the need for women to participate in the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC).</b></p> <p>Article 7.2.2.2 <b>provides for women – two (2) women representatives from the Women’s bloc– one (1) and Women’s Coalition – one (1) to be part of the JMEC.</b></p>	
CHAPTER VIII: SUPREMACY OF THIS AGREEMENT AND PROCEDURES FOR AMENDMENT OF THE AGREEMENT		No specific gendered provisions.	
SIGNATORIES: THE PARTIES		<p>Out of the four parties who signed the peace agreement, <b>none were women. The signatories were all-male, and these were:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• H.E Salva Kiir Mayardit President of the Republic of South Sudan for the Incumbent TGoNU.</li> <li>• H.E Dr. Riek Machar Teny Chairman and Commander in Chief of the SPLM/SPLA-IO.</li> <li>• Deng Alor Kuol Hon. Gabriel Changson Chang For SPLM-Former Detainees;</li> <li>• Hon. Gabriel Changson Chang For SPLM-Former Detainees For the South Sudanese Opposition Alliance</li> </ul> <p><b>For Other Political Parties</b></p> <p><b>Out of the six Other Political Parties, none were women. The signatories were all-male, and these were:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hon. Peter Mayen Majongdit Hon. Kornello Kun Ngu For Umbrella of Political Parties.</li> <li>• Hon. Kornello Kun Ngu For Umbrella of Political Parties For the Alliance of Political Parties;</li> <li>• Hon. Utaz Joseph Ukel Abango Hon. Peter Martin Toko Moyi For United Sudan African Party (USAF);</li> <li>• Hon. Peter Martin Toko Moyi For United Sudan African Party (USAF) For United Democratic Salvation Front</li> <li>• Hon. Steward Sorobo Budia Hon. Wilson Lionding Sabit For United Democratic Party;</li> <li>• Hon. Wilson Lionding Sabit For United Democratic Party For African National Congress (ANC)</li> </ul>	

	Description of Subsection of the Chapter	Specific Gendered Provisions	Status of Implementation
SIGNATORIES: STAKEHOLDERS		<p>Out of the sixteen (16) stakeholders who signed the peace agreement, six (6) women signed the agreement as part of the Stakeholders, and these were:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ms. Mary Akech Bior For Women's Bloc</li> <li>• Hon. Rebecca Nyadeng Garang Eminent Personalities</li> <li>• Ms. Rita M. Lopidia For Women Coalition</li> <li>• Ms Alokiir Malual For Civil Society of South Sudan</li> <li>• Dr Emmily Koiti For Youth representative.</li> <li>• Ms Sarah Nyanath Elijah For Gender Empowerment for South Sudan Organization</li> </ul>	







East and Southern Africa Regional Office  
UN Gigiri Complex, UN Avenue;  
Block M, Ground Floor  
P.O. Box 30218- 00100 Nairobi, Kenya  
Tel: +254 20 762 4778

[africa.unwomen.org](http://africa.unwomen.org)

Email: [esaro.publications@unwomen.org](mailto:esaro.publications@unwomen.org)

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