



Women's
International
Peace Centre

PEACE BUILDING & ENDING SEXUAL GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE MOVEMENTS

In South Sudan, Burundi, the Democratic Republic Of Congo & the Great Lakes Region

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IN SOUTH SUDAN, BURUNDI, THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO & THE GREAT LAKES REGION

2020



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Acronyms

| | |
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| ACCORD | African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes |
| AFRABU | Association des Femmes Rapatriées du Burundi |
| ARCSS | Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan |
| AU | African Union |
| COCAFEM | Concertation des Collectifs des Associations Féminines/Grands Lacs |
| CAFOB | Collective of Burundi Women’s Associations and NGOs |
| CONAFED | Comité National Femme et Développement |
| CPA | Comprehensive Peace Agreement |
| CSO | Civil Society Organisation |
| CPIJ | Citizens for Peace and Justice |
| DRC | Democratic Republic of Uganda |
| EAC | East African Community |
| FAS | Femme Africa Solidarité |
| FFC | Fonds pour les Femmes Congolaises |
| GBV | Gender Based Violence |
| GFW | Global Fund for Women |
| HLRF | High Level Revitalisation Forum |
| ICGLR | International Conference of the Great Lakes Region |
| IGAD | Intergovernmental Authority on Development |
| Isis-WICCE | International Women’s Cross-Cultural Exchange |
| JMEC | Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission |
| MONUSCO | United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo |
| NAP | National Action Plan |
| NCTRC | National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organisation |
| PSCF | Peace Security and Cooperation Framework |
| R-ARCSS | Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan |
| RWF | Regional Women Forum |
| SADC | Southern African Development Community |
| SGBV | Sexual and Gender Based Violence |
| SPLM | Sudanese People’s Liberation Army |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNFPA | United Nations Population Fund |
| UNIFEM | United Nations Development Fund for Women |
| UNPBF | United Nations Peace Building Fund |
| UNSCR | United Nations Security Council Resolution |
| USD | United States Dollar |
| WP | Women’s Platform |

Acknowledgements

Expressions of gratitude to all the women and men who spared their valuable time to share incredible struggles and personal insights on the genesis and evolution of women organising and creating movements for building peace and preventing and responding to conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burundi, South Sudan and in the wider Great Lakes region. The findings in this report, on the two thematic areas – peace building and sexual and gender-based violence in conflict, post-conflict and recovery contexts were informed by conversations with erstwhile and contemporary representatives from women’s organisations, networks, alliances and coalitions from the three countries and from the region.

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Executive Summary

the purpose of this research is to deepen understanding of the evolution of women-led efforts and women organizing around peace building and preventing and ending SGBV in the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi and in the Great Lakes region.

Over the years' women and women's organisations have been at the core of advocating for the restoration of peace and an end to sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in cyclic conflicts in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), South Sudan, Burundi, and in the wider Great Lakes region. Beginning 2006, in response to the conflict situations, Isis-International Women's Cross-Cultural Exchange (rebranded Women's International Peace Centre) supported women impacted by conflict by building their leadership in conflict transformation and their agency in peace building processes. The organisation also initiated interventions for healing survivors of SGBV, where rape in these conflicts was increasingly being used as a weapon of war.

It is against this background that the Women's International Peace Centre (The Peace Centre) commissioned this research, the purpose of which is to deepen understanding of the evolution of women-led efforts and women organizing around peace building and preventing and ending SGBV in the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi and in the Great Lakes region, in terms of coalescing, creating and establishing movements; the drivers and the enablers of these movements- both internal and external, the successes, the challenges and lessons.

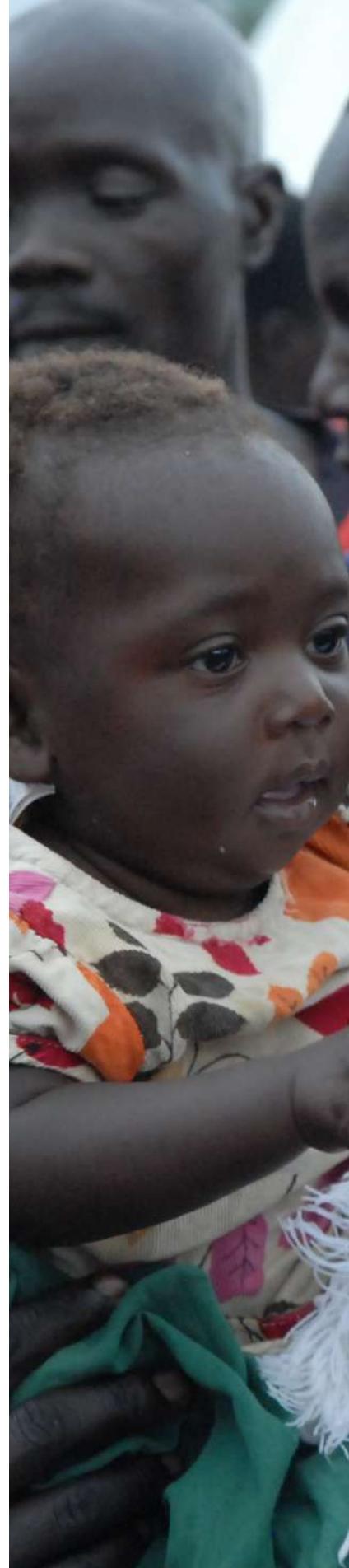
Representatives from women's organisations and networks from the DRC, South Sudan, and Burundi, and other stakeholders from the Great Lakes region were interviewed and the information they shared triangulated with secondary data collected on the two thematic issues- peace building and prevention and ending SGBV movements.

Summary Findings, Conclusions And Lessons

Whereas the research findings for the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi are essentially contextualised and localised, there are similarities in terms of the strategies used by the women such as lobbying and advocating for equal participation in peace processes; the tabling of social and gender justice issues for negotiation at the peace tables, and the networking generally, as well as the differences between the three countries, such as the political and public participation quotas demanded. The Great Lakes region had its own dynamic that was and still is informed by the geo-politics at that level.

The emergence of cyclic conflicts in the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi saw women at community level come together 'organically' and then work collectively to find solutions to the violent upheavals and the destruction within their communities, and then use their agency to stop the violence by making political demands for voice and accountability. These were indigenous, locally-led efforts by the women. The women then mobilised and moved to set up formal peacebuilding movements in the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi, respectively, that were and still are mainly geared towards building peace through lobbying and doing advocacy work at national, regional and international level, while the women's community-based informal peace building and SGBV prevention movements continued being focused on leveraging the power the women had to inform change for peace in their communities, and in some instances by working with rights organisations at the national level.

Generally, the women were able to influence peace processes by fronting their demands for inclusion in agreements and insisting that an agreement be signed. The women also demonstrated cohesion and resolve prior to and during peace negotiations, and worked across geo-political and ethnic divides by establishing coalitions and alliances. However, ethnic and political allegiance tensions threatened the cohesion of the women's movements and still do today. In 2000 in the DRC, for example, the women organisations called for an immediate ceasefire, the inclusion of women and their concerns in all aspects of the peace process, and the adoption of a 30 percent quota for women at all levels of government in any final settlement. At the national level Caucus de Femmes lobbied for adoption of a sexual violence bill and in 2006 the Law on Sexual Violence was enacted. In 2012 the women's groups worked collectively to secure a watershed ruling by a military court which sentenced senior military officers and soldiers to prison for the mass rape of 60 women in South Kivu Province. At the community level women ably succeeded in using their voice to raise awareness at the national and the international level on the atrocities that happened and called for immediate response and action, and demanded justice.





2012 - DRC

Women's groups worked collectively to secure a watershed ruling by a military court sentencing senior military officers and soldiers to prison for mass rape.

2000 - Burundi

Women created associations to contribute to the restoration of peace, brought communities together and supported dialogue between women living in the country and those in exile

2018 - South Sudan

South Sudan Women Coalition for Peace released a statement calling for 35 percent representation, a crucial development to putting women's concerns on the peace negotiations agenda

In Burundi, beginning 2000, the women created associations to contribute to the restoration of peace, brought communities together and supported dialogue between women living in the country and those in exile. Women's networks also fought for and won permanent observer status in the Arusha negotiations in Tanzania in 2000 and during the peace negotiations the different factions in the conflict reached agreement on a provision requiring that women hold a minimum of 30 percent of seats in government and other institutions comprised of elected officials.

In South Sudan, in all of the peace processes that have taken place – in 2015 and 2017, the women have been active and have made critical contributions. They successfully lobbied for the increased participation and representation of women; called for the recognition and inclusion of women's particular needs in the agreements; and encouraged the continuation of dialogue between conflict parties and called for sustainable peace. In May 2018, alongside the formal peace talks, the South Sudan Women Coalition for Peace released a statement calling for 35 percent representation, a crucial development to putting women's concerns on the peace negotiations agenda. This call was granted and has had positive ramifications for the peacebuilding process and the inclusion and acknowledgement of women in reconstructing South Sudan. However, implementation remains a challenge.

At the regional level women's organisations working collectively for peace in the Great Lakes region indicated that women had found a voice and a way to work for peace at that level. For instance, women's organisations in the DRC and Burundi intervened at the regional level to have cases of SGBV during conflict addressed in line with the Kampala Declaration on Sexual and Gender Based Violence (2011). They achieved this through the Regional Women Platform that was established by the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR), as well as the Women's Platform that was set up under the United Nations Peace and Security Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Region.

The activism of the women's peace building movements increased the mobilization of women's organizations around the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 at the regional and international level. These movements and associations, with external intervention and support, mainly international, have been the main standard bearer for UNSCR 1325, and by using this resolution strategically, women's organisations and associations have succeeded in developing and presenting joint platforms of demands, such as having women's presence at the peace negotiating table accepted; demands incorporated into the peace agreements; reforming legislation and working for the adoption of legislation that factors women's rights, and expanding women's representation in government institutions. These achievements in relation to UNSCR 1325 were registered in the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi but with variations.

The successes registered by women's peace building movements is attributed to facilitated leadership development that culminated in women getting to know the legal and policy frameworks, identifying opportunities for influencing the decision-making in peace processes, and creating spaces for conversations to happen on the issues at stake, despite the push back from the men. The progress achieved by women's organizations with regards to legal protection, participation and representation is relatively significant, however many challenges to women's right to protection, participation and decision-making in countries in the Great Lakes region remain.

UNIFEM (at that time) and UNDP, and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women for Women International, The Hunt Foundation, Impunity Watch, and Search for Common Ground, and various other institutions

and organisations, were instrumental in advancing the inclusion of women in the peace processes through philanthropy, for organising pre-peace negotiations conferences that brought women together to strategise; setting up platforms of women's organisations to voice their concerns, and supporting capacity building initiatives for women to engage effectively as for example was the case with Isis-Women's International Cross-Cultural Exchange. Philanthropic organisations that specifically supported women's organisations working on SGBV prevention and response included the Global Fund for Women, Amplify Change, and the African Women's Development Fund as well as lead UN agencies such as UNIFEM and UNFPA. Support went to community conscientisation, advocacy, and research and documentation of SGBV issues.

Tracking and analyzing bilateral and multilateral and other institutional (foundations, trusts) philanthropy in terms of grant making and private funding for peace building and the prevention of SGBV, over the period of the last decade, is challenging due to the inaccessible and inconsistent ways of reporting such data. Anecdotal examples of philanthropy/grant making in the DRC, South Sudan, Burundi and the Great Lakes Region are therefore presented in this report. Women's organisations and civil society groups generally are constrained by the cyclical funding that is inadequate for activities that build peace and protect the women and girls from violence. Sustaining these organisations and movements was and still is a challenge for the women because of funding constraints.

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The short-term funding prevents women's groups from developing, advocating for, or implementing their own agendas and priorities, or establishing sustainable programmes. However, some women did manage to mobilise and organise themselves successfully without external support. The cases in point were women in the early 2000s in eastern provinces of the DRC and in Burundi.

Lessons from the women's movements in the three countries and from the Great Lakes region that galvanised and strengthened peacebuilding and SGBV efforts include:

Connecting the informal initiatives by women is essential for ensuring that women's voices are heard at every stage of the peace negotiating process, and linkage between informal grassroots women's organisations and formal organisations in peace negotiations ensures more constructive and effective talks. For example, the South Sudan Women's Coalition for Peace that comprised 40 groups and organisations, including women refugees in the diaspora, was a forum for continuous dialogue between grassroots women activists and women at the peace negotiation table. The coalition enabled the grassroots women peace activists to input and influence the formal peacebuilding process.

Technical support teams are essential for women participating in peace negotiations. For example, in 2000 UNIFEM sponsored consultants and experts to assist the women delegates during the Dialogue Inter-Congolais, process in Arusha, Tanzania and assisted the women delegates from all parties to the dialogue to convene and meet regularly to discuss key issues and strategies with respect to the inclusion of gender-sensitive issues in the peace negotiations.

Strategy meetings with the wider women constituency provide opportunities to gather information for position papers and communiqués in advance of peace negotiations and bolsters preparedness. During the Revitalised Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan process which saw the accreditation of more women as delegates, the Women Coalition held meetings for the women, where they came out with position papers that influenced the High-Level Revitalisation Forum.

Male allies, both local and international, facilitate women's participation.



“The main strategy that enabled them [women] to be resilient was looking for allies not only among the women in politics but also some men.”

Provisions drawn from relevant international and regional legal instruments and national constitutions give more weight to numerical targets and gender balance in peace agreements.



“...we invoked 1325 to claim our space in this process. I told him [Facilitator] as women we cannot be consulted only -we are to be part of the process because that is what resolution 1325 says.”

Long-term philanthropy that provides support for core funding and programming is effective in sustaining peace building and SGBV prevention initiatives by women's organisations and movements.



“The support was helpful but not enough because at times we would [be] limited to support of one year, two years and this is not sustainable.”

1.0

Introduction

Women's movements have been at the core of advocating for the restoration of peace and the end to SGBV in areas impacted by conflict in some countries in the Great Lakes region.

The 20th anniversary of the United Nations Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, that affirmed the critical role of women in conflict resolution and peace building, and the importance of ensuring women's full and equal participation in decision-making in conflict prevention, conflict resolution was commemorated on 6 September 2020. In addition in 2020, the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action; the end of the Africa Women's Decade, and the year when the African Union Lusaka Roadmap of Practical Steps to Silence the Guns in Africa were observed and reviewed. However, despite the progress made towards achieving gender equality and sustainable peace, more still needs to be done because women and girls have disproportionately been impacted by the violent conflicts with increasingly high incidences of sexual violence and rape being used as a weapon of war.

Over the last two decades' women's movements have been at the core of advocating for the restoration of peace and the end to SGBV in areas impacted by conflict in some countries in the Great Lakes region. Beginning 1998, in response to the conflict situation, regional and international organisations supported women impacted by conflict by building their capacity to engage in peace negotiations and peace building processes in the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi, and other countries in the Great Lakes region such as Rwanda and Uganda. It is against this background that the Women's International Peace Centre (The Peace Centre) commissioned this research, the purpose of which is to deepen understanding of what has worked for the peace building and SGBV women's organisations and movements in the DRC, South Sudan, Burundi, and in the Great Lakes region as a whole, and in terms of leveraging Sustainable Development Goal 16: Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions.

This research investigates how women-led peacebuilding and SGBV movements evolved in these three countries and in the Great Lakes region and what factors led to the successes. The research sought to investigate how these women's movements were able to mobilise and increase their strength in numbers and grow their influence, the drivers and the enablers, and how they were able to tackle the backlash, especially from men, survive attacks, build resistance and resilience and move forward. The research also sought to identify the role of philanthropy in supporting women's peacebuilding and SGBV organisations and movements. The period covered by the research in each country depended on the time conflicts emerged and the women then coming together to secure peace at community level, national and regional level. Research questions were formulated for this purpose. In terms of the structure of this report, Part 1.2 briefly presents the methodology, Part 3 the findings, Part 4 the conclusions and Part 5 the lessons.

1.2 Methodology

The period covered by the research in each country depended on the time conflicts emerged and the women then coming together to secure peace at community level, national and regional level.

The research was qualitative with primary data collection designed to capture and interpret women's knowledge and experiences of the peacebuilding and prevention of SGBV movements in their respective countries and in the Great Lakes region (Terms of Reference: Annex 1). This was done by allowing for one-on-one conversations in order to gain insights and understanding. The shared experiences and perspectives were then triangulated with the secondary data researched for validity.

The primary data was gathered from individuals who were purposively selected because of their extensive experience working in and with the peacebuilding and SGBV prevention movements and their knowledge of the history. Primary data was collected through the administration of open-ended questions. The individuals interviewed from the DRC, Burundi, South Sudan, and in the Great Lakes Region are presented in Annex 2. Secondary sources of data and information were derived from research studies, journals, institutional and organisation reports, public sector records and websites, and textual analysis undertaken. (See Endnotes) Following ethical protocols, the interviews were recorded and the audio, including the audio from the French speaking respondents from the DRC and Burundi were transcribed and inductive analysis was done guided by the research issues and related research questions.

2.0

Findings

Congolese women and girls were raped often as part of a strategy to humiliate communities, destroy social structures and norms, and control territory for exploitation of the valuable resources.

2.1.1 Background



Between 1996 and 2002 the DRC experienced a period of political instability and violent conflict that resulted in the deaths of millions of women, men and children. The location-specific and resource-based armed conflicts saw several other African countries intervening militarily, and non-state armed groups fighting national security forces. This second war resulted in massive displacements and gross violations of the human rights of women and children, and SGBV perpetrated by the belligerents, even with the existence of international and domestic laws that criminalise sexual violence¹. Congolese women and girls were raped often as part of a strategy to humiliate communities, destroy social structures and norms, and control territory for exploitation of the valuable resources².

The violent conflicts disproportionately impacted women who were targets of the violence and have been targets ever since, especially sexual violence³. Women and girls experienced a multitude of adverse physical and mental impacts associated with SGBV⁴. Despite efforts to establish democratic processes and structures, conflict and violations of human rights have persisted in communities in eastern and north eastern DRC, with a variety of non-state armed groups still causing insecurity in North Kivu, South Kivu, Orientale and northern parts of Katanga Province⁵. This war that began in 1998, ended in 2002⁶.

The ending of the war happened through the accomplishment of four incremental peace agreements which ultimately contributed to the Global and Inclusive Agreement of December 2002⁷. Even though these agreements did not effectively curb violence in many parts of the DRC they served as instrumental pillars which ended the second Congo war and which then led to the formation of a unified Transitional Government of the DRC in 2003⁸.

Even though these agreements did not effectively curb violence in many parts of the DRC they served as instrumental pillars which ended the second Congo war .

One of the most prominent rebel groups to emerge in the aftermath of the second war was known as the March 23 Movement (M23), made up primarily of ethnic Tutsis who were allegedly supported by the Rwandan government. M23 rebelled against the Congolese government for supposedly reneging on a peace deal signed in 2009. The United Nations Security Council authorized an offensive brigade under the mandate of the United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the DRC (MONUSCO) to support the DRC government army in its fight against M23. The Congolese army and United Nations (UN) peacekeepers defeated the group in 2013, but other armed groups emerged and still exist and operate in the Eastern DRC⁹.

In February 2013, while the Kampala talks between the Congolese government and M23 were at an impasse, 11 African states signed the Peace and Security Cooperation Framework (PSCF), a UN initiative and a mechanism supported by the African Union (AU), the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) and Southern African Development Community (SADC), which required the Congolese government to carry out key governance reforms. The PSCF, which was signed in the context of the M23 crisis, committed states in the region to stop backing rebellions in DRC, and it encouraged the international community to renew commitments to DRC¹⁰.

In 2016, political violence and government repression increased as the Congolese President delayed general elections and extended his term past his constitutionally mandated limit. The government and opposition parties reached a political agreement for a democratic transfer of power by December 2017, but implementation was slow and this increased insecurity further¹¹. Elections were held in December 2018 and an opposition leader was declared the winner of the DRC presidential elections. Notwithstanding, the DRC is still politically unstable and armed groups continue to carry out deadly attacks in the eastern provinces of the country¹².

2.1.2 Evolution of Peace Building And SGBV Prevention Movements

Peace Building Movements (1998 to 2008)

From the outset of the conflict in 1998 Congolese women actively sought to participate in the formal peace negotiations. Their efforts to mobilize at the local level and across borders helped to galvanize national and global support for their representation at the peace table¹³. The entry point for women in civil society to participate in peace negotiations was the 1999 Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement that identified civil society groups – Forces vives, as a constituency that should participate in the Dialogue Inter-Congolais (Inter-Congolese Dialogue). However, the agreement did not mention women or women’s organisations nor did it condemn the violations against women¹⁴. Despite this critical omission in the agreement women in the DRC were able to demonstrate that they had become a force to be reckoned with in the period leading up to and during the Sun City peace agreement negotiations held in South Africa in 2002 between the DRC government and diverse rebel groups.

In the DRC, mobilization and advocacy in regard to women’s participation in formal peace negotiations reached new heights with the adoption of United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 which stressed the importance of women’s full involvement in all efforts to maintain and advance peace and security. Congolese women’s groups collaborated with the Office of Gender Affairs of the United Nations Organisation Stabilisation Mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo (MONUSCO) to translate UNSCR 1325 into the country’s four national languages in order to raise wide-spread public awareness¹⁵.

The women’s movement then came together, to engage on the peace agreement negotiations. The grouping comprised women from different parts of the country, including women from eastern DRC that was largely occupied by the rebels, and women from the rest of the country that was fully government controlled¹⁶. Women’s efforts to mobilize at the local level and across borders helped to galvanize national and global support for their representation at the peace table¹⁷. With the support of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the women members of civil society in partnership with members of regional women’s networks, namely Femme Africa Solidarité (FAS) and Women as Partners for Peace in Africa organised several fora and then a meeting in Nairobi in February 2002. The meeting resulted in the formulation of the Nairobi Declaration and a plan of action that called for an immediate ceasefire, the inclusion of women and their concerns in all aspects of the peace process, the formation of the Congolese women’s caucus- Caucus de Femmes, and the adoption of a 30 percent quota for women at all levels of government in any final settlement¹⁸. The women were able to successfully agree on a common position prior to the start of the Sun City peace negotiations that had been brokered by the international community¹⁹.

The entry point for women in civil society to participate in peace negotiations was the 1999 Lusaka Ceasefire Agreement.

At the Dialogue Inter-Congolais that was then held in South Africa between March and April 2002 only 40 women delegates were invited out of 340 delegates. Fortunately, UNIFEM and UNDP decided to invite an additional 40 women, which brought the number to 80. But only 40 women were allowed to participate in formal negotiations and later only 10 women were allowed to attend the follow-up meeting held in Pretoria in December 2002. Many women who were interviewed then stated that they considered the Sun City peace agreement process as the real beginning of the women's peace building movement in DRC²⁰.

Even with the peace agreement recommendations and the subsequent establishment of a unified, multiparty government, with a ministry dealing with gender and family issues, the conflicts persisted. Albeit, women's advocacy groups used the political transition period, after the signing of the 2002 peace agreement, to secure changes in the political and economic arenas and challenge patriarchy. They invested considerable energy to educate and mobilize women to participate in electoral processes as voters and candidates. In December 2005, 60 percent of voters in a national referendum on a new Constitution were women and 13.5 percent of the candidates for legislative seats were women in 2006²¹.

Women's advocacy groups invested considerable energy to educate and mobilize women to participate in electoral processes as voters and candidates.



In Uvira Province, Solidarité des Femmes Activistes pour la Défense des Droits Humains (SOFAD) established 50 peace networks throughout the region, linking more than 20,000 women and youth in peace efforts. Each network facilitated arbitration, mediation of disputes working in collaboration with traditional chiefs and local administrators. Each network also identified victims of sexual violence, guided them to appropriate recourse and support systems. The SOFAD peace networks acted as pressure groups in villages as well as educated the public on the sexual violence law²².

Peace Building Movements (2008 to 2013)

Despite additional agreements from 2008 to 2013 between rebel groups and neighbouring countries, hostilities continued in the eastern DRC, where numerous armed groups operated, and despite the commitments government had made women were still underrepresented in all levels of government and decision-making bodies, including in formal roles in the 2008 to 2013 negotiations. Civilians continued to be targeted by the rebels and Congolese security forces, and the UN peacekeeping forces struggled to keep the peace. Sexual violence continued to be widespread and went largely unpunished. Nonetheless, the women's movement had become a political stakeholder. When the next major peace conference was held in 2009, the women were provided a space to speak alongside other sections of civil society²³. However, after a failed peace agreement between the National Congress for the Defence of the People (Conseil National de Défense du Peuple) and the Congolese government in 2009, the M23 militia group seized Goma in November 2012 despite the presence of the UN peacekeeping mission troops in the city. This put pressure on the Congolese government to negotiate at talks held in Kampala, Uganda. At this point women's collective participation in peacebuilding processes took on a regional dimension but remained rooted in the realities of local contexts and experiences.

SGBV Prevention Movements (1995-2018)

Community-based women's movements existed throughout the 1980s in the eastern DRC and towards the end of the 1990s, and initially without external support, and worked to build women's knowledge and awareness of their rights and agency to address the violence²⁴. In the mid-1990s, there were widespread small initiatives by local women that emerged to assist violated women in their areas. This started as human rights advocacy and many of the initiatives had their roots in faith-based institutions – Catholic and Protestant. For example, Umoja wa Akina Mama Fizi (UWAFI), an umbrella network of 16

2000

The women in South Kivu and other parts of eastern DRC started to raise their voices against SGBV and other war related atrocities.

2003

Women's rights organisations working under the Dialogue Inter-Congolais, coalesced and made ending violence against women and promoting the rule of law part of the national discourse.

2006

The Law on Sexual Violence was brought forward under the combined pressure of the women's movement and the international community.

2010

Two women's movements mobilised women and held the third worldwide march, with a five-day period of action under the theme peace and demilitarisation.

women's community-based organizations (CBOs) worked in 15 villages in South Kivu Province, and among its programmes it provided legal and medical assistance to victims of sexual violence. Appui aux Femmes Démunies et Enfants Marginalisés au Kivu (AFEDEM/KIVU) which was founded in 1999 by women leaders worked directly with victims of sexual violence by providing support and resources for victims' social reintegration and economic empowerment²⁵.

Beginning in 2000 these community-based movements linked up with provincial NGO representatives, who started to help them to take care of survivors²⁶. The women in South Kivu and other parts of eastern DRC started to raise their voices against SGBV and other war related atrocities. They successfully brought the attention of government and other stakeholders to the issue of sexual violence, and spearheaded the initial protests against this²⁷. Through the media the Association des Femmes dans les Medias (AFEM) brought the SGBV atrocities experiences of women and girls to the attention of the public at national and international level²⁸. Solidarité Féminine pour la Paix et le Développement Intégral (SOFEPADI) which was established in Bunia, Ituri Province in April 2000, promoted women's rights and campaigned for an end to sexual violence in Ituri and North Kivu. SOFEPADI continues to focus on rehabilitation and reintegration of sexual violence survivors and the provision of psychological services, and trains women in conflict resolution and mediation skills²⁹.

In 2003 amidst the on-going conflict, women's rights organisations working under the Dialogue Inter-Congolais, coalesced and made ending violence against women and promoting the rule of law part of the national discourse³⁰. Reports of sexual violence and rape by the Congolese army persisted even after the peace agreement had been signed, with the DRC transitional government displaying indifference to sexual violence and mass rape at that time³¹. Reported cases included rape, sexual slavery, trafficking, forced and early marriage, and sexual exploitation and abuse³². In 2004 women organisations in Bukavu launched a campaign against sexual abuse on women, girls and small children. Thousands of women, clad in dark dresses and headdresses, as a sign of mourning, marched to the Independence square and named the warlords whom they regarded as responsible for the sexual abuses³³.

Caucus de Femmes lobbied for adopting a sexual violence bill and in 2006, the Law on Sexual Violence was brought forward under the combined pressure of the women's movement and the international community. The women that were part of the government were able to extend lobbying for the law despite the resentment of the different warring parties who were all implicated in the sexual violence. The women were strongly supported by MONUSCO and the Bill was passed in 2006³⁴. The landmark sexual violence bill was enacted and provided a much-improved legal framework to try those responsible, where penalties for rape ranged from 5 to 25 years in prison and doubled when committed by a public official, or by a group or with the use or threat of a weapon³⁵. However, enforcement of this legislation remains elusive³⁶.

Synergie des Organisations Féminines Contre les Violences Faites aux Femmes (SOFCVFW) is a network of 230 groups working around Bukavu that raises public awareness on gender violence and advocates for punitive measures. In 2007 (SOFCVFW) organised marches as part of the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-Based Violence campaign and in March 2008 called for the respect of women's rights as part of International Women's Day³⁷. In 2010 two women's movements- Comité National Femme et Développement (CONAFED) and Collectif des Organisations Féminines Agissant en Synergie (COFAS) mobilised women and held the third worldwide march – Marche Mondiale, with a five-day period of action under the theme Paix et Démilitarisation (peace and demilitarisation)³⁸. It is estimated that many women's organisations in South Kivu are addressing GBV, many based in Bukavu, the provincial capital.

In 2012, the women's groups worked collectively to secure a watershed ruling by a military court which sentenced senior military officers and soldiers to prison for mass rape of 60 women in South Kivu³⁹. Nonetheless, a study conducted in 2013 by United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), across seven provinces found 15,654 reported cases of sexual violence with rape accounting for 82 percent of these instances⁴⁰. According to the 2014 United Nations Report of the Secretary-General, 15,352 incidents of SGBV were recorded by the government, in eastern DRC in 2013⁴¹. Majority of the SGBV was perpetrated by non-state armed groups and national security forces⁴². The actual figures of SGBV is likely to have been much higher as many survivors are known not to disclose or report sexual violence perpetrated against them due to fear of stigmatisation, retribution, and feelings of shame. In spite of women's efforts to prevent SGBV in the violent conflicts, violations persisted and still persist and sustainable peace is still elusive in the DRC⁴³. As recently as June 2020, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported more than 390 cases of sexual violence recorded in Ituri, North Kivu and South Kivu provinces. Most sexual assaults are attributed to armed groups but many are also alleged to be carried out by the members of the Congolese security forces⁴⁴.

2.1.3 Cohesion, Influence And Resilience In the Movements

The processes leading up to the 2002 Sun City peace negotiations illustrated many of the barriers women faced in accessing formal peace negotiations spaces as well as the unconventional strategies they employed to overcome those barriers. The peace negotiations reinforced prevailing patriarchal and other social attitudes that exclude women from power circles. The Congolese government, as well as the other warring parties, strongly opposed the inclusion of women in the peace negotiations because they believed war and peace were exclusively the business of men. Réseau des Femmes pour la Défense des Droits et de la Paix, a women's organisation operating in the Kivu provinces, received threats from the rebel group Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie (RCD) when mobilizing to send representatives to the Sun City peace negotiations⁴⁵.

The men who attended the negotiations felt that women did not have any right to participate because they were not fighters and they were not representatives from local or national decision-making bodies before the war⁴⁶. For example, in the process of choosing the candidates to represent the people of the DRC at the Dialogue Inter-Congolais, women were excluded from many of the selection procedures and since the selection procedure was conducted via first-past-the-post elections, women were at a disadvantage. Out of 73 delegates chosen to participate at the preparatory committee meeting in Gaborone, Botswana only six were women⁴⁷. In addition, some of the six female delegates in attendance were specifically instructed by their heads of delegations not to promote gender related issues. For instance, when one of the female delegates from the Forces vives stood up to promote protection of women in humanitarian situations, one of the female delegates from the RCD group stood up to condemn her for wasting time on issues that are not relevant to the Dialogue Inter-Congolais process. The woman refused to back down⁴⁸.

The women delegates joined forces to issue an open letter to the delegates in the Gaborone preparatory meeting that pointed out that under-representation of women did not respond to the principle of equality between the sexes, and they recalled commitments by the DRC Government to the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), UNSCR 1325, and the Southern African Development Community Declaration on Gender Equality. The women demanded that the 30 percent participation quota of women delegates, set by SADC be met⁴⁹. This did not happen.

The women went out of their way to secure public support for their issues by reminding the male negotiators that they were accountable to communities in the DRC.



The most significant demonstration of cohesion and resolve to get an outcome at the Dialogue Inter-Congolais was when the women delegates rose from their seats and formed a human chain that blocked the exits from the committee room and insisted that the men would not leave until they signed the peace agreements before them, after it appeared that parties would back out of negotiations over a disagreement around procedural matters. The agreements were eventually signed by the men⁵⁰.

What was unique about the Caucus de Femmes was the diversity of the interest groups. The women worked across divides by establishing coalitions across regional, political, and ethnic divides, and calling for an immediate cease-fire and attention to women's rights across the peace agreement. This was demonstrated at the pre-Sun City peace negotiations in Nairobi in February 2002 meeting that was convened to collaborate on recommendations for an immediate ceasefire, the inclusion of women's rights in the peace agreement, and the adoption of a 30 percent quota for women at all levels of government⁵¹.

The women delegates who participated in the Humanitarian, Social and Cultural Commission, under the leadership and influence of Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, former President of Liberia, were able to make recommendations concerning the women. These included the setting up of rehabilitation centres for women and girls traumatised by the wars, the creation of a human rights watchdog for observance of human rights and the application of the 30 percent quota for participation of women in all levels of decision-making at the national level. The Peace and Reconciliation Commission recommended a National Commission for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTRC) with women appointed to the NCTRC to ensure women's concerns are properly taken into consideration. Unfortunately, there was no female representation in the Political and Legal Commission and issues related to gender were not discussed⁵². These recommendations were later integrated in the DRC's new constitution.

The key female leaders and influencers were Marie Madeleine Kalala Ngoy, a Dialogue Inter-Congolais participant and later the DRC Minister of Human Rights; Catherine Nzuzi wa Mbombo a signatory to the Sun City Agreement on behalf of the MPR-Fait Prive, Aningina Bibiane, a Congolese peace activist and advisor to the Dialogue Inter-Congolais women's caucus, and Bineta Diop of FAS (currently the Special Envoy of the Chairperson of the African Union Commission on Women, Peace and Security).

The women went out of their way to secure public support for their issues by reminding the male negotiators that they were accountable to communities in the DRC. The UN Special Envoy for Women, Peace, and Security noted that this cemented their credibility⁵³. They also used a feminist approach to peace-building by insisting that although women had been victims of tremendous abuse and violence, they are both creative agents, and innovative activists⁵⁴. The women sought religious leaders and other local leaders as allies⁵⁵.

The women lobbied the United Nations and the chief facilitator to the peace talks who then urged the Congolese government and rebel groups to agree to improve women's representation on their delegations, which they did- the proportion of women increased from 2 percent of delegates in earlier rounds, to 12 percent at the March to April 2002 negotiations. However, there were no women at the mediation table. The female delegates were informally supported by the Caucus de Femmes and regional civil society leaders⁵⁶.

The women resorted to mass action as demonstrated in the protest and marches that were organised in Bukavu in Southern Kivu Province in 2004 and in 2010 respectively. However, the women's peace building movements had challenges; immediately after the peace treaty of Sun City, the women's umbrella organisation in South Kivu split. According to the women who led the split, the caucus had no cohesion at national level. A group of women from Women as Partners for Peace in Africa DRC chapter (WOPPA-DRC) was not well accepted as they came from Rwanda and Uganda. They were considered as enemy groups or traitors.

Another issue was that some women who attended the peace negotiations preferred to have a provincial movement. By the end, a situation emerged where a national women's platform continued under a different name, namely Cadre Permanent de Concertation de la Femme Congolaise (CAFCO). The Caucus de Femmes continued as a provincial women's association of South Kivu and Caucus de Femmes and CAFCO have continued their operations and are currently affiliated to the Bureau de la Coordination de la Société Civile as Alliances⁵⁷.

Cadre Permanent de Concertation de la Femme Congolaise (CAFCO)

CAFCO is part of a nation-wide platform composed of representatives from civil society organisations as well as political parties. It is a collection of women NGOs and local associations. It was established early 2005, following the evaluation forum of the Caucus de Femmes resulting from the Dialogue Inter-Congolais that was held in Sun City, South Africa. CAFCO has a national outreach and one of its goals is to effectively involve Congolese women in the peace and democratisation processes.

2.1.4 Role of Philanthropy

Over the last two decades multi-lateral and bilateral agencies and philanthropic organisations have increasingly provided support to initiatives that work on the prevention and resolution of violent conflict and building a culture of peace as well as work being done at the intersection of these two areas⁵⁸. However, tracking and analysing bilateral and multilateral grants and private funding from foundations, trusts, etc. for peace building and the prevention of SGBV in the DRC, over the last decade is a challenge due to the inaccessible and inconsistent ways of reporting the data. For these reasons anecdotal examples of philanthropy in the DRC (and in South Sudan, Burundi and the Great Lakes Region) are therefore presented in this report.

Prior to 2002, Congolese women at community level strategised to bring about change without philanthropy- donor support both external and internal⁵⁹. Local initiatives abounded for example in Southern Kivu Province that enabled women and their families to persevere after acts of violence including SGBV, and the majority of them without external foreign aid at that time, contrary to the view that external agencies provided the bulk of funding⁶⁰.

At the regional level the formation of the Caucus de Femmes in early 2002 and the subsequent participation of the women in the Sun City peace negotiations demonstrated that the Congolese women's movement and the international community were closely intertwined in peace advocacy processes. However, the role of African leaders like Sir Ketumile Masire, former President of Botswana, who was appointed by the Organisation of African Unity as the Facilitator of the Dialogue Inter-Congolais, was also crucial. For example, when the women representatives raised their concerns about the under-representation of women delegates in the Gaborone preparatory meeting, Sir Ketumile Masire then held meetings with UNIFEM to discuss possibilities for promoting women's participation in the dialogue process. Consequently, UNIFEM held sessions with women in the DRC on the gender dimensions of constitutional, electoral and judicial reform⁶¹. This was crucial to the peace process as many women delegates were not adequately informed about the gender dimensions that should be promoted in the peace agreement in order to ensure gender equality and women's empowerment. UNIFEM sponsored consultants and experts to assist the women delegates during the dialogue process and assisted the women delegates from all parties to the Dialogue Inter-Congolais to convene and meet regularly to discuss key issues and strategies with respect to the inclusion of gender-sensitive issues in the peace negotiations⁶².

UNIFEM and UNDP were pioneer UN agencies in providing support to the women's peace building efforts in the DRC. For example, with support from UNIFEM, women representatives under the Caucus de Femmes were able to participate in the 2002 Nairobi meeting ahead of the Sun City peace negotiations. Because only 40 women delegates were invited to attend the Sun City peace negotiations, out of 340 participants, UNIFEM and the UNDP decided to support an additional 40 women which brought the number to 80. However, only 40 women were eventually allowed to participate in formal negotiations (9 percent of the delegates) and only 10 women were allowed to attend a follow-up meeting to the Sun City peace negotiations that was held in Pretoria early 2013⁶³.

Between 2004 and 2009 the Global Fund for Women (GFW) was instrumental in funding local Congolese women's groups who were organising to build peace, stability, and respect for women's human rights, despite the tremendous challenges. GFW established partnerships and built alliances and over a five-year period made a four-fold increase in grant making to women's rights groups in the DRC. This amounted to supporting 70 creative initiatives in eight provinces in DRC with over USD 880 thousand total in funding. The funding supported campaigns and advocacy to include women's participation in decision-making, including peace processes, national politics, monitoring implementation of UN resolutions, and disarmament processes, as well as advocacy to criminalize rape among others. Under peace building GFW supported Solidarité des Femmes Activistes pour la Défense des Droits Humains (SOFAD) that promotes women's rights, peace, and the rule of law, and supported Synergie des Organisations Féminines Contre les Violences Faites aux Femmes (Synergy of Women's Organizations Against Violence Against Women [SOFCVFW]) that raises public awareness of gender violence, provides legal aid, conflict resolution capacity building and advocates for punitive measures⁶⁴. SOFEPADI also benefitted from GFW support to engage on SGBV advocacy at the regional level⁶⁵.

International organisations that have funded women's organisations working on preventing SGBV include Dan Church Aid, Save the Children, Oxfam, Interpeace Geneva, UN Women and UNFPA⁶⁶. The largest grants made in 2010 by foundations were by the Novo Foundation to V-Day that provided a grant of USD 1 million for work to end sexual violence, including the City of Joy in the DRC, and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation that channelled a grant of USD 600 thousand through the American Bar Association Rule of Law Initiative to improve access to justice for victims of SGBV in the eastern DRC.

A project supported by the United Nations Trust for Human Security (2008 to 2010), that integrated community empowerment and peacebuilding in Ituri Province, demonstrated the importance of peacebuilding at the community level⁶⁷. In 2016 UNFPA received a USD 6.5 million grant from the Dutch Government to strengthen the health commodity supply chain system and enhance access to care for SGBV survivors in the provinces of North and South Kivu⁶⁸. Currently USAID is providing support to initiatives that empower local communities and civil society organisations to engage with their elected officials and other leaders as a means to reduce violence. Interventions help communities conduct conflict analyses and use the results to influence decision-makers, and increase social cohesion through inclusion of women and marginalised groups, especially in Walungu, Kabare, Kalehe, Bukavu, Masisi, Walikale, and Goma in eastern DRC.

Data available from the United Nations Multi-Partner Trust Fund portal indicates that as at 27 August 2020 a total of USD 43.5 million was allocated to various UN agencies and other organisations in the DRC to support peace building efforts. These included UNHCR, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, and UNDP among others for diverse activities including inter-community dialogues, promoting peace and justice and women's rights⁶⁹. The Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF) is filling crucial funding gaps for local civil-society organisations in the DRC, supporting them to end violence against women and girls, protect human rights, lead humanitarian response, and strengthen economic resilience to accelerate lasting peace. The WPHF and Spotlight Initiative partnership is channelling urgently-needed financing to grassroots women's organizations working to end violence against women and promote human rights and gender equality in peace and security contexts. As at 27 August 2020, the WPHF had disbursed USD 632,938 thousand in the DRC to UN Women for women's organisations.

Women's organisations in Congo continue to carry out work in implementing UNSCR 1325 with little support from their government and waning support from the international community. For example, between 2013 and 2014 international aid towards gender equality and women's empowerment in DRC fell by USD 40 million⁷⁰. Currently, the DRC is slowly emerging from a period of political instability and conflict, and in the eastern part of the DRC the UN agencies are working together to support government in the implementation of a national strategy on sexual violence for which UNFPA has a leadership role for the data and mapping component⁷¹. However, the DRC still experiences intermittent humanitarian crises compounded by clusters of armed conflict perpetrated by armed militia groups, with insecurity causing forced displacement in the eastern provinces⁷².

The Women's Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF) is filling crucial funding gaps for local civil-society organisations in the DRC, supporting them to end violence against women and girls.

2.2 South Sudan

After becoming an independent nation South Sudan has been plagued by civil war since 2013, resulting in mass displacements, high levels of violence, and human rights violations, some of which constitute war crimes.

2.2.1 Background

In most of the years since Sudan gained independence from the British in 1956, South Sudan ('southern Sudan' until 2011) has been embroiled in conflict. Between 1955 and 1972, and again from 1983 to 2005, the southern Sudanese fought against political and economic marginalization from the Khartoum-based Sudanese government in two long civil wars, which eventually led to the independence of South Sudan in July 2011⁷³. After becoming an independent nation South Sudan has been plagued by civil war since 2013, resulting in mass displacements, high levels of violence, and human rights violations, some of which constitute war crimes. The civil war that started in 2013 was sparked by political disagreements, and fuelled by deep-seated ethnic divisions, mainly between the Dinka and Nuer. Thousands of people have been killed during the intermittent conflicts since then; millions have been displaced internally, while over a million have sought refuge outside the country. The majority of displaced people are women and girls. During the initial outbreak of war SGBV reached unprecedented levels with thousands of women and girls raped.

In January 2014, the International Agency for Development (IGAD) began negotiations in Addis Ababa on the cessation of hostilities between the Government of South Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) army led by President Salva Kiir, and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement in Opposition (SPLM-IO) led by Dr Riek Machar. Of the 10-member delegation invited to participate from each side in the cessation of hostilities discussion, the SPLM/A-IO had three women while the SPLM/A had none⁷⁴. In 2015, after seven failed ceasefires and under the threat of international sanctions, President Salva Kiir, and former Vice President Riek Machar signed a peace agreement. Following the collapse of the agreement in 2016, IGAD supported renewed talks⁷⁵.

Security and GBV are key concerns for women and girls in South Sudan. Statistics on prevalence and magnitude of GBV are unavailable, but it is believed to be high⁷⁶. The violence that women in South Sudan endured during the war, in the areas of the country where the conflict occurred, and as refugees and displaced persons, received little documentation or reporting worldwide; only a few studies documented these experiences. Though there are no reliable GBV national prevalence statistics for South Sudan, one recent study estimated that in some conflict-affected locations 65 percent of women and girls in South Sudan have experienced physical and/or sexual violence in their lifetime⁷⁷. In November 2018, Bentiu County in Unity State gained notoriety after reports of mass rape among women and girls who left the camp to gather firewood. Despite widespread condemnation of the violence, women and girls remain as vulnerable as ever. Rape is still reported on a regular basis⁷⁸.

Women are often silent about and rarely report incidents of violence, especially sexual violence, because of the stigma that survivors face and when they report sexual violence, they often first approach traditional judicial structures, which favour negotiated and restorative settlement rather than punitive action. In addition, customary law often dictates that a girl who is raped should marry the perpetrator⁷⁹.

2.2.2 Evolution of Peace Building And SGBV Prevention Movements

Peace Building Movements (1983 To 2005)

In the second Sudanese civil war that broke out in 1983 South Sudanese women played key roles as peace advocates and drew international attention to the impacts of the conflict and the need for peace. They took on new and diverse roles that inspired and laid the groundwork for their participation in and influence on the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) peace process and beyond. In the initial

In the referendum, women mobilised extensively with 52 percent of the voters being women, who opted for independence from Khartoum.

peace-making phase, the first SPLM Women's Conference in New Kush, Sudan, that brought together 700 delegates agreed on a 25 percent affirmative action quota for women's representation and it became the basis for women calling for inclusion in the peace negotiations⁸⁰.

The IGAD-led discussions between 1999 and 2005 saw a steady increase in women's participation in the CPA peace process. The IGAD mediators created thematic working groups on power sharing, economic resources and security arrangements where the women's priority was to be part of the negotiation team so as to bring their experiences to bear on the discussions. By sharing their opinions in feedback sessions with the delegates who were in the actual negotiations and in drafting the SPLM/A's positions, the women delegates determined that human rights concerns and gender issues should be considered⁸¹.

Women representatives in the negotiating delegations held consultations with many Sudanese women's organizations and networks in Kenya, which served as an effective avenue for briefing and for the women to understand what was happening in the peace process as well as an opportunity for women delegates to develop women's positions derived from a broader constituency. In 1986 southern Sudanese women independently formed the Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi (SWAN) in Kenya. Consultations also happened in Khartoum where the South Sudanese Council of Churches provided South Sudanese women the umbrella under which consultations were conducted. Two Sudanese women's coalitions based in Uganda were granted official observer status in the peace talks in Juba towards the end of the process and without a consultative role. No women were included as mediators or signatories to the CPA, and only 9 percent of witnesses to the signing were women⁸².

The CPA provided for a referendum in which the people of southern Sudan would have an opportunity to decide whether they wanted an independent state or to remain part of Sudan. Women mobilised extensively with 52 percent of the voters being women who opted for independence from Khartoum.

Peace Building Movements (2013 To 2015)

Perhaps the first move by women calling for peace soon after the conflict broke out in December 2013, were the women from different multi-denominational member churches of the South Sudan Council of Churches who met at St Joseph's Church in Juba and came up with a statement denouncing the conflict⁸³. In January 2014, the 10-member delegation that attended the cessation of hostilities discussion, had three women from the SPLM/A-IO who were members of the national parliament, while the SPLM/A had no females. However, later the SPLM/A included three females in its delegation when the negotiations resumed⁸⁴. The Taskforce for the Engagement of Women in Sudan and South Sudan that happened to be meeting at the sidelines of the annual African Union (AU) Summit at the same time seized the opportunity and pushed for women's inclusion in South Sudan's national peace process to end the new war held in Addis Ababa. This task force comprised 19 women and 1 man. In February 2014, more than 60 civil society representatives, over a third of who were women, attended a conference in Nairobi that resulted in the founding of Citizens for Peace and Justice (CPJ), a civil society network that took on ensuring inclusivity of the peace process as a key objective⁸⁵.

The second phase of negotiations -the All-Inclusive Political Dialogue and National Reconciliation, was launched in February 2014. During this second phase women from civil society and faith-based organisations participated in greater numbers. Peace talks were held in several intervals over the course of 2014 and 2015, in Addis Ababa, but were largely inconclusive until early 2015⁸⁶. Women from five different networks that were present in Addis Ababa recognized that achieving inclusion

would require collective effort across groups, and came together and organized under the banner ‘South Sudan Women Advocacy for Peace’ to address the inadequate representation of women in the list of stakeholders in the peace dialogue⁸⁷.

Women in the diaspora – in Nairobi, Kenya and in Kampala, Uganda also came together to call for the end of the war. In Nairobi, the ‘Women Cry for Peace Coalition’, comprised of women in civil society and those associated with both sides of the conflict, was formed in December 2013 and they agreed to join the call and to send a group of women to Addis Ababa. In Kampala, women were technically supported by organisations such as Isis-Women’s International Cross-Cultural Exchange (Isis-WICCE) to go to Addis Ababa to lobby for their inclusion and participation in the peace talks⁸⁸.

Women’s organisations working on securing and building peace in South Sudan operated at the national level – the formal level inside and outside the country, and the local- the informal level. The women at national formal level, comprising independent women peace activists, women from CSOs, faith-based organizations, women leaders from national and state legislative assemblies, academia

The peace committees also sensitised communities on alternatives to conflict through radio talk shows and by organising peace rallies.

and the private sector, were supported by UN Women to develop a strategy document which called for South Sudanese women to be granted official observer status in the ongoing peace talks⁸⁹. The South Sudanese Women Advocacy for Peace (SSWAP) members had pushed heavily to join the talks as delegates but when they arrived at the peace dialogue, they found they were joining as observers and came to be known as the Women’s Bloc. They had the opportunity to listen to the negotiations, but not the opportunity to engage in the formal discussions⁹⁰.

The grassroots organizations working on informal peacebuilding did so through efforts that reconstructed society. Some of the groupings were formed by internally displaced women and became platforms for discussing issues affecting women, including insecurity caused by rebel groups, and income generating activities⁹¹. They also coalesced and protested in the capital Juba the continued rape and killing of civilians, displacement, and the lack of humanitarian services for people in need. They demanded accountability for atrocities and sexual violence committed by armed groups, security forces, and peacekeepers⁹².

In local communities, women’s organisations came together across ethnic divides, organised fasting for peace and inter-faith prayer meetings and advocated for care for orphans and other victims of war. The women established peace committees aimed at bridging the ethnic divides. The peace committees also sensitised communities on alternatives to conflict through radio talk shows and by organising peace rallies⁹³. Women’s organisations such as the South Sudan Women’s Empowerment Network (SSWEN) ran radio campaigns and peace forums which basically were community dialogues for discussing peace and reconciliation. SSWEN also organised community-based drama to communicate peace messages⁹⁴.

Women’s organisations that worked to build peace included the Women’s Monthly Forum, Displaced Women Groups, Association of Media Women in South Sudan, South Sudan Women Empowerment Network, Community Empowerment for Progress Organization, EVE Organisation, Women Peace

Association, Women Child Development Project, Voice of Women for Peace and Faith, South Sudanese Network for Democracy and Elections and South Sudanese Women with Disabilities Association⁹⁵.

In the 2015 formal peace agreement process, women comprised 15 percent of negotiators. The Women's Bloc of South Sudan, served as signatories of the 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan (ARCSS)⁹⁶. The agreement had provided for participation of a woman's representative in the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC), which was mandated to monitor implementation of the ARCSS – it only had one woman member out of 32 members; the Strategic Defence and Security Review Board, mandated to review and spearhead security sector reform also had one woman out of 20 members, and the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism, tasked with monitoring ceasefire violations, had only one seat for a woman out of 21 seats. The National Constitutional Amendment Committee, mandated with the review of key laws, had no designated women's representative out of the eight members⁹⁷.

Peace Building Movements (2016 To 2019)

After the signing of the 2015 peace agreement the South Sudan Women's Peace Network—a network of women's organizations, parliamentarians and activists organized a National Women's Dialogue called 'The South Sudan We Want' in November 2015 where 480 women from various South Sudanese women's groups exchanged views on achieving unity and demanded the implementation of the ARCSS. After this dialogue a National Women's Peace conference was held in Juba in May 2016, drawing participants from diverse women's organisations focused on peacebuilding in South Sudan⁹⁸. The conference adopted a seven-point agenda on how to implement a gender-responsive peace agreement. The discussions focused on the importance of integrating women's voices in the implementation of the peace agreement.

Some key peace building recommendations for all parties, which were detailed in the 7-point agenda, were:

1. Fill the 25 percent quota for women in the peace agreement, including in the 14 institutions and bodies of government and let women compete for the remaining 75 percent positions
2. Implement the ceasefire in all areas; consult women on security reforms and include women in the ceasefire monitoring teams.
3. Ensure that the constitutional reform process includes at least 25 percent women and that all members receive gender-sensitisation training.
4. End sexual violence against women, girls and boys⁹⁹.

Unfortunately, implementation of the ARCSS stalled and in July 2016 conflict broke out again between forces loyal to President Salva Kiir and those loyal to Vice President Riek Machar, forcing the latter to flee Juba. A number of South Sudanese women, once again, worked to raise international awareness of the tragic situation. For example, in October 2016, EVE Organization, a women-led organization, held a peace dialogue in Nairobi to assess whether the ARCSS was still relevant¹⁰⁰. There were calls for a 'revitalised' agreement.

There were efforts by the women to link the informal and formal peacebuilding movements. For example, the South Sudan Women's Coalition for Peace that comprised 40 groups and organizations, including women refugees in the diaspora, was a forum for continuous dialogue between grassroots' women activists and women at the peace negotiation table. The coalition enabled the grassroots women peace activists to input and influence the formal peacebuilding process. To this end a joint 'South Sudan Women Position on the Promotion of Durable Peace and Reconciliation in South Sudan' was developed in September 2017 to guide the engagement of the women at the peace table in the formal peacebuilding process. The coalition instituted what they called "a preparation mechanism" before each session of the peace negotiations and a "feedback mechanism" after the peace negotiation sessions. This allowed grassroots activists and women's groups to continually remind the women at the table about women's key concerns and their accountability to a broader constituency of women in South Sudan¹⁰¹. This was the largest coming together of diverse women's organisations from South Sudan and from other countries in East Africa.

In June 2017 IGAD issued a communiqué to convene a High-Level Revitalisation Forum (HLRF) of the parties to the ARCSS, plus other groups to discuss concrete measures for a permanent ceasefire, full implementation of the ARCSS, and a transition period with democratic elections at the end of the transition period. In August 2017, prior to consultation with stakeholders, IGAD convened a workshop of 22 independent high-level South Sudanese to deliberate on a way forward in revitalising the ARCSS. Only four of the participants were women, and among other recommendations, they advised that women be adequately represented in the revitalisation process. The discussion further developed in September 2017 where the South Sudanese women activists attended a meeting on the HLRF convened by EVE Organization. This led to the birth of the South Sudan Women Coalition for Peace. This coalition brought together over 50 South Sudanese women organisations from South Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Egypt including ones representing refugee women. The coalition opened up the space for women organisations to take part in the revitalisation process as direct negotiators and as a technical support team, improving coordination between the women activists and other groups. It called for women mediators¹⁰².

The resolution that was drafted and submitted to IGAD by South Sudanese women, including from Uganda and Kenya in September 2017, represented their beliefs regarding peace and the role of national dialogue in achieving it. The women's organisations affirmed their continuous effort to search for sustainable peace and reconciliation in South Sudan in line with UNSCR 1325 on women, peace, and security. The resolution was put together by 50 South Sudanese women from 40 diverse national NGOs, CSOs, faith-based organisations, academia, research institutions and refugees.

The women's organisations affirmed their continuous effort to search for sustainable peace and reconciliation in South Sudan in line with UNSCR 1325 on women, peace, and security

Key components in the South Sudanese Women’s Organisations Resolution to IGAD to Revitalise the Peace Process

1. Address the root causes of the conflict to achieve genuine and sustainable peace for the people of South Sudan.
2. Ensure inclusivity that factors women and youth groups, faith-based organisations, academia, traditional leaders and civil society to increase the legitimacy of the process and inform the substance of negotiations by understanding the issues affecting the ordinary people.
3. Ensure genuine representation of CSOs and avoid the space being taken over by warring parties.
4. Ensure gender parity as required by UNSCR 1325 in the belligerent parties’ delegates, IGAD’s mediation team and in the HLRF.
5. Establish a gender expert support team composed of local and regional women and men with technical expertise to present gender issues in all the stages of negotiation and implementation and advise mediators to employ gender responsive measures including the language used in different aspects of the process and the agreement.
6. Revise the existing agreement implementation timeline and come up with a clear and realistic timeline for the process (High-Level Revitalisation Forum) with a comprehensive monitoring mechanism with measurable indicators, and with civil society, women’s groups and other stakeholders taking part through consultations, observation and with a ‘feedback loop’ between stakeholders and their constituencies.
7. Revisit the security arrangement to ensure that demobilisation, demilitarisation, reintegration, and rehabilitation takes place.
8. Develop monitoring mechanism for the implementation of the peace agreement with the AU in the lead and with a ‘feedback mechanism, to all relevant stakeholders on progress in the implementation of the outcomes of the HLRF.
9. Devise a clear coordination mechanism amongst and with other South Sudan peace processes to avoid parties to the agreement signing with reservation; IGAD should ensure that the Heads of State of IGAD have little or no influence on the content/ outcome of the revitalisation process to ensure ownership and implementation.

The recommendations in the resolution were that the AU should take leadership to ensure that the outcome of the HLRF is implemented and respected by all parties and stakeholders; IGAD should engage other prominent African leaders and personalities, including credible regional institutions to take part in the revitalisation process, and engage in confidence and trust building exercises with South Sudanese stakeholders; IGAD should advocate for the establishment of a strong mechanism to deal with issues of SGBV and that all warring parties should set out clear strategies for dealing with soldiers and perpetrators of GBV, holding them accountable as well as instituting preventive and response measures, and the JMEC should ensure that the security sector reforms adopted are women-friendly and in line with the UNSCR 1325 national action plan developed by the South Sudanese women and approved by the Government of South Sudan¹⁰³.

The 2017 HLRF saw an increase in female delegates compared to the 2015 process, with women accredited as full delegates, not just as observers. At the start of the HLRF in December 2017, the number of women delegates was only 11 out of 90 participants; this increased with the start of the political negotiation in February 2018 to 23 delegates. By the end of the Addis Ababa rounds of talks in May 2018, there were 39 women delegates among 120 participants.

In December 2017, the South Sudan Women’s Coalition for Peace in partnership with the Monthly Forum and the South Sudan Council of Churches, organised a silent march bringing 500 women together in Juba protesting the continued rape of women, lack of access for humanitarian aid and the continued bloodshed¹⁰⁴. In the renewed 2018 peace effort, one woman served as a mediator, and women made up 25 percent of official delegates, while the membership of the South Sudan Women’s Coalition for Peace were official observers¹⁰⁵. Isis-WICCE provided the technical expertise in the development of the women’s common position paper, and between January and May 2018 prepped some of the female delegates engaged in the HLRF to effectively participate in the peace process¹⁰⁶.

In March 2018 about 180 women from different women’s organizations gathered in South Sudan’s capital, Juba for a three-day conference to sensitize women at all levels about the phase one and two of the HLRF. The conference also brought together representatives of key institutions, including JMEC, the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangement Monitoring Mechanism and officials of the Transitional Government of National Unity. The conference was organized by the Women Bloc in partnership with UN Women, the JMEC and United Nations Mission in South Sudan, under the theme, “Women together for Sustainable Peace”, with the objectives of ensuring that diverse women are fully conversant with the HLRF, understand and are supportive of the demands made on behalf of women and how they will be implemented, understand the roles of the different stakeholders to the peace agreement and processes, and collectively discuss strategies on how to further engender the process. The participants expressed their appreciation to the organisers, and acknowledged how the conference was able to bring together women from all the different states and across tribes to discuss pertinent issues concerning women and peace in the country, and were particularly happy to be part of the Addis Ababa peace talks and to feel part of the overall process¹⁰⁷.

Throughout the peace process, women advocated for quotas to ensure that they have a seat at the table and in decision-making bodies. In May 2018, alongside the formal peace talks, the South Sudan Women Coalition for Peace released a statement calling for 35 percent representation. This call was granted and has had positive ramifications for the peacebuilding process and the inclusion and acknowledgement of women in reconstructing South Sudan¹⁰⁸. The negotiating parties agreed that 35 percent of those appointed to the next transitional government will be female, as well as one of the four vice presidents. However, women representation on transitional institutions and mechanisms fell far short of the 35 percent quota. For example, in September 2018, of the ten members appointed to the National Pre-Transitional Committee, only one was a woman¹⁰⁹. The R-ARCSS was signed in Addis Ababa in September 2018 with 7 women as signatories to the R-ARCSS out of the 17 signatories.

Isis-WICCE provided the technical expertise in the development of the women’s common position paper.

Prior to independence in 2011 women had meaningfully contributed to the 2005 CPA, and in the post-independence era women contributed significantly to the 2015 ARCSS, and the 2018 R-ARCSS¹¹⁰. In terms of successes under the ARCSS women representatives were given signatory status in the ARCSS; women were included in the various committees of the transitional period, although not in large numbers, and women pushed for the inclusion for the establishment of a Hybrid Court, under which SGBV as well as other war crimes would be prosecuted. The women humanised the peace discussions, holding parties accountable to their commitments, and they contributed to gender sensitive language in the final texts of the peace agreements.

The successes registered by the women's movement during the R-ARCSS process was the increase in women's inclusion in the HLRF problem-solving workshops from 11 women in December 2017 to 39 women delegates by the time the talks were in Khartoum; the increase in the affirmative action principle from 25 percent to 35 percent; the provision for a female vice president, and an increase in the numbers of women in the boards and institutions of the transitional period¹¹¹.

SGBV Prevention Movements

Women in local communities have engaged directly with victims of SGBV to provide support, protection and livelihood opportunities. This important work aimed to re-integrate victims into the community through psychosocial support and income generating activities. For example, the South Sudan Women's Empowerment Network has established 'Community Support Networks' that advocate for zero-tolerance of SGBV. They work closely together with social workers who provide victims with psychosocial support and trauma counselling. On the other hand, Crown the Woman, a feminist organisation, established in 2016 is working to end violence against girls and women and as recent as 2019 and 2020 engaged in advocacy through peaceful marches, and petitions to raise awareness nationally and globally and through various media platforms. Two cases of rape were litigated through pro bono in partnership with female lawyers; a GBV hotline was set up with support from UNFPA, and referral services for survivors are provided, including psychosocial services¹¹².

Hope Restoration South Sudan, a woman-led NGO and other women-led organisations play a crucial role in delivering life saving services. They respond to GBV, protect people with special needs and create women-friendly spaces offering psychosocial support, trauma healing and counselling, and income-generating activities, often in the hardest-to-reach areas such as Unity State and Bentui County¹¹³.

Women in local communities have engaged directly with victims of SGBV to provide support, protection and livelihood opportunities.

2.2.3 Cohesion, Influence And Resilience

Initially, even though Southern Sudanese women were included and participated in the CPA negotiations through direct representation, consultations, mass action, inclusive commissions and public decision making, their influence on the negotiating delegations was minimal, except for the inclusion of the 25 percent quota for women in South Sudan's post-CPA constitution. Notwithstanding the exclusion, advocacy by women's organisations including Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace, New Sudan Women's Federation and New Sudan Women's Association drew the world's attention to the terrible impact of the war on women and children¹¹⁴.

Then in January 2014 at the start of the discussions on the cessation of hostilities, IGAD, which was the mediating body, was reluctant to include women representatives. However, since women were both actors and victims of the conflict, the women who were able to stay longer in Addis Ababa, pushed to ensure women's representation and participation in the negotiations¹¹⁵. IGAD responded to the pressure for women's inclusion by tasking the women to return as a single bloc. Even though the SSWAP members had pushed hard to join the talks as delegates they joined as observers under the Women's Bloc. They had the opportunity to listen to the negotiations, but not the opportunity to engage in the formal discussions.

Despite their observer status the main strategy of engagement to influence the process and for the Women's Bloc to get their concerns onto the table was to speak with members of the South Sudan government and opposition delegations, ambassadors, and representatives of international organizations, including the IGAD mediators. Eventually however, after intense lobbying by the CPJ network, IGAD granted the network accreditation to attend a Civil Society Symposium which was intended to discuss the consolidation and streamlining of civil society representation in the ongoing peace talks¹¹⁶.

Members of the Women's Monthly Forum, who did not attend the Addis Ababa peace negotiations, lobbied at the local and national levels within South Sudan and issued a number of statements condemning the fighting and the violations of the January 2014 Cessation of Hostilities Agreement. They emphasised the need to include women in the peace process. They also informed women across South Sudan about what was happening at the talks. They travelled to seven of the country's ten former states, collated the views from the grassroots, and used them to develop statements that were shared in press conferences or through emails to the diplomatic community. The Women's Monthly Forum linked with the women in Addis Ababa on diverse issues of concern to women such as security sector reform and transitional justice. However, this link later stopped functioning because the women could not keep up with the fast pace of the process in Addis Ababa¹¹⁷.

Women also demanded accountability for atrocities committed by armed groups, security forces, and peacekeepers, including widespread sexual violence that had destabilized communities across the country.

Later, women embedded in the broader civil society structures were able to get closer to the negotiation table. Although they were still limited in their influence, being at the table accorded them the opportunity to push for tangible changes to the text of the agreement and to influence the discussions¹¹⁸. By working across the ethnic divide women de-escalated tensions between the Dinka and Nuer, and in the UN displacement camps; they managed to reduce conflict between communities and due to the influence of South Sudanese women leaders, the 2017 cease-fire agreement expressly prohibited sexual violence in conflict and included strong commitments to protect civilians and reunify women and children. Throughout the process, women also demanded accountability for atrocities committed by armed groups, security forces, and peacekeepers, including widespread sexual violence that had destabilized communities across the country¹¹⁹.

Unfortunately, within the peace building movement, the actual and perceived access to ‘resources’ to engage in the peace talks was a cause of discord between some women’s groups. While some women’s groups had scheduled meetings with dignitaries in the AU or international embassies, others were uncertain of how to gain access to decision makers. Many of those using their own resources became frustrated at the lack of access and progress, and their dwindling personal resources, and departed from Addis Ababa quickly. However, the women’s groups supported by international organizations like Inclusive Security and UN Women were able to stay on longer¹²⁰.

Further, the civil conflict polarised South Sudanese women in political parties and civil society, blurring the ability of some to differentiate between personal allegiance to their parties and cross-cutting women’s issues¹²¹. The mistrust and divisions based on ethnicity and political party affiliations still continue today¹²². Security also impacted cohesion. For example, women activists involved in the R-ARCSS process, afraid of arrest, intimidation or harassment by the authorities on their return to Juba, would make detours to Nairobi or Kampala for a couple of days before quietly returning to Juba¹²³. Despite all the challenges, including push back over the years, South Sudanese women developed remarkable peacebuilding skills and strategic thinking, emanating from their roles as spiritual and political leaders as well as their experiences of exile and displacement in war-affected areas. For instance, after the signing of the CPA in 2005, the majority of activists in women’s organisations assumed leadership and senior positions in the government of South Sudan and within the SPLM/A structures. These positions meant a greater voice and role in decision-making for women, but it also deprived the women’s movement of most of its leadership, who became less active in civil society due to involvement in politics¹²⁴. The spirit of sisterhood also galvanised the women. “The sisterhood ...has made us to keep on pushing¹²⁵.” In the years between 2005 and 2015 the majority of South Sudan’s gains around the women, peace and security agenda were registered¹²⁶.

Women who provided leadership and influence in the peace seeking processes included Banguot Amumm, member of the South Sudanese negotiating team; Sarah James Ajith, South Sudan Women’s General Association; Amer Deng, representative of the Women’s Bloc of South Sudan; Awut Deng Acuil, Minister of Gender, Child and Social Welfare and negotiator on the South Sudan government team; Priscilla Joseph, founder and chairperson of the South Sudan Women’s Peace Network; Rita Abraham Lopidia, founder and Executive Director of EVE Organisation for Women Development; Sophis Pak Gai, member of the South Sudan negotiating team, and Pauline Riak, founder of the Sudanese Women’s Association in Nairobi (SWAN)¹²⁷. Unfortunately, the implementation of R-ARCSS is stalling because of persisting power sharing contestations. “We cannot predict where we are going because the political situation is not that predictable.¹²⁸” However, women’s organisations continue to carry out advocacy on peacebuilding, electoral processes and articulating women’s priorities. Various organisations also address women’s practical needs and rural development, and advocate on ending HIV and establishing peace.



Image: Agency for Peacebuilding

2.2.4 Role of Philanthropy

During the CPA process the Netherlands Embassy responded with support for ‘The Initiative to Facilitate the Participation of Sudanese Women in the Peace Process’. The initiative targeted women from all political groupings in the conflict, who formed working committees and through a mediator, each working committee held hearings in its constituency to collate grassroots’ understanding of the conflict and women’s possible contributions to peacemaking.

At the start of the ARCSS process some women’s groups received funding and some women representatives of CSOs used their own means to get to Addis Ababa, willing and able to cover their own expenses, while others received support from international actors. Some received funding from international organisations to convene and stay in Addis Ababa, while others had to fund their own engagement.

Funding, although not sufficient, was available. Individual contributions, membership fees from the coalition and support from partners such as the Norwegian People’s Aid, Cordaid, UN Women, the Berghof Foundation, Crisis Action, Oxfam and the Global Network of Women Peace builders enabled women activists to meet, travel to Addis Ababa and Khartoum, as well as access decision-making corridors in the region and globally¹²⁹. However, unequal access to support from international partners also created competition between groups¹³⁰.



“They also created...competition...instead of working together as women’s rights organisations to push a bigger agenda and picture we are busy fighting for the little resources and funding that also is always given for a few months.”¹³¹

Furthermore, the ad hoc nature of funding for the women’s groups to engage in the peace process was a challenge for networks like the Women’s Coalition.

In assessing the role of philanthropy in supporting the peace building movement there were factors that led to the success or failure of philanthropy because lack of support meant many women, without funds of their own and with aspirations to join the peace talks could not¹³². The United Nations Peace Building Fund (UNPBF) which was established in October 2006 supported interventions of direct and immediate relevance to the peace building process and contributed towards addressing critical gaps in that process, in particular for which no other funding mechanism was available for South Sudan¹³³. The intended outcome of this support was to catalyse new and more sustained funding sources for peace building; mobilise national stakeholders in support of peace building; and directly contribute to the sustainability of the peace building process.

As at 27th August 2020 the UNPBF had disbursed approximately USD27.4 million to various organisations for different peace building activities in South Sudan. Some of the UN agencies that received funds from the Fund for implementing partners doing peace building work included UN Women for activities that supported women in peacebuilding (including capacity building in negotiation and lobbying), interventions that protected women, and gender mainstreaming; UNDP for peace building and reintegration activities; UN Office for Project Services (UNOPS) for conflict prevention; and UNFPA and UNICEF for protecting women¹³⁴.

The Women Peace and Humanitarian Fund (WPHF) are specifically focused on enhancing women's quantitative and qualitative inclusion in post-agreement mechanisms and promoting gender-balanced implementation of the various pillars of the peace agreement. It is also focused on improving peace building policy and programming decision-making to address the dire needs of women and lay the groundwork for developing the capacities of women to recover from conflict, and providing technical expertise that will empower women to participate effectively in peace building planning and implementation in sectors such as security, judiciary and economic recovery.

Funding for GBV in South Sudan from the UN Action against Sexual Violence Fund was approximately USD 523,963, as at 28 August 2020. Whereas groups like Hope Restoration South Sudan work to provide protection and life-saving services, their lack of resources makes operations difficult. The greater proportion of available funding is allocated to United Nations agencies and international organisations, with the smallest proportion going to national women's groups. International NGOs that support Hope Restoration South Sudan work are Presbyterian Church of USA, Care International, and War Child Canada among others. Crown the Women received small grants from UNFPA and Oxfam.

The intended outcome of this support was to catalyse new and more sustained funding sources for peace building; mobilise national stakeholders in support of peace building;



2.3 Burundi

2.3.1 Background

Since independence in 1962, Burundi has endured six cycles of civil war resulting in violence that led to mass migration of its people and the emergence of a large refugee population in neighbouring countries and beyond. The assassination of Burundi's President in 1993 led to the longest episode of civil war and the cyclical violence has been the result of the failure of the political establishment to address the root causes of violence since independence. The eruption in violence was as a result of asymmetric fights between the political elite from among the Hutus and Tutsis, the two main ethnic groups¹³⁵.

Women were targeted and killed, female politicians were imprisoned and thousands fled the country. Although international and national human rights organisations frequently reported on sexual violence committed throughout the conflict in Burundi, the nature, causes, and response to sexual violence committed during that war has remained virtually unstudied. A study on GBV in Burundi concluded the situation of women as victims of SGBV has not improved, despite the signing of the peace agreements, and despite the return of democratic governance in Burundi¹³⁶. The first attempt ever undertaken to find a lasting solution to Burundi's conflict was the Arusha peace negotiations and the resultant Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi. The negotiations brought together participants from political parties, civil society, the army, the government, and the international community¹³⁷. After protracted negotiations, which began in 1996, the Government of Burundi and the various armed and unarmed opposition parties signed a peace agreement in August 2000¹³⁸. The agreement entered into force in November 2001 and succeeded in bringing an end to the longest episode of civil war, between 1993 and 2003. The signing of a cease-fire with the last rebel group - Palipehutu-FNL, took place on 7 September 2006 although fighting flared up again briefly in 2008, in addition to violence related to elections in 2009 to 2010¹³⁹.

In 2003, the transitional government that was established by the Arusha Agreement, signed a ceasefire agreement with the main armed opposition movement, Le Conseil National pour la Défense de la Démocratie-Forces pour la Défense de la Démocratie (CNDD-FDD) after which this movement joined the transitional institutions. CNDD-FDD won the 2005 national elections with a clear majority and its leader the late Pierre Nkurunziza became the President of Burundi¹⁴⁰. The power sharing agreed to by parties in the agreement stated that the Government should be comprised of 30 percent women. The constitution thus promoted the participation of women at all levels of decision-making, which saw the appointment of a female as 2nd Vice President of the country in August 2005¹⁴¹.



However, President Nkurunziza’s unwillingness to step down following his second term in office in 2015, as stipulated in the Arusha Accords and the 2005 Constitution resulted in armed rebellions by three separate movements and with mass atrocities and crimes against humanity committed primarily by state agents and their allies. The government placed severe restrictions on NGO groups and shut some of them down. Five peace negotiations were held between 2015 and 2018 and a referendum to change the constitution to increase presidential terms to seven years, was held in May 2018¹⁴².

2.3.2 Evolution of Peace Building And SGBV Prevention Movements

Peace Building Movements (1994 To 2005)

The women’s peace movement in Burundi began in December 1994, thirteen months after the assassination of President Melchior Ndadaye in 1993, because it took time for the women to organize because of the political party and ethnic divisions. So, in the aftermath of the upheavals and in response to the conflict that ensued, the women started organizing around humanitarian action- assisting rape victims, displaced people and the wounded¹⁴³. Then in 1996 the women mobilised themselves to re-establish peace and campaigned against violence through public education, conferences, intellectual debates and declarations. Their views converged during the Arusha peace negotiations in 2000¹⁴⁴.

There were 126 delegates at the first round of negotiations in June 1998 and there were only two women who were involved as mediators, and whose presence, facilitated women’s groups access to the peace process, even though there was no evidence that they advocated for the stated preferences of women’s groups. This number increased slightly as delegations were later expanded to include more women. Seven women from civil society were present as observers from 1998, and they gained permanent observer status in 2000 – just months before the agreement was signed¹⁴⁵.

Le Collectif des Associations et Ongs Féminines du Burundi (CAFOD)

In 1994, Burundian women created CAFOD with the objective of strengthening the operational capacities of member associations and supporting the role of Burundian women in peacebuilding, national reconciliation and development. CAFOD grew from 7 to 52 associations and lobbied persistently for women to participate in the Burundian peace process. CAFOD played a significant role in advocating for the increased participation of Burundian women during the peace negotiation process. During the Arusha peace talks in 2000, women – with the financial and technical support of UNIFEM and other organisations – were able to attend the meeting as observers as a result of these efforts. Throughout the process women contributed to debates, across ethnic, class and political backgrounds, on the draft peace agreement signed in August 2000. The result of CAFOD’s lobbying was the inclusion of women’s concerns by government and transitional institutions in peace and development activities.

In 2000 the first ‘All-Party Burundi Women’s Peace Conference’ was convened where the women presented a common vision for peace and reconciliation, held vigils and raised placards at the venue of the negotiations, demanding inclusion in the proceedings. The women’s demands were recognised and 19 of their recommendations were included in the final agreement. Key recommendations made by the women included the establishment of mechanisms to punish and end war crimes against women; guarantees for women’s rights to property, land and inheritance; measures to ensure

women's security and safe return; and guarantees that girls would enjoy the same rights as boys to all levels of education¹⁴⁶. The different factions in the conflict reached agreement on a provision requiring that women hold a minimum of 30 percent of seats in government and other institutions comprised of elected officials. Two election cycles – one in 2005 and the other in 2010 followed the peace accords and UNSCR 1325.

At the formal regional level, 19 Burundi organizations that were represented at the peace negotiation sent two women delegates and more than 50 Burundi women and observers participated¹⁴⁷. The Burundi Women Refugee Network was granted observer status and as observers, the women engaged political representatives informally and articulated the gender perspective into the official peace plans¹⁴⁸. CAFOB compiled a list of women with the necessary education and skills required to serve in government. This list was developed as a response to the assertion during the Arusha conference that there were not enough qualified women to justify a legislative quota. This list was presented to the team of mediators to legitimise the 30 percent gender quota in the legislature.

Peace Building Movements (2005 To 2016)

At the informal local level Dushirehamwe (Let's Reconcile) a network of women's peace building organisations from ten provinces in Burundi promoted inter-ethnic dialogues and has been called on numerous occasions by factions to diffuse tensions between groups. Dushirehamwe initiated and promoted community reconciliation and facilitated dialogue among displaced women and female ex-combatants¹⁴⁹. Dushirehamwe now represents women's organisations on the United Nation's Peacebuilding Fund's (UNPBF) steering committee and works with the security sector to mainstream gender¹⁵⁰.

In January 2016, with support from the Women Peace Humanitarian Fund, the Women Network for Peace and Dialogue, a nationwide network of women mediators proved effective in preventing violence at the local level, hampering the possibility of spill over into wider tensions, dispelling false rumours, and mitigating the impact of the ongoing political crisis on populations. Through their collaboration with provincial and local authorities, the network of women mediators prevented and resolved conflicts and encouraged the organisation of local consultations to identify strategies to build community security¹⁵¹. The national Women Network for Peace and Dialogue composed of 516 women mediators and 18 provincial focal points were able to achieve the following results:

1. Conflict prevention and resolution at the local level: On average, the network of women mediators managed to resolve the conflicts in 62% of the cases.
2. Establishment of local networks of actors involved in conflict prevention and resolution with partners that included CSOs, local authorities, women leaders, and religious organisations.
3. Organisation of dialogues at hill, municipality and provincial level: Dialogues were organised on a quarterly basis at the municipality level, and at the hill level when possible. In 2016, 7,063 dialogues were organised at hill, municipality and provincial levels.
4. Exchange sessions between women mediators and local authorities.
5. Training of mediators and provincial focal points¹⁵².

Peace Building Movements (2016 To 2019)

At the national level since 2015 women's organisations and women in political parties especially from the ruling party have failed to come together with one voice to formulate a 'gender agenda for peace in Burundi' because of the divisive political environment, turmoil and violence and with the women toeing political party lines¹⁵³.



“So, bringing up things around women's rights, bringing up things around SGBV perpetrated either by the government or the military is very dangerous. And it's very hard for organisations within Burundi to be vocal about those things.”¹⁵⁴”

Because of the fragility of the situation and fear, women's organisations engaging in peacebuilding shifted focus to 'mediation' and humanitarian response¹⁵⁵. However, Burundian women associations in the diaspora continue to engage in peace and recovery activities¹⁵⁶.

SGBV Prevention Movements

In July 2000 the All-Party Burundi Women's Conference met for three days to discuss ending impunity for gender-based violence; training of defence and security personnel to understand their responsibilities towards women and children; guaranteeing women's rights in the constitution; enacting laws regarding sex discrimination; and ensuring the equal participation of women in political processes. The conference yielded a set of recommendations to the 19 negotiators, and all parties agreed to implement them¹⁵⁷.

One of the key players in the women's movement working on preventing SGBV in Burundi is the Association of Repatriated Women of Burundi (AFRABU), originally representing the interests of female returning Hutu refugees, but whose peace building mission includes a strong focus on the promotion of women's political participation¹⁵⁸. Other women civil society organisations in collaboration with the United Nations Operations in Burundi (ONUB) Gender Unit, embarked on a nationwide public awareness campaign against sexual violence. The goal was to change attitudes towards sexual abuse and treatment of victims. ONUB continued its campaign against sexual violence and its 'zero tolerance' policy on sexual exploitation and abuse, as well as discouraging the settlement of rape cases out of court¹⁵⁹. Another women's NGO addressing prevention of SGBV through education of women on policy and legal frameworks at community level is Aberemeshamahoro.

Beginning 2015 the Women Network for Peace and Dialogue worked with communities to prevent violence and conflict, with funding from the United Nations Peacebuilding Fund. The network calls on mediators, who are often women, to encourage dialogue as an alternative to violence, and counter rumours with verifiable information, a valuable role after the government shut down independent media outlets in May 2015¹⁶⁰.

2.3.3 Cohesion, Influence And Resilience In the Movements

While many women's organisations had come into existence at the beginning of the war, very few focused on peace at the national level. They had not institutionalised or developed much strength, and they struggled to organise and to be heard as an independent voice because political organisations dominated public discourse¹⁶¹. So when the Arusha peace process began in 1998, 17 different political parties met for the first round, no civic organisations were authorised to participate, including women. Hutu and Tutsi women decided to join forces to protest against this exclusion and to call for a place at the peace table. Their initiative led to the creation of numerous women's NGOs, among them the Group of Associations and Feminine NGOs of Burundi, Women's Network for Peace and Non-Violence, and the Women's Association for Peace. These groups organised a wide range of activities, including workshops on non-violent conflict resolution, a forum gathering women from different ethnic backgrounds, uniting women from the diaspora and women living in the country to discuss strategies for national reconstruction¹⁶². Pressure from women's organisations contributed to developing a culture of negotiation for national peace and for the interest of all¹⁶³.

Women pushed hard for their inclusion in the Arusha process, and beyond. They built an effective coalition, lobbied and advocated with negotiation parties and other influential actors, and benefited from strong support from UN agencies, international NGOs, and the mediators. However, the resistance of negotiating parties, and the selection criteria and procedures constrained their influence although it was also believed that the informal and non-transparent selection procedures also enabled women's influence as observers and in consultations¹⁶⁴. A number of male delegates in Arusha were particularly opposed to women's presence because they were not considered party to the conflict. Nevertheless, the women were strategic about making sure they reached the mediation team and negotiating parties. They advocated at every level - through large conferences, closed meetings, and personal networks, often using external actors to push for their demands¹⁶⁵.

Women rose above the endemic conflict in their country and became a force for positive change. A turning-point for women's influence was the July 2000 All-Party Women's Conference. This conference was set up after UNIFEM and the Nyerere Foundation had convened a briefing at Arusha to advocate for the inclusion of women in the process; the briefing resulted in the delegates agreeing to an all-women negotiation session as a formal part of the negotiations¹⁶⁶. UNIFEM's support, particularly the briefing to the negotiating parties and the All-Party Women's Conference was a determining factor for women's influence. The All-Party Women's Conference was attended by two women from each negotiating party, as well as representatives of civil society, refugees, the diaspora, and international organisations. The conference, that took place just weeks before the agreement was finalised, was called a catalyst for the talks because more than half of its recommendations were included in the Arusha peace accord¹⁶⁷.

Women advocated at every level - through large conferences, closed meetings, and personal networks, often using external actors to push for their demands.

Another example is Le Collectif des Associations et Ongs Féminines du Burundi (CAFOB), an umbrella organisation that convenes women's organisations in the country. CAFOB was highly influential among women's organizations and greatly enhanced the role of women in conflict resolution. The organisation encouraged and inspired women in Burundi, and organised credit schemes to empower women economically. Some of the strategies that CAFOB and other women's organizations in Burundi have used to build peace include: providing survival and basic needs for conflict-affected populations; building trust and supporting cross-community dialogue; building capacity and knowledge on rights; building legitimacy through networking and advocacy; challenging the status quo and advocating for peaceful alternatives; standing against impunity and supporting human rights; promoting women in decision-making and leadership; and mobilising resources to support peace work¹⁶⁸.

Women and women's networks also fought for and won permanent observer status in the Arusha negotiations in February 2000.

The challenge for CAFOB in the new political dispensation was to maintain solidarity amongst the women from different political groups¹⁶⁹. For example, women's interests diverged along a number of lines—Tutsi and Hutu, urban and rural, and women in the diaspora and within Burundi. There were meetings where political and ethnic divisions dominated and little progress was made. But holding frequent meetings, and focusing on common topics of women's identity and rights, led to the shaping of joint positions and they managed to overcome their differences and come together around a programme for peace, reconciliation, and reconstruction that took into account women's rights and issues, particularly impacting women¹⁷⁰.

Working together the women were most influential as observers and during the peace negotiation consultations. For instance, President Nyerere began consultations with a group of 7 women in October 1998, who had been present at a conference of 65 Burundian women in Kampala, Uganda where they demanded the lifting of the sanctions against Burundi, and women's representation in the Arusha talks. President Mandela also held meetings with women's groups in Cape Town and Pretoria, as well as closed-door meetings with the women observers in Arusha. In Pretoria, women addressed all themes covered by the peace talks, stressed the need for justice, advocated for traditional authority's presence in new institutions, and women's increased participation in both the process and the future public and economic life of the country. They also requested that the armed actors be brought into the peace process, and a ceasefire be put in place¹⁷¹. During the transition period, the women who had entered parliament and government (including CAFOB members) exploited their links with civil society networks to advocate for their preferences. They applied pressure by indicating that they could bring women onto the streets to protest.

Despite the conflict resulting in SGBV, the widowing of women and internal and external displacement of people, the women challenged and resisted this situation, by creating associations to contribute to the restoration of peace, bringing communities together and supporting dialogue between women living in the country and those in exile in neighbouring countries. Women and women's networks also fought for and won permanent observer status in the Arusha negotiations in February 2000¹⁷². At the community level, Burundi women played an important role in promoting reconciliation between Hutu and Tutsi. Radio Isanganiro which broadcasts from Bujumbura, presented cases of women counted among Burundi heroes known as "Inkingi z'Ubuntu" (pillars of humanity). This was as a result of the role the women played during the inter-ethnic massacres when they decided to hide people at the

risk of their lives¹⁷³. Burundian women used CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action to legitimize their demand for participation in the peace process. The Arusha process also coincided with the drafting of UN Security Council resolution 1325 on women, peace and security¹⁷⁴.

After the resurgence of conflict in 2015, when the President of Burundi unconstitutionally sought a third term in office, the Women and Girls Movement for Peace (MFFS), which was formed in response to this crisis, organised a peaceful protest calling for the adherence to the Arusha peace accord¹⁷⁵. In addition, despite the repressive regime women human rights defenders remained active in voicing their concerns and in May 2015 mobilised the women and organised demonstrations that collectively demanded for peace and democracy in Burundi.

2.3.4 Role of Philanthropy

Sustained support of the international community contributed a great deal to consolidating peace in Burundi, with women's organisations benefitting from funding to do the needed work. In 1998, with the support of UNIFEM the women were able to participate as 'observers' in the Arusha peace negotiations. Even without the UN Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security, Burundian women were seen as pioneers in using the Beijing Platform for Action as normative standard to participate in peace processes¹⁷⁶. UNIFEM's support to the briefing to the negotiating parties, and the All-Party Women's Conference was a determining factor for women's influence.

In 2000, in collaboration with the Mwalimu Nyerere Foundation and the support of United Nations Department for Political Affairs, the Department of Public Information, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and UNIFEM the first 'All Party Burundi Women's Peace Conference' was convened¹⁷⁷. UNIFEM's technical and financial investment in the Burundian women's peace movement helped Burundian women's influence over the peace process¹⁷⁸. In collaboration with UNIFEM, AFRICARE Burundi supported a four-month reconciliation programme for internally displaced women, returnees and residents in Gitega and Kausi in 2002, focusing on concepts of conflict transformation with special emphasis on communication, networking and gender sensitive values that promote peace and reconciliation¹⁷⁹.

In Burundi development partners played an important role of facilitating the coming together of Burundian women in the diaspora with women in Burundi and also providing money for institutional support¹⁸⁰. GFW has also supported grassroots women's organisations such as Abaremeshamahoro that provide SGBV related services to survivors¹⁸¹. Burundi was the first country in the Great Lakes region to be allocated USD 35 million in 2006 to support the peace process through the UN Peacebuilding Fund (UNPBF)¹⁸². Eighteen projects that were designed by the women's movements in Burundi benefitted from grants from the UN Peace Building Commission¹⁸³.

Burundian women used CEDAW and the Beijing Platform for Action to legitimize their demand for participation in the peace process.



“We also had capacity building at the institutional level where women’s organisations were trained in management, especially financial management where they would do things better to be visible and credible.”¹⁸⁴

In 2015, with funding from the UN Peacebuilding Fund, the Women Network for Peace and Dialogue worked with government, CSOs, and communities to prevent violence and conflict¹⁸⁵.

Table 1 lists some of the anecdotal examples of the sources of funding and amounts from secondary sources¹⁸⁶.

Table 1: Philanthropic support to some women’s organisations in Burundi

| Organization | Donor | Funds | Thematic Focus |
|---|--|----------------|--|
| AFEPABU, DUSHIREHAMWE, and Fontaine – ISOKO (through Search for Common Ground, Burundi) | Ministry of Foreign Affairs The Netherlands | USD 830,325.11 | Women’s participation |
| BLTF | CORDAID | USD 221,424.09 | Women’s participation |
| Le Collectif des Associations et Ongs Féminines du Burundi (CAFOB) | FAS/UNDAF | USD 225,000 | UNSCR 1325 promotion and advocacy for women’s leadership |
| DUSHIREHAMWE | TROCAIRE | USD 69,197.84 | Women and citizenship |
| Fontaine-ISOKO (for Good Governance and Integrated Development) | Global Network of Women Peace Builders (GNWPB) | USD 207,603.34 | 2010 in country monitoring of NAP 1325 implementation |
| National Women’s Forum | Republic of Burundi | USD 71,424.54 | Capacity building |

As at 27 August 2020 the UN Peace Building Fund had disbursed USD 4.1 million through various organisations including African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), and CORDAID, but mainly UN agencies such as UN Women, UNDP, UNFPA, and UNHCR for peace building, conflict prevention, resilience and reintegration activities¹⁸⁷. The work of the UN Peacebuilding Commission and the Peacebuilding Fund in Burundi have fostered the country’s recovery from conflict and therefore strengthened the country’s ability to avoid a relapse into armed conflict or mass atrocities¹⁸⁸. These organisations and institutions also enhanced the visibility of the women’s organisations at the regional and international level.



“Another role... is helping us to raise our visibility.”¹⁸⁹

The Women’s Peace and Humanitarian Trust Fund (WPHTF) is supporting Burundian women to participate in and lead effective early warning and conflict prevention. As at 27 August 2020 the WPHTF had disbursed approximately USD 1.2 million to UN Women.

2.4 Great Lakes Region

2.4.1 Background

Women in the Great Lakes Region are disproportionately impacted by the intrastate and interstate conflicts and responded by coming together at community level to find solutions to conflicts.

Although conflicts in the Great Lakes region - in Zaire/DRC, Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, and South Sudan, began as intrastate, due to the strong cross-border realities and dimensions and transnational ethnic identities, these intrastate conflicts spread across borders and destabilised the whole region because of certain realities. For instance, armed rebel groups crossed borders to fight; valuable natural resources were traded across borders to fund conflicts; arms flowed across borders, and people were killed and forced to flee their homes and cross the porous borders to escape the violence and injustice¹⁹⁰. The conflict in Burundi in the 1990s took place within a context of regional turmoil and devastating humanitarian crises- with war going on in the DRC and genocide in Rwanda in 1994. In the DRC there were large-scale outflows of refugees, while the eastern DRC saw an inflow of refugees from Rwanda, creating a complex dynamic to the conflicts in the wider region. After the 1994 Tutsi genocide in Rwanda, Hutus fled en masse into the DRC¹⁹¹. Hutu and Tutsi groups that are part of the social-ethnic structure in Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC were directly involved in the eastern DRC conflicts between 1996 and 2003. In South Sudan small arms and light weapons were trafficked across borders, and civilians fled to Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya and other countries because of the conflict.

\The root causes of the conflicts in these countries in the Great Lakes Region are attributed to the inequitable access to state and natural resources, lack of equal opportunities to access political power, perceived inequalities, and grievances between identity groups, weak governance, economic mismanagement, an unaccountable security sector, and the collapse of social services, among other issues.

Women in the DRC, South Sudan and Burundi were, and still are disproportionately impacted by the intrastate and interstate conflicts and responded by coming together at community level to find solutions to conflicts, and then by establishing groupings and organisations organically at local and national level to find strategies to end SGBV and secure peace. Over the last two decades the regional dimension of the conflicts also witnessed concerted international and regional support to interventions by national and regional women's organisations intended to bring peace and ending SGBV in the Great Lakes region. This saw the formation and establishment of vertical linkages - from the local level to the national level, and the national level to regional and international level.

For instance, the Arusha peace process grew out of international and regional concern for the instability, violence, and humanitarian crises across the Great Lakes region, and the potential impact of an escalation of the war in Burundi. The peace process reflected the complexity of the regional context because it involved a vast number of internal as well as external stakeholders. And while a peace agreement was signed in 2000, the final ceasefire was only signed in 2008¹⁹². These vertical linkages were reinforced in 2000, with the adoption of the UNSCR 1325 that underscored the crucial role that women play in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacemaking and peacebuilding, and that called on member states to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict. This was after the United Nation's Security Council session had acknowledged the contribution of women in peace building despite efforts to exclude them from participating in peace processes in different conflict-affected countries across the globe.

The peace process reflected the complexity of the regional context because it involved a vast number of internal as well as external stakeholders

Beginning 2000 there was also significant continental commitment with international intervention through the African Union (AU), and sub-regional commitment through the International Conference of the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR) to stem the violence in the DRC and eliminate SGBV¹⁹³. Africa's regional bodies, such as the East African Community (EAC), and the AU made substantial strides in assuming primary responsibility to curb insecurity and to promote and maintain peace in the region working with other entities and stakeholders¹⁹⁴. This commitment further saw the creation of the Peace and Security Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Region (PSCF) in 2013, a United Nations led initiative in partnership with the AU, the ICGLR, and SADC to address the insurgency by the M23 rebel group in the eastern DRC.

The ICGLR was established in 2000 to respond to the protracted war in the DRC that also involved countries in the region and beyond, to provide a common security forum for the region. The Heads of State and Government of the 11 member countries meet every two years, following a regional forum where Ministers from the respective countries, through the Regional Inter-Ministerial Meeting, make executive decisions on behalf of their countries for consideration by the Heads of State and Government Summit. So, in December 2011, the 4th Ordinary Summit was held in Kampala, Uganda, and included a special session on SGBV. This session resulted in the adoption of the Declaration of the Heads of State and Government on SGBV, known as the Kampala Declaration. The declaration reiterated the commitments made under the ICGLR 2006 Pact and its attendant Protocol on Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence against Women and Children. It also established time bound targets for preventing SGBV, ending impunity, and establishing support for survivors of SGBV¹⁹⁵.



The ICGLR Regional Women Forum (RWF) which was created in 2010 by the Heads of State and Government was intended to strengthen women's rights in the Great lakes region and to promote equal participation of women at all levels. Under the PSCF, a Women's Platform (WF) was also created and was launched in January 2014. The aim of the platform was to ensure that women in Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda play a significant role, at community, local, national and regional levels, in achieving successful peace building in the Great Lakes region. The platform's regional vision allows women and girls from the region to work together and engage in monitoring and advocacy on the PSCF, the implementation of the regional and national plans of action under UNSCR 1325, and combating violence against women and supporting women affected by violence, among others¹⁹⁶.

2.4.2 Regional Peace Building And SGBV Prevention (2000 -2020)

At the regional level, as early as 1998, Femmes Afrique Solidarité (FAS) and Synergy Africa sponsored a symposium on women and peace-building processes. The meeting brought together delegates from Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda who shared experiences and developed strategies to encourage female participation in peace processes and to strengthen the building of a network among women's organisations from the three countries to promote peace and reconciliation efforts in the region¹⁹⁷. Women created peace networks for targeting regional and sub-regional institutions as the focus of engagement, more specifically, the AU, the regional economic communities and the ICGLR. Women in Burundi, the DRC and South Sudan, have used UNSCR 1325 to lobby for their voices to be heard in peacebuilding processes at the regional level, in post-conflict elections, and in the rebuilding of their societies working together with community-based women¹⁹⁸.

Concertation des collectifs des associations féminines/Grands Lacs (COCAFEM/GL) is a regional network established in 2001 and comprises 11 umbrella organisations, three in Burundi (CAFOB, Dushirehamwe, and Réseau Femmes et Paix), five in DRC and three in Rwanda¹⁹⁹. COCAFEM is an umbrella association with a membership of 1,863 organisations operating from grassroots, to national and regional level. Working in partnership with government institutions, development partners and other regional actors COCAFEM advocates for regional peace and also builds local stakeholders advocacy capacity²⁰⁰. COCAFEM also followed up on the implementation of the 2011 Kampala Declaration on SGBV and UNSCR 1325 through periodic regional conferences and capacity building²⁰¹.

COCAFEM built capacities of journalists in the Great Lakes to address SGBV²⁰²

The Organization of Women's Groupings and Associations in the Great Lakes Region (COCAFEM/GL) in January 2013 organized a two-day workshop for DRC, Rwanda and Burundi journalists in Bujumbura to build their capacities in the fight against SGBV. The workshop which gathered 20 journalists allowed them to tackle the issue of SGBV, its causes and consequences along with strategies to fight against it in the context of the ICGLR Protocol on Prevention and Suppression of Violence against Women and Children and the Kampala Declaration on SGBV, 2011 which focuses on prevention of SGBV, ending of impunity for perpetrators and assistance to the victims.

The ICGLR Executive Secretary, in his remarks praised the work done by COCAFEM/GL in supporting the ICGLR in the implementation of regional and national initiatives.

Taking advantage of the establishment of the ICGLR, the women's organisations started a successful initiative for the ICGLR to develop policies and actions on SGBV. Through continued advocacy by women's organisations at the regional level this culminated in the signing of the Kampala Declaration in December 2011²⁰³. For the women's organisations this was the first successful campaign with the ICGLR that allowed them to put a key regional issue on the agenda and then mustering enough support for the Heads of State to sign the declaration. The women worked with key stakeholders inside and outside of the ICGLR²⁰⁴. Prior to the Kampala Declaration, Isis-WICCE, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD), Centre for Conflict Resolution and other regional organisations came together under the Regional Preparatory Committee, through collective activism to strategise on SGBV issues and recommendations to present to the Heads of State Summit of ICGLR for consideration²⁰⁵. This regional committee that included women's groups ensured meaningful participation and representation and provided important legitimacy to the conference process²⁰⁶.

Later in 2014, Isis-WICCE commissioned an evaluation of the implementation of the Kampala Declaration on behalf of the ICGLR Regional Civil Society Coordinating Committee on the Sexual and Gender-Based Violence Declaration, whose findings were that the majority of the governments in the ICGLR have made great strides to fulfil their commitments to prevent SGBV, punish perpetrators and support survivors as stated in the declaration and that most countries had shown good results in developing SGBV legislations²⁰⁷. Collectif des Associations et ONG Féminines (CAFOB), which is the oldest collective of women's associations and NGOs in Burundi and established in 1994, is a member of regional networks working on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and is a member of COCAFEM, the Eastern African Sub-Regional Support Initiative for the Advancement of Women (EASSI), FAS and the African Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)²⁰⁸.

As early as February 2004, representatives of women's organisations in the Great Lakes region had recommended the formation of a regional women's network, which would ensure the effective representation of women at regional meetings towards preparation for the ICGLR. Representatives of women's organisations held a one-day brainstorming dialogue session in Nairobi, and devised a strategy for the inclusion of women's issues and gender perspectives in the Great Lakes region²⁰⁹. Consequently, women's organisations in the DRC and Burundi intervened at the regional level to address cases of SGBV during conflict in line with the Kampala Declaration, and through the ICGLR RWF, as well as the WP that was set up under the PSCF. The interventions also reached back to the implementation of national action plans (NAPs) that sought to localise UNSCR 1325 and the Kampala Declaration commitments on SGBV.

The aim of the platform was to ensure that women in Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda and Uganda play a significant role, at community, local, national and regional levels

The RWF was instrumental in the setting up of the SGBV Regional Training Facility in Kampala, Uganda intended to train judicial officers, police officers, medical personnel and others who handle SGBV cases²¹⁰. Each of the ICGLR member states has master GBV trainers who facilitate the periodic training workshops.²¹¹ The RWF also monitors the implementation of the NAPs that many ICGLR member states had put in place. Another achievement was that the RWF was granted observer status during the peace talks between the Government of the DRC and M23 rebel group in Kampala in 2013. The RWF continues to be an important platform for linkage and collaboration between stakeholders²¹². The RWF plays a key role in bringing women together from across the region on peace and security related issues. This was acknowledged by Mary Robinson, the Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region at that time, when she involved the RWF in the implementation of the UN PSCF²¹³. The process that culminated in the signing of the PSCF in February 2013 reflected a shared determination of the leaders of the region and the international community to address the underlying causes of recurring violent conflict in eastern DRC that had regional implications for peace and development, in partnership with regional mechanisms and civil society actors, including women's organisations.²¹⁴ Past efforts to neutralise armed groups that operated in eastern DRC did not fully achieve the desired results and therefore threatened the peace, security and development of the entire Great Lakes region²¹⁵.

Taking advantage of the establishment of the ICGLR, the women's organisations started a successful initiative for the ICGLR to develop policies and actions on SGBV.

When conflict resurged in Burundi in 2015 women living in Burundi and in the diaspora established the Burundi Women and Girls Movement for Peace and Security (MFFPS), to advocate for the restoration of peace and security. The women had drawn lessons from the 1995 Arusha peace negotiations from the prominent role they played in drawing the attention of regional leaders and the world at large to the problems, while advocating for women's participation in the planned peace talk²¹⁶. MFFPS sought support from Isis-WICCE, the ICGLR Civil Society Forum and Akina Mama wa Afrika to look for a lasting solution in Burundi by raising awareness of the national, regional and international community on the continuing human rights violations in Burundi despite the signed Arusha peace accord.

The consultative meeting that was subsequently held in Entebbe, Uganda, and facilitated by women from the Great Lakes region, brought together representatives from women's movements in South Sudan, Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda to strategise together with Burundi women on their effective participation in peace dialogues²¹⁷. The Burundi women – the Barundikazi of MFFPS, interacted with women from the other countries and identified solutions to the problems, and framed an outcome document for advocacy at the regional level centred on women participation and the ending of violence. An important meeting was successfully held with the East African Community General Secretary and the Chief Mediator, who committed to ensuring their participation in the dialogues²¹⁸. After the Uganda meeting six Barundikazi attended the launch of the peace dialogue in Kampala, Uganda.

In 2016 at the AU Heads of State Summit the Barundikazi through the Gender is My Agenda Campaign (GIMAC) influenced the push for accelerated implementation of the Communiqué of the 565th meeting of the African Union Peace and Security Council for intervention in Burundi. In April a representative engaged the UN Secretary General on UNSCR 2279 (2016) that had requested the Secretary-General to enhance the UN engagement in Burundi through strengthening the team of the Special Adviser for conflict prevention, including in Burundi, in order to work with the Government of Burundi and other concerned stakeholders to support the inter-Burundian dialogue. In May 2016 the representative also had a consultative meeting with President Mkapa, the Chief Mediator²¹⁹.

In July 2016, Members of the WP met in Goma, eastern DRC to strengthen capacity in the implementation of the PSCF and UNSCR 1325 in relation to conflict resolution and peace building in the Great Lakes region. The meeting brought together women from organisations receiving grants from the WP; leaders from the ICGLR RWF; members of the Advisory Board of the WP, including Madame Bineta Diop, the AU Special Envoy on Gender and Government representatives from Ministries of Gender. In February 2018 the Advisory Board of the WP held its 9th meeting, and recommended greater support to the women, peace and security agenda in the region, and the organisation of missions to Burundi, the Central African Republic, the DRC, and South Sudan by the WP and the RWF to promote the role of women in peace and political processes. Isis-WICCE's participation in this meeting provided essential perspectives informed by its work with women and women peace activists in DRC and the Great Lakes region.

The WP held its 10th Advisory Board meeting in February 2019 where focal points were identified at country level to facilitate coordination and monitoring, and recommendations made to strengthen centres of excellence, build capacities for data collection on women, peace and security in the region, and improve collaboration between the RWF and the WP and other women fora and partners²²⁰.

In July 2020, Akina Mama wa Afrika in partnership with COCAFEM/GL made a presentation in a virtual consultative meeting for CSOs in the region, whose aim was to take stock of the implementation of the Kampala Declaration in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic. The meeting sought to generate collective proposals to inform the meeting of the UN Peacebuilding Commission organized in collaboration with the Advisory Council on Women, Peace and Security in the Great Lakes Region²²¹. At the international level, African women's associations have forged strong ties with international networks. Through these partnerships, the voices of African women are regularly heard at the United Nations and other international bodies²²². For example, Femmes Africa Solidarité (FAS) has a Regional Office for Africa based in Dakar, Senegal, an International Secretariat in Geneva and a Representative Office in New York. FAS is a member of the Working Group on Women, Peace and Security based

Past efforts to neutralise armed groups that operated in eastern DRC did not fully achieve the desired results and therefore threatened the peace, security and development of the entire Great Lakes region.

in New York and through these various channels, FAS has succeeded in ensuring that the voice of African women is heard at the African Union Commission, the Human Rights Commission, the Human Rights Council and the UN Security Council²²³. Likewise Isis-WICCE brought women into regional and international women's rights and gender equality structures and spaces to share their lived experiences²²⁴.

2.4.3 The Role of Philanthropy

Over the years, at the regional level, support has been availed from multi-lateral and bi-lateral institutions, foundations, international NGOs, and regional governments. UN agencies such as UNIFEM and UNDP and international not-for-profit organisations such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Women for Women International, The Hunt's Foundation, Impunity Watch, and Search for Common Ground and various other organisations, were instrumental in advancing the inclusion of women in the peace processes by providing financial support for organising pre-peace negotiations conferences that brought women together; setting up platforms of women's organisations, and supporting capacity building initiatives for women²²⁵.



*“Funding has come from women’s rights funders such as Amplify Change, Global Fund for Women and the African Women’s Development Fund, and this funding facilitated women’s participation in ICGLR meetings and doing advocacy, and undertaking research and documentation of sexual and gender-based violence issues”.*²²⁶

The African Women Development Fund, under its ‘Governance, Peace and Security’ area of focus, provides grants to enhance women’s participation in decision-making and peacebuilding so that women’s voices are heard and their interest represented at all levels of decision-making, building women’s leadership capacities and facilitating women’s participation in the democratic processes. The Global Fund for Women also supported the convening of women from conflict affected countries – the DRC, Burundi, and Rwanda, to speak with one voice, organize in larger numbers, and deepen their impact²²⁷. In 2007 with support from the Government of Finland, FAS initiated a three-year project titled “Regional project for establishing the National Action Plans for the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security in the Great Lakes Region” in partnership with CAFOB in Bujumbura. The project was implemented in Burundi, Rwanda and the DRC²²⁸. The objective of the project was to make the positive outputs of the implementation of the NAPs on resolution 1325 in the three countries sustainable, through the achievement of gender equality and equity and gender mainstreaming in peace, security and development policies, and programmes. The NAPs were entry points for donors to fund the implementation of specific components²²⁹.

In implementing the mandate of the UN Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region, and commitment on women’s empowerment as provided for in the PSCF, the WP which was launched in January 2014 was tasked to ensure that women play critical roles in the implementation of the PSCF and fully participate in the broader peace and development agenda for the Great Lakes region. The purpose of the WP was to enable women’s organisations to actively contribute to the implementation of the PSCF by supporting them to strengthen their collective action, providing grants for relevant projects, and enabling women to play an active and sustained role in the overall peace process. Two of the four thematic areas of the WP are: monitoring and advocacy on regional and national plans of action under UNSCR 1325; and combating violence against women and supporting women affected by violence. The platform was managed by GFW as the designated Secretariat. The other implementing

partners for the platform included: The Office of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Sexual Violence in Conflict, FAS and Fonds pour les Femmes Congolaises (FFC)²³⁰.

In May 2015 when the WP held its inaugural convening in Goma, DRC participants deliberated on achieving a common agenda to deepen their knowledge of and participation in the peace processes in the Great Lakes region²³¹. Since its launch, the WP has received approximately USD 700,000 as contribution by the Dutch and Irish Governments via the Office of the Special Envoy for the Secretary General Trust Fund. Contributions have also been received from the Government of Norway and the Oak Foundation. With the Global Fund for Women as the grant maker on behalf of the PSCF WP, over 35 grants were awarded to women's organizations in Burundi, DRC, Rwanda and Uganda under this arrangement. Women's organisations as well as CSOs receive funds from a range of sources for UNSCR 1325 national action plan implementation, including from inter-governmental agencies and international NGOs.

*"We have seen a lot of funding coming in for women's organisations working on peace either to take ownership or to bring to the community the 1325 or to start a national action plan or to organise women action groups on 1325."*²³²

The consultative meeting that was held in Uganda in December 2015 for the Burundi Women and Girls Movement for Peace and Security (MFFPS) was organised and held with technical support from the ICGLR Civil Society Organisations Forum and with financial support from Urgent Action Fund and ACCORD South Africa. In 2017, the Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for the Great Lakes Region organised the Global Open Days on UNSCR 1325 that was held in Goma, DRC with the support of MONUSCO and UN Women. The event was attended by 30 women leaders from Burundi, the DRC, Rwanda, South Sudan and Uganda, as well as ministers and officials responsible for gender in those countries and representatives of the UN, the AU and the ICGLR. The open days, organised within the framework of the WP had a threefold objective: to strengthen participants' capacities for leadership, advocacy and participation in political and peace processes; to provide women leaders and peacemakers with a platform to share their experiences, including the challenges they face in their efforts to promote peace and security in the Great Lakes region; and to assess the implementation of the 'participation' pillar of UNSCR 1325 in the countries participating in the event²³³.

Whereas funding to women's organisations involved in peace building has over the years been steadily declining, recently a few European governments have responded to clarion calls by women in the North and the South to fund women's organisations as agreed in the Addis Ababa Action Agenda of the 3rd International Conference on Financing for Development in 2015 which focused on financing gender equality and women's empowerment in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development²³⁴. For example, the Netherlands Government in its Policy Framework for Strengthening Civil Society (2021-2025) specifically provides substantial support to women peace and security in its grant instrument with a budget of EUR 40 million²³⁵. In addition, in 2019 the Government of Norway committed USD 114 million to end sexual and gender-based violence in humanitarian crises²³⁶. However, funding to women's organisations working in South Sudan on SGBV has not been forthcoming as was reported in the UN Security Council meeting in March 2019 by Angelina Nyajima Simon Jial, of Hope Restoration - an NGO she heads²³⁷. The situation is the same in Burundi²³⁸.

There is no consolidated data and very limited data on funding to women's organisations operating in the Great Lakes region and working on peace building and GBV prevention, from donors and other philanthropic institutions.

3.0

Conclusions

There was no clear distinction or separation as such between women’s peace building movements and movements that sought to prevent and or respond to SGBV.

The emergence of conflicts in the DRC and Burundi and to a certain extent in South Sudan saw women at community level come together organically to work collectively to find solutions to the violent upheavals and destruction within their communities and use their agency to stop the violence by making political demands for voice and accountability. These were indigenous locally-led efforts by the women.

The women in the DRC, Burundi and South Sudan then mobilised and set up formal peacebuilding movements that were and still are mainly geared towards peacebuilding, lobbying and advocacy at national, regional and international level, while the women’s grassroots informal peace building and SGBV prevention movements continue being concerned with leveraging the power the women have to inform change for peace in their communities.



“...in any of these countries you cannot talk about a homogeneous approach to peace building... what has happened was they have happened at different sites, then there has been attempts to coordinate them and bring them to represent a South Sudan peace building approach or a DRC peace building approach or a Burundi peace building approach.”²³⁹

In Burundi women realised that they needed to raise their voice and speak for peace²⁴⁰. There was no homogeneous grouping of women and each of the women in their different areas had different realities that they were responding to²⁴¹. In addition, there was no clear distinction or separation as such between women’s peace building movements and movements that sought to prevent and or respond to SGBV²⁴². However, in the DRC women’s organisations such as Solidarité Féminine pour la Paix et le Développement Intégral (SOFEPADI) and Association des Femmes dans les Medias (AFEM) principally rallied around ending SGBV especially in South and North Kivu Provinces and continue doing so today because of the magnitude of the problem.

The activism of the women's peace building movement increased the mobilisation of women's organisations at the regional and international level for the implementation of UNSCR 1325²⁴³. These movements and associations, with external intervention and support, have been the main standard bearer for UNSCR 1325, and by using SCR1325 strategically, they succeeded in developing and presenting joint platforms of demands; having women's presence at the negotiating table accepted, their demands incorporated into the peace agreements, and expanding women's representation in government structures and institutions. These achievements were registered in the DRC, Burundi and South Sudan with variation and with implementation challenges in the cases of South Sudan.

Women's organisations working collectively for peace in the Great Lakes region indicated that women had found a voice and a way to work for peace at that level²⁴⁴. However, for example it was a difficult task for the women to come together and speak together in the same voice for peace in Burundi – this took some time²⁴⁵. The progress achieved by women's organizations with regards to legal protection, participation and representation is significant, however many challenges to women's right to protection, participation and decision-making in countries in the Great Lakes Region remain.

The successes registered by women's peace building movements is attributed to leadership development, women getting to know the legal and policy frameworks, being able to identify opportunities for influencing the decision-making in peace processes, and creating spaces for conversations on the issues at stake. Challenges included the on-going conflicts and the language challenges across the region²⁴⁶. Women's organisations and their operations are constrained by funding that is cyclical in nature, short-term and inadequate for activities that build peace and protect the women and girls. Sustaining organisations and movements was and still is a challenge for the women because of funding constraints. *"The support has significantly decreased since 2015 so the trend is that it has been going down."*²⁴⁷

Short-term funding prevents women's groups from developing, advocating for, or implementing their own agendas and priorities, or establishing sustainable programmes²⁴⁸. Activists in women's organisations stress the need to further build the capacity of women's groups and obtain sustainable funding instead of working with their current project-based short-term funding regimes. Unfortunately, there is very limited and consolidated data on funding from donors and other philanthropic institutions to women's organisations working on peace building and GBV prevention.

There are very many actors providing resources but it is not coordinated, making it difficult to establish overall impact. Important to note however is that philanthropy for the greater part has had considerable positive impact in advancing peacebuilding and SGBV prevention efforts by women's organisations, singly and collectively, in the DRC, Burundi, South Sudan, and in the wider Great Lakes region, notwithstanding the decline in funding. Furthermore, some sentiments that emerged from women leading organisations in South Sudan is that in some instances external development partners drive the agenda and that impacts negatively the building of local ownership and therefore sustainability of interventions.

Important to note however is that philanthropy for the greater part has had considerable positive impact in advancing peacebuilding and SGBV prevention efforts by women's organisations.

4.0

Lessons

The coalition enabled the grassroots women peace activists to input and influence the formal peacebuilding process.

Lessons from the DRC, South Sudan, Burundi and in the Great Lakes region that galvanised and strengthened peacebuilding and SGBV prevention movements and efforts are:

Connecting the informal initiatives by women is essential for ensuring that women's voices are heard at every stage of the peace negotiating process and linkage between informal grassroots women's organisations, and formal organisations in peace negotiation processes ensures more constructive and effective talks. For example, the South Sudan Women's Coalition for Peace that comprised 40 groups and organisations, including women refugees in the diaspora, was a forum for continuous dialogue between grassroots' women activists and women at the peace negotiation table. The coalition enabled the grassroots women peace activists to input and influence the formal peacebuilding process. Pursuant a joint 'South Sudan Women Position on the Promotion of Durable Peace and Reconciliation in South Sudan' was developed in September 2017 to guide the engagement of the women at the peace table in the formal peacebuilding process.

Technical support teams are essential for women participating in peace negotiations. For example, in 2000 UNIFEM sponsored consultants and experts to assist the women delegates during the Dialogue Inter-Congolais process and assisted the women delegates from all parties to the dialogue to convene and meet regularly to discuss key issues and strategies with respect to the inclusion of gender-sensitive issues in the peace negotiations.

Strategy meetings with the wider women constituency provide opportunities to gather information for position papers and communiqués in advance of peace negotiations and bolsters preparedness. During the R-ARCSS process which saw the accreditation of more women as delegates, the Women Coalition held meetings for the women where they came out with position papers that influenced the High-Level Revitalisation Forum²⁴⁹.



Male allies, both local and international, facilitate women's participation.



“The main strategy that enabled them [women] to be resilient was looking for allies not only among the women in politics but also some men.”

Provisions drawn from relevant international and regional legal instruments and national constitutions give more weight to numerical targets and gender balance in peace agreements.



“...we invoked 1325 to claim our space in this process. I told him [Facilitator] as women we cannot be consulted only -we are to be part of the process because that is what resolution 1325 says.”

Working with communities was found to be the most effective means of addressing the issues of safety and gender-based violence prevention at the community level. Interventions of this nature succeed when the main stakeholders – the women are involved.



“...as an individual you can do nothing but when you come together as a women's group, as a coalition that will be strong²⁵⁰.”

In the case of the Burundi 2015 conflict, identifying the root causes of conflict facilitated the framing of appropriate responses that were inclusive and intended to prevent conflict²⁵¹.

Awareness raising and mobilisation are extremely useful approaches for building peace. Solidarité des Femmes Activistes pour la Défense des Droits Humains (SOFAD) was able to support women to build peace from grassroots level through raising the consciousness of women around women's role in peace-building, and participation in community leadership.

Connections with regional and international support networks, including regional and international bodies helps to put pressure on warring parties to include more women in their delegations in formal peace talks. For instance, the African Union Commission Chairperson, Mr. Moussa Faki, was outspoken on South Sudan and on the rights and participation of women throughout the High-Level Revitalisation Forum set up to revitalise the 2015 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan, where women engaged at that level.

Long-term philanthropy that provides support for core funding and programming are effective in sustaining peace building and SGBV prevention initiatives by women's organisations and movements.



“The support was helpful but not enough because at times we would [be] limited to support of one year, two years and this is not sustainable²⁵².”

Annex

Annex 1: Individuals interviewed

| No | Name | Sex | Organisation/ Institution | Country |
|----|---------------------------|-----|---|--------------|
| 1 | Eunice Musiime | F | Akina Mama wa Afrika | Uganda |
| 2 | Claude Kabutare | M | | Burundi |
| 3 | Marie-Louise Baricako | F | Women and Girls Movement for Peace and Security in Burundi (MFFS) | Burundi |
| 4 | Jeanne Bitsure | F | Network of Women and Allies Artisans of Peace | Burundi |
| 5 | Goretti Ndacyisaba | F | Dushirehamwe et Association Des Guides du Burundi | Burundi |
| 6 | Julianne Baseke | F | Association des Femmes dans les Media (AFEM) | DRC |
| 7 | Jolly Kamuntu | F | Karibu Jeunesse Nouvelle | DRC |
| 8 | Pravina Makan- Lakha | F | Action for Community Organisation, Rehabilitation and Development (ACCORD) | South Africa |
| 9 | Yvette Mushingo | F | Synergie des Femmes pur la paix et reconciliation dans la sous-region des grands lacs | DRC |
| 10 | Betty Sunday | F | Women Action for and with Society/South Sudan Women Peace Coalition | South Sudan |
| 11 | Marguerite Mutumwinka | F | Concertation des collectives des Associations Feminines /Grands Lacs | Burundi |
| 12 | Esperance Nijembazi | F | Le Collectif des associations et Ongs Feminines du Burundi (CAFOB) | Burundi |
| 13 | Marie Kazungu | F | Cadre Permanent de Concertation de la Femme Congolaise (COFAS) | DRC |
| 14 | Josephine Nyenyei Kusinza | F | Conseil des Organisations des Femmes Agissant en Synergie (COFAS) | DRC |
| 15 | Julienne Lusenge | F | Female Solidarity for Integrated Peace and Development (SOFEPADI) | DRC |
| 16 | Coumba Fall | F | Femme Africaine Solidarite (FAS) | Senegal |
| 17 | Nathan Byamukama | M | ICGLR Training Facility | Uganda |
| 18 | Dinah Musindarwezo | F | Womankind International | Kenya |
| 19 | Lisa Block | F | Global Fund for Women | |
| 20 | Florence Kirwabira | F | Inter-Governmental Agency for Development (IGAD) | Djibouti |
| 21 | Harriet Baka | F | Provincial Mothers Union | South Sudan |
| 22 | Riya Yaduya | F | Crown the Woman | South Sudan |
| 23 | Juliet Were | F | Women's International Peace Centre | Uganda |
| 24 | Agnes Ntahompagaze | F | Abaremeshamahoro | Burundi |
| 25 | Pamella Mubeza | F | Association des mamans celibataires pour la paix et le developement (AMC) | Burundi |

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198. Comment by Rachel Mayanja, Assistant Secretary-General, Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. Abuja, Nigeria, November 28, 2006
199. The 11 umbrella organisations combine 1,861 associations also all working at the grassroots level.
200. Interview with Claude Kabutware, former COCAFEM Secretary General, 9 September 2020
201. Brand, S. op. cit. p.19

202. See ICGLR website www.icglr.org
203. Great Lakes Project Handbook. p.35 www.gppac.net
204. Ibid. p.37
205. Interview with Eunice Musiime, Executive Director, Akina Mama wa Afrika, 9 September 2020
206. Kempf, I. (2011) Bridging the Great Lakes Implementing the human rights dimension of the International Conference on the Great Lakes Region Regional. Institute of Security Studies. Workshop Report. p.33.
207. Isis- WICCE, (2014) op. cit. p. iv-v
208. Nduwimana, F. Understanding the Implications, fulfilling the obligations. A Background Paper. Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. p.79 https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/cdrom/documents/Background_Paper_Africa.pdf
209. Ogunsanya, K. (2007) op. cit. p.32
210. Ibid
211. Interview with Nathan Byamukama, ICGLR SGBV Training Facility, Kampala, Uganda 22 September 2020
212. Great Lakes Project Handbook. p.37 www.gppac.net
213. Ibid
214. The Peace, Security and Cooperation Framework for the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the region. First Progress Report Final 19 September 2014 https://ungreatlakes.unmissions.org/sites/default/files/first_progress_report_on_the_peace_security_and_cooperation_framework_agreement.pdf
215. The PSCF was therefore signed in the context of the 23 March Movement (M23) crisis in the DRC where emerging from a failed peace agreement between the Conseil National de Défense du Peuple (CNDP) and the government in 2009, the M23 seized Goma city in November 2012, despite the presence of the UN peacekeeping mission troops. This put pressure on the Congolese government to negotiate and so in the Kampala peace talks that followed, it became clear that a broader and more inclusive regional peace process was vital to address the core drivers of conflict in DRC, along its eastern borders. When the M23 was finally defeated at the end of 2013, with the conditions underlined in the Nairobi Declaration, it was perceived as a positive step towards regional peace and stability. The signing of the PSCF by the UN, the DRC, and 12 neighbouring countries prompted renewed regional and international commitment to brokering peace in the Great Lakes region.
216. Isis- WICCE. (2014) op. cit. p.8
217. SCR 1325 and the Peacebuilding Commission, op. cit. p.2
218. Isis- WICCE. (2014) op. cit. p.19
219. Ibid. p.18
220. See www.icglr-lmrc.org
221. Akina Mama wa Afrika, July 2020. Presentation at a virtual conference convened by UN Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region (GLR), in coordination with countries

of the region, Guarantors of the Peace, Security, and Cooperation (PSC) Framework (UN, AU, SADC, ICGLR), and the Advisory Board for Women, Peace and Security in the GLR, to discuss the challenges associated in ensuring the prevention of all forms of violence against women and their protection.

222. Nduwimana, F. (?) op. cit p.79

223. Ibid

224. Interview with Juliet Were, Programme Director, Women's International Peace Centre, 7 October 2020

225. Institute for Security Studies (November, 2000) Women and Peacebuilding in Africa. Workshop report. Pretoria, South Africa. p.10 <https://media.africaportal.org/documents/WomanPeaceNov08.pdf>

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238. Interview with Esperance Nijembazi, Le Collectif des Associations et Ongs Feminines du Burundi (CAFOB), 28 September 2020

239. Comment made by Pravina Makan-Lakha, ACCORD in an interview, 16 September 2020

240. Interview with Marie-Louise Baricako, Women and Girls Movement for Peace and Security in Burundi (MFFP), 17 September 2020

241. Interview with Pravina Makan-Lakha, ACCORD, 16 September 2020

242. Interview with Betty Sunday, WAS, 17 September 2020

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245.Interview with Marie-Louise Baricako, Women and Girls Movement for Peace and Security in Burundi (MFFP), 17 September 2020

246.Interview with Eunice Musiime, AMWA, 9 September 2020

247.Interview with Jeanne Bitsure, Network of women and Allies, Artisans of Peace, 18 September 2020

248.Ibid. 10

249.Soma, E. (2019) op. cit. p.37

250.Interview with Betty Sunday, WAS, 17 September 2020

251.Ibid

252.Interview with Julianne Lusenge, AFEM, 14 September 2020

