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WOMEN POLITICAL PARTICIPATION IN SOUTH SUDAN:

INTERROGATING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION AND REPRESENTATION IN SOUTH SUDAN POLITICS BEFORE AND AFTER INDEPENDENCE.

SUBMITTED BY ANGELO EMILIO KURI

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South Sudan's women constitutes a vital national resource whose ideas, creativity and concerns for social cohesion can help bring about peace and positive change in all spheres of the society. Even though a number of women have made great steps in politics in the country, women representation is far below the minimum and yet there is a hardly available data to show to what degree women are represented or participating in the national politics of South Sudan. The main objective of the study was to analyze the women and the political mosaic (patterns and trends) of women participation and representation during the pre-Independent and post-independence period of South Sudan. Specifically, this study sought to; establish the patterns and trends of women participation in political leadership in pre-Independent and post-independence period in the parliament, examine the effectiveness of the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan 2011 in supporting women participation and representation in political process and to determine the perceived benefits and challenges of women political participation in South Sudan. This study used a qualitative research design. The study population comprised of most women who have been involved in politics before and after independence. The study used a non-probability sampling technique whereby the study used purposive sampling to select 10 key informant interviewees guided by the geographical representation and the political periods. Similarly, the study purposively sampled 20 participants for focus group discussion. Participants for the Focus Group Discussion (FGD) were drawn from three counties namely Juba to represent the urban region and Bor to represent the rural region. The study used secondary data which was quantitative in nature and primary which was qualitative in nature. To collect secondary data, the study used a check list. To collect primary data, the study used a focus discussion group and a key informant interview guide.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter One: General Introduction

1.1 Overviews

Political participation of women is marred by numeric under representation in decision making position as well as widespread lack of capacity and confidence. In this regard, increasing the number of women elected or their possibility to stand as candidates' risks being ineffective if not combined with long term strategy to foster women's capacity in leadership and administration as well as their actual possibilities to participate in politics. This chapter provides a historical background to the topic in question with global perspectives while undressing the gender gap in the South Sudan political landscape.

1.2 Background

The exclusion of women in political participation and decision making processes was one inherited by human history. Even when democracy had birth ancient Athens in 5th century BC, the exclusion of women from political participation and decision making existed. The Athenians women had no right to vote or to participate in the democratic process and even they were not considered as citizens. Only Athenian men had a right to attend meetings of the assembly, a meeting of the citizen body which was called more than 40 times per year (Bentley et al., 1995). The absence of women in the involvement of the decisions of the assembly had deprived them to have a right to speak and to vote at the assembly. This also prevented them from having a chance to directly determine what the law should be. In other European countries, women had neither a right to political participation nor get involved involve the decision making and public affairs before 20th century. At the beginning of the nineteen centuries Britain electoral system was far from democratic. The Britain electoral system was male adult suffrage and did not provide the means for fair and equal representations. The right to vote and be voted was restricted to men. Women had no role in the political sphere of the country. This had resulted in the rise of the suffragists (women campaigned to win the vote) (Bentley et al., 1995).

Despite the efforts of the chartists, a mass movement of mainly working people who demanded universal suffrage in the late 1830s and 1840s, it was not until 1867 that the second reform Act was passed. Just after the end of the First World War, Britain was fully recognized the women's right to political participation and decision making process (Bentley et al., 1995). After the establishment of the UN in 1946, there was an increasing recognition among international community of women's historic exclusion from structures of power. In African countries women have lacked space, of not purposely denied in both political engagement and decision making process. Although the whole African constitutions and laws enshrined provision that recognize the right of women to equally participate in politics, African women is the most disadvantageous and marginalized groups in political arena. Because this the result of several underlined and perceptible factors. One of the most remarkable factors was the African customary and traditional laws which were based on the patriarchy supremacy (Abdo & Abegaz, 2009). For example the African traditional assembly leaders were male dominant; male exercised the power of the law making, decision or policy making and leadership of the African society traditionally and even religiously. Women had neither decision nor had the right to sit and speak or vote at the assembly. The ignorance of the African culture in women's role of traditional leadership has hampered the current political participation and decision making involvements of the most African women, though many African nations made affirmative action's to enable women's equal participation in politics. According to Quadri Nigeria (and other African countries) lives in a patriarchy society where the women's place is said to be in the kitchen. She can't go against the wish of her husband. And within political groups, the woman is seen as a threat that must not be allowed to thrive (Charles & Tayo, n.d). Women will get empowerment in politics only if they get reservation in politics. Social barriers can also be overcome when the roots of women are raised and activated in politics. Although the South Sudan government already activated on paper the Affirmative Action (25% women representation in government positions) more concrete steps needed to enforce that further. This change of political development is visible in the form of political power. Instead of women, the place is reserved for political parties. The political uplift of women is not the basis of women's economic status. Women in this country have long waited for politics to come because the majority of parties do not give a chance to women in politics. This research intends to highlight the challenges facing women's struggle for political participation as well as opportunities and provide some recommendations on the way forward in addressing the phenomenon.

1.3 South Sudan Context

South Sudan got independence in July 2011 from Sudan. On December 2013, civil war broke out in Juba and quickly spread to other parts on the Country. Since then, more than 4 million citizens have been forced to flee their homes (Mercy Corps 2019). Over 2.4 million people have escaped to neighboring countries in search of safety, and more than 1.7 million are trapped inside the warring nation. The conflict has also resulted in massive destruction of property and infrastructure (Mercy Corps 2019).

As a result of the Revitalized Peace Agreement on the Resolution of Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan signed by the government and the SPLM-iO under the auspices of IGAD, South Sudan is currently governed by a Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) which is expected to oversee several reforms and transformation processes in different sectors as stipulated in ARCSS 2015. The TGoNU is to facilitate reforms and transformation processes in the security sector, judiciary, public/civil service, private sector, etc. In such a dynamic and fast changing environment, decisions are often taken in a fast tracked manner where by in most cases only those around the table at that particular time get to adequately shape and influence the direction of such decision. Therefore, at this rate, women as was the case in the past will often be excluded either deliberately or by omission. To mitigate the eminent omission, it is important for women to be adequately included in the reform and transformation processes being undertaken by the TGoNU. Hence the importance for women to endeavor to realize both gender balance and gender competence by positioning best-qualified candidates for available opportunity. Certainly, there are South Sudanese women who have attained a reasonable level of empowerment and particular skills and competencies required to lead and meaningfully participate in decision-making at national level especially during the transitional period which had already past. However, the systems, institutional norms and attitude of some men in some institutions, including political parties still present obstacles for the progress of these women to hold higher positions and utilize their skills and intellect in providing services to the nation. Therefore, clear articulation of aspirations, setting priorities and laying strategies on how to utilize the existing opportunities is key to provide for meaningful participation of women in decision-making during and after the transitional period hence the need for this study document. Yet in some institutions women are yet to attain the required experience and rise to ranks that will enable them participate in major decision making processes in the sector, but in other sectors there already exists competent and capable women to strike the equilibrium of gender balance.

Therefore, it is imperative that South Sudanese women focus on ensuring that they too are treated as equal citizens of this country and not always perceived as 25% Affirmative Action as is the case at the moment. The skills and potentials of South Sudanese women if well utilized would be of great benefit to the nation. E.g. Women with University Degrees, Lecturers, legal practitioners and those who have been heading and serving in independent commissions, media, organize forces, civil society and the private sectors (Banking and other commercial sectors) just to mention a few. These are women who have the technical expertise and necessary competencies therefore they deserve to serve the nation in the best of their capacities and not to be treated as an affirmative action in the sector. Despite the fact that in South Sudan the adult literacy rate stands at 26.83%. While the male literacy rate is 34.84%, for females is 19.19%, showing a big gap between the sexes (UNESCO 2008). Among the 19.19 per cent there exists women who have the required knowledge, skills and competencies to meaningfully contribute in national decision making yet they are not fully being engaged. It is therefore unfortunate to mention that these few women who could qualify to participate in various decision making processes still don't get to adequately involved to participate in national decision making processes and shape the national agenda that impacts their lives and that of their fellow citizens. Due to the above stated reason, this study will examine the aspirations and priorities of the women in specific sectors and enhance their participation in national decision-making across different sector and political divide. While all the political developments in the country seem not to fully recognize the potentials of women, for a long time, women too seem not to have a clear and formidable strategy that communicate their concerns and link women's aspirations and priorities to different opportunities, thus the purpose of this study.

1.4 Problem Statement

The participation of women in political and public affairs of South Sudan is a fairly recent phenomenon (Jane Kani, 2011). This is partly due to the fact that, women involvement in politics was/is not seen as a woman's prerogative. Recent studies in this field as well as my experience growing up in South Sudan reveal that women and men occupy different and unequal positions and power relations both within the family and society at large. For example, while women are usually relegated to their stereotypical roles of nurturing and caring, men assume political positions, conduct business, serve in the military and perform other roles deemed male's.

Such gender configurations and/or different positions of women and men are shaped and reinforced by societal cultural norms and practices, religion, customs, perceptions, socialization process, and colonial patriarchal practices and policies. However, since the second half of the twentieth century, women of South Sudan have been able to venture into the political arena, business, and other occupations that were previously considered solely reserved for men. Women's visibility in politics, however, though limited was evident in the Southern Sudan Regional Government established after the signing of the Addis Ababa Agreement in 1972. For instance, some women from Southern Sudan joined the Women Socialist Union created during the Nimieri's regime (1969-1985). The major breakthrough for women's participation in politics came after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005 which stipulated a 25 percent for women's representation in all levels of government in recognition of their roles and contributions to the liberation struggle. The interim period (2005-2011) witnessed an increase in the number of women in decision-making positions of the former Government of Southern Sudan. Currently, women's representation stands at 25% of even less at both national and state levels. However, in the newly formed Transitional Government of National Unity (TGoNU) of the Republic of South Sudan, there are 6 female National Ministers, 3 depute Ministers and few others who holds high positions in the political parties, like Jemma Nunu Kumba, Acting Secretary General of the SPLM ruling Party. Similarly, there are women who serve as head of commissions, state ministers and depute governors, and other higher positions in the national and states governments. However, women's involvement in politics in South Sudan is not free of contestations and challenges. Women still face numerous challenges some of which are socio-cultural, while others relate to different status of women – such as differential educational status, age, marital status, class, family background, ethnic and regional variations, economic, etc.

Achieving equality in female representation is still an uphill task in the South Sudan's politics and that has provoked my curiosity to investigate and understand the reasons why despite the provisions of constitutional support to every citizens to freely engage in politics women are still under represented at the national, state and county levels of government in South Sudan. The research interrogated the patterns and trends of women's participation and representation in politics before and after independence and explored opportunities available to enable women to participate at all levels as well as analyze the factors that undermines women's participation in politics in South Sudan.

1.5 Research Objectives

The general objective of this research study was to explore and analyze factors that influence women's participation in the South Sudan political process.

Specifically, the study aimed at:

a) Finding out the factors that account for low participation of women in politics

b) Examine the trend of women's participation in national politics

c) Examine opportunities available to promote women's participation in national politics

1.6 Research Questions

The utmost reason for this study was to investigate the present state of concerns in relation to women's political participation. The outcome of this research could be adopted as a way for political parties, civil society organization and other women political groups to campaign for the need to include women in internal party elections, constituency and general elections in South Sudan. The study found the development of women's political participation relying on statistics to good governance and ways of achieving high levels of political participation of women in the country. It was the keen hope of the research to try to pinpoint and look for answers to the encounters women face in their bid to get into politics. Finally, the research suggested recommendations for political parties and the electoral processes as well as policy makers to inculcate in their policies to address ways that prevent women from participating in politics. Evidently, there is enough reasonable backing to support the claim that women have capabilities, which can be employed to meaningfully enhance economic, social and most importantly the political development of the nation. Civil and women's groups have identified that women's political participation is lacking and have made conscious efforts to address the issue, while such efforts have generated, in certain instances, positive outcomes, there is still much to be done to ensure that women are recognized in the political dispensation of South Sudan.

From the above, the following research questions will guide the study:

1. What is the role of education in the political participation of women in South Sudan?
2. What is the role of gender quotas in the course of recognizing women in politics in South Sudan?

3. What are the opportunities of women's political participation?
4. What are the levels of women's political participation under the lights of the South Sudan Transitional political landscape?
5. What are the obstacles to women's political participation and what could be the radical ways forward to remove these obstacles?

1.7 Research Hypothesis

As I indicated in the prior part, women's political infra-representation has been impulse by several factors. We could differentiate between those socio-economic dimensions involve in the process, as well as the more institutional ones. Regarding to the socio-economic factors, we can talk as to the potential influence different elements as economic development, women's employment and education position, and religious main confession. In that sense, it is reasonable to assume that in the poorest countries, in those places where the insertion of women to the labour market has been limited, in countries where women levels of education are significantly low.

These arguments led to my first group of hypotheses:

- H1: The wealthier a country is, the higher is women's political representation.
- H2: Countries with a consolidated level of female education are countries were women's political representation is higher.
- H3: The more extended is the presence of women in the labour market, the more complete is women's political representation.

In what concern to the institutional dimension, we can consider diverse factors related to the quality of democracy, the configuration of the electoral system, the state ideological profession, the level of women's movement development, and the legal confirmation of specific gender rights. In that sense, we could say that countries with electoral systems ruled by a proportional principle of representation, and countries where a system of quotas was legally introduced for assuring females presence in electoral lists, are potentially stimulating women's political representation.

This idea framed my second group of hypotheses:

- H4: The more consolidated are democratic principles in the country, the higher is women's political representation.

- H5: The longer the right of universal suffrage is extended to women, the more political representation females have obtained.

- H6: The more proportional the electoral system is, the easier is taking part in the decision-making process for females.

- H7: The introduction of women representation quotas by law, involves an effective increase d of women's political participation.

- H8: The more developed is women's movement organization, the higher is women's political representation.

- H9: In those countries where the abortion right is legally recognized, women's political participation is higher.

1.8 Justification of the Study

Women, who are considered to be the cornerstone of society, women in the modern era are representing the politics of most countries around the world. Seeing history, you find that women are playing an important role in creating society. It is known that the role of women in society and their nature is philosophical, religious and political views. Communal structure and women's politics were given a place in the discussion on the situation so that they could come to politics themselves. In South Sudan, women have contributed to the economic development, raining of family and even other also decided to joint and fight as combatants for the independence of the country. Given this history, it's important to shade more lights on opportunity and challenges facing women in this country thus this study.

1.9 Scope

This study was conducted through descriptive analytical survey design. The study specifically investigated the patterns and trends of women's participation and representation in politics before and after independence and explore opportunities available to enable women to participate at all levels as well as analyze the factors that undermines women's participation in politics and analyze the previous failures and how to empower women to participate in politics and decision making process aimed at to solutions towards political imbalance in South Sudan.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This section reviewed the existing studies which are relevant to the central theme, and show its association with the topic under investigation. The sections explained and justified how the research led to uncovering solutions to some of the questions in the research area. Hardly will you open a book or read from the media, without finding something related to gender and to its pertaining issues. The issue of gender and politics has recently been a topic of discussion throughout the world: in the media, local politics, national level politics and international arenas as well. The scholarship on gender and politics go hand in hand or are intertwined. As posited by Diekman & Schneider (2010), men and women tend to support diverging political attitudes, as it is commonly identified both by social scientists and journalists. Gender has been identified by Waylen, Celis, Kantola & Weldon (2013) as not being about sex nevertheless, cuts across race, ethnicity, nation, class and different scopes of social life. The researcher Waylen et al (2013), attest that male domination in ceremonial, leadership positions had come to be noted as normal and unchallengeable, and male power that existed in the family was viewed as biological obligation and mark of civilization since colonial eras.

2.2 Gender Matters in Politics

Gender is usually understood as sets of generally created understandings of masculinities and femininities. These connotations emanate from categorizations about male and female behavior; from the features of conduct usually linked with men and women; from normative suppositions about suitable behaviors of women and men; and from conventions about biological modification and from social structures of supremacy and alteration (Waylen, 2012). Even though, sometimes receive little attention by both experts and academicians equally, gender in politics needs to be addressed as both a practice and politics as theme of 9 study as noted by Beckwith (2010). Central to this endeavor, according to Waylen (2012) is that the politics of recognition cannot be overlooked as practice and the discipline of politics different from each other.

The problem confronting both politics as a practice and politics as an educational discipline with respect to gender subjects are interwoven. When considering politics as a discipline and a practice, it is evident that there are massive alterations or modifications to both. True to the issue at hand is that more women have now been noticed as prominent politicians, leaders of state and of acclaimed bodies in Africa, Europe and Latin America, ranging from Angela Merkel in Germany, Dilma Roussef, the president of Brazil and Christine Largarde at the International Monetary Fund, and also not forgetting female heads of states in Africa: Ellen Johnson Sir leaf, Joyce Banda and Catherine Samba-Panza, former presidents of Liberia Malawi and the Central African Republic. It will virtually be difficult to refute that there have been noteworthy efforts and accomplishments, both in terms of accumulating women's political participation and enlightening the prospects for women academicians in its entirety. Waylen (2012) believes that not just mere increasing of numbers of women has been important, but more reflective modifications are necessary for both politics as practice and politics as a discipline to make them more gender impartial. To be able to make this a reality, it is vital to grasp what it is about politics as an educational field and politics as a practice and the means in which the two work together that account for men being dominant in politics than women.

In the United Kingdom there are fewer women ministers in the cabinet, representing 22.5 percent pegging them on the 59 the position in the world league table of women's representation, whilst South Sudan is sandwiched at the 169th out of 188 countries on the UN Human Development Index in 2015 and held the same rank on the UN Gender Development Index (GDI), which compares disparities between women and men in three basic dimensions of human development – health, knowledge and living standards. Women's roles and the postulations made about their roles in the private arena still have an influence on the roles in government sectors. This continues to impact concepts of what is taken into account as politics and the political, which is still primarily high politics in the government sectors; who is perceived as a qualified individual to be involved in politics; and what are rightful concerns that is often shallowly explained and does not take into account definite events and actors and represent particular assumptions of masculinity and femininity, as observed by Waylen (2012). The artificial partitioning of the civic and private, benefitting high politics, and the acceptance of certain models of a person that has made politics as a discipline, somehow diverse of sociology and anthropology and the other social sciences, 10 which find it freer to connect the private arena and, as a result, have created an easy way to take gender aboard and take account of women in their field.

Considering politics as a practice, it can be noticed that these fundamental suppositions are also mirrored in the ways in which politics is experienced. According to Waylen (2012), second movement feminism confronted the interpretations of what undertakings and issues are justifiably regarded as political. Of course, the women's movements, as it was known by then, such as the political right and anti-war crusades, that were thought-provoking the status quo in the 1960s and the early 1970s. It is also necessary to bear in mind that upspring of the women's movement itself was in part a response to prejudice within those other women's wing.

2.3 Women in Politics and Representation: Global Perspective

Women are less represented in politics globally. Just switching on the television to international leaders meeting, deliberations at a United Nations and African Union, meeting show a deficiency of female faces. Women are the majority of every country's population 12 worldwide. But the global average proportion of women in national parliaments is merely 21.4% (IPU, 2013). But this shows a slight increase from that of 2007 average of 16 percent (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). Of the more than 195 countries on the globe, a woman is a leader of the government (prime minister or president) in only 19 (World Statement, 2014), this is also an increase from seven in 2007 (Paxton & Hughes).

At the turn of the 21st century, there is obvious discrimination against women in politics. Nearly all countries in the world give women the freedom to partake in politics. Women can cast ballots, women can throw their support for aspirants or candidates and can compete for political office. But the absence of detectable women in the political endeavor of country after country suggests that disguised discrimination against women exists. From the perspectives of Paxton & Hughes (2007), there is no country in this world that women constitute fifty (50) percent of the national legislature, but few nations come near and even beyond. Sweden for several years occupied the league table of the percentage of women in parliament; however, Sweden was in 2003 overtaken by Rwanda, which reached 48.8%, but now boasts of the world's highest average of women in parliament with 63.8 percent (IPU, 2013). The difference between the two countries is that Sweden is an industrialized nation and has seen harmony for centuries. In the Swedish case, women's upsurge in politics was a long slow development. Beginning with transformations in the 1920s, Sweden recorded the 10% streak for women's parliamentary representation in 1952, boasted the first woman interim prime minister in 1958, and then surpassed the 20 percent mark for women governmental manifestation (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). On the contrary, in 2003, Rwanda had just started to recuperate from a ruthless annihilation in which over a million people died.

The 2003 poll was the maiden balloting of a new constitution, which assured women at least 30 percent of the National Assembly seats. Prior to this, women have been invisible, never reaching 20% of the legislature before the change to a provisional government in 1994 (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). Longman (2006), attributes this achievement of more women in the Rwandan parliament to international organizations, local women's institutions, and the total number of men who were either exterminated or imprisoned after the massacre, defines the sudden rise of women to significant political supremacy in Rwanda. Why care about the low number of women governments? Politics is an essential field of decision making. Politicians or government officials take political resolutions at the detriment of others. Judgments by legislators even have an influence on a person's selection, by 13 inspiring some conducts and outlawing others. Again, political supremacy is respectable. Martin (2004), asserts that legislators hold supremacy over other societal organizations, such as family or education, and are capable of organizing specific practices into the decree. Political figures have the supreme edge to impose their decisions, sometimes with force. When there is political power, there is a position of control. In principle, most regulations are gender unbiased, and selected officials focus on voters in the same way. In practice, though, feminist political philosophers have contended that the presence of objectivity toward gender or parity that exists among men and women in political office really hides large gender disparity (Paxton & Hughes, 2007). In general terms men legislators are less likely to move and pass rulings that function in the interest of women and children (Childs & Withey, 2004; Schwindt-Bayer, 2006). But in social equality, opinions of all individuals or groups need to be heard, therefore, the expressions and point of views of women as well as men must be assimilated into political decision making.

2.4 Women and Quotas in South Sudan

According to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), women's liberation and their full contribution on the grounds of parity, in all spheres of influence of society, consisting of membership in decision-making approaches and access to supremacy are important for the accomplishment of parity, growth and peace. From the IPUs (2013), perspective women have become powerhouses and powerful in political life in many nations, hitherto, they still lag behind in their representation in politics in the executive and governance at all echelons. Ever since the 1990s, gender quotas have been identified and accepted by many states as the most efficient instrument for amassing women's political participation. This from the standpoint of the UN (2005), recognized that 30% was the critical minority needed for women as a cluster to make an impact and affect parliamentary assemblies.

This was to be attained via a variety of instruments with quotas for women's representation in legislation. Almost half of the nations on the globe today have some form of the democratic gender quota system according to Dahlerup (2009). Still the importance and significance of gender quotas is contended especially in both liberal and young democracies such as countries in sub-Saharan Africa, including Ghana and Tanzania. Discussions continue on how to approach the low representation of women in politics and legislation. Quotas represent a kind of affirmative action measure intended to ameliorate the low pace of change in the representation of women and marginal groups in parts of societal order, where they are generally lagging behind men, comprising employment, education and in political 17 organizations. Quotas normally constitute allotting a percentage of spaces to be occupied by those who have a low representation of members. Dahlerup (2002), again stresses that for the past two decades, allocation of seats have been widely used in nations from the length and breathe of the globe as a propelling factor in the political representation of women. The quota system or scheme, according to Dahlerup (2002), puts strains on enlistment not on the individual woman, but on those who manage the process of recruiting. The major principle behind the scheme is to commission women into politically aware positions and to make sure that women are not under- represented. In South Sudan, the Legal Frame system in place includes mandated quotas in the Constitution and the electoral laws. The 25 per cent constitutional provision is not often met at local levels (Governors and County Commissioners). Women's participation at the lowest level of government (County Payam and Bomas) is also weak. No effective power parity between men and women in decision making positions has been reached so far.

The South Sudan Transitional Constitution, 2011 guarantees women to participate equally with men in public life. A 25 per cent quota is mandated in each level of legislative and executive organs. Furthermore, the 25 per cent clause is merely restricted to women nominated by political parties and independent women candidates are not foreseen in the National Election Commission (NEC). This will require women to have negotiating power to discuss with their parties in order to identify who will be on the women's list. In addition, no rules concerning the rank order on the party list are established in the law thus potentially undermining women's chances to be in a winning position. Quota systems generally aim at ensuring that women constitute at least a "critical minority" of 30 or 40 per cent. In this respect, the actual 25 per cent, combined with the virtual lack of women in the two other pillars of the electoral system, does not facilitate the attainment of a critical mass within the decision-making system.

The literacy requirement to be eligible as candidate hampers women's participation as candidates further on as 84 per cent of females in South Sudan are illiterate *(Government of South Sudan's Statistical Yearbook for Southern Sudan 2010)*. The nomination fees to be paid by candidates from the party and women list may also represent an obstacle to women candidates as many may not have the requisite amount of money due to their low economic status. The draft bill does not make clear whether it will be possible for parties to register at the Political Parties a Commission (check the correct name) after the 90-days deadline established in the draft law. This could carry implications for women's group to establish themselves as political parties. Although parties must specify in their constitution how they will select their leadership, there is no provision concerning the possibility to introduce a quota system for candidacies and internal leading positions. There is no gender provision concerning parties' responsibility in promoting women's rights and political participation.

2.5 Research Gaps

Researchers in the past examined similar topic but didn't cover everything, especially the effect of conflict, women and child abduction, poor economy, child married and gender based violence on women in South Sudan. This research highlighted the importance of women's inclusion in peacebuilding because of the disproportionate impact of conflict on them. It also showed that women are more likely to experience gender-based violence, up to 65% of women in conflict areas in the country have experienced physical or sexual violence, 80% of recorded refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) are women and children, women also face higher rates of abduction and assault since the conflict began. Since achieving equity and equality in female representation is still an uphill task in South Sudan politics, it provoked my curiosity to investigate and understand the reasons why despite the provisions of constitutional support to every citizens to freely engage in politics women are still under represented at the national level.

Chapter Three: Methodology

3.1 Methods and Collection of Data

Research has shown that women's political participation around the world is increasing, but there is still work to be done to enable women pass the threshold in political participation. This study aimed at researching into women's political participation in South Sudan, with special focus on Juba - Jubek State, and Bor of Jonglei State. The study will depend solely on secondary source of data to examine women's political representation situation in these states. Data from the media outlets which covers most of the stories around the country, including Sudan Tribune, Eye Radio, Voice of America (VoA) and Radio Tamazuj, the monthly humanitarian bulletins from UN-OCHA (United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs), reports by UN Women South Sudan, Civil Society Organizations and other Women Groups will be analyzed. The lack of government official's web page which should have been the main sources of information on government policies and activities as well as the sensitive and bureaucratic nature of the political system in South Sudan made it difficult to book an appointment with the higher people in the political realm, thereby hindering firsthand information on the research. For this reason, the research will depend on the databases of the above mentioned institutions for analysis of data.

3.2 Philosophical Paradigm

The debate regarding the statutory introduction of gender parity in electoral lists has been led, on the one hand, by those who envisage parity as a way to attain substantive equality between the genders. The opposition has been led by those who, on the other hand, reject it as going against the very principle of equality in its formal dimension, as well as against the autonomy of political parties. Among the various feminist struggles for gender equality in the West, achieving parity in political representation is, today, a primary goal in many countries. It is the objective that best exemplifies the empowerment of women proposed at the Fourth United Nations World Conference on Women's Rights (Beijing, 1995) as a crosscutting goal of all initiatives aimed at achieving real equality of the genders.

A prominent demand, it is also as we shall see a polemical one, in both the political and the legal arenas and among courts and scholars. Politically, there is not always agreement on whether it is strategically wise to introduce measures intended to guarantee, or simply to foster, women's having a matching or even a minimum presence alongside men in representative bodies. Legally, it is not always clear whether such measures are consistent with the constitutional framework of the legal system for which they are intended. Indeed, measures that aim to balance the presence of women and men in representative political bodies raise doubts as to their consistency with the principles underlying political representation within the state. The dominant model of representation is based on the notions of generality, unity, and equality a model of representation that, in the words of the Spanish Constitutional Court, "presumes that the will of the representatives is the will of the constituency, by virtue of which the actions of representatives are attributed to voters as a whole, not just to those who voted for them or who form the majority."1 This supposition requires that the vote of those represented, in effect, be free and equal. Consequently, as a precondition for the enactment of general laws, that is, equal laws, general representation requires the free and equal voting rights of those represented. Politics has thus been deemed the realm of formal equality, a terrain in which there is no room for affirmative action. Here, it is argued, affirmative action would go against the modern notion of political representation as unitary and general. It would undermine, moreover, the right of excluded male candidates to stand for elections. The autonomy of political parties, it is further claimed, would also be jeopardized. On the other hand, defenders of electoral quotas favoring women candidates in order to achieve a greater or a balanced presence of women in political representation highlight the superficiality of formal equality what Luigi Ferrajioli has called the "*aporia* into which a critical notion of the principle of equality can fall." A formal conception of equality, it is claimed, is inadequate when it comes to attaining true gender equality as is shown in the political sphere by the gap between the number of men and women representatives. It is important, advocates of quotas argue, to remember that humanity is divided *grosso modo* fifty-fifty between women and men. It is, therefore, reasonable that each gender should have equal representation. There is no reason, however, why this should call into question the principles of generality and unity in modern political representation. Indeed, equal representation does not imply that women should only vote for women, or men only for men, or that each gender should only represent its own interests.

Each elected representative continues to represent the population as a whole. Democracy and equality require, nonetheless, that each gender have a minimum level of representation and, in fact, that they be comparably represented. I argued that parity democracy is necessary for the transition to and realization of a truly democratic state since it will allow the state to strip away the false paradigm of independence that currently guides participation in politics. Parity democracy would clear the way for those who, by virtue of the socio-sexual contract, exemplify and embody the managing of dependency, enabling them to take their place on equal terms alongside those who typify independence. The realm of public representation would then truly belong to all, both male and female, which, as has been said, "[would entail] a transformation of the initial concept on which representation is based and, in turn, of sovereignty." And not so much because the population is composed of men and women, but because one represents independence while the other represents the managing of dependency. Parity, then, is about bringing into politics the reality that everyone's independence depends upon the proper management of our nature as dependent beings upon whom, in turn, others depend. The only vision of independence that can be a truly faithful representation of ourselves as human beings is one that incorporates our dependencies as well. Parity democracy aims to integrate the human dimensions of independence and dependence in the public realm. This will free us from the structuring of society based on the liberal disassociation between the ideal of independence/public realm, on the one hand, and dependency/private realm, on the other, and from the respective gender roles associated with each. It is about making room for both ends of this false dichotomy in state representative institutions and about finally building an all-embracing state with the equal inclusion of all individuals in all their dimensions. Given that women's exclusion from politics has been key to the cultural definition of the genders, the project of building this all-embracing state must begin in the political arena through parity democracy. The dismantling of the sexual contract must begin at its foundations, in the definition of what is public. However, this project cannot rest at just that; it must extend to all centers of power within society not only in politics but at the economic, social, and cultural levels as well. It must also penetrate family walls. In this sense, it is worth celebrating that the Spanish Law on Real Equality of Women and Men, in addition to instating electoral parity, has put into place measures that promote equal participation by women and men in corporate decision making, as well as other measures to facilitate both the reconciliation of work, personal, and family lives and the joint responsibility for domestic tasks and family caretaking. All of this is relevant to the ultimate implications of electoral parity.

Advocating parity is part of the larger goal of disassembling culturally entrenched gender roles, a dismantling that must occur in both the public and private realms, most notably in domestic life. Electoral parity puts men and women in the position of being the driving force behind this broader purpose, without which true equality between men and women will prove unattainable. There has been much discussion as to whether women's ethics are different from men's; whether women's ethics are affected by their experience as caregivers and administrators of human relations; and whether these factors would naturally lead women to a type of politics different from men's. If this were true, flooding representative bodies with women would create new operating rules that would make politics more compatible with caring for dependents. Questions such as the following would move to the forefront: Who takes care of the children and parents of members of parliament? What about travel, illness? What time do daycare facilities close? When are school vacations? It would also guarantee the inclusion of human-dependence–related issues as core interests on the political agenda, rescuing them from their current political and cultural devaluation. Beyond all this, if care theorists are right, what would change would be the very way we do politics. It has been said, for example, that from a highly competitive, aggressive, hierarchical model full of formalisms, we could advance toward one that is more deliberative, empathetic, and cooperative. This new model would be defined more by the search for compromise and mutual responses to shared needs than by the prevalence of particular interests. It would be more about cooperation among individuals who are aware of their interdependence, and less about competition among individuals who see themselves as independent. All of this would make the realm of politics slightly more habitable for many women and for some men, too.

It is impossible to know what the world would be like if women had contributed equally to governing it for centuries. What does seem reasonable to assume is that the world of politics made in the image and semblance of women would be different from the one made, thus far, in the image of men; policies and ways of operating based on an awareness of human interdependence would have their rightful place in a world that, until now, has operated on the notion of independence. It is, therefore, reasonable to expect that women's equal participation alongside men in the world of politics would challenge the parameters of what has been considered standard in this traditionally male world.

Finally, I claimed that the parity debate should be understood as a debate about democracy namely, a debate about the model of democracy implicit in the pursuit of gender equality in political representation. In this regard, I argued that a model of democracy based on gender parity completes the South Sudan transitional period to more democratic state, a transition that began since the Independent in 2005. I argued that, in order for this transition to be fully achieved, the presence of men and women in parliament must be comparable and, if this does not occur spontaneously, it can and must be enforced. Depending on the situation, parity may be imposed by the political parties themselves or, if necessary, by law. My main argument, then, was that a true democracy must be a parity democracy, and it is legitimate, therefore, to promote that condition, even to impose it by law not only from the standpoint of a concern with substantive equality as a woman's right but as a structural prerequisite of the democratic state South Sudan.

3.3 Study Design

In the view of Kothari (2004), research design helps in the smooth sailing of the various research operations whereby the research efficiency is enhanced and misleading conclusions avoided. Thus, this study adopted a research design called the qualitative design. Unlike quantitative research approach which relies on the measurement of quantity or data that can be expressed in terms of quantity, qualitative design focuses on the subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior (Kothari, 2004). Both quantitative and qualitative research approaches hold independent research purposes but Creswell and Garrett (2008) argued that the two research designs work to complement each other. Therefore, this study used a mixed method where demographic information of respondents was analyzed quantitatively while the qualitative approach examined respondents' views about the factors inhibiting the participation of women in politics. The qualitative design also gathered information on the strategies that can be leveraged upon to improve women's participation. According to Kothari (2004), qualitative design is particularly important where the aim is to discover the underlying motives of human behavior rather than seeking to establish numerical facts. The study covered the Pre and the Post Independent period (1972 – 2018) investigating the patterns and trends of women's participation and representation in politics before and after independence and explore opportunities available to enable women to participate at all levels as well as analyze the factors that undermines women's participation in politics.

3.4 Study Site

This study on women's political representation and decision making of women in South Sudan was conducted through descriptive analytical survey design. The study specifically investigated the women's political participation and decision making challenges, and the previous failures and how to empower women to participate in politics and decision making process aimed at to solutions towards political imbalance in South Sudan. The study was carried out in three major States in South Sudan, including Jubek State (Juba), the capital city of South Sudan, and Jonglei State Bor. These locations of the research was chosen because of its strategic being. For example Jubek State/Juba was selected because it hosts the capital city of South Sudan where the central government is actively operating. It also hosts most popular politicians and civil society organization that are more engaged in politics while Jonglei State (Bor) was chosen because of its experience in conflict during the civil war and also the recent December 2013 crisis. The level of accessibility, time and economic factors was as well considered during the selection of the research sites. All of these facilitates getting the necessary information concerning the matter under investigation.

3.5 Research Approach

This study used a qualitative research design. The common feature of qualitative projects is that they aim to create understanding from data as the analysis proceeds. The justification for using this design is that the study seeks to understand behavior which goes beyond numbers.

3.6 Research Method, Data Needs, Types and Sources

The study used official statistics obtained members of the National and State Transitional Assembly, media reports and official figures from humanitarian's organizations to collect secondary data. To collect primary data, the study used qualitative research methods of focus group discussion and key informant interview. The focus groups allowed direct interaction with individuals in a group setting. Four focus groups were used which added to the breadth and depth of the information. The key informant interviews allowed direct interaction with individuals on one to one basis. A series of open ended questions were used which enabled the researcher to prompt the interviewee to elaborate on their views.

3.7 Data Collection

Data collection was done through in-depth interviews and the use of questionnaires. The questionnaires were used to collect demographic information of respondents while the in-depth interviews gathered subjective viewpoints of respondents. Unlike the quantitative approach, the interviews were audio recorded using a digital voice recorder. Audio recording during interviews is recommended in qualitative research to allow for replaying to respondents for clarifications, additions or subtractions. According to Maynard and Purvis (1994), repeated listening to 44 recorded interviews with participants is vital; however, this has been a neglected focus for analysis.

3.8 Data Analysis

The data collected was analyzed by transcribing the recorded interviews. This was then grouped into thematic areas for analysis in the form of narrative. In the analysis of the thematic content, saturation set in on the 18th transcribed response. Nonetheless, the transcription continued to the 30th response with the view to discovering new ideas from the respondents.

Although Glaser and Strauss (1967) posited that sample size in qualitative studies should generally follow the concept of saturation especially when analysis of new data does not lead to any discovery of new data, it is argued that the longer researchers examine and analyze data, there is the potential of new information being discovered (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

3.9 Validity, Reliability and Ethics

To conduct a concise assessment of the validity of the research and its sub-components, the following sections explored this in three steps; first, by providing evidence-based information on the gender gap in political representation in South Sudan, second, by discussing the opportunities for potential women's political participation while analyzing the underlying challenges facing women in their efforts to appear the political field. Third, by using reliable sources of information in the collection of data. In carrying out the research, the consent of all the respondents was sought before the interviews and phone calls made. The consent copiously underscored the importance of confidentiality and discussed with respondents. Recognizing that the political landscape in South Sudan is highly polarized and people consider their views highly sensitive; respondents' identity in this report is not disclosed.

Chapter Four: Presentation of Findings, Analysis and Interpretation

4.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents analysis and interpretation of the data collected through the in-depth interviews. Data analysis is one of the fundamental processes in statistical operations. Failure to analyze the collected data from research renders them useless to policy makers and undermines the real advantage of research (Muwonge, 2006). The study focused on examining the nature of marginalization South Sudan women faced or are facing in political participation at the national state and levels, the challenges encountered or encountering and opportunities that exist to promote their participation in mainstream national politics. Therefore, this analysis has been grouped based on these three thematic areas in addition to some demographic characteristics relevant to this study.

4.2 Women's Contribution for South Sudan Independence

There is enough backing to support the key role women played in the run-up to attaining independence and soon after. Women's role was vital in assisting the main political entity of that period, the Sudan People Liberation Movement (SPLM). The research showed that women merchants were strong and powerful supporters of the SPLM leadership, which also gave food and monetary support and helpful services. The women of the Republic of South Sudan had also been active in liberation causes, by "providing food and shelters" to soldiers and by "caring for children" and by "caring for wounded heroes and heroines" during their political struggle prior to the country's independence. An example was their formation of the Katiba Banat ("women battalion").

4.3 Challenges Women Faced Right after the Independent

Inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic fighting over grazing lands and water sources, together with cattle raiding, have existed in the culture of most South Sudanese ethnic groups, but the scale, intensity, and impact of violence was not as intense as it became with the advent of modern weaponry in the country. Traditionally, rudimentary weapons, such as spears, were used and like in all African societies, women and children were never seen as legitimate targets in war. Not until the second Sudanese civil war (1983–2005) did the country begin experiencing a huge influx of unregulated small arms and light weapons that exposed many unarmed civilians to grievous bodily harm and death. Having illegal firearms in the hands of civilians became

common place and brought about a transformation of culture, in which guns replaced spears and arrows. With firearms, the act of killing or injuring other people was/is depersonalized, promoting impunity and physical attacks on women and children. Increased weapons in the community translated into more violence against women and girls in their homes and in the public sphere. Men became more violent and explosive, not only towards enemy soldiers on the battle field but even toward their loved ones and unprotected females in their homes, who had no fallback position for redress or attainment of justice. While women's participation during the first civil war (1955-1972) is not well documented, there is ample evidence that South Sudanese women during that period challenged oppression imposed on them by the conflict. Unfortunately, there has been no justice for the widespread injuries and violence women and girls experienced during the wars and until now, the issue has been systematically neglected during the so called peacebuilding. Generally, women have not been given a chance to heal and reconcile with their past and effective mechanisms to enable the survivors of violent conflict-related crimes to access justice are lacking.

The research showed that, even in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) women's critical concerns such as, human, economic, political and social security, health issues, including reproductive health, property rights, food security, access to justice and sustainable livelihood opportunities were not addressed since the negotiations focused on issues related to power and wealth sharing between the north and south, restoration of security in respect to attaining a ceasefire between the warring factions, instituting security sector reforms, establishment of power structures, such as the executive and the legislative branches, strengthening the judiciary and putting in place systems for the administration of states.

4.4 The Current Conflict and its Effects on Women

Violence in South Sudan has been intricately linked to localized drivers that are deeply related to women and their role within the family and community. While national and political trends affect the dynamics of the conflict across the country, they interact with local drivers that perpetuate violence in communities across South Sudan. National political events can exacerbate local cycles of grievance and revenge, resulting in explosive community reactions. Issues related to marriage and bride price including cattle raiding, inter-familial disputes over marriage arrangements, and violence in the home remain primary sources of inter-communal conflict in many areas. For instance, in Awerial, Lakes State, violence in the home is the most

recent conflict experienced for 43% of people, and more women than men report experiencing violence in the home. Despite their centrality to many of these issues, women are unlikely to bring forward their cases to traditional or statutory courts. Nearly 30% of women responded they "do nothing" when they have experienced human rights violations. Affirmative quotas for women have since been topical on the agenda of political parties the highlight was during the 2008 general elections. The 2009/10 campaign manifesto of the Sudan's People Liberations Movement (SPLM). A promised 25% of women representation in all government political public positions upon assumption of power; however this could not be achieved. Noticeably under the leadership President Salva Kirr, men have been appointed into the various ministries between the periods of 2005 to date whiles only 6 women were appointed for the same period. Despite their active role as fighters, peacemakers and activists, women have tended to be underestimated or ignored during negotiations, perceived as the passive victims of war.

Former SPLM/A negotiator Anne Itto explains the disappointment she and other women negotiators felt at lack of gender sensitive provisions in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Dr. A. Itto 2006). The independence of South Sudan from Sudan in July 2011 brought a sense of hope for peace and justice to all citizens. Women in South Sudan hoped for acquisition of their rights and empowerment in both public and private spheres. However, this hope quickly disappeared when the country degenerated into conflict in December 2013 (Johnson, 2014). This left little chance for meaningfully empowering women through the ratification and implementation of the necessary international human rights instruments that promote the rights of women in line with the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan. Since then, international and regional agreements that deal with the need to prevent, strengthen, and address Gender Based Violence (GBV) and its victims are yet to be ratified and implemented (Mediel Hove, Enock Ndawana, 2017). These embody "the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa." The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and United Nations Security Council Resolution 1996 (2011) which culminated in the setting up of the United Nations Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS) all affirmed the importance of gender expertise to ensure the success of women participation in the political sphere and gender mainstreaming in peace negotiations, humanitarian planning, peacekeeping operations, and post-conflict societies and in case of the latter addressing gender based violence as a weapon of war (Ali, 2011). By gender mainstreaming, we are simply referring to the recognition of the experiences, rights, and needs

of both men and women, boys and girls in all spheres of life. Despite being the most important, even the United Nations has failed to fulfill the gender equality obligation called for by the CEDAW. This is manifested in the lack of a fair percentage of women occupying top posts of the international organization (Beleza, 2013). Besides, there was no system of accountability designed to redress human rights abuses in the last civil war that took place between north and south. Even before the outbreak of the December 2013 civil war, the legacy of the previous wars was apparent in Jonglei state where fighting between armed civilian groups had never ceased. This ruined the long-awaited benefits of personal safety and general security which were expected to be ushered in by the political transition. Consequently, war and violence unequivocally brought about mostly intense effects on the perception and creation of gender relations, with novel, more violent constructions of masculinity in previously present patriarchal relations frequently culminating in more dependency, exploitation, and subservience of girls and women (Jok, 2005).

4.5 The Current Socio economic Situation of Women in South Sudan

Women account for over 60% of the population in South Sudan. This is not a force of nature but a direct result of over 39 years of conflict since Sudan's Independence. They are actively involved in all aspects of their society's life. Though women's share of the division of labour differs from place to place and from culture to culture, their average working day is believed to vary between 14 and 18 hours per day.

Their status is low where they: (a) are generally poorer than men because they earn less; (b) are less educated; (c) are increasingly becoming heads of households, with no resources to support their dependents; (d) do not enjoy due acknowledgment for their labour contribution, particularly in agriculture, and (e) do not have decision making power. South Sudan is a patriarchal society that keeps women at a subordinate position, using religion and culture as an excuse. These excuses have for many decades, supported by laws and legislation that uphold patriarchy and women's subordination. This has brought about and maintained disparities between men and women, in division of labour, share of benefits, in law and state, in how households are organized, and how these are interrelated. They also suffer from work stereotype and gender distribution of labor, more are occupy in economically invisible work. Women experience lower socioeconomic status in general and hence is marginalized from making decisions at all levels. Nonetheless, women are poor in terms of access to resources, services and employment.

Despite the subordinate status they have in the society, and their exclusion from most of the privileges and opportunities availed to their male counterparts, women's contribution for the survival of the household and economic and social development of the society as producers and reproducers is indispensable. Hence, now a day's efforts have been made to address the problem of gender inequality and gender based discrimination in the country. The Government of the Republic of South Sudan formulated several laws and policies to promote gender equality. Particularly Article 16 (3) of the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan 2011, clearly stipulates that "women shall have the right to participate equally with men in public life "the government has also been promoting the mainstreaming of gender in all of its development policies and strategies to address gender inequality. The South National Action Plan 2015 - 2020 was formulated and adopted in 2015 in order provide protection for women and girls, including those with disabilities, against any form of sexual and gender-based violence and restore the respect for human rights, human dignity and equality in South Sudan.

The incorporation of gender issues in different national policies including Education and Training, Health, HIV/AIDS, Population and others formulated in the same year; as well as adequately addressing women's concerns in the Transitional Constitution of 2011.

4.6 International and National Legal Framework for Gender Equality

South Sudan's Transitional Constitution and other national policies are consistent with international legal instruments on gender equality, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW); the most comprehensive treaty on women's human rights, which came into force in 1981, has been ratified or acceded to by 165 states worldwide. It calls for equality between women and men in all civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights and it emphasizes the importance of equal participation of women with men in public life. States that are parties to the Convention are obligated to ensure women equal opportunities in the right to vote and be eligible for election, the Beijing Plat form of Action which focused on full recognition of women's rights and fundamental freedoms, and demands for progress towards gender equality in education and health care, in work and the family, and in the public sphere. The African Charter on Human and People Rights, and the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the South Sudan constitution guarantees the rights of women as equal to those of men in all spheres including equality in marriage, the right to equal employment, and rights to maternity leave with pay, the right to acquire, administer, control, use and transfer property, with emphasis on land and inheritance issues and the right to access family planning and education. South Sudan is therefore making several efforts to

strengthen national structures for achieving gender parity. In this regard the former South African president Nelson Mandela argues that "Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. All of us take this on board that the objective of reconstruction and development programme will not have been realized unless we see in visible practical terms that the condition of women in our country has radically changed for better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life equal with any other member of the society". Likewise the government of South Sudan should work a lot to close gender gap in the country and to bring women at the center of policy making and development. Equality between men and women, and boys and girls, is one of the central pillars of the South Sudan Gender Policy.

The vision of the South Sudan National Gender Policy is that of a country that is free from all forms of discrimination and violence, where women, men and children enjoy their human rights on the basis of equality and non-discrimination in all spheres of national life. It is underpinned by the commitment of the Government of South Sudan to uphold and protect the rights and dignity of all the people.

4.7 Arguments for Women's Political Participation in South Sudan

Politics is almost everywhere a male-oriented, male-dominated enterprise and female political participation is not as such good as expected. In today's discussion of women's political representation, there are different important arguments. The justice argument; women account for approximately half the population and therefore have the right to be represented as such; the experience argument; women's experiences are different from men's and need to be represented in discussions that result in policy-making and implementation. These different experiences mean that women 'do politics' differently from men; the interest argument; the interests of men and women are different and even conflicting and therefore women are needed in representative institutions to articulate the interests of women.; the symbolic argument says that every female politician acts a role model for all women, regardless of political views or party membership and will attract other women to the political arena; the critical mass argument states that women are able to achieve solidarity of purpose to represent interests when they achieve certain levels of representation; and the democracy argument asserts that the equal representation of women and men enhances the democratization of governance in both transitional and consolidated democracies. All of the arguments deals about the importance of women inclusion in politics are great. As a result women need to be included equally with men in every sphere of their life.

4.8 Women's Representation after the Independence

Since South Sudan's official declaration of independence on 9 July 2011, 5 out of 29 ministerial positions in the Government of South Sudan had been occupied by South Sudanese women. 10 out of 28 deputy ministers were held by women, bringing the women representation to 26%. Since South Sudan's official declaration of independence on 9 July 2011, 5 out of 29 ministerial positions in the Government of South Sudan had been occupied by South Sudanese women. 10 out of 28 deputy ministers were held by women.

4.9 Women Representation in Jonglei State Government

Jonglei is one of the State of South Sudan. On 2 October 2015 the President Salva Kiir Mayardit decreed the creation of the new Jonglei State along with 27 other states replacing 10 previous states. The state government of Jonglei State is headed by a male governor who have just been appointed this June 2019. Though it's too early to speculate what changes he might make in his new government and which percentage he might give to women, there are currently 9 State Ministers out of which women heads only two ministries. In the Legislatures (State Assembly), the state have a total representation of 23 Members of Parliament (MPs) with only 17 female Members of Parliament. Out of the 18 County Commissioner's positions, none of has been given to a women. The state also created Independent Commissions which accommodates 43 members with only13 sits given to women. The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan 2011 provides for 25% women representation in government positions. However, the current Jonglei government have only managed to give 21% positions to women in public institutions. Although the gap remain wide, this could also be attributed to the fact that Jonglei was very much affected by the conflict which broke out in December 2013 and women have been the most affected due to the conflict. Currently, men occupies 72% positions while women only have 21% in the whole of Jonglei State. The gender gap stands at 97% and more needed to be done to involve women in public life in Jonglei State especially under the power sharing arrangement in the revitalized agreement.

4.9.1 *Women Representation in Transitional National Legislative Assembly*

The Revitalized Peace Agreement on the Resolution on the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan, provides for expansion of the Assembly to a total of four hundred (400) members, including the prior three hundred and thirty two (332) members and an additional sixty-eight (68) representatives. Currently out of the 400 Members men occupies 284 sits while women have 116. There 21 heads of the Parliament Specialized Committees with only 4 headed by female members. When you look at the representation for other political parties, you won't believe when you realize that out of the 17 members of the other political parties, there is only 1 women representing. In general, the law promotes women's involvement in political participation and decision making however low literacy levels and a general lack of opportunities afforded to women. These acts as an important obstacle to women's empowerment and their imminent inclusion in decision making and their promotion as essential leaders for the sustainable development of their country. Furthermore, due to cultural traditions and the perceived low status of women in southern Sudanese society, women are not being enabled enough opportunities to make a difference to the development of their society.

4.9.2 Obstacles to Women's Political Participation

1- Cultural practices and Perceptions

Cultural practices and perceptions in South Sudan represent major obstacles to women's participation in politics and other public affairs. Practices such as early, forced, and/or arranged marriages hinder women's advancement and empowerment. Such practices, for instance, limit women's chances to continue education which will allow them to pursue careers in politics and other professions. In addition, cultural perceptions and patriarchal tendencies that view women as suited only for domestic responsibilities while involvement in politics is seen as men domain further hinder women's efforts to pursue political role.

2- The Gendered Division of Labor

The gendered division of labor, which puts heavy burden on women's shoulders further contributes to the marginalization of women in politics and public life. Dr. John Garang indeed was the first South Sudanese leader to acknowledge how gendered division of labor places more burden on women's lives. In his speech during the signing of the CPA in 2005, he noted, ".

Women in South Sudan as elsewhere in the world are marginalized of the marginalized whose suffering goes beyond description. The Sudanese rural woman, for example, gets up at five O'clock in the morning, to walk five kilometers, just to bring five gallons of water after five hours walk, spends another five hours working on the family farm, and five more hours making the family meal."

3- Customary Laws

Customary laws in the South also have influenced the role of women in public life, in particular political participation. The existing customary laws make it harder for women to escape the bondage of domestic roles which relegated them to the status of second class citizens. It is true that under customary law women are valued and respected as mothers. They are also valued and cherished as daughters because they are expected to bring wealth to the family upon marriage. Women are also seen as guardians of culture and traditions and are charged with imparting cultural values to the younger generation. However, this accord of respect is not usually complemented by many aspects of customary laws pertaining to women's lives. These same aspects of the law are sometimes used to marginalize women's voices and rights, as well as to justify women's exclusion from political participation and decision-making process.

4- High Illiteracy Rate among Women

The high rate of illiteracy among women in South Sudan is another obstacle to women political participation. According to the Ministry of Education's report of July 2011, the illiteracy rate in South Sudan is 73% and women represent the overwhelming majority. Other estimates even put the figure as high as 80%. This is a very high percentage given the population size of the country. Several factors contributed to such high illiteracy rate, among them the consequences of the 22-year civil war during which many educational institutions were destroyed, as well as some cultural perceptions that undervalue girls and women's education.

5- Women's Differentiated Personal Locations

It is to be acknowledged that women in South Sudan are not a homogenous group. Differences exist based on educational achievement, financial situation, age, marital status, political party affiliation, ethnic and regional affiliation, religion, and other forms of social difference.

These social differences in turn shape and influence women's decisions, their chances, and the choices they make regarding their participation in political activities and public life at large.

6- Women Themselves

During the collection of this data, about 20% of my sample populations (mostly women) acknowledged that women can also act as hindrance to their own advancement and empowerment, especially when they internalize the long held assumptions and perceptions that politics and other public affairs are only for men while, women's place is at home. Internalizing such assumptions negatively affect women's attitudes toward politics. For example, women might begin to dislike and/or feel reluctant to involve in politics. Those women who venture into politics face many challenges and criticism from men and sometime from women themselves. For example, women who are politically active, are sometimes labeled as "unfeminine," "irresponsible wives and/or mothers," "loose women," etc. It is important, therefore, for women in South Sudan and abroad to urgently double their efforts to ensure effective, meaningful and broad representation of women in all levels of government, as well as confront gendered power relations to guarantee gender equality. Women also need to address the numerous socio-cultural and economic barriers facing women in general and women politicians in particular. But these steps cannot be realized unless women take the lead in effecting change.

Chapter Five

Summary of Findings, Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Introduction

Historically, literature has shown that women in pre-colonial Africa were equally dominant in the public space as their male counterparts. Women performed roles that were important as those undertaken by men where, these roles were seen to be complimentary. However, Konde (1992), O'Barr and Firmin-Sellers (1995) as well as Allah-Mensah (2005) have all blamed the colonial government for its role in widening the gender gap between men and women. After colonialism, there has been a lot of advocacy around women's subordination in public sphere and the need to dismantle patriarchy which continues to widen the gap between men and women. In South Sudan, one of the area where this gender gap has reflected quiet phenomenally is political representation. The question that has remained relevant is why the participation of

women in national and state politics is still low despite gaining political freedom over 14 years ago. To answer this question, this study began by looking at the trend of women's political representation and then using qualitative personal interviews tried to document the reasons accounting for women's low representation. This Chapter presents the summary of the findings from this study, conclusion derived from the findings and recommendations to help promote women's representation in and state national politics of South Sudan. The media was cited as one of the powerful mediums through which women's personalities are being attacked in unprovoked manner with the aim of scandalizing their positive achievements and eventually confining them to the silent roles. It was also found that lack of financial resources affected women in elective politics because they are unable to compete with their male counterparts given the increasing expensive nature of multiparty democracy in South Sudan and many other jurisdictions.

Surprisingly, the 2011 Transitional Constitution of South Sudan which is expected to be the Supreme Law guiding all the government policies was also cited to be violated by the people in power, mostly men because they do not enforce the 25% provided in the constitution. Aside this, respondents believed that society's reverence for marriage scares young unmarried women from participating in national politics because they are perceived to be irresponsible. Most respondents also attributed the low participation of women in national politics to lack of assertiveness among some of their colleagues. The factors likened to this were illiteracy and insufficient political capacity building for women. The study also made a very important observation relating to the intent of affirmation action policies. Finally, despite the fact that affirmation action is widely recommended as one of the effective ways of promoting women's participation in South Sudan, respondents from the political parties held a contrary view, citing much of this has been said only verbally without putting it into action. The also said that the common phrase ''we are the ones who fought the war'' always put women at a very local of politics because in South Sudan, people who participated as soldiers of senior political members carries much weight in any decision making, and in this case women are not very much considered to be among them. At best, women end up deputizing other national officers apart from the women wings.

5.2 Opportunities to Increase Women's Representation

As indicated earlier, one of the major breakthroughs for women in South Sudan is the recognition and acknowledgment of their roles and contributions to the liberation struggle. For instance, the CPA provided for 25% women's representation in all levels of government. Although such a provision is welcomed as a positive development in the history of the country, women should not sit back and settle for what is given to them. Rather, they should aspire for more representation. After all, who decided the 25%? Therefore, women should interrogate and question the logic behind the 25% provision. In reality women represent the majority of the population of South Sudan. Women's groups should also think seriously about some of the challenging questions related to their future role. For instance, what role women would play as MPs, ministers, head of commissions, etc? Whose agenda they promote, and what do they want to achieve? Forging a consensus and platform by women for women in South Sudan is a key for securing their political participation and advancing their vested interests. The new nation of South Sudan is beginning to chart its future.

All respondents embraced the concept of affirmation action as an effective way of increasing women's participation in national politics. Although majority of respondents held the view that it should not necessary be a legal framework, they believed that it could have significant bearing on women's representation if given the needed commitment. Respondents especially in elective politics suggested the establishment of a special fund to support political activities of women including funding campaigns and political capacity building. At the political party level, most respondents were of the view that party nomination fees should be scrapped for women in order to boost their moral in contesting national elective positions. Lastly, respondents believed that the media could be a good partner in the drive towards dismantling the exiting patriarchy in society by promoting their achievement and holding political parties to their commitment of affirmation action promises.

5.3 Conclusion

It is no doubt that women in South Sudan are still lacking behind in terms of their effective participation in national politics. The glass ceiling is a reality but the battle is not lost since there is a lot of potential in women that can be harnessed to increase their participation in national politics. It is a wakeup call on government, political parties, women groups, and society at large to show interest in the potential of women so that their participation in national politics can be promoted.

Despite the fact that South Sudan is still facing political crisis, there is evidence at attempts made to increase women's political participation, their representation is still marginally low. For instance, since 2005, the proportion of women in the national parliament has not gone beyond 11 percent although their population has consistently been higher than men. The goal of achieving gender equality in South Sudan is anchored in the country's Transitional Constitution and guided by a vision of equality as an inalienable right for all women, men and children, and gender equality as a human right. Article 16 of the Transitional Constitution states:

• Women shall be accorded full and equal dignity of the person with men.

• Women shall have the right to equal pay for equal work and other related benefits with men.
• Women shall have the right to participate equally with men in public life.

The Bill of Rights provides further guarantees for equality and the preservation of human, economic, social and cultural rights. The South Sudan Development Plan (SSDP 2011-2013) recognizes gender equality and the empowerment of women as prerequisites for sustainable peace and development and this policy is, therefore, an integral part of the national goal of building a peaceful, inclusive and prosperous nation.

5.4 Recommendation

With a new roadmap for peace in South Sudan facing persistent challenges, the integral involvement of women is vital, along with international support to ensure that the country's leaders fulfil their responsibilities. Some of the issues that need both immediate and long-term commitment of women are the following:

1. Development of women's platform or women's agenda for the next 5-10 years 2020 – 2030). This platform would address both strategic gender interests – that is, those interests that women share in challenging and eliminating power inequalities based on gender; and practical gender needs – which emerge from everyday lived experiences of women, based on a gendered division of labor. In the process of developing the women's agenda, women need to identify some of the customary, legal, cultural, political and economic obstacles to women advancement in South Sudan. Some of these obstacles include, but not limited to the following: (a) Elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in all aspects of society including social, cultural, economic, and political. (b) Elimination of gender based violence imbedded in South Sudan's cultural practices and customary laws pertaining to women's rights and well-being. (c)

Outlawing early, arranged, and/or forced marriage to allow girls and women to continue education and pursue careers in politics and other professions. (d) Enact policies to end work-place sexual harassment, abuse, intimidation of women in public life. (e) Development of gender-sensitive public institutions that cater for women specific needs and situations. (f) Improve women's economic conditions through creating economic programs such as small-credit unions that cater for specific needs of women in urban and rural areas. (g) Develop and promote an inclusive and gender-sensitive curriculum, educational environment and teaching methods that are reflective of the diversity of South Sudan people and that respect the rights of girls and women, and (h) Articulate a transformative political project that seeks to confront male power domination in all its dimensions.

2. Encourage women's involvement in politics through joining political parties. This is important partly because political parties are the gatekeepers to women's participation in politics.

3. Formation of a strong and effective national women's organization or movement that brings together women from all different regions, political parties and civil society is critical given the fact that South Sudan lacks such organization. The task of this women's organization is to develop and promote the women's agenda stated above; articulate the differences between political parties and women's movement; and address challenges facing women in South Sudan.

4. Convening of a national women's conference that brings also women and women's organizations that are not necessarily subscribed to SPLM or other parties' position to discuss and define strategic women's platform in South Sudan.

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APPENDIX

<u>Introduction letter for the respondents</u>

Dear Sir/ Madam, Greetings! I am a student perusing Diploma in International Development Studies at Africa Centre for Project Management – Nairobi, Kenya. As a requirements for the award of the Diploma Certificate, I'm currently conducting a study entitled, "Women Political Participation in South Sudan: Interrogating Women's Participation and Representation in South Sudan Politics before and after Independence''.

Within this context, may I request you to participate in this study by answering the questionnaires? Kindly do not leave any option unanswered. Any data you will provide shall be for academic purposes only and no information of such kind shall be disclosed to others.

May I retrieve the questionnaire within two days?

Thank you very much in advance.

Yours faithfully. Mr. Angelo Emilio Kuri

A: Background of information 1.

Full name: …………………….…………………………………………………………….......

Sex:…………………….Male…………………..Female…………..Marita status:…………..…

Highest level of education:……………………………………………………………………..

Physical addresses………………………………………………………………….…..…

Phone number…………………………………email…………………………………..…………

Function……………………………………………………………………………………

Questions2:

1- Is there any opportunity of women's political participation in South Sudan?
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   ………………………………………………………………………………………
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2- Have you ever seen women in political participation and decision making?
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3- Does women political participation have an opportunity in South Sudan political landscape?
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4- What is the role of education in the political participation of women in South Sudan?
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5- What is the role of gender quotas in the course of recognizing women in politics in South   Sudan?
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6- What are the opportunities of women's political participation?

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7- What are the levels of women's political participation under the lights of the South Sudan Transitional political landscape?

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8- What are the obstacles to women's political participation and what could be the radical ways forward to remove these obstacles?

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