Women, Peace and Casamance

A field study of how women organisations in Casamance,
Senegal are working for peace.

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Abstract

This thesis is a field study which was conducted for 10 weeks in the regional capital city of Casamance named Ziguinchor in Senegal. By using tools from feminist critical theory and methodology such as participatory observations and feminist in-depth interviews with women organisations in Ziguinchor, the purpose of the thesis is to understand how gender roles affect women and women organisations strive for peace. The thesis has a second purpose which is an attempt to reconceptualise the concept of Gender-just-peace. The finding of the thesis is worrying, embedded gender roles in the Senegalese society and the patriarchal system dominate, making it difficult for women to gain access and agency in the peace process. However, the thesis also shows the diversity of women organisations work and how they strive to gain agency and how they little by little are gaining ground by being organised around a common ground; Women's Platform for Peace in Casamance.

Ce mémoire est fait comme une étude du terrain qui a été conduit pendant 10 semaines dans le capital de la région du Casamance, au Sénégal ; Ziguinchor. En utilisant une théorie féministe et des méthodologies basées sur des observations et des entretiens avec des organisations féminines au Ziguinchor, le mémoire essaie de comprendre comment les rôles du genre influencent le travail des organisations féminines pour atteindre la paix. L'autre objet du mémoire est d'essayer de développer le concept du gender-just-peace. Le mémoire trouve que les rôles du genre dans la société sénégalaise et le système patriarcale dominent, ce qui rend l'accès à un haut niveau haut politique difficile pour les organisations féminines. Cependant, le mémoire montre la diversité du travail fait par des organisations féminines pour devenir des acteurs, surtout leur renforcement autour de la même structure : Plateforme des Femmes pour la Paix en Casamance.

Key words : Gender-just-peace, Casamance conflict, Plateforme des femmes pour la Paix en Casamance, Peace, Feminist theory, Senegal

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

COSEF	Senegalese Women's Council. French : Conseil Sénégalais des Femmes.
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo.
GBV	Gender-Based-Violence.
MFCD	Movement of Democratic forces of Casamance. French : Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance.
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.
The Platform (PFPC)	Women's Platform for Peace in Casamance. French : Plateforme des Femmes pour la Paix en Casamance.
UNSCR 1325	United Nation Security Council Resolution 1325.
URSY	Union Régionale Santa Yalla.

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1   Introduction

Senegal is often described as one of the most stable and established democracies in Western Africa since there has never been a coup d'état or military rule. However, what is not particularly known of Senegal is that it has West[1] Africa's longest running internal conflict (Evans 2009, p. 509). The conflict takes place mainly in the southern part of the country which is divided by The Gambia. The region is called Casamance and has since 1982 suffered from a low-intense conflict where the rebel movement Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques de la Casamance (MFDC), is seeking for independence for the region Casamance from the state of Senegal (Evans 2009, p. 509; Foucher 2011, p. 83). Over the years many civil society organisations and especially women organisations have established and developed in the region of Casamance. The women organisations urges the two fighting parties to negotiate, albeit these actors have not been getting access to the peace negotiations or the peace process, at least not on a high political level (Osemeka 2011, p. 60). Instead, they work on the ground working to get the two parties to the negotiation table and at the same time work for the development of the region. Therefore, the thesis investigates to understand how gender roles affect women organisations work for peace and access to the peace process, coupled with this investigation is to contribute to the development of the gender-just-peace concept.

The two parties; the Senegalese state and the MFDC are trying to solve the conflict on a political level. Thus, what is widely known in Casamance is that some of the first actors and organisations who started to engage and mobilising in order to regain peace in the region where women and women organisations. However, their work has at times been difficult and they were in the beginning forbidden to initiate marches and manifestations, due to their informal status and that they were not part of any official negotiations between the MFDC and the Senegalese state (Guèye 2015, p. 67 - 68; Osemeka 2011, p. 59; Stam 2009, p. 344). This situation for women organisations is not particular to the Casamance conflict, it is widely known that women works for peace on multiple levels in society, in organisations, governmental institutions, politics and that women are present in wars, as wife's, soldiers, informants etcetera. According to feminist scholars, the problem is that they do not gain the same agency and recognition in order to access a higher political level (e.g Ellerby 2016, p. 139). However, this problem does not go unnoticed by the international community; in 2000 the United Nation adopted the United Nation Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security. The resolution urges member states to include women in decision-making organs on all levels of society as well as in peacebuilding and peace processes in order to prevent and resolve conflicts (UNSCR 1325 2000). Nevertheless, it has been quite a few years since UNSCR

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[1] Some sources say its Africa's longest conflict.

1325 was adopted and the number of women's representation as described in the resolution still remains low. For example, during the negotiations in Senegal between the state and the MFDC which resulted in the signing of a peace accord in 2004, no substantive[2] representation of women was included (Ellerby 2016, p. 142). Women organisations were included as observers during the talks and demanded to speak during the negotiations, but these requests were not met (Stam 2009, p. 347 - 348).

Women is often seen as the victims of a conflict and men as the perpetrators. Research shows that, because of socially constructed gender roles and characteristics of what is seen as feminine and masculine reinforces the role of women as victims and men as perpetrators in times of conflict, even though it is known that women can be perpetrators and that men suffer from violence as well (Porter 2016, p. 212). However, these gender roles seem to stay and undermine women's agency when it comes to peace and over-estimating men's agency with peacebuilding, in the Casamance-conflict as well. Therefore, a field study in the Casamance region and observations of women organisations working for peace in Casamance has been conducted. In order to understand how gender roles affect their work for peace with the overall goal to contribute to develop the concept gender-just-peace. The method chosen is a feminist ethnographic peace study including participatory observations and feminist in-depth interviews. The findings are complicated since, multiple factors needed to be taken in to considerations such as the length of the conflict, the situation today as well as societal factors. However, the conclusion is that deep patriarchal norms in the Senegalese society undermine women's agency and then the concept of a gender-just-peace.

1.1   Purpose

In order to understand the above mention subject and its affects, this thesis is trying to understand the coupled and reciprocal relationship between gender roles and women organisations strive for peace. As the thesis will investigate peace with a gendered dimension, in order to widen the critical (feminist) peacebuilding agenda, it has a theory-developing aim. The subject of development is the concept gender-just-peace. The Casamance conflict is used as an illustrative case since, in Casamance numerous women organisations has gathered around a collective structure in order to reinforce their agency, the organisation is called: Women's Platform for Peace in Casamance (The Platform). This is a part of a relatively new strategy for women organisations in Casamance, in order to gain and fight for their voices to be heard and gain access towards the peace negotiation and peace process.

The thesis purpose is therefore twofold. Firstly, the study attempt to understand the relationship between socially constructed gender roles in reference to how these roles affect women organisations' inclusion and agency towards peace.

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[2] Substantive representation according to Ellerby is when there is a women agenda, women have access to the peace process and women have advocacy within the peace process (Ellerby 2016, p. 136; 143).

Coupled with this, the thesis second purpose is theory-developing regarding the concept of gender-just-peace. The research is a field study based on participatory observations of the daily routines of the women organisation Women's Platform for Peace in Casamance, as well as in-depths interviews with representatives of the organisation and representatives of their member organisations. These methods have been chosen since they allow the study to observe and to understand the participants' own view of their engagement in the peacebuilding process and the effect gender roles might play. The purpose is in longer terms an attempt to contribute to a hopefully, discerning way of thinking about women's role and agency when it comes to peacebuilding and peace processes.

1.1.1 Research question(s)

As stated above, the thesis has two purposes which are empirical and theory-developing respectively. The empirical question considers the field study in Senegal; gender roles in society and the role of women organisations in peace negotiations. The theoretical question is coupled with the empirical in order to investigate how to develop the concept of gender-just-peace.

- In what way do gender roles affect how women organisations are working for a Gender-just-peace?

- How does the analysis of women organisations in Senegal help us to rethink and advance the concept of Gender-just-peace?

1.2 Background

This year (2018) the conflict in Casamance begins its 36 years of ongoing conflict between the Senegalese state and the MFDC. Throughout the years the conflict has changed, taken new directions as well as increased and decreased in use of violence. Therefore, this chapter will give the reader a brief introduction and overview of the conflict and of those women organisations mobilising for peace.

1.2.1 The Casamance conflict

The 26 of December 1982 is often cited as the date when the rebellion begun, as the MFDC held a manifestation in the regional capital city of Casamance, Ziguinchor. The manifestation culminated when the MFDC were replacing the Senegalese flag with a white flag on a public building (Ebere 2015, p. 59). In the beginning, the conflict took place in the southwest part of Casamance and the region of Ziguinchor (called lower Casamance), however it has during the years spread to the east and as we will see, in to neighbouring countries (Evans 2009, p.

509). The conflict started as, and still is a separatist movement for the independence of Casamance starting with the people feeling marginalised and put aside by the central government in Dakar, both politically, financially and considering their right to land (Marut 2011, p. 363-364). Senegal had in the late 1970s suffered from a devastating drought, financial problems within the state which made it difficult for the population and especially the future for young people (ibid). The crisis hit the whole of Casamance hard but in particular the lower Casamance. The financial crisis and the drought made the flow of employment from Casamance to Dakar reduce and there was also a demographic change, where many Senegalese moved from the north to Casamance with the intention to use the fertile land. This created rivalry against the "northerners" and those who had lived in the south for a long time (Marut 2011, p. 364; Osemeka 2011, p. 58). One example of the creation of the rivalry is the decentralisation plan and the following land reform decided upon in 1964, which changed the owner of land, making the traditional properties that had belonged to and used by rural villages now belonging to the state (Badji 2015, p. 102 - 104). This made a great difference for the population living in Casamance. Traditionally, the land was not the property of someone and traditionally no one owned the land, instead it was used collectively in the Diola[3] community (ibid). The states privatization of land and the rivalry between those moving to Casamance with those who had lived there for generations resulted in discussions about and emerge to talk about and gatherer around a created Casamance identity (Marut 2011, p. 364). The question of land property and resources make this a conflict with roots in geo-political issues, history and politics which is an important thing to keep in mind, since the core causes of the conflict is not an ethical one even though the majority who lives in lower Casamance where and are Diola (Marut 2011, p. 364-365; Tavares 2015, p. 37).

The conflict became increasingly violent during the 1990s, when the MFDC had mobilised an armed branch called Atika (warrior in Diola) and clashes between state forces and the MFDC emerged (Stam 2009, p. 443). The humanitarian crises that followed with crimes committed by both sides in the conflict resulted in violation of human rights, internally displaced persons, and a number of refugees in to the neighbouring countries the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau (ibid; Evans 2009, p. 509-510). Things did not improve when the two fighting parties started to use landmines (which are still present in Casamance today) which made many humanitarian and international donors to leave the region (Evans 2009, p. 511; Stam 2009, p. 344). There have been efforts made to resolve the conflict and peace accord have been signed between the state and (some branches) of the MFDC both in 1991, 2001 and the latest in 2004 (Badji 2015, p. 115; Gueye 2015, p. 223).

The conflict has been centralised to the Casamance region but have had spill-over effects in to the neighbouring countries The Gambia and Guinea Bissau, making the conflict both internal and external (Tavares 2015, p. 43). Problems that have arisen over the year considering the two neighbouring countries are

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[3] Diola is the French spelling, it is also common to see the spelling Jola. The ethnicity Diola is in minority in the rest of Senegal (approximately 1/3 of the population are Wolof) but Diola are in majority in lower Casamance around the Ziguinchor area, other minority ethnicities in the region of Casamance are Mandingue and Fulakhunda (Osemeka 2011, p. 58).

connected to the development of a war economy that has emerged during the conflict, such as the stealing of livestock, a problem connected to the frontier in Guinea-Bissau and an illegal traffic and market of wood which is mainly connected to the Gambian border (Tavares 2015, p. 43). The frontier in Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia has in recent years also been used for smuggling drugs, and there is still a risk of political spill-over effect. The development is more worrying on the border towards Guinea-Bissau, since political spill-over effects in the past has happened. Noteworthy, is the traffic of small arms where one such transport was discovered going to the MFDC, which is seen to be the point of departure that later followed by a crisis in 1998 in Guinea-Bissau (Tavares 2015, p. 44 - 45; 48).

Today, there are opportunities for the Senegalese state and the MFDC to have peace talks. However, the negotiations are closed for other organisations and actors such as the civil society and very little information is given to the public (Rapport narratif 3, p. 9 - 10). Earlier negotiations have taken place in Rome with an Italian catholic organisation named Sant'Egidio which has mediated during the negotiations (Saint'Egidio 2013). Their biggest success was in 2014, when the Senegalese government and one faction of the MFDC signed a cease-fire agreement (Saint'Egido 2014; BBC 3). Access to information about the negotiations is difficult. However, after initiating a peace table the Platforms report showed that the MFDC needs to drop the discourse and claims of independence in order to engage in fruitful talks with the state (Rapport narratif 3 p. 9 - 10).

The current situation in Casamance is a status of no peace no war and the situation has increased to the better since the cease-fire agreement in 2014 (Ebere 2015, p. 60; BBC 1). However, the MFDC is divided in different factions and other non-identifiable actors are present, stealing resources, raiding boutiques and harassing the rural population, making it difficult to know whether it is the MFDC, armed groups or other groups who are involved (Ebere 2015, p. 60). For example, in January 2018, 13 people were killed in a forest close to Ziguinchor by armed men, the MFDC was accused of the attack but have denied any involvement (BBC 2).

1.2.2 Women's Platform for Peace in Casamance

Women organisations are strong in Casamance and around Senegal. The tradition of being a member of an organisation has existed for a long time in the country, well before the independence in 1960 (Guèye 2015, p. 27). During the crisis in the 1970-1980, when Senegal was facing problems with drought which resulted in economic problems and increased poverty for the population the politicians were unable to face the social problems that arose. Associations and organisations (especially women organisation) became the ones who took care of the matter. Eventually, this led to a new structure and establishment for women organisations to become non-governmental and then could specialise in different areas such as reducing poverty and work for women's autonomy (Guèye 2015 p. 28). Also, when the political climate changed in the 1990s to become more open, more and more women organisations was created and specialised in a specific context, for example a rural problem or a conflictual situation within a region such as the one in Casamance (ibid). Early organisations who were specifically working in

Casamance and with connection to the conflict where organisations such as: Kagamen, created in 1978 with the intention to promote autonomy for single households mothers and women, by educating them in order to create and gain work (interview 6). The president and founder of Kagamen, Madame Soaré helped internally- displaced persons and victims of land mines during the crisis in the 90s. Madame Soaré also participated in early talks with the MFDC and was one of the first voices in talks and mobilisation to make a demand for peace (interview 6; Stam 2009, p. 354). Kabonketoor, is a women organisation who focus on local traditions in conflict resolution (Stam 2009, p. 346), and Usoforal focusing on development and conflict resolution for and with women and young people (interview 1; Stam 2009, p. 346).

In 2010, celebrating the 10th anniversary of the UNSCR 1325, Usoforal and Kabonketoor created a new structure for all the women organisations in the region. This new structure became Women's Platform for Peace in Casamance, the structure had the intention of mobilising all women organisations in the department of Ziguinchor and Casamance under one roof in order to become a strong force within the civil society and a key actor regarding the negotiation-and peace process between the state and the MFDC (Guèye 2015, p. 70 -71). Today, the Platform consist of seventeen umbrella organisations, each representing and working in different sectors in civil society such as women's economic-cooperation, violence against women and girls and working to reduce poverty among many other projects. Each umbrella organisation is responsible for a certain number of member organisations as the Platform consist of approximately 210-member organisations and 25.000 members covering the three regions of Casamance: Ziguinchor, Kolda and Sédhio (Rapport Narratif 4). What brings all these organisations together is their mutual view on peace and their mutual determination to end the conflict in Casamance. The Platform's main question is to mobilise in order to bring the two fighting parties to the negotiating table and to include women in the peace process as well as the civil society in the discussion (Guèye 2015, p. 70). The work of the Platform focuses on educating and mobilising its members in peace and UNSCR 1325, the independence of women and in citizenship in order to put pressure on both the state and the MFDC to show that they are an inevitable actor with capacities to be involved in the negotiations (ibid).

2 Previous research

Research regarding gender and its connection towards peace and peacebuilding still remains fairly low. Most research with a critical agenda focuses on the practises, institutions and development in peacebuilding processes, thus, neglecting the gendered perspectives (Väyrynen 2010, p. 137 – 139). Also, while discussing mainstream international peacebuilding the focus often remains on neoliberal economic theory in order to boost the economy by reducing taxes and focusing on free trade and market-based economy (ibid). However, even though the main peace research focus lay within the non-reflexive non-critical arena or are neglecting a gendered perspective there are many feminist scholars striving to make a change from different angles and perspectives even thou they are in minority.

2.1 Where are the women?

"Where are the women?" Cynthia Enloe (1989) asked in her book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases*. This is still one question feminist scholars ask themselves and are doing excessive work to change. However, as with most questions there are different plausible answers.

Liberal feminist tends to focus on an 'ad women and stir' – policy, meaning the descriptive representation of women in politics will make politics more equal, the fact that women are visible will show women taking part in the public sphere and to be able to explain women's underrepresentation in international decision making or policy (Whitworth 1994, p. 12-13). *Standpoint feminism* focuses on the experience of women in times of war and conflict, with an emphasis on women as one category. The standpoint approach is especially interested to hear women's voices and experiences on the ground in order to understand the difference and broad perspective women have in regard to war and conflict (Väyrynen 2010, p. 144). *Postmodern feminist* rejects the idea of women as a homogenous group who are unaffected by intersecting aspects such as class, race, culture, history among other. The postmodern feminist is seeking to deconstruct the category of women to understand and change relationships and structures (Whitworth 1994, p. 20 – 22).

To ask the question; "where are the women?" is not always enough, it is also about seeing women as actors and women's agency in relation to conflict, war and peacebuilding and to challenge constructed notion of men and women in regards to war and conflict. Laura Sjoberg and Caron E Gentry are discussing this in their book *Mothers, monsters, whores: women's violence in global Politics* where they are challenging the notion of ascribed role of women and thus the association with

women and peace. This association makes women both excluded from decision making and that women cannot be viewed as a perpetrator of violence, and when a woman engage in violence she is not doing it as a rational person but because of emotions (2007, p. 31 – 33).

Women organisations and strive for peace is a common theme and researched subject regarding women's activism and organisation for peace. Cynthia Cockburn writes in her book – *From where we stand* (2007) about her visits to several women organisations working for peace in post-conflict societies. There are different organisations, and each has their own knowledge in regard to the conflict and history that they have been involved in. One example of a women's organisation and their activism working for peace described in Cockburn's work is the Mano River Women's Peace Network. The Mano River Women's Peace Network is an alliance formed between three neighbouring West African countries related by war and conflict; Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone (Cockburn 2007, p. 37 – 38). The network works with two strategies, firstly they work on a high level with governments and political leaders by engaging in diplomacy. Secondly, they work on the ground level, travelling to regional, remote areas listening to the experiences of local women that have often been neglected in order to see early signs of violence or conflict (Cockburn 2007, p. 38 – 41). The network managed to procure talks between the countries political leaders while the conflicts emerged and are involved in peacebuilding on many levels of the society (ibid). This research shows that; women and women's organisations are involved on different levels of society and as actors in conflicts.

2.2 Are there any women now?

With the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 perhaps many feminist scholars and women's organisation thought that it will be a ground-breaking path towards the inclusion of women in to peacebuilding and peace work. The resolution has thus been criticized for its essentialist view and homogeneity of women as one group. Furthermore, women are mostly referred to in relation to children which further reinforce the role of women as only mothers and nurturers has been researched (Väyrynen 2010, p.147; See also Laura J. Shepherd., 2008 *Gender, Violence and Security: Discourse as Practice*). Despise the resolution 1325 and the discourses that came after decided by the international community, the number of women and the agency of women in peacebuilding has not changed substantially (ibid). Women are still excluded, and men are still the dominating actor in peace processes. To change this some argues for women's substantive instead of descriptive representation as an important factor. Klara Ellerby explains that there are three intertwined conditions that needs to be fulfilled to make peacebuilding a more women-inclusive process: It requires a woman agenda, that women have access to the peace process but also recognition from the other parties to the conflict (2016, p. 138). According to Heidi Hudson (2016) there is a problem with this generalization of women's agency and access to peacebuilding, and there is a missing post-colonial approach and too much emphasis on the

Eurocentric one. Hudson requires a context specific approach to broaden the agenda (p. 195).

It is important to make the research context-driven. This thesis is in line with Hudson's view and therefore aims to reduce the gap within the context driven approach and the lack of research within this subject. Furthermore, this thesis want to fill the gap within both feminist peacebuilding and the liberal peacebuilding approach while focusing on the effects on gender roles a women's organisation might have in a context-driven research. As Cockburn's book "From where we stand" (2007) shows, there exists numerous women's organisation working for peace on a local level. However, a question that still needs to be thought of is the reason behind it, why is it that women or women organisation are not involved in to the hard negotiations or peacebuilding on a higher level? And what is it that, when she is, it is either expected to be because of her peaceful nature and not as agents in the conflict? Why women are not included in these processes but also, how women can be included while they are present are questions that needs to be taken in to considerations. By looking at the bottom of the construction of gender i.e. the gender roles this thesis can hopefully contribute to the above literature of feminist peacebuilding.

> My argument is that women who are already involved in *informal* peace processes need to be included in *formal* peace processes in order to establish meaningful gender equality and peace (Porter 2003, p. 246, my italics).

3 Towards a Theoretical framework

This section outlines the thesis way towards a theoretical ambition and framework. This commence with an explanation and an understanding of different concepts that are essential in feminist theory. Hence, feminist theory is a broad theory and there exists no specific feminist view on different concepts and instead, there is a broad body of work (Peoples – Vaughan-Williams 2015, p. 49). Therefore, this section starts with a broad conceptualization of vital ideas within feminist theory and thereafter a theoretical overview of Critical Feminism which will include the framework made by feminist scholars regarding gender, gender roles and gender-just peace. The last paragraphs incorporate the feminist theory and concepts in to a theoretical framework outlined within the thesis theory developing aim.

3.1 Feminist concepts

Certain concepts that follow throughout the thesis needs to be explained and described, this in order to follow the terminology used in the thesis. These concepts derives from various approaches within feminist theory and is in this context and thesis used while discussing and analysing gender roles, peacebuilding and women's organisations work for peace.

Key concepts within Feminist theory	
Patriarchy	The hierarchical social, political and economic structures in most society where men are privileged over women.
Sex	Ascribed at birth as either male or female. Traditionally seen as a dichotomy but everyone does not consider themselves as either male or female. Thus, there exists a group of sexes.
Gender	Socially constructed characteristics associated with the attributed sex that characterises subjects as either masculine or feminine.
Gender Hierarchy	Traits that are associated with one gender (masculine) are given more in regard to social and political life. When these traits are given as dominant traits it creates an unequal relation towards other gender (feminine).
Masculine Characteristics	Constructed characteristics associated with a masculine identity. Such as: rationality, independence, autonomy, aggressiveness, and war.
Female Characteristics	Constructed characteristics associated with a female identity. Such as: emotional, interdependence, passivity, innocence and peace.

Sources: Peoples – Vaughan –Williams, 2015 p. 47; Sjoberg 2014 p. 6 - 7

3.2   Feminist theory

The thesis is using one approach of Feminist theory, more specifically; the approach of Critical Feminism. The Critical Feminist approach incorporates aspects from both Marxist-feminism and Critical theory (Steans 2013, p. 28). Related to the postmodern feminist approach - the critical approach is considering issues such as power and justice and how these issues matter in relation to class, gender and sexuality. Further, to investigate how these issues intersect with

discourses and ideologies to reveal different power relations and oppressions (Elichaoff - Frost 2014, p. 53-54). The critical approach is focusing on women's experiences and their view of reality in order to be able to analyse power relations, social constructions and discourses to understand how these aspects generates oppression (ibid). This theoretical approach thus, sees gender both as a social relation that changes over time and as a power relation. The approach also focuses on the characteristics of gender as either male or female and that these characteristics are playing a large role in regard to gender inequality and the dichotomy between the private (feminine) and public (masculine) sphere (Steans 2013, p. 28-30). This entails not only to see gender as socially constructed and as a power relation, this also has implications on how gender roles are constructing the role of women in reference to war, conflict, peace and peacebuilding. Gender, in this sense becomes a tool of analysis within the theoretical framework outlined below.

3.2.1 Gender as a social construction

The essentialist way of reading sex and gender are that they are intertwined, and defined in the same way (Skjelsbaek 2001, p. 49; Steans 2013 p. 7). However, feminist (critical) and gender theorist make a distinction between sex and gender. Were the understanding of a subjects' sex is ascribed at birth in to two categories, as either male or female (Cohn 2013, p. 6; Steans 2013, p. 11). Gender is then the socially constructed characteristics that are associated as either female or masculine based on ones' sex. The social construction of gender affects both men and women in different matters depending on the constructed characteristics. It is a way of creating constructed expectations of how either a man or a woman should behave (Sjoberg 2014, p. 6 - 7). "Men *are* expected to behave *as men*, and women *are* expected to behave *as women"* (Sjoberg 2014, p. 7). What is important is that the critical feminist approach does not view these characteristics as static, instead critical feminism see those characteristics as changing over time, class, location, culture and sexuality. However, there are a set of expectations depending on these traits and throughout history masculine traits have been privileged over feminine creating a gender hierarchy (Sjoberg 2014, p. 13).

Gender as a social construction in feminist critical theory means that gender exists everywhere and is changing over time. Gender and gender roles are acted upon and lived every day because of the relationship that creates an assumption between our personality and the sex which we are ascribed at birth (Sjoberg 2014, p. 6; Steans 2013 p. 30). The gender roles that points to the characteristics on how men and women should behave accordingly to these traits creates a socially constructed "natural behaviour" for both men and women and when men and women are behaving accordingly to these characteristics privileges are given, when men and women are not acting according to one's gender is seen as abnormal behaviour and thus, is being punished (Sjoberg 2014, p. 7 - 8).

3.2.2 Gender as a power relation

Seeing gender as a social construction is intertwined with the notion of gender as a relation of power. As stated above, gender characteristics are socially constructed, and these characteristics are a dichotomy between one another and have historically favoured male characteristics over female creating an unequal structural hierarchy in society. This structural hierarchy reaches from the political to the social life (Steans 2013, p. 26 - 27). The dichotomy of female and male characteristics is understood by critical feminist as follows: if a male characteristic is defined as leader, the dichotomy for the female characteristic is then follower. If a male characteristic is protector, the female characteristic becomes the protected or vulnerable. Important to notice is that gender sometimes is understood as only women, or that gender equals only one variable i.e. women. In reality, gender roles affect both women and men, negative to those men that do not correspond to the hegemonic masculinity (the dominant masculine traits) in society and vice versa (Cohn 2013, p. 5). It is about studying gender in relation to femininities and masculinities in order to highlight what impact gender and gendered assumptions have regarding conflict and peace that are of interest (Sjoberg 2014 p. 45 - 46). The categorization of men and women is not the only power relation that exists, women and men are not one category, instead there exists power relation *between* categories but also power relations *within* categories to structure and order power hierarchies (Cohn 2013, p. 14, my italics). Therefore, the critical perspective is incorporating an intersectional perspective. The intersectional perspective is a tool of analysis that together with gender, understands and states that the identity of either a woman or a man is only according to their gender identity i.e. feminine and masculine characteristics, instead gender intersects with other identities such as; ethnicity, social class, sexuality and can also be applied to the systems of a society – economic power, ethno-national power and gender power are all intertwined with each other. Which entails that gender is one power relation that needs to be referred to when trying to understand war, conflict and peace (Cockburn 2007, p. 7 - 8).

3.2.3 Conflict roles: Beautiful souls - Just warrior

The framework of gender roles and gender identities in times of conflict and peace are here built (among others) upon the framework made by Jean Bethke Elshtain in her work *Woman and War* (1995). Elshtain describes the female role as the ideal type of the Beautiful souls, whereas the male role is described as the ideal type of the Just warrior. These ideal types have in the west been created and constructed both culturally and historically based on myths creating the western assumption of the association of women with peace and men with war. However, these social identities are not used in order to understand the reality in times of war, conflict and peace; instead they are personas who reinforce the view of women as non-combatant and men as warriors (Elshtain 1995, p. 4). The persona of the beautiful souls gives women social identities such as being compassionate, nonviolent and willing to help. The Just warrior is described as violent or aggressive, either in a willing and unavoidably way or as involuntary and tragic.

These personas manifest the stories of men as warriors and women as non-violent which overshadows the various other identities men and women have in times of conflict and peace, such as the female combatant or the pacifist male (ibid).

What needs to be looked upon is what Elshtain (1995) describes as the *narratives* of war and which identities these narratives creates. Starting by looking at the different narratives of the bodies of men and women, the male body is tough and fit for combat – a life taker. Women's body is soft, round and giving birth – life givers. Young women especially are seen as the promise and holder of the future since they have not given birth yet (p. 165 – 166, my italic). The outcome of these social identities is the creation of the hegemonic masculine view of describing and defining war. Thus, war involves both men and women, the underlying narrative of who is being internal and active (men) and external and supportive (women) of war have been created by those that possesses the identity of being active and "being there" (Elshtain 1995, p. 212). This narrative follows through the identity that is built upon the Beautiful souls and the Just Warrior narrative in times of conflict. Violence created and done by women 'The ferocious few' is seen as an outrage, uncontrollable and where the actor is clearly out of her mind, whereas the male perpetrator (militant many) are compassionate, justice driven and accountable for his actions as a compassionate warrior (Elshtain 1995, p. 168 – 169; 205-206). There are also those who do not engage in violence or in the war (the non-combatant many) the women who continues working or see war as something that might change their role in society and are seen as external to the war, and the pacific few men who do not want to bear arms or become soldiers (Elshtain 1995, p. 204-205; 183-186).

What is rather clear is the dichotomy that exists within these identities. These traits and the dichotomy of gender roles they produce are clearly not applicable to the majority of men and women and overshadow other identities, however this essentialist view of seeing women as the "pacific other" and men as having masculinised identity reinforces gender roles making them overly simplistic and difficult to change, thus contributes to the association of the feminine with peace and as victims of war not gaining agency and the masculine traits with war (Elshtain referred to in Väyrynen 2010, p. 142 – 143). According to Elshstein:

> War is productive destructiveness, not only in the sense that it shifts boundaries, defines states, alters balances of power (that we understand) – but in more profound sense. War creates the people. War produces power, individual and collective. War is the cultural property of peoples, a system of signs that we read without much effort because they have become familiar to us (1995, p. 167).

While a conflict makes the day to day life in a society threatened and those relations that were embedded in society (gender or ethnic) change (Guhathakurta 2008, p. 187 – 188). Changes the institutions and the democratization of one country. What is coupled is the gendered dimension of the conflict i.e. a society is one before the conflict and one after a conflict (ibid).

Another trait that is often associated with women's peacefulness is women and motherhood. This association with motherhood is contested, motherhood has in the past been associated with the reason why women are peaceful; they do not want their children to go to war but also, motherhood is considered as a private

role that is not taken in to consideration in the public sphere were decisions are made (Cohn - Jacobsson 2013 p. 108). The two writers Sjoberg and Gentry write that women in terms of committing violence and/or striving for peace are not given agency for their actions; instead the feminine objective is driven by emotion instead of political reason which is coupled with the private instead of the public sphere (Gentry – Sjoberg 2007, p. 31-32). Women then becomes characterised as the loving mother, who wishes their sons (and daughters) to become soldiers supporting and nurturing them, or as the avenging mother who has failed as a mother and are now so enraged that she needs to take up arms and violence (ibid). Women and motherhood is a rather complicated subject since there is little contesting about women being protective and caring towards their children, the problem commence when it is used in a non-militaristic public way since it is then contesting with traditional gender roles (Cohn - Jacobsson 2013 p. 109 – 110). To analyse the change of gender roles there is also a need to talk about women who engages in violence since these women are acting outside of their perceived gender role as inherently peaceful and the consequences this become in times of war and peace while discussing women's agency (Gentry – Sjoberg 2007, p. 33).

Bringing women's actions forwards as agency in terms of conflict and in peacebuilding changes the perceived gender characteristics, for example Martha Nussbaum (cited in Porter 2013) describes as having agency is being a human being since agency means someone taking control of one's actions and defining and shaping the path s(he) is taking in life or choices made (Porter 2013, p. 2). An example of this can be seen while reading both about women waging war and women waging peace described as *women*. They are either described as women warrior, women perpetrator, women peacemaker or women activist, women do not only belong to one homogenous group but as different because of their perceived gender roles (Gentry - Sjoberg 2007, p. 9[4], my italics). What is forgotten is the context, the perceived notion that women are acting the same everywhere without taking in to consideration the numerous intersecting cultural and contexts specific gender roles that exists, the one thing that is certain is the structural inequality that exists between women and men in society (Manchanda 2005, p. 4738; Moosa et al. 2013, p. 457). Even when women are taking on roles that are associated with masculine characteristics the gender roles do not change, since the women are doing a man's job, she has to act accordingly to the masculine values and sometime even do better than men in order to be accepted (Gentry - Sjoberg 2007, p. 23).

This theoretical assumption is highly important in regard to women in peacebuilding and women organisation since, these assumptions are related to when men and women are acting accordingly to and not to their assumed gender which the scholars above argues is making women's agency and female characteristics excluded in public life and thus political decision making (Gentry - Sjoberg 2007, p. 10).

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[4] Gentry and Sjoberg are using this example while discussing women and violence but here, I would argue that it is a reciprocal relationship and functions in both ways. Both when women are acting accordingly to their gender role (as peaceful) and when they are not (as warriors or perpetrator of violence).

3.3 Peacebuilding - Gender-just-peace

"If women have a distinctive angle in peace, it is not due to women being nurturing. It seems more to do with knowing oppression when we see it" (Cynthia Cockburn cited in Guhathakurta 2008, p. 190[5]). The assumption of seeing women as nurturers which Cockburn are criticising, have consequences for women in regard to women's agency in peacebuilding processes in the sense that the association with women as nurturing and as victims of war dimidiate their actions for peace (Guhathakurta 2008, p. 189). Instead of taking women's knowledge of being excluded or treated as an inferior because of gendered assumptions is much due to which concept of peace that is the preferred one. Instead of looking for the causes of war it is often the consequences that are taken in to consideration. Guhathakurta (2008) argues that looking at the causes of war instead of the consequences argues to see the structural inequalities and women's experiences of both domestic and public oppression and/or violence also, looking at the causes of war makes peacebuilding begin during the conflict instead of after a ceasefire or a peace accord have been signed by the fighting parties (ibid).

The most acknowledged concept of peace is what Galtung coined as positive and negative peace (Galtung 1964, p. 2). Where negative peace can be described as the absence of direct violence by the signing of a peace accord or a ceasefire, this solution can sometimes be seen as a short-term solution where other strategies or goals becomes secondary in order to end direct violence. Whereas the positive peace has a broader agenda focusing on human security, such as the absence of structural violence and the reconciliation and equality of groups on different levels of society (Galtung 1964, p. 3-4). The concept of positive peace can be seen as the goal of how a society should be, trying to focus on the causes of the conflict which opens up a broader conception of the peacebuilding process (Pankhurst 2003, p. 156). However, feminist scholars argue that the concept of peace need to incorporate a gendered dimension since, the definitions of peace differ with men and women's experience of a conflict; men tend to associate peace with the absent of conflict on local, regional and national level of society and want to restore institutions and infrastructure as primary peace goals. Women tend to focus on the private sphere in relation to peacebuilding, such as the absence of structural and domestic violence, education for children and the individual's rights and freedom (Moosa et al. 2013, p. 456-457). The concept of the positive peace seeks to look at the causes instead of the consequences of the conflict in order to create reconciliation; however, this has often been put aside due to the risk of outbreak of violence (Porter 2016, p. 215).

The gendered definition of peace is called a gender-just peace, and derives from the concept of positive peace, meaning a holistic type of peace which covers multiple aspects and different levels of society. This view is demanding social justice and women's agency; it requires reconstruction, transformation and a redefinition in order to create a shift in deeply embedded gender roles and gender relations in society after a conflict (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2013, p. 4). The gender-just-peace is trying to understand the numerous definition of peace

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[5] Comment made by Cockburn at a UN working group and first cited in Manchanda 2001, p.17.

and are criticizing the liberal peacebuilding framework and thus the essential, non-reflexive view of peacebuilding which are putting an emphasis on rule of law, governance and building democratic institutions (Väyrynen 2010, p. 138 – 139). However, gender identities that associate men with war and women with peace create a difficult path towards this way. When women and their work are seen as natural behaviour and in relation to the Pacifist Other, problems arise in regard to women's organisations and women's roles regarding peacebuilding.

3.4   Theoretical Framework

This section outlines the thesis theoretical framework in order to understand why and how gender roles affect women's role in society and women's agency regarding peacebuilding. Thus, the relationship between gender roles and women's agency in peacebuilding is not viewed as causal, instead the thesis is trying to outline the mutual relationship between those two. Therefore, the work builds upon feminist scholars and the gendered assumptions of the female characteristics as a non-actor, a mother or as beautiful souls. This is coupled within the concept of gender-just-peace gaining a holistic inside of how gender roles are viewed and why this influence the work of women organisations strive for peace in this context.

3.4.1   Women as actors of peace

The scholars resonate and discuss the problematic of the essentialist view of only seeing women as solely victims of wars and not as actors and the consequences this rises in terms of women's agency in reference to peace. The scholars agree on the matter of bringing forward women's agency both in reference to peace and as perpetrators of violence. Since the reality is that women are involved on various levels in society in times of conflict. However, what differs is their view of solving this issue, where Elshtain gives a historical western narrative of women's role in terms of conflict, other feminist scholar's builds on Elshtain view but, their view is more generalizable and deeper in that these gender roles are not isolated to the western view (Gentry-Sjoberg, 2014 p.19). Thus, to incorporate the context and situation of the conflict in Senegal, the gendered content of constructed characteristics of men and women and an intersecting perspective will be able to understand the volatility of the peacebuilding process. Elshtains narrative ambition and the described narratives of war that creates different identities are used in the thesis while retrieving the narratives of those working in women organisations. These narratives contribute to contextualize gender roles in the specific society and aims to couple the mutual effect this has on women in reference to peace and peacebuilding.

   This is outlined by using gender as an analysing tool in order to retrieve structural-and power relations within the private and public sphere. This means that the thesis theoretical framework needs to take multiple factors into consideration in order to analyse the mutual relationship between gender roles and women as actors for peace. i.e. the structural-and power relation gender roles play

when it comes to not see women as actors for peace and only as victims of war, or the assumption that women's' strive for peace is because of a constructed peacefulness.

The analytical concept of the private and the public sphere is an attempt to outline the female characteristics that is attributed to one's genders in this context (see the section feminist concept). The attempt is then to, together with these gender roles, analyse the strategies of peacebuilding the women organisations are aiming for in relation to their societal roles. Thus, the thesis contribution is the attempt of develop the concept of gender-just-peace and thus the concept of peace by bringing forward a contextual example of a women organisation's work for peace in a conflict environment.

The concepts that will be used and the structure of the categorisation are outlined in the data collection plan below while discussing the thesis methodological aim.

4 Methodology

This chapter outlines the thesis methodological aim. The section starts with a discussion on feminist methodology thereafter, outlining the Data collection plan which has been made in order to facilitate the bridge between theory, method and empirics. In this section the chosen methods and its application are presented as well as factors to take in to consideration while conducting field work.

4.1 Feminist methodology

The feminist standpoint theory is used as a theory of method, this in order to guide the thesis feminist research approach and its critical theory. The claim that knowledge is socially situated which standpoint theory expresses is the reason this theory of method is incorporated in the thesis, because it is about taking the standpoint of knowledge of those oppressed in a society in order to show the difference of knowledge in relation to the dominant knowledge in a society (Harding 2004, p. 7).

Feminist methodology is about contesting the notion of *objectivity of knowledge.* Contesting and challenging the objectivity of knowledge is to challenge the traditionally masculine bias of knowledge which has been used throughout all academic discipline. This has made feminist to often use the term epistemological perspective, to show the ongoing process of challenging what is perceived as "knowledge" and instead incorporate the experiences of women and their life instead (Tickner 2006, p. 20-21). According to Donna Harraway (2004) there is a need for a debate about what should be counted as objectivity and thus knowledge (p. 85). The feminist view of objectivity is to reveal the hierarchical order of what is seen as knowledge and objectivity, objectivity can thus be dissected in to male and white in which the feminist objectivity is trying to challenge. To challenge this means to take in to account the situated knowledge of those that have particular knowledge in limited spaces and to not engage in generalizability (Harraway 2004, p. 86 – 87). Situated knowledge and the feminist view of objectivity requires a bottom-up approach in order to see from below, this approach is preferable since it requires to see from the subjugated knowledge that exists from below, in this case women's eyes. Important to take in to consideration is that the knowledge of the oppressed class of society is not being appropriated as a researcher while claiming to see from below and to position oneself to see from that point of view. As Sandra Harding writes: "Thus standpoint projects must "study up"; they must be part of the critical theory, revealing the ideological strategies used to design and justify the sex-gender systems and its intersections with other systems of oppression, in the case of feminist projects (Harding 2004, p. 6). The importance lay in the subjugated critical position and to seek the position of those that are not usually heard, or

which knowledges are usually not taken in to consideration (Harraway 2004 p. 88 – 89). The standpoint view has been accused of being essential or relativist because of the acknowledgement that all knowledge is socially situated and that some sites are preferred to do research then others (Harding 2004, p. 11). However, the standpoint theory is acknowledging this critic by saying that knowledge depends on the social, cultural and empirical context of what is to be investigated and researched (Harding 2004, p. 11-12). Harding (referred to in Tickner 2006) argues that to distance one's research from the western perception of doing science as trying hypothesis and focus on the answers of the question, one must instead focus on how questions are asked and what kind of questions are *not* asked (Tickner 2006, p. 23). Examples that Tickner put forwards are how the focus on women's disempowerment in times of war and peace focus on the essentialist notion that women might be more peaceful then men, instead of *why* these structures and association with women and peace exist (2006, p. 23, my italics). By using feminist methodology, the relationship between the researcher and the researched is to see the process as a collaboration, where the two parts are involved and informed both in the process and also in the outcome, that both have this intersubjective understanding of the process creates a more equal relationship between the researcher and the researched (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 47). This is especially important if a researcher is conducting research involving marginalised voices, an intersubjective relationship creates a platform for those voices to be heard (ibid).

4.2 Data Collection Plan

The data collection plan is used in order to show the intertwine between the theory, method and the empirics of the thesis which is of importance while conducting field work and ethnographic research (see Bräuchler 2018). These concepts and sub-concepts are factors situated in the theoretical framework in order to understand and develop gender-just-peace as well as understand the Platforms' strive for peace.

The data collection plan has an overall concept which is the concept of gender-just-peace. In order to outline the concept, the thesis uses in-depth interviews and observations as methods to gain insight in to the context and the peace which the Platform and its member organisations are striving for. The two concepts, gender roles and the presence of violence are included to understand and analyse gender both as a social construction and as a power relation. Included in the concept of gender roles is also the dichotomy between the private and public sphere. Patriarchy is viewed as the societal norm (see feminist concept) and is included in the Data plan and is therefore viewed as integrated in the other concepts. The analysis will then have the opportunity to understand the effect of gender roles in order for woman organisations strive for a durable and definitive peace.

Gender-just-peace					
Concepts	Gender roles			Violence	Data
Sub-concepts	Patriarchy	Public sphere	Private sphere	Gender-based-violence (GBV)	
*Women's role in society	* Hierarchical structures	*Decision making *Space in the public sphere *Female characteristics	*Economy *Household *Constructed female characteristics	* Domestic laws * Level of impunity * Stigmatization	*Interviews *Observations * Secondary sources
* Women organisations role in peace processes	* Hierarchical structures	*Participation *Actors/agents of Change *Acknowledgement	*Constructed female characteristics	*Rehabilitation *Reintegration *Connected to the conflict	*Interviews *Observations *Secondary sources

4.2.1 Ethnographic research and participatory observations

Ethnographic peace research is an interdisciplinary methodology which requires both the anthropological in-depth studies and the analysis of Political Science (Bräuchler 2018, p. 22). The ethnographic peace research derives from the new local paradigm of peacebuilding which are criticizing the positivist liberal peacebuilding values of democracy, market economy and the rule of law where external interventions are legitimate in order to stop the violence and where the local experiences of conflict and local peace initiatives are neglected (Ref. to Millar in Bräuchler 2018, p. 23). According to Bräuchler (2018) doing ethnographic peace research requires to go deep in to research, not to make it only another tool for the peace industry to use. This requires the researcher to stay a long time in the field together with the community to adopt the local worldview and step back from ones' own. Thus, being out there is not enough, instead it is important to become fully there and observe both the social behaviour, existing structures as well as symbols to interpretive in the field and not only observe (p. 24). This requires the theory, methodology and the empirical details to become intertwined and not to be used in isolation of one another (ibid). An important concept within this methodology is the view of culture, Bräuchler sees cultures as something that changes over time and is continuously both contested and renegotiated, it is seen as dynamic and not static with already clear characteristics and isolated from the outside, Bräuchler argues that this view of culture is of particular importance when it comes to post-conflict societies (2018, p. 24).

Political scientists differ from anthropologists in conducting field work in the sense that the field work is conducted in a shorter time length. It has not been possible to conduct so called "serial ethnography" which represents short but repeated travels to the field (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 46). Instead, this field work seeks the present narratives of those living and working in a conflict area. However, with Bräuchler's argument in mind to make the theory, method and empirical details intertwined together, the thesis turns to its main methodology regarding ethnographic research. This branch within ethnography was coined by Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic (2018) and is called Feminist ethnographic research with a narrative approach (p. 44-43). This method is using different approach within ethnography together with a narrative approach in order to be able to hear both those narratives that are spoken and those that are not (ibid). The approach is building on feminist literatures recent work of making women's voices heard in their experiences of war and conflict (ibid). The narrative approach is allowing the researcher to access the field of research i.e. the local experiences of war and peace both of individuals but also places. The narrative approach incorporated in the ethnographic research have several advantages, mostly because its access the local narratives and the reality experienced of the narrator thus, making the knowledge retrieved as socially situated (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 45).

The collected narratives for the thesis comes from "gate-keepers", in this case the responsible and those holding high positions within the Platform and its member organisations, what is also taken in to consideration is the narrative of "being in place" (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 47). The narrative of "being in place" is the position of the researcher, where s(he) is exposing her(him)self to the narratives by both listening and observing the narratives that are silence and those that are heard (ibid). The narrative of "being in place" is what distinguish the thesis from being a desk-study to conducting feminist fieldwork since it is vital to be present at the site in order to understand the context and relationship between the retrieved narratives, in this case to be present at the organisation and their daily activities. As a researcher I needed to both take part and be active in order to observe the narratives, however, by taking the positionality of the "vulnerable observer" is to engage in self-reflexive research (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 48-49). The ethnographic peace research was conducted on an everyday basis within the Platforms' office, while accompanying the Platform on commissions out on the fields, and individual interviews with "gate-keepers", in total there were four observations in different villages and communities mainly in the Ziguinchor region of Casamance (see the reference list).

4.2.2 Feminist in-depth interviews

In order to be able to conduct good fieldwork, this thesis is connecting both ethnography and other methodological tools in the process, in this case feminist in-depth interviews (Kapiszewski et.al. 2015, p. 235) In order to gain the narratives (both the spoken and the silenced) the use of feminist in-depth interviews is one of the method chosen to retrieve data. This, since, as a feminist interviewer the interest lay on exploring the subjugated knowledge of those that I am conducting interviews with and to hear their experiences (Hesse-Biber 2014,

p. 184). However, it is important to take in to consideration is what has been outlined in the chapter above considering feminist methodology; the knowledge that are to be retrieved is the situated knowledge related to the case of women organisations and the work of the platform in the Casamance region, not seeking to hear the experience of women as a group in order to generalize. To study-up in this case is to challenge the dominant perspective of who is seen as agents of peace in this context. Even though the Platform is a women organisation and its members consists of women organisations and associations, there is also men who are working at offices of the organisations, such as the project leader of the Platform who were also interviewed. However, all presidents and coordinator sitting on the board of the Platform are all women and became the principal subjects to interview.

The interview subjects are a purposive sample, since my interviewees possess a specific knowledge which I am trying to retrieve. Within a purposive sample, this is also called a Homogeneous sample, the chosen individual's share the same characteristics of being involved in the organisation or their member associations and that they are taking the position of women (Webster et.al 2014, p. 113-114). What is of interest to retrieve here is the knowledge of women and their lived experiences such as issues that are of particular concern and experiences that needs to be highlighted regarding the context (Hesse-Biber 2014, p. 184 – 185). Aspects taking in to consideration while choosing my sample was for example age, education and experience.

The interviewees are called "gate-keepers" and are engaged in or hold high positions within the Platform and its member associations. Gate keepers are often front-figures of organisations and association and therefore possess a specific knowledge and access to the field of study, since, they also hold positions within the organisation it is presumed that some (not all) have been interviewed or asked questions before (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 51). The interviews conducted are semi-structured, meaning that there is a topic guide or interview guide with questions to cover made before the interview (Hesse-Biber 2014, p. 186, attached in the appendix). These questions are not in a particular order but important to cover throughout the interview since they entail the topics and concepts which the thesis wishes to cover (Hesse-Biber 2014, p. 186 – 187). The semi-structured interviews were chosen since it requires the researcher to have control with a well worked agenda and interview guide, but there is also an importance of being flexible, considering the order of the questions and if it throughout the interview opens up for new questions, the strictness of the agenda or interview guide needs to be adjusted (ibid).

The topic guide is outlined with different themes to understand the organisations work considering gender roles, violence and gender-just-peace. The first questions are open-ended with questions of a personal matter, such if the interviewee agrees with the interview is recorded, and questions about the interviewee's work and position. Important is also to have a discussion and understanding of the theoretical concepts regarding gender roles, violence and gender-just peace, this in order for both me as a researcher and the interviewee to have the same understanding regarding the concepts and the theoretical framework. The importance of the mutual understanding of the concept is regarding the notion that I as a researcher is an outsider, thus, the concepts can have different meanings regarding the context. Thereafter, the semi-structured interview with specific questions regarding peace and the organisation's work was

conducted. The interviews were set up to be approximately 45 minutes long, with the first 15 minutes as open-ended questions and after the 45 minutes the interviewee had the opportunity to comment on the subjects or explain further if something was not explained enough or in a satisfactorily manner off the record. However, the interviews gathered (11) often became longer than 45 minutes (two were less than 45 minutes long), since it was of importance to hear the background of both the interviewed as well as their organisation. After the performed interview an evaluative note in order to improve for the next interview, to reflect on how the interview went, which questions that should be kept and which can be left out the next time was conducted.

4.3   Material

The material retrieved comes mainly from in-depth interviews with the Platform and its member organisation. At the Platform those interviewed were the project leader as well as the coordinator/president of the organisation and the vice-president. The interviews were conducted on one occasion except for the interviews conducted with the project leader and the president of the Platform, who were interviewed twice. This since they possess the knowledge and everyday work of the organisation as well as holding responsible and high positions. Eight women and one man were interviewed face-to-face. In order to retrain a more holistic picture of the Platform and their member organisations, six interviews were conducted with the president or the coordinator (one was with the vice-president) with their member organisations. The member organisations chosen holds the position of being umbrella organisations of the Platform and each of the organisations are part of the Platforms general assembly.

All interviews were transcribed immediately or as soon as possible after they had been conducted, this, in order to not forget details and events that happened during the interviews. The transcription is in French since the language while conducting the interviews were in the French language, however spoken French and written French is somewhat different and the transcriptions are conducted the way the interviewed and I were talking. Since French is my third language there is a high risk of language mistakes in the transcriptions, however the language barrier did not affect the questions asked or the understanding of the interviews. In order to contextualize the interviews field notes during fieldwork and observations with the Platform are included, as well as secondary sources of other scholar's research on both women organisations in the Casamance-region and the conflict in general.

4.3.1   Ethical consideration and reflexive knowledge

Ethical considerations while conducting in-depths interviews are highly important, particularly since those being interviewed are people who might feel very passionate and strongly for their issue (Woliver 2002, p. 677). Feminist in-depth interviews requires a constant reflexive positionality of who I am as a

researcher and what I bring in to the interview situation, thus the most important is the voices that are normally not heard in "hard" politics to become included (Hesse-Biber 2014, p. 186 – 187). This problematic entails me as a researcher to explore my own biases and positionality towards my observational subjects and interviewees and how these might affect my research. To know my positionality as an outsider in terms of age, marital status and ethnicity, but also that I am an insider in regards that I too am a woman (ibid). A reflexive knowledge is then of importance, meaning that the researcher is aware of his/her position and which norms and practices he/she come from in order not to appropriate the vision of the knowledge which is claimed to investigate.

The researchers own reflexive position is one of the most important aspect of conducting ethnographic field work, which means that the researcher need to be aware of the settings of what is studied. It is also critical as a feminist ethnographer to consider ones' identities and how those impact the data collection and data gathering in the field (Buch D. Elana – Karen M. Staller 2014, p. 121). As a researcher is it important to ask how I, coming from another culture and context can hear the experiences of someone and make an analysis, to get around that problem the feminist methodological standpoint is to view the individuals experience and knowledge, the women who are interviewed are their own agents of how they are to be perceived and understood (Jacoby 2006, p. 154-155). The experiences retrieved from women are those of individuals and not women as a category. There is always a fear of exploiting the lives of those the researcher intends to study, regarding the researched-researcher relationship while conducting ethnographic research and Interviews. Ruth Bahar (1996) describes the position for the researcher as becoming the "vulnerable observer", the vulnerable observer requires the researcher to put oneself in the text, it is to assert one's positionality (in my case an middle-class young white women) and investigate the way I perceive and how I look at the world through my subjective glasses, but also how I look upon the subject I intend to study (Bahar 1996, p. 13).

There is also an ethical consideration of choosing to conduct interviews with gate keepers and not those victims of violence or people outside of the organisation or familiar with the work of the Platform. Therefore, the position of the gate keepers needs to be taken in to consideration as well, the gate keeper holds power and agency of how the narratives are perceived and can have their own political or personal agenda (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 52). However, gate keepers hold the official and public voice of the narratives making the ethical considerations of informed consent easier, since the narratives of the gate keepers are already spoken in a manner where the owner of the narrative have broken their silences in their own way (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2018, p. 60). Meaning that the narratives are already out there and have been chosen to be out there. As a researcher who is present at the organisation on a daily basis conducting interviews and observations it is important to have a transparency towards those I meet and those participating in my study, with this in mind the perspective of the thesis was always explained as an introduction of every interview and observation. Before leaving the site, an e-mail was sent out to all who were interviewed with a thank you for participation and a reminder of the use of the material. All the quotations and information of referring was e-mailed to all the interviewee as well for their approval.

4.3.2 Limitations

Taking in to consideration the limited time of the field work and length of the thesis some limitations needs to be taken in to consideration. During field work the Platforms schedule and hours were followed as well as their daily work. The geographical area that is covered is the Casamance region but in particular the department of Ziguinchor situated in what is called Basse Casamance (Lower Casamance), since this is the area where the conflict started and where the majority of women organisations offices are located. Every observation except one took place inside the Ziguinchor department of the region. Important to note is the thesis limitation towards the two fighting parties in the conflict, the MFDC and the Senegalese state, this is intentional since the thesis focus is how women organisations in Casamance and especially the Platform are working for peace in the region. Therefore, strategies or views of other parties involved in the conflict are not mentioned more than in the background or in relation to women organisations.

In Casamance there are numerous other organisations that are working for peace and for development in the Casamance region both international and local actors, but the platform is the only organisations that specifically work as a platform for all women's organisation in the department of Ziguinchor and with a women agenda, therefore included interviews consist of those having an official or high role within the Platform and their umbrella organisations and not of other organisations working for peace. While conducting field work I meet other civil society working for peace in Casamance. Thus, these are not included in the thesis. However, as noted in the thesis, civil society groups in Casamance are collaborating together in their work to achieve peace in the region.

5 Analysis of Gender roles in Senegal

This chapter outlines the outcomes of the interviews conducted with the Platform and its member organisations as well as reports given by the Platform. Field notes and field observations conducted while in the field are also included in the analysis. In order to contextualize the analysis, secondary sources regarding women organisation's in Senegal and Casamance are added. The chapters are divided in to the three themes that were outlined within the topic guide which are theoretically situated and referring to the outlined data collection plan.

5.1 Gender roles in society

While talking about gender roles and asking questions of the general role of women in the Casamance region and in Senegal as a whole, the variety of different ethnic groups needs to be taken in to consideration. However, during every interview the respondent described the overall patriarchal system as the norm and women being subordinate in society.

While asking my respondents to answer the general question of women's role in the Casamancaise society, the same answer was given; what need to be taken in to consideration is the many socio-cultures or ethnicities that are living in the region which has different values and traditions regarding women's role. For example, in the lower Casamance, where the conflict mainly has taken place and where the dominant socio-culture group is the minority group Diola, two narratives were given, the narrative of the Diola women and the general narrative of women's role in society.

5.1.1 Private sphere

While asking the question of women's role in the Casamancaise society two narratives was outlined. Firstly, the narrative of the Diola women, where the Diola women hold a strong societal role especially in the private sphere but, where she is also consulted regarding political decision making traditionally. Often it was explained by the interview subject that the Diola society has a tradition of being egalitarian between women and men where tasks were equally divided. For example, the rice production, which were (and still is in some parts today) an important production in lower Casamance, were the women tasks (interview; 1; 3; 7; 8). Parts of this traditional society have remained where agriculture (rice culture) is still important (interview 1; 6). However, there is also a second narrative, which can be related to a more general view of the society as a whole.

The second narrative is the general narrative in the Senegalese society. Here, women's roles are related to the private sphere. The patriarchal system

undermines women's agency making it difficult for women to gain access to financial, political and societal spaces. This narratives dominates in Senegal today and has had impacts on the Diola society and the Diola women's narrative as well. Primarily the Diola women's role is in relation to the private sphere but she was also viewed as a settler of conflict both regarding family issues and between villages (interview 1; interview 3). These narratives are confirmed by the scholar Valerie Stam (2009), where the twofold relationship within the private and public sphere for women in Casamance still is present. She writes that in areas where agriculture (rise production) is still an important task, woman still holds a strong societal role (p. 352), also, in the past during colonial time women's inheritance of land was widely practiced in some parts of the Casamance (ibid). Also, the spiritual tradition of the Diola society does not make a difference between men and women regarding who is to become a spiritual leader such as priests and priestesses. In fact, both men and women can become spiritual leaders if he/she is recognised as such by the society (interview 1), thus, what was not told was that you have to be a mother to become a priestess (Stam 2009, p. 352 - 353). Today, women's role is still important in the Diola society, where she is described as being the heart of the family and where she has a high decisive voice regarding family issues (interview 3). However, with the patriarchal system things have changed and generally speaking, the women of Casamance is viewed as the mother of the family, the mother of the house and responsible for the children's upbringing, she is not allowed to have a voice in the public sphere and it is not looked well upon if a woman rises her voice in public (interview 9). The women organisations are thus trying to challenge this:

> Exactly, it is her who holds the last words when it comes to decision making, so, in that position of decision in reality, in Africa the women were at the beginning and at the end of those decisions but, for the time being, that has changed with the patriarchal society, a change of systems, today, the patriarchal society predominates and has changed this role, so women's role today and especially those who are active in conflict resolution, is a bit to find this again (interview 8).

This quotation also explains the goal of the women organisations in the region, who acknowledges that the patriarchal society exists but who are working with the intention of gaining back aspects of a society that has already existed. As many interviews told me, this is a process which will take time and that is what they are mobilisation for. Thus, during field observations while counting the numbers of men and women, both who were present and speaking, the majority where men while the majority of women present were silent or giving the participant water, preparing food or on one occasion I observed where conducting household tasks such as laundry while a few men took part in the discussions (Field Notes 1: 2; 3). Of course, women were also speaking and hold positions that are of importance but the village chief and the committee around the chief were always a majority of men (ibid). Regarding the two narratives outlined, the women organisation's uses the narrative of the Diola women in order to differentiate and bringing forward a narrative that has existed in order to gain agency in the public sphere again challenging the dominant view of women's role in society.

5.1.2 Public sphere: Women's autonomy

As the above paragraph is showing; women's role is primarily in the private sphere with roles such as mothers, housekeepers and as responsible for the children's upbringings. However, some measures have been taken on state level as a result of women organisations mobilisations and activism. Beginning in the 1990 the women organisation COSEF (Conseil Sénégalais des Femmes) started to mobilise in order to bring more women forward to be part of political decision making (interview 4; Guèye 2015, p. 77). In 2010 a parity law was voted and became operational in June 2011 and, in order to observe the work of the law an observational equality group was established (Guèye 2015, p. 77). However, the work of implementing the law and to make sure that equality is rising in the public sphere has shown to be difficult. Mostly due to the lack of state engagement but also neglect by religious leaders citing that it will change the relationship of the private and public sphere (the dichotomy between the two spheres will change), also commenting regarding the agency of women in the political space where some electives are said to be either intellectuals (elite) or do not have sufficient competences to be politicians (Guèye 2015, p. 79).

In the city of Ziguinchor there are seven deputies for the mayor, where three of them are women and four are men (interview 4). Two of the women that I interviewed where appointed deputy of the mayor, and the organisations they are representing are also members of the Platform (interview 4; 6). In that case, the parity law is seen as a step in the right direction but there is also another side of this. As one interviewee discussed, the voting of the law is a step in the right direction for women's right in decision making and in politics but, the question that arises is the efforts of implementation and the lack of political will to change the structures in society (interview 8). The interviewee stated that efforts need to be taken, since parity does not mean equality per se. For example, if there is a law claiming parity and two men are elected or present parity means that there should be two women as well. However, this does not mean equality. According to the interview subject equality means a change of structure and of social justice (ibid). In another interview the same theme was brought up, where it was stated that even though measures have been taken to increase parity, it has not touched at the structural inequalities that exist (interview 1).

Asking if women's role has changed during the past years, all the interviewee agrees that women's situation has improved but that there still exists power-and structural problems. The president of the university organisation, whose members are students at the university, said that things do have changed, in reference to that now, more women are driving cars and more women are working (interview 5). However, according to the interview subject there is also a difference between things having changed and things becoming better. Women are more and more taking place in the public sphere, but she is doing two jobs at the same time, now she is both in the public sphere but still holds the position of taking care of the household (interview 5). The vice-president of the Platform discussed this matter and the importance of educating both women and men in order to make a real change:

> So the people can change, so that the change can be efficient and effective both of them, men and women, has to be aware of it, that they understand that a woman has her role to play in society and that it

is not only to give birth to children in to this world, go to the market, sweep. A man can sweep, a woman can sweep. If we talk about the economic sphere, men do, when they are payed sweep. Men, when they are payed they can cook why don't they do it at home? They leave the work to the women but when it is payed, they do it (interview 9).

5.1.3 Public sphere: Women's financial autonomy

As stated, things have changed, but not advanced in regard to structural relations in the public sphere. Another aspect of women's autonomy and the work of the member organisation of the Platform is women's financial situation. This is coupled both to the private but also the public sphere due to the distribution of work where the formal sector is primarily occupied by men and the women are the majority in the informal sector. This is partly due to past structures where women were discriminated regarding education and were neglected regarding going to school and learning in order to have the ability to read and write (Guèye 2015, p. 54). By walking around in the town of Ziguinchor and going to market places it was noticeable a pattern of this distribution of work. Women were the ones selling fruit, vegetables, nuts and fish either at the market or on the streets with a table in front. In shops and boutiques, I was always served by a man or on some rare occasions the wife of the owner. After some observation it became clear that in the fishing sector the men went out gathering the fish and later sold the fish to the women who sold it in the marketspaces (Field note 5). One of the umbrella organisation of the Platform is named URSY (Union Régionale Santa Yalla) which is an organisation working for women's socio-economic development, they are an economic-cooperation organisation operating in the fishing sector, where women are transforming the fish in to products and sell them (interview 2; URSY). The president of URSY told me that; from the beginning, the women were already organised together in the transformation process and collaborated with the fishermen (interview 2). To receive donors, an organisational structure was created but, since the women had not been able to go to school and learn how to read and write it was the men who became president, secretary, treasuries and so on. However, the women were the ones who had been organised and later left the organisation to create something for themselves, the donors saw their efforts and helped them (interview 2). Today, URSY is a regional organisation in Casamance developing in fish sectors area, focusing on the capacity and promotion of women as local merchants (ibid). This example is important since it highlights the distribution of work and women in the public space, where women had to organise themselves in order to have small commerce on the side because they are also responsible of taking care of the home and children. As the president of URSY told me, by organising they do not have to go to Dakar or cities further away in order to sell their products and promote them, instead URSY has started small reference boutiques where their products can be sold by themselves thus providing for the women a space for their own products to gain financially (ibid). Due to these cooperation's and organisations women's financial situation and thus poverty are being reduced, however, this is in some sort also related to a feminisation of the distribution of work, where organisations who are trying to

help educates women in more traditional roles making women still being in majority related to task considered to be women's work, such as food, health and family values (Guèye 2015, p. 54).

What can be retrieved from this part is that the private sphere is the women's sphere in society; however, things are little by little starting to change by the mobilisation of women organisations. Women's organisations are mobilising women and working for their autonomy, thus women's primary roles is of being the centre of the family, responsible for the education of the children and while trying to gain financial autonomy the roles have not changed. Instead there has developed two jobs for women, one that is payed (public sphere) and the one that dominates but which are not payed (the private sphere) due to it being 'women's sphere'.

5.2   Gender roles in conflict

Senegal has ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 as well as the Maputo protocol (The Protocol of the African charter of human rights and peoples right on the rights of women) in 2003 (Guèye 2015, p. 58-59). After pressure from the women organisations movement multiple domestic laws has been revisited regarding violence against women. However, the situation has had little improvement, thus one small but little improvement worth mentioning are issues regarding FMG (Female genital mutilation) and forced marriages (Guèye 2015, p. 60-61). While talking about and asking questions regarding gender-based-violence and violence related to the conflict many aspects were related to one another which also can be related to the private and public sphere and the previous chapter.

5.2.1 Gender-Based-Violence in Senegal

Asking the respondents how GBV is talked about in society the respondents' answers seemed worried. In general, it is not something that is talked about and remains a subject that is taboo (interview 1; interview 8). The subject remains taboo primarily because of fear of stigmatisation and thus being excluded from the society (ibid). However, the cause of this stigmatisation many respondents connected to a lack of information about GBV and what it means to be both a victim but also a perpetrator. As the vice-president of the Platform discussed, that GBV is sometimes viewed as an integrated part of the society and is not being questioned as something that is all together wrong by the population in general, this because of a lack of awareness (interview 9). This is also what the president of the University organisation was saying, that many women do not accept being called subordinated or acknowledges that there exists a problem of violence because of fear of being stigmatised (interview 5). Also, this makes it more difficult to help and make a difference. The University organisation is trying to get more informed in order to bring awareness to their members about the subject. This is done by those members studying law who visit courts when there is a case

of GBV. This to see how the women is helped, what help she is given and what it means to be victim of violence (ibid). By doing this they are trying to bring awareness towards their members at the University What GBV is and how it is exercised, for example that there exists not only a physical violence, but it can also be psychological with insults in order to lower someone's moral (ibid).

Another aspect is the socio-cultural one and that of honour, the vice-president of the Platform discussed the difficulties young girl faces especially regarding teenage pregnancies. It is regarded as a dishonour in some families and the girl face a risk of being abandoned by her family or, the mother who is responsible for the children's upbringing is threaten with divorce and thrown out of the house along with the girl; when a girl is abandoned by her family and in a state of pregnancy she is more vulnerable since the security of the family is gone (interview 9). Regarding this issue the platform has taken measures, and in 2015 they opened the centre Kulimaaroo (meaning rainbow in Mandingue) created with financial help by UN Women. The centre provides both medical and psychological aid as well as lodgement for women and girls victims of sexual violence (Rapport narratif 1, p. 3-4). The centre can lodge six to seven girls with their children and the lodgement and aid is free of charge, but the centre is fighting with financial aid and donors and had to close at one time. The lack of financial aid corresponds to one of the societal problems high-lighted above regarding the local government and those on a high political level. Politicians both on national as well as local level were present at the centres opening and welcomed the initiative but are not taking any measures for its maintaining, however the Platform is advocating for the state to make contributions in particular by addressing the Minister of Women, Children and Family (Rapport narratif 1, p. 12-11;15-16). The Platform and its members are trying to make a change and bring awareness to GBV in society but there is a lack of political willingness. Even with the new laws revisited the change is minor due to structural problems and lack of information considering the subjects, also, there are strong forces both cultural, religious and traditional who are not bringing this question up and are neglecting it (Guèye 2015, p. 61). These forces are making progress slow and the reason why for example, abortion is still illegal (exceptions can be made if the pregnancy is a result of rape or a danger for the women's life), and with the high stigmatisation of sexual violence and the indirect difficulties for women to access the judicial system in particular because of lack of finance and poverty a significant change is difficult to see (OHCHR 2015, p. 8-9).

The president of the Platform is straight with what needs to be done, which according to her is to teach women on their rights and to bring awareness of the issue (interview 7). The Platform is, apart from their work at the centre Kulimaaroo, educating their members about GBV, they also have a committee responsible for this issue, and one of their members is an association of female lawyers who teaches women about their rights providing them with texts that are related to violence (ibid). The president of Usoforal told me more about this program, which are called the "parajuristes". This program educates rural women who has passed their secondary-or third grade education and are educating them on women's right and on texts explaining their rights, these women are then able to educate the women in their villages and give information to the village chief (interview 1).

Only giving information and awareness of GBV to *women* is not enough in the long run, it is also a question of raising awareness and including the *men* in

society, to be aware of and accepts women's right and their right to their own body (Guèye 2015, p. 61, my italics). Both the president and the vice-president of the Platform were discussing the urgent need to begin on an early level in school to bring awareness to the younger population (interview 7; 9). The vice-president urges the school system to bring awareness of this. She works as a teacher and was until last year the gender responsible for the academic inspection (interview 9). Every school in Senegal provides a gender association with the mission to bring awareness of gender equality and help girls and young boys. They do exist, however most of them do not hold any meetings or activities because of lack of funding. This is also the reason why the vice-president left the position; the budget they were given was not sufficient enough covering travelling or activities in order to be able to travel to schools and talk about gender and bring awareness' to it (interview 9). She had to quit since the opportunity to make a difference and bring awareness towards the subject were minimal and most of the time she was in the office (ibid). This is also confirmed by the UN working group while visited the country, that there do not exists a strong political willingness to reduce this violence and the measures or budget that has been taken are not sufficient (OHCHR 2015, p. 8-9)[6].

5.2.2 Gender-Based-Violence related to the conflict

If gender-based-violence in general is a taboo subject in Senegal, violence and in particular sexual violence against women related to the conflict is even more difficult to talk about. All of the member organisations of the Platform who were interviewed are not focusing on gender-based-violence but when asked about the awareness of the subject some told me that sexual violence against women such as rape, abduction, forced pregnancies and corporal violence has happened (interview 1; 3; 6; 7; 9; 8). The culture of silence can be related to the culture of silence that existed about the conflict as well, during the conflicts most violent year when clashes between government forces and the rebels was at its peak the people in Casamance were afraid of and did not talk about the conflict. They were afraid of being accused of being either on the government side or among the rebels since there were mass arrests, neighbours accusing one another etcetera. (interview 1; 3; 6 ; Osemeka 2011, p. 61). In order to liberate the words and make people talk about what had happened, the president of Usoforal was part of a group who, together with high school students went out to villages to talk to people (interview 1). However, many were afraid and as a solution they started to create theatres with plays having the conflict as a theme, after the play was finished the village and those performing sat down and discussed what they had seen (ibid). I was told that this helped many to talk about what had happened and many testified about what had happened to them, besides women victims of violence (ibid).

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[6] Statistics about gender-based-violence in Senegal or national statistics have not been provided by the state, which the UN has stated in various reports, both the working groups reports and UNwomen. See CEDAW report (2015): http://evaw-global-database.unwomen.org/-/media/files/un%20women/vaw/country%20report/africa/senegal/senegal%20cedaw%20co.pdf?vs=3824

> […] and there had really been a use of gender-based-violence, with rape, with hitting women, with things you could compare to blackmailing etcetera, the blackmails direct and indirect. There were many things that, in every case, when we did our research in the villages the men talked about many things the women also talked about a lot of things but the women, they were not included to talk about rape (interview 1).

This can be derived to the stigmatisation of sexual violence in society, for example many women who were victims of sexual violence also became pregnant and many were ashamed of not knowing who the father of the child was or was stigmatized and left their villages (interview 6).

One aspect that the president of the Platform discussed, is the fact that the conflict is still ongoing and therefore the culture of silence is harder to break since women are afraid and also traumatised, since it is not only sexual violence that has been used, many women saw their families being teared apart, their husbands and sons join the army, or the rebels and they were left alone taking care of the household (interview 7). The Platform and the organisations are trying to work with these issues by arranging forums and workshops and by opening the centre Kulimaaroo they are hoping that their influencing work will have an effect. However, as seen above, the political will and the lack of governmental and state funding's, the effect on a high political level regarding these issues are not a political priority. Therefore, the next section turns towards the concept of peace in order to understand the Platform's strategies to become actors of peace.

5.3 Gender roles in peace

This section outlines gender roles considering peace. Peace is a very broad concept as seen in the theoretical framework. However, this approach to peace is the Platform's and its member organisations. This is analysed while keeping in mind the impact of the public and private sphere as well as violence that has and is happening.

5.3.1 What is peace? – C'est quoi la paix?

The definition of peace by the Platform and their member organisations is related to the concept of positive peace regarding the absent of structural violence, but they also take it one step further, incorporating gender and the private sphere making it important not to generalise the concept of peace and instead look at the context of peace as well;

> What is peace? To me peace is, it begins at home. It is to get up in the morning with good health, to have one's breakfast, be able to eat, to

have someone that makes me happy if I am a woman or a man, my husband or fiancée. If you have children that can go to school quietly without disturbance, to not live in fear, to not be afraid that someone can abuse me. In every case, if I have a place where I should work, where I can find work, where I can work quietly and go home at night quietly sure that there will be a tomorrow (interview 2).

The respondents answer to the question what the objectives of peace are, is similar in many ways, as the quotation above can be concluded; peace begins at home on an individual level and to feel secure against violence or abuse both in the private and the public sphere (interview 2). One of the respondent also included political and economic stability in relation to feeling secure (interview 5). The gendered aspect of peace was also part of the concept, such as wanting a peace where men and women are respected equally and where the society's resources are distributed impartiality (interview 3). What we have derived from the analysis of gender roles and the private and public sphere and the difference roles women and men play in the Senegalese society I asked my respondents if they thought that there were a difference between women's perception of peace and men's perception of peace (see topic guide). The majority of the answers were that there is a difference, especially when it comes to the question of who should resolve the conflict. The president of the Platform answered that the women are not included since they are not the bearer of arms and they have not fought in combats, peace then is not open for those who has not been fighting, instead it is the two parties that are in conflict that should resolve the conflict and make peace (interview 7).

5.3.2 Women's agency for peace in Casamance

As the Platform and the other informants told me, Casamance and the conflict is still not yet in a state of peace, today there is a calm, a sort of no war no peace situation, a status quo. The coordinator of Kabonketoor describes it as: "No no, we have always said that we are in a no war no peace, well, is it an armed peace? Because, it is an armed peace after all" (interview 3).

   As the other chapters has showed gender roles and the gender hierarchical system exists everywhere and especially in regard to peacebuilding were the women are those who are not the bearers of arms in the conflict. However, the Platform's strategy for peace in Casamance and to become actors of peace is to be different. First of all, the Platform has not only been able to gather all the women organisations in the Casamance region and in Ziguinchor but also on a regional level, with both creating a regional women network with organisations from the Gambia and Guinea Bissau and cooperating with and invite other women peace organisations and networks from the region such as the Mano River Women Peace Network (Rapport Narratif 3). As the president of the Platform said:

> Women have done it in a scattered way. So, the implication of women in the search for peace in Casamance is not something new. What is new is to watch all the women to get together and to speak as one voice. That is what is new in the search for peace in Casamance (interview 7).

Putting these aspects together the work of the organisations is mainly related to the local level and the everyday peace of the population working with the rural communities. One example is the field work the Platform is conducting, where they are engaging in projects of peace with villages, the platform and its organisations themselves are being called upon by the people in the villages and asked to help (Field note 3). Aspect of intervention is mainly in the beginning to talk to the village chiefs and then working on finding communication grounds in order to engage in peace talks and later organising cooperation between the villages (if for example the conflict is about natural resources) (Field note 2).

Thus, the aim of the Platform is to reach the two fighting parties, working on the field is mainly the work of their members and members associations. The Platforms' aim is to reach the high political level. For the Platform, in order to gain a holistic peace in Casamance both fighting parties need a signing of a peace accord together with the inclusion of the civil society (interview 7). The inclusion of the civil society in the negotiations between the fighting parties does not exist today and the door to the negotiation is closed but the intention of the Platform and what they are working for continues. For example, according to the president of the Platform, the signing of the peace accord is not the most important thing, what will define peace is when the two fighting parties meet at the peace table in the first place. This means all the factions of the MFDC as well (interview 7). In the peace accord the voices of the civil society should be included in order to gain a holistic peace accord where the ideas and prospect for peace have been consulted with the population (ibid; interview 8). The Platforms work in order to gain agency and to be seen as an important actor regarding the negotiations is by trying to influence and by having discussion with the two parties, both the MFDC and the state, an example of this is the Platforms celebration of Peace day in September, where the Platform in 2016 and 2017 invited representatives of the two parties as well as civil society organisations to a peace table (Rapport Narratif 2; 3). The fact that the Platform is working with a broad agenda including cooperation and trans-regional networks reinforces their agency.

The implication of the Platforms' work for peace cannot be ignored by other organisations either, during a project launch in Ziguinchor where the projects theme were to implicate the civil society in the work for peace, all the invited were present, the governor of Ziguinchor came to officially launch the project, civil society groups in Ziguinchor came as well as representatives of the mayor of Ziguinchor (which happened to be one of my interview subject and member of the Platform since the mayor himself could not attend), and delegates from the network in Guinea-Bissau and the Gambia (Field note 4). Regarding the issue of recognition from the different parties the president of the Platform explained that, it is not easy, they need to work as a neutral force if they want to get the two parties to the negotiations table, and while they are doing one project the state thinks their agenda is in favour for the MFDC and while they launch another project or statement the MFDC say that they are on the state side (interview 10). This is making it difficult, but they have a strategy of transparency and of consistently being open with their aim to meet with representatives from both sides (ibid). From the point of view of the current discussions regarding the concept of gender-just-peace, this strategy is working towards a holistic inclusive peace accord, while the context of the conflict has both changed during the years and prolonged for some time the Platform's strategy of being neutral and

discussing with both parties as well as the civil society. By being an organisation consisting of women organisations as members shows the relation with the current gender-just-peace discourse. The Platform is looked upon as one of the most important actors for peace in Casamance today, which is claimed by those holding positions within the negotiations thus implicating their help is needed in civil society (Rapport Narratif 3). Nevertheless, the aim of the organisation is to influence and be a part of the peace negotiations, and there are obstacles (Gueyè 2015, p. 71). The two fighting actors of the conflict are recognizing them but are solely seeing the women as victims of the conflict. Thus, ignoring their agency in the conflict both as victims, combatants and civilians and the role they might play in the peace process and negotiation (Guèye 2015, p. 71). As the interviews has showed the Platform and the member organisations are working hard for their cause and are very much aware of the problems they are facing:

> But of course, of course I am entirely agreeing with you that, well there are things to do next to the state as well as next to the MFDC. I think that it is our work that will open the whole of that door, I think we have to continue working we will persist and we will batter down the doors which are still closed. That's all, establish confidence and really win our seat, nothing will be given to us, nothing will be given to us that is clear. We have to, we have to continue working (interview 10).

The concept of peace and women's agency in Casamance seems different from those of the two fighting parties and their conception of what should be incorporated in the peace agreement. For the Platform, peace does not mean the signing of an agreement between two parties, a peace agreement is valid when the whole of society is included in the process in order to create a structural change. As the project manager discussed; a peace decided by only men is not a peace instead it is viewed as a continuation of the gender hierarchy that exists and one genders' domination in society (interview 8).

6   Towards a Gender-just-peace

This section outlines the thesis discussion in order to retrieve the impact of the three level of analysis regarding how gender roles affect women's role in society and thus women organisations agency as well in their strive for peace. The section is also discussing the thesis contribution to the gender-just-peace concept.

6.1   Women's agency for peace

The thesis analysis shows how gender roles in the Casamancaise and the Senegalese society affect women's agency, both regarding the existed gender hierarchies as well as women organisations aim for peace. The analysis shows the embedded gender roles patriarchal domination with women facing difficulties towards access to the public sphere. The tasks women are expected to have are taking care of children, household task and the bearer of values within the family. These tasks are strongly associated towards the private sphere.

   Little by little things have changed, for example with the women organisations demanding a parity law for the inclusion of women in to the public sphere. However, the implementations of the law that have been put in place do not change the structural inequalities that exist between men and women. Instead, by focusing on a liberal 'ad-women and stir' policy women's increased presence in the public sphere is not the same as saying equality having increased. Instead, what we have seen in the analysis, because of the political lack of willingness women themselves are taking the responsibility for their autonomy especially financially. Thus, the result seems to be that women's workload doubles, since the gender hierarchy is not changing women, in order to gain space in the public sphere also bears the burden of unpaid work related to the private sphere. Coupled to this dichotomy is then the neglect of taking women's issues and abuse of women in to the high political agenda. The interviews conducted clearly shows the use of gender-based-sexual-violence both in relation to the conflict and in society, making women's voices regarding violence silenced or under prioritised due to its association with the private sphere. The result is that violence against women is not taken in to consideration since the gender roles in society undermines women's agency as actors and instead view them as solely victims. However, there are actors fighting for change and little by little are gaining some grounds in Casamance even though gender roles are affecting them. By looking at the Platforms work for peace, their fight lies within changing the embedded gender roles, because what is outlined here is the reciprocal relationship between gender roles in society and women's agency in the peace process. To be clear; if society's gender roles implicates women's role in relation to the private sphere and not having a public voice the peace process is affected since women are not included and a women's agenda is not considered to be important. Within this

frame work the Platform is working in order to be a key actor regarding peace in Casamance, we have seen that their work includes bringing women's role back in as conflict negotiator and as an actor to resolve the conflict. Much of this is incorporated in the narrative of the Diola women and the traditional agency of women as peacemakers and solvers of conflicts. They are also trying to challenge the structural inequalities that exist regarding for example GBV with the centre Kulimaaroo, in order to help victims of violence but also to raise their voices regarding GBV. Violence is still a subject considered to be taboo and especially GBV related to the conflict, mostly since it is not connected to the public space especially not in relation to violence in the conflict between the two fighting parties, which make it a subject which is neglected by the politicians and thus in the negotiations.

6.2   A theory-developing attempt

My belief is therefore a need to elaborate the gender-just-peace concept by incorporating what Heidi Hudson argues to be one of the forgotten pieces in relation to women and peacebuilding; the need to incorporate a context specific agenda, away from the Eurocentric liberal view (Hudson 2016, p. 195). As has been written earlier gender-just-peace derives from the concept of the positive peace, searching for a holistic peace covering several levels of society while incorporating a gender perspective (Björkdahl – Mannergren 2013, p. 4). Also, the aim of the gender-just-peace is to create a change both in structural as well as power relations within the society by looking at the gender roles and the gender relations that exists (ibid).We have seen that scholars with a critical peacebuilding agenda are trying to challenge the liberal peacebuilding. However, feminists are stressing the need to incorporate gender, but I would argue that a context-specific approach needs to be incorporated as well. The reason why this approach is important is, because the women organisations and women who are advocating for peace are often relaying on international donors or aid and then the mainstreaming view of gender (the liberal view) are setting the norms. Instead of recognise local actors' political agency and knowledges within the particular case. As Hudson writes: "The kind of critical theory required to decolonise cannot be one that stems from the West – it has to be one that originates from its margins or borders, where the oppression is felt" (2016, p. 197-198). This discussion is arguing to recognise women´s agency in their work for peace and their demands and experiences as victims, wives, and informants' etcetera, and not, *allowing* her to be involved because of generalised constructed characteristics such as being more peaceful and less corrupt which dimidiates the agency of women (Hudson 2016, p. 202). To look at the context in a decolonised matter is also a way of seeing through the causes instead of the consequences of wars in a particular context (ibid). This argument is necessary because it shows how a femininization of civil society actors can emerge in certain contexts, for example in order to retrieve international donor's certain discourses and narratives are being 'marketised', Hudson in this case brings forward the example of women organisations in eastern DRC, where women organisations are trying to gain

donors by emphasising the horrible and brutal sexual violence that has happened thus sustaining the picture of women as a victim. These strategies to gain donors will eventually, in the long-term lead to aid in other areas of importance but promotes an essential view of seeing women as one group, as victims (Hudson 2016, p. 204). It is both a view of not having an essential view and categorizing women in to one group. For example, in Casamance in particular an intersectional perspective needs to be incorporated as well, since Senegal is a country with multiple, socio-cultures, languages, religions, identities, and classes, and as the analysis of gender roles showed this is something that needs to be taken in to consideration while analysing with a gender-just-peace concept. The Platform is indicating the importance of bringing forward an intersectional perspective, for example by talking about a system that has been there before regarding women's role in the Diola society as well as the importance to take in to consideration traditional tools in conflict resolution. This is not an attempt of trying to romanticise the traditional what is argued is to contextualize in order to decolonise and therefore broaden the feminist agenda of a gender-just-peace. If we take a look at the negotiations between the two fighting parties, it is obvious that the aim has been that of a negative peace – to end the combat, which are making the security of the population depend on the two parties for peace, with the consequences that civil society actors such as the Platform are looked upon as "the other" (Hudson 2016, p. 206). This elaboration of the gender-just-peace discourse is of importance, bringing in a context-specific analysis which I mean incorporates what Heidi Hudson explains as intersectionality with a decolonise agenda can change the positions and several narratives that exists (Hudson 2016, p. 207). This is why the Platform and their member organisations are an example, they are trying to change something, and by bringing forward a holistic peace agenda with a context specific approach such as changing gender roles reinforce ties and collaboration with neighbouring countries which shares similar stories. However, going back to the research question and the way gender roles affect the Platforms' work for a gender-just-peace makes this more difficult because of the strong patriarchal society that exists in Senegal today.

7 Conclusion and further research

The thesis has tried to deconstruct the embedded gender roles that exist in Casamance and in Senegal as a whole, the answer given is often two-fold. There are multiple factors that changes and reinforces women's role in society. However, the majority are undermining women's agency, such as socio-cultural ones, the patriarchal system with gender hierarchies which emphasis men's role over women in the peace process. This is why an intersectional perspective has been important to incorporate in order to deconstruct-and challenging these gender roles. The result is thus worrying, women's role in society is mainly focused in regard to the private sphere. The patriarchal society is still dominating which makes it difficult for women organisations to gain access and agency in to hard politics. However, the Platform is working on changing these things by bringing forward a strong jointly force of women organisations demanding peace and the inclusion of women in the peace process. The do this by strategies such as focusing on women's agency regarding the conflict and that women have experiences that is much needed in the negotiation in order to gain a holistic positive peace – a gender-just-peace. As the thesis has showed, gender roles affect women's work for a gender-just-peace in particular by undermining women's agency and instead see them as primarily victims.

The thesis has also been trying to develop the concept of gender-just-peace and contribute to its theorising; here the discussion has mainly taking the turn of arguing for the importance of bringing forward a context-specific approach. The importance is to bring gender in the discourse, but the context is also important to take in to consideration when it comes to peacebuilding. If the context is brought forward, the embedded gender roles together with an intersectional perspective the causes of war and conflict is argued to be analysed broader and thus the solutions can be broader as well as a sustained peace.

As a concluding remark, the thesis contribution towards the concept of gender-just-peace is twofold. First, retrieved from the case there is an importance of a context-specific research, the aim is in order to be in place as a "vulnerable observer" causes instead of consequences of a conflict as well as socio-cultural differences make each situation different. Secondly, an intersectional perspective also needs to be incorporated. By bringing forward an intersectional perspective more actors and in particular the younger population can be incorporated. The need for the younger generation to get involve and being reinforced to a definite peace in the region is something that is highly important for the future.

What also needs to be discussed is the fact that the conflict is still on-going. The situation is a no war no peace, violence can erupt but the calm can also stay, which is difficult to know since the negotiations between the state and MFDC are closed. As was stated in the introduction, there is few that knows of the conflict in Casamance and that it is the longest running conflict in West Africa today. What

is also making the peace process more difficult is the fact that there exists very little research on the conflict within Senegal as well as an almost non-existent public debate around the conflict and the peace process. The majority of articles and analysis considering the conflict is written either by Casamancaise themselves or by international researcher mainly from the west (like myself), the problem being the lack of sources and information (Gueye 2015, p. 230-231). The lack of research and information considering the conflict in Casamance is much due to the strategy of the state, informants and journalists are afraid of being critical which has in the past led to radio emissions being stopped and journalists being questioned (ibid). I would argue that this also separate the north and the south of the country a bit more and especially the new generation. The conflict has been ongoing for many years, and the lack of information provided might affect the young generation who is needed in order to continue the peace dialog. Both the Platform and other organisations need to engage the young generation who has not experienced the violence and clashes that happened during the 90ths and 2000.

Further research regarding women's role in peacebuilding processes and negotiations is a subject that is highly important. Women, peace and security have become one of the "buzzwords" within international institutions and community (as the previous research chapter showed). However, what this thesis has argued and what is of importance is not to forget the context specific environment many of these women are working in. This is why more research needs to be conducted in the field, especially by using feminist ethnographic research. More peace research needs to be conducted in the field in order to retrieve the narratives of multiple groups in society, especially those who are to continue building a sustainable peace – the young generation.

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8.2   Interviews

Personal interviews conducted with the author:

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Interview 2 = President - URSY, Madame Giroux, 10 April 2018. Ziguinchor, Senegal.

Interview 3 = Coordinator - Kabonketoor, Madame Ndeye Marie S. Lecaer, 12 April 2018. Ziguinchor, Senegal.

Interview 4 = Vice – president - COSEF (regional office of Ziguinchor), Madame Diallo, 13 April 2018. Ziguinchor, Senegal.

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Interview 6 = President and founder - Kagamen, Madame Alimatou Souaré,
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Interview 7 = President – Plateforme des Femmes pour la Paix en Casamance,
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Interview 8 = Project manager – Plateforme des Femmes pour la Paix en
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8.3 Field notes

Field Note 1 – 23 March 2018, Casamance, Senegal.

Field Note 2 – 19 April 2018, Casamance, Senegal.

Field Note 3 – 17 Mai 2018, Casamance, Senegal.

Field Note 4 – 12 Mai 2018, Ziguinchor, Senegal.

Field Note 5 – 2018. Ziguinchor, Senegal

9 Appendix

9.1 Topic guide

Nom de participant(e) :

Position/statut de l'organisation :

D'accord avec l'Interview soit enregistrée et transcrite :

Temps de l'Interview : approxima : 45 minutes.

Objective de l'Interview :

Open-ended questions – 15 minutes

- Pouvez-vous m'expliqué l'histoire de _____ ?
- Combien des temps avez-vous travaille/engagée ici ?
- Qu'est-ce que vous avez posé de vous engager dans _____ ?
- Expliquez-moi votre travail et position chez _____?
-

Thème 1 – Les rôles masculine et féminine

- À votre avis, quelle est le rôle de la femme Casamançaise, en général, dans le foyer mais aussi dans la société d'aujourd'hui ? (Sphère privé et officielle)

- Comment est-ce que vous travaillez, avec des activités et projet pour améliorer la condition de la femme Casamançaise dans le foyer mais aussi dans la société ?

- Pensez-vous que le rôle de femme a changé depuis les années ? si oui, comment ?

- Ou devient ces rôles masculine et féminine d'aujourd'hui ? Théoriquement, les féministes européens dit qu'ils sont venus d'un mélange culturel, mythique et historique, qu'est-ce que vous pensez de cela ?

- Est-ce qu'on voir une différence par rapport des facteurs comme celles de l'âge, éducation, expérience ou classe social ?

- Lié â le conflit en Casamance, comment le rôle de la femme influence des femmes et des organisations féminines dans leurs travails pour obtenir une paix en Casamance du coté négative mais aussi positif ?

Thème 2 – La violence contre des femmes

- Comment-parle-on sur le sujet la violence contre des femmes et la violence basée sur le genre dans la société ? Débat politique et entre des associations.

- La violence basée sur les sexes, est-ce que vous pensez qu'il est lié au conflit, comment ?

- Qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire pour le diminuer et supprimer ? Pour quoi existe ce problème ?

- Comment travaillez- vous pour aider et améliorer la vie des victimes des violences basées sur le genre ?

- Est-ce que vous-travaillez aussi dans l'autre côté, c'est-à-dire avec des mesurer de prévention ?

Thème 3 – Gender-just-peace

- Quelle est la paix que votre organisation aspire d'y obtenir, quelles sont des objectifs ?

- Comment travaillez-vous pour obtenir la paix ?

- Est-ce qu'il y a des expériences du conflit différent entre des hommes et des femmes ? si oui, comment peut vous le voyez dans votre travail, et comment ça change votre travail ?

- Est-ce-que la paix, ou la définition de la paix est différent entre des hommes et des femmes, comment ?

- Comment définirez-vous la situation en Casamance en ce moment ? Il y a la paix ? Il y a un conflit ? On est dans le statu quo ?

- À votre avis quelle-est la raison pour laquelle des femmes ou les objectifs des femmes sont rarement inclus dans les négociations ? Qu'est-ce qu'il faut faire ?

- Pour quoi est-il si important que les femmes soit inclue dans les négociations ? Quelle est les différences des expériences ?

Conclusion :

Merci beaucoup pour cette entretien, votre connaissance et expérience est très valable pour moi et mon mémoire. Est-ce qu'il y a quelque chose que vous désirez élaborer ou réexpliqué ? Autrement je fais la conclusion que dans votre organisation et travail c'est le _____ le plus important.

9.2   Map of Senegal

Source: By Dubaduba - CIA Worldfactory, Public Domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=186173, Accessed at: 2018-08-03