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Role of the Civil Society in Peace Support Operations in South Sudan and Somalia: The Component of Peacebuilding



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RADOSLAW LUKASZ MALINOWSKI

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P.O Box 24232-00502

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Tel: 254 20 388 3157/58

Fax: 254 20 388 3159

Email: info@ipstc.org

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Dr. M J Kimani

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Foreword

The International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC) has made considerable contribution in research and training on peace support operations in the Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa. The centre is a training and research institution focussing on capacity building at the strategic, operational and tactical levels within the African Peace and Security Architecture and has developed to be the regional centre of excellence for the African Standby Force (ASF) in Eastern Africa. It addresses the complexities of contemporary UN/AU integrated Peace Support Operations through exposing actors to the multidimensional nature of these operations. The research conducted covers a broad spectrum ranging from conflict prevention, management, and post-conflict reconstruction.

The Peace and Security Research Department (PSRD) of the IPSTC presents Occasional Paper Series 5 of (2014) on various themes on peace and conflict situations in Eastern Africa. IPSTC produced seven Occasional Papers in 2014. Three of them focussed on the Great Lakes Region while the others covered Kenya, Somalia and South Sudan. This publication titled: **Role of the Civil Society in Peace Support Operations in South Sudan and Somalia: The Component of Peacebuilding.**

These papers provide insight into pertinent peace and security issues in the region that are useful to policy makers. These publications also provide significant contribution to the security debate and praxis in the region. The research products from IPSTC have been developed by researchers from Kenya, Burundi, Ethiopia and Uganda and will inform the design of training modules at IPSTC.

This Occasional Paper is an important contribution to the vision and mission of IPSTC. The research and publication of this Occasional Paper has been made possible by the support of the Government of Japan through UNDP and the European Union.

Brigadier R.G. Kabage
Director, IPSTC

Abstract

This paper seeks to analyse the role of CSOs in peacebuilding processes in Somalia and South Sudan. First it defines and clarifies the concept of peacebuilding within the wider context of PSOs together with the composition of CSOs. Then it analyses the role of CSOs in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan. The role of CSOs in peacebuilding both countries can be summarized in four points: Creating an active society through enhancing social capital, Fostering conflict management, Advocating for social justice as the necessary component of peace, Participating in post-conflict reconstruction processes. However the best way of utilize CSOs potential in peacebuilding process is when different CSOs engage in: Enhancing human rights, Engaging in Reconciliation and/or Supporting the enhancement of the Rule of Law.

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Introduction

Peace Support Operations (PSOs) are complex by nature and involve a wide variety of actors for their realization. Some of the actors are Civil Society organizations (CSOs) comprising of International Non-government Organizations/National Non-governmental organization (INGO/NGOs), Faith-based organizations, local Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) among others. The involvement of these CSOs in PSOs has greatly increased especially since the end of the Cold War Era. This increased participation is especially significant in post-conflict situations for example, in Somalia and South Sudan, where state institutions have completely broken down and peace and reconstruction are urgently needed to restore normalcy. PSOs encompass many different components among them peacebuilding initiatives which is one of core areas where CSOs are actively engaged.

This study seeks to analyse the role of CSOs in peacebuilding processes in Somalia and South Sudan. The study begins by defining and clarifying what CSOs are and the concept of peacebuilding within the wider context of PSOs. The study then presents the findings of a research conducted in both Somalia and South Sudan. Drawing from the findings of the study, recommendations on how CSOs can enhance their role in PSO peacebuilding initiatives are proffered.

There are profound similarities between the different peacebuilding tasks carried out by CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan. For this reason, the study uses the findings from both the countries to propose a model of civil society engagement in peacebuilding that is in either country.

Problem Statement

It is instructive to note that Civil Society Organisations have been engaged in peacebuilding and other related activities in Somalia and South Sudan for a long time now however, in terms of peace, both countries remain at the bottom of the peace index, as it is indicated in the table below:

Table 1: Somalia and South Sudan: Peace Index

Global Peace Index position	2009: (144 countries ranked)	2014: (162 countries ranked)
Somalia	Rank: 142	Rank: 158
South Sudan (in 2009 together with Sudan)	Rank: 140	Rank: 160

Source: Global Peace Index 2009 and 2014

On one hand, it has to be acknowledged that the complex peace and security scenario in both of these fragile states is an outcome of many factors, On the other hand though. It is imperative to test the extent to which the CSOs have played a role in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan and how such roles can be or could have been enhanced.

Justification

Somalia and South Sudan are countries that have, similarly, been affected by decades of civil unrest that has led to a complete breakdown of state institutions and the rule of law. As a result, the role of the civil society organizations in either country has been indispensable. Even after the cessation of widespread violent conflicts in these countries, they are still far from recovery and ensuring that public institutions are fully functional, infrastructure is rebuilt and sustainable peace prevails throughout the country. Indeed, the current challenges to peace in Somalia include the presence of terror groups like the Al-Shabaab while in South Sudan rebel groups continue to challenge the legitimacy of the government in power. Continued conflict and the breakdown of civil governance structures meant that CSOs have and continue to play invaluable roles in the restoration of normalcy in both countries. However, there have been questions on the efficacy and effectiveness of the CSOs' initiatives. This study seeks to answer to these questions by interrogating the role of CSOs in peacebuilding.

Objectives

The following were the objectives of the study:

1. To identify the contribution of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) to peace processes in Somalia and South Sudan.
2. To assess the effectiveness of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan.
3. To propose the more efficient ways of engaging Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in peacebuilding process in Somalia and South Sudan.

Literature Review

In order to properly contextualize the research questions within the PSO environment, the study begins with a brief review of key aspects that information the discussions highlighted in the study.

Peacebuilding as a Component of Peace Support Operations

Traditionally, Peace Support Operations (PSOs) is a term that encompasses three components: conflict prevention and peacemaking; peacekeeping; and peacebuilding (Brahimi, 2000). The three components represent different phases of PSOs and are equally important in ensuring sustainable peace.

The concept of peacebuilding was first broached by Johan Galtung in 1996. Galtung's seminal: *Three Approaches to Peace: Peacekeeping, Peacemaking, and Peacebuilding* proposed a creation of peacebuilding structures to promote sustainable peace by addressing the “root causes” of violent conflict and supporting indigenous capacities for peace management and conflict resolution (Galtung, 1996).

The concept gained popularity among the peace activists as well as scholars, and became widely used after it was included in the 1992 UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali's: *An Agenda for Peace* report (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). Encompassing a wide range of activities, peacebuilding was identified as an important component of peacemaking and peacekeeping operations. As the report stated:

Peacemaking and peacekeeping operations, to be truly successful, must come to include comprehensive efforts to identify and support structures which [can] consolidate peace and advance a sense of confidence and well-being among people. In the aftermath of violent conflict, post-conflict peace-building may take the form of concrete cooperative projects which link two or more [communities] in a mutually beneficial undertaking that can not only contribute to economic and social development but also enhance the confidence that is so fundamental to peace. Such projects include joint programmes through which barriers between [Communities] are brought down by, for example, freer travel, cultural exchanges and mutually beneficial youth and educational projects. It can be argued that reducing hostile perceptions through educational exchanges and

curriculum reform may be essential to forestall a re-emergence of cultural and national tensions, which could spark renewed hostilities. (Ghali, 1995, section 55-56).

The focus on peacebuilding within the peace support operations gained momentum after failed peace agreements in the 1990s, for example in Angola; renewed conflicts, for example in Haiti and protracted wars as witnessed in Afghanistan, Sudan and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Brahimi, 2000)).

The other important milestone document that shaped the understanding of peacebuilding was the 2000 Brahimi report that defined the peacebuilding as:

peace-building includes but is not limited to reintegrating former combatants into civilian society, strengthening the rule of law (for example, through training and restructuring of local police, and judicial and penal reform); improving respect for human rights through the monitoring, education and investigation of past and existing abuses; providing technical assistance for democratic development (including electoral assistance and support for free media); and promoting conflict resolution and reconciliation techniques (Brahimi, 2000, p.3).

Departing from the last definition alone, it can be surmised that the concept of peacebuilding is very broad, and creates spaces for the active engagement of CSOs in such tasks as strengthening the rule of law, reintegrating former combatants into the society, and promoting the concepts of human rights, conflict resolution and reconciliation. By its nature, often, peacebuilding is a process that happens at the end of conflict for example, after signing a peace deal however, there are no clear indicators of identifying the ripe moment to initiate peacebuilding activities. Indeed, Table 2 below outlines examples of a number of early peacebuilding initiatives that can be implemented simultaneously with peacekeeping activities.

Table2: Simultaneous Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding Initiatives

Peacekeeping	Early Peacebuilding
Deter forceful attempts to disrupt the peace process	Restore/initiate essential components of local administration
Protect civilians under imminent threat of physical violence	Consider emergency job creation to defuse political tension
Facilitate provision of humanitarian assistance	Conceptualize, plan, and establish new political institutions under a transitional administration mandate
Design measures to prevent further human rights violations	Assist in the development of national strategy for justice and security
Use informal dispute resolution to defuse conflicts that risk undermining peace process	Assist in the establishment of oversight mechanisms to identify and address corruption and mismanagement
Prepare and conduct disarmament and demobilization as well as reinsertion activities	Support a long-term role for civil society by building capacity through joint initiatives, resource mobilization, technical support, and development of legislative frameworks
Conduct in-theater mine/Explosive Remnants of War ERW clearance and risk assessment and education to facilitate mission deployment, humanitarian aid delivery, and enable safe population movements	Train magistrates, advocates, and police on strategies to promote effective judicial support in the management of victims of sexual violence
Coordinate among UN actors in support of integrated strategic priorities	Sensitize local communities on the rehabilitation and reintegration of children affected by armed conflict

Source: Imboden, (2012, p. 175)

Human Rights

The concept of human rights gained popularity in the past century that Michael Ignatieff (2004) has aptly named as the “era of human rights”. There are many definitions of human rights but, for purposes of this study, only two of the

approaches are underscored notably; one, the definition derived from Hohfeld (2003) that points out the correlation between the rights and duties; and, two, the definition derived from Crawford (1988) that stresses the endorsement of the notion of human rights. The affirmation of the Human Rights Concept can be traced to the establishment of the United Nations in 1945. After the war, the UN made the promotion and protection of human rights as one of the foundations of the international order. Consequently, rights were classified and codified in the emergent international legal instruments, popularly known as the International Bill of Human Rights. The International Bill of Human Rights is composed of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1966). These instrument are complemented by two optional protocols namely: Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights that is aimed at the abolition of the death penalty. The fundamental characterization of Human Rights is that they are Universal, Inalienable, Indivisible and Interdependent (Donnelly, 1993). As it is the case with the definitions, there are several ways of categorizing human rights. The most common of these are according to generations: First generation refers to civil and political rights, Second generation cover social and cultural rights and the third generation belongs to environmental and group rights (Donnelly, 1993).

One of the derivatives of human rights is the Human Rights Based Approach to Development (HRBAD) that seeks to promote suitable development through the empowerment of the citizenry and in particular the most marginalized and those whose rights are at the risk of being violated. HRBAD allows communities to participate not only in policy formulation and entrenchment of democratic processes but, also to hold accountable those who have a duty to act. In other words, the human rights-based approach identifies “Rights holders” and their entitlements and corresponding “Duty-bearers” and their obligations. It works towards strengthening the capacities of rights-holders to make their claims - advocacy, empowering work and of duty-bearers to meet their obligations - strengthening the capacity of the duty bearers.

The HRBAD is a framework premised on the notion that a country cannot achieve sustained progress without recognizing human rights principles (especially universality) as its core principles and institutions of governance. The framework further takes into account the social, political and legal frameworks that determine the relationship between the governance institutions and the subsequent claims, duties and accountabilities.

Reconciliation

The concept of reconciliation gained academic popularity after the end of the Cold War with many scholars, for example, John Paul Lederach devoting considerable attention to the processes of reconciling divided societies. However, it is important to note that reconciliation, especially among many African societies, has been done using established traditional practices. These practices gained their academic prominence following the reconciliation process in post-apartheid South Africa and post-genocide Rwanda (Tarimo, 2007). Reconciliation is generally composed of two overlapping processes: transformation and healing. Paul Lederach (1997) notes that, reconciliation aims at restoring broken relationships destroyed by conflict and violence. Often, reconciliation is confused with justice but, the main underlying difference between the two is that reconciliation is not pursued with the use of retributive justice, for example, in the form of court trials. Reconciliation goes beyond this and entails more aspects. Lederach (1997) has posited four key elements that constitute reconciliation including: justice, truth, mercy and peace. It is only through the engagement of all of these elements that the reconciliation - restoring damaged relationships - can be restored. Indeed, ignoring any one of the elements affect the whole reconciliation process and renders it imperfect. Reconciliation processes are greatly influenced by the cultural attributes of the parties in conflict and for this reason, there is no universal model that can fit all societies (Bloomfield, 2003). However, the model as presented by Lederach (Bloomfield, 2003, p. 24) is the closest one to universality. It entails “Restorative Justice, Healing, Truth Telling and Reparation”. Combined, these elements ensure that reconciliation contributes to “Peaceful coexistence characterized by trust, empathy and a culture of democracy” (p. 24).

Rule of Law

The rule of law is an important component to any democratic society and without it, the democratic system is severely constrained. In its narrow definition, the rule of law is described as a situation where the law is prospective, general, made public, clear, stable, certain, and applied to everyone. The wider definition adds respect to human rights, democracy, and criteria of justice applied in government policies (Przeworski, 2003). Rule of law is important for a healthy society as it provides certainty and stability and where it is absent, social life becomes anarchical and those with access to power dominate the public discourse. This is a sure ingredient for social conflict.

Civil Society Organisations

Civil Society is a very broad concept that entails many different classifications of organisations under it. Larry Diamond (1994) describes civil society as the realm of organized social life that is voluntary, self-generating, self-supporting, and autonomous from the state, and bound by a legal order or set of shared rules. Within this framework falls different non-governmental organizations (international, regional and national), faith based organizations, community based organizations, other grass-root organizations including cooperatives, neighbourhood associations, and social clubs among others. Kasfir (1998) identifies four principal characteristics that define civil society; these include: its ability to maintain absolute autonomy from both social interests and the state, its capacity for collective action and the promotion of the interests and passions of the broader society, it must be devoid of all intentions to seize power and finally it must be able to act in concord within civil rules through the conveyance of mutual respect.

In terms of classification for civil society organizations, Mackinlay (1996), identifies several criteria that are used by different authors. These include: time (first Generation and second Generation), area of operations (international, multinational, regional and national), political worldview (non-political and political), or religious engagement (religious and secular). As for categorization, Robert Putnam (1995) posits two categorizes of civil society organizations: Civil Society I organizations and Civil Society II organizations. Civil Society I organizations are associations

that provide networks of civic engagement within which reciprocity is learned and enforced, trust is generated, and communication and patterns of collective action are facilitated. These organizations include social clubs, cooperatives and cultural associations. They exist for the common good and pose no serious threat to the state. Civil Society II organizations focus on enhancing democracy and curbing authoritarianism and are, usually, a challenge to the state.

In the context of Somalia and South Sudan, the discussion on the contemporary role of CSOs in this study uses the typology presented by Sewanyana (2009) and which is based on the Larry Diamond concept. The typology elucidates several roles or functions that CSOs can play. These include, first, to control (with the use of democratic means) the state in exercising its powers, second, to develop democratic norms and attributes such as tolerance, moderation, compromise, and respect for divergent views. A third role is the promotion of democracy through the mobilization of various groups and especially the disadvantaged including women, people living with disabilities, ethnic minorities etc. The fourth function entails promoting values of diversity. The fifth role is training of political leaders and candidates for political office. The sixth function is to assist in democracy building. Finally, it is to mobilize citizens and other stakeholders against unfair economic policies. In addition to the above roles, the study will explore the humanitarian and conflict management roles CSOs play in Somalia and South Sudan.

Civil Society Organisations and Peacebuilding

Although the United Nations Charter mentions non-governmental organizations in Article 71, the role of different CSOs in peace support operations gained currency starting in the 1990s. To illustrate this, is a comparison between the first UN peacekeeping operations, Opération des Nations Unies au Congo (ONUC), in Zaire (1960 to 1964) and any one of the present day peace support operations. In the ONUC case, only six NGOs were allowed to operate in the area where the peacekeeping operations were conducted and they had to be registered with the commandant of the ONUC. Conversely, in present day PSOs, the number of active CSOs is substantial. These present-day CSOs are also very versatile and in many cases, for example, Somalia in 1995, it was the CSOs that remained in the country after the UN and other key stakeholders left (Seiple, 1996). The familiarity with

conflict and the level of expertise of some NGO staff in operating in war-torn societies can be testified from comments made by a Canadian Ministry of Defense official after visiting a joint military-civilian exercise in the Balkans who reminisced: “Soldiers came to realise that some NGO relief workers had more battlefield experience than most Canadian Forces personnel” (Williams, 1998, p. 41).

Another example of the growing significance of civil society in PSO can be drawn from the participation of CSOs in distributing aid. Prior to the end of the end of the cold war, CSOs distributed only 39% of the official British Aid but this rose significantly to over 94% after the collapse of the Socialist block (Borton, 1994).

Mackinlay (1996), summarizes the rationale for civil society playing an active role in PSOs in five points. Firstly, in many complex political scenarios donors find it impossible or politically unacceptable to channel funds through the state institutions. Secondly, CSOs often have more effective reach, especially at the grass-roots level. Thirdly, many CSOs have established themselves in societies that either provides funds or staff for the PSOs. Fourthly, civil society organizations are more likely to attract publicity, and lastly, their operations are relatively cheaper than those of the UN or other stakeholders in the PSOs (pg. 94).

While acknowledging the role CSOs play in PSOs, it should be noted that there are situations where the presence of civil society is not only detrimental to peacebuilding, but can also contribute to the escalation of the conflict. This is usually the case where the CSOs activities are uncoordinated or as a result of inexperienced staff as some civil society actors often lack the necessary training. Okumu (2003) identifies ways in which civil society organizations are likely to contribute to conflict, rather than promote peace. These include: “manipulating public opinion, using local communities as shield, creating space for military operations, looting and bartering relief aid, allowing criminals, rebels to extort aid relief, creating false impression that the state institutions are not needed, creating a false perception of power balance, allowing dual use of infrastructure (military and non military), being part of a legitimizing process for organized criminal groups” (p.125).

Another key threat posed by the CSOs in PSOs stems from the urgency with which activities have to be carried out in conflict and post-conflict situations. As a result,

there is usually a flood of CSOs into the operational areas and given their different structures and mandates, this presents diverse management and coordination challenges. An even bigger challenge arises from the fact that the CSOs are not immune to partisan political influences, a fact that can be a threat to PSO missions and overall peacebuilding in a country.

Civil Society Organizations in Somalia and South Sudan

The Civil Society presence in Somalia and South Sudan offers valuable lessons especially because they operate in extremely fluid and hostile situations. Despite these odds, the CSOs are not only able to survive, but have also made valuable contributions in the political, social and economic landscapes in both countries.

Somalia

Ever since the fall of President Siad Barre's government in 1991, Somalia has not been at peace. The country descended into violent clan-based conflict that saw the entire government administrative, human and physical infrastructure collapse. Indeed, Somalia has for a long time been categorized as a failed state a term defined by William Zartman (1995) as "a situation where the structure, authority, law and political order have fallen apart and must be reconstituted in some form, old or new" (p.1).

The International Community has made several attempts to address the conflict situation in Somalia, beginning with the United Nations in 1992 addressing the problems of starvation, famine and lawlessness (Fishel, 1998). However, the UN attempts to restore peace in the country did not bear any fruits as the conflicts ranged on upto the first decade of the 21st century (Menkhaus, 2013). Interestingly, as Hagman (2005) notes, the collapse of Somalia's state central institutions led, to a certain extent, modernisation that is most visible in the spread of money transfer companies and telecommunications sector. Since 2007, the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) has been actively engaged in attempts to stabilize the country. Some measure of success have been realized with the country adopting an interim Constitution, and the Parliament and Presidency of the Federal Republic of Somalia establishing its offices in the capital, Mogadishu (Nduwimana, 2013).

The Civil Society in Somalia is legend and has been credited with a carny ability to operate even in the most peril of war situations like when other key actors like UN agencies are forced to leave due to increasing insecurity. With the support of developing partners like the European Union (EU) and the United Kingdom Department of Foreign and International Development (DFiD) (EU, 2012), the CSOs have been engaging in a number of activities that fall under the purview of peacebuilding including, humanitarian intervention, advocacy, reconciliation, post-conflict reconstruction, conflict transformation among others.

Like its counterpart in South Sudan, the CSOs in Somalia are organised in a number of forums, associations and consortiums. Through these frameworks, and especially afterthe country established a Somali Compact Plan, a roadmap towards peacebuilding and state building, the CSOs have the requisite environment to play key roles in the area of peacebuilding.

Table 3 below provides basic information on some indicators important to peacebuilding processes in Somalia and South Sudan.

Table 3: Basic Statistics for Somalia and South Sudan

Indicator/Source	Somalia	South Sudan
Population (World Bank, 2014)	10.5 million	11.30 million
GDP (USD) (World Bank, 2014)	917 million (1990)	13.8 billion (2013)
Inflation (World Bank, 2014)	No data	47,3%
School enrolment (World Bank, 2014)	29%	86%
Access to water in rural area (World Bank, 2014)	9%	55%
Life expectancy (World Bank, 2014)	50	61
Child Mortality Rate (World Bank, 2014)	108/1000	No data
Rule of Law (Rule of: Law, 2014)	No data	No data
Corruption (Corruption Index, 2014)	8 (175/177)	14 (173/175)
Press freedom (Corruption Index, 2014)	88 (164/179)	41 (111/179)
Human Development (UNDP, 2014)	No data	No data
Democracy (The Economist, 2014)	No data	No data
Peace (Global Peace Index, 2013)	3.394 (161/162)	2.576 (143/161)

Source: World Bank, 2014; Rule of: Law, 2014; Corruption Index, 2014; UNDP, 2014; and, The Economist, 2014

South Sudan

South Sudan is a large country, with an area estimated at 11,562,695 (July 2014 est., CIA World Factbook), that separated and gained independence from the Sudan on 9 July 2011. Even though South Sudan had been part of the Sudan, it had suffered decades of neglect and this had resulted in a crisis of statehood for the South Sudanese as aptly captured by Deng (2005) who has observed that:

The crisis of statehood and national identity in Sudan is rooted in the British attempt to bring together diverse peoples with a history of hostilities into a framework of one state, while also keeping them apart and entrenching inequities by giving certain regions more access to state power, resources, services and development opportunities than others. (p.41)

The independence of South Sudan did not necessarily lead to sustainable peace in the country. This is mainly because of several pertinent issues and especially those touching on borders and sharing of natural resources that were not adequately addressed during the negotiations leading to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of 2005 and later independence. There have been low level violent conflicts, cattle rustling and armed banditry but, these escalated into full-blown conflict in December 2013 when the former Vice President Riek Machar led a political rebellion against the government of President Salva Kiir Mayardit.

The conflicts in South Sudan have progressively weakened the fabric of society, divided the population and undermined the interpersonal trust among the communities. This state of affairs presents numerous challenges to the work of CSOs. Fortunately, the CSOs in South Sudan have had a long and chequered history and if properly facilitated can continue playing active roles in peace and state-building in general. Thus far, the CSOs have played an important role not only leading to the independence of the country but more recently in the National Platform for Reconciliation (2014), South Sudanese Peace and Reconciliation Commission (2013) and the IGAD talks in Addis Ababa (Tubiana, 2014). It is important however, that given the fragility of the country, that the CSOs carry out their tasks professionally

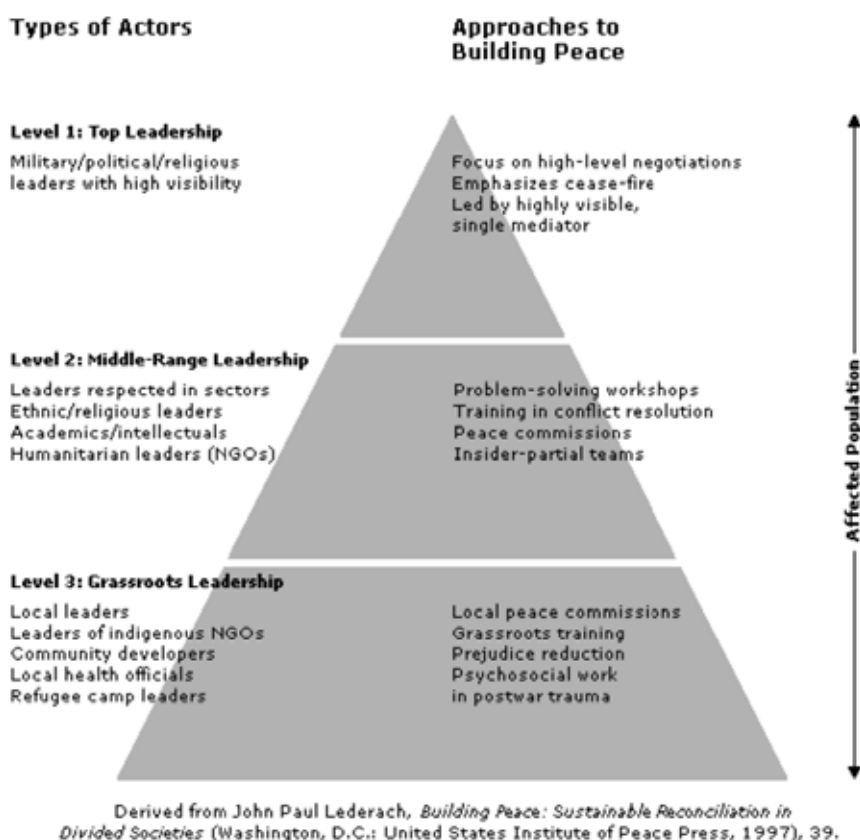
and not be seen to be partisan. They should also make good use of their coordinating bodies and frameworks for example, the South Sudan NGO forum to engage the parties in conflict.

Gaps in Literature Review

Although the area of CSOs contribution to various peacebuilding components has been discussed in different academic forums there is insufficient literature on the specific role of CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan. This means that there is a gap in knowledge on strategies assessing the efficacy and effectiveness of the CSOs interventions in the two countries where deductions on how better to enhance their contributions can be drawn.

Theoretical Framework

For its theoretical framework, the study uses the peacebuilding theory as espoused by Paul Lederach (2001). According to Lederach, civil society plays an important role in the process of reconciliation. He derives this argument from three points: first, peacebuilding must be undertaken simultaneously at numerous levels of the society, especially at the grass roots level; second, critical issues must find response while broader structural change is envisioned and set in motion; and finally, short term needs and long term vision must be linked. The importance of CSOs in these three points comes from the fact that they are often present at all levels of peacebuilding in the society (Diagram 1 below):



Source: Lederach, (1997)

CSOs are situated in such a way that they are able to link the grass roots level to the highest levels of decision-making. This linkage is two way in that the decision makers can also channel policy decisions through the CSOs to the citizenry. Citizenly support is critical to government for governance purposes. As Lederach (1997) points out, for interventions like reconciliation, the relationships of the different actors, state and non-state, is not monochronic but rather polythronic and the presence of civil society with all its variety is the key condition for its success (Lederach, 2001).

Hypothesis

This study hypothesises that the Civil Society plays an important role in peacebuilding processes in conflict and post-conflict situations. It does this, for example, by strengthening reconciliation processes and channelling decisions and linking the various stakeholders. Even more importantly, the study hypothesizes that civil society fosters social justice, without which peace is incomplete and fragile.

Methodology

In order to test the above hypothesis, the study has used quantitative research methods, bivariate and multivariate.

Field Description

The study assesses the role of CSOs in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan. The fragile security situation limited this study to two large urban settlements, Mogadishu in Somalia and Juba in South Sudan. The data was collected from one location in each country.

Mogadishu, the political and economic capital of the Federal Republic of Somalia, is the largest city in the country and hosts the Federal Government and international institutions like AMISOM. The population of Mogadishu is estimated at 1,500,000 people (World Bank, 2014).

Juba is the political and economic capital of the Republic of South Sudan. The population of Juba is estimated at 400,000 people and growing rapidly (World Bank, 2014). Juba hosts all key national institutions, as well as Federal States offices. It also hosts national and international agencies including the UN.

The two cities were chosen as the study areas given the presence and concentration of numerous CSOs.

Data Collection

Primary and secondary sources of data were extensively used for the study. For the primary data, cross-sectional survey was used. A questionnaire in English, with both structured and unstructured questions, was used for key informants interviews. To collect secondary data, the study used catalogs and data from library archives in different institutions. The study also used the electronic media to gather data from reliable Internet sources. Additional secondary data was obtained from books, journals and similarly related sources.

The target population in this study was heterogeneous. Specifically, it comprised of selected groups of people with immerse knowledge and experience on the

subject matter. The group comprised: staff of different CSOs, intergovernmental organizations, government and staff from the UN and AU. Data was also collected from direct beneficiaries of CSOs initiatives in both countries.

According to authors in research methodologies like Nachimias and Nachimias (1996), a sampling frame should include all the sampling units in the population. In this study, it was difficult to establish a sampling frame due to the fact that the number of the representatives of some groups could only be estimated. As a result, the study applied a different sampling technique. The population in the study areas, even though heterogeneous, was difficult to stratify and thus the study applied a cross-sectional survey design that involves observation of the sample population at one point in time (Babbie, 2013). Although probability sampling is the primary method in social research, in some situations (and this study is one of them), it is not possible or even appropriate to conduct it. For this reason, a non-probability technique was used to identify a sample size of 358 respondents. Non-probability sampling techniques are useful in situations where probability sampling is not possible either due to insecurity reasons, lack of a sampling frame or other intervening factors that can negatively impact on the sampling technique (Babbie, 2013). The study used purposive (judgemental) sampling, where the units observed were selected on the basis of knowledge of a population, its elements, and the purpose of the study.

For each of the study areas, Mogadishu and Juba, two Research Assistants were identified and trained. This was done in consultation with relevant stakeholders. The criteria for the selection of the Research Assistants were as follows: higher learning education certificate, availability in terms of time, language skills (English and the local language), and previous experience in data collection. Data was collected for a total of seven days in each study area.

Data Analysis

The bivariate and multivariate analysis techniques were used to analyse the quantitative data using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS). Given that this was not a comparative research, respondents were asked to rate on a 5-point Likert's scale: Strongly Disagree; Disagree; Neither Disagree nor Agree; Agree; Strongly Agree, the

role of CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan. The total number of respondents was 358 with 37 variables were subjected to analysis. The Factor Analysis technique was used because, as a variable, the role of CSOs in peacebuilding falls in the category of latent variables that are not directly observed but are rather inferred from other observable variables that are directly measurable. In other words, while it is not possible to measure the role of CSOs in peacebuilding directly, it is possible to measure different components that can be used to inform on the same (Field, 2009). Using factorial analysis helps to understand the structure of the variables while at the same time reduces the collected data to manageable sizes without distortion or compromise.

In order to test the efficiency of the civil society work, the study used both descriptive and inferential statistics. It is necessary to note that the data collection exercise was limited mainly due to the security situation in both Somalia and South Sudan. This limitation meant that parametric test techniques could not be applied. Instead, the data analysis was based on frequencies, Cross-tabulations (together with measurement of association such as Chi-square) and the Mann-Whitney non-parametric tests. Data was collected from a group of CSOs beneficiaries drawn from areas where several selected CSOs were operating. Using the Likert's Scale, several variables were compared; these included: access to health facilities, access to antibiotics, access to water, economic situation, individual daily income, access to education, knowledge of human rights, interest in politics, employment, perception of "others" and participation in peace meetings. Results from the analysis of these variables were compared to responses collected from other respondents who had not benefited from any CSOs initiatives.

To answer the last research question that is, to establish the most efficient ways of engaging CSOs in peacebuilding processes, the study used regression together with the loglinear analysis techniques. The reason for choosing these particular statistical techniques was that they allow for the predicting of an outcome variable from one or several predictor variables. In this case, the outcome variable was the CSOs role in peacebuilding, while the predictor variables were the types of CSOs activities that were related to peacebuilding. As pointed out by a number of authors, regression analysis as well as Loglinear analysis is extremely useful as they allow one to go a

step beyond a descriptive analysis (Field, 2009, p. 198). The former allows not only to test the correlation between the variables but to predict an outcome variable from the predictor variables (Stevens, 2002), while the latter is particularly useful in looking for patterns that can construct a statistical model. Since the outcome variable was categorical (the role of CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan), the use of linear regression was ruled out. Instead the study used multiple logistic regression which is an extension of regression where the outcome variable is a categorical variable and predictor variables are continuous or categorical (Field, 2009). The total number of respondents was 358, and 16 predictor variables were subjected to the analysis (Table 4 below).

Table 4: Unit Analysis (Obj. 1-3) and Non-parametric Test (obj. 2)

Country	Staff of CSOs	Staff of Govt. institutions	Staff of interna- tional institutions	Beneficiaries of CSOs	Control group
Somalia	80	50	50	20	20
South Sudan	80	50	48	20	20

Ethical Consideration

The study countries are still in a fragile security situation and given the fact that most of their formal structures have not been properly re-established, the study relied on key informants in critical positions of responsibility to provide the data. It was therefore important to first explain the details of the study, its significance and how data and information collected was to be used. All the respondents were asked to give their consent for voluntary participation and were as well informed and assured of the highest levels of confidentiality and protection from direct quotation. No institutional logos/letterheads were used and no photographs were taken. At the end of each interview, the respondents were thanked and informed that the final reports would be available on the IPSTC’s websites.

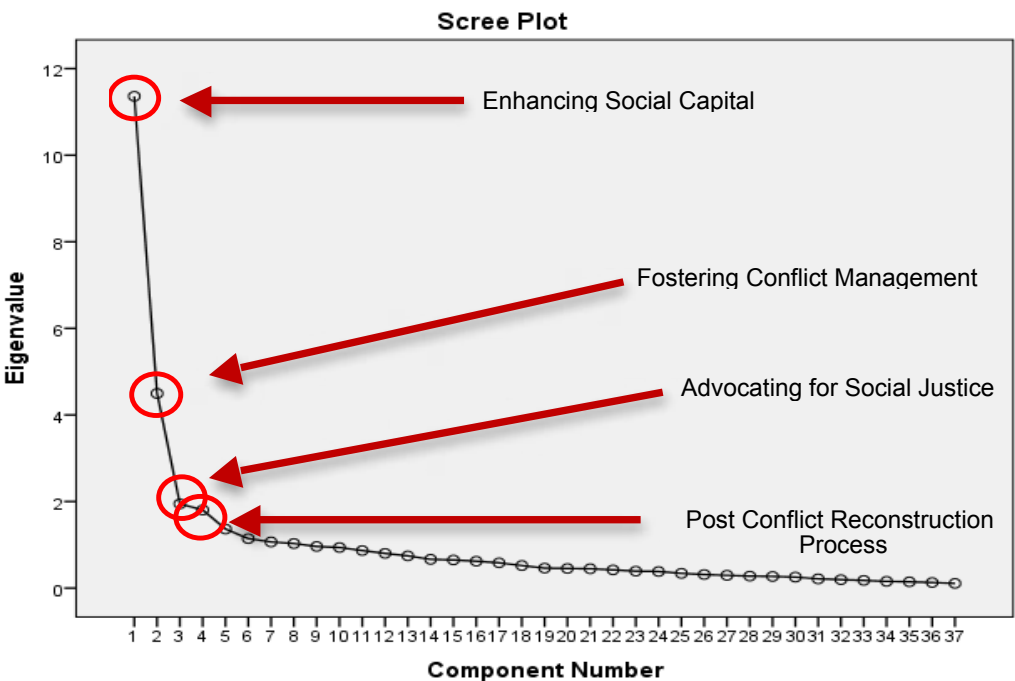
Findings

Objective 1: *To Identify the Role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan*

In order to answer the first research question, namely to identify the role of CSOs in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan, the study used the factor analysis statistical technique. The variables used in the analysis reflected the various activities CSOs undertake in peacebuilding processes. As it is elaborated in the Appendix section, through Factor Analysis, the study was able to identify four areas of the current engagement of CSOs in peacebuilding. While selecting the significant loading for each factor, the study used the criteria proposed by Stevens (2002) who proposes that for a sample of 300 and above a loading of .364 and above should be considered significant. In this study, factor loading values of above .364 were considered important.

Diagram 3 below (Scree Plot) illustrates the four selected areas. The names given to each Factor (grouping) derive from the variables loaded onto it. The Appendix contains the full list of variables and their loading on each Factor.

Diagram 2: Scree Plot



The number of components (variables) that clustered on the same components (factors) suggested four categorizations namely:

1. Creating an active society through enhancing social capital
2. Fostering conflict management
3. Advocating for social justice as the necessary component of peace
4. Participating in post-conflict reconstruction processes

Briefly, the following is a discussion of the factors in terms of their variables:

1) Creating an active society through enhancing social capital

The first factor illustrates the role of CSOs in creating and sustaining active society through enhancing social capital. The society is not merely a sum of individuals, but also a sum of active networks, that to a large extent, activates its members. The activities of the networks, their coverage and roles determine the extent of participation of the communities in various activities. In the case of Somalia and South Sudan, given the absence or inaction of formal state institutions, the communities, mainly through the CSOs, take on roles that could otherwise have been performed by the state. A brief of the variable loading for factor 1 follows:

CSOs' role in enhancing the rule of law (.667): Civil society contributes to the enhancement of the rule of law in many ways. To begin with, it lobbies for the creation and implementation of laws. This is followed by drawing the international, national and local attention to particular issues that need special attention. The CSOs are also engaged in training of the legal staff, for example, lawyers and paralegals among others.

CSOs enhancing cross cutting networks (.737); CSOs enhancing coordination between local communities and the state institutions (.809); CSOs enhancing vertical relations (.781); and, CSOs coordinating social initiatives (.783):The four factors loading above do not only share similar statistical values (between .748 and .807) but also relate to the same subject matter - networking. The CSOs operates as a platform where many social processes are possible. It links decision makers with the grass roots levels and allows those in power to be constantly in touch with the citizenry. This linkage is key to the successful implementation of policies as well as for the creation of a strong society (Lederach, 2003). In societies that are trying to recover from decades of conflict, fragmentation is often the biggest challenge, as people do not trust each other - dichotomy of “us” versus “them”, that can be an obstacle for post-conflict reconstruction, reconciliation and peacebuilding. Providing forums for exchanging ideas, projects, and debates helps to overcome the animosities between different groups in the society and enhance the implementation of different projects as well as create a sense of unity and belonging.

CSOs enhance peace initiatives (.845) and CSOs enhance reconciliation (.843): The last two loadings in the first factor refer to peace and reconciliation. The concept of peace is likely to be understood here as positive peace, where absence of overt violence is accompanied by the realisation of the principle of justice (Lederach,1997). In fact, peace and reconciliation are interdependent and correlated concepts as they rely on each other (one is a condition for the successful realisation of the other). CSOs play an important role in the promotion of the two concepts despite the fact that the two are not clearly distinguished by communities. Many Faith Based Organisations (FBOs), NGOs and CSOs organize seminars and trainings on matters related to peace and reconciliation. This approach is informed by the notion that reconciliation and peace can only be achieved if the communities at the grass root level accept and embrace the two concepts (Lederach, 1997). Social acceptance and embracing the two concepts is thus paramount.

2) Fostering conflict management

The second factor combines the concept of human rights and conflict management. The human rights component is important as the conflict resolution mechanism can be only achieved in a situation where there is mutual respect by all parties. Indeed, the implementation of human rights standards is usually a precondition to any peace process, especially in the country with a history of human rights violation. Where human rights are not observed, the ground is laid for protracted conflict. With this understanding, CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan are actively engaged in the promotion of human rights.

CSOs contribute to creation of human rights culture (.364) and CSOs advocate for human rights (.689): While the two loadings look like they are loosely connected, the nature of the conflict in both Somalia and South Sudan is such that one of the challenges to peace is acceptance of “others”. As already pointed out, conflict management activities are only possible in situations where there is a shared mutual respect for human rights and thus, the observation for human rights’ standards, or rather promotion of human rights culture becomes a pre condition for a successful peace processes.

CSOs provide a platform for dialogue (.577) and CSOs serve as a channel of communication (.642): The two loadings represent an important component of any conflict management process, that is, proper communication. The lack of communication, negative communication and/or insufficient communication are reasons for conflict management failures. By facilitating communication and providing a platform for dialogue, CSOs contribute positively to conflict management processes.

CSOs participate in conflict management (.476); CSOs participate in negotiations (.697); and, CSOs mediate between the warring parties (.506): The mediation and negotiations are tools of conflict management, and are applied accordingly to the needs of particular scenarios. An example of the role of CSOs in conflict management is the participation in the IGAD mediation process in the conflict that broke out in December 2013 between rebels and the government in South Sudan.

CSOs contribute to the reconciliation process (.677): The ultimate goal of conflict management tools such as mediation and negotiations is the realization of positive peace. On its part, reconciliation is an indispensable component of peace processes. CSOs in both countries are engaged in reconciliation, for example by advocating and promoting it at the grass roots levels, or participating in various bodies involved in reconciliation processes for example, the South Sudan Peace and Reconciliation Commission.

3) Advocating for social justice as a necessary component for peace

Social justice, a necessary component for peace, is the third factor derived from the loaded variables. The component of social justice has been incorporated into peacebuilding and identified as a necessary element of any peaceful society. Internationally, the concept of social justice was promoted by the International Labour Organization (ILO) who believes that lack of social justice will eventually lead to social unrest that transforms into conflict (ILO, 2012). The social justice concept presumes that peaceful coexistence can only be achieved when people are able to fulfil their potential. This usually happens in situations where there is economic stability, just redistribution of national wealth, and basic human needs are

provided. Unfortunately, Somalia and South Sudan are experiencing challenges in all of these three areas and hence the significant role of the CSOs in bridging gaps.

CSOs help claims social rights (.420); CSOs link local communities and the state institutions (.537); CSOs providing education (.579); and, CSOs promoting conflict transformation at personal and relational level (.394): In realizing human rights, there is always a dichotomy between the duty holders and right bearers. In fact, rights that do not correspond with any duty do not qualify as rights, as there is no one who can realize them. However, in the case of Somalia and South Sudan, identifying the duty bearer is often the first obstacle in the realisation of rights as the majority of the population are not even aware that they are right holders. For this reason, the role of CSOs in linking the people to the governance structures is key. The CSOs can advocate for both individual and group rights. In their human rights engagements, CSOs use their advantage of ease of accessibility by the communities and minimal bureaucratic processes as opposed to the state institutions.

The role of CSOs is key in both countries, as in many cases the duty bearer – usually state institutions – do not have the capacity to fulfil the social rights. This lack of capacity is not deliberate and nor are state institutions averse to the concept of human rights, rather, the limitations are as a result of decades of violent conflict. While the state institutions may be willing to pursue social rights, they face challenges of capacity. The CSOs step in not only to advocate for social rights but also to help rebuild the relevant state institutions.

CSOs promoting conflict transformation at a personal and relational level (.394): This is linked to neglect and denial of social rights that creates obstacles to the process of peacebuilding. As observed in the Frustration-Aggression theory, Jeong (2000), points out that, “human beings, as goal-oriented organisms and naturally become aggravated when they are prevented from achieving what they desire” (p. 67). The feeling of frustration arises from the inability to achieve the desired goals, and if the obstacles are not removed, the frustrations lead to conflict. The realisation of social rights, or rather social justice, is therefore a way of removing obstacles that would lead to aggression and conflict. In other words, the conflict transformation at personal and relational level is only achieved if individuals and the society as a whole

is not frustrated. The CSOs advocacy on social justice not only improves people's wellbeing but also has a positive impact on people's attitude; and, as it reduces the feeling of frustration, it contributes to conflict transformation at the personal and relational level.

CSOs providing education to the excluded (.399); CSOs helping those excluded (.593); CSOs help enhancing women's rights (.774); and, CSOs help enhancing children's rights (.720): The last group of variables that loaded on this factor describe the role of CSOs in empowering communities and in particular excluded groups in the society including: women, children, migrants among others. The CSOs work in terms of advocacy and humanitarian assistance helps uplift the social status of these groups and thus, mitigates potential conflicts.

4) Participating in post conflict reconstruction processes

The last factor is on the role CSOs play in post conflict reconstruction processes. In situations of protracted conflicts, reconstruction and peacebuilding are arduous tasks. Indeed, the post conflict phase is a very important one for achieving long lasting peace, and many peace efforts have failed where insufficient attention was not paid to post-conflict reconstruction (Lederach, 1997). Once relative peace has been achieved, it is important that the process of the reconstruction of new social environments, aimed at enhancing the quality of life and improving the conditions of those affected by the conflict, is initiated (Jeong, 2000). The role of CSOs in the post-conflict reconstruction is mainly threefold: to contribute to restorative justice, assist those especially affected by conflict (combatants, migrants), and assist the government in tasks that are key in preventing the reoccurrence of conflict.

CSOs promote restorative justice (.533): The concept of restorative justice was conceptualized by scholars like Zehr, Lederach and Braithwaite (Zehr, 2004) and its emergence was based on the shortcomings of the traditional (retributive) approach to justice. In post-conflict societies, restorative justice does not necessarily replace the retributive approach, but it is an important condition to the peacebuilding process. In sum, restorative justice usually means that there is more focus on victims and on restoring what was destroyed by the conflict, rather than punishing the perpetrators. This is usually necessary in situations where social relationships have been destroyed

by the conflict. The process of healing and restoration to the pre-conflict situation is not limited to the personal level, but also includes the societal relations. In both Somali and South Sudan where kinship, cultural, economic, and territorial ties were broken by the conflicts, the CSOs play an important role of promoting restorative justice.

CSOs assisting in reintegrating combatants back to the society (.686) and CSOs helping in enhancing migrant rights (.523): The two variables show the important role of CSOs in post-conflict reconstruction. In both Somalia and South Sudan, the conflicts resulted in large displacements of populations. This largely negative phenomena is felt both inside the countries and in the neighbouring states. To mitigate against potential conflicts arising from human displacements, CSOs engage in the empowerment and advocacy on the migrant's behalf (Hollenbach, 2008).

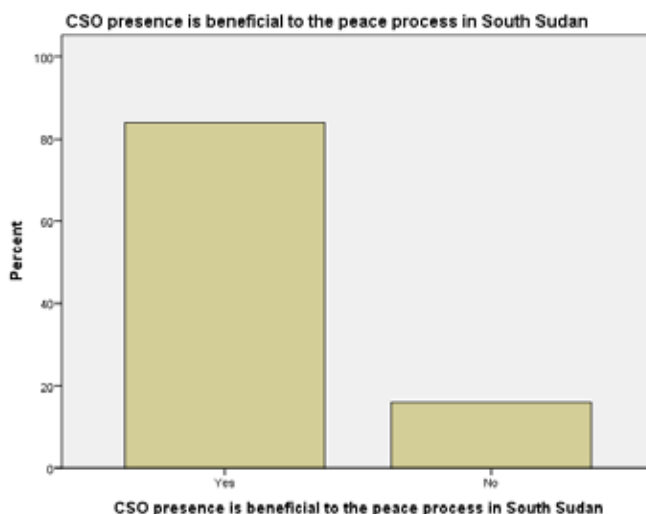
CSOs assist in reintegrating combatants back to the society (.686): This describes the role of CSOs in integrating former combatants into the society. The process of reintegration of combatants is complex, yet critical for peaceful coexistence. Former soldiers or rebels, including former child soldiers, need extensive psychological, legal, and vocational training support. This is a role that CSOs are actively involved in.

CSOs assisting the Government in providing security (.451) and CSOs assisting in disarming (.844): The former expresses the subsidiary role in supporting government efforts towards security, and the latter illustrates the role of CSOs in disarmament. The two variables complement each other, as the proliferation of Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW) is one of the biggest threats to peacebuilding. Illicit arms in the hands of unauthorized persons means that governments lose the monopoly on the use of force and the resulting deterioration in security impacts negatively on peace. The process of disarming is complex and can only be successful if all the stakeholders are actively engaged. CSOs are reliable partners in disarmament initiatives.

Objective 2: *The Efficacy of the Contribution of CSOs to Peace Processes in Somalia and South Sudan*

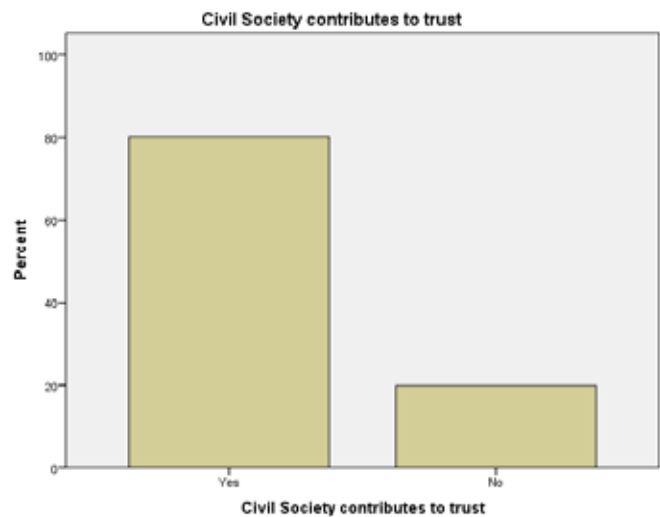
To establish how efficient the contribution of CSOs to peace processes in Somalia and South Sudan, the study evaluated their roles in peacebuilding in both countries. To do this, the study used both descriptive and inferential statistics. It is important to recall that the data collection exercise was limited mainly by the insecurity situation in the study areas. For this reason, the study used non-probability sampling techniques in order to answer the research question. First, the respondents were questioned on the impact of CSOs in the peace processes then, used a non-parametric test in order to assess the role of selected Civil Society Organizations on key components of peacebuilding. The frequency diagram below (Diagram 5) presents the answers asked on whether the civil society presence was beneficial to the peace process in South Sudan.

Diagram No. 5: CSOs presence beneficial to peace process in South Sudan



From the above diagram, 83.9% of respondents answered yes while 16.1% said no. Similar results were obtained when the respondents were asked about the civil society contribution to building trust in South Sudan (Diagram 6 below), 79.6 % of the respondents stated that CSOs contributed towards building trust, a necessary component of conflict transformation and peacebuilding, while 19.7% stated that the CSOs in South Sudan does not contribute to the process of building trust.

Diagram 6: Civil Society contributes to trust in South Sudan

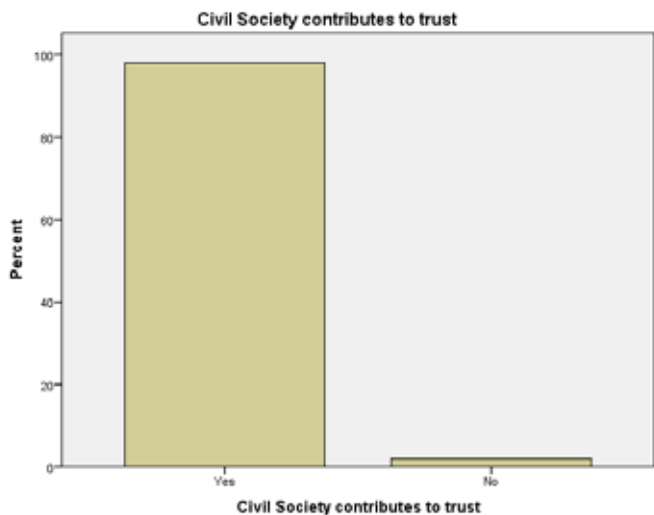


Similar results were obtained when the same question was asked in Somalia (Diagrams 7 and 8).

Diagram 7: CSO presence is beneficiary to the peace process in Somalia



Diagram 8: Civil Society contributes to trust in Somalia



The results from the two countries indicate that the CSOs is considered as an important actor in peacebuilding. This is explained further with the use of Two-Way tables. By cross tabulating the views on peace perspective of the CSOs contribution to peacebuilding and trust, the results also show the close association between the different variables as indicated in the Two-way tabulations (see Appendix). The correlation between CSOs presence being beneficial to peacebuilding and CSOs contribution to trust is important. It shows that CSOs through their work on enhancing social capital, a key component of social capital, simultaneously contributes to peacebuilding initiatives.

CSOs and Government

The evaluation of the role of CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan also entailed the assessment of the collaboration between them and other key stakeholders. The assessment was important given that the policies of the stakeholders, especially government, influence the work of the CSOs and impact on their contribution to the peace processes.

Diagram 9: CSOs and government

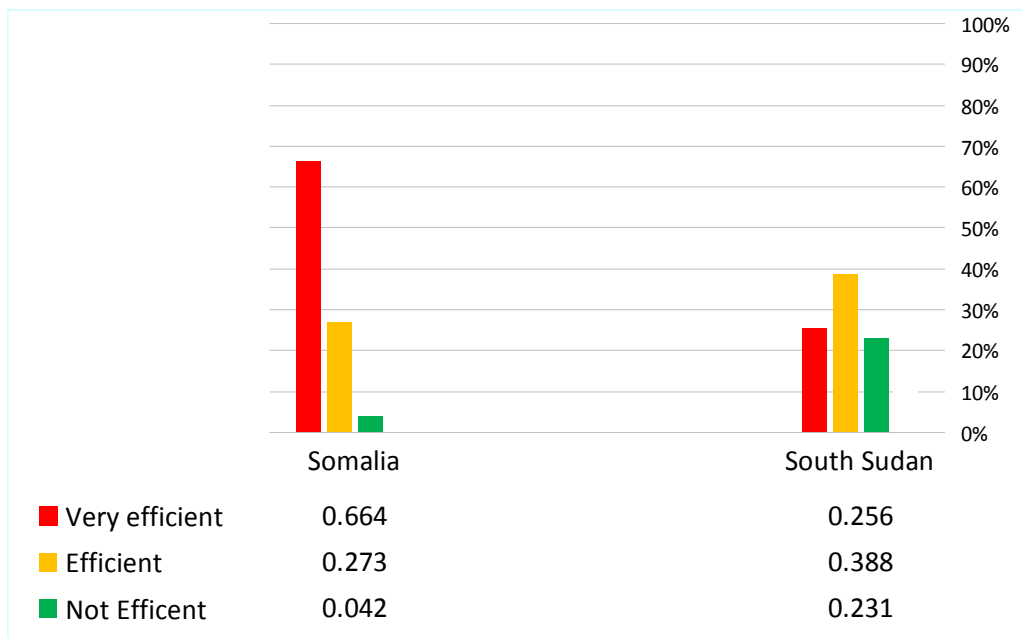


Diagram 9 above indicates that the civil society in both countries has fruitful collaboration with government. This collaboration is more efficient in the case of Somalia (93.7%) than in South Sudan (64.5%). This can be explained by the fact that in Somalia, the civil society often provides staff to the governmental institutions, while in South Sudan, the CSOs challenge government policies on its commitment to the observation of human rights standards.

Finally, using a non-parametric test, the study examined the particular interventions of civil society in different areas of peacebuilding. The results from both countries are presented in Table 5 below:

Table 5: Mann Whitney Test: Areas of Impact (p <.05)

Somalia	South Sudan
Access to education	
Interest in politics	
Knowledge of human rights	
Access to health facilities	
Access to water	Perception of “others”
Economic situation	
Employment	

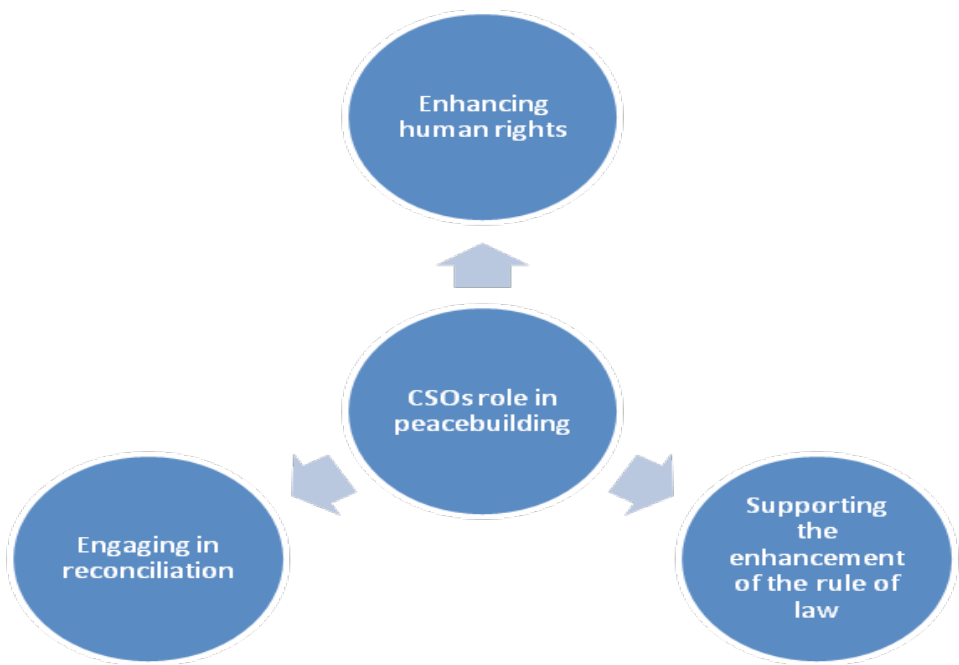
The non-parametric test returned a value of $p < .05$ which means that there is a significant difference between those who are beneficiaries of CSOs initiatives and those who are not.

Although this was not a comparative study, it is worth to note that CSOs in Somalia is more inclined to have an impact in the area of humanitarian aid work (providing water, health, education), while civil society in South Sudan plays a significant role in areas related to reconciliation and human rights - perception of ‘others’, knowledge of human rights and interest in politics.

Objective 3: To Establish the Most Efficient Ways of Engaging Civil Society Organizations in Peacebuilding Process in Somalia and South Sudan

As already explained under the methodology chapter, in order to answer the third research question, a regression statistical technique together with the loglinear statistical technique was used. By using the two techniques (Details in the Appendix), it was possible to establish the best model for engaging CSOs in peacebuilding. The model below (Diagram 9) predicts that where CSOs engage in one or more of the stated components, they will have a significant impact on peacebuilding.

Diagram 9



Human Rights

The model above allows for the prediction of when CSOs are more likely to play a significant role in the process of peacebuilding. Analysis from the study shows that CSOs engaging in the enhancement of human rights and simultaneously promoting reconciliation play a greater role in peacebuilding. CSOs in both Somalia and South Sudan are actively engaged in the promotion of human rights standards. As discussed under literature review, the role of the CSO is threefold: intervening in particular cases of human rights abuses (protection of the most vulnerable members or groups in the society); advocating for national policies that embrace human rights standards; and, participation in Human Rights-based Approach to Development (HRBAD).

Engaging in Reconciliation

A key role of CSOs in contributing to peacebuilding is through the promotion of reconciliation, a mandatory component of any peace process in a conflict situation. CSOs can actively engage in promoting reconciliation either through advocacy on the need for reconciliation processes or by providing the necessary space for the process itself, for example, using different CSOs structures in organising meetings, mediations, trainings among others.

Supporting the Enhancement of the Rule of Law

Creating and strengthening the rule of law is primarily the mandate of government, however CSOs also has a role to play. CSOs can contribute by strengthening the capacity of different institutions responsible for enforcing the rule of law. An example is provided by the Mine Action Group (MAG), a Non- governmental Organisation that contributes towards the enhancement of the rule of law through the equipping of Police with necessary skills and equipment.

Case Study: CSO and Rule of Law

An example of CSOs' contribution to providing security and creating an environment for successful disarmament is MAG – Mine Advisory Group, an INGO that is present both in Somalia and South Sudan. The work of MAG is not limited to landmine clearance but addresses all other activities that enhance security. For example, in Somalia, MAG provides infrastructure (armouries) for the security forces, as well as trains members of the military and the police in safe weapons management. Capacity building (in terms of infrastructure and skills) enhances disarmament interventions and boosts security. This in turn leads to better SALW management. This is important, as one of the pillars of the rule of law is to ensure that arms are only in the hands of authorised persons.

Source: <http://www.maginternational.org>

Recommendations

The CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan play an important role in the peacebuilding processes in both countries. The four areas of contribution of CSOs namely: (1) Participating in post- conflict reconstruction processes; (2) Advocating for social justice as a necessary component of peace; (3) Fostering the conflict management; and, (4) Creating an active society through enhancing social capital are critical for peacebuilding. All the relevant stakeholders should thus incorporate these aspects in their polices and programmes.

CSOs in post-conflict situations can make significant contributions to peacebuilding in three areas. One, enhancement of human rights mainly through the promotion of the Human Rights Approach to Development. This approach that has been adopted by United Nations merges the domains of development with that of human rights.

The second area, namely reconciliation, is vital to successful peacebuilding processes. Successful reconciliation can only be achieved when people understand and embrace each other. CSOs have the capacity to mobilize populations at the grass root levels and engage them in the reconciliation processes.

Finally, CSOs should play a subsidiary role to government in promoting the Rule of law. More specifically, in South Sudan, CSOs should be engaged in the following areas:

1. Participate in the National Platform for Peace and Reconciliation through the South Sudanese Peace and Reconciliation Commission by (1) strengthening the national, state/regional local and grass roots level peacebuilding capacities; and, (2) pursuing national healing and reconciliation among the communities.
2. Participate in developing the capacity of duty bearers through (1) training the staff of law enforcement institutions for example, Rule of Law Forums and training local leaders in customary law and, (2) strengthening the capacity of different duty bearers for example, the health sector.

In case of Somalia CSOs should be engaged in the following areas:

1. Participate in the implementation of the Somali Peace and State building Compact Plan through, (1) social reconciliation and strengthening capacity of different institutions; (2) promoting justice through the strengthening of the law enforcement service providers; and, (3) enhancing the economic base of the right holders, especially the disadvantaged communities.

Finally, the role of CSOs in peacebuilding in both countries, should be subjected to further research. The areas below are proposed as a priority:

1. Participation of CSOs in the Somali Compact Strategic Plan;
2. CSO collaboration with the Somali Federal government institutions on peacebuilding;
3. CSO collaboration with the South Sudan government institutions on peacebuilding ; and,
4. The role of CSO in peacebuilding in South Sudan for example through reconciliation at the grass roots level, enhancing the rule of law and HRBAD among others.

Conclusion

The study has established the important role played by the CSOs in peacebuilding in both Somalia and South Sudan. The CSOs are engaged in four main areas namely: (1) Participating in post- conflict reconstruction processes; (2) Advocating for social justice as a necessary component for peace; (3) Fostering conflict management processes; and, (4) Empowering the communities' social capital.

Peacebuilding interventions fall within these four areas and it is for this reason that the SCOs work in Somalia and South Sudan is critical. One way of enhancing the work of CSOs in both countries is by continuing to support the promotion of (1) human rights; (b) reconciliation; and (3) the human rights-based development.

CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan work in unique complex situations. The years of violent conflict has left, in its wake, divided societies with broken social fabrics and the physical political, economic and social structures had completely broken down. The result was largely a state of anarchy where the rule of law did not apply and the countries, in particular, Somalia were taken over by criminal gangs and more recently by extremist terrorist groups. In South Sudan the scars of the protracted conflicts have eroded confidences among the communities and flare-ups of low-level violence are prominent. Occasionally, these low level conflicts blow up to full-scale conflicts. Among others, these are the challenging circumstances that the CSOs have to implement their initiatives of rebuilding societies.

The CSOs need to work closely with government, the communities and other stakeholders in rebuilding the necessary governance and development structures. Once these relevant structures are rebuilt, functional and accountable to the citizenry, a positive step will have been achieved towards the realization of sustainable peace in both Somalia and South Sudan.

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Appendix: Statistical Analysis

Objective 1: *To identify the Role of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) in Peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan*

In order to answer this research question, namely to identify the role of CSOs in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan, the study used the Factor Analysis statistical technique.

The objective of factor analysis was to try to make a complex phenomenon simpler and, by so doing, increase its understanding. Here the complex phenomenon studied was the role of CSOs in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan. Each factor or underlying dimension of the role of CSOs in peacebuilding is a pattern delineating a distinct cluster of interrelated data. In factor analysis, the meaning usually associated with “dimension” is that of highly interrelated defined traits, performances, properties or characteristics; behaviour which constitute the variables for measurement and situations or conditions under which observations are made (Cattell, 1965). The possibility of multicollinearity (correlation between variables of above .80) was ruled out by scanning the correlation matrix.

A principal component analysis (PCA) was conducted on 37 items with orthogonal rotation (varimax). The Kaiser Meyer-Olkin measure verified the sampling adequacy for the analysis, KMO = .887, considered good by Hutcheson & Sofroniou (1999). The Bartlett’s test of sphericity $\chi^2 (666) = 4663.2409$. $p < .001$ indicated that the correlation between items were sufficiently large for PCA. An initial analysis was run to obtain eigenvalues. With the use of the Scree Plot, four components were extracted. The four components explain in combination 52,996% of total variance.

Table 6 shows the four factors after rotation with the selected loading (above .364).

Table 6: Rotation Matrix

Elements of Peacebuilding	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
CSOs contribute to creation of human rights culture		.364		
CSOs help claims social rights			.420	
CSOs providing education			.579	
CSOs participate in conflict management		.476		
CSOs contribute to reconciliation process		.677		
CSOs advocate for human rights		.689		
CSOs providing education to the excluded			.399	
CSOs serve as a channel of communication		.642		
CSOs participate in negotiations		.697		
CSOs assisting the Government in providing security				.451
CSOs helping those excluded			.593	
CSOs help enhancing women's rights			.774	
CSOs help enhancing children's rights			.720	
CSOs helping in enhancing migrant rights				.523
CSOs link local communities and the state institutions			.537	
CSOs mediate between the warring parties		.506		
CSOs assisting in disarming				.844
CSOs assisting in reintegrating combatants back to the society				.686
CSOs provide a platform for dialogue		.577		
CSOs promote restorative justice				.533
CSOs promoting conflict transformation at personal and relational level			.394	
CSOs' role in enhancing the rule of law	.667			
CSOs enhancing cross cutting networks	.737			
CSOs enhancing vertical relations	.781			
CSOs coordinating social initiatives	.783			
CSOs enhancing coordination between local communities and the state institutions	.809			
CSOs enhance peace initiatives	.845			
CSOs enhance reconciliation	.843			

Objective 2: *How Efficient is the Contribution of CSOs to Peace Processes in Somalia and South Sudan?*

The second research objective, how efficient the contribution of CSOs to peace processes in Somalia and South Sudan attempts to evaluate their role in peacebuilding. In order to test the role of CSOs, the study used both descriptive and inferential statistics.

Table 7: CSO Presence is Beneficial to the Peace Process in South Sudan

CSO presence is beneficial to the peace process in South Sudan	Yes	No	Total
	83.9 % (115)	16.1% (22)	100.0% (137)

Table 8: CSO Presence Contribute to Trust in South Sudan

Civil Society contributes to trust	Yes	No	Total
	80.1 % (109)	19.9% (27)	100.0% (136)

Table 9: CSO Presence is Beneficiary to Peace Process in Somalia

CSO presence is beneficiary to peace process in Somalia	Yes	No	Total
	97.2 % (141)	2.8% (4)	100.0% (145)

Table 10: Civil Society Contributes to Trust in Somalia

Civil Society contributes to trust	Yes	No	Total
	97.9 % (142)	2.1% (3)	100.0% (145)

Table 11: CSOs Presence is Beneficial to the Peace Process and the Peace Situation in Somalia is Improving

CSOs presence is beneficial to the peace process	Peace situation is in Somalia improving		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	90.9% (130)	7.0% (10)	97.9% (140)
No	0.7% (1)	1.4% (2)	2.1% (3)
Total	91.6% (131)	8.4% (12)	100.0% (143)

$\chi^2 = 13.537$, $df = 1$, significance = .019, PHI = .308

Table 12: CSOs Presence is Beneficial to the Peace Process and the Peace Situation in South Sudan is Improving

CSOs presence is beneficial to the peace process	Peace situation Sudan in South is improving		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	70.8% (90)	15.0% (19)	85.8% (109)
No	7.1% (9)	7.1% (9)	14.2% (18)
Total	77.9 % (99)	22.1 % (28)	100 % (127)

$\chi^2 = 9.535$, $df = 1$, significance = .004, PHI = .374

Table 11 above is not amenable to meaningful interpretation in terms of measure of association (chi-square) because of the table's high percentage of empty cells as 2 cells (50%) have an expected count of less than 5. If it were amenable to meaningful interpretation, the interpretation would be that the chances are 19 out of 100 that it is due to chance sampling – which is certainly a non-trivial significance. However, from the table percentages, it shows that 90.9% of the respondents, while believing that the peace situation in Somalia will certainly improve, also acknowledge that CSOs are beneficial to the peace process. The results obtained in Table 11 can also be compared with Table 12. Table 12 is different in that it is amenable to interpretation in terms of its chi-square and its measures of association. The chi-square of 9.535 is significant at .01 because the chances are 4 out of 100 that it is due to chance sampling. The table's variables are associated. The extent to which they are associated is indicated by a contingency coefficient of .374 that is still an acceptable level of association. The table percentages show that there is a strong correlation (70.9% of respondents) between the hope of the improvement of peace in South Sudan and the presence of CSOs being beneficial to the peace process.

Table 13: CSO Presence in South Sudan Being Beneficial to the Peace Process and CSO Contribute to Trust

CSO presence in South Sudan being beneficial to the peace process	CSOs contribute to trust		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	74.3% (101)	9.6% (13)	83.8% (114)
No	5.9% (8)	10.3% (14)	16.2% (22)
Total	80.1% (109)	19.9% (27)	100 % (136)

$$\chi^2 = 31.620, df = 1, \text{significance} = .000, PHI = .482$$

The table above is amenable to interpretation in terms of the Chi-square and the measures of association based on it. The Chi-square of 31.620 is significant at .001 and the table's variables are associated to a level of .482, as determined by PHI, and this level of association is still meaningful. The CSOs contribution towards the creation of trust in the South Sudanese society (an important component of social capital) is at the same time beneficial to the peace process according to 88.6% of respondents. This is a very strong indicator of positive correlation between social capital and the CSOs engaging in peacebuilding. Similar results were obtained when the CSOs presence being beneficial to the peace process is cross-tabulated with the CSOs contribution towards the creation of trust in Somalia.

Table 14: CSO Presence in Somalia Being Beneficial to the Peace Process and CSO Contribute to Trust

CSO presence in Somalia being beneficial to the peace process	CSOs contribute to trust		
	Yes	No	Total
Yes	95.1% (136)	2.1% (3)	97.2% (139)
No	2.8% (4)	0.0% (0)	2.8% (4)
Total	97.9% (140)	2.1% (3)	100.0% (143)

$$\chi^2 = .088, df = 1, \text{significance} = .918, PHI = -.025$$

Three cells of the above table had expected frequencies of less than 5, thereby rendering the resulting Chi-square statistic not meaningfully interpretable as an indicator of existence of a relationship between the variables in question. However, the frequency distribution of the Table cell percentages does make sense. In particular, the intersection of the first column and the second row has the highest percentage (95.1%) in the entire table. Statistical significance aside, the way cell percentages are distributed resembles (or is even more) the role of the association between CSOs peacebuilding and contribution to creation of trust in South Sudan.

Non-Parametric Test

The reason for using this test can be explained in two ways. First the data collected was not in normally distributed packages given that it was collected in only one study area in each country. Secondly, such collected data was not subject to assumptions, as it could be the case in other statistical techniques that look for differences between means (like a T-test). In order to evaluate the role of civil society in Somalia and South Sudan, the study selected one location in each research area in which a group of respondents that were assisted by a CSO (beneficiaries) were compared with another group from the same location that was not assisted by any CSO (non beneficiaries). As the sample was relatively small, the Mann-Whitney test was selected as the most appropriate method of calculating significance. The null hypothesis was that there is no difference between the two groups in the following variables: access to health facilities, access to antibiotics, access to water, economic situation, individual daily income, access to education, knowledge of human rights, interest in politics, employment, perception of “others” and participation in peace meetings. For most of the above variables, the Likert’s scale was used, where the respondent’s answer was rated from 1 to 6.

Objective 3: To Establish the Most Efficient Ways of Engaging Civil Society Organizations in Peacebuilding Process in Somalia and South Sudan

In order to answer the third research question, a regression statistical technique together with the loglinear statistical technique was used.

As the outcome variable was categorical (the role of CSOs in Somalia and South Sudan) the use of linear regression was ruled out. Instead, this study used multiple logistic regression as this is an extension of regression where the outcome variable is a categorical variable and predictor variables are continuous or categorical (Berry, 1993). Multiple logistic regression is a very useful tool in the field of social sciences, predominantly in conflict studies, as the research tests the models on categorical variables. In particular this type of statistical analysis is useful in a situation where the baseline model gives the best prediction (the outcome that occurs most often). The outcome variable in this study was a categorical variable: Is the civil society in Somalia and South Sudan supporting the peace process? The two answer categories were Yes (coded by the SPSS program as 1) and No (coded by the SPSS program as 0). The predictors were categorical variables representing different elements of peacebuilding (Table 15).

The sample collected in both countries was 358 and included the staff of various Civil Society Organizations (NGOs, CBOs, FBOs, INGOs), government workers, and beneficiaries. The data was tested with the use of a cross tabulation statistical technique, in order to avoid the error of incomplete information from the predictors. Also, the complete separation as well as over-dispersion was ruled out. The variables were tested for the association with the outcome variable, and those with PHI lower than .3 (low association for the model) and higher than .5 were removed (too high - testing the same phenomenon). Table 15 below presents the levels of association with the outcome variables.

Table 15: List of Variables and their Association Level with the Outcome Variable

No	Variables	Chi-Square	PHI
1	Enhancement of human rights	62.637	.469
2	Supporting access to education	44.233	.394
3	Supporting access to health	18.451	.254
4	Supporting the enhancement of the rule of law	49.356	.416
5	Empowering the excluded groups	22.758	.283
6	Promoting the empowerment at the local community level	37.877	.365
7	Promoting reconciliation	45.355	.399
8	Engaging in conflict management	52.755	.430
9	Assisting in DDR	22.989	.284
10	Assisting in migration flow	22.516	.281
11	Creating cross-cutting networks in the society	43.301	.390
12	Supporting vertical relations between state institutions and families	51.865	.427
13	Coordinating different social initiatives	59.737	.458
14	Mediating between the local community and state institutions	44.113	.393
15	Promoting peace building social initiatives	72.860	.506
16	Engaging in reconciliation	73.888	.452

The remaining variables were subjected to regression using the stepwise method of regression (Forward Likelihood Ratio). Although the stepwise method is often criticized due to its shortcomings, nevertheless it can be very useful in a situation where the study is testing the model that will fit the collected data (Menard, 1995). The model, that includes constants only, correctly classified 95,1% of cases and thus the model is correct in 251 cases out of 264.

As the residual Chi-square (Overall statistics) is 129.347 significant at $p < .001$, the addition of one or more variables to the model significantly affects its predictive power. The -2LL at step 2 has a value of 48.081, which is significantly smaller than -2LL value when the constant was included (103.635), while Chi-square has a value 55.554 significant at $p < .001$. The new model correctly classifies 97% cases in comparison to 95.1% when only the constant is included.

Table 16: Regression

Regression Model									
		B	S.E.	Wald	df	Sig.	Exp(B) Lower	95% C.I. for EXP(B) Upper	
Step 1	Engaging in reconciliation	4.327	.809	28.626	1	.000	75.706	15.515	369.404
	Constant	.435	.387	1.266	1	.261	1.545		
Step 2	Enhancement of human rights	2.760	.810	11.593	1	.001	15.793	3.225	77.328
	Engaging in reconciliation	3.530	.870	16.452	1	.000	34.124	6.198	187.870
	Constant	-1.107	.643	2.968	1	.085	.331		

Note: $R^2 = .53$ (Hosmer&Lemeshow), .190 (Cox &Snell), .584 (Nagelkerke). Model $\chi^2(2) = 55.554$, $p < .001$

Table 16 shows that the B value in Step 1 is 4.327 (SE .809) for predictor 16 and .435 (SE .387) for the Constant. The B value in Step 2 is 2.760 (SE .810) for predictor 1 and 3.530 (SE .870) for predictor 16, while -1.107 for the constant (SE .643). The Wald statistics (Chi Square distribution) for predictor 16 in step 1 is 28.636, and in step 2 for predictor 1 is 11.593, while for predictor 16 is 16.452, which means that both predictors have significant contributions to the prediction of the outcome. As the value of odds (Exp B) is 15.793 for Predictor 1 and 34.124 for predictor 2, it indicates that if both predictors increase, the odds of the outcome occurring increases. The related 95% confidence intervals did not include the interval 1. As the 95% confidence interval do not overlap, it can be concluded that compared to a situation where CSOs are engaging in peacebuilding, CSOs which enhance human rights have 15.793 times higher odds (95% CI = 3.225 to 77.328) and CSOs engaging in reconciliation have 34.124 times higher odds (95% CI = 6.198 to 187.870) of contributing to peacebuilding.

Removing intervention from the model would have a significant ($p < .001$) effect on the model together with variables that are not entered into the equation respectively. The two variables, namely the engagement in reconciliation and enhancing human rights

fit well with the literature on the key components of peacebuilding. Nevertheless, the study broadened the scope of the best model CSOs in peacebuilding and tested the two variables that were not loaded into model, though they were significant at Step 1 ($p < .05$). As indicated in Table 17 below, the two variables are: Supporting the enhancement of the rule of law and, Supporting vertical relations between state institutions and families.

Table 17: Variables not in Equation: Step 1

Variables	Sig.
Supporting access to education	.135
Supporting the enhancement of the rule of law	.018
Promoting the empowerment at the local community level	.364
Promoting reconciliation	.111
Engaging in conflict management	.335
Creating cross-cutting networks in the society	.194
Supporting vertical relations between state institutions and families	.040
Coordinating different social initiatives	.355
Mediating between the local community and state institutions	.887

Taking into consideration the fact that these are categorical variables the most appropriate method was Loglinear Analysis. Loglinear analysis is an extension of chi-square test, and aims at fitting the simplest model to the data without any substantial loss of predictive power (Field, 2009). As the data was already subjected to another analysis, the task for the loglinear technique here was to test whether the interaction of the two variables (that were still significant in Step 1 of regression) with the outcome variable would allow to add the two respective variables to the final model.

After checking the assumptions, (no. of expected count less than 1 and no. more than 20% less than 5 while cross-tabulating the variables), the 2 predicting variables together with outcome variable were subjected to analysis. Table 18 below presents the results obtained.

Table 18: Loglinear Analysis

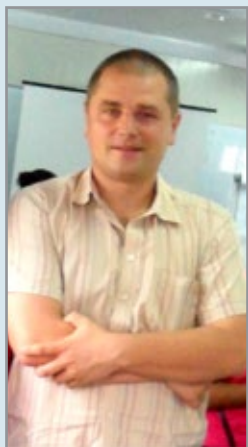
Effect	Estimate	Std. Error	Z	Sig	95% confidence Interval	
					Lower	Upper
CSOs in peacebuilding and Supporting the enhancement of the rule of law and Creating cross-cutting networks in the society	.083	.162	.513	.608	-.235	.402
CSOs in peacebuilding and Supporting the enhancement of the rule of law	.590	.162	3.637	.000	.272	.909
CSOs in peace building and creating cross- cutting	.472	.162	2.909	.004	.154	.791

The three – way loglinear analysis produced a model that did not retain the highest order ($p = .608$). From the lower orders, the two variables had the significant interaction ($p < .005$), but it was CSOs in peacebuilding and Enhancing the rule of law that had the most important effect in the model ($z = 3.637$), followed by CSOs in peacebuilding and Creating cross-cutting networks in the society ($z = 2.909$). Therefore, it is possible to include: Enhancing the rule of law variable to the final model.

Role of the Civil Society in Peace Support Operations in South Sudan and Somalia: The Component of Peacebuilding

This paper seeks to analyse the role of CSOs in peacebuilding processes in Somalia and South Sudan. First it defines and clarifies the concept of peacebuilding within the wider context of PSOs together with the composition of CSOs. Then it analyses the role of CSOs in peacebuilding in Somalia and South Sudan. The role of CSOs in peacebuilding both countries can be summarized in four points: Creating an active society through enhancing social capital, Fostering conflict management, Advocating for social justice as the necessary component of peace, Participating in post-conflict reconstruction processes. However the best way of utilize CSOs potential in peacebuilding process is when different CSOs engage in: Enhancing human rights, Engaging in Reconciliation and/or Supporting the enhancement of the Rule of Law.

About the Author



Radoslaw Malinowski is an applied researcher at the International Peace Support Training Centre (IPSTC), Nairobi Kenya. He holds a Master of Arts Degree in Law and a Master of Arts Degree in Theology from the Catholic University of Lublin (Poland), as well as a Master of Arts Degree in International Relations and Peace Studies from Hekima College – a constituent College of Catholic University of Eastern Africa (CUEA), Kenya. Currently he is pursuing a PHD from the Catholic University of Lublin (Poland). He has worked for different non-governmental and international organisations in Kenya, South Sudan, Malawi and South Africa in the area of peace, conflict and human rights. He is also a part time lecturer at the Tangaza University College (CUEA).



International Peace Support Training Centre

Westwood Park, P.O. Box 24232 - 00502, Karen, Kenya.

Tel: 00254(0) 20 20 388 3157/8 Fax: +254 20 388 3159

Email: info@ipstc.org

Website: www.ipstc.org

