

**Assessing the International Appeal of
Women's Peace Organizations in the Casamance Conflict, Senegal**

**Justine Davis
Elon University
Social Sciences and Public Health**

**Faculty Mentor
Laura Roselle
Elon University**

Abstract

This study examines the appeal of peace organizations to the international community and the factors that influence international support of these groups. It will contribute to the limited academic literature on partnerships between peace organizations and international non-governmental organizations (INGOs) in Africa by focusing on two peace organizations made up of women, USOFORAL and Kabonketoor, in the Casamance conflict in Senegal from 1997-2007. The research presented is based on field work conducted in Dakar, Senegal and Ziguinchor, Senegal from January 2007 to May 2007. This paper argues that when peace organizations and INGOs have similar organizational structures, goals, and needs, these organizations are more attractive to western donors. In addition, the existence of accessible leaders and the added benefit of working with regional peace networks are also examined as characteristics of success in receiving international attention. The success in receiving international support was measured by the amount of funding they received and the number of organizations with whom they worked. The study found that USOFORAL, an organization with a more western structure such as a website, office, professional staff and multilingual materials, has received more international recognition and support than Kabonketoor because it more closely matches the structure of international organizations. However, the study also suggests that other factors, such as Kabonketoor's collaboration with peace networks as a means to improve international appeal, make the understanding of the international community's choices of whom to support a complex issue. This paper contends that working with both traditional and western approaches to peace is essential and recognized by international organizations, and can be enhanced if international organizations more adequately support local women's peace work.

Introduction

Women's peace organizations have increasingly received international donor attention in recent years (Bouta, *et al.*, 2005; Stam, 2006; Nzomo, 2002; OECD, 2001; Karame, 2004; Snyder, 2000). These organizations form a crucial part of civil society and can promote women's leadership, raise awareness of women's rights, and contribute to gender equality in all spheres. They can also implement and monitor peace accords and channel humanitarian and development assistance to targeted populations. Women are often the first to call for an end to conflict and their involvement at the grassroots level allows them to participate in informal peace activities, such as peace marches, protests, peace education and empowerment activities (Bouta *et al.*, 2005; Vincent, 2001; Larson and Tian, 2005; Anderson, 2000; Shoemaker, 2002; Nzomo, 2002; Karame, 2004). Although many peace organizations are started by elite women, they function across socio-economic lines (Karame, 2004). Women work not just for peace but also improved access to education and health services, protection of cultural and language diversity, and equal rights as part of the peace process (Karame, 2004; Larson and Tian, 2005; Nzomo, 2002). Women's groups often have complaints of lack of resources to support their efforts. They often need long term investments in human resources and support to keep their organizations running and effective (Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002).

Peace initiatives in Africa have sought support, knowledge and skills from regional and international bodies. Women's groups can provide international organizations with a framework and useful resource base for conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction through their collective and collaborative approaches towards peace and their insight into community conditions (Karame, 2004; Nzomo, 2002; Bouta *et al.*, 2005). Women's groups can also work with international donors in development assistance programs related to health issues, income

generation, democracy and human rights advocacy that provide benefits to the entire community (Bouta *et al.*, 2005). In the same respect, international organizations can provide women's groups with the capacity to adequately effect change in their communities and the resources necessary to do this. In order for women's groups to play an active role in the formal peace process, international organizations have found that they need training, capacity building, technical support and preparation (UNIFEM, 2005; Bouta *et al.*, 2005; Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002). Policies that have been suggested for international organizations to implement to facilitate this more active role for women's groups include increasing the visibility and exposure of women's organizations, encouraging links between women's organizations and formal peace processes, and supporting female civil society leaders to become formal political actors (Bouta *et al.*, 2005).

Despite the positive relationship that can be born of a partnership between aid organizations and women's peace groups, there are often constraints that make the relationship difficult. In many cases foundations and donors will only fund short term projects and not the ongoing costs of maintaining an organization (Bouta *et al.*, 2005; Shoemaker, 2002; Jordan, 2003; Larson and Tian, 2005; Rehn and Johnson Sirleaf, 2002). International donors often focus on well-established and connected women's organizations, ignoring the smaller, grassroots organizations and networks of women in rural areas (Bouta *et al.*, 2005; Larson and Tian, 2005; Moser and Clark, 2001). Donors sometimes shift their priorities, which leads to short duration of projects that prevent women's organizations from completing them and developing their own initiatives (Bouta *et al.*, 2005; Makuwira, 2006). There is also often competition among the women's groups themselves for resources from international organizations, which does not foster collaboration between different women's groups (Rehn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002; Bouta *et al.*,

2005). It is thus a difficult and complex process that must be undertaken in order to guarantee that successful peace activities emerge from the partnerships between international donors and women's organizations. Though these factors often occur in all relationships between international donors and local organizations, it is important to highlight the issues it causes for women's peace organizations as they are often the groups working towards peace in a region and the groups most affected by continued conflict.

This study examines the partnerships between international aid organizations and grassroots women's organizations, specifically investigating the methods used by women's groups to attract international support. Women's organizations in the Casamance conflict (1982-2007) in southern Senegal have been extremely active since the start of the conflict. Their vigorous participation was even rewarded by an invitation to attend formal peace talks in 1999 and 2004. Most international aid organizations began their work in the region around 1999 and have enlisted women's organizations as partners in peace activities they had already initiated to peace activities they had already undertaken. This study will look at two women's organizations in the Casamance, USOFORAL and Kabonketoor, and the factors that have affected their recognition and support by international donor organizations working towards conflict resolution and development in the region.

Literature Review

Women's peace work is sometimes seen as an extension of women's "natural" role in society, causing it to go unrecognized at a political and international level (Helms, 2003; Nakaye, 2004; Anderson, 2000). Nonetheless, researchers have found that women have created and taken on leadership roles in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that facilitate peace through education, humanitarian relief, peace marches, re-integration of former combatants, and organized regional federations and networks of women to share their expertise on conflict resolution (Vincent, 2001; Larson and Tian, 2005; Anderson, 2000; Shoemaker, 2002). One of the strongest indicators of the success in these peace movements, according to scholars, is the extent of cooperation of peace groups with international donors (Bob, 2006; Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Makuwira, 2006; Shoemaker, 2002; Anderson, 2000; Moran and Pitcher, 2004; Bouta, *et al.*, 2005; Nzomo, 2002; Karame, 2004; Snyder, 2000; Larson and Tian, 2005; Jordan, 2003; Abiew and Keating, 2004; Regn and Johnson-Sirleaf, 2002). In order to gain from the benefits of working with international donors, scholars argue that local groups often have to: look and act like INGOs (Bob, 2006; Makuwira, 2006; Larson and Tian, 2005; Moran and Pitcher, 2004; Abiew and Keating, 2004; Jordan, 2003), have similar goals and views as INGOs (Helms, 2003; Bob, 2006; Makuwira, 2006), improve the INGOs profile and international standing (Bob, 2006; Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Makuwira, 2006; Abiew and Keating, 2004; Larson and Tian, 2005), have strong and accessible leaders (Jordan, 2003; Larson and Tian, 2005; Bob, 2006), and have the capacity to work with regional networks (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Moser and Clark, 2001; Makuwira, 2006; Harris, 2004; Snyder, 2000; Mohamed, 2004).

Local groups target international aid organizations that can help them the most, whether it be through capacity strengthening (Moser and Clark, 2001; Bob, 2006; Keck and Sikkink, 1998;

Abiew and Keating, 2004; Makuwira, 2006) or attempting to guarantee a gendered framework in post-conflict states (Harris, 2004; Moghdam, 2005; Nakaye, 2004; Moran and Pitcher, 2004).

Bob (2006) found that movements frame themselves to conform to the views held by international donors in order to receive international recognition. His findings run parallel with those of Makuwira (2006) who saw that, in the Bougainville conflict, international organizations together with local organizations shared the goal of alleviating poverty, thus making the local organizations more appealing to International NGOs. Makuwira (2006) and Helms (2003) both found in their respective studies that donors focus on organizations with particular functions that are a priority to funders, such as reconciliation and communication across ethnic lines. Bob (2006) also argues that pre-existing structural factors – standing, contacts, knowledge, material resources, organizational resources and leadership –contribute to the success of receiving international attention.

Additionally, if organizations attempt to look and act like international NGOs (INGOs), they are more likely to be supported by them (Makuwira, 2006; Bob, 2006; Moran and Pitcher, 2004; Larson and Tian, 2005). Moran and Pitcher (2004) contend that women's peace organizations considered to be independent of outside influences (such as governments) by international aid organizations are more likely to attract foreign funding. Bob (2006) also adds that INGOs prefer social movements that have developed an organizational structure that closely resembles the INGOs, such as a director, staff and office. Makuwira (2006) supports this notion, arguing that one of the issues that INGOs have in collaborating with local groups is high staff turn-over that makes implementation of projects difficult. In the realm of donor support of peace efforts, scholars have found that international aid agencies work with local organizations if they have strong notions of accountability, transparency and flexibility (Abiew and Keating,2004;

Makuwira, 2006; Jordan, 2003). Displaying adaptability to the changing constraints of conflict as well as to donors' requirements makes women's groups more successful in their peace endeavors (Jordan, 2003). Women's organizations seeking aid, these authors argue, need to be able to respond to actual need, be willing to learn, and attempt to build relationships (Jordan, 2003; Larson and Tian, 2005).

Scholars contend that, not only do INGOs view conflict situations as an opportunity to respond to need but they also see them as opportunities to advance their organization's profile and influence (Abiew and Keating, 2004; Makuwira, 2006; Bob, 2006). INGOs have to be credible to their private funders, which causes them to hold aid recipients accountable (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Bob, 2006; Makuwira, 2006; Abiew and Keating, 2004). Since INGOs will be concerned with their own organizational needs, they dictate where funds go (Makuwira, 2006), select causes that will have substantial achievements (Bob, 2006), and thoroughly investigate their clients before working with them (Bob, 2006) to guarantee benefits. Makuwira (2006) argues that this process begs the question of who is truly benefiting from aid, as INGOs often shift their attention from existing to immediate demands because of outside pressures instead of focusing on prevailing problems. Larson and Tian (2005) are in agreement with this argument, stating that international funders often measure success through observable evidence with specific timelines, a practice that benefits donor agendas but doesn't merge well with the unpredictable process of peace-building.

For the most part, Shoemaker (2002) argues, regional and international institutions have failed to completely address the possible contribution women's groups can make to conflict prevention. This lack of cooperation between international organizations and women's grassroots groups results in a disparity in the amount of support and funding these groups receive.

Organizations struggle to receive funding for long term projects, which hinders their ability to complete projects (Shoemaker, 2002). Makuwira (2006, 329) asserts that local NGOs run into “donor dependency” which renders local organizations ineffective without INGO support and “project specific collaboration” which binds local groups to INGOs’ desires when working with international donors.

Transnational networks, comprised of groups of INGOs that work towards a common cause or goal, are another means for local groups to be successful and receive international attention (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Moser and Clark, 2001; Makuwira, 2006; Harris, 2004). These networks collaborate together to support specific types of programs and can provide local groups with the resources to succeed; according to scholars, they advocate communication between marginalized groups (Moser and Clark, 2001; Harris, 2004; Makuwira, 2006), research (Moser and Clark, 2001), the promotion of gender sensitive government institutions and laws (Harris, 2004; Moser and Clark, 2001), and share information and expertise (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Moser and Clark, 2001). Keck and Sikkink (1998) assert that networks provide access, leverage and material assets to domestic NGOs who are attempting to bypass the state and motivate political action. In this fashion, networks allow local groups the means to closely interact with international donors dedicated to similar causes (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Moser and Clark, 2001; Harris, 2004).

Women’s organizations, particularly in Africa, have demonstrated the capacity to form transnational networks to facilitate peace on a grander scale (Snyder, 2000; Mohamed, 2004; Moran and Pitcher, 2004; Mikell, 2005). Mikell (2005), for example, draws attention to the fact that women in Nigeria were able to come together despite ideological and religious differences to join the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) in hopes of resolving the conflict in

their nation. Moran and Pitcher's (2004) more critical analysis of women's involvement in conflict resolution argues that although the internationally applauded Mano River Union Women for Peace Network was able to cross cultural and ethnic lines to bring together male heads of state, they were still pushed to the sidelines in the formal peace process because of their gender status. Snyder (2000) traced the activities of participants in the Federation of African Women's Peace Networks in their work crossing ethnic and national lines to foster peace in their respective countries, resulting in a number of women's groups' participation in peace processes.

This study seeks to add to the lack of literature on how peace organizations, specifically women run groups, appeal to the international community for support and to guarantee success by the ideas developed by Bob (2006) regarding social movements. The idea is that peace activism is a social movement, though not examined specifically by Bob (2006), which may operate in a similar fashion as those examined in his study to access international support and attention. Additionally, the research examines the women's organizations' work with regional networks to benefit from and access international donors.

Research Design/Methodology

This study seeks to examine under what conditions women's peace organizations receive international recognition and support for their efforts. It hypothesizes that:

H1: When women's groups match the organizational structure, goals and needs of INGOs and have accessible leaders, they attract more international funding and support.

H2: When women's peace organizations join and participate in regional networks, they are more successful in receiving international attention and better prepared to participate in conflict resolution and reconstruction efforts.

This study's dependent variable is the women's peace organizations' success in receiving international recognition and support. Success is measured by the amount of funding received and the number of international partners/donors with which the organizations have collaborated.

This study explores three independent variables: 1) Level of "matching" with INGOs, 2) the strength of leaders of women's peace organizations, and 3) level of cooperation with regional networks.

"Matching" to the organizational structure, goals, and needs of INGOs is measured by:

- whether the local women's organization has a professional staff;
- the ability of the organization to handle funds in a designated timeframe;
- accessibility of women's groups through the availability of a website, email address, and published documents as well as the scope and reach of the organization calculated by the number of localities where the organization works;
- the overlap between an organization's structure and that of the INGOs measured through whether both organizations have a board of trustees, president and council, a functioning office, website/email access, and multilingual materials
- the overlap between the mission statements, the types of projects worked on and the organizations' goals.

Accessible leadership is defined as the means the leader uses to contact those outside of the region and the ability of international donors to learn about the organization through information about its leader. This was assessed by examining whether or not the leader had

formal interactions with donors through presentations and scholarly/publish articles written by the leaders. Publications mentioning them by name and describing their work were also examined to determine whether international organizations had access to the leaders through media and internet coverage.

Cooperation with regional networks is defined by the frequency of projects undertaken with regional networks and the work completed with the networks. The two African networks examined here, MALAO (Movement against the proliferation of small arms in Africa¹) and WANEP/WIPNET (West African Network for Peace Building/Women in Peace Network), have worked with one or both of the women's organizations examined in this study and have been supported by INGOs. Therefore, women's organizations not only benefit from these networks through their participation in presentations and training programs, but they also benefit from additional access to INGOs that can support their own peace efforts.

Much of the data in this study comes from field work completed in Senegal between January and May 2007. This field work includes personal interviews conducted in French and English of women's organizations, INGOs, and international governmental agencies. Representatives of Catholic Relief Services (CRS), USOFORAL, Kabonketoor, World Education, USAID, and GTZ were interviewed in Ziguinchor and Dakar. Internet news sources, publications and annual reports of non-governmental and governmental organizations, publications by the women's organizations, and websites of NGOs were also examined to collect adequate data. Articles obtained from google.fr were used for the independent variable because of their relatively easy access by any INGO, donor, or the average person.

¹ *mouvement contre les armes légères en Afrique*

Case Study

The Casamance Conflict

The low-intensity conflict in the Casamance region of southern Senegal has raged on for more than two decades. Appearing initially as a separatist conflict with ethnic overtones, the Casamance conflict is also inherently a geo-political and socio-economic struggle as well. Separated from the rest of the country by the former British colony, The Gambia, the Casamance region has very few infrastructural ties to the capital of Senegal, Dakar (Hall, 1999). Attempts by the central government to increase rice yields in the region as well as the movement of non-indigenous Muslim, Wolof farmers from the north has fostered resentful accusations of “land despoilment,” the destruction of Casamançais resources and discrimination against the Diola, Catholic Casamançais with the permission of the central government (Sonko, 2004; Hall, 1999). Once the country’s breadbasket, the Casamance is now the poorest and most deprived region of Senegal due to the ongoing struggle. The rebel movement in the region known as The Movement of Democratic Forces in the Casamance (MFDC²), initially fought for independence for the entire Casamance region. However, recent conflicts within the organization have fostered a split between the predominately Diola, more radical and more militaristic southern group, and the northern group who is more inclined to peaceful measures and more cooperative with the Senegalese government (Hall, 1999).

The Senegalese government has made numerous attempts at cease fire and peace agreements, but the government’s desire to remain a unified state has led to difficulties in recognizing the assertions by the MFDC of marginalization (Sonko, 2004; Stam, 2006; Hall, 1999). President Wade, current president of Senegal since 2000, put resolution of the conflict on the forefront of his campaign platform when he ran in 2000. In 2004, the more moderate wing of

² *Mouvement des Forces Démocratiques*

the MFDC signed a peace agreement with Wade that entitled 100 billion CFAs (around \$200,000,000) in aid to the Casamance region, with the clause that there must be “conclusive peace” before the aid could be distributed (UNIRIN, 2006). Despite this, violence still reigns in the southern Casamance due to the hardliner rebels who do not recognize the peace deal. The Senegalese government has not met with the MFDC since the meeting in 2004. It is difficult, therefore, to foster any sort of humanitarian, reintegration, demobilization or disarmament program without peace in the region (UNIRIN, 2003).

Women in the Casamance: from Prêtesses to Activists

In the Casamance region, the dominant Diola society is relatively egalitarian, where women have played significant sociological and economic roles. Women are very important to religious rites, as they serve as the protectors of fetishes that have certain powers in the Casamance region (Beck, *et al.*, 2001). The *Prêtesses*, women who are initiated and practice these rites, play a crucial role when crises arise through the efforts of mass demonstrations and ceremonies in the sacred forest (Beck, *et al.*, 2001; Stam, 2006).

As the violence and conflict in the region gained intensity, women moved from protests against the government to marches for peace in the region (Beck, *et al.*, 2001). The women of the Casamance were increasingly becoming victims of the prolonged violence, displaced from their homes and profoundly affected as their families and husbands were killed on both sides of the conflict (Beck, *et al.*, 2001; Stam, 2006). However, despite their presence in protests during this period, women were limited to their traditional roles in conflict prevention such as dancing, markets, and the creation of fetishes (AFARD, 2006; Stam, 2006).

In 1998 the women's organization Women's Regional Solidarity Committee for Peace in the Casamance (CRSFPC³), also known as USOFORAL which means "hand in hand/helping each other" in Diola⁴, was formed (Stam, 2006; Beck, *et al.*, 2001; USOFORAL, 2007a, 2007b). The organization was once part of another NGO, the Cultural Association to Help Promote Education and Society (ACAPES⁵), but wanted to branch out in order to examine problems related to landmines (Beck, *et al.*, 2001; USOFORAL, 2007b). A group of women, including Seynabou Male Cisse, the current president of USOFORAL, wrote a report about the important role women play in the cultural and religious aspects of the peace process (Beck, *et al.*, 2001). USOFORAL believed that women and their organizations were sidelined in the conflict resolution process and wanted to change this through peace work, research, and development projects (USOFORAL, 2007b). Women were restricted to informal peace processes throughout the 1990s until the 1999 Banjul meeting where members of civil society were invited to participate as observers. Five women of USOFORAL were invited to attend. They were not permitted to speak at the peace talks and they were asked to leave and not return once the negotiations began, but they drew attention to their cause and work (Beck, *et al.*, 2001).

Conflict began to emerge between women in the group that is supposedly related to feelings of discrimination due to ethnic differences. Marguerite Coly Keny broke from USOFORAL and created Kabonketoor ("to reconcile with each other/ to mutually forgive" in Diola) in 2000 (Beck, *et al.*, 2001; Kabonketoor, 2001; Stam, 2006). Stam (2006) contends that the split was due in part to cultural differences in approach and interpersonal conflict. Keny stated that Kabonketoor was created for women who had been initiated and could enter the sacred forest to perform certain rites, whereas USOFORAL included un-initiated women from

³ *Comite Régional de Solidarité des Femmes pour la Paix en Casamance*

⁴ To prevent confusion, USOFORAL will be used as the name of this organization throughout this paper.

⁵ *Association Culturelle d'aide à la Promotion Educative et Sociale*

the North, like Cisse, who were not allowed into the forest (Beck, *et al.*, 2001; Stam, 2006). Keny also argued that the rituals required complete confidentiality, which she felt Cisse was violating by speaking to the media about the activities performed (Beck, *et al.*, 2001). Culture cannot be considered to be the sole reason for the split; Kabonketoor and USOFORAL have different approaches to conflict resolution as well. USOFORAL is a group of university educated women who have a western approach to peace whereas Kabonketoor focuses on the spiritual, religious, and mystical aspects of the peace process (Stam, 2006). Additionally, USOFORAL received substantial funding from a German NGO, Welfriedensdienst (WFD) (USOFORAL, 2007a, 2007b) which may have caused contention between the two groups (Beck, *et al.*, 2001).

Both organizations are based in Ziguinchor, capital of the Casamance region, and are registered with the Senegalese government as NGOs (Stam, 2006). The majority of their members are urban women, but both groups work on rural development projects and assist women in villages (Stam, 2006). The organizations often work together on projects (Stam, 2006) and present a neutral opinion on the difficulties of working with one another, at least as reported by a Kabonketoor representative.⁶ The history of animosity between the two organizations does not appear to affect their ability to work together directly or through networks/programs, as they have completed training programs and other activities together through various networks and projects. USOFORAL is supported financially by WFD; Kabonketoor is currently without a chief funder. USOFORAL claims to have over 1,000 beneficiaries; Kabonketoor has 1,500 paid members and has reached over 2,000 women in 42 villages.⁷

These two women's organizations were examined because of their history as peacemakers in the region. Additionally, the work of both groups benefits men and women, but

⁶ Interview with Ndeye Marie, Kabonketoor representative, 14 May 2007, indicated that Kabonketoor works with USOFORAL and that it is neither hard nor easy to work with other women's groups.

⁷ Interview with Ndeye Marie, 14 May 2007; Interview with Seynabou Male Cisse, 15 May 2007.

there are no men's groups dedicated solely to peace work. In the words of the women leaders themselves: "culturally, family problems are resolved by women; they are always involved in dialogue, discussion, and exchange (Ndeye Marie, 2007)."

Dependent Variable: Success in Receiving Recognition

Table 1 presents the number of partners by international partners (European and American organizations) and African networks (organizations or networks that cross national boundaries and include members from all over West Africa). It also compiles the total amount of long term funding received from international organizations. The term “long-term funders” means international organizations that give money directly to the organization through grants for a period of more than a year. Supporters/partners do not support the organizations financially but assist by helping host conferences and training programs as well as to implement projects with the organizations. The table indicates that USOFORAL has more supporters and donors than Kabonketoor, but also has received long term funding for its projects compared to Kabonketoor who has received none in the past three years.

Table 1: Numbers of supporters/partners as of 2007

	Number of International Partners/donors ⁸	Number of African networks participants of	Number of Long-Term Funders	Amount of funding received currently
USOFORAL⁹	10	5	2	\$ 600,984.60 ¹⁰
Kabonketoor¹¹	7	2	0	0

Diagram 1 shows the overlap between the various organizations examined in this study and gives an understanding of how support and funding flow through the women’s organizations. USAID funds CRS, who has supported both Kabonketoor and USOFORAL through programs, projects, and capacity building, but not monetarily. The New Field Foundation and WFD support USOFORAL financially. This diagram also demonstrates the lack of supporters/funders on Kabonketoor’s side that is shown numerically in Table 1.

⁸ See Appendix for lists of USOFORAL and Kabonketoor’s partners.

⁹ USOFORAL, 2007a, 2007b

¹⁰ See Tables 9 for funding Information. Amount calculated is represented in today’s dollars.

¹¹ Kabonketoor, 2001

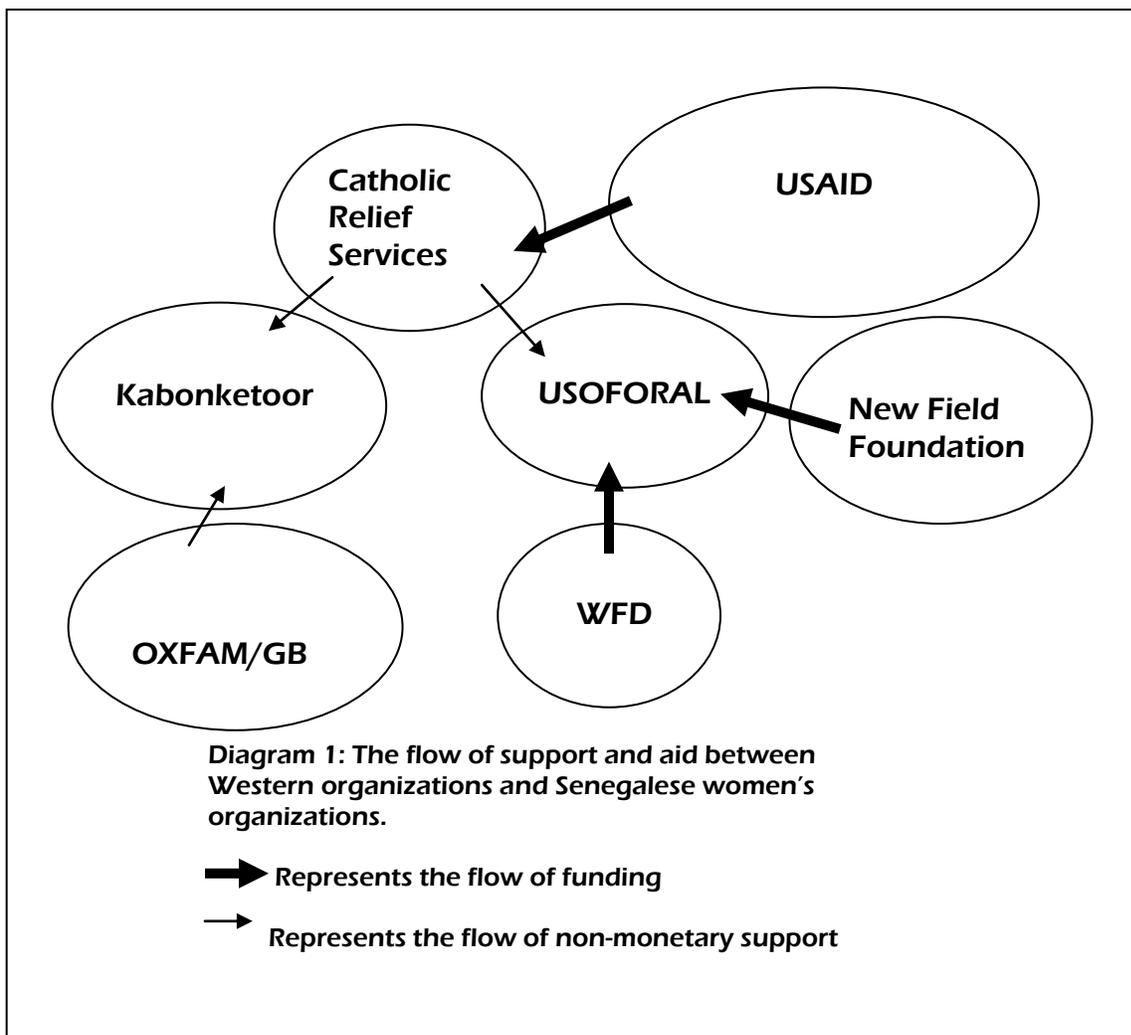
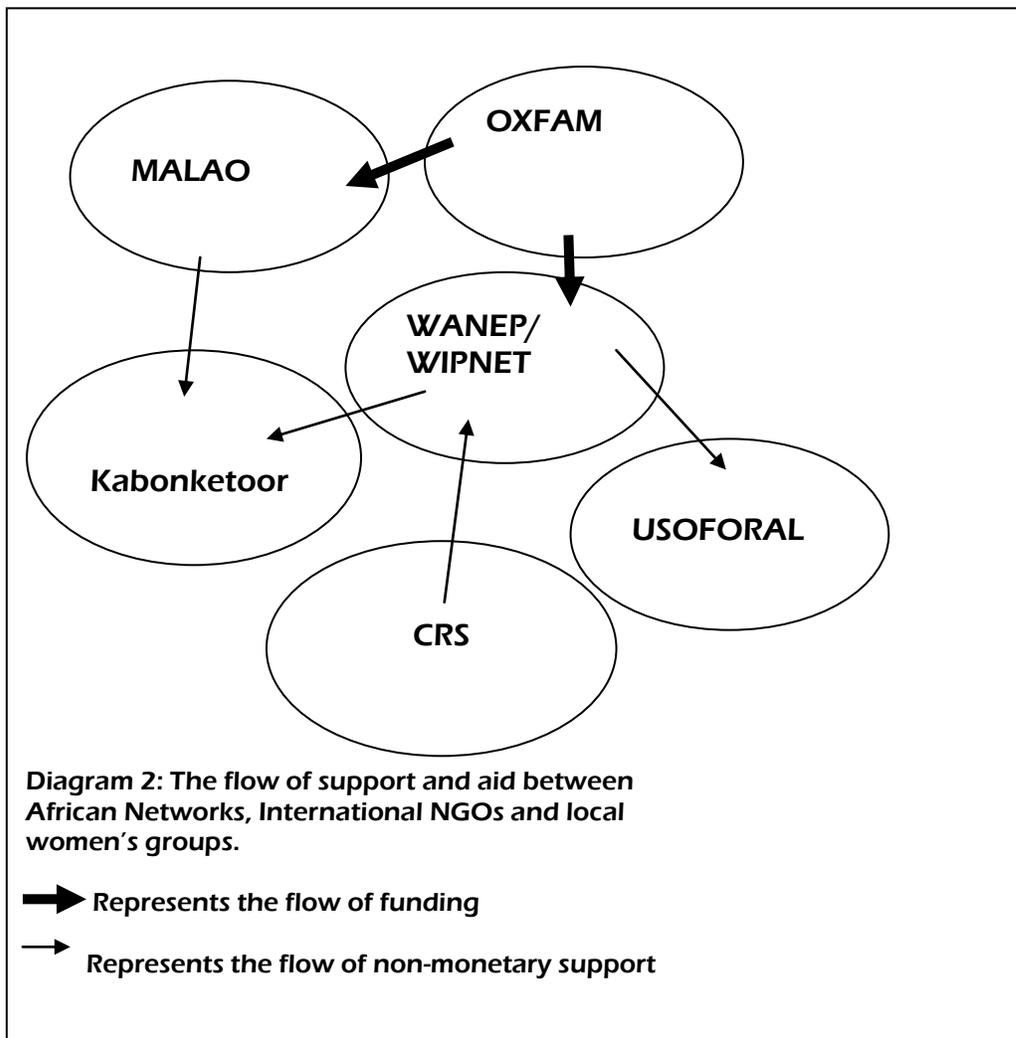


Diagram 2, shows the overlap between international donors, the African networks examined in this study and the women's organizations. There is much more overlap here than in the previous diagram, since both women's groups have worked with WANEP/WIPNET and CRS, but USOFORAL does not work with MALAO.



Based on the data presented here, it appears that USOFORAL has been more successful in receiving international recognition and support. This organization has exceeded Kabonketoor in funding received, and in the numbers of organizations with whom they have collaborated. The charts and diagrams of data further represent the complexity of donor funding and support of these women's organizations. The following data on the independent variables - matching with INGOs, accessible leaders, and cooperation with regional networks - seeks to determine what makes USOFORAL more successful in receiving international attention and support.

Matching with INGOs

According to Bob (2006), movements match with INGOs organizational goals, needs, and structure in order to receive recognition and support. Independent variable one examines this notion by looking at the organizational structures and goals of INGOs and comparing them to those of the women's organizations. Additionally, charts display the locations where the organizations work, and the type of funding received to further examine the ability of USOFORAL and Kabonketoor to match INGOs organizational needs.

As shown in Table 3, USOFORAL has an organizational structure more similar to that of the donors (Table 2) than does Kabonketoor. USOFORAL, for example, has a functioning office in Ziguinchor, a website, multilingual materials and a professional staff. This may appeal to international donors because they prefer to work with groups that have organizational structures that are compatible with their own (Bob, 2006; Makuwira, 2006).

Table 2: Structures of International Organizations

	Board	President	Office in Senegal with staff	Website/ email access	Multilingual staff materials	Professional Staff
Catholic Relief Services¹²	Y, board of Bishops	Y	2	Y/Y	Y	Y
OXFAM¹³	Y	Y	1	Y/Y	Y	Y
WFD¹⁴	Y	Y, Director	1	Y/Y	Y	Y
New Field Foundation¹⁵	Y	Y	1	Y/Y	Y	Y

¹² CRS, 2007a

¹³ Oxfam, 2007a

¹⁴ WFD, 2007a

Table 3: Structure of Women's groups

	Board of Trustees	President	Office	Website/email access	Multilingual materials	Professional Staff
Kabonketoor ¹⁶	N	Y	N	N/Y	N	N
USOFORAL ¹⁷	N	Y	Y	Y/Y	Y	Y, 10 women

All of the organizations examined cite the promotion of local projects, expression of peace, alleviation of poverty and violence, and transformation of lives in the Casamance after the conflict as goals according to the information presented in Table 4. What is important to note is the fact that for each goal there is an overlap between the INGOs and the women's organization. This demonstrates the idea that in order to receive any support, the women's organizations have to match the INGOs' goals to some extent (Bob, 2006; Makuwira, 2006; Helms, 2003).

Table 4: Goals of Organizations

Women's leadership and active participation in decision making	Re-establish/transform lives after conflict	Foster cooperation between women of different backgrounds	Promote local projects	Express vision of peace	Alleviate poverty, Injustice, violence
New Field Foundation ¹⁸	CRS ²¹	New Field Foundation	CRS	CRS	CRS
USOFORAL ¹⁹	New Field Foundation	USOFORAL	New Field Foundation	New Field Foundation	New Field Foundation
Kabonketoor ²⁰	USOFORAL	Kabonketoor	USOFORAL	USOFORAL	USOFORAL
	Kabonketoor				

¹⁵ New Field Foundation, 2007c

¹⁶ Personal interview, May 15, 2007; Kabonketoor, 2001

¹⁷ Personal interview, May 16, 2007; USOFORAL, 2007a

¹⁸ New Field Foundation, 2007c; New Field Foundation, 2007d

¹⁹ USOFORAL, 2007a, 2007b

²⁰ Kabonketoor, 2001.

²¹ CRS, 2007a; CRS, 2007b

	OXFAM ²²	WFD	Kabonketoor	Kabonketoor	Kabonketoor
	WFD ²³		OXFAM	OXFAM	OXFAM
			WFD	WFD	WFD

Similar to Table 4, Table 5 demonstrates that there is some level of overlap between the women's organizations' work and that of the INGOs. Close examination of the projects indicates that Kabonketoor's work with traditional solutions to conflict and the elimination of weapons makes it unique from USOFORAL, which may explain why USOFORAL has not worked with OXFAM. This table shows that, although the INGOs and women's organizations have the same types of projects, it does not mean that the women's groups will receive support from the INGOs; this can be seen most clearly when considering that the New Field Foundation and Kabonketoor both work on peace education and training initiatives, but the New Field Foundation has not worked with Kabonketoor.²⁴ This could be due to the fact that Kabonketoor does not match the organizational goals or expectations of the New Field Foundation as closely as USOFORAL does. Additionally, this table shows the types of projects that the women can benefit from, such as travel assistance and capacity building, when working with international donors.

Table 5: Projects in Casamance

Peace Education	Microfinance	Traditional Solutions to conflict	Eliminate weapons	Capacity Building	Women's Leadership Training	Travel Assistance	Work with other women's groups
Training	Income Yielding Activities		Work with combatants				

²² Oxfam, 2007a; Oxfam, 2007b; Oxfam, 2006; Oxfam, 2005

²³ WFD, 2005, 2007a, 2007b

²⁴ See Appendix 1 for list of organizations Kabonketoor has worked with.

USOFORAL ²⁵	USOFORAL	CRS	Kabonketoor	CRS	New Field Foundation	New Field Foundation	New Field Foundation
New Field Foundation ²⁶	CRS ²⁹	Kabonketoor	OXFAM	New Field Foundation	USOFORAL		CRS
Kabonketoor ²⁷	Kabonketoor	OXFAM		on	Kabonketoor		USOFORAL
OXFAM ²⁸	OXFAM	WFD ³⁰		WFD			L
WFD							

²⁵ USOFORAL, 2007a, 2007b

²⁶ New Field Foundation, 2007c; New Field Foundation, 2007d

²⁷ Kabonketoor, 2001

²⁸ Oxfam, 2006

²⁹ CRS, 2007b

³⁰ WFD, 2005, 2007a, 2007b

Table 6 demonstrates that USOFORAL works in more localities than Kabonketoor. This would be appealing to INGOs because it shows that USOFORAL's work touches more areas than Kabonketoor's. By working with USOFORAL, INGOs may be able to demonstrate that the work they are completing in the region is encompassing and inclusive and therefore more successful.

Table 6: Localities where women's organizations have worked

	Locations
Kabonketoor ³¹	Ziguinchor, Niaguis, Niassy, Bignona Tendouck, Tenghory, Sindian, Thionck-Essyl, Kabourousse, Loudia Ouolof, Kolda, Sedhiou (Balantacounda), Velingara, and Dakar (14)
USOFORAL ³²	Ziguinchor, Bignona, Oussouye, Sédhiou, Kolda, Boutoupa camaracounda, Nyassia, Niaguis, Sindian, Tenghory, Oulampane Okout, Santhiaba M., Mlomp, Bona, N'diamacouta, Samine, Diattacounda, Djibanar, Tanaff, NiaghaTankanto, Médina, ElHadji, and Bagadadji (23)

Table 7 compiles financial data and descriptions for grants given to USOFORAL from WFD and the New Field Foundation from 2003-2007. Forty percent of the WFD funding was designated for external employee salaries and 60% was designated for local activities including investments, wages, and activities of USOFORAL. The funding for 2006 is significantly smaller than the others due to the fact that USOFORAL did not have any external costs to fund.³³

³¹ Kabonketoor, 2001.

³² Hallam, 2006.

³³ Ibid.

The New Field Foundation clearly states that they fund organizations that “have the capacity to receive international funds and demonstrate well-functioned management, financial and programmatic systems (2007d).” USOFORAL demonstrated that they have the capacity to receive international funds because of their previous work with and financial support by WFD.

USOFORAL received its first grant in 2006 (see table 7) from the New Field Foundation after completing a proposal for funds. The first grant they received was for self-reflection to assess USOFORAL’s capacity for supporting rural women in the Casamance. They were to develop their mission, goals, and strategies and produce a functional plan for mobilizing resources and implementing programs (New Field Foundation, 2007a). This program proved successful, because USOFORAL received another grant in 2007, which is to “develop a plan to establish a women’s training and conference center for peace and sustainable development” (New Field Foundation, 2007a). The concept for this idea emerged from the self-reflection process that USOFORAL underwent in collaboration with the first grant in 2006 (New Field Foundation, 2007a). The other grants that USOFORAL has received from the New Field Foundation enabled them to provide community grants to rural women’s groups, conduct trainings in leadership and civil participation and travel to the World Social Forum in Kenya to present a photo exhibition of women refugees called “*la pagne qui parle*” (New Field Foundation, 2007a).³⁴

Tables 7: Funding Received by USOFORAL³⁵

Funder	Recipient	Year	Amount	Projects	Time
--------	-----------	------	--------	----------	------

³⁴ Information also from interview with Seynabou Male Cisse (President of USOFORAL) 15 May 2007.

³⁵ New Field Foundation, 2007a

WFD ³⁶	USOFORAL	2003	118.558 EUR	\$133,970.54	External programs and local activities (investments, wages, activities of USOFORAL)	1 year
WFD	USOFORAL	2004	134.472 EUR	\$166,745.28	External programs and local activities (investments, wages, activities of USOFORAL)	1 year
WFD	USOFORAL	2005	159.917 EUR	\$198,297.08	External programs and local activities (investments, wages, activities of USOFORAL)	1 year
WFD	USOFORAL	2006	53.603 EUR	\$67,003.75	Local activities (investments, wages, activities for USOFORAL)	1 year
New Field Foundation	USOFORAL	2006		\$7,500.00	self-reflection, capacity building	1 year
New Field Foundation	USOFORAL	2006		\$7,128.00	community grant, women's training	1 year
New Field Foundation	USOFORAL	2006		\$7,324.00	traveling exhibition, "La Pagne qui Parle"	6 Months
New Field Foundation	USOFORAL	2007		\$13,015.98	women's training/conference center	1 year
Total				\$600,984.60		4.5 years

³⁶ Information obtained from Michael Schaub of WFD via email correspondence November 21, 2007.

Accessibility of leaders

Accessibility is the ability of INGOs to collaborate with leaders readily because of the leader's ability to disseminate information about themselves and their cause (Bob, 2006). This variable operates under the assumption that if a leader has written articles about their organization's work, presented at conferences, and has been mentioned by the media, INGOs can learn more about the leader and therefore access the organization with a wealth of knowledge about their work.

Table 8 compares how accessible the leaders of each organization are to the international community by compiling the number of articles written by and about the leader. This is based on google.fr searches of each leader's name. Google.fr was used to guarantee that articles written in French were included, but it also returned articles written in Spanish and English about the women. Any article/publication that mentions the women's names in full was recorded into the table and noted below.

Table 8: Comparison of Accessibility of Leaders

	Written by leader	Written about leader
USOFORAL : Seynabou Male Cisse	3	5
Kabonketoor : Marguerite Coly Keny	0	5

USOFORAL's president :

- Articles written by Seynabou Male Cisse:
 - 2000. Context d'émergence d'un mouvement des femmes pour la paix en Casamance.
 - 1999. Femmes et Guerre en Casamance.
 - 2005 « Stratégies de sortie de crise : les dynamiques de construction de la paix, contributions des femmes » Presentation at the Initiative Sur Les Dynamiques De Sortie De Crise En Afrique De L'ouest for the Sahel Club/OECD.

- Articles about Seynabou Male Cisse : (Le Potentiel, 2005 ; Sahel Club, 2006 ; Giesling, 2005, 2006a ; WFD 2001)

Kabonketoor's creator:

- Articles about Marguerite Coly Keny: (Sadio, Paix en Casamance; Diallo, les strategies de communication; Africa Action, 1999; Giesling, 2006a; MALAO, Forum des femmes, 2007)

Although both Kabonketoor and USOFORAL's founders have the same number of articles that mention them specifically by name, USOFORAL has more internet coverage than Kabonketoor because of Seynabou Male Cisse's presentations and authored papers. This indicates that Seynabou has brought attention to her organization and work through participation in conferences and publishing information about the conflict. Nevertheless, Marguerite Coly Keny may have had more articles about her and her organization's work because of the type of projects Kabonketoor works on. The articles that mention her name were about the traditional approach to conflict resolution, while the articles mentioning Seynabou Male Cisse were about the organization's history or collaboration with international organizations.

Cooperation with regional networks

Keck and Sikkink (1998), Snyder (2000), Mohammed (2004) and Mikell (2005) contend that working with transnational networks allows organizations access to training, capacity building, formal peace processes, and interactions with international donors, all of which contribute to the success of women's peace work and international recognition.

The West African Network for Peace (WANEP) and its women specific program, Women in Peace Network (WIPNET) are comprised of organizations across West Africa dedicated to peace. WANEP's mission is to "enable and facilitate the development of mechanisms for cooperation among civil society based peace-building practitioners and organizations in West Africa by promoting cooperative responses to violent conflicts; providing

the structure through which these practitioners and institutions will regularly exchange experience and information on issues of peacebuilding, conflict transformation, social, religious and political reconciliation; and promoting West Africa's social cultural values as resources for peacebuilding (WANEP, 2006a).” WIPNET has similar goals, but includes gender mainstreaming of the peace process, sustaining women's participation in peace efforts, and strengthening capacity and partnerships with women's networks throughout Africa (WANEP, 2006b). These networks, as the scholars (Keck and Sikkink, 1998; Moser and Clark, 2001; Snyder, 2000; Mikell, 2005) assert, provide substantial capacity and support for Kabonketoor and USOFORAL and access to international donors through its programs

Table 9 is a collection of documented programs by or with WANEP that included the women's organizations. The chart notes if the programs also collaborated with international organizations. This is because these projects with INGOs overlap with their projects with Kabonketoor and USOFORAL (i.e. CRS considers its programs with WANEP that include USOFORAL as programs with USOFORAL³⁷). This table demonstrates the overlap between groups dedicated to peace. It also shows that working with WANEP allows Kabonketoor and USOFORAL the ability to work closely with international organizations. It is also important to note that Kabonketoor³⁸ and USOFORAL³⁹ are self-described members of WANEP/WIPNET according to documentation and interviews of both organizations.

³⁷ Interview with Francois Sagna, 15 May 2007.

³⁸ Kabonketoor, 2001.

³⁹ USOFORAL, 2007a, 2007b

Table 9: WANEP/WIPNET Projects in the Casamance

Year	Project Description	Oxfam	CRS	Kabonketoor	USOFORAL
2000-2004/2006 ⁴⁰	Re-enforce capacity of WANEP Incorporate more organizations in network	N	Y	Y	Y
2000 ⁴¹	Support local initiatives for peace Reduction of small arms Implementation of local peace committees	Y	N	Y	N
2003 ⁴²	Capacity building in policy analysis, advocacy, lobbying, negotiation and mediation Translation of manuals in African languages Gender mainstreaming of peace studies programs in W. Africa Women's involvement in the peace process	Y	N	Y	Y
2002 ⁴³	Professional training in peace building for women	N	Y	N	N
2007 ⁴⁴	Workshop "Femmes, paix et sécurité en Casamance" Action plan to educate women about UN Res. 1325 Discuss difficulties implementing UN Res. 1325	Y	N	Y	Y

⁴⁰ Interview with Francois Sagna, 15 May 2007; Sagna, 2003

⁴¹ Oxfam, Senegal, 2006.

⁴² Doe, et al., 2003.

⁴³ Neufeldt, 2004.

⁴⁴ Sadio, 2007.

Total	3	2	4	3
--------------	----------	----------	----------	----------

Table 10 compiles information obtained from MALAO regarding the projects that have been completed in the Casamance. Members of Kabonketoor committed to informing villages about small arms and to prevent the movement of arms across national borders (Sadio, Paix en Casamance). Kabonketoor contended that women helped during the war by carrying weapons without knowing it and through their support of the MFDC and now have an obligation to prevent the arms from getting into the wrong hands.⁴⁵ MALAO advocates a gendered approach to preventing small arms proliferation (Agboton-Johnston, 2003 and 2006) and has implemented a training program for women, including members of Kabonketoor.

Table 10: Work with MALAO⁴⁶

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	Total
Number of projects completed in Casamance	2	1	7	1	5	9	1	26
With Women in general	1	N	4	N	2	3	N	10
With Kabonketoor	N	N	2	N	N	N	N	2

⁴⁵ Interview with Ndeye Marie, May 14, 2007

⁴⁶ MALAO, 2007a

Discussion

To examine the first hypothesis presented in this study, it is necessary to determine whether or not there is a correlation between what international organizations want and how much attention and support women's organizations receive. Examining the measurements presented, it appears that USOFORAL's website, availability of multilingual materials, office and professional staff matches closely with the expected organizational structure of international donors. USOFORAL's more western appearance makes it more accessible and more prepared to accept international funding, as can be seen by its recent addition of funds by the New Field Foundation. Also, USOFORAL's founder, Seynabou Male Cisse, made her organization more accessible by writing multiple documents and presenting at conferences about the work the organization completes. USOFORAL is active in more localities than Kabonketoor and has consistently completed projects on time and within budget restraints. In this case, the hypothesis is supported because USOFORAL's more western structure and approaches, in addition to the accessibility of the organization through its leader, makes USOFORAL more attractive to international donors.

This is not to say, however, that Kabonketoor is ineffective or inadequate when compared to USOFORAL. Kabonketoor is more active with African networks, primarily through their work with MALAO. They are more active with WANEP/WIPNET's projects, which may correspond with their wishes to receive training, but to remain independent. Additionally, USOFORAL and Kabonketoor work on different projects, which explain why one receives attention from certain donors. For example, Kabonketoor works towards the elimination of small arms whereas USOFORAL does not, demonstrating why Kabonketoor received support from OXFAM who also works against small arms proliferation (See table 4). Unlike USOFORAL,

Kabonketoor does not have a permanent, long-term funder, choosing instead to work on a project by project support basis. Kabonketoor desires to be self-sufficient and to continue working in the spiritual/mystical realm of conflict resolution leads the organization to not compromise their beliefs and work. Ndeye Marie, Kabonketoor representative, voiced this sentiment and frustration when she described a cultural activity, viewed as essential to the peace process by Kabonketoor, which involved mysticism, nudity and sacrifice where funders, not understanding, placed time constraints on the activities despite the lengthy process that it involved.⁴⁷

It is hard to establish a cause and effect relationship when examining structural matching of organizations. For example, do the women's organizations receive funding because they have an office with a professional staff, or do the women's organizations have a professional staff and office because they received funding? Also, does USOFORAL serve more localities because of their funding or do they need more funding because they serve more localities? However, it appears that accessibility is more crucial in determining whether an organization receives international support. USOFORAL's website provides funders with clear goals, projects, and contact information. Kabonketoor's lack of a website makes them difficult to reach by new donors/supporters and may affect whether or not they receive support.

Both Kabonketoor and USOFORAL's representatives believe that there are obstacles with obtaining funding for projects. Ndeye Marie of Kabonketoor stated that when the organization has an idea for a project, there is often a line of division between Kabonketoor's vision and what the funders want.⁴⁸ Both women agree that funds are often too small to work with and the time designated for projects is too short, making it difficult to complete projects in

⁴⁷ Interview with Ndeye Marie, 14 May 2007.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

enough time.⁴⁹ Seynabou Male Cisse pointed out that it is challenging to measure the impact of peace building, so it is difficult to do required final reports for funders.⁵⁰ Funders are also hard to access because they chose to fund larger, international or Dakar based organizations directly instead of smaller, women's organizations like USOFORAL.⁵¹ Ndeye Marie noted an important point that affects the international recognition of their organizations, stating that some organizations say that Kabonketoor is not professional. She contended that despite this fact, they still work closely with the population.⁵² It is clear that INGOs, like the New Field Foundation, have certain requirements, such as demonstrated well-functioned management, financial and programmatic systems (2007d), to which they hold their grant recipients. They may choose to not work with an organization they deem "unprofessional" because of these requirements.

The grants that USOFORAL received from the New Field Foundation not only supported USOFORAL's efforts but also indicated to the international community that the organization met the "professionalism" standards professed. Additionally, USOFORAL would have not received the funds if they proved unable to manage funds. Their previous work with WFD demonstrated their ability to handle funds, as did their continued receipt of grants from the New Field Foundation.

Other donors feel that there are difficulties working with smaller, local organizations. Francois Sagna, representative of CRS, stated that some organizations lack the competence or capacity to do quality research and work and sometimes have difficulties respecting deadlines, understanding procedures, and maintaining documentation of works completed.⁵³ World Education's Abdou Sarr stated that the biggest difficulty facing their organization and other

⁴⁹ Interview with Seynabou Male Cisse, 15 May 2007.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Interview with Ndeye Marie, 14 May 2007.

⁵³ Interview with Francois Sagna, 15 May 2007.

international organizations is that there just is not enough money for everyone. They have to choose the best group for the project⁵⁴ which often means choosing organizations who are capable to handle funds, complete projects on time, and work efficiently with the donor organization. The fact that INGOs seek out organizations with similar organizational cultures is demonstrated by the New Field Foundation's desires to receive proposals from organizations if their "mission, programs and impact match New Field's funding priorities" (2007b).

USOFORAL is ahead of the game when it comes to these requirements, as it has shown its capacity to complete projects in a timely fashion, can handle funds, understands procedures such as final report writing, and maintains documentation of their activities for their supporters/donors.

Arguably, the more western approach taken by USOFORAL may not be the best means of achieving peace in the region. International organizations have recognized this and sought to work with Kabonketoor's more traditional attempts at peace as well as work with USOFORAL. Beck (*et al*, 2001), Hallam (2006), Abdou and Sarr of World Education⁵⁵ found that events such as "cultural weekends", though a more "traditional" approach to peace, brought together the combatants and civilians to reflect on the consequences of the conflict and to discuss how to fix the problems through traditional dance and song. A CRS report (Hallam, 2006) described traditional ceremonies they helped to implement that "spiritually purified" individuals and secret meetings that were held between traditional and religious leaders with the MFDC.

In addition to working through traditional means, INGOs have acknowledged the importance of including women in their peace efforts. CRS and World Education representatives

⁵⁴ Interview with Abdou Sarr, 14 May 2007

⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

both affirmed the necessity of including women in the peace processes.⁵⁶ All of the international organizations examined have worked with women, include women in all of their projects, and encourage female participation in micro-finance activities as well as peace work. Not only do they support the organizations through direct funding/support, they also work through networks, primarily WANEP/WIPNET and MALAO. This leads to the second hypothesis, which also is supported by the data collected in this study. Both women's groups have received substantial capacity building and training from WANEP/WIPNET, which not only better prepares them to advocate for peace informally and formally, but it also creates opportunities for Kabonketoor and USOFORAL to work with international donors directly. Kabonketoor's more active work with networks may be due in part to its traditional approaches to conflict resolution and its desire to stay self-sufficient without relying on western funding. Kabonketoor's work with MALAO also demonstrates how working on a specific project or having specific goals makes organizations more appealing. MALAO has not worked with USOFORAL and this could be due to the fact that USOFORAL does not include preventing the proliferation of small arms as one of its goals (See table 5).

To date, Kabonketoor is without a primary funder. USOFORAL began working with World Education in January 2007 on a peer mediation and peace education project with training manuals being produced in native languages and training given to teachers and students to stop the continued violence.⁵⁷ USOFORAL is still funded by WFD and the New Field Foundation, but Seynabou Male Cisse is concerned about what will happen when these funds finish.⁵⁸ In

⁵⁶ Ibid and Interview with Francois Sagna, 15 May 2007.

⁵⁷ Interview with Seynabou Male Cisse, 15 May 2007 and Abdou Sarr, 14 May 2007.

⁵⁸ Interview with Seynabou Male Cisse, 15 May 2007.

2006, USOFORAL was approved for a grant from the Tides Foundation for \$21,952, but it is not clear as to whether this amount has been received by the organization.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Tides Foundation, 2007. This funding is not included in the calculations for amount received in table 1 because neither the Tides foundation nor Seynabou Male Cisse (2007) has indicated those funds have been received by USOFORAL.

Conclusion

This study draws attention to the complexities of international funding/support of grassroots women's groups movements. International organizations are held responsible by their funders and thus must hold the recipients of their funds accountable as well. These organizations must do extensive research to understand the situation on the ground and the groups they plan to fund, in order to guarantee that their organizational needs are met. Women's groups who lack the resources to complete peace projects are thus required to meet certain expectations to receive funding. This puts significant pressure on both the donors and the recipients to form effective and efficient partnerships and to complete substantial projects. This study demonstrates, through evaluation of the large amount of support of women's peace work in the Casamance region, that it is not necessarily a lack of will to support these women's groups on the part of international donors so much as it is resource and time constraints that dictate the support of women's groups. The international organizations examined in this study have demonstrated a commitment to involving women in the peace process in the region through the direct support of women's groups and through support of peace networks. This study implies that the funding situation is not black and white or an issue of to fund or not to fund. USOFORAL and Kabonketoor are supported by international organizations, despite the differences in their organizational structures, goals, approaches, and accessibility. Nevertheless, both women's groups could be more adequately supported by INGOs through additional funding and more flexible time constraints, as voiced by the women themselves.

This study does not examine the success of peace work completed by women in the region. This is a possible avenue for future study, although peace is often difficult to assess in quantitative terms. Due to the lack of availability of materials, this study also does not examine

the local people's perceptions of women's peace advocates or women's peace groups. It would be interesting to see how receptive men, both combatants and non-combatants, are to women's peace movements in the region. Finally, this study does not examine what will happen when sustainable peace has been achieved and maintained for a long period of time. Will the international donors end their support of women's peace groups? Will the women's groups shift their focus to primarily development activities to appear more attractive to international supporters?

Adding to current literature and case studies about women's peace movements, this study increases the international community's awareness of the issues surrounding the complex support system for grassroots women's peace movements. It can be used as a stepping stone not only to understand the work women complete in the Casamance, but also as guidelines for collaborating with women in general. It describes the innovative approaches international donors can and have taken in their support of different aspects of the peace process that are extremely important in conflict resolution in Africa. The information presented in this study, particularly about Kabonketoor's success in receiving support despite its non-western approach to peace, can offer small grassroots women's movements hope and increase their dedication to traditional peace practices.

Special Thanks

- ❖ Kathryn Lane at USAID for meeting with me in Dakar and providing many of the ideas for this project
- ❖ Valerie Stam for the use of her M.A. dissertation and assistance
- ❖ Francois Sagna (CRS), Abdou Sarr (World Education), and Barbara Bierbach (GTZ) for allowing me to interview them
- ❖ Seynabou Male Cisse and Ndeye Marie (Kabonketoor) for their peace work in the Casamance and their generous interviews
- ❖ The Soumare family in Ziguinchor for opening their home to me.
- ❖ Karl Sienerth and the Undergraduate Research Program at Elon University for providing grants
- ❖ Abdou Razac Sawadogo and Christian Hoffart for their translation assistance

Works Cited

- Abiew, Francis Kofi and Tom Keating. 2004. Defining a role for civil society. in Keating, Tom and W. Andy Knight, eds. *Building Sustainable Peace*. Alberta, Canada: The University of Alberta Press
- Agboton-Johnson, Christiane. 2003. Training to promote a gendered approach to small arms action. MALAO.
- Agboton-Johnson, Christiane. 2006. Etude de cas : Les femmes et les armes légères au Sénégal.” *International Action Network on Small Arms*.
- Anderson, Shelley. 2000. Crossing the Lines: Women’s Organizations in Conflict Resolution. *Development*. 43:3:34-39
- Association Des Femmes Africaines Pour La Recherche et Le Développement (AFARD). 2006. Transformation Des Conflits En Afrique : La Perspective des Femmes Africaines. *International Alert*. <http://www.peacewomen.org/resources/organizing/afard.pdf>.
- Beck, Linda, Robert Charlick, Dominique Gomis, Genevieve Manga. 2001 “West Africa: Civil Society Strengthening for Conflict Prevention Study.” *ARD*.
- Bob, Clifford. 2006. *The marketing of rebellion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bouta, Tsjeard, Georg Frerks, and Ian Bannon. 2005. Gender, Conflict, and Development. The World Bank, Washington D.C.
- Catholic Relief Services. 2007a. CRS Guiding Principles. <http://crs.org/about/>
- Catholic Relief Services. 2007b. Senegal. <http://crs.org/Senegal>.
- Cooley, Alexander and James Ron. 2002. The NGO scramble: organizational insecurity and the political economy of transnational action. *International Security*. 27:1:5-39.
- Doe, Sam Gbaydee, Emmanuel H. Bombande, and Elizabeth Nsarkoh, eds. 2003. WANEP’s Annual Report. <http://www.wanep.org/publications/image/annual%20report%202003.pdf>
- Hall, Margaret. 1999. *The Casamance Conflict 1982-1999* London: Africa Research Group.
- Hallam, Rebecca. 2006. Rebuilding Basic Infrastructure in the Casamance Final Activities
- Harris, Simon. 2004. Gender, participation, and post-conflict planning in northern Sri Lanka. *Gender and Development*. 12:3:60-69.
- Helms, Elissa. 2003. Women as Agents of Ethnic Reconciliation? Women’s NGOs and International Intervention in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina. *Women’s Studies International Forum*. 26:1:15-33

- Jordan, Ann. 2003. Women and Conflict Transformation: influence, roles, and experiences. *Development in Practice*. 13:2&3: 239-251
- Kabonketoor. 2001. Notre Association.
- Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond borders*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Larson, Mary Jo and Xiaoping Tian. 2005. Strengthening women's contributions to sustainable peace: the benefits of flexibility. *Conflict Resolution Quarterly*. 23:1:53-70.
- Makuwira, Jonathan. 2006. Aid partnership in the Bougainville Conflict: the case of a local women's NGO and its donors. *Development in Practice*. 16:3&4:322-333
- MALAO . 2007a. Activites. <http://www.malao.org/malao/activites/>
- MALAO. 2007b. Mission. <http://www.malao.org/malao/mission/>
- Mikell, Gwendolyn. 2005. Working from within: Nigerian women and conflict resolution. *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. 6:2:87-94.
- Moghadam, Valentine M. 2005. Peacebuilding and reconstruction with women: reflections on Afghanistan, Iraq and Palestine. *Development*. 48:3:63-72.
- Mohamed, Adam Azzain. 2004. From instigating violence to building peace: the changing role of women in Darfur region of Western Sudan. *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 4:1:11-26
- Moran, Mary H. and M. Anne Pitcher. 2004. The 'basket case' and the 'poster child': explaining the end of civil conflicts in Liberia and Mozambique. *Third World Quarterly*. 25:3:501-519.
- Moser, Caroline O.N. and Fiona C. Clark 2001. Gender, conflict and building sustainable peace: recent lessons from Latin America. *Gender and Development*. 9:3:29-39
- Nakaya, Sumie 2004. Women and gender equality in peace-building. in Keating, Tom and W. Andy Knight, eds. *Building Sustainable Peace*. Alberta, Canada: The University of Alberta Press
- Neufeldt, R. 2004. Catholic Relief Services Peacebuilding Activities. http://www.crs.org/peacebuilding/pubs/Peb0405_e.pdf
- New Field Foundation. 2007a. Grants Rewarded. <http://www.newfieldfound.org/grants.awarded.php?group=15&action=group>
- New Field Foundation. 2007b. How to Apply. <http://www.newfieldfound.org/grants.apply.html>
- New Field Foundation. 2007c. Our Approach. <http://www.newfieldfound.org/about.approach.html>
- New Field Foundation. 2007d. Priorities. <http://www.newfieldfound.org/grants.priorities.html>
- Nzomo, Maria. 2002. Gender Governance and Conflicts in Africa. 2-23. Gender in Development Programme (GIDP). New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

- OXFAM International Annual Report. 2005.
http://www.oxfam.org/en/files/annual_report_2005.pdf
- OXFAM. 2006. OXFAM's work in Senegal in Depth.
<http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/countries/senegal.html>
- OXFAM. 2006. Senegal. In Depth. <http://www.oxfam.org.uk/resources/countries/senegal.html>
- OXFAM. 2007a. About Us. <http://www.oxfam.org/en/about/>
- OXFAM. 2007b. What We Do. <http://www.oxfam.org/en/about/what/>
- Rehn, Elisabeth and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. 2002. Women, War and Peace: The Independent Experts' Assessment on the Impact of Armed Conflict on Women and Women's Role in Peacebuilding. United Nations Development Fund for Women Report. Catholic Relief Services.
- Sadio, Seydou Prosper. "PAIX EN CASAMANCE : Les femmes de « Kabonkétor » engagent une campagne contre les armes légères" *Le Soleil*. http://www.lesoleil.sn.php3?id_article=9349
- Sagna, Francis. 2003. CRS Peacebuilding and Rehabilitation project in Casamance/Senegal. WANEP Links. <http://www.wanep.org/publications/image/waneplinks%2011th.pdf>
- Shoemaker, Jolynn. 2002. In War and Peace: Women and Conflict Prevention. *Civil Wars*. 5:1:27-54.
- Snyder, Anna. 2000. Peace Profile: Federation of African Women's Peace Networks. *Peace Review*. 12:1:147-153.
- Sonko, Bruno. "The Casamance Conflict: A Forgotten Civil War?" *CODESRIA Bulletin*. Numbers 3 and 4, 2004, pg. 30.
- Stam, Valerie. 2006. A mystical army: women, voice and power in the Casamance conflict (Senegal). *Dissertation presented for the fulfillment of the M.A. degree in Conflict Studies at St. Paul University, Ottawa, Canada*.
- Tides Foundation. 2007. Tides Foundation 2006 Grantee List.
http://www.tidesfoundation.org/fileadmin/tf_pdfs/Grantees_List_2006_Tides_Foundation_dxb_20071107.pdf
- Turshen, Meredith. 2001. Engendering relations of state and society in the aftermath. In Meintjes, Sheila, Anu Pillay and Meredith Turshen, eds. *The Aftermath: Women in post-conflict transformation*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- UN Integrated Regional Information Networks (UNIRIN). 2003. "Senegal: West Africa's Forgotten Conflict Lingers On." http://www.irinnews.org/report.asp?ReportID=32688&SelectRegion=West_Africa&SelectCountry=SENEGAL .

UN Integrated Regional Information Networks (UNIRIN). 2006. "Senegal: No End to Region's Longest-Running War." Accessed on 17 October 2006.

UNFEM. 2005. Securing the Peace Guiding the International Community towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes United Nations Development Fund for Women, New York City, New York.

USOFORAL. 2007a. <http://www.sudinfo.sn/usoforal/index.htm>

USOFORAL. 2007b. Women's Regional Solidarity Committee for Peace in Casamance, English language pamphlet received from USOFORAL on 15 May 2007.

Vincent, Louise. 2001. Engendering peace in Africa: A critical inquiry into some current thinking on the role of African women in peace building. *African Journal in Conflict Resolution*. 1:1-15.

WANEP. 2006a. Mission and Vision. <http://www.wanep.org/programs/wipnet.html>

WANEP. 2006b. Women in Peacebuilding Program (WIPNET). <http://www.wanep.org/programs/wipnet.html>

WFD. 2007a. Für eine gerechtere Welt. <http://www.wfd.de/wfd/material/>

WFD. 2007b. Senegal: Peace in Casamance. <http://www.wfd.de/wfd/en/p00353.html>

References for Variables

These references were not cited within the text, but were part of compilations of data for the measurements of articles written by and about the leaders (see Table 8) to examine the accessibility of the leaders of the women's organizations.

Africa Action. 1999. Declaration of African Women's Anti-War Coalition.
<http://africaaction.org/docs99/wom9901.htm>

Club du Sahel et de l'Afrique de l'Ouest. 2005. Initiative sur les dynamiques de sortie de crise en Afrique de l'ouest. www.oecd.org/dataoecd/58/28/38520599.pdf

Cisse, Seynabou Male. 2005 « Stratégies de sortie de crise : les dynamiques de construction de la paix, contributions des femmes » in INITIATIVE SUR LES DYNAMIQUES DE SORTIE DE CRISE EN AFRIQUE DE L'OUEST. 2005 Sahel Club/OECD.
<http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/58/28/38520599.pdf>

Cisse, Seynabou Male. 2000. Contexte d'émergence d'un mouvement des femmes pour la paix en Casamance, in International Alert. Transformation des conflits en Afrique : La perspective des femmes africaines. www.peacewomen.org/resources/Organizing/AFARD.pdf

Cisse, Seynabou Male. 1999. Femmes et Guerre en Casamance, in Association of Concerned African Scholars' Bulletin Spring/Summer 1999.

Diallo, Aissatou. Les stratégies de communication pour une plus grande implication des femmes dans la résolution du conflit Casamançais.

Giesling, Cornelia. 2005. Alliance des Initiatives Africaines pour la Paix.
<http://www.goreeinstitute.org/pages/RapportGORIN.pdf>

Giesling, Cornelia. 2006a. Alliance des Initiatives Africaines pour la stabilisation de la paix en Afrique de l'Ouest.

Le Potentiel. 2005. Foundiougne II : les femmes s'invitent à la table des négociations

MALAO. 2007. Forum des femmes de l'association Kabonketoor.
<http://www.malao.org/documentation/archives~paix-en-casamance/>

Appendix 1

Dependent Variable Measurements:

USOFORAL's partners (USOFORAL's website):

International: WFD (Weltfriedensdienst), New Field Foundation, Catholic Relief Services, GTZ PROCAS (Programme Casamance de la Coopération Allemande), Réseau des Mères et Proches des Disparus, Alliance Franco Sénégalaise, U.S. Embassy, The New Field Foundation⁶⁰, Germany Embassy, Sahel and West Africa Club: OECD

Senegalese partners: APROFES (Association pour la PROMotion de la Femme Sénégalaise), AUD (Association Urgence et Développement), GREFELS (Groupe de Réflexion et d'Etudes sur les Femmes et les Lois au Sénégal), Musée de la femme Henriette Bathily de Gorée à Dakar, L' ONG Agora dirigée par Docteur ONOKONO, CONGAD (Conseil des ONG pou l'Appui au Développement), ITA (Institut de technologie alimentaire).

African Networks: WIPNET (Women In Peace building NETwork), WANEP (Women In Peace building NETwork), Le Gorée Institute, FERfAP (Fédération des Associations féminines du Mali), Association des femmes de la Mano River (Guinée, Sierra Leone, Libéria).

USOFORAL's funders: WFD, New Field Foundation

Kabonketoor's partners (Kabonketoor, 2001):

International: Catholic Relief Services, Concern Universal, OXFAM/GB, U.S. Ambassador, Holland Ambassador, GTZ, Oceanium.

Senegalese partners: AGADA, Afrique enjeux, GRAPAC CRS.

African Networks: WANEP, MALAO/Senegal

⁶⁰ Not shown on the website, but this may be because the website has not been updated since 2006, before USOFORAL began working with the New Field Foundation.

