



POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Implementing a More Inclusive Peace Agreement in South Sudan

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South Sudan has been in violent conflict for two years the brutality of which shocked the world. What started as a conflict between forces loyal to President Salva Kiir and those supporting former Vice President Riek Machar quickly devolved in a tribal war. South Sudan's two largest tribes, the Nuer and Dinka, began systematically targeting and killing each other, which resulted in entire communities being leveled and displaced and tens of thousands killed. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)—an eight-country regional trade bloc—made several failed attempts to mediate between the warring parties. After tense negotiations and heightened international pressure, the warring parties

finally signed a comprehensive peace agreement in August 2015. While the agreement was welcomed by many in South Sudan, a common criticism of the process was that while civil society and other parties were present at the negotiations, the mediators and parties did not prioritize meaningful civil society representation, and the implementation agreement runs the risk of following a similar path.

As the focus turns toward implementation, inclusion must be prioritized if the agreement is to ultimately be successful. Women's full and meaningful engagement in the upcoming implementation and transition period is an investment in bringing sustainable peace to South Sudan. Research demonstrates time and again that broad, meaningful, and effective inclusion of women increases the durability of peace accords. This is critical not only during peace talks, but in a post-conflict context when a country is rebuilding. A cross-national analysis of post-conflict contexts since 1945 with a high risk of descending back into conflict found that women enjoyed greater political participation, the prospect for a sustainable peace was stronger because the engagement of the community in rebuilding their country increased.¹ Women broaden social participation – they deepen the engagement of the community allowing them to feel a sense of ownership in the process. Yet, little attention or support goes toward ensuring inclusion in what can be the most critical aspect of the peace process: implementation.

The meaningful inclusion of civil society, particularly women, lends legitimacy to the process, increasing public buy-in. Warring parties are often seen by the population as having blood on their hands, especially when they are perceived as having perpetuated violence for political gain. If implementation of the peace agreement in South Sudan is built upon an inclusive and transparent framework, however, there is an opportunity to rebuild trust at the local and national levels, potentially transforming the social fabric of the country.

Whatever structure and accompanying bodies are included in the implementation mechanism, they must reflect the specific context and character of South Sudan while remaining flexible enough to evolve as the process moves forward. Most importantly, these structures must provide communities with a space to make their voices heard and ensure that the end results reflect their needs, priorities, and proposed solutions.

The recommendations in this brief suggest ways to ensure that civil society, particularly women, are effectively consulted and involved in the implementation process. The implementation arrangements as laid out in the agreement offer many opportunities for women to meaningfully engage, but these opportunities must be formalized. The first section proposes general recommendations for the overall agreement and all actors involved, centered on three areas: composition of the implementation bodies, creating effective feedback loops and information sharing, and providing gender expertise throughout the process. The subsequent sections provide analysis and specific recommendations for each chapter of the agreement.

These recommendations should inform further discussions as there is no substitute for consulting diverse South Sudanese communities directly, meaningfully, and consistently throughout the implementation of the agreement.

Recommendations

Composition of Implementation Bodies:

- 1. No less than 30% of women should be included throughout the implementing bodies, including security-heavy mechanisms.** In South Sudan, women have continuously called² for parties to address the underlying drivers of conflict that have plagued the country. Their direct representation in official monitoring and implementation bodies would allow delegates to move beyond the parties' direct interests, and instead set a more responsive agenda allowing for provisions that are informed by the needs of the people. By including a critical mass (a minimum of 30 percent), women have a greater likelihood of creating space for these broader interests including those that address the specific priorities of women and girls. Including a mandate for women's participation in peace agreement implementation bodies is also consistent with South Sudan's existing 25 percent quota for key bodies such as the executive and legislative branches.
- 2. Methods for the inclusion of civil society should be explicitly stated in implementation committees' terms of reference.** The peace agreement in South Sudan does include select details around the composition of several committees responsible for implementing, overseeing, and monitoring the agreement. However, parties should ensure the terms of reference for each of those bodies make specific reference to the structures and modalities for civil society participation, particularly women, and prioritize their contributions. Structures could include official or unofficial civil society representatives in the committee, consistent engagement with civil society groups via community consultations, or the creation of technical advisory teams to support the implementation body.
- 3. The selection of civil society delegates throughout implementation bodies should be fair and transparent and gender parity prioritized within groups consulted.** Too often in South Sudan, parties appoint civil society representatives who are strongly aligned with partisan agendas and interests. In order to reap the benefits of inclusion, officials should select delegates who will be perceived as impartial and legitimate interlocutors by the country's diverse communities. Ideally, representatives would be chosen by the South Sudanese people through a transparent selection process, with clear selection criteria. A participatory process of this sort requires a strategic communications plan to ensure that those interested know when

and how to participate. Careful attention must be paid to identifying representatives who are: committed to ending the conflict; seen as neutral in their communities; representative of the diversity of society (including tribal affiliation, gender, youth, ethnic and political minorities, etc.); and knowledgeable about technical areas that add value to the process.

Information and Feedback Channels:

4. **A feedback loop should be established between the official implementation process and communities.** Whether civil society representatives have formal roles in implementing bodies or act in an advisory capacity, they are a crucial communication channel between implementation actors and their constituents. Creating a formal feedback loop allows parties to transmit their agenda and positions to the general population, and for communities to raise their needs and perspectives to the official process. Official bodies should regularly share information on the status of implementation of the agreement with relevant civil society organizations. The lack of access to information about the substance and status of the implementation process is a primary barrier to women's engagement. The Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC) should mandate development of a strategic communications plan for the regular sharing of information between senior advisors and/or gender advisors and civil society, including women's groups. Existing networks and communication channels should be used to disseminate information, especially to regions outside of the capital and large cities. For example, information could be disseminated via the gender focal points for the gender ministry as well as other broad-reaching civil society initiatives. The JMEC should also mandate that the Transitional Government of National Unity (TGONU) must broadcast information through radio, public meetings, and other relevant media to ensure that updates reach broader communities.
5. **The regional and international community should dedicate funding to facilitate the convening of women's organizations.** Women living in the communities will play an essential role in determining the success or failure of the implementation. Women's networks arose immediately after the conflict erupted and have been working for peace since, but their sustained engagement requires dedicated funding from the donor community. Committed funding could support regular convenings to provide space for women's organizations to receive updated information on the implementation, learn from advisors and technical experts, and plan strategies for advocacy to ensure effective inclusion and input into the implementation process.

Enhance Gender Expertise Across Implementation Actors:

6. **A technical advisory committee should be established to ensure gender mainstreaming throughout the implementation of the agreement.** Technical advisory bodies can deliver much-needed expertise to those involved in implementation, as well as provide confidence building measures between the parties by raising issues and finding solutions of common interest between the parties—such as food security. The committee should be comprised of South Sudanese women and civil society representatives, with at least 50 percent of the representing organizations focused on gender or social inclusion. For the committee to be effective and provide targeted recommendations, it should have authority, funding, and members with practical expertise. It must have clear, explicit mandates for participation within official meetings, review of technical documents and outcomes, and open channels of communication with the requisite implementation bodies.
7. **All representatives and staff supporting the implementation of the agreement should receive training on women, peace, and security and gender-integration in policies.** Part of the reason inclusion failed in the talks may have been due to the inability of the parties to truly understand how women’s participation can make the process more effective overall. The need for training on women, peace, and security is great even among women who participated in the negotiations, as many were selected not for their gendered expertise but for tribal or party affiliation. All representatives and staff involved in the process—male and female alike—should be supported with technical capacity building around gender integration strategies and best practices in women, peace, and security policies. This can be done through mandatory training sessions on gendered policy analysis, or through optional skills building sessions on how specific topic areas related to implementation impact women, men, boys, and girls differently. This level of gendered training would not be unique to South Sudan: the Philippines’ Office of the Presidential Advisor on the Peace Process is constructing six training centers to facilitate women’s inclusion throughout implementation of the 2014 Comprehensive Agreement.³ The aim of these centers is to “provide capacity building on gender and development but also to train women to be economically empowered.”⁴

Endnotes

- 1 Theodora-Ismene Gizelis, “Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding,” *Journal of Peace Research* 46, no. 4 (July 2009): 505-523.
- 2 In advance of the last round of Intergovernmental Authority on Development-led talks, the South Sudan Taskforce on the Engagement of Women and other women leaders convened in Nairobi from June 9-11, 2015. Their goals were to identify the root causes of the conflict and determine concrete steps toward a more inclusive and effective peace process that prioritizes, above all else, the needs and interests of the people of South Sudan. www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/SS-Taskforce-Statement-June-2015_FINAL.pdf
- 3 IPI Report – p.25
- 4 “ARMM to Construct Women Peace, Training Centers,” Government of the Philippines, (December 22, 2014). reliefweb.int/report/philippines/armm-construct-women-peace-training-centers.

About The Institute for Inclusive Security

Inclusive Security is transforming decision making about war and peace. We're convinced that a more secure world is possible if policymakers and conflict-affected populations work together. Women's meaningful participation, in particular, can make the difference between failure and success. Since 1999, Inclusive Security has equipped decision makers with knowledge, tools, and connections that strengthen their ability to develop inclusive policies and approaches. We have also bolstered the skills and influence of women leaders around the world. Together with these allies, we're making inclusion the rule, not the exception.



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CHAPTER RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter I: Transitional Government of National Unity of the Republic of South Sudan

Chapter I describes the establishment, seat, term, mandate, composition, structure, and selection of the transitional government. It also more clearly defines the roles of the President, First Vice President, and the Vice President, and details how the parties will share power. The chapter also establishes the Transitional National Legislative Assembly (TNLA). The functions and mandate of the TNLA will remain as agreed in the transitional constitution unless specified differently by the final agreement. The TNLA will include 400 members, comprised of the existing 332 members plus an additional 68 representatives.

Although the chapter references 25 percent participation of women in the legislative bodies as laid out in the Transitional Constitution of South Sudan, 2011, Article 16 (4a), and calls upon the government and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement–In Opposition (SPLM-IO) to nominate women to the Council of Ministries, it remains to be seen if this will be enforced. To date, women's representation in key governance institutions has fallen far short of the 25 percent quota.ⁱ The agreement also does not extend the quota to the state level – a key gap in addressing women's participation.

Recommendations:

1. Mandate that the parties abide by the 25 percent quota and ensure the meaningful representation of women in the TNLA, National Constitutional Committee, and state governments. Establish penalties for non-compliance such as decreased funding or authoritative power;
2. Identify election measures that ensure greater representation of women in the post transitional government such as targeted civic education for women as voters and candidates, along with the creation of a funding stream designated for female candidates; and
3. Ensure that parties appoint a percentage of representatives in the Council of Ministers and Deputy Ministers who have work experience from civil society, particularly women's organizations, to ensure broad-based experience and participation.

Chapter II: Permanent Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements

This chapter calls for the implementation of a permanent ceasefire, as well as transitional security arrangements. It mandates a number of structures to oversee these processes including the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism (CTSAMM) and the Strategic Defence and Security Review (SDSR) Board, both of which specifically call for women's participation by way of one representative from the Women's Bloc.ⁱⁱ

The CTSAMM will be built from the existing IGAD Monitoring and Verification Mechanism, which is responsible for monitoring the Cessation of Hostilities Agreement. Among other things, the CTSAMM will monitor “acts and forms of sexual and gender-based violence, including

sexual exploitation and harassment” – an important step in guaranteeing those violations are weighted equally with others.

Mandating only one position on both the CTSAMM and SDSR Board does not go far enough to guarantee women’s meaningful participation. Women are frequently overlooked when it comes to “hard” security issues, yet they bring a breadth of knowledge, expertise, and access that would lend credibility to these bodies and processes. They played myriad roles during the conflict including as combatants, cooks, and sex slaves to male combatants. Their unique needs and services required as a result of those roles must be included in implementation of any transitional security arrangements. In the implementation phase, women can also provide a critical access to communities. They can gather information on violations of the ceasefire that may not get reported otherwise. The current IGAD monitoring mechanism includes community liaisons whose role is to link the monitors with communities and gather information about human rights abuses. These positions—which will continue in the CTSAMM—should be filled equally by men and women.

Other bodies set out in Chapter II make no mention of including women. For example, the Temporary National Architecture for the Implementation for Permanent Ceasefire (TNAIPC) is a joint mechanism which will oversee and coordinate the actions of all security forces and operationalize the permanent ceasefire. This body is made up only of military personnel, predominantly men. It is therefore critical that women’s perspectives and needs are taken into account when implementing the ceasefire arrangement. At a minimum, the TNAIPC should ensure the needs of female ex-combatants, sympathizers, and members of conflict-affected communities are addressed via a gender advisor who actively consults with the key stakeholders.

It is also unclear how a sustainable ceasefire will be reached that truly addresses the security concerns of the communities. While the chapter calls for the creation of safety and security for civilians, it is unclear how this will be achieved beyond demilitarizing certain areas. It also does not require liaising with community organizations to design and implement disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration of ex-combatants, even though civil society will assume responsibility for much of this process.

Recommendations:

1. Mandate that the warring parties include women in the CTSAMM and SDSR Board in addition to the one representative from the Women’s Bloc;
2. Ensure implementation arrangements are explicit about how monitoring and verification bodies will consult with women, youth, and other civil society organizations to guarantee their participation in decision-making;
3. Ensure the monitoring and verification teams under the CTSAMM are equipped with training on how to engage with the communities and that at least 50 percent of the community liaison positions are filled by women;
4. Include women in the design and implementation of any disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration and security sector reform programs. These programs must also

recognize both male and female ex-combatants and make provisions for their specific needs;

5. Mandate a gender adviser to the TNAIPC to ensure that the separation, assembly, and cantonment of forces takes into consideration accommodations for female fighters and female support roles such as cooks and sex slaves;
6. Ensure additional security arrangements are provided in places that are particularly dangerous for women and girls, such as food and firewood collections points, markets, and frequently traveled roads;
7. Provide continuous training for all personnel in the various security mechanisms on how to engage women in the communities, what the differing needs of female combatants are, and how to integrate gender considerations into the security sector; and
8. Require the SDSR Board to liaise with women's organizations in their comprehensive assessment of the military and non-military security challenges to reflect women's experience of security and safety in the eventual Security Sector Transformation Roadmap.

Chapter III: Humanitarian Assistance and Reconstruction

This chapter outlines the humanitarian assistance and reconstruction principles for the pre-transition phase including humanitarian rights and needs that the parties shall ensure, including the right of refugees and internally displaced persons (IDP) to return to their homes. It also requires the TGONU to institute programs for relief, protection, repatriation, resettlement, reintegration, and rehabilitation for returnees and calls for fast-tracking visas and imports for humanitarian relief.

There is only one mention of women in this chapter—section 1.2.2 lists women as part of those who will be offered “special consideration to conflict-affected persons.” The particular needs of women are not differentiated within any of the cited populations such as refugees, IDPs, families, and civilians in need of emergency humanitarian assistance and protection. Furthermore, there are no specified confidence-building measures to encourage the return of women, IDPs, prisoners of war, or child soldiers. For implementation to be successful, those unique needs and concerns must be addressed and prioritized throughout.

The chapter also does not call for women to be a part of the Board of Special Reconstruction Fund, which will determine the priorities for reconstruction of infrastructure in conflict-affected states and areas. The program will also include assistance and protection to IDPs, returnees, and families, the provisions of which will inevitably fall unofficially to women's and other civil society organizations.

Recommendations:

1. Ensure at least 35 percent women's representation on the Board of Special Reconstruction Fund;

2. Specify provisions for women's assistance, such as psychosocial support for victims of sexual violence and accompaniment of female returnees to ensure safe passage. These efforts will also act as confidence-building measures ensuring the population is safe to return to their homes; and
3. Establish a relief committee with a mandate to ensure that programs for relief, protection, repatriation, resettlement, reintegration, and rehabilitation of IDPs and returnees are instituted in cooperation with community-based, women's, and civil society organizations. This committee must also acknowledge the varying needs of men and women by conducting consistent and broad community consultations.

Chapter IV: Resource, Economic, and Financial Management Arrangements

This chapter outlines the principles for ensuring transparent, effective, and accountable systems for managing resources, economics, and finances during the transitional period and beyond. At least five new institutions will be created as a result of this agreement including the Economic and Financial Management Authority, which will provide oversight and management particularly over the oil/petroleum sector. None of the institutions; however, explicitly mandates women's participation. While this chapter does make a number of calls for the participation of communities and landowners in various capacities, such as deciding contracts and mechanisms for resource extraction, there is no language explicitly referencing the participation of women. This could be particularly problematic for single women and widow landowners who will not have protection based on the principles outlined.

It is unclear whether or not there will be a body dedicated to monitoring oil revenue. While it might be controversial to require the government to establish such a body, the agreement could set up an impartial civil society-led bodyⁱⁱⁱ made up of men and women to monitor contracts and revenue distribution.

Women play a crucial role in agriculture and feeding their communities,^{iv} while also being among the poorest in the nation. Not including women's direct participation in these implementation arrangements, particularly on resource allocation, suggests that women's roles and needs are not understood and effectively guarantees they will be overlooked during implementation.

Recommendations:

1. Mandate a critical mass of women in all commissions established under this section of the agreement;
2. Require the implementation arrangements liaise with women's organizations in determining resource allocation, particularly in rural communities;
3. Allocate 35 percent of the oil revenue to the establishment of the Women Enterprise Development Fund as laid out in this section to ensure that it is operational and effective; and

4. Ensure the voices of the community are heard during the in-depth national debate to review the current national land policy and the Land Act. Enlist prominent members of the community, particularly women, to participate in the debate and to conduct extensive consultations with communities prior to the debate to understand the needs and interests of the people.

Chapter V: Transitional Justice, Accountability, Reconciliation, and Healing

This chapter establishes three mechanisms to implement transitional justice, accountability, reconciliation, and healing programs:

1. Commission for Truth, Reconciliation, and Healing (CTRH)
2. Hybrid Court for South Sudan (HCSS)
3. Compensation and Reparation Authority (CRA)

The CTRH will address the “legacy of conflicts, promote peace, national reconciliation, and healing.” It will create a historical narrative of grievances since the Comprehensive Peace Accord was signed in 2005. It is also responsible for educating, consulting, and informing the public of its work and soliciting continuous feedback. The HCSS will “investigate and prosecute individuals bearing the responsibility for violations of international law and/or applicable South Sudanese law, committed from 15 December 2013 through the end of the transition period (30 months after the signing of the agreement). Finally, the CRA will “provide material and financial support to citizens whose property was destroyed by the conflict and help them to rebuild their livelihoods.”

While this chapter does point to the unique experiences of women, it does not do enough to guarantee women’s participation beyond being beneficiaries of these arrangements. Three out of seven positions on the CTRH are designated for women, two of which are South Sudanese nationals to be determined by the transitional government. Explicit criteria should be established and enforced when selecting those positions to ensure appointees have adequate technical expertise and are representative of the people they are serving. Regarding participation in the HCSS, however, there is no language mandating the appointment of women as judges or prosecutors. Additionally, the chapter does not call for members of the three bodies to be trained on how to ensure gender considerations are integrated into the structure or practice of the bodies.

The successful implementation of these modalities is critical to ensuring impunity does not persist and the country avoids delving into further conflict. Women should be characterized as constructive contributors to justice and accountability mechanisms, not just as victims whose needs must be addressed.

Recommendations:

1. Ensure all bodies tasked with justice and accountability in South Sudan mandate equal representation from each sex and be appointed, where possible, by an impartial body;

2. Require training for all members within these bodies on how to mainstream gender into all programs;
3. Create a Commission for Truth, Reconciliation, and Healing women's outreach committee to help women navigate these various arrangements and ensure safety and security to the victims who come forward with their stories;
4. Reference international humanitarian, human rights, and criminal law regarding women, including UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325^v and related resolutions^{vi}, as well as the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women^{vii} in the final agreement; and
5. Create a steering committee comprised of prominent South Sudanese, international, and regional leaders with expertise in incorporating gender into all of the processes related to justice, accountability, reconciliation, and healing.

Chapter VI: Parameters of Permanent Constitution

Chapter VI details the process for drafting a permanent constitution during the transition period and lays out the principles upon which the constitution will be based. The chapter also calls for the reconstituted National Constitution Review Commission (NCRC) to consult with all key stakeholders in drafting the constitution.

Although extensive consultations are mentioned, the list of key stakeholders does not specifically include women. The chapter does not specify how many women will be included in the NCRC, the National Constitutional Conference, and the Constituent Assembly. It does make note of including representatives from the Women's Bloc in the NCRC, but does not specify how many and does not require the other groups to include women in their delegations.

Recommendations:

1. Require commitment from the executive to consult with ethnic and regionally diverse women's organizations and women leaders prior to appointing the NCRC;
2. Ensure that the NCRC's consultations and civic education programs prioritize participation of women and take into account social and cultural factors that may impede women's access to these programs (e.g., domestic responsibilities, child care, freedom of movement);
3. Mandate at least 35 percent women's representation in the NCRC and the National Constitutional Conference (NCC);
4. Ensure the legislation or policy governing the constitutional process requires the NCRC, the NCC, and the Constituent Assembly to consider the impact of the draft text on women. This should include training for these bodies on how to integrate gender throughout the text;

5. Commit the NCRC, NCC, and the Constituent Assembly to incorporating the principles of UNSCR 1325 and other key resolutions in the draft constitution text, as aligned with the principles listed in Chapter VI, Article 1 (1.2) and (1.4); and
6. Obtain commitment from the transitional government to include a gender advisor among the regional and international experts supporting the constitution drafting process.

Chapter VII: Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission

Chapter VII describes the Joint Monitoring and Evaluation Commission (JMEC), which will oversee and monitor the “implementation of the agreement and the mandate and tasks of the TGONU, including the adherence of the Parties to the agreed timelines and implementation schedule.”

The chapter notes that the composition of the JMEC will include one representative from the Women’s Bloc under section 2.2, but does not require that women be included as representatives of the parties or other regional and international guarantors and partners of South Sudan.

The JMEC’s role cannot be overstated. Ensuring the inclusion of the people of South Sudan, particularly women, in the implementation of the peace accord must be a priority. Sending a clear signal from the very top that inclusion is non-negotiable throughout implementation will help ensure the violence ends, the roots causes of conflict are addressed, and South Sudan is put on a path toward sustainable peace.

Recommendations:

1. Mandate women’s representation in the JMEC including as Chair and Deputy Chairs and within the quorum;
2. State publicly that inclusion of the South Sudanese people, particularly women, must be prioritized throughout the implementation of the peace agreement;
3. Train all members of the JMEC on gender awareness and how to incorporate that into their monitoring of the implementation of the agreement; and
4. Include in JMEC’s terms of reference that it must regularly inform and consult with the people of South Sudan, particularly women, to accurately monitor implementation.

ⁱ Nyathon, James and Hoth, Mai, “Policy Brief: The Role of Women in Peace-Building in South,” The SUDD Institute (December 2015). <http://www.suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/Roleofwomen-.pdf>.

ⁱⁱ The IGAD mediation provided observer status to a small group of women, which became known as the Women’s Bloc, who were also signatories on the peace agreement.

ⁱⁱⁱ In Ghana, 120 organizations and professional bodies—including community-based organizations, faith-based groups, research institutions, gender-based groups, and trade unions, as well as individuals— came together to form the Ghana Civil Society Platform on Oil and Gas. The platform strengthens civil society to advocate on oil and gas legislation, revenue collection, and environmental protection to ensure transparency and accountability in the oil and gas industry in Ghana. Coordination Team, “Civil Society and Oil and Gas Governance in Ghana,” *European Commission*, (April 26, 2013). <http://capacity4dev.ec.europa.eu/article/civil-society-and-oil-and-gas-governance-ghana#sthash.YVejR5O3.dpuf>.

^{iv} SUDD Policy Brief – p.7

^v “Security Council Resolution 1325 (SCR1325) was unanimously adopted by United Nations Security Council on 31 October 2000. SCR1325 marked the first time the Security Council addressed the disproportionate and unique impact of armed conflict on women; recognized the under-valued and under-utilized contributions women make to conflict prevention, peacekeeping, conflict resolution, and peace-building. It also stressed the importance of women’s equal and full participation as active agents in peace and security.” “Resource Center” *Peace Women*, http://www.peacewomen.org/security_council_monitor/about-women-peace-and-security-agenda.

^{vi} The Security Council adopted seven resolutions on women, peace and security: Security Council Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), and 2122 (2013). “About Women, Peace & Security Agenda,” *Peace Women*, <http://www.peacewomen.org/security-council/WPS-in-SC-Council>.

^{vii} “[The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women \(CEDAW\)](http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/), adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination.” “Women Watch,” *UN Women*, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/>.