The Tale of Two Sudans: Engendered Security and Peace Processes

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Introduction

In 2000, the United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security that set forth a commitment on the part of the UN, states and NGOs to promote women's security in peacebuilding. It was lauded as a major achievement for women's equality and security because it recognized that women were disproportionately affected by war as well as important agents in peacebuilding. Its passage was a major victory for the organizations who worked to write it and get it passed and potentially paved the way for more women in one of the persistently sex-segregated policy arenas—security. However, by many accounts women still are not consistently included as peace agents: they are rarely included as formal negotiators and signatories to peace agreements (cited from Security General Report on Women, Peace and Security 2009); women still have a fairly limited role as peacekeepers (Whitworth 2004); and post-conflict projects rarely target gender-related issues (Security Council 2009).

While these findings are troubling, there does seem to be an increasing global awareness of women as peacebuilders, including last year's Nobel Peace Prize, which was awarded to three women involved in peacebuilding.[1] Problematically, there is much less awareness/systematic study on *how* women are included in formal processes and what may account for their inclusion/exclusion. As peace processes present women with a 'window of opportunity' to create major changes to the political/social structures of their respective countries, scholars and peace practitioners also have an opportunity to identify what factors create more gender-aware peace processes. In other words, we know little about how to (*en)gender security*-literally, "bring women in" to security. The overarching problem addressed in this case study is why women are not consistently included as peacebuilders during formal peace processes.

Sudan's two major peace processes of the last decade are particularly useful for beginning this dialogue on variation in engendered security, as an examination of Sudan's two major peace agreements presents an interesting puzzle: The Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), signed in 2005, contains almost no provisions specifically related to women or 'women's security.' On the other hand, the Darfur Peace Agreement (DPA), signed in 2006, includes extensive provisions, even *entire sections*, dedicated to women's broadly-defined security needs (see Appendix A for a comparison of the actual peace agreements). *How do two agreements, in the same country and negotiated around the same time, approach women's security so differently?* This case study focuses on when and how women's security needs are addressed as part of formal peace processes by looking at Sudan's two major peace processes and the roles of 3rd party negotiators and mediators in facilitating engendered security.

Background to Sudan's Conflicts

Given my focus is one the peace process rather than the conflict itself, I only briefly outline the conflicts and spend more time elucidating the movements towards peace. Sudan's North-South civil war stands as the longest African civil war on record; it started in 1955 right after Independence and lasted until 2005 when the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) was

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[1] These include Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee and Tawakkul Karman

signed. Humanitarian groups estimate two million people have died in the last thirty years of the war (Carney 2007).

The main division and catalyst for war has been the power difference between the North and the South and the identities upon which such power differentials have been constructed and reinforced. Northern Sudan, which is more Arab and Muslim than the South, controlled most of the resources of the entire country, including oil, which is primarily located in the South. In Southern Sudan, people consider themselves predominantly African and practice non-Muslim religions, such as Christianity. Omar El-Bashir, current President of Sudan, began to strictly enforce Arabization and Islamization when he took power in 1989 (Abusharaf 2006). Within this large division are other group divisions, especially in the south, where different ethnic groups like the Dinka, Nuer and Azande, have been competing for scarce resources and political power.

South Sudan has long called for autonomy in Sudan; beginning in the late 1980s, this call was for a secular, democratic republic known as "New Sudan" and included full succession from the North. The Sudan People's Liberation Army/Movement (SPLA/M) was the main rebel group fighting the north. Its leader, John Garang, helped broker the CPA and was appointed Vice President of the CPA-initiated Government of National Unity. He died in a plane crash in 2005 (Carney 2007).

Historically, 'ethnic difference' in Darfur was based upon livelihood- famers and herders-- rather than apparent racial and religious differences; Africans are typically farmers and Arabs are camel herders, and the majority are Muslim (Faris 2007). Climate issues changed the value of land and challenged the symbiosis between sedentary farmers and nomadic camel herders, as many on both sides had less arable land on which to practice their livelihoods (Faris 2007). These differences resulted in fighting throughout the 1990s and often the GoS (Government of Sudan) supported and provided arms for the Arabs. This regional instability and lopsided support was exacerbated by GoS political reshuffling when Omar al Bashir ousted his mentor Dr. Hassan al Turabi from the Congress Party in 1999 (De Waal 2005). Darfurian party members sided with al Turabi and al Bashir's security forces replaced local administrators with loyalists and brought in new leaders from the Popular Defence Forces (janjawiid) who were the local militia (de Waal 2005). In February 2003 "a large group of farmers-turned-guerillas stormed a police station at Golo in Jebel Marra to seize weapons. This was the spark that began the conflagration" (de Waal 2005).

The rebel movement called itself the Sudan Liberation Movement/Army[2] and had some early success and were encouraged by the SPLA and adopted its platform of "New Sudan" as such a movement would numerically guarantee a non-Arab majority in government. A second movement, The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM), also formed in the aftermath of the 2003 rebellion. This movement is predominantly Islamist and has ties to dissident Islamist groups in Khartoum (de Waal 2005).

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[2] Originally they called themselves the Darfur Liberation Front.

In January 2004 the GoS launched a campaign to suppress the revolt and "quickly declared victory" (de Waal 2005). They did not expect it to be a lengthy offensive because they had previously suppressed rebellions in the region. But the PDF were extremely brutal in their attacks, which escalated when they did not have initial success and eventually drew international condemnation and agreement that the mass killings and rapes that occurred in Darfur were acts of genocide, which the U.S. government announced in September of 2004 (de Waal 2005).

Background to Sudan's Peace Processes

The CPA and DPA processed are similar is several regards: both peace movements are characterized as internationalized events in which multiple actors—including states, regional and supranational organizations—were involved in hosting, mediating and even writing the agreements; both processes were fairly exclusive, only including the most prominent warring parties and negotiators to the exclusion of other rebel groups, potential mediators and any civil society participation whatsoever; and both processes primarily focused on wealth and power-sharing arrangements. Below I briefly outline the CPA process and follow-up with a discussion of Darfur's peace process.

The CPA peace process was long in the making. The regional organization which eventually brokered the peace agreements, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), emerged in 1993 with the specific task of ending the North-South Sudan war (Carney 2007). IGAD issued a Declaration of Principles in 1997 that, even though it failed to promote peace at the time, would serve as a basis for the 2002 IGAD peace process (Carney 2007).

By 2001 the African and international community re-approached the Sudanese conflict. Kenyan President Daniel Moi revitalized IGAD because the Sudanese conflict was causing so much regional instability (Carney 2007) and named Kenyan General Lazaro Sumbeiywo to become the head negotiator for IGAD (Sumbeiywo 2006: 22; Carney 2007).

Exclusion of certain groups and issues was a key component of the CPA process. The GoS, SPLM/A and IGAD team agreed to a bipartite peace process, which meant Darfur rebels (SLM/A and JEM) were not invited, nor were key military and political associates of each party (Young 2005). Key regional conflicts and areas of abject social inequality were also not put into the initial framework for discussion (Young 2005). The logic was that the more parties involved, the more resources, especially oil revenues, would have to be shared and the more difficult general negotiations would be.

The first major success for the IGAD peace process was the Machakos Protocol signed in 2002.[3] Written almost entirely by General Sumbeiywo, it addressed self-determination and the separation of state and religion. It laid out the agenda for the rest of the peace process and a timeframe for South Sudan to vote on succession. It guaranteed the South the right to participate in national government and to limit Sharia law to the North (2002). In 2003, after major

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[3] For a personal account of the Machakos peace meeting, see General Lazaro Sumbeiywo's account in *Accord*, Issue 18, 2006.

politicking on the part of Sumbeiywo, Vice President Ali Osman Taha and Dr. John Garang agreed to meet, in person. This began the very tense sixteen-month negotiation, culminating in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement, signed in January, 2005.

Machakos set the stage for six more agreements that are collectively known as the Comprehensive Peace Agreement. There are specific peace agreements on power-sharing, wealth-sharing, Abyei conflict, the Blue Nile States conflict and security arrangements regarding military. Almost all of the provisions deal with state-level integration and separation of powers guaranteeing representation in a new national Government of National Unity (GNU), distribution of oil revenues and separate militaries for the North and South as well as one integrated unit with both (2003 and 2004). The CPA does not many include human rights issues or more broadly-defined, non-military focused security concerns (like displacement, slavery or women's issues).

An initial Darfur humanitarian ceasefire was brokered by Chad in 2004 (after a few failed attempts) and thus began the Inter-Sudanese Talks on Darfur. The *Agreement on the Modalities for the Establishment of the Ceasefire Commission and Deployment of Observers* was signed in May, 2004 which created a Ceasefire Commission (CFC), in which the African Union was the chair and eventual lead negotiator (Hottinger 2006). The CFC answered to the Joint Commission which was overseeing the entire peace process. Both the Joint Commission and CFC included a strong international presence, with multiple African observers as well as the United States, Western Europe and the United Nations (Toga 2007: 218). The GoS did not want U.S., EU or UN participation in the peace talks and compromised on the African Union as mediators with international observation only on humanitarian issues (Hottinger 2006).

While initially neither side wanted to negotiate in person, the AU was able to get both sides to Abuja, Nigeria to work towards a comprehensive peace agreement. Beginning in August, 2004 the second round of talks opened and under Nigerian President Obasanjo, all parties agreed to a four-part agenda: humanitarian issues, security, political and economic and social issues (Toga 2006: 222). Eventually, the DPA focused on the same issues as the CPA (wealth and power-sharing and security) but without consensus on the details of these issues.

The goal of the Darfur agreements was to create another comprehensive peace agreement, much like the CPA (de Waal 2006, Justice Africa 2005). The AU held several rounds of negotiations but these negotiations were totally unproductive (Hottinger 2006, Nathan 2006). Because the international community was threatening the GoS with further sanctions because of the violence, the government was apt to agree to any peace process to relieve international pressure (Brooks 2008).

As the CPA process seemed to look promising, most international attention and resources were aimed at finalizing a North-South agreement, not the Darfur crisis. It seemed at this point the Darfur talks would use the CPA to move forward and all indications were that the SPLM/A supported this Darfur process (Brooks 2008). When Garang died, the SLM/A support shifted and Darfur was no longer a major priority for the new leader, Salva Kiir; Kiir, was a bigger proponent for Southern succession than Garang, and seemed less inclined to link the CPA and DPA processes (Brooks 2008, de Waal 2006). Eventually, the SPLM/A told the Darfur leaders

they were unwilling to make any changes to the final CPA to account for Darfur's preferences (Hottinger 2006).

In April, 2006 the AU, under Security Council and presidential pressure, gave all parties a one-month deadline to sign an agreement, even though the AU told the UNSC this deadline was unrealistic. At this point the AU prepared a peace agreement and no longer facilitated direct negotiations. All parties had five days to review the document; it was a 'take it but don't leave it' scenario with little time for parties to read and "improve" the document (Brooks 2008).
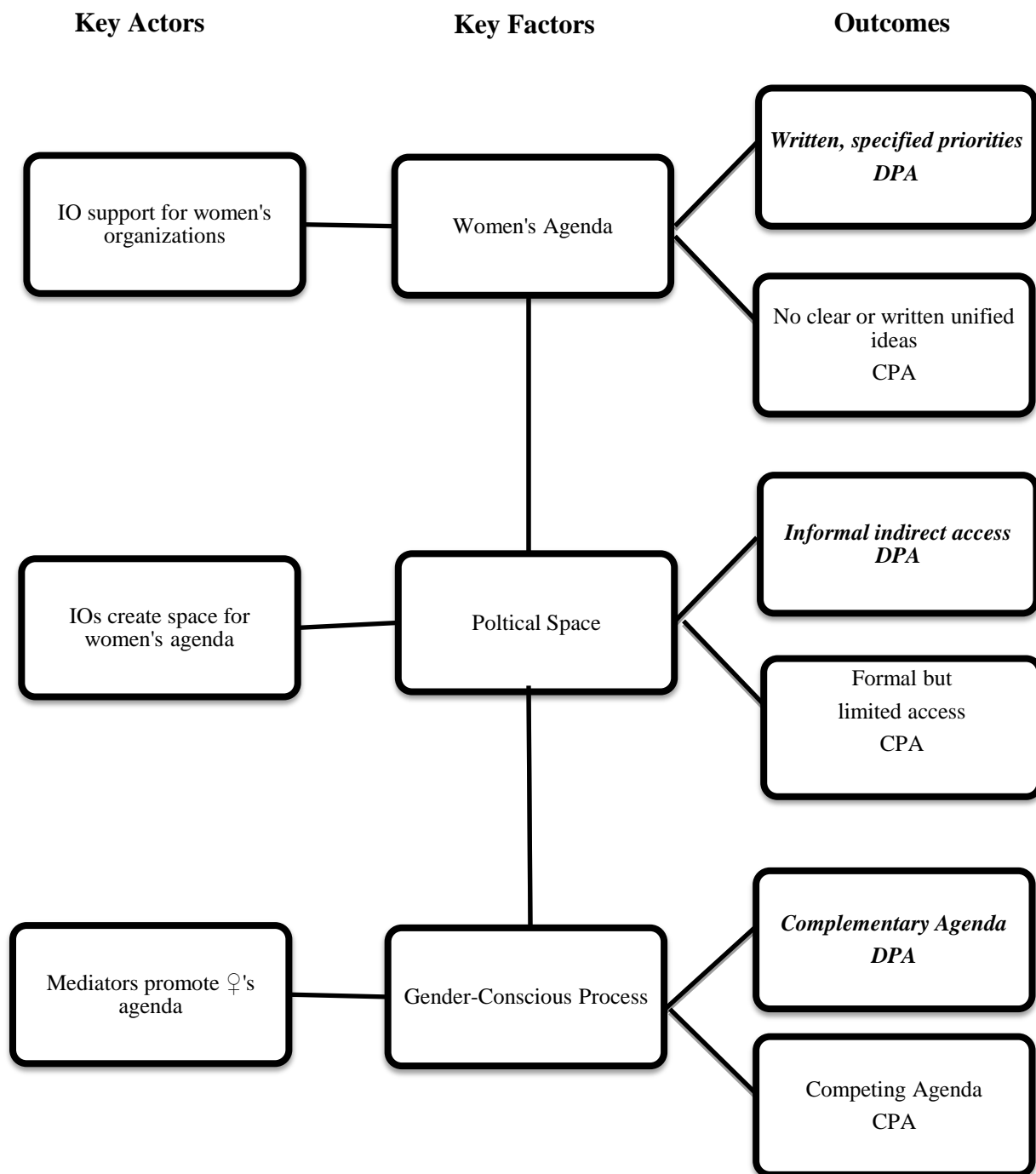
Ultimately, only one faction of the SLM signed the final agreement on May 5, 2006—both SLM and JEM refused to sign the AU-prepared document (Brooks 2008). Thus Darfur's Comprehensive Peace Agreement failed to even really get off the ground very few actors involved at the time believed the DPA would be successful (de Waal 2006, Hottinger 2006, Nathan 2006).

While the government limited women's roles in both peace processes, the SPLA/M, under John Garang's leadership, changed its priorities to include women in its operations by instituting its own party gender quota and including a women's secretariat shortly after creating a separate civil structure from its already existing military structure (Hilhorst and van Leeuwen 2005, Itto 2006). The SPLA/M also sent three women to the peace negotiations, one of whom was Dr. Anne Itto, whose discussion of events I heavily draw upon in this case study.

Key Factors and Actors

To elucidate how these peace processes approached engendered security differently, there are three interrelated and interdependent 'factors' and shaped by various international actors that shaped the gender inclusiveness of the DPA and exclusiveness of the CPA. Figure 1, which outlines my findings, illustrates who the key actors, factors and outcomes were for both processes. As will become more evident, the role of international organizations—including the United Nations, UNIFEM and AU—best explains why the DPA had much higher levels of engendered security. While I have already stated women were involved in formal peace processes of the CPA, their presence does not really explain the different outcomes. Rather, it's the different roles/actions other organizations took in promoting/supporting/engaging these women that offer insights into the ways negotiators, observers and mediators may facilitate women's participation in peace processes. Before I identify the important actors I will briefly explain the three interdependent factors that account for higher levels of engendered security.

Figure 1: Key Actors, Factors and Outcomes of the CPA and DPA Peace Processes

Key Actors	Key Factors	Outcomes

Key Actors **Key Factors** **Outcomes**

- IO support for women's organizations — Women's Agenda
  - *Written, specified priorities DPA*
  - No clear or written unified ideas CPA

- IOs create space for women's agenda — Poltical Space
  - *Informal indirect access DPA*
  - Formal but limited access CPA

- Mediators promote ♀'s agenda — Gender-Conscious Process
  - *Complementary Agenda DPA*
  - Competing Agenda CPA

The first factor in explaining the presence of engendered security is a women's agenda. A women's agenda is basically a set of articulated and (usually) written provisions and priorities proposed to relevant parties in negotiations. The goal of a women's agenda is to outline when and how women should be included in peacebuilding activities, from representation in government and transitional committees to demands for changes in laws.

The second factor is 'political space,' which is meant to capture the degree to which women are able to participate in the formal peace process. Access should be understood as a continuum of possible involvement ranging from no access to the peace process at all, to indirect and direct access to the process. As will become evident below, there were female members of the SPLA/M negotiating party, so these women had direct access to talks. Alternatively, women working in the DPA process had indirect access, in which UNIFEM brokered access to AU mediators. If women have any access, it may be easier for them to present their agenda and be heard, which is often contingent on the third factor: a gender-conscious process.

Gender-conscious processes, which in this case, is the most important factor for engendered security; it captures the degree to which those involved in peace processes consider engendered security *part of* the security process. As I will point out in results, some processes consider women's rights and security part of their broader goals while other processes consider women's demands as competing or detracting from their objectives. This sort of mentality on the part of warring parties, negotiators, mediators and observers may shape the degree to which women's access and agendas are actually included. While I have presented each factor separately, it is important to keep in mind that these factors are highly interdependent and in some ways are jointly necessary and sufficient for engendered security.

As I have mentioned, these key factors are shaped by certain key actors. In the present cases, the relevant parties are: women's groups; negotiators, both from the GoS and SPLA/M; 3rd party negotiators and mediators, including General Sumbeiywo and the African Union; and observers, including the United Nations and UNIFEM. I begin with the discussion of women's groups, as Sudanese bans on their activism basically meant that 3rd parties were increasingly important in promoting engendered security because women's groups were denied access to formal processes.

In other case studies on engendered security, I have found that vibrant and active women's groups have strongly shaped their peace processes (agendas, access and consciousness), such as in Guatemala; however that was not the case in Sudan (Ellerby 2011). While women's groups, such as Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace (SWVP), the Sudanese Women's Union, the New Sudan Women's Federation, and New Sudan Women's Association worked to support women and promote peace, they mostly organized outside of Sudan because of bans on women's organizations implemented by Bashir and the National Islamic Front. (Itto 2006, Ibrahim 2000, Hilhorst and van Leeuwen 2005).

This limited women's movement means that while women were clearly working towards peace, their role was limited by Sudan's government; because these groups had little access to forming broad-based civil society organizations, Sudanese peace processes required the presence and participation of international actors to promote engendered security. In other words, 3rd parties take on an increasingly important role in promoting engendered security when domestic factions are relegated as outsiders to formal peace processes.

Results

As previously noted, a women's agenda is the first main ingredient for engendered security. In the CPA, while women had direct access (discussed later), they did not have a specific agenda with which to bargain. Dr. Itto writes about how even though the SPLM/A nominated women for their delegation to the peace talks, they were always a minority, often co-opted by larger groups, and given little time to organize and prepare for meetings. Because they did not have the time or encouragement to discuss an agenda, a clear women's peace agenda never really emerged, she explains:

> "During the negotiations SPLM/A women proposed a minimum quota of 25 percent....The quota was eventually accepted in the larger group, where there were at least three women, but then the all-male SPLM/A drafting committee reduced this figure to 5 percent....Later on we learned it had been dropped altogether when government negotiators refused a quota for women in power sharing on the grounds they had not been fighting women" (2006).

Itto also comments on how women were mostly consulted to make a show of how democratic and inclusive the negotiations were.

As the CPA process seemed to not be working for women, the Darfur peace process was just beginning and Itto and her colleagues made sure to share their experiences with the Darfur women delegates. Darfur women, with support from UNIFEM and others created a strategy and women's agenda for their own peace accords. Itto claims that UNIFEM did not do enough to support them in the CPA and were trying to correct their mistake. During DPA negotiations, UNIFEM organized three weeks of meetings between invited gender experts and various women's groups to create a unified agenda, eventually titled "Women's Priorities in the Peace Process and Reconstruction in Darfur" (UNICEF 2007).

According to Figure 1, there were two outcomes in these cases: the CPA resulted in women having no clear priorities or a written agenda; the Darfur peace negotiations resulted in women activists generating a clear outline of their demands which was incorporated into the final product. Because UNIFEM stepped in to facilitate the creation of a women's agenda by linking women's groups and experts prior to actual negotiations, the outcome was reflected in the DPA itself. Ultimately, when women have an agenda, it can serve as a template for the actual agreement and those crafting such documents can simply cut and paste demands as women envision them.

The second major factor is political space for participation; while this factor is strongly affected by the priorities of the parties to the process (as I discuss in factor three), thinking about how to create substantive access for women to peace processes in particularly important. In Figure 1 there are two divergent paths political space included in Sudan. In the case of the CPA, international actors did not provide women either formidable direct or indirect access to the formal peace process, resulting in little engendered security. On the other hand, UNIFEM and the AU created indirect access to the peace process for Darfur women's agenda. In the larger context of engendered security, political space may take many forms, including the active participation of and consultation with civil society organizations—such as in Guatemala (Ellerby 2011); however, as I have noted, Sudan limited civil society activism and thus in this case study, political space is limited to actual

negotiations and mediation. However, a disturbing finding by the United Nations indicates women generally have very little political space and formal access to peace negotiations: by 2009 women accounted for only 2.4% of signatories on peace agreements, less than 10% of peace negotiators and never has a woman been appointed as head negotiator (Security General Report on Women and peace and security, 2009).

In the case of the CPA there were women members of the SPLA/M negotiating team, so technically these women had access, but it was somewhat superficial. As evidence by Itto's observation that basically women were tokenized during negotiations, even their physical access to meetings was limited: at one point women were slipping their recommendations under closed doors (Diaz 2010). What women needed was another form of access via mediators or observers, who may have had more clout with both parties. General Sumbeiywo, as the principal mediator and negotiator could have possibly created this access for women, though there is no evidence he did. This is perhaps surprising, given he spent six months travelling Sudan talking with civil society organizations about the ensuing peace process and produced 'Nakuru Document,' which he believed would resolve all other outstanding issues (Sumbeiywo 2006). IGAD also could have promoted a more active 'gender agenda,' and sought out women to do so, but again, there is no evidence this happened either. Thus, while women were physically present at CPA negotiations, they did not actually have political space to participate in a meaningful way.

In Darfur processes, international organizations, specifically UNIFEM and the UN, promoted the women's agenda—so while women may have demanded access, they depended on mediators for access that was both indirect and non-mandated. During the last round of negotiations, a Gender Experts Support Team, invited by UNIFEM, Canada, Norway and Finland, actually participated in the peace negotiations after having met with women's groups to form an agenda (UNICEF 2007). These experts were able to then lobby for their inclusion in the process and the DPA includes over seventy sections that refer to women (Itto 2006).

The third factor, which is a gender-conscious process, means that some combination of negotiators, mediators and/or both are aware of engendered security and see it as complementary to other peace demands rather than in competition with them. What this means is in the case of Darfur, the inclusion of women's security demands are considered part and parcel of the issues dealt with in the peace agreement. I call this a complementary process, as illustrated in Figure 1. But in the case of the CPA, women's demands were understood as competing with other demands, detracting from both parties' major priorities. This results in a competing process. Complementary processes may make it easier for women to both create agendas and have access to peace processes, and competing processes means women have to find other means to create an agenda and promote it.

The relevant actors who account for complementary and competing processes are gender-conscious 'leaders.' In the case of the CPA, the GoS was not a gender-conscious party: one of the women delegates for the SPLA tells the story of how an initial proposal for quotas was dropped because the government refused them, arguing "they had not been fighting women," so inclusion of provisions for women was not even debatable (Itto 2006). Importantly women were understood only as victims in conflict, not soldiers, leaders or negotiators. This narrow conception of women as victims is both a cause and effect of a competing peace process for women: only those actors who shape and implement these provisions are considered the rightful parties to negotiate. In this sense, women-as-victims and other marginalized groups were excluded from negotiations because they were not considered 'legitimate' actors to the conflict.

The DPA, in contrast, included the African Union who was dependent on the United Nations for support, allowed UNIFEM to directly work with the AU and include engendered security as they wrote the actual peace agreement. Mediators may bring to negotiations their own priorities and those of other parties (Zartman and Touval 2007), so the scope for the peace process may be broader than if mediators do not represent or recognize larger bureaucratic organizations. While power and wealth sharing were still the most important issues on the table, the DPA process also included human rights, and even began by addressing humanitarian issues. In this sense, even though parties to the conflict were characterized as non-gender-conscious, the mediators were gender-conscious and took a complementary approach. The AU has a history of promoting women as actual mediators (their delegation to Darfur included women) and promoting women's security in peace processes, (like in Burundi and Liberia); they also have UNIFEM representatives as part of their organization. The AU, as an organization, may promote provisions and priorities that neither belligerent party would have prioritized or even permitted. Because the United Nations was more active in this process, in providing logistical, financial and political resources for the AU, its constitutive bureaus, like UNIFEM, had a space to get their demands met.

Conclusions: Lessons Learned

At this point in time both peace processes are tenuous at best; conflict and negotiations continues for all relevant actors and even though South Sudan is the world's newest nation, the war-level violence, pervasive human rights abused and remaining disagreements over Abyei and oil rights are problematic. According to Human Right Watch (2012), while Sudan and South Sudan split in 2010, both sides have been in conflict with one another and other parties regarding border regions, including Abyei, South Kordofan, the Nuba Mountains and the Blue Nile Regions. Additionally, levels of violence in Darfur have actually increased since 2011 and President Al-Bashir continues to disregard his own promises to lift a State of Emergency in Sudan and resolve the crisis via domestic means (ibid). President Al-Bashir, who has been indicted by the International Criminal Court for crimes against humanity, remains free and in power in Sudan. The international community failed to condemn this increased violence in regions around Sudan and UN peacekeeping remains fairly limited in Darfur.

Even though Darfur's Peace Agreements was basically DOA (dead on arrival), there has been consistent talks and even new agreements since the DPA that continue to recognize the needs of women. In 2011, the GoS and a splinter faction of JEM met for talks and produced the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD). Considered the new working peace document, it has the support of the African Union, the Arab League and UNAMID (United Nations Mission in Darfur). The document retains high levels of all four areas of (en)gendered security and seems to indicate women's security concerns remain key to the document. However, I found no information regarding the degree to which women were involved in this process. A USIP Special Report on Civil Society in Darfur seems to identify civil society's participation in the peace process as essential, implicitly identifying that civil society is not really present (Murphy and Tubiana 2010).

Unfortunately, the DDPD process remains marred by the same issues as the DPA in that the major rebel groups refuse to sign. According to Minni Minnawi, head of part of the Sudan Liberation Movement (SLM), they want "a comprehensive solution to all issues affecting Sudan and not just Darfur" (Christian 2012) so they haven't signed onto the DDPD. In other words, leaders from these various regions, all of whom have grievances with the Sudanese regime of Al-Bashir, are uniting and calling for regime change. Given Al-Bashir's divide-and-conquer approaches to peace

processes, this more united approach on multiple rebel groups creates complications for Darfur. The international community is in a bind because there is a desire to broker some sort of peace, but both the GoS and rebel groups have set terms that do not overlap, and the process seems to remain an elite affair.

Even with the apparent limitations of the success for peace in Darfur and Sudan more generally, making sure women have access to all phrases of the process remains central for all peace processes. Even though there are indications that more peace processes are including higher levels of engendered security (Ellerby 2011), women still are often forced to work on the peripheries of formal processes (Ellerby and Mibenge 2012). Women in Liberia, tired of "observing" talks in Accra held their own negotiations and produced the "Golden Tulip Declaration" recognizing Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security and calling for greater women's participation (Alaga 2011). In 2000 Burundian women held an All-Party Women's Conference to outline what they wanted from the agreement, (de Silva 2001, Tripp et al 2009: 211) and in Uganda, women made up 9% of the negotiators and 20% of observers (Nabukeera-Musoke 2009), but were unable to have a significant impact. During the Inter-Congolese Dialogue women demanded access to meetings and, though limited to civil society participation, created a Plan of Action s gender was included in the process (Whitman 2007). Given women still seem to have to work too hard to be considered legitimate stakeholders in peace processes, international organizations can play a key role in making sure women have the agenda, space and allies to successfully challenge and alter sexist security practices.

Organizations like the AU, IGAD and UN can shape the degree to which women's peace organizations are able to participate in peace processes. As evidenced in contrasting the CPA and DPA, 3rd parties can facilitate the creation of an actual written women's agenda to present to parties; they can act as intermediaries to generate access to decision-makers where a women's agenda can actually be utilized; and these organizations can shape the degree to which an entire process is open and accepting of women's security issues as part of, rather than in competition with, broader security demands and arrangements.

The CPA teaches us that women's physical presence at formal talks is not enough to guarantee engendered security, especially when there are norms and strategies used to marginalize their activities and ideas. What I suggest instead it a three-pronged approach that facilitates and supports the women who want change, the belligerent parties to conflict and the other parties who seek to broker peace. This includes actively engaging women's groups to formulate specific demands for conflict management and resolution. It includes requiring conflicting parties to include women as negotiators, and these women should represent civil society organizations. It also includes 3rd parties explicitly developing an engendered security protocol in which gender experts, priorities and ideas are part and parcel of any negotiating team's strategies.

As an important note, while engendered security was mostly ignored in the CPA, Sudanese women found other avenues to try to promote women's interests and security by working through other peace-related forums, including the Joint Assessment Mission, which sought to outline a post-conflict development strategy for Sudan, (Mahjoub 2004) and also directly through a Donors' Conference (Sudanese Women 2005). But women should not have to find ways around formal peace negotiations—they should be at the table with support from all relevant parties.

Critical Questions

Should civil society participation in peace agreements be a mandated expectation for 3rd party international organizations?

What are the tensions between just trying to broker a two-party narrowly-defined security agreement and a multi-party broadly-defined security one?

How can 3rd parties promote complementary peace processes that include engendered security as part of broader security concerns?

What are the costs of low levels of engendered security in peace processes? Do they have effects on sustainable and stable peace?

What are all the potential outlets in peace processes for engendered security besides formal negotiations, including development and donor conferences?

Appendix A: Comparison of Engendered Security in the CPA and DPA

Comprehensive Peace Agreement	Darfur Peace Agreement
- Right to marry for men and women or marriageable age - establish a democratic system of governance taking account of…gender equality of the people - no level of govt. shall discriminate against qualified citizens on basis of …gender - wealth sharing shall ensure quality of life without discrimination on grounds of gender… -Equal right of men and women to civil and political rights in Intl. -Covenant on Civil and Political Rights State and Natl powers include women's empowerment, women welfare and child protection - DDR programme shall be gender sensitive	- All persons entitled to, w/o discrimination to gender, to equal protection of Constitution and law - equal right of men and women to civil and political rights set for in Intl Covenant on Civil and Political Rights - The State shall combat harmful customs and traditions undermining the dignity and status of women - Right to marry for men and women or marriageable age State shall provide maternity care for pregnant women -State shall provide access to education w/o gender discrimination - AMIS shall not tolerate GBV - Special attention to protection of displaced women from harassment, exploitation and GBV is essential -Protection of idp and humanitarian supply routes and parties reaffirm special protection for women, children, vulnerable and displaced - parties shall release all boys and girls associated with armed forces -AMIS civilian police shall ensure women and children in camps are protected from all forms of violence -In areas of the GoS, Police will investigate all crimes, including copmmitted against women and children and ensure prosecution -all persons equal before the law w/o gender discrimination - Death penalty shall not include pregnant or lactating women - Need for a special focus on women to create concrete measures to address their concerns - DRDF develop special funding mechanisms for needs of women, including investment, credit and capacity-building - All restitution procedures shall be… gender sensitive - the purpose of the ceasefire is to…ensure protection of civilian population, particularly women and children - Restoration of essential services shall restore personnel and funding with special attn. to needs of women - the DDDC shall include measures to address special issues and concerns of women - special measures to ensure participation of women in civil service - ensure women's participation in committees, commissions and bodies pursuant to this Agreement -DRRC shall make special effort to ensure full participation of women in planning and distribution of facilities for idps - restitution procedures shall contain mesures to ensure women participate on a fully equal basis - A significant number of GoS Police, Movements Liaison and AMIS officers shall be women, they shall have special gender units -All investigations and monitoring shall include at least one woman - The Reintegration Plan shall develop specific programs for female former combatants - Reform of selected security institutions shall include women in all ranks - DDDC shall serve for mobilizing support for Agreement by bringing other stakeholders into peace process with special consideration for participation by women and youth - NCS and representation to include affirmative action on recruitment, training and promotion, including measures to promote gender balance - Committee of Experts consist of Sudanese experts, special attention shall be made to include conflict and gender experts. - Special measures to ensure women's equal participation in decision-making at all levels - Prior to elections, special effort to ensure women are nominated (for executive branch of GoS) -President shall ensure fair representation, including women, for appts. to the UNC - Reserve seats in the NCS for qualified women - Fair representation of women on DSAIC Parties agreed women shall be fairly represented in bodies related to the DDDC

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