DRAFTING GENDER-RELEVANT PROVISIONS IN PEACE AGREEMENTS

A PMD Reference Note on Security Council Resolutions and Signed Peace Agreements

This document provides reference materials for the inclusion of gender-relevant provisions in peace agreements. It cites negotiation requirements set by the UN Security Council and then identifies relevant articles in existing agreements. Where required, brief comments are provided.

Section A highlights the principles set by UN Security Council Resolutions for peace negotiations and for the drafting of gender-relevant provisions in peace agreements. Section B provides language that could form part of a preamble of an agreement. Sections C through K provide citations of gender-relevant provisions from existing peace agreements, dealing with equality and non-discrimination; inclusion and participation; security and prevention of sexual violence in conflict; amnesties; investigations; child soldiers; family reunification; documentation; and development and economic recovery. Sections L and M mention examples and principles for national and international implementation and monitoring mechanisms. Section N suggests additional sources for research.

Note that every provision in a peace agreement needs to be tailored to the specific situation in which it is to be employed. All peace agreements mentioned below, and many others, can be found in the Peace Agreement Database on the UN Peacemaker website: peacemaker.un.org

A. Preamble

The following are principles set by UN Security Council Resolutions for peace negotiations and for the drafting of gender-relevant provisions in peace agreements.¹

Calls on all actors involved in negotiating peace agreements to adopt a gender perspective, including inter alia:

a) “The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict transformation;

b) Measures that support local women’s peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

c) Measures that ensure the protection and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly, as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary.”

Calls upon all parties concerned to ensure that all peace processes, peace agreements and post-conflict recovery and reconstruction planning have regard for the special needs of women and children and include specific measures for the protection of civilians including (i) the cessation of attacks on civilians, (ii) the facilitation of the provision of humanitarian assistance, (iii) the creation of conditions conducive to the voluntary, safe, dignified and sustainable return of refugees and internally displaced persons, (iv) the facilitation of early access to education and training, (v) the re-establishment of the rule of law, and (vi) the ending of impunity (…)”

“Condemns in the strongest terms all sexual and other forms of violence committed against civilians in armed conflict, in particular women and children, and undertakes to ensure that all peace support operations employ all feasible measures to prevent such violence and to address its impact where it takes place (…)”
“Urges that issues of sexual violence be included in all United Nations-sponsored peace negotiation agendas, and also urges inclusion of sexual violence issues from the outset of peace processes in such situations, in particular in the areas of pre-ceasefires, humanitarian access and human rights agreements, ceasefires and ceasefire monitoring, DDR and SSR arrangements, vetting of armed and security forces, justice, reparations and recovery/development.”

UNSCR 1889 (2009) on women, peace and security, par. 1

“Urges Member States, international and regional organizations to take further steps to increase women's participation during all stages of peace processes (…)”

UNSCR 2106 (2013) on conflict-related sexual violence, par. 12

“Reiterates the importance of addressing sexual violence in armed conflict whenever relevant, in mediation efforts, ceasefires and peace agreements; requests the Secretary-General, Member States and regional organizations, where appropriate, to ensure that mediators and envoys, in situations where it is used as a method or tactic of war, or as part of a widespread or systematic attack against civilian populations, engage on sexual violence issues, including with women, civil society, including women’s organizations and survivors of sexual violence, and ensure that such concerns are reflected in specific provisions of peace agreements, including those related to security arrangements and transitional justice mechanisms; urges the inclusion of sexual violence in the definition of acts prohibited by ceasefires and in provisions for ceasefire monitoring; stresses the need for the exclusion of sexual violence crimes from amnesty provisions in the context of conflict resolution.”

UNSCR 2122 (2013) on women, peace and security, par. 7 a) and c)

“Requests the Secretary-General’s Special Envoys and Special Representatives to United Nations missions, from early on in their deployment, to regularly consult with women’s organizations and women leaders, including socially and/or economically excluded groups of women;
Requests the Secretary-General to strengthen the knowledge of negotiating delegations to peace talks, and members of mediation support teams, on the gender dimensions of peacebuilding, by making gender expertise and gender experts available to all United Nations mediation teams; further requests the Secretary-General to support the appointments of women at senior levels as United Nations mediators and within the composition of United Nations mediation teams; and calls on all parties to such peace talks to facilitate the equal and full participation of women at decision-making levels;”

B. Preamble

The preamble of a peace agreement sets out the principles and considerations underlying the document. It therefore creates an opportunity to reference gender relevant principles and commitments included in international conventions and other instruments.

The provisions below can be included in the preamble of a peace agreement either cumulatively or separately. The first provision lists major international instruments with gender relevant provisions. The second and third are specific principles, also included in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1979) and General Recommendation No. 25 (2004) and 30 (2013) on temporary special measures and women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations respectively.


11 March 2015
b) Considering the Parties’ commitment to the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaiming that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex;  

C. Equality and Non-Discrimination

Increasingly, peace agreements make reference to gender equality in political participation, either specifically for women, or (more often) as part of a broader equality and non-discrimination clause:

“Right of women to meaningful political participation, and protection from all forms of violence; (...) “Right to equal opportunity and non-discrimination in social and economic activity and in the public service, regardless of class, creed, disability, gender and ethnicity.”  

2 Based on UNSCR 1325 (2000) (par. 9) and subsequent practice.

3 Taken from the CEDAW Preamble.

4 Taken from the CEDAW Preamble.


6 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (Philippines - MILF) (Malaysia,
Depending on the local situation, additional grounds for non-discrimination may be included:

“Both sides reconfirm their commitment to the respect and protection of human rights and commitment to international humanitarian law and accept that nobody should be discriminated on the basis of color, gender, language, religion, age, race, national or social origin, wealth, disability, birth, or other standing, ideology or faith.”

This may be formulated more strongly by giving the Government responsibility to ensure equal treatment:

“The Parties hereby agree that the new Government: (...) will ensure equal treatment of all, regardless of gender, race, ethnicity, place of origin, and will work towards equal access to development for all.”

Such may be broadened by reference to international standards:

“The Parties shall ensure that all persons enjoy and exercise all of the rights and freedoms provided for in this Agreement, in the National Constitution of Sudan and international and regional human rights instruments to which Sudan is a party without discrimination on any grounds including sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin or social status. Women, children and men shall be guaranteed the equal enjoyment of all rights enshrined in the international human rights and humanitarian law instruments to which Sudan is a party.”

Note, however, that a gender referral to international standards can remain vague, even if particular instruments are mentioned:

"In the implementation of this Agreement, international standards and mandates, in particular relevant mandates in Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
(2000), and Security Council Resolution 1612 on Children and Armed Conflict (2005) are applied.”

It could be more helpful if the relevant requirements are spelled out. The peace agreement is more likely to be the parties’ reference document than any Security Council Resolution mentioned.

D. Inclusion and Participation

Levels of women’s participation in political life (e.g. through reserving minimum numbers of seats in government and parliament) are often included in constitutions and electoral laws. Nevertheless, results can also be achieved in peace agreements. At the least, it is possible to state a general ambition, as in the following:

“Women shall be fairly represented in all government institutions at all levels and their equal and effective participation ensured [and] special measures shall be taken to ensure the participation of women in all institutions at all levels of government”

It may be useful to specify particular sectors of government to better promote appropriate representation:

“The two parties agree that the appointment of Federal Government positions such as officers of the armed forces, civil servants, members of the independent commission and diplomats etc. shall be done fairly with the view of adequate representation of women.”

This should be formulated, as correctly done here, so as not to implicitly exclude sectors of government that are not mentioned. The qualification ‘adequate’ may however be improved through specification of what proportion will be minimally sufficient.

Furthermore, it will be useful to acknowledge that representation can require specific action:

10 Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire (Uganda-LRA) (Juba, February 2008) art. 6.1.b).
“To address the under-representation of women in government institutions and decision making structures, special measures shall be taken and implemented, according to this Agreement, in order to ensure women’s equal and effective participation in decision making at all levels of government in Darfur.” 

The above-mentioned agreements could, however, have had greater impact if they had specified the ‘special measures’ to be taken in the text of the agreements themselves. Where the nature of the agreement allows for such detail, this may consist of the establishment of specific legal instruments:

“Equal opportunities of access to [public administration] for all men and women through strict respect for, or the introduction of, laws and regulations governing the recruitment of State personnel and the staff of public and parastatal enterprises, as well as through transparency of competitive entrance examinations.”

Special measures may also include quotas. Quotas should not, however, set a maximum limit to participation of women, e.g. “30% of all members shall be women”: it is more appropriate to write: “at least” or “minimum”. There should then also be a mechanism to ensure that enough women are eligible and shall be elected.

E. Security and Prohibition on Sexual Violence in Conflict

It is now standard for ceasefire agreements to prohibit the use of sexual violence in conflict.

“The cease-fire includes: (...) the cessation of all forms of violence against the civilian population and respecting human rights. Such acts of violence include summary execution; torture; harassment, detention and execution of civilians on the basis of ethnicity; as well as the recruitment and use of child soldiers; sexual violence; arming of civilians (...).”

The mention of sexual violence may be expanded to:

13 Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (Sudan - LJM) (Doha, 14 July 2011) art. 1 par. 4; art. 3 par. 34.
14 Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi (Arusha, 28 August 2000) art. 7(8).
“acts and forms of gender-based violence and sexual exploitation” 16

Additional language may be included regarding the protection of civilians and the facilitation of humanitarian assistance, as called for in UNSCR 1674 (2006) cited in Section A of this Note. This should include language specific to the situation, e.g.:

“The Parties, in coordination with the AMIS Civilian Police, the existing international and national humanitarian coordination mechanisms for assistance in IDP camps and the United Nations (including in consultation with representatives of IDPs) shall ensure that women and children in the camp are protected from all forms of violence.” 17

Agreements may include a specific provision to counter sexual violence in conflict not only against civilians but also against military personnel:

“The parties agree (...) to prohibit and condemn all violence against the civilian and military population, including sexual violence.” 18

F. No Amnesty for Sexual Violence

The international legal limitations to amnesties for war crimes, among others, may be formulated to explicitly include acts of sexual violence and the recruitment of child soldiers:

“The Government commits itself to grant amnesty to the members of the M23 for acts of war and insurrection, covering the period from 1 April 2012 to the present. In accordance with national and international law, the Amnesty does not cover war crimes, crimes of genocide and crimes against humanity, including sexual violence, recruitment of child soldiers and other massive violations of human rights.” 19

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16 Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (Sudan – LJM) (Doha, 14 July 2011) art. 63 (340) ix.
18 Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in the Central African Republic (Brazzaville, 23 July 2014) art.5(b)
Instead of “massive violations”, the commonly used term is “grave violations”.

G. Policing and Investigations into Conflict-related Sexual Violence

An important new development is not only to prohibit conflict-related sexual violence but also to have past acts investigated:

“The Parties agree to put in place, as soon as possible, a joint commission for investigating war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide, conflict-related sexual violence, drug trafficking and other grave violations of international human rights law and humanitarian law throughout Malian territory. (…)”

It will be relevant to stipulate how such investigations will take place and how they relate to existing bodies of criminal law, judicial procedures and judicial institutions.

In investigations as in general policing, it will be helpful to include women officers:

“A significant number of GoS Police, Movements’ Police Liaison Officers and AMIS Civilian Police officers shall be women; they shall have specialist gender units to work with women and children; and all their investigations and monitoring shall include at least one woman.”

H. Child Soldiers

Recruitment and retention of child soldiers is a major source of sexual violence in many conflicts. Peace agreements and ceasefire agreements should therefore include an explicit prohibition and demand for release:

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20 Interim Agreement on Presidential Elections and Inclusive Peace Negotiations (Mali-MNLA/HCUA) (Ouagadougou, 18 June 2013) art. 18. See also the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities in the Central African Republic (Brazzaville, 23 July 2014) art. 7.

"The Parties shall refrain from recruiting children as soldiers or combatants, consistent with the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of Children, the Convention on the Right of the Child (CRC) and the Optional Protocol to the CRC on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict and agree to immediately release and hand over to the UN upon the signing of this Agreement all boys and girls associated with armed forces and groups in accordance with international norms."  

Further specification can be provided:

"The Parties shall release all boys and girls associated with armed forces and groups. UNICEF, UNHCR, and the ICRC shall be called upon to assist in the identification, removal, family unification and reintegration of children associated with armed forces and groups."

I. Family Reunification

Agreements can also provide the basis for family reunification:

"The Parties shall (...) shall support the reunion of families"

It is important then to include more specific measures to ensure that such reunions indeed take place. This may include dedicating funds and identifying a body responsible for its implementation. Such provisions may also include a timeline and provide for cooperation with relevant agencies, such as ICRC, IOM, UNICEF and UNHCR.

J. Right to Individual Documentation

In certain conflict situations a problem particularly faced by women and children is the lack of (a right to) individual documentation. This may further lead to a risk of statelessness. This can be addressed:

"Women, children as well as men have equal rights to obtain all necessary identity documents and have the right to have such documents issued in their own names. Special measures

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22 Ceasefire Agreement (Sudan - LJM) (Doha, 18 March 2010).
24 Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities between the Government of South Sudan and the SPLM in Opposition (Addis Ababa, 24 January 2014) art. 3.3.
will be taken to expedite the provision of such documents to orphans as well as to separated and unaccompanied children.” 25

This agreement could have benefitted from stating explicitly the specific measures to be taken, e.g. by the allocation of responsibility to a specific authority, and by allocating financial means for follow-up.

K. Development and Economic Recovery

Peace agreements can include reference to specific post-agreement development needs of women. Peace agreements need not, however, be political statements:

“Special focus shall be put on the concerns of Darfur women, who are involved in all areas of activity and constitute the bulk of the labour force, especially in the agricultural and animal resource sectors, in addition to being heads of households in particular among refugees, internally displaced persons and migrants, and to the fact that women’s situation in all these areas has been worsened by the conflict, which has had a particularly deleterious effect on them and on children, mainly on their means of livelihood. Concrete measures shall be taken to address these concerns, as well as to ensure their equal and effective participation in commissions, committees and bodies established pursuant to this Agreement.” 26

Condemnation followed by a call for concrete measures, without specifying them, reduces the likelihood of practical follow-up.

A first such measure may be restitution of assets. This may also be created to be gender-sensitive:

“DRRC and the relevant authorities shall establish restitution procedures, which must be simple, accessible, transparent and enforceable. All aspects of the restitution claims process, including appeals procedures, shall be just, timely, accessible, free of charge, and age and gender sensitive. The procedures shall contain positive measures to ensure that women are able to participate on a fully equal basis in the

26 Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (Sudan - LJM) (Doha, 14 July 2011) art. 17 par. 122.
Development needs may be identified that are specific to particular groups of women, such as ex-combatants:

“Special socio-economic programmes will be provided to the decommissioned women auxiliary forces of the MILF.”

It is preferable to be concrete, e.g. by allocating a percentage of development funds:

“In the utilization of public funds, the Bangsamoro shall ensure that the needs of women and men are adequately addressed. For this purpose, the Bangsamoro shall set aside at least 5% of the official development funds it receives for support programmes and activities for women in accordance with a gender and development plan.”

A further option is the creation of a dedicated fund, or the allocation of a portion of an existing fund, to gender-based action:

“The functions of the Fund shall include, but are not limited to, the following tasks:

(…) Establishing financing mechanisms to address the special needs of women, children and orphans. Such mechanisms shall include, but not be limited to, the provision of loans, investment opportunities, strengthening of productive capacities, production inputs and capacity building for women.”

A complementary, though not an alternative option, is to prohibit the use of development funds for negative activities:

“The development fund will not be used for activities other than those provided for in the Work and Financial Plan approved by the JC under this Agreement. Specifically, the funds cannot be spent for: 1) environmentally destructive activities, equipment and goods; 2) arms and weapons; 3) …
activities that exploit children below 18 years old; activities that exploit women; 5) anti-government activities and, 6) activities that go against local beliefs, traditions, laws, and good morals." 31

In this case, however, caution is required not to be too vague (what activities go against "good morals") or unintentionally leave the impression that other negative activities are permitted, such as, in the example above, activities that exploit men.

L. National Implementation and Monitoring Mechanisms

Standards of participation may best be included at an early stage, i.e. in the bodies charged with elaborating, implementing and/or monitoring the peace agreement:

"Appoint Joint Committee (TGF, TFP, Regional Administrations, Civil Society and Experts -not more than 15 persons including 5 women) by 19 September 2011 to consult and prepare recommendations and modalities for establishing a new Federal Parliament under a new Federal Constitution. (...)" 32

And:

"(...) shall convene a comprehensive Conference for National Dialogue for all forces and political actors, including youth, the Southern Movement, the Houthis, other political parties, civil society representatives and women. Women must be represented in all participating groups." 33

It is preferable to state that women shall be 'included' in all groups, rather than 'represented': as men can also represent women.

In monitoring mechanisms, in particular those that have direct contact with the affected population, an additional reason to include women is to facilitate the monitoring of sexual violence and other relevant violations against women.

32 Somalia End of Transition Roadmap (Mogadishu, 6 September 2011) Benchmark 2: Constitution: (c) Parliamentary Reform sub c).
33 Agreement on the Implementation of the Transition Process in Yemen in accordance with the Initiative of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) (Sana'a, 5 December 2011) art. 20.
In addition to including women and others in the composition of the monitoring mechanism, the agreement may also stipulate that it will conduct its work in collaboration with affected civilian communities:

"The [Monitoring and Verification Team] at local level shall:
a) Collaborate with local communities in [the] performance of their work;
b) Have focal points known as local committees whose membership shall be drawn by the MVT in consultation with the local community; and
c) Identify the local committees from traditional and religious leaders, women and youth representatives."\[34\

M. International Implementation and Monitoring Mechanisms

Peace agreements increasingly provide for an international follow-up commission mandated to supervise implementation of the agreement. This serves to create greater confidence among the parties. It also helps to ensure continued engagement by the international community. International implementation and monitoring mechanisms vary greatly in form and mandate. Examples of such mechanisms are referenced below.\[35\] All have the following key elements:

a) Broad mandate 
b) International chairmanship 
c) Strong international membership 
d) Right to decide on the interpretation of the agreement 
e) Right to issue statements regarding implementation 
f) Connection to financial support (if any) for the implementation of the agreement.

In conflicts in which neither party championed gender sensitive provisions, such international follow-up will be

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34 Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities between the Government of South Sudan and the SPLM in Opposition (Addis Ababa, 24 January 2014) art.6.3. 
35 Interim Agreement on Presidential Elections and Inclusive Peace Negotiations (Mali-MNLA/HCUA) (Ouagadougou, 18 June 2013) arttt. 7, 8, 9, 16 and 17; Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (Sudan – LJM) (Doha, 14 July 2011) arttt. 64, 64 and 77; Comprehensive Peace Agreement (Sudan- SPLM/A) (Naivasha, 9 January 2005) Ch. II art. 2.4; Comprehensive Proposal for the Kosovo Status Settlement (Ahtisaari Plan)(26 March 2007) (UN Doc S/2007/168/Add.1) arttt. 12 and Annex IX art. 4 and 5.

11 March 2015
particularly important for the monitoring and implementation thereof.

N. Additional Resources

Several institutions have studied gender relevant aspects of peace processes and peace agreements, resulting in process suggestions and/or specific ‘model’ language:

- Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, From Clause to Effect: Including Women’s Rights and Gender in Peace Agreements (2012)

See also:

- MSU Peacemaker website: peacemaker.un.org
- UN Women: unwomen.org

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