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# Empowering Women or Hollow Words?

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## Gender References in Peace Agreements

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No country has yet to achieve gender equality, defined as equal rights and opportunity for men and women in all aspects of social, political and, economic life. The issue of gender is not solely a woman's matter, but rather involves the recognition of the diversity of both men and women. When women are excluded from decision-making and policies that involve their own welfare, the policies are often ineffective and inappropriate for women.

The inclusion of women in peace processes is a crucial component to gender equality. It changes the discourse from viewing women primarily as victims to political actors and agents of change. The inclusion of explicit references to women, girls, and gender in peace agreements provides a tangible component in the furthering of women's rights in conflict-prone countries. These documents often function as de facto constitutions and, therefore, have the ability to pave the way for a new legal and political organization of state and society post-conflict.<sup>1</sup> It also creates a series of documents that governments must adhere to that can be monitored and researched by third party actors. Employing clear gender specific language for the inclusion of women in

political and legal structures, as well as equitable socio-economic provisions in peace agreements is the best way to ensure their future.

Obtaining information regarding how many women participated in peace negotiations and evaluating the scope of their autonomy and authority still remains difficult. Examining the peace agreements and subsequent benchmark agreements can provide concrete, measurable indicators that are necessary to employ quantitative methods to describe the extent that gender equality is addressed and adhered to regarding women's participation in the implementation and monitoring phase. Furthermore, it is possible to monitor the implementation process to understand if the mandates were either carried out or dismissed.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Historically, the inclusion of gender-responsive provisions in peace agreements ranks low on the list of conditions imposed by negotiating parties. Several scholars suggest that the obstacles to gender equality reforms in peace agreements stem from the fact that most negotiations happen in private, among men who are often focused on military concerns. Their primary concern demands the end of warfare and the establishment of power-sharing arrangements.<sup>2</sup>

In 2000, UNSC Resolution 1325 mandated the "inclusion of women in the

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<sup>1</sup> Christine Bell, "Peace Agreements: Their Nature and Legal Status," *American Journal of International Law*, No. 100 (2006): 373–412, <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1133550>.

<sup>2</sup> Christine Bell, C & O'Rourke, "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper: UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and Peace Negotiations and Agreements," *Transitional Justice Institute Research Paper* No. 11-01 (March 2011), doi: 10.2139/ssrn.1781990; Chandra Lekha Sriram, "Making rights real? Minority and gender provisions and power-sharing arrangements," *The International Journal of Human Rights*, No.17:2 (2013), doi: 10.1080/13642987.2013.752947.

prevention, management and resolution of conflict.”<sup>3</sup> This resolution was viewed by many as a game changer for women’s participation in peace processes. However, an alternative perspective posits Resolution 1325 as “confused and confusing.”<sup>4</sup> Ellerby and Anderlini find the language problematic because all sections are open to interpretation and not clearly defined.<sup>5</sup> Ellerby explains that historically, “prevention” meant prevention of war; whereas today, it is often used when discussing sexual and gender-based violence. This suggests that a standard of explicit definitions regarding the pillars of 1325 is absent.<sup>6</sup>

The original research presented in this paper examines the scope of the references regarding women, girls, and gender in peace agreements from 2009 to 2014 using quantitative and qualitative measures. A database was created to catalog and analyze gender language. Three categories were created in order to illustrate the quality of references and differentiate between easily implemented statements and those that will require further clarification. Qualitative measures were used in comparing two case studies: the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro, Philippines (2014), and the Agreement Between the Government of

Sudan and The Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) –Sudan on The Basis of The Doha Document For Peace In Darfur and the JEM Ceasefire, Sudan (2013).

## SIGNIFICANCE OF GENDER LANGUAGE

Why does gender language matter? Though references to gender or women do not necessarily indicate a “gender perspective” in a peace agreement, Bell and O’Rourke explain that it is not possible to have a gender perspective without the references to gender or women and doubt that these agreements will provide serious change for women without their active participation in the process.<sup>7</sup> Clear language is important because the mandates of ceasefires and peace accords establish the basis for peacebuilding plans such as monitoring, implementation and consequences for violations of the agreement. When agreements use vague gender language, such as “meaningful participation,” it leaves the intent of the directive open to interpretation. Moreover, if clear directives regarding women’s participation are not included, women will remain marginalized and excluded. It also paints an inaccurate picture that the negotiating parties are complying with international norms.

## QUOTAS TO ENSURE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

Bell and O’Rourke emphasize the importance of specifying a certain number of seats in government in peace

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<sup>3</sup> Bell & O’Rourke (2011), “Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper.”

<sup>4</sup> Kara Ellerby, “(En)gendered Security? The Complexities of Women’s Inclusion in Peace Processes,” *International Interactions: Empirical and Theoretical Research in International Relations*, No. 39:4 (2013): 435-460, doi:10.1080/03050629.2013.805327.

<sup>5</sup> Sanam Anderlini, “What the Women Say: Participation and UNSCR 1325,”

*MIT Center for International Studies, International Civil Society Action Network*, (2010), [http://web.mit.edu/cis/pdf/WomenReport\\_10\\_2010.pdf](http://web.mit.edu/cis/pdf/WomenReport_10_2010.pdf).

<sup>6</sup> Ellerby, “(En)gendered Security?”

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<sup>7</sup> Bell & O’Rourke (2011), “Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper.”

agreements.<sup>8</sup> In their research, they found that quotas in peace accords for female participation in politics are slowly on the rise, specifically with regard to indigenous women. For instance, in the negotiation of the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM) and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) peace agreements, specific allocations were made for Darfuri women to participate in the Sudanese government.<sup>9</sup>

While acknowledging the rise in provisions for quotas for women's participation in government and an increase in access to political institutions, C. L. Sriram offers a less optimistic picture of approaches to female representation in peace agreements, including quotas. Sriram sites Democratic Republic of Congo's Pretoria agreement (2002), which provided for "appropriate representation of women."<sup>10</sup> This type of generic language without a "set-aside" or mechanisms for implementation does not translate into tangible participation.

Sriram also explains that when caps are attached to quotas, sometimes it creates barriers and limits participation opportunities. The Philippines Mindanao agreement (1996) included quotas but used a 15 percent cap. She suggests that quotas might not translate to legitimate participation or the creation of policies that bolster women's rights because a position in government does not necessarily translate to legitimate participation or lead to changes regarding citizen's rights.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Christine Bell, & O'Rourke, "Peace Agreements or 'Pieces of Paper?' The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and their Agreement International and Comparative," *Law Quarterly*. No. 59 (2010), last modified 08 August 2013, doi: 954.10.1017/S002058931000062X.

<sup>9</sup> Bell & O'Rourke (2013), "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper."

<sup>10</sup> Sriram, "Making rights real."

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

## UNITED NATIONS DATA ON GENDER LANGUAGE AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

The 2012 United Nations Security Council report offers statistics on recent inclusions of references in peace agreements to women, peace, and security. The report states that in 2010 and 2011, 22 percent of signed peace agreements contained references to women, peace, and security, and 30 percent in 2012.<sup>12</sup> From 33 peace negotiations in 2008, only 11 out of 280 (4 percent) participants were women. "Participants" are defined as people assuming a range of roles, from advisors to witnesses. Among these, only 7 percent of negotiators were women.<sup>13</sup> From 1992 to 2011, 9 percent out of a total 31 peace agreements had female negotiators. Eight countries had 4 percent female signatories and two had 2.4 percent female chief mediators.<sup>14</sup> Research from 2010 by Pablo Diaz confirms that women still struggle for a place at the negotiating table.<sup>15</sup>

Though research by Bell and O'Rourke shows an increase in gender references since Resolution 1325, the concern of the research in this paper is not solely the quantity of gender references but the quality of the language. Is it too vague? Do the gender references in agreements from 2009-2014 essentialize women by emphasizing the protection of women and girls instead of their participation in

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<sup>12</sup> UN Fund for Women, Pablo Castillo Diaz, ed., "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections Between Presence and Influence," *UN Fund for Women* (August 2010) available from <http://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/03AWomenPeaceNeg.pdf>.

<sup>13</sup> Pablo Castillo Diaz, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations."

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

negotiations and society? Or do these additions merely provide a hollow attempt at meeting international standards for women, peace, and security, but deliver no tangible substance? This new research investigates these gaps and identifies effective and inadequate practices.

## BACKGROUND, TABLES, AND FINDINGS

In 2010, Professor Christine Bell and Dr. Catherine O'Rourke wrote the most comprehensive study on the inclusion of references to women and gender in peace agreements. The research analyzed 585 documents between 1990 and 2010, 399 of which were signed prior to Resolution 1325 and 186 after the resolution, as shown in Table 1.<sup>16</sup>

The catalog and subsequent analysis examine 145 documents, of which 31 reference women and gender in peace agreements and ceasefires from 2009-2014. The data showed that 114 out of 145 (79 percent) documents do not have any references to gender or female signatories. Of the 141 documents whose signatories' names were available, just 10 female had signed agreements that had gender reference; 22 female signatories were found in cases of agreements without any gender content. The catalog includes the type of reference, a description of the language and the section of the agreement where the language appears. The gender references were coded and 14 categories were created.

Table 2 shows that 21 percent of the agreements include gender references: an increase of 5 percent from the 16 percent found across 20 years of agreements in the Bell and O'Rourke study

(1990-2010), but a decrease of 6 percent from the 27 percent of agreements with gender content in the specific nine-year period after the passage of UNSCR 1325 as reviewed by Bell and O'Rourke. Table 3 offers the coding of the 14 categories for this study (2009-2014) and a total number of 133 gender references. Table 4 includes total number and percentage of specific references to women or gender issues (2009-2014) separated into three categories based on the type of mention.

This study used three categories to describe the level and significance of the language used regarding references to women and gender.

**Category 1.** Generic Blueprint reference: A statement that mentions a UNSC Resolution, CEDAW and other conferences on women and gender, or a generic gender reference.

**Category 2.** Statement of Intent: Implies intent to take action on women's participation or protection, using terms such as "meaningful" or "appropriate" participation, "equal and effective, adequate," or "giving due consideration" to women's needs, but these vague phrases are open to interpretation.

**Category 3.** Specific Proposition/Quotas: A specific statement that is a clear policy directive and includes a percentage allocation for funding or quota provision for women's representation in the peace process, or seats in government.

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<sup>16</sup> Bell & O'Rourke, "Peace Agreements or 'Pieces of Paper?'".

## QUANTITATIVE REVIEW OF GENDER REFERENCES IN PEACE AGREEMENTS

**Table 1: Peace agreement references women**

	Peace agreements references to women	Peace agreements references by percentage
Before Resolution 1325	42	11%
After Resolution 1325	50	27%
<b>Total</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>16%</b>

Professor Christine Bell and Dr. Catherine O'Rourke Data

**Table 2: Peace agreement references women**

	Peace agreements references to women	Peace agreements references by percentage
2009-2014	30	21%

Author's Data

**Table 3: Individual references to women 2009-2014**

	2014		2013
Governance	0	Governance	6
Quotas	0	Quotas	0
General Development/ Education	0	General Development/ Education	3
Women/Sexual Violence	1	Women/Sexual Violence	12
Women Violence	1	Women Violence	1
Girls in Conflict	0	Girls in Conflict	3
Women Combatants	1	Women Combatants	2
Advocate and Protect	0	Advocate and Protect	3
Peace Process	0	Peace Process	4
Motherhood	0	Motherhood	0
Women/Girls	0	Women/Girls	1
Socio-economic	1	Socio-economic	2
UNSCR 1325/CEDAW/Beijing	0	UNSCR 1325/CEDAW/Beijing	3
Platform		Platform	
Prosecution/Legislation	0	Prosecution/Legislation	1
<b>Total:</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>Total:</b>	<b>41</b>

Author's Data

**Table 3: Individual references to women 2009-2014**

2012		2011	
Governance	4	Governance	11
Quotas	5	Quotas	9
General Development/ Education	2	General Development/ Education	7
Women/Sexual Violence	1	Women/Sexual Violence	3
Women Violence	0	Women Violence	2
Girls in Conflict	0	Girls in Conflict	5
Women Combatants	0	Women Combatants	1
Advocate and Protect	0	Advocate and Protect	4
Peace Process	0	Peace Process	5
Motherhood	0	Motherhood	1
Women/Girls	4	Women/Girls	7
Socio-economic	0	Socio-economic	6
UNSCR 1325/CEDAW/Beijing	0	UNSCR 1325/CEDAW/Beijing	1
Platform		Platform	
Prosecution/Legislation	0	Prosecution/Legislation	2
<b>Total:</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>Total:</b>	<b>64</b>

Author's Data

2010		2009	
Governance	1	Governance	0
Quotas	0	Quotas	0
General Development/ Education	0	General Development/ Education	0
Women/Sexual Violence	0	Women/Sexual Violence	0
Women Violence	1	Women Violence	0
Girls in Conflict	2	Girls in Conflict	0
Women Combatants	0	Women Combatants	0
Advocate and Protect	0	Advocate and Protect	0
Peace Process	0	Peace Process	0
Motherhood	0	Motherhood	0
Women/Girls	1	Women/Girls	0
Socio-economic	0	Socio-economic	2
UNSCR 1325/CEDAW/Beijing	0	UNSCR 1325/CEDAW/Beijing	0
Platform		Platform	
Prosecution/Legislation	1	Prosecution/Legislation	0
<b>Total:</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>Total:</b>	<b>2</b>

Author's Data

**Table 4: Individual references to women 2009-2014**

<b>Categories of Women and Gender Reference in 2014</b>			
1. Generic Blueprint	2. Statement of Intent	3. Specific Proposition/Quotas	<b>Total</b>
0	4	0	<b>4</b>

  

<b>Categories of Women and Gender Reference in 2013</b>			
1. Generic Blueprint	2. Statement of Intent	3. Specific Proposition/Quotas	<b>Total</b>
8	17	16	<b>41</b>

  

<b>Categories of Women and Gender Reference in 2012</b>			
1. Generic Blueprint	2. Statement of Intent	3. Specific Proposition/Quotas	<b>Total</b>
3	7	6	<b>16</b>

  

<b>Categories of Women and Gender Reference in 2011</b>			
1. Generic Blueprint	2. Statement of Intent	3. Specific Proposition/Quotas	<b>Total</b>
5	46	13	<b>64</b>

  

<b>Categories of Women and Gender Reference in 2010</b>			
1. Generic Blueprint	2. Statement of Intent	3. Specific Proposition/Quotas	<b>Total</b>
1	5	0	<b>6</b>

  

<b>Categories of Women and Gender Reference in 2009</b>			
1. Generic Blueprint	2. Statement of Intent	3. Specific Proposition/Quotas	<b>Total</b>
1	0	1	<b>2</b>

Author's Data

<b>Categories of Women and Gender Reference</b>		
	Total Number	Percentage
1. Generic Blueprint	18	14%
2. Statement of Intent	79	59%
3. Specific Proposition/Quotas	36	27%
<b>Total:</b>	<b>133</b>	

Author's Data

A review of Table 3 shows that from 2009-2014, the highest numbers of gender references are found in agreements signed during 2011, 2012, and 2013. The numbers are well dispersed among most of the categories with 64 gender mentions in 2011 and 41 in 2013. However, the 16 references in 2012 occur in the categories of governance, quotas, general development and education, women and sexual violence, and women and girls. In 2009, there are two references that pertain solely to socio-economic issues, and in 2010, six mentions are spread among the categories of governance, prosecution and legislation, violence against women, girls in conflict and women and girls. In 2014, four references appear in the categories of women and sexual violence, violence against women, women combatants, and socio-economics. The highest numbers of references occur from 2011 to 2013. The table depicts 2014 as the lowest number of references since 2009.

Table 4 explains the significance of the gender references for each year. Most of the references occur in category two or three, which implies intent and specificity. The references in years 2011 and 2013 are in categories that provide specific directives or quotas that are easily implemented and are not open to interpretation. These types of references have the most bearing on the lives of women. In 2011, 46 statement of intent references and 13 specific propositions or quotas were included in agreements; 17 statement of intent references and 16 specific propositions or quotas appeared in 2013.

The inclusion of statements of intent is significant because most peace agreements use vague language, which leads to misinterpretation of the directive. The use of statements of intent and quotas indicates a commitment to implement gender equality mandates. These references

also move beyond standard protection recommendations and provide specific allocations for money, services, and set numbers (quotas) of government positions for women.

## CASE STUDIES

*The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (2014), Philippines*

### Progressive gender provisions

The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (2014) empowers women through significant provisions regarding socioeconomics, political positions, decommissioned female officers, security, and policing. The Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth Sharing offers the most specific example of funding for women in section “XII. Gender and Development.” It stipulates that 5 percent of official public development funds must be allocated “for support programs and activities for women in accordance with a gender and development plan.”<sup>17</sup>

The Annex on Normalization (2014) provides socio-economic programs for decommissioned female officers of The Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).<sup>18</sup> The inclusion of economic provisions for decommissioned female officers is significant because women are often excluded from benefits in disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR) processes. Furthermore, while DDR

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<sup>17</sup> UN Peacemaker, “Philippines, State Annex on Revenue Generation and Wealth-sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB),” (13 July 2013), available from [peacemaker.un.org/philippines-annex-wealthsharing2013](http://peacemaker.un.org/philippines-annex-wealthsharing2013).

<sup>18</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Annex on Normalization to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB)*, (January 2014), available from [peacemaker.un.org/philippines-annex-normalization2014](http://peacemaker.un.org/philippines-annex-normalization2014).



programs do include women, they often do not differentiate in their provisions for men and women. This can be problematic in situations where women would receive cash yet are not allowed to have access to money in their household.

*Generic language and matters of concern*

The Annex on Power-Sharing (FAB) (2013) includes numerous provisions for women in government. For instance, to ensure women's participation, one provision states that in accordance with basic Bangsamoro law, women must participate in government, but specific minimum percentages are not indicated.<sup>19</sup> The document also stipulates that the Bangsamoro Council of Leaders, comprised of governors, mayors, one member of each indigenous community, and chaired by the Deputy Chief Minister, must include a female representative.<sup>20</sup> The agreement also uses imprecise language such as "establishment of appropriate mechanisms for consultations for women" and "special development programs and laws for women," but does not describe the mechanism for achieving these consultations, nor the specific type of programs or laws envisaged.

Although sections of the peace agreement make detailed references to females in policing, women are not mentioned in the policing section of the Annex on Normalization.<sup>21</sup> This is a missed opportunity to include women in the implementation, resolution, and monitoring phases of the peace process. Female police officers help in decreasing

women's fear to report crimes and improve responses to domestic and sexual violence, which are prevalent crimes post-conflict. However this was not made a requirement. Both the GPH-MILF Decision Points on Principles as of April 2012 and the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro 15th October 2012 address the rights of women and specify "protection from violence."<sup>22</sup> These statements call for the protection of women but they do not prescribe punishment for those who cause harm to women. In order to prevent violence against women, there must be justice for victims and an end to impunity. This process should also include consultations with women to determine priorities for justice initiatives. Justice is a necessary component for recognizing past abuses in order to build public confidence going forward and prevent future conflict. Also of concern are some aspects of the provisions for future justice options in the Annex on Power Sharing and Framework Agreement. Their references to Sharia law and customary justice leave the door open to the use of Sharia Law to solve disputes that would typically be heard in the judicial system. Because of the limited rights of women under Sharia law, it does not bode well for women.<sup>23</sup>

*Agreement Between the Government of Sudan and The Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan on The Basis of The Doha Document For Peace In Darfur Sudan; and Sudan Ceasefire JEM (2013), Sudan*

The 2013 Sudanese peace process featured three documents: the Agreement Between the Government of Sudan and The Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan on The Basis of The Doha Document For Peace In Darfur Sudan; Sudan Ceasefire

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<sup>19</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Annex on Power-Sharing to the Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (FAB)*, (December 2013), available from [peacemaker.un.org/philippines-annex-powersharing2013](http://peacemaker.un.org/philippines-annex-powersharing2013).

<sup>20</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Annex on Power-Sharing*.

<sup>21</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Annex on Normalization*.

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<sup>22</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Philippines GPH-MILF (2012)*.

<sup>23</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Annex on Power-Sharing*.

JEM (2013); and Protocol on the Participation of JEM-Sudan at the different levels of Government and on the Integration of its Forces. The latter does not include any references to women or gender.

### Progressive gender provisions

Gender references in the Sudan peace agreement and ceasefire focus mainly on security of women, exploitation of girls and women's involvement in the peace process. However, there is a progressive provision for the empowerment of Nomadic women that specifies that nomadic women must receive education.<sup>24</sup> The clause also states that a Social Welfare Fund (DRA) with provisions for women must be created and the fund must be a minimum of 50 million US dollars.<sup>25</sup>

In the Sudan Ceasefire JEM (2013), specific language is used referencing the establishment of sub-units that must include women during the monitoring phase as a means to report on issues and violations ceasefire.<sup>26</sup> The document specifies that all issues regarding violence against women must be heard in a "gender sensitive and competent manner," which does identify one of the constraints associated with interviewing women.<sup>27</sup>

### Generic language and matters of concern

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<sup>24</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Protocol on the Participation of JEM-Sudan at the different levels of Government and on the Integration of its Forces*, (March 2013), available at [peacemaker.un.org/sudan-protocol-participation-jems2013](http://peacemaker.un.org/sudan-protocol-participation-jems2013).

<sup>25</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Protocol on the Participation of JEM-Sudan*.

<sup>26</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (JEM)*, (February 2013) available at [peacemaker.un.org/sudan-ceasefire-jems2013](http://peacemaker.un.org/sudan-ceasefire-jems2013).

<sup>27</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Sudan Ceasefire Agreement*.

The Sudanese agreement raises cause for concern in areas where general phrases are used regarding the role of women in peacemaking and violence against women. Additional areas of concern are the absence of references to women in sections of the document that determine participation in government and participation of girls and women in militias, and their subsequent demobilization.

The Ceasefire guarantees women the right to protection. It states that "specific measures for vulnerable groups such as women" will be created but does not explain the measures. Instead of providing specific details, the document makes sweeping and generic references such as, "facilitate the UNAMID mandate UNSCR 1935."<sup>28</sup> Phrases such as "Refrain from all acts of violence" against women and "gender-based violence and sexual exploitation" are also used.<sup>29</sup> These statements describe violent crimes against women but do not stipulate the penalties for violating the terms of the agreement.

With regard to the militias and children, a blueprint statement explains that recruitment of boys and girls under 18 is not allowed, and is a violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions.<sup>30</sup> All armed forces must comply with implementation of the agreement that calls for the release of women and girls under "control or influence" of the military. Communication regarding their release must be passed through the chain of command to all armed forces and unconditional release of girls from the armed forces is mandatory through the national action plans. The plans provide the institutional framework necessary to implement and monitor peace agreement provisions. Moreover, it states that girls are to be treated as victims, not

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<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

perpetrators. Though the language is descriptive, the details for implementation are vague.<sup>31</sup>

**Table 5: Categories of women and gender references**

	Philippines 2014
1. Generic Blueprint	0
2. Statement of Intent	10
3. Specific Provisions/ Quotas	5
<b>Total Gender Mentions</b>	<b>15</b>

Author's Data<sup>32</sup>

The Philippines agreement is evenly balanced with regard to the type of inclusions of women and gender, such as government, peace process, security, and socio-economics. The Sudanese agreements focus primarily on security of women, gender-based violence, and provisions for limited participation in the peace process. Both agreements do a good job of explaining where women should be included in the implementation process post-conflict. The documents often detail the types of resources that should be provided for them, but in some cases the specifics on the minimum numbers of seats for women in political assemblies or minimum public resources for allocation to services to address women's needs remain the missing link between policy documents and implementation. Women should also have specific consideration—separate from indigenous individuals—regarding

<sup>31</sup> UN Peacemaker, *Sudan Ceasefire Agreement*.

<sup>32</sup> The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro (2014), Philippines included one mention of UNSCR 1325 but it was attached to a statement counted in category number 2 and therefore not counted in category 1 for the purposes of this study.

allocation of positions during various stages of the peace process, such as negotiations, security, implementation, and monitoring, as well as in determining government positions. With regard to participation in the peace process, both processes featured women in the negotiations, though the extent of their participation and influence is extremely difficult to ascertain without field research, and is therefore beyond the scope of this study.

## CONCLUSION

The inclusion of references to women and gender in peace agreements is important for women's rights, but it is not just quantity that matters. Quality and the use of precise language are even more crucial to make sure action is taken. There needs to be a move away from using language such as "meaningful participation" because it often cannot be implemented. Without further explanation and without clear provisions, there is a risk that obstacles such as culture, poverty, lack of education, and patriarchy will block women from achieving their goals.

This study shows a slight increase in gender references of 5 percent of agreements from the 16 percent in the Bell and O'Rourke study. More importantly, it is promising that the majority of the references fell in categories that showed an increase in either intent or direct action in commitment to the empowerment of women. Although the two case studies are two of the best examples of progressive gender language between 2009-2014, there is still room for improvement.

While this study offers a foundation for assessing recent gender language and also a review of signatories of peace agreements, there are still areas of the peacemaking process that require

further research. The level of difficulty in acquiring information regarding female participation such as gender experts, women negotiators, and women's organizations proved to be an obstacle in producing a more complete picture of the involvement of women. However, the findings in this study show that gender language in peace agreements is evolving in a positive manner but at a slower pace than desired.

Too much emphasis remains on portraying and making provisions for women as victims instead of as actors with decision-making power. Peace agreements lay the groundwork for future societies by providing directives regarding socio-economics, funding, quotas for employment, and also the creation of new legislation. By addressing gender inequalities in the aforementioned areas, many of the obstacles that women face will be removed. The language employed in peace agreements determines whether women are recognized and respected, or whether they will remain discriminated against.



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