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Reaching an Inclusive Truce: Gendering Cease-fires

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Report

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Executive Summary

There is no official legal definition of a ceasefire, but such an agreement generally involves military and paramilitary forces suspending acts of violence, often in the context of third-party intervention.¹ The motivations for and effects of ceasefires are wide-ranging and complex. However, while the negotiation and announcement of ceasefires may serve a variety of objectives, these texts rarely reference gender or the experiences, needs, and demands of women specifically. Of the 267 ceasefire agreements struck between 1990 and 2016, just 29 (10.9 percent) include “gender provisions”², which are rarely accompanied by precise details.³ This lack of specificity makes the implementation of these provisions challenging.

Fundamentally, women have a right to participate and an interest in meaningfully participating in decision-making that affects them and the future of their country. Through referencing and accommodating the differing experiences, rights, and demands of women and men within ceasefire agreements, the gendered dimensions of conflict may be addressed in a responsive way. Meaningfully including women in the development of ceasefire agreements can both protect them and harness their experience and expertise. Broader inclusion of society within ceasefire negotiations and agreements could also help to legitimise such agreements, which, in turn, could support their implementation. Finally, while peace processes do not follow a linear path,⁴ ceasefires often precede more comprehensive negotiations. As such, inclusive and gender-responsive ceasefire negotiations and agreements could help to pave the way for inclusive peace negotiations and settlements⁵ and, consequently, more inclusive governance structures, ultimately building more inclusive societies.

This paper serves as a guide to gender-responsive ceasefire agreements. It explores strategies to enhance women’s influence over ceasefire negotiations and provides both language and an approach to render ceasefire texts and their constituent provisions more gender responsive. It does this by examining the existing literature on gender and ceasefires and by assessing a range of concrete gender provisions drawn from ceasefire texts around the world, proposing ways

- 1 S. Bailey, *How Wars End: The United Nations and the Termination of Armed Conflict 1946–1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 37; see also C. Bell, “Ceasefire,” in A. Peters (ed.), *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Max Planck Institute, 2009), <https://opil.ouplaw.com/home/mpi> [last accessed: 6 September 2022].
- 2 The agreements were identified from among 267 ceasefire agreements signed between 1990 and 2016 listed on the PA-X Gender database. See C. Bell et al., “PA-X Codebook: Women, Girls, and Gender (PA-X Gender), Version 4,” Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh (2020), www.peaceagreements.org/wsearch [last accessed: 6 September 2022].
- 3 R. Forster and C. Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires: Comparative Data and Examples,” UN Women (2019), www.politicalsettlements.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/PA-X-Spotlight-Ceasefires-Digital.pdf [last accessed: 23 October 2021], p. 5.
- 4 T. Paffenholz, “Perpetual Peacebuilding: A New Paradigm to Move beyond the Linearity of Liberal Peacebuilding,” *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15:3 (2021), pp. 367–85.
- 5 Forster and Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires,” p. 7.

in which they could be given greater precision to enhance the prospect of effective monitoring and implementation. It also suggests a continuum for evaluating ceasefire negotiation processes and agreements, ranging from gender discriminatory to gender transformative.

In addition, the paper takes inspiration from a novel approach pioneered by a civil society alliance in Myanmar to explore the notion of “gender-editing” ceasefire agreements. It presents the results of a participatory workshop conducted with five Yemeni civil society representatives to gender-edit a ceasefire announced in April 2020. The edited provisions co-developed during this workshop reflect the experiences, rights, demands, and needs of Yemeni women and girls and relate to the application of international frameworks, women’s participation and access to services, and inclusive security arrangements. The approach of the process can be used as a “how to” guide to gender-editing.

The strategies suggested to ensure inclusive ceasefire negotiation processes and inclusive, gender-responsive outcomes can be categorised as follows:

Advocacy

1. Support women to launch mass campaigns to demand ceasefires and their participation in the negotiation of ceasefires.
2. Support women to conduct targeted lobbying and advocacy to influence the warring parties, and both regional and international actors.

Inclusion, participation, and influence

1. Ensure mediation teams include a gender expert.
2. Ensure 50 percent participation by women in mediation teams and in negotiating parties during ceasefire talks, for instance through the use of a quota.
3. Consider premising the provision of financial and other support from member states or third parties supporting the negotiation of a ceasefire on an inclusive process, including a gender quota.
4. Ensure the violence addressed in the negotiation of ceasefires and the scope of ceasefire agreements include sexual and gender-based violence, and that the differing effects of violence upon women and men are accounted for.
5. Establish a gender panel or commission to monitor the ceasefire negotiation process and advise the negotiating parties.

6. Where necessary, offer gender expertise to members of negotiating parties.
7. Conduct risk assessments and employ adequate measures to protect women representatives in ceasefire talks from external threats such as hate speech and physical attacks. Ensure that all protection measures align with the “do no harm” approach.
8. Ensure that women delegates have access to childcare and adequate transportation so they can fully participate in ceasefire talks.
9. Ensure that women have additional opportunities for influencing ceasefire negotiations beyond direct participation in track one talks—for example, by creating platforms for direct exchange between women’s groups and conflict parties, organising consultations between women’s groups, or facilitating women’s groups’ work on and review of draft ceasefire agreements.
10. Create and/or support channels of communication between formal and civil society peace initiatives (track two and track three initiatives) and spaces to ensure the needs and demands at the grassroots level are incorporated within the negotiations for the ceasefire.
11. Train negotiating parties and mediation teams (both women and men) in the gendered aspects of ceasefires.

Monitoring

1. Ensure women’s participation in the monitoring of ceasefire agreements.
2. Disaggregate by gender the data collected by monitoring mechanisms.

1 Introduction and Methodology

Ceasefires can be formally documented in writing or agreed orally, and they can be either permanent or of a specified, limited duration.⁶ Ceasefires primarily concern armed actors; as such, their provisions principally relate to the military.⁷ Stipulations that frequently feature within ceasefire agreements therefore include definitions of prohibited acts; arrangements surrounding the separation of forces or the demobilisation and disarmament of troops; plans for the reintegration of fighters; the identification and condemnation of war crimes; and further provisions to foster the cessation of hostilities.⁸ However, ceasefire negotiators can also broaden the focus of such agreements. For instance, humanitarian provisions often feature: ceasefire agreements can provide for prisoner exchanges and releases, the evacuation of civilians, the return of internally displaced persons, the establishment of “safe zones” and “safe corridors,” the agreement of human rights guarantees, and access for humanitarian aid and workers.⁹

There is no official legal definition of a ceasefire,¹⁰ and such agreements can also be termed “armistices,” “truces,” “humanitarian pauses,” and “cessations of hostilities.”¹¹ Generally, a ceasefire can be thought of as the “suspension of acts of violence by military and paramilitary forces, usually resulting from the intervention of a third party.”¹² A “breadth of possible objectives” may be sought through the negotiation, or unilateral announcement, of a ceasefire.¹³ Parties may exploit ceasefires, manipulating any pause in fighting to “regroup, rearm, or improve their military position.”¹⁴ Additionally, states embroiled in civil wars may seize upon ceasefires to “violently reassert the state’s claims to property and citizenship”¹⁵ or to strengthen the regime’s control over land and natural

- 6 C. Bell, “Ceasefire,” in A. Peters (ed.), *Max Planck Encyclopedia of Public International Law* (Max Planck Institute, 2009), <https://opil.ouplaw.com/home/mpi> [last accessed: 6 September 2022].
- 7 R. Forster and C. Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires: Comparative Data and Examples,” UN Women (2019), www.politicalsettlements.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/PA-X-Spotlight-Ceasefires-Digital.pdf [last accessed: 23 October 2021], p. 2.
- 8 *Ibid.*, pp. 3–4.
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
- 10 Bell, “Ceasefire.”
- 11 *Ibid.*; M. Sosnowski, “Towards a Typology of Ceasefires: Order Amid Violence,” *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 74:5 (2020), pp. 598–9.
- 12 S. Bailey, *How Wars End: The United Nations and the Termination of Armed Conflict 1946–1964* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 37; see also Bell, “Ceasefire.”
- 13 V. Sticher and S. Vuković, “Bargaining in Intrastate Conflicts: The Shifting Role of Ceasefires,” *Journal of Peace Research* 58:6 (2021), p. 1285.
- 14 *Ibid.*, p. 1284; see also C. A. Crocker et al., *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2004), p. 158; S. S. Gartner and M. Melin, “Assessing Outcomes: Conflict Management and the Durability of Peace,” in J. Bercovitch et al. (eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Conflict Resolution* (London: SAGE, 2009), p. 566; M. D. Toft, “Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?” *International Security* 34:4 (2010), p. 15.
- 15 M. Sosnowski, “Ceasefires as Violent State-Building: Local Truce and Reconciliation Agreements in the Syrian Civil War,” *Conflict, Security and Development* 20:2 (2019), p. 275.

resources.¹⁶ Furthermore, ceasefires may reduce the cost of conflict, thus lessening “domestic and international pressure to negotiate”: “power holders may thus be interested in implementing a ceasefire, without a genuine intention to move towards settlement.”¹⁷

Nevertheless, many ceasefires have resulted in an end of armed conflict as often “parties may also engage in a ceasefire in order to enable peace negotiations,” demanding a ceasefire prior to entering into peace talks.¹⁸ Indeed, ceasefires may offer periods of relative stability or be used to “demonstrate good faith,” thus paving the way for more comprehensive peace talks.¹⁹ Ceasefires can also be “symbolic” or “aspirational in nature,” acting as testaments to the alleged goals of the parties but devoid of “detail on how [these] will actually be achieved or, furthermore, expectations that the provisions will even be implemented.”²⁰ In such instances, ceasefires may also be sought “in an effort to gain international legitimacy.”²¹ The motivations for and effects of ceasefires are therefore far from straightforward.

Ceasefire texts can also detail mechanisms for their implementation, including the establishment of monitoring and verification committees. Ceasefires can further pave the way for peacemaking and/or peacebuilding processes—for instance, by creating structures for communication between the conflict parties, by establishing means of formal dispute resolution, or even by prohibiting the release of hostile statements by the disputants. Ceasefires may be negotiated at the local, national, or international level, and the level of negotiation can determine their content. For example, local-level ceasefires are more likely to include specific provisions, but these, in turn, may be more limited in scope. Finally, the nature of ceasefire texts can depend on the stage of the peace process at which they are agreed and, furthermore, may be shaped by any earlier ceasefires and accords signed by the conflict parties.²²

16 Tom Kramer, “Neither War Nor Peace’: Failed Ceasefires and Dispossession in Myanmar’s Ethnic Borderlands,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 48:3 (2021), pp. 476–96.

17 Sticher and Vuković, “Bargaining in Intrastate Conflicts,” p. 1; see also L. Chounet-Cambas, *Negotiating Ceasefires: Dilemmas and Options for Mediators* (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2011), p. 15.

18 Sticher and Vuković, “Bargaining in Intrastate Conflicts,” pp. 1–2; see also J. Smith, *Stopping Wars: Defining the Obstacles to Cease-Fire* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995), pp. 155–62; S. Mahieu, “When Should Mediators Interrupt a Civil War? The Best Timing for a Ceasefire,” *International Negotiation* 12:2 (2007), p. 209; Chounet-Cambas, *Negotiating Ceasefires*, p. 8.

19 Sticher and Vuković, “Bargaining in Intrastate Conflicts,” p. 2; see also Mahieu, “When Should Mediators Interrupt a Civil War?” p. 210; K. Höglund, “Tactics in Negotiation between States and Extremists: The Role of Cease-fires and Counter-terrorist Measures,” in I. W. Zartman and G. O. Faure (eds), *Engaging Extremists: Trade-Offs, Timing, and Diplomacy* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 2011), pp. 222–3 and 238; M. Akebo, *The Politics of Ceasefires: On Ceasefire Agreements and Peace Processes in Aceh and Sri Lanka* (Umea: Umea University Press, 2013), pp. 201–3.

20 Sosnowski, “Towards a Typology of Ceasefires,” p. 603.

21 Sticher and Vuković, “Bargaining in Intrastate Conflicts,” p. 2.

22 Ibid.

Recognising the diverse nature of ceasefires, the aim of this paper is twofold: (1) to explore how ceasefire texts and their constituent provisions can exhibit greater gender responsiveness and (2) to compile a series of strategies by which women peacebuilders and their supporters may exert influence over the negotiation of ceasefires.

The results presented here stem from desk research on the form and content of ceasefire agreements, the inclusion of women in ceasefire negotiations, and “gender provisions” in ceasefire agreements, as well as a participatory workshop on “gender-editing” ceasefire agreements. The workshop was organised and facilitated by Inclusive Peace in 2021 and featured five representatives of Yemeni civil society organisations and women’s initiatives based across Yemen and in the diaspora. It was conducted in Arabic. The appendix presents the workshop agenda and participants, including their organisational affiliations. Kawkab al-Thaibani from the Women4Yemen network²³ acted as a co-organiser and co-facilitator during the workshop sessions.

²³ See <https://women4yemen.org/en>.

2 Ceasefires and Gender

Women have faced chronic exclusion from ceasefire negotiations, and ceasefire texts rarely reference either gender or women. Researchers managing the PA-X Gender database found that, of the 267 ceasefire agreements struck between 1990 and 2016, just 29 (10.9 percent) included gender provisions.²⁴ Prior to 2000, a mere six agreements referenced gender. Moreover, just ten of these ceasefire agreements (3.7 percent) appear to have been signed or witnessed by women.²⁵ Only one of the ceasefire agreements reached between 2018 and 2020 included a gender provision: the “Juba Agreement for Peace in the Sudan,” which included a provision prohibiting sexual violence.²⁶ On the rare occasions on which ceasefire provisions directly referencing women or themes pertaining to gender are included, precise details rarely feature.²⁷ As Robert Forster and Christine Bell have observed, “practices on gender inclusion and women’s meaningful participation in the negotiation and implementation of ceasefire agreements have received little attention to date.”²⁸

There are rare examples that buck this trend. In Afghanistan, women have launched popular campaigns to demand ceasefires: in January 2021, approximately 700 women in Kabul and between 70 and 100 women across the country’s 33 provinces launched the campaign #CeasefireforPeace together with an online petition, “Afghanistan—Protect Women’s Rights and Demand Ceasefire.”²⁹ Additionally, Forster and Bell describe the “Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (JEM),” struck in February 2013, as the “most detailed example of gender inclusion” in a ceasefire agreement (although the authors also criticise the text for being inadequately “gender responsive” and note that “the agreement as a whole suffered from lack of commitment and enforcement”).³⁰ For instance, the text calls for the adequate and effective representation of women at all levels. It also safeguards the protection of women and children, acknowledging their special status under international law and the disproportionate suffering endured by

24 Forster and Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires,” p. 2. PA-X Gender defines “gender provisions” as “provisions on women, girls, gender or sexual violence.” See C. Bell et al., “PA-X Codebook: Women, Girls, and Gender (PA-X Gender), Version 4,” Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh (2020), www.peaceagreements.org/wsearch [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

25 Forster and Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires,” p. 5.

26 “Conflict-Related Sexual Violence: Report of the United Nations Secretary-General,” United Nations Security Council (2022), www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2022/04/auto-draft-SG-Report2021for-web.pdf [last accessed: 10 August 2022], p. 12.

27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 15.

29 R. Menon, “Gender Responsive Ceasefires and Ceasefire Agreements: Brief I,” UN Women (2021), <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/06/gender-responsive-ceasefires-and-ceasefire-agreements> [last accessed: 6 September 2022], p. 5.

30 Forster and Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires,” p. 6.

these groups during conflict.³¹ In another example, the January 2014 ceasefire agreement reached between the Government of South Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement prohibited sexual and gender-based violence and also provided for the incorporation of women into the monitoring and verification body for the accord.³²

These rare instances notwithstanding, there appears to be a great deal of scope to advocate and develop strategies for gender-responsive ceasefire provisions and negotiations. The United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs published comprehensive ceasefire mediation guidance in 2022.³³ This guidance targets all stakeholders in peace processes and reflects on good practices for preparing and conducting ceasefire negotiations, as well as implementing any provisions that conflict parties agree on. It also places strong emphasis on the inclusion of women in any ceasefire negotiation and implementation process.

In addition to examining advocacy and strategy development for gender-responsive ceasefire provisions and negotiations, it is important to explore why women and other marginalised groups tend to be excluded from ceasefire negotiations and texts. As Olivia Holt-Ivry et al. explain, it is often claimed “that ceasefires require technical knowledge of military forces and equipment that only armed factions are likely to possess.” Thus, “if arms are the primary currency for buying one’s way into ceasefire processes, women—who are rarely seen in the upper echelons of armed groups—will continue to go uninvited.”³⁴ Mediators who subscribe to this view therefore “relegate women”—and their concerns and expertise—to the later stages of a peace process.³⁵ This is despite United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCRs), such as 1325 (2000) and 2543 (2020), which call for the mainstreaming of gender equality and the participation of women throughout peace processes.³⁶

31 Ibid. However, as Forster and Bell emphasise, the ceasefire text’s framing of women and children as “vulnerable groups” should be reappraised; they suggest instead referring to groups that “are exposed to vulnerable situations.”

32 Ibid., p. 8.

33 “Guidance on Mediation of Ceasefires,” United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (2022), <https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/Ceasefire-Guidance-2022.pdf> [last accessed: 2 November 2022].

34 O. Holt-Ivry et al., “Inclusive Ceasefires: Women, Gender, and a Sustainable End to Violence,” Inclusive Security (2017), www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Inclusive-Ceasefires-Women-Gender-and-Sustainable-End-to-Violence.pdf [last accessed: 23 October 2021], p. 1.

35 Menon, “Gender Responsive Ceasefires and Ceasefire Agreements,” p. 5.

36 Ibid.

Fundamentally, women have a right to participate and an interest in participating in decision-making that affects them and the future of their country.³⁷ More specifically, through referencing and accommodating the differing experiences, rights, and demands of women and men within ceasefire agreements, the gendered dimensions of conflict may be addressed in a sensitive and responsive way. This can ensure that ceasefire texts address women's specific needs, notably in terms of protection.³⁸ In addition, by including women in the development of ceasefire agreements and by drawing on their experiences and skills, ceasefire negotiation and implementation processes can capitalise upon their expertise, for instance in the field of humanitarianism.

Broader inclusion of all parts of society within the negotiation and texts of ceasefires could also help to legitimise such agreements, which, in turn, could support their implementation.³⁹ Most importantly, establishing the inclusion of women and a gender-responsive approach to ceasefire negotiations could also establish the principle of inclusion for future talks and emphasise the relevance of women's expertise for the processes to come.⁴⁰ While peace processes do not follow a linear path,⁴¹ ceasefires often precede more comprehensive negotiations. As such, gender-responsive ceasefires, in terms of both participation and provisions, can set important precedents for inclusion throughout all subsequent stages of peace processes. There is no automatic progression from inclusive negotiation processes to inclusive provisions in agreements to inclusive implementation to inclusive governance.⁴² Yet, the earlier that unarmed actors beyond the main conflict parties—notably women—can bring their experiences, aspirations, and influence to bear on peace processes, the greater the likelihood that these processes will give rise to more inclusive negotiated settlements to armed conflict, with more sustainable implementation.⁴³ This dynamic of broader

37 "COVID-19 and Conflict: Advancing Women's Meaningful Participation in Ceasefires and Peace Processes," UN Women and UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (2020), www.un.org/sexualviolenceinconflict/wp-content/uploads/2020/08/report/covid-19-and-conflict-advancing-womens-meaningful-participation-in-ceasefires-and-peace-processes/Final-Policy-Brief-No19_COVID-19-and-Conflict.pdf [last accessed: 23 October 2021], p. 3.

38 "Guidance on Mediation of Ceasefires," p. 30.

39 Ibid., p. 24.

40 Forster and Bell, "Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires," p. 7; "Guidance on Mediation of Ceasefires," p. 31.

41 T. Paffenholz, "Perpetual Peacebuilding: A New Paradigm to Move beyond the Linearity of Liberal Peacebuilding," *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding* 15:3 (2021), pp. 367–85.

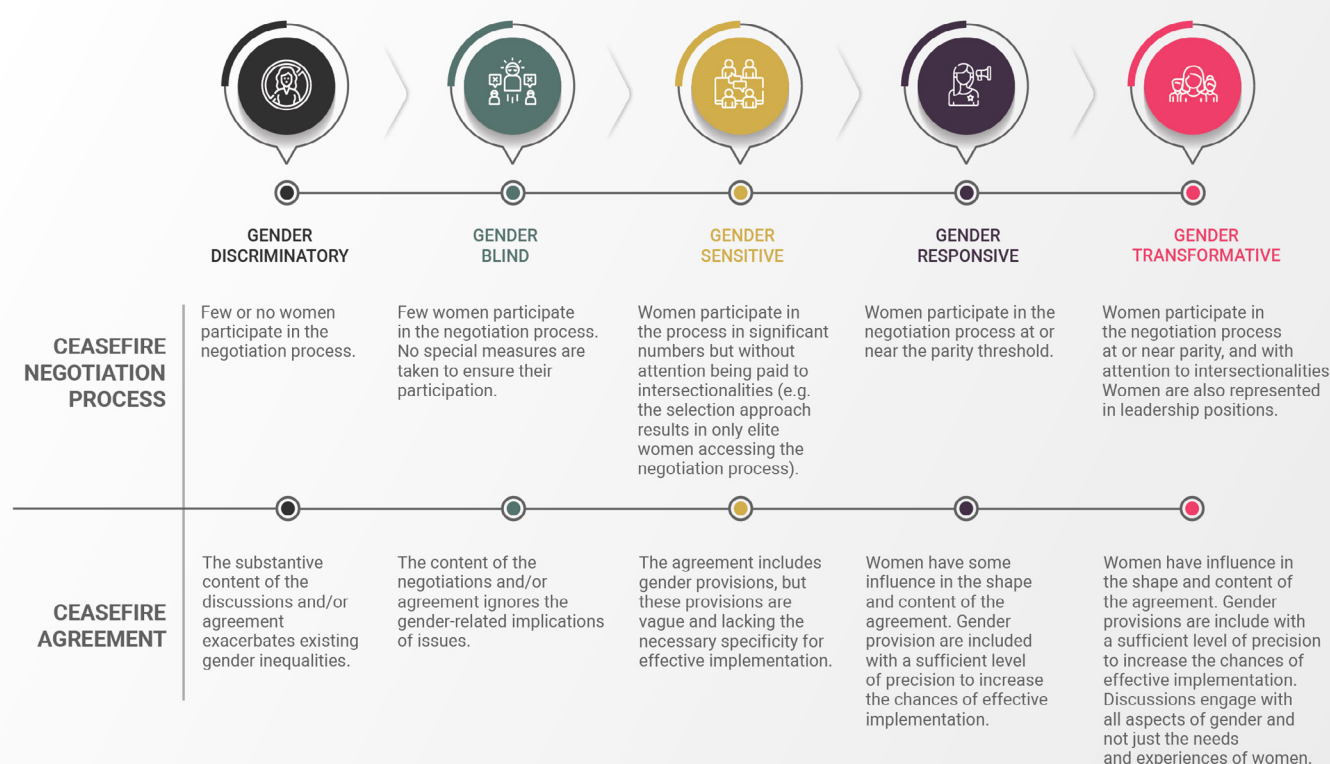
42 A. Bramble and T. Paffenholz, "Implementing Peace Agreements: From Inclusive Processes to Inclusive Outcomes?" Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative (2020), www.undp.org/oslo-governance-centre/publications/implementing-peace-agreements-inclusive-processes-inclusive-outcomes [last accessed: 6 September 2020], p. 46.

43 T. Paffenholz et al., "Making Women Count—Not Just Counting Women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations," Inclusive Peace & Transition Initiative and UN Women (2016), www.peacewomen.org/sites/default/files/Making%20Women%20Count%20Not%20Just%20Counting%20Women.pdf [last accessed: 6 September 2022], p. 6.

participation in the peace process can then permeate out into the development of the necessary conditions and precedents—such as inclusive governance structures—to ultimately engender more inclusive societies.⁴⁴

Ceasefire negotiation processes and agreements can thus be evaluated on a continuum ranging from gender discriminatory to gender transformative, according to the numbers and manner in which women participate and influence the process, the intersection of gender and other dimensions of inclusion, and the gender responsiveness of the content of the ceasefire agreement.⁴⁵

CEASEFIRE GENDER EQUALITY CONTINUUM



44 Bramble and Paffenholz, "Implementing Peace Agreements," p. 45.

45 This continuum is an adaptation of several similar frameworks, such as the United Nations Development Programme's Gender Results Effectiveness Scale, the UNICEF Gender Equality Continuum, and the Interagency Gender Working Group Gender Equality Continuum. See "The Gender Results Effectiveness Scale (GRES): A Methodology Guidance Note," United Nations Development Programme (n.d.), http://web.undp.org/evaluation/documents/guidance/gender/GRES_English.pdf [last accessed: 6 September 2022]; "Gender Equality: Global Annual Results Report," UNICEF (2019), www.unicef.org/media/71421/file/Global-annual-results-report-2019-gender-equality.pdf [last accessed: 6 September 2022], p. 8; "Gender Integration Continuum," Interagency Gender Working Group (2017), www.igwg.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/FG_GendrIntegrContinuum.pdf [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

3 Making Gender Provisions Stick: Incorporating and Implementing Gender Provisions in Ceasefire Agreements

The previous section noted Forster and Bell's claim that, on the rare occasions when provisions relating to women and/or gender inequality feature within ceasefires, such stipulations often lack specificity.⁴⁶ This lack of specificity, in turn, hinders the monitoring and implementation of such provisions.

With this in mind, five ceasefires agreed around the world that feature gender provisions (according to coding completed by researchers at the PA-X Gender database) were selected, with one gender provision from each isolated. These provisions were then edited to demonstrate ways in which greater specificity and nuance could have been incorporated into these texts to acknowledge and address different gendered needs. The original texts and their edited versions are outlined below. The footnotes in the edited versions are included for context.

This "gender-editing" exercise illustrates that Forster and Bell's analysis holds true within the five ceasefires selected. Ideas relating to gender inequality, and the need for special protections for women due to discrimination, are mentioned only fleetingly, with little detail provided on precisely how the inequitable effects of conflict and violence will be mitigated through the ceasefires. In the edited texts, in order to enhance the specificity, it was generally necessary to clarify how the original provisions could be implemented and to include considerations such as quotas for participation and the allocation of funding. The enhanced specificity in these provisions, in turn, would provide clear and measurable benchmarks to aid in the monitoring of their implementation.

3.1 Examples of Gender-Editing Existing Ceasefire Agreements

3.1.1 Lebanon, Syria: "Arsal 24-Hour Ceasefire Agreement," 5 August 2014⁴⁷

Original: The wounded will be transported [out] and civilians are permitted to leave, particularly women and children. Under the supervision of the Arsal Committee, doctors will be brought in to treat those who cannot be moved.

Edited: The wounded will be transported out and civilians are permitted to leave, particularly women and children, in the acknowledgement that women tend to be particularly susceptible to marginalisation, poverty, and suffering provoked by

⁴⁶ Forster and Bell, "Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires."

⁴⁷ "Arsal 24-Hour Ceasefire Agreement, 5 August 2014" (2014), www.peaceagreements.org/viewmaster/document/1840 [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

armed conflict.⁴⁸ Under the supervision of the Aarsal Committee, doctors will be brought in to treat those who cannot be moved. Women doctors and psychologists will be trained and deployed to treat women, in the recognition that women are at increased risk of gender- and sexual-based violence, particularly amid conflict,⁴⁹ and may therefore feel more comfortable being treated by other women. Moreover, all field officers responsible for supervising the transportation of civilians will be trained in the specific gender inequalities relevant to the context and means of operating the evacuation in a gender-responsive manner,⁵⁰ and 50 percent of these field officers will be women. Specific gender inequalities should be informed by consultations with the women to be evacuated. Accommodations may include safeguarding leadership roles for women, thus ensuring women have control over the spaces in which they live and travel; ensuring that attention is paid to needs and rights arising from pregnancy and childbirth; ensuring equitable food distribution; and ensuring protection against sexual harassment and assault during the evacuation, along with ample gender-responsive mechanisms through which such attacks can be reported and compensation requested.⁵¹

3.1.2 South Sudan: “Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access,” 21 December 2017⁵²

Original: The Parties shall provide CTSAMM [the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism] with information it requires for the discharge of its duties, including the following...e) Reporting on sexual violence.⁵³

Edited: The Parties shall provide CTSAMM with information it requires for the discharge of its duties, including the following...e) Reporting on sexual violence. Recognising that sexual violence in conflict is targeted at women, men, and people with diverse gender identities and sexual orientations,⁵⁴ all survivors of sexual violence, regardless of gender, will be provided with anonymous, confidential ways to report the violence suffered to the parties. If in-person

48 C. Lindsey-Curtet et al., “Addressing the Needs of Women Affected by Armed Conflict,” International Committee of the Red Cross (2004), www.refworld.org/pdfid/46e943780.pdf [last accessed: 24 October 2021], p. 10.

49 Ibid., p. 8.

50 Ibid., p. 11.

51 “Closing the Gender Gap in Humanitarian Action,” UN Women (n.d.), <https://interactive.unwomen.org/multimedia/infographic/humanitarianaction/en/index.html> [last accessed: 24 October 2021]; S. Gomez, “Guidelines for Gender Sensitive Disaster Management,” Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (2006), www.preventionweb.net/files/2726_APWLDguidelinesgendersensitive1.pdf [last accessed: 24 October 2021].

52 “Agreement on Cessation of Hostilities, Protection of Civilians and Humanitarian Access, 21 December 2017,” Intergovernmental Authority on Development (2017), www.peaceagreements.org/viewmaster/document/1966 [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

53 There were other gender provisions within this ceasefire, but just one has been selected to edit.

54 S. K. Chynoweth et al., “Characteristics and Impacts of Sexual Violence against Men and Boys in Conflict and Displacement: A Multicountry Exploratory Study,” *Journal of Interpersonal Violence*, 37:9–10 (2022), NP7470–501.

reporting is required, women will have the option to report sexual violence to another woman confidentially. Protection measures will be established, and a specific budget protected to ensure that survivors of sexual violence are not intimidated before, during, or after reporting harassment or attacks. Following reporting, survivors of sexual violence will be provided with information regarding the psychosocial and medical (including sexual and reproductive health) support services available. Parties in armed conflict will make specific, time-bound commitments to punish perpetrators of sexual violence through legal avenues,⁵⁵ developing these commitments into a code of conduct following consultation with survivors. It will be recognised that even when violent conflict has ceased, sexual violence often remains prevalent due to the insecurity and lack of accountability that commonly persist in post-conflict settings; therefore, reporting mechanisms will not be limited in time.⁵⁶

3.1.3 Colombia: “Agreement on the Bilateral and Final Ceasefire, End of Hostilities, and Laying Down of Weapons between the National Government and the FARC-EP [Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia—People’s Army],” 23 June 2016⁵⁷

Original: During the term of Agreement on CFHBD [Spanish acronym for “the bilateral and definitive ceasefire and end of hostilities”] and DA [dejação de armas, or laying down of weapons], the FARC-EP will designate a group of 60 of its members (men and women) that can be mobilised at a national level to perform duties related to the Peace Agreement. Likewise, for each ZVTN Spanish acronym for “transitional veredal zones of normalisation”; these zones are the smallest municipal entities in Colombia, FARC-EP will designate a group of 10 of its members that can be mobilised at a municipal and departmental level, to fulfil tasks related to the Peace Agreement. For these offsets, members of the FARC-EP will agree on security measures with the National Government, which will make available two protection teams per zone for the movement. The exit from ZVTNs will be under the responsibility of FARC-EP orders.

Edited: During the term of Agreement on CFHBD and DA, the FARC-EP will designate a group of 60 of its members (men and women) that can be mobilised at a national level to perform duties related to the Peace Agreement. Specifically, 50 percent of these members will be women, and the distribution of duties will be equitable, ensuring that women and men are offered the same opportunities, including leadership roles, and ensuring that all relevant expertise specific to women and their experiences is capitalised upon. Likewise, for each ZVTN,

55 “Sexual Violence Monitoring,” Women’s International League of Peace and Freedom (n.d.), www.peacewomen.org/security-council/sexual-violence-indicators-and-monitoring [last accessed: 24 October 2021].

56 Ibid.

57 “Agreement on the Bilateral and Final Ceasefire, End of Hostilities, and Laying Down of Weapons between the National Government and the FARC-EP” (2016), www.peaceagreements.org/viewmaster/document/1736 [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

FARC-EP will designate a group of 10 of its members that can be mobilised at a municipal and departmental level, to fulfil tasks related to the Peace Agreement. For these offsets, members of the FARC-EP will agree on security measures with the National Government, which will make available two protection teams per zone for the movement. The exit from ZVTNs will be under the responsibility of FARC-EP orders. Each group will comprise 50 percent women.

3.1.4 Sudan, Darfur: “Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement on the Conflict in Darfur,” 8 April 2004⁵⁸

Original: Protocol on Establishing Humanitarian Assistance in Darfur Article 2: Impartiality Principle—Humanitarian assistance is provided regardless of ethnic origin, gender, nationality, opinions, race or religion. Assistance to victims will be guided only by urgent distress cases.

Edited: Protocol on Establishing Humanitarian Assistance in Darfur Article 2: Impartiality Principle—Humanitarian assistance is provided regardless of ethnic origin, gender, nationality, opinions, race, or religion. Assistance to victims will be guided only by urgent distress cases. It is noted that gender equality is frequently not prioritised within the sphere of humanitarian assistance and that, when crises strike, gender inequalities are often exacerbated. For example, there can be increased levels of gender-based violence, and women can be excluded from life-saving services and decision-making processes due to discriminatory social norms. Yet, at the same time, women are often the first responders to a crisis and best equipped to support their societies. Therefore, women will be meaningfully engaged in the establishment of humanitarian assistance;⁵⁹ their precise needs, rights, and interests will be sought through consultations; all distributors of assistance will be trained in gender-responsive humanitarianism; and a specific budget will be allocated, and protected, to respond to the interests and rights of women and girls in all future security arrangements and in the humanitarian sphere.

3.1.5 Ireland, United Kingdom, and Northern Ireland: “Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) Ceasefire Statement,” 13 October 1994⁶⁰

Original: To our physically and mentally wounded who have served Ulster so unselfishly, we wish a speedy recovery, and to the relatives of these men and women, we pledge our continued moral and practical support.

58 “Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement on the Conflict in Darfur” (2004), www.peaceagreements.org/viewmasterdocument/647 [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

59 “Closing the Gender Gap in Humanitarian Action”; Gomez, “Guidelines for Gender Sensitive Disaster Management.”

60 “Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) Ceasefire Statement, 13 October 1994” (1994), www.peaceagreements.org/viewmasterdocument/1258 [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

Edited: To our physically and mentally wounded who have served Ulster so unselfishly, we wish a speedy recovery, and to the relatives of these men and women, we pledge our continued moral and practical support. Furthermore, noting that women and men combatants experience the effects of war differently, this inequity will be reflected in the support provided for their recovery. Acknowledging that women tend to experience higher rates of post-traumatic stress disorder and depression, are at increased risk of military sexual trauma, and often lack knowledge of or access to women-specific healthcare services,⁶¹ funding will be allocated for gender-responsive recovery programmes and for raising awareness of these programmes among women soldiers. Tailored reintegration and mental health support will also especially be provided to male soldiers (particularly veterans who incurred disabilities during their active service) to prevent trauma, substance abuse, and potential suicide attempts.

61 See, for instance, B. L. Hawkins and B. M. Crowe, "Injured Female Veterans' Experiences with Community Reintegration: A Qualitative Study," *Journal of Military, Veteran and Family Health* 4:2 (2018), pp. 18–27; Luna K. C., "Everyday Realities of Reintegration: Experiences of Maoist 'Verified' Women Ex-combatants in the Aftermath of War in Nepal," *Conflict, Security & Development* 19:5 (2019), pp. 453–74.

4 Gender-Editing Ceasefire Agreements: A Participatory Approach

As explored above, ceasefire texts are rarely negotiated through a gender-sensitive lens and seldom result in gender-responsive provisions. However, general ceasefire provisions can be made gender-responsive by taking the experiences, rights, needs, and interests of women, as well as the gendered effects of conflict, into account. Accordingly, in 2018, a civil society alliance in Myanmar endeavoured to highlight the exclusive nature of a recent ceasefire in that country, along with its attendant monitoring framework, by highlighting deficiencies in the text before editing it to demonstrate how provisions could have been made more inclusive. This section details this novel work and, drawing inspiration from this process, explains how a similar methodology was applied in the context of a recent ceasefire announced in Yemen through a participatory workshop with Yemeni civil society representatives.

In 2018, the Alliance for Gender Inclusion in the Peace Process (AGIPP) published a strong yet constructive critique of the Myanmar Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) and Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) Framework, signed in 2015. The authors condemned the men-dominated nature of the peace process, described the ceasefire negotiations as being neither inclusive nor representative of women, and decried the failure of the ceasefire text to reference “well-established” women, peace, and security (WPS) norms and standards.⁶² “By failing to take into account women’s experiences of violence and insecurity, as well as their needs and contributions towards the building of peaceful societies,” the AGIPP stated, “the NCA and JMC, as primary formal peacebuilding instruments, risk undermining the sustainability of Myanmar’s peace process.”⁶³

The authors of the report identify seven points of concern within the NCA: a lack of reference to international standards; the exclusion of women from implementation mechanisms; inadequate definitions of violence and forms of insecurity; inadequate justice and accountability mechanisms; a limited role for civilian participation; a failure to mention women combatants and women supporters of fighting forces; and inattention to gender within references to health, education, and livelihoods.⁶⁴ The authors then proceed to edit the JMC, rewriting the text to demonstrate how “gender perspectives” could have been included.⁶⁵

62 “If Half the Population Mattered: A Critique of the Myanmar Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement and Joint Monitoring Committee Framework from a Gender Perspective,” Alliance for Gender Inclusion in the Peace Process (2018), www.agipp.org/sites/agipp.org/files/if_half_the_population_mattered_a_critique_of_the_myanmar_nationwide_ceasefire_agreement_and_joint_monitoring_committee_framework_from_a_gender_perspective.pdf [last accessed: 23 October 2021].

63 Ibid., pp. 3–4.

64 Ibid., p. 4.

65 Ibid., pp. 17–23.

Inspired by the work of the AGIPP, in October 2021, Inclusive Peace conducted a workshop co-organised with and co-facilitated by Kawkab al-Thaibani of the Women4Yemen network.⁶⁶ The focus of the workshop was to consider the ceasefire declared by Saudi Arabia in April 2020.⁶⁷ This ceasefire text does not mention women or gender. It has also almost entirely been disregarded by the coalition, by government forces, and by the Houthi movement, also known as Ansar Allah.⁶⁸ The ceasefire text was a mere announcement, declared through the Saudi Press Agency, and did not feature detailed provisions. The ceasefire was not monitored, nor did it pave the way for future talks.

The English text of the ceasefire is as follows:

The Joint Forces Command of the Coalition to Restore Legitimacy in Yemen Declares a Comprehensive Ceasefire in Yemen for a Period of Two Weeks, Starting on Thursday, April 9, 2020 at 12:00 KSA Time. The Two-week Period is Subject to Extension.

Riyadh, April 08, 2020, Saudi Press Agency (SPA)—Statement by the Official Spokesman of the Coalition to Restore Legitimacy in Yemen, Col. Turki al-Malki.

Based on its previous announcement on March 25, 2020, the Joint Forces Command of the Coalition supported the Yemeni government's decision to accept the United Nations Secretary General's call to a ceasefire in Yemen in order to counter the spread of the COVID-19 Pandemic. As well as welcoming the call by the United Nations Secretary-General's Special Envoy to Yemen Mr. Martin Griffiths to de-escalate tensions, take practical confidence building measures between different parties, and focus on humanitarian and economic development.

The Coalition is determined to create a conducive environment for the UN Envoy's efforts, and to alleviate the suffering of the brotherly people of Yemen and support the efforts towards combating the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic. To that end, the Coalition announces a comprehensive ceasefire in Yemen for a period of two weeks, starting on Thursday, April 9, 2020 at 12:00 KSA time. The two week period is subject to extension to allow for appropriate conditions to implement the UN Envoy's call for a UN-sponsored meeting between the legitimate government of Yemen, the Houthis, and military representatives from the Coalition to discuss his proposals on steps and

66 This workshop was conducted in Arabic and brought together five representatives of women's initiatives and civil society organisations based across Yemen and in the diaspora.

67 "Riyadh, April 08, 2020, SPA—Statement by the Official Spokesman of the Coalition to Restore Legitimacy in Yemen COL Turki Al-Malki" (2020), English: www.spa.gov.sa/viewfullstory.php?lang=en&newsid=2071816 and Arabic: www.spa.gov.sa/2071794 [last accessed: 6 September 2022].

68 See, for instance, B. McKernan, "Fighting Escalates in Yemen Despite Coronavirus 'Ceasefire'," *The Guardian* (14 April 2020), www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/14/fighting-escalates-in-yemen-despite-coronavirus-ceasefire [last accessed: 23 October 2021]; "Saudi-Led Coalition Extends Unilateral Yemen Ceasefire by a Month," *Al Jazeera* (24 April 2020), www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/4/24/saudi-led-coalition-extends-unilateral-yemen-ceasefire-by-a-month [last accessed: 23 October 2021]; "Yemen War: Coalition Ceasefire to Help Combat Coronavirus Begins," *BBC News* (9 April 2020), www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-52224358 [last accessed: 23 October 2021].

mechanisms to implement a permanent ceasefire in Yemen, confidence-building measures on humanitarian and economic sides, and to resume the political process between Yemeni parties in order to reach a comprehensive political solution in Yemen.

The Coalition will seize this opportunity to unite all efforts to reach a comprehensive and lasting cease-fire in Yemen and agree on serious, concrete, and direct steps to alleviate the suffering of the brotherly Yemeni people and maintain their health and safety. The Coalition will support all efforts to reach a fair and comprehensive political solution agreed upon by all Yemenis

—SPA

Recognising the above frustrations and limitations, the workshop facilitators began by inviting the participants to reflect on their experiences of the 2020 ceasefire. They were asked:

- whether they had been aware of it;
- whether they felt it had achieved any cessation in hostilities;
- whether it had exerted any impact upon their lives;
- whether they felt it had responded to the experiences, demands, rights, and needs of Yemeni women and girls.

The responses to the final question were emphatically negative. While the participants had heard of the declaration of the ceasefire, often through social media platforms, many expressed their view that the announcement of ceasefires can provoke fear as Yemenis are aware that an escalation of hostilities, as opposed to a period of calm, tends to follow ostensible ceasefires.

Participants were then asked: “If you were negotiating a future ceasefire in Yemen, what would you want it to say to protect Yemeni women and girls?” The participants voiced an array of ideas, including:

- the need to support women victims of sexual violence, who must also often cope with stigma in their communities and families, and the need to guarantee access to justice for survivors in the wake of a ceasefire;
- safeguarding of women’s health services and the provision of health services to internally displaced women;
- the training of security officials in gender responsiveness;

- special protections for women detainees and gender-responsive reintegration of former women prisoners into society;
- measures to ensure women can access travel documents and identification cards without being accompanied by men relatives;
- equitable access to prosthetic limbs.

The workshop participants also expressed a number of less explicit needs. For example, there was strong concern about internally displaced women and detainees, as well as women's access to essential amenities, particularly healthcare, and equitable freedom of movement. More broadly, the participants turned to international legal frameworks to guarantee and protect the rights of Yemeni women and, more specifically, the right of Yemeni women to participate in the implementation and monitoring of any ceasefire and future peace talks.

Following this open discussion, the participants were invited to suggest precise sentences that would address these general concerns and that could have been added to the announcement.⁶⁹ The finalised sentences are listed below and centre on the application of legal and normative standards, the imperative of guaranteeing women's participation, the importance of ensuring women's equitable access to services and support, and demands relating to inclusive security provisions.

Application of international legal and normative standards

1. Implement the Yemeni National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 (in particular the provisions regarding women's participation) in relation to the ceasefire, including within implementation and monitoring mechanisms.
2. Apply international human rights instruments to protect women and girls.
3. Provide gender-responsive training to officials regarding the WPS agenda.

⁶⁹ During this stage of the workshop, the participants were first briefly shown several examples of possible provisions that could be added to the announcement drawn from Forster and Bell, "Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires," pp. 10–13. They were then invited to suggest precise sentences that could be added. These sentences were typed in Arabic onto a series of PowerPoint slides during the discussion to allow the participants to verify them during the workshop. A copy was also shared following the workshop to permit further validation.

Women's participation

1. Guarantee the participation of women in upcoming peace talks in recognition of their experience and expertise.
2. Guarantee at least 30 percent women's participation at all levels of the peace process.

Women's equitable access to services and support

1. Address gender-based discrimination in all sectors.
2. Guarantee women's access to basic services, including health and education (e.g. access to sanitary towels). Ensure women prisoners and displaced women, including those currently residing within camps for the internally displaced, also have equal access to these services.
3. Ensure women have freedom of movement and are legally able to travel by ensuring gender-equitable access to travel documents.
4. Provide psychological support for women.
5. Provide legal support for women and, in particular, guarantee access to justice for survivors of sexual violence and so-called honour crimes.
6. Ensure women have equal access to prosthetic limbs.

Inclusive security provisions

1. Create safe zones for civilians, especially women.
2. Ensure that ceasefires stipulate the opening of roads.
3. Ensure that monitoring mechanisms gather data on gender-based violence.

5 Strategies for Women to Secure Greater Influence over Ceasefire Negotiations and Provisions

This study's desk review of existing literature and its gender-editing exercises have examined ways in which women peacebuilders and their supporters—together with negotiation parties, mediators, and facilitators—can work towards the achievement of gender-responsive ceasefires and their monitoring and implementation. Such approaches can be categorised into a series of strategies to secure gender-responsive provisions in ceasefires and the equal participation and influence of women in ceasefire negotiation processes.

Advocacy

1. Support women to launch mass campaigns to demand ceasefires⁷⁰ and their participation in the negotiation of ceasefires.
2. Support women to conduct targeted lobbying and advocacy to influence the warring parties and both regional and international actors.

Inclusion, participation, and influence

1. Ensure mediation teams include a gender expert.⁷¹
2. Ensure 50 percent participation by women in mediation teams and in negotiating parties during ceasefire talks, for instance through the use of a quota.⁷²
3. Consider premising the provision of financial and other support from member states or third parties supporting the negotiation of a ceasefire on an inclusive process, including a gender quota.
4. Ensure the violence addressed in the negotiation of ceasefires and the scope of ceasefire agreements include sexual and gender-based violence, and that the differing effects of violence upon women and men are accounted for.⁷³

70 Menon, "Gender Responsive Ceasefires and Ceasefire Agreements," p. 5.

71 "10 Steps to Ensure Gender Responsive Processes and Ceasefire Agreements," Better Peace Initiative (n.d.), www.icanpeacework.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/ICAN-BPI-Steps-for-Inclusion-in-Ceasefire-Agreements.pdf [last accessed: 24 October 2021], p. 1; "COVID-19 and Conflict," p. 7.

72 "10 Steps to Ensure Gender Responsive Processes and Ceasefire Agreements," p. 1; "Guidance on Mediation of Ceasefires," p. 33.

73 "10 Steps to Ensure Gender Responsive Processes and Ceasefire Agreements," p. 1.

5. Establish a gender panel or commission to monitor the ceasefire negotiation process and advise the negotiating parties.⁷⁴
6. Where necessary, offer gender expertise to members of negotiating parties.⁷⁵
7. Conduct risk assessments and employ adequate measures to protect women representatives in ceasefire talks from external threats such as hate speech and physical attacks. Ensure that all protection measures align with the “do no harm” approach.⁷⁶
8. Ensure that women delegates have access to childcare and adequate transportation so they can fully participate in ceasefire talks.⁷⁷
9. Ensure that women have additional opportunities for influencing ceasefire negotiations beyond direct participation in track one talks—for example, by creating platforms for direct exchange between women’s groups and conflict parties, organising consultations between women’s groups, or facilitating women’s groups’ work on and review of draft ceasefire agreements.⁷⁸
10. Create and/or support channels of communication between track two and track three initiatives and spaces⁷⁹ to ensure the needs and demands at the grassroots level are incorporated within the negotiations for the ceasefire.⁸⁰
11. Train negotiating parties and mediation teams (both women and men) in the gendered aspects of ceasefires.⁸¹

74 “Guidance on Mediation of Ceasefires,” p. 33; Forster and Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires,” p. 14.

75 Forster and Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires,” p. 14; COVID-19 and Conflict,” p. 5.

76 “Guidance on Mediation of Ceasefires,” p. 33.

77 Ibid., p. 34.

78 Ibid., p. 33–4.

79 In the prominent “multi-track” model of peace processes, official diplomacy (i.e. between government and military leaders, and focused upon the negotiation of ceasefires and peace accords) has been termed “track one” whereas unofficial dialogue sessions, workshops, and problem-solving activities (involving civil society leaders and influential individuals) have been termed “track two.” “Track three,” in turn, typically features activities at the grassroots level that aim to encourage mutual interaction and understanding. See, for example, J. Palmiano Federer et al. (2019), “Beyond the Tracks? Reflections on Multitrack Approaches to Peace Processes,” Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (2019), www.hdcentre.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/Beyond-the-Tracks-Reflections-on-Multitrack-Approaches-to-Peace-Processes.pdf [last accessed: 17 January 2021]; J. P. Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997).

80 “COVID-19 and Conflict,” p. 6; Forster and Bell, “Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires,” p. 14.

81 “10 Steps to Ensure Gender Responsive Processes and Ceasefire Agreements,” p. 1.

Monitoring

1. Ensure women's participation in the monitoring of ceasefire agreements.⁸²
2. Disaggregate by gender the data collected by monitoring mechanisms.⁸³

82 "COVID-19 and Conflict," p. 6; "Guidance on Mediation of Ceasefires," p. 33.

83 "COVID-19 and Conflict," p. 6; "10 Steps to Ensure Gender Responsive Processes and Ceasefire Agreements," p. 1.

6 Conclusion

Despite the normative and policy-making progress centred around the WPS agenda and UNSCR 1325, international practice to promote and safeguard women's participation and influence in peacemaking is still inadequate. This is all the more acute in the context of ceasefire negotiations. This report has attempted to chart ways to address this.

The literature review noted that gender inequality and the need for protection for women due to discrimination are usually mentioned only fleetingly in ceasefire texts, with little precision or detail provided on how the ceasefire could mitigate the inequitable effects of conflict and violence. It also charted both the more immediate and the longer-term benefits of gender-responsive ceasefires. A typology was proposed for evaluating ceasefire negotiation processes and agreements along a continuum ranging from gender discriminatory to gender transformative. It is hoped that this will be a helpful tool for practitioners and policy-makers. The gender-editing exercise corroborated the findings from the literature review, illustrating how the exclusion of women from ceasefire negotiations and the lack of gender-responsive provisions in ceasefires could be overcome, through strategies to achieve more inclusive ceasefires and presenting example language that could be adopted. The editing process, which aimed to enhance the provisions' specificity, generally entailed clarifying how the original provisions could be implemented, including considerations such as quotas for participation and the allocation of funding. The enhanced specificity in these provisions, in turn, provides clear and measurable benchmarks to aid in the monitoring of their implementation.

Overall, gender-responsive ceasefire negotiations and agreements, in terms of both participation and provisions, could set an important precedent for inclusion throughout all subsequent stages of peace processes. This dynamic of broader participation in peace processes could then permeate out into the development of the necessary conditions and precedents—such as inclusive governance structures—to ultimately engender more inclusive societies.

Appendix: 2021 Workshop

Conducted by Inclusive Peace and Co-organised and Co-facilitated by Kawkab al-Thaibani from the Women4Yemen Network

The workshop's agenda encompassed two main activities. Firstly, the facilitators initiated an open discussion about the Saudi Arabia-led coalition's ceasefire agreement, drafted in April 2020.⁸⁴ The workshop participants indicated their knowledge of this ceasefire agreement, assessed the agreement's outcomes and gender responsiveness, and elaborated on key features that any gender-responsive ceasefire agreement would need to have. Secondly, the workshop participants used the insights from the open discussion to develop concrete suggestions on how to enhance the gender responsiveness of existing ceasefire agreements. This hands-on editing exercise first focused on the Saudi-led coalition's 2020 ceasefire agreement, which neglected gender-related concerns altogether. The workshop participants jointly discussed and added new, specific sentences to the original Saudi ceasefire agreement so that it addressed Yemeni women's and girls' concerns, interests, experiences, needs, rights, and demands in a meaningful way. The second part of the editing exercise involved five ceasefire agreements from Lebanon, South Sudan, Colombia, Sudan, and Northern Ireland. Scholars involved in the PA-X project classified these ceasefire agreements as gender-sensitive, even though the provisions on gender are vague. The workshop facilitators therefore asked the participants to rephrase one gender provision from each of the five ceasefire agreements in a more precise and powerful way.

The workshop participants (see Section 4) came from Yemeni civil society organisations and women's initiatives based across Yemen and in the diaspora:

Participant	Affiliation
Solaf Aboud o Al-Hanshi	Alamal Sociocultural Feminism Foundation
Abha Baoudan	Alamal Sociocultural Feminism Foundation
Dalia Mohammed	A community and peace activist in Taiz
Mohammed Al-Kathiri	Peace and Building organisation
Lina Al-Hasani	To Be organisation
Abeer Al-Qadasi	Wojood organisation
Um Anas	Abductees' Mothers Association

⁸⁴ "Riyadh, April 08, 2020, SPA."

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