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## Introductory Guide



## Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP)

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# PA-X: Peace Agreements Database

## [www.peaceagreements.org](http://www.peaceagreements.org)

### What is PA-X?

The PA-X Peace Agreement Database ([www.peaceagreements.org](http://www.peaceagreements.org)) is a database and repository of peace agreements from 1990 to date, current up until 1 January 2016. PA-X provides a comprehensive dataset of peace agreements from 1990 to 2015, capable of underpinning both quantitative and qualitative research. The database is available as Version 1 from the website, with future updated versions planned.

PA-X has been designed to provide easy access to peace agreement texts and to allow users to explore patterns of agreements over time, both within processes and across processes. It aims to be accessible to:

- mediators and parties in conflict seeking to understand how compromise can be crafted
- civic actors seeking to influence on-going peace talks and proposals
- social science researchers interested in understanding peace agreements quantitatively and qualitatively

### What does PA-X Include?

PA-X contains:

- over 1500 agreements in over 140 peace processes
- coding of provisions for 225 substantive categories such as power-sharing, women, and transitional justice

It enables search permutations which can disaggregate the data by country, entity, region, conflict type, and stage of agreement; and allows examination of different combinations of issues addressed.

PA-X provides full data for statistical analysis, with weighted coding for key issues based on whether the provision is rhetorical (1), or goal oriented and demonstrating intent to implement (3), with intermediate provisions that are either goal oriented or indicate clear intent to implement (2).

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## What is PA-X Gender?

PA-X is accompanied by PA-X Gender, which contains more detailed analysis of the over 330 agreements in the main PA-X collection that mention women, girls, or gender. This database breaks down the relevant provisions into 53 categories, again with detailed search mechanisms and quantitative data fully available.

The search mechanisms and pages on PA-X Gender work the same way as PA-X, although they involve different sub-coding of gender provisions. PA-X Gender was launched in 2015 and has been central to research by institutions including UN Women and the Council of Foreign Relations.

## PA-X Key Definitions

**Peace Agreement:** a formal, publicly-available document, produced after discussion with conflict protagonists and mutually agreed to by some or all of them, addressing conflict with a view to ending it.

**Conflict's protagonists:** state actors and armed non-state actors who are involved in violent conflict (whether causing deaths or not), or associated political representatives.

**Conflict:** armed violence, causing more than 25 conflict-related deaths in one year.

**Peace Process:** a formal attempt to bring political and/or military protagonists of conflict, to some sort of mutual agreement as to how to end the conflict.

### PA-X Contains three different types of agreement:

**Interstate agreements in inter-state conflict.** These include, for example, agreements between Argentina and the UK restoring normal relations, or between Ecuador and Peru, or Eritrea and Ethiopia, dealing with border issues.

**Intrastate agreements in intrastate conflict.** These comprise the vast majority of the collection. The agreement is defined as intrastate if it includes non-state parties and is directed primarily at intrastate relations, even if signed also by state parties.

**Interstate agreement relating to intrastate conflict.** These are agreements signed by two or more states, but as a result of talks between parties to intrastate conflict.

The agreements are coded along more than 225 substantive categories and agreement identifiers and contextual variables (e.g. region, third parties, signatories, and similar). See **PA-X Codebook** for definitions of all categories and explanations for the numerical values in the spreadsheets that can be downloaded from the PA-X website.

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## Sources

Agreements were sourced using: existing collections; country-specific websites and literature; websites of other civic groups; official documentation of international organisations; and writing to or meeting with and requesting documentation from governments and actors who have signed peace agreements, or mediators involved in conflicts. The data collected was often generated close in time to the conflict, but also over a thirty-year period, or in some cases historically, because the agreements relating to conflicts fought within 50 years of the 1990 database threshold were included where available.

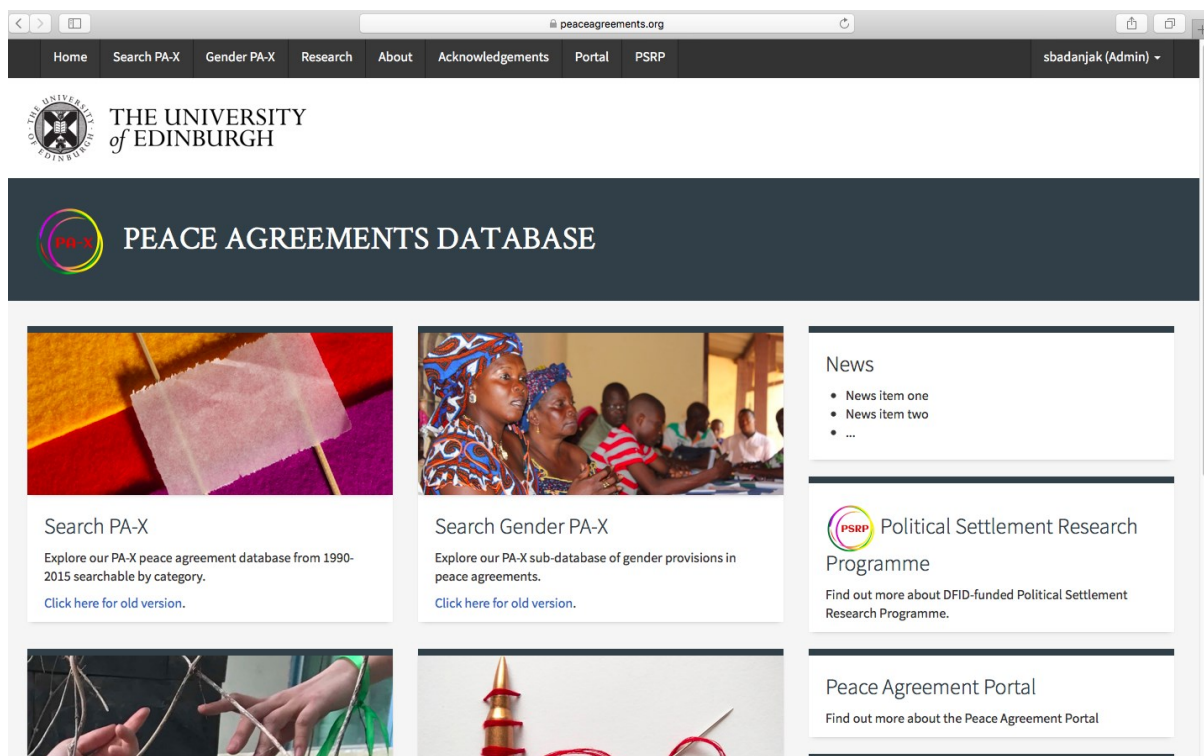
In a few situations involving local agreements, most notably the Syrian conflict, we have recorded and coded agreements whose text could not be verified, if we had a clear basis for regarding it as largely reliable. Any such instances have been recorded and a general caveat about these texts is noted in the database.

## How to use PA-X?

The PA-X homepage is at <https://www.peaceagreements.org>, where you can click on “Search PA-X”.

Alternatively, you can go to: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/search>.

This is what the homepage looks like:



The search page provides immediate access to basic search, as seen on the following page.

The screenshot shows the PA-X Peace Agreements Database search page. At the top, there is a navigation bar with links: Home, Search PA-X, Gender PA-X, Research, About, Acknowledgements, Portal, PSRP, and a user profile 'sbadanjak (Admin)'. Below the navigation bar is the University of Edinburgh logo and the title 'PEACE AGREEMENTS DATABASE'. A paragraph explains that PA-X is a database containing around 1500 peace agreements in around 150 peace processes, and provides instructions on how to search. The main section is titled 'Search the Peace Agreements Database' and includes a link to 'advanced search'. Below this is a 'Search by Agreement' section with three dropdown menus: 'Region' (with a description 'Find agreements within a specific geographical region'), 'Country/Entity' (with a description 'Find agreements signed by selected country or entity'), and 'Agreement name' (with a description 'Find agreements by their title'). At the bottom of this section is a 'Search by Agreement Content' section.

Note that there are several additional options to choose from at the bottom of the page: 'advanced search', which provides more search options; 'view a listing', which opens a list of all agreements; and download links for quantitative data export in .csv or .xlsx format (see image below).

This screenshot shows the same search page but with the 'Search by Agreement Content' section expanded. It includes two more dropdown menus: 'Agreements addressing (categories)' (with a description 'Look for specific categories addressed by the agreement') and '(subcategories)' (with a description 'Optionally, refine your results for more specific data'). Below these are two radio buttons: 'Find agreements with any of the selected categories' (which is selected) and 'Find agreements which have all of the selected categories'. There is also a 'Agreement text (free text search)' section with a dropdown menu 'Include all' and a description 'Find agreements with the specified text in the body of the agreement document'. At the bottom of the page, there is a 'Search Database' button, a link to 'advanced search', and a link to 'View a listing, download a CSV export', or 'download an Excel export' of all peace agreements in the database.



The advanced search tool adds multiple search options and allows for their various combinations, as demonstrated in the video which is linked to this instruction packet. The codebook provides definitions of search criteria (substantive categories, agreement/conflict level, stage and sub-stage, conflict nature, and agreement status).

For each agreement listed in the search results, the database listing and full text in .pdf format are available (see buttons on top rights of screen, on the next page). The search results can also be exported to downloading database spreadsheet outputs in .csv or .xlsx formats suitable for use in a range of statistical packages.

**Text of Agreements:** clicking on the agreement name triggers a download of the agreement text in .pdf, while click on the “View coding” button opens a new tab with the agreement listing in the database.

The screen image below shows the agreement listing viewing screen in the database.

On this screen, one may see all the coding categories and related agreement text (if any). The “Export agreement coding (pdf)” button produces the database list in .pdf form for the search.

The screenshot shows the Peace Agreements Database search results for Afghanistan. The page includes a navigation bar, a header with the University of Edinburgh logo, and a search results section. The search results table lists four agreements signed in Afghanistan, each with a 'View coding' button. An 'Export' sidebar on the right offers options to download the search results or export data for 1520 agreements in Excel or CSV format.

Home Search PA-X Gender PA-X Research About Acknowledgements Portal PSRP guestteam18 (Guest)

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PEACE AGREEMENTS DATABASE

This is the heading for the search results. You can change it in the admin section.

← Search again

We found 1520 agreements.

Export

Export search result:  
1520 agreements [Open in new tab](#) [Download](#)  
[Export data for 1520 agreements \(Excel\)](#)  
[Export data for 1520 agreements \(CSV\)](#)

Countries/entities	Date signed	Agreement	
Afghanistan	08/07/2012	Tokyo Declaration Partnership for Self-Reliance in Afghanistan from Transition to Transformation (Tokyo Conference)	<a href="#">View coding</a>
Afghanistan	05/12/2011	Conclusions of the Conference on Afghanistan and the International Community: From Transition to the Transformation Decade (Bonn Conference)	<a href="#">View coding</a>
Afghanistan	02/11/2011	Istanbul Process on Regional Security and Cooperation for a Secure and Stable Afghanistan	<a href="#">View coding</a>
Afghanistan	22/07/2010	Renewed Commitment by the Afghan Government to the Afghan People and the International Community to Afghanistan (Kashul Conference Communique)	<a href="#">View coding</a>



peaceagreements.org

PA-X: Peace Agreements Database

Home Search PA-X Gender PA-X Research About Acknowledgements Portal PSRP guestteam18 (Guest)

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PEACE AGREEMENTS DATABASE

### Tokyo Declaration Partnership for Self-Reliance in Afghanistan from Transition to Transformation (Tokyo Conference)

[← Back](#) [Export agreement coding \(PDF\)](#)

<b>Country/entity</b>	Afghanistan
<b>Region</b>	Europe and Eurasia
<b>Agreement name</b>	Tokyo Declaration Partnership for Self-Reliance in Afghanistan from Transition to Transformation (Tokyo Conference)
<b>Date</b>	08/07/2012
<b>Agreement status</b>	Multiparty signed/agreed
<b>Agreement/conflict level</b>	Interstate/intrastate conflict(s) ( <a href="#">Afghan Wars (1979 - )</a> )
<b>Stage</b>	Implementation/renegotiation (Addresses new or outstanding issues)
<b>Conflict nature</b>	Government
<b>Parties</b>	Not signed, agreement mentions the following parties as having produced it: The Afghan Government and the International Community (representatives from 55 countries and 25 international and other organizations from around the world)
<b>Third parties</b>	Ambassador Kazuo Kodama, Chargé d'affaires ad interim Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations

Link to Video demonstrating database search capacity: <https://youtu.be/PH3ukhPJih4>

# Glossary of Key Terms

## **Country**

The country or jurisdiction in which the conflict originated.

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## **Name of Agreement**

The name of the agreement as found in the text of the agreement. Where appropriate, popular names of the agreements are included in parenthesis.

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## **Date Signed**

The date on which the agreement was signed or agreed.

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## **Year**

The year in which the agreement was signed or agreed.

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## **Parties**

The parties who directly sign the agreement, often the parties to the conflict and their regional allies.

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## **Third Parties**

Parties who sign the agreement as third parties, such as observers, guarantors, or witnesses, and who can comprise states, international organisations, and non-governmental organisations. The actual term used has been entered in the database.

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## **Description**

Summary description of the agreement's content.

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## **Statehood / Identity**

Provisions of the agreement dealing with the nature and identity of the state, for example, whether it is unitary, involves autonomy, is intended to be pluralist, or socialist.

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**Governance / Democratic Institutions**

Mechanisms establishing new forms of governance, such as power-sharing or interim administration, and/or new democratic institutions.

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**Amnesty**

Provisions providing for full or partial amnesty.

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**Past Mechanism**

Provisions that address how to deal with past abuses of human rights and humanitarian law, such as through truth commissions, commissions of inquiry, or international criminal tribunals.

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**Prisoner release**

Provisions specifically providing for the release of prisoners.

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**Victims**

Provisions specifically addressing victims.

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**Criminal Justice Reform**

Provisions specifically providing for reform of criminal justice.

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**National Human Rights Institution**

Provisions establishing national human rights institutions, or institutions for promoting democracy, such as human rights commissions, ombudsman mechanisms, and equality commissions.

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**Human Rights Framework**

Provisions providing for a human rights framework to guide the post-conflict period, for example by making provision for a bill of rights or for incorporation of human rights standards.

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**Judicial Reform**

Provisions addressing the reform of the judiciary.

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**Policing**

Provisions addressing policing, and reform of the police or of the army where they have been providing policing functions.

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**Refugees / Land**

Provisions specifically addressing refugees' issues, such as return, and land claims.

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**Civil Society**

Provisions specifically addressed at the inclusion of civil society, for example, through Peace Building Commissions, or through general calls for inclusion.

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**Women**

Provisions specifically addressing women, their inclusion, and their rights.

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**Development and Socio-Economic Rights**

Provisions specifically addressing development and socio-economic issues and rights.

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**Enforcement Mechanism**

Any mechanism by which the agreement provides for its own enforcement.

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**International Community**

Any provision noting the involvement of international actors in negotiating the agreement, or specifically providing for international actors to be involved in the peace agreement's implementation.

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**UN Involvement**

Any provision referencing United Nations' involvement in the peace agreement or its implementation.

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## Categories and Sub-Categories of PA-X

**The following categories with sub categories are searchable for on PA-X (see further codebook, [www.peaceagreements.org](http://www.peaceagreements.org)).**

**Groups:** children/youth; disabled persons; elderly/age; migrant workers; racial/ethnic/national groups; religious groups; indigenous people; refugees/displaced persons; social class; other.

**Gender:** women, girls and gender; men and boys; sexual orientation; family.

**State definition:** nature of state (general); state configuration; self-determination; referendum; state symbols; independence/secession; accession/unification; border delimitation; cross-border provisions.

**Governance:** political institutions (new, reformed or temporary); constitutional renewal; constitutional reform; elections; electoral commission; political parties reform; civil society; traditional/religious leaders; public administration (civil services).

**Powersharing:** political, territorial, economic and military.

**Human rights and equality:** human rights/rule of law; equality; democracy; protection measures; human rights framework; civil and political rights; socio-economic rights; national human rights institution; regional or international human rights institutions; mobility/access; detention procedures; media and communication; citizenship.

**Justice sector reform:** Criminal justice reform and emergency provisions; judiciary and courts; prisons and detention; traditional/religious laws.

**Socio-economic reconstruction:** development or socio-economic reconstruction; national economic plan; natural resources; international funds; business; taxation; banks; land reform/rights; pastoralist/nomadic rights; cultural heritage; environment; water rights.

**Security sector:** general; ceasefire; police; armed forces; DDR; intelligence services; rebel/opposition/para-statal forces; withdrawal of foreign forces; corruption; crime; drugs; terrorism.

**Transitional justice:** amnesty/pardon; courts; mechanism; prisoner release; vetting; victims; missing; reparation; reconciliation.

**Implementation:** UN Signatory; other international signatory; referendum for agreement; international mission/force/similar; enforcement mechanism.

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## Research

The research emanating from PA-X offers substantial conceptual and empirical work, re-characterising the relationship of peace processes and peace agreements to political settlements. Our research is focused mainly on inclusion in peace processes. Who is included in what types of agreement, and what issues are covered? We are interested in exploring the trade-offs between elite bargains and other forms of inclusion in peace agreements, and considering the implementation difficulties that may arise. We examine how political/military elites and other social forces press claims of inclusion during peace processes. How is inclusion 'navigated' in the changing landscape of a peace process?

We consider in particular:

- how peace processes are structured and sequenced and the consequences of sequences for inclusion, focusing on key moments – ceasefires, peace agreements, interim constitutions, constitutions
- how horizontal inclusion of the political and military actors at the heart of the conflict is provided for, through power-sharing and forms of territorial devolution of power
- how vertical inclusion is provided for, addressing women, non-aligned minorities, and other social constituencies
- the trade-offs between vertical and horizontal inclusion and strategies for navigating them
- effective strategies for change that are used by marginalised groups, and the ways in which international intervention assists or detracts from these strategies

Our PA-X research is also complemented by case studies and practice labs, and a large-scale global Amnesty Database.

## Published Research

- Anderson, R. (2017). *Nepal Case Study* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 20). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.
  - Bell, C. *et. al.* (2017). *Navigating Inclusion in Peace Settlements, Human Rights and the Creation of the Common Good*. London: British Academy.
  - Bell, C., & Zulueta-Fülscher, K. (2016). *Sequencing Peace Agreements and Constitutions in the Political Settlement Process*. Stockholm: International IDEA.
  - Bell, C. (2015). [Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for their "Gender Perspective" \(Research Paper\)](#). New York, NY: UN Women.
  - Bell, C. (2015). [Unsettling Bargains? Power-sharing and the Inclusion of Women in Peace Negotiations \(Research Paper\)](#). New York, NY: UN Women.
  - Bell, C., & Farahnoosh, H. (2015). *Chronology of Peace Process and Peace Agreements between the Philippines and the National Democratic Front* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 3). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.
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- Bell, C., O'Rourke, C., & Matzner, S. (2015). *A chronology of Colombian Peace Processes and Peace Agreements* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 1). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.
- Bell, C., & Utley, V. (2015). *Chronology of Mindanao Peace Agreements* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 2). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.
- Forster, R. (2017). *Egypt Case Study* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 19). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.
- Jamar, A. (2017). *Burundi Case Study* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 18). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.
- Welikala, A. (2017). *Sri Lanka Case Study* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 21). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.
- Wise, L. (2017). *Bosnia-Herzegovina Case Study* (PSRP Briefing Paper No. 17). Edinburgh: Global Justice Academy, University of Edinburgh.

## Underpinning Research

- Bell, C, *On the Law of Peace: Peace Agreements and the Lex Pacificatoria* (Oxford University Press 2008).
- Bell C, 'Peace Agreements: Their Nature and Legal Status' (2006), *American Journal of International Law*, 373-412.
- Bell C, *Peace Agreements and Human Rights* (Oxford University Press 2000).

## How to cite PA-X?

PA-X (2017). *Peace Agreements Database and Access Tool, Version 1*. Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh. [www.peaceagreements.org](http://www.peaceagreements.org).

Bell, Christine, Sanja Badanjak, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, Jan Pospisil, Laura Wise (2017). *PA-X Codebook, Version 1*. Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh. [www.peaceagreements.org](http://www.peaceagreements.org).

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# Acknowledgements

## Funding

The current database is an output of the Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP) [www.politicalsettlements.org](http://www.politicalsettlements.org), funded by the Department of International Development (DFID, UK Aid). It has also received some funding from UN Women, to feed into the Global Study and UN Secretary General's Report on the fifteen-year review of UNSCR 1325, and from funding from the College of Arts and Humanities, Knowledge Transfer Fund, of the University of Edinburgh.

The pilot phases of the project were funded at different times by: the Nuffield Foundation and the British Academy.

## Research

The database was conceived of and designed by Professor Christine Bell. The permanent researchers and peace agreement analysts responsible for the research and database content are: Sanja Badanjak, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, and Laura Wise.

The current phase of the database benefited from coding by other coders, some former members of the team and its recent additions, as well as project associates: Rachel Anderson, Sean Molloy and Jan Pospisil.

Early stages of PA-X Gender also relied on coding from: Celia Davies, Meg King, Laura Martin, Sissela Matzner, Laura Murdoch, Anna Ross, Jenna Sapiano, and Susan Thomson.

Nascent versions of the project linked to the monographs above benefited from research by Jonathon Doak, Johanna Keenan and Catherine O'Rourke. Catherine O'Rourke undertook the bulk of the coding for an earlier incarnation of another similar database which informed the development of the current database, still available at: <http://www.peaceagreements.ulster.ac.uk/>

Additionally, coding analysis was contributed by University of Edinburgh students on work-based and summer placements: Jack Barton, Lewis Dunne, Lauren Donnelly, Helia Farahnoosh, Alejandro Fernandes Jullian, Kerstin Mayr, Lauren Mizen, Kalina Peresterova, Vanessa Utley and Matthew Wilmore.

## Website and database design and maintenance

The programming technology behind the database and the website has been produced by the University of Edinburgh Information Services, John Allison and Bill Lee in particular. For more, see <https://www.ed.ac.uk/information-services>.

## Transcription

Dot Kirkham

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## **Photos**

Robert Henderson (<http://robertjohnhenderson.com/>)

Martina Bacigalupo

(<https://www.agencevu.com/photographers/photographer.php?id=255>)

Charlotte Melly/Conciliation Resources

Yan Yong (<http://www.globaljusticeacademy.ed.ac.uk/resources/photography>)

## **Agreement translations**

A large number of agreements were translated into English from the following languages by the following translators: Rachel Anderson (Russian, French), Haneef Aurangzeb (Urdu), Sanja Badanjak (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian), Marian Craig Falcon-Craig Consultants (French), Willian Da Rosa (Portuguese), Robert Forster (Arabic), Simen Jordsmyr Holm (Arabic), Nataša Honeybone (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian), Elena Granina (Russian), Matilda Karçanaj (Albanian), Daniel Kelly Herrera (Arabic), James Kelly - <http://www.jcktranslation.com/en/about-me/> (Spanish), Will Mitchell (Chinese), Neil Russel (Arabic), Lewis Walker (French, Spanish), Imogen Westfield (Arabic).

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## PA-X Terms of Use

The PA-X website is the website of the peace agreement access tool, currently hosting the PA –X Peace Agreement Database and PA-X Women and Gender Database (“the Databases”). Both Databases are protected by copyright and database right belonging to the University of Edinburgh and may only be used in accordance with these terms of use. The concept, selection and arrangement of the contents of the Databases was largely the intellectual creation of Professor Christine Bell, an employee of the University of Edinburgh. Professor Bell asserts her moral right to be identified as the author of the Databases.

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## **Contact the PA-X Research Team**

For any questions regarding the database, contact [PoliticalSettlements@ed.ac.uk](mailto:PoliticalSettlements@ed.ac.uk).

## Endorsements

***“The peace agreements database is a noteworthy accomplishment, with remarkable breadth. It will serve as an invaluable resource for scholars, groups impacted by violent conflict seeking a greater voice in peace processes, and individuals charged with mediating disputes. The knowledge the database provides may foster political settlements that are more inclusive and more sustainable.”***

US Ambassador (former) Carey Cavanaugh (involved in peace efforts involving Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cyprus, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Tajikistan, and Turkey. Established the American Embassy to the new Republic of Georgia 1992, later becoming US Special Negotiator for Eurasian Conflicts and Co-Chair of the OSCE Minsk Group process for Nagorno-Karabakh)

***“PA-X Peace Agreement Database provides an invaluable resource, which we already have been able to use. International IDEA has collaborated with the Political Settlements Research Programme, University of Edinburgh, to convene the ‘Edinburgh Dialogues on Post-Conflict Constitution-building’. PA-X data has been very useful in informing these high level policy discussions. Data from PA-X and IDEA has enabled an important new report on ‘Sequencing of Peace Agreements and Constitutions’, which is widely used by actors in peace processes and has received high level policy attention at the United Nations. Furthermore, the Constitution Building Programme of International IDEA is using PA-X data in developing a database of constitution-building processes in fragile and conflict-affected settings. Data such as this, and the analysis that results, is vital to an urgent need to transform peace and democracy building practices, which too often appear in regression.”***

Yves Leterme, Secretary-General, International IDEA, former Prime Minister Belgium, <https://www.idea.int>

***“This database will be an important resource, not just for high-level mediators and parties to conflicts, but also to the wider range of civic participants who seek to influence talks processes and press for greater inclusion. Having access to such a breadth of data on peace processes will mean that practitioners will have a firmer foundation for the choices they make.”***

Jonathan Cohen, Executive Director, Conciliation Resources, <http://www.c-r.org>

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## About Us

**The Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP)** is concerned with how political settlements can be made both more stable, and more inclusive of those affected by them beyond political elites. In particular, the programme examines the relationship between stability and inclusion, sometimes understood as a relationship between peace-making and justice.

The programme is addressing three broad research questions relating to political settlements:

1. How do different types of political settlements emerge, and what are the actors, institutions, resources, and practices that shape them?
2. How can political settlements be improved by internally-driven initiatives, including the impact of gender-inclusive processes and the rule of law institutions?
3. How, and with what interventions, can external actors change political settlements?

The Global Justice Academy at The University of Edinburgh is the lead organisation. PSRP partners include: Conciliation Resources (CR), The Institute for Security Studies (ISS), The Rift Valley Institute (RVI), and the Transitional Justice Institute (TJI, University of Ulster).

**Find out more at: [www.politicalsettlements.org](http://www.politicalsettlements.org)**







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