



PA-X SPOTLIGHT: GENDER



Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefires: Comparative Data and Examples

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This research draws on the PA-X Peace Agreement Database (www.peaceagreements.org), a database of all peace agreements at any stage of the peace process from 1990 to 2016. The database is fully searchable and supports both qualitative and quantitative examination of peace agreements.

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PA-X Spotlight Series

The PA-X Spotlight Series addresses questions regarding comparative peace processes, asked by those seeking to influence peace and transition processes in becoming more inclusive. Each Spotlight provides brief comparative peace agreement material regarding a key issue, sometimes with reference to the specific context from which the question originated, and sometimes framed more generally. This Gender Series deals with questions posed by a range of actors in the MENA region, with reference to women's meaningful participation as well as gender-sensitive and responsive approaches.

This Spotlight addresses the questions:

When and how have ceasefire agreements in armed conflict addressed women? Why should ceasefires include gender-specific provisions? Finally, what are the potential strategies for including women in ceasefire monitoring and implementation modalities?

Introduction

This Spotlight addresses the question of whether and how ceasefire agreements in armed conflict address the specific needs and interests of women. It also provides examples of agreements that have integrated gender equality issues and addressed women's participation. The Spotlight aims to provide both data and examples from past practice for women and gender equality advocates to draw on when seeking to influence ceasefire negotiations.

Ceasefires may be agreed in stand-alone documents for example, to create an environment for peace talks, or occur within other peace agreements as a broader peace process unfolds. We begin by providing a general overview of ceasefire agreements, followed by an assessment of why it is important that ceasefires should include gender sensitive provisions. Based on our review of what ceasefires tend to include. We then set out when and how women have been addressed in ceasefire agreements to-date, and conclude by noting some strategies that have been used by women and gender equality advocates to influence ceasefire agreement provisions.

There is no legal definition of a ceasefire agreement and the terms ceasefire, cessation of hostilities, truce, and armistice are often used interchangeably in agreement names.¹ Often terminology has a political significance, for example in Aceh parties could only agree to a 'Joint Understanding on a Brief Humanitarian Pause'.² Whatever its terminology, the aim of any ceasefire agreement is to permanently or temporarily suspend hostilities between conflict parties.³ We use the term 'ceasefire agreement' in this Spotlight to examine agreements aimed at reaching a truce or ending hostilities between conflict parties (however formally termed).

General Modalities and Sequencing of Ceasefire Agreements

Generally, provisions within ceasefire agreements are directed at armed actors and can contain:⁴

- ▶ **Military provisions including:** a cessation of hostilities; definitions of prohibited acts; (see Box 1) separation of forces; exchange of information; demobilisation, disarmament and reintegration (DDR) provisions; and merging of forces.

Box 1

Prohibited Acts: Ceasefires often contain two types of prohibited act: acts recognised as a normal part of military engagement, which are prohibited during the ceasefire; and acts which militaries should never engage in, such as sexual violence.⁵ This distinction can be useful in engaging militaries on the protection of civilians and human rights.

Common prohibitions on military activity to protect civilians:

- Stockpiling weapons or moving stockpiles
- Movement of weaponry, equipment and troops
- Training exercises
- Unprofessional behaviour at check-points
- Troop movement
- Recruitment in all forms: conscription, voluntary and forced
- Attacks on land, sea, and from the air

Common prohibitions on non-military activity to protect civilians:

- Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) by armed groups and forces
- Abduction, kidnapping
- Arbitrary arrest
- Torture
- Forced relocation, seizure of land or property
- Laying of mines
- Impeding freedom of movement around: access to markets, water and fuel collection, and the functions of humanitarian and other international organisations and service providers
- Blocking or hindering refugee and internally displaced persons (IDP) return and movement
- Extortion, blockades and unauthorised or ad-hoc checkpoints
- Damage to, control of, blocking access to: hospitals, schools, markets, religious or cultural sites
- Propaganda (for purpose of incitement)
- Obstructing humanitarian access
- Impeding or denying access to political prisoners and/or degrading treatment of prisoners

- ▶ **Humanitarian provisions** including: humanitarian access; human rights guarantees; prisoner release; evacuation of wounded persons and civilians; return of internally displaced persons (IDPs); and establishing 'safe zones' and 'corridors'.
- ▶ **Implementation provisions** establishing monitoring and verification or implementation committees, mechanisms of communication or dispute resolution, peacekeeping mission modalities, and the prohibition of hostile media and statements.

The intricacy and breadth of ceasefire agreements vary from context-to-context, and also with the level at which they are agreed (local, national, or international). For example, local ceasefire agreements regularly include more limited items, such as the opening of specific roads, mutual prisoner release, access for humanitarian workers and aid, the hand-over of checkpoints and territorial concessions, as well as the formation of implementation commissions. Nationwide or general ceasefires usually provide for items that are likely to be accepted or at least influence later agreements, including wide-reaching DDR, security reform and human rights provisions.

Ceasefire terms are also affected by the stage of the process in which they are agreed, whether as an initial precursor to peace talks, or as part-and-parcel of a comprehensive peace agreement. Although achieving a ceasefire is often an initial goal of a peace process because it may be a pre-requisite to enabling face-to-face talks, it is not always possible to agree at the outset. Ceasefires can sometimes only be signed once specific political and human rights guarantees have been made, as seen in peace processes from Guatemala and Colombia. The aims of these later ceasefire agreements may be different from those signed earlier in the peace process, because ceasefires linked to a comprehensive settlement will have provisions shaped by the possibility of a more durable peace, as opposed to an immediate cessation of hostilities alone.

Ceasefires and Gender-related Provisions: a Neglected Relationship

When provisions directly referencing women are included in ceasefires, details are rarely included (an exception is the Sudanese agreement highlighted in Box 2). Our review of all ceasefire provisions from 1990 until 2016 indicates that specific gender provisions are remarkably low:

- ▶ Only 29 out of 267 ceasefire agreements signed between 1990 and 2016 include gender provisions, and only six agreements signed before the year 2000 reference gender.⁶
- ▶ The number of ceasefire agreements containing gender provisions increased from 4 per cent to 18 per cent following the passing of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 in 2000.
- ▶ The inclusion of gender provisions in ceasefire agreements is almost half (11 per cent) the rate of inclusion in other peace agreement types, including partial, comprehensive, or implementation agreements (21 per cent).
- ▶ Only ten ceasefire agreements (3.7 per cent) out of 267 appear to have been signed or witnessed by women between 1990 and 2016. Among these, women most commonly represented (in order): international organisations; states; and civil society and interest groups. Women do not appear to have signed a ceasefire agreement on behalf of non-state armed groups during this period.

Box 2

Gender Mainstreaming and Sudan: Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (JEM), 10 February 2013

The most detailed example of gender inclusion involves a ceasefire agreement signed in 2013 by the Sudanese government and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (JEM). Even in this agreement, while provisions addressed show gender-sensitivity, they were not always articulated in ways that were gender responsive, and the agreement as a whole also suffered from lack of commitment and enforcement.

Issues addressed in the agreement include:

- ▶ Violence against women. For example, the principles articulated to shape implementation include:
 - "b) Civilians in Darfur have the right to protection, including provision of specific measures for vulnerable groups such as women and children taking into account their special status under international law, and in recognition that they have suffered disproportionately during the conflict and ...
 - d) The imperative to refrain from all acts of violence against civilians, in particular vulnerable groups such as women and children, and from violations of human rights and international humanitarian law."

(Although in future agreements it maybe better to avoid the idea that women are a "vulnerable group" and rather, are a group that are exposed to vulnerable situations – something that the first principle alludes to)
- ▶ Ending gender-based and sexual exploitation
- ▶ Ending the recruitment of girls and boys
- ▶ The 'adequate and effective' representation of women 'at all levels of the ceasefire mechanism' (Article 9):
 - ▶ The inclusion of women in the ceasefire monitoring commission
 - ▶ That the parties place the needs of civilians, women and children above their own need
 - ▶ A reference to UNSC resolution 1325
 - ▶ Affirms that violence must be redressed in a gender sensitive manner

Gender inclusion in ceasefire agreements is important because it can:

- ▶ **Ensure that gendered dimensions of conflict are addressed.** Gender-specific provisions can help address how men and women experience violence, and ensure that protection, dealing with displacement, sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV), and DDR are all dealt with in a gender sensitive way.
- ▶ **Prohibit gender-based violence as part of ceasefire terms.** Specifically naming violence against women as a ceasefire violation is important to ensuring that it is prohibited and that incidents are recorded as part of ceasefire monitoring.⁷ In the absence of suitable provisions, peacekeepers will not have a mandate to monitor SGBV, or may lack adequate training in dealing with this type of violence.⁸
- ▶ **Tap into women's expertise in humanitarian action.** Ceasefire agreements can include provision for humanitarian relief, to which women's experiences and expertise are critical.⁹
- ▶ **Add to the credibility of the process.** The inclusion of women early in negotiations can legitimise the talks and help implementation on the ground.
- ▶ **Set in place the logic of inclusion for future negotiations.** Establishing the inclusion of women and a gender-sensitive approach to ceasefire negotiations, can establish the principle of inclusion for future talks and emphasise the relevance of women's expertise. Once an issue is highlighted, it may be less likely to be dropped from the agenda. Ceasefires in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan and South Sudan, for example, preceded high rates of gender provisions included in later peace agreements, in each of their respective peace processes (see Box 3).¹⁰
- ▶ **Ensure that a gender perspective is included in any negotiation agenda.** Agreements can begin to shape political frameworks and agendas that constrain any peace process talks to follow (see Box 3 below). For example, out of 267 ceasefire agreements between 1990 and 2016, 56 provided references that went beyond strict ceasefire provisions to discuss other related matters, such as prisoner release and principles or agendas for the talks process. But, as the 2015 ceasefire agreement in Myanmar demonstrates, the inclusion of gender provisions does not guarantee further engagement stages, and women's participation can remain the prerogative of negotiating parties (see further pg 11 below).¹¹

Box 3

Gender Provisions in Ceasefire Agreements where later agreements also included a gender component

The inclusion of gender-related provisions in ceasefires can foreshadow inclusion of gender-related provisions at later stages of the process.

Democratic Republic of Congo (1999-2003):

Starting with the [Lusaka Ceasefire](#) in 1999 that listed sexual violence as a human rights violation and therefore a ceasefire violation, gender-related provisions featured strongly in the peace process that followed.¹² Later agreements underscored the representation of women through 'quotas', noting that regional standards defined this as requiring national institutions to comprise of at least 30 per cent women. Moreover, the following were also included in these later agreements: a Ministry of Women's and Family Affairs; equal rights to work, vote and to access education; psychological rehabilitation; access to credit and restoration of dignity; the involvement of women's groups in implementation; and the hearings of sexual violence-related crimes in the National Truth and Reconciliation Committee.¹³

South Sudan (2014-2015):

The January 2014 [Ceasefire between the Government of South Sudan and the opposing Sudan People's Liberation Movement](#), introduced gender-related concepts into the peace process. In particular, it included the prohibition of SGBV, as well as the prohibition of violence against women more generally, and the incorporation of women into the Monitoring and Verification Team.¹⁴ Later framework agreements focused on the formation of the interim power-sharing government, further introduced a Ministry for Gender, Children and Social Welfare as well as introducing programmes for conflict-affected women (as well as others).

For the August 2015 [Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict](#), women's groups were present during negotiations, with a woman signing as a 'stakeholder' on behalf of the South Sudan Women's Bloc.¹⁵ In addition to re-affirming the creation of a Ministry of Gender, the 2015 agreement provided for a minimum 25 per cent of female representation at Ministerial and Deputy Ministerial level in the power-sharing executive.

Furthermore, it set out the specific requirements of parties to nominate specified numbers of women to Ministries. It affirmed that SGBV was to constitute a ceasefire violation. The 2015 agreement also further guaranteed women's representation in commissions related to anti-corruption, constitutional review, security, reconciliation, reparation, and economy, often by providing specific seats to women. It created a Women Enterprise Development Fund to facilitate credit to women, and prioritised social welfare delivery to women (and a Youth Enterprise Development Fund). It guaranteed gender equity as a constitutional principle. It also provided for women in implementation, by giving the Women's Bloc a seat on the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism and Strategic Defence and Security Review.

Uganda (2006-2008):

The peace process with the Lord's Resistance Army process resulted in several signed agreements in 2007-2008. The sequencing of agreements placed the ceasefire after four agreements providing for a comprehensive political solution in addition to transitional justice. In these four agreements, gender equality clauses provided for protection and participation as well as maintaining a gender sensitive approach to the process and extending particular rights to women. The ceasefire agreement signed in February 2008 provides for a gendered sensitive approach to DDR, which was followed up with a DDR-specific agreement six days later, that again provides for gender mainstreaming principles for the DDR process.¹⁶

Overview of Gender Mainstreaming in Ceasefire Modalities

Despite the low rate of inclusion of gender provisions in ceasefire agreements, women's representation and gender equality issues are sometimes addressed, as the following examples illustrate.

1. Ceasefire violations and modalities

► **Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV).** Provisions prohibiting SGBV and clearly designating SGBV as contrary to the ceasefire, are the most commonly included gender-specific ceasefire provision. Jenkins and Goetz highlight that not including such a prohibition may result in SGBV not being monitored and may undermine the post-agreement reconstruction in three ways. First, new institutions may be unable to deal with the social instability caused by the ways in which sexual violence has been explicitly used to weaken and destroy ethnic or religious identity. Second, failure to address SGBV may hinder economic recovery by failing to provide women with adequate guarantees of personal safety, thereby obstructing the agricultural and market activities in which women are most often engaged. Third, failure to address SGBV may undermine the agreement by reinforcing the impunity of perpetrators, as well as undermining trust in security services and by extension, the government.¹⁷ Some ceasefires explicitly highlight harassment and sexual slavery within the SGBV provisions.¹⁸ The UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) provides clear guidance on inclusion of SGBV in ceasefire agreements.¹⁹

► **Prisoner release.** Under international law, women detainees are afforded special protections as women²⁰ including with regard to breastfeeding and pregnancy.²¹ They are also entitled to the same protections and rights as men with regards to humane treatment.²² International law also requires women detainees to be housed separately to their male counterparts.²³ In practice, however, women often endure poor detention conditions being potentially subject to harassment, rape, and cramped conditions. Women and children are therefore sometimes prioritized during prisoner exchanges in both local- and national-level ceasefires. This approach is demonstrated in two ceasefire documents from the ongoing Syrian conflict: the national-level [Terms for a Cessation of Hostilities](#), orders "all parties to commit to work for the early release of detainees, particularly women and children"²⁴; additionally, a [local truce from al-Zabadani](#) provided for the release of "325 women, 25 juveniles and 150 men" from state prisons.²⁵

► **DDR.** Occasionally ceasefire agreements include not only provisions for ending violence, but detail on how to dismantle standing armies. Depending on context, agreements may for example, address how best to demobilise troops or decommission weapons, and begin to track a pathway towards the reintegration of former combatants back into society and/or state institutions. In some cases, women's needs and interests have been specifically addressed. For example, in agreements negotiated and initialled (but never fully signed, accepted or implemented) between the Ugandan government and the Lord's Resistance Army, specific provisions relating to women and girls were included. Gender was defined in the definitional sections of the permanent ceasefire agreement, which stated "'Gender" refers to the two sexes, men and women, within the context of society.'²⁶

[The Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire, 23 February 2008](#), Provisions on Assembly and Encampment (Chapter 3) provided that:

- a. In the preparation of detailed agreements and arrangements for disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration, the implementation of measures necessary to adhere to gender and child specific UN [Integrated Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration Standards] for encampment shall be given the highest priority. (UN IDDRS has a dedicated gender chapter, see resources at the end of this Spotlight).

Interestingly, in dealing with the responsibilities of the Government of Southern Sudan (a signatory), Chapter 6 further outlined that:

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

2. Implementation, monitoring and verification

Implementation, monitoring and verification commissions, typically including proportional representatives of each conflict party, are included regularly as part of ceasefire arrangements, and are one of the bodies involved where gender-specific provisions are sometimes included. As these bodies often have wide-reaching powers, providing for women's meaningful participation can broaden participation in otherwise exclusive 'military' processes.²⁷ The strength of provisions varies between general exhortations to "do their best to include the participation of women"²⁸, to providing for a specific number of women's seats on monitoring bodies.²⁹ Providing for specific numbers of women can guarantee women a seat on such committees, and are best framed as starting points, with the use of the term 'minimum'. Inclusion of women in ceasefire monitoring can also help build a culture of civil society participation in monitoring activities. Moreover, such opportunities may provide more women with expertise in military matters, from which they might otherwise remain excluded.

3. Gender equality and human rights clauses

Ceasefire violations can be framed using human rights language in ways that operate to reference international standards specific to women. As noted above, the inclusion of human rights provisions in ceasefire agreements is important to emphasise the importance of protection of rights in the peace process. Ceasefire provisions often introduce human rights and equality provisions, including gender provisions, in a variety of ways:

- ▶ **Treaty incorporation.** Several conventions from a corpus of international humanitarian law can provide two-tiered protection for women, both as civilians and as women. This protection is sometimes included in ceasefire agreements by referencing international treaties or UN resolutions focused on gender equality (such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 1979, (CEDAW)) and the protection of civilians. Ceasefire clauses, often include only generic references to protections afforded under international law, but these nonetheless serve as a specific reminder to conflict parties of their duties under international law.
- ▶ **Non-discrimination.** Some ceasefires emphasise non-discrimination based on gender, ethnicity, religion, and so on. Although generic, these clauses play an important role in protecting women and can create 'hooks' to be built on to include other general and gender-specific rights.

► **Protection modalities.** Within ceasefire agreements, civilians can also be extended protection based on humanitarian principles and international law in ways that benefit women. The evacuation of civilians from besieged districts in Syria, for example, has seen the prioritisation of women, children, the elderly, and wounded. One such ceasefire from Homs additionally called for the stationing of women police officers, which may help provide a gender specific approach when dealing with internally displaced persons and evacuees.³⁰

4. Linking Ceasefires to the Peace Process

Where ceasefire agreements are linked to establishing peace talks, it can be important to push for clauses requiring the participation of women in those talks. Existing ceasefire texts provide some interesting examples:

► **Explicit provision for women's participation in peace talks delegations.** The Myanmar Ceasefire Agreement of 2015, called for "a reasonable number/ratio of women representatives in the political dialogue process" (clause 23). Decisions attached to this document, and the later Framework for Political Dialogue, understood this ratio to be at least 30 per cent women.³¹

► **References to UN Resolution 1325.** Another means of pushing for inclusion is through the incorporation of references to UNSC resolution 1325 as seen in two ceasefires from Sudan and Uganda. (See for example, the [Agreement on a Permanent ceasefire signed between the Lord's Resistance Army and the Ugandan Government in 2008](#), page 11 above).

Strategies for Inclusive Ceasefire Negotiations and Agreements

Strategies for advancing the mainstreaming of gender equality in ceasefire agreements have required innovative approaches. In the Myanmar peace process, for example, women in civil society 'gender edited' the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) to demonstrate the strengths and limitations of the negotiated document.³² This process in-effect also marked the ways in which women and their agendas for change had not been included in negotiation of this ceasefire and identified ways in which women's participation and gender-related concerns could be better prioritised.

In Libya, the ability of women to negotiate ceasefire agreements was bolstered through their role in organisations such as the al-harakat al-wataniyya (National Movement), which seeks to promote grassroots reconciliation. One initiative pursued by the Movement is the creation of 'peace tents' set up in areas of violent conflict where women that have lost loved-ones from both sides of the conflict can gather and commiserate. The public presence and legitimacy brought on by such initiatives, as well as access to top-levels of leadership in the Movement, have allowed women to directly participate in the negotiation of ceasefire agreements.³³ Other processes see the inclusion of gender panels/commissions or similar' and experts to develop inputs into the mediation process and highlight gender components, such as the Gender Sub Commission of the Colombian peace process with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC). The Guatemala process in the 1990s, for example, established Civil Society Assembly to feed into peace talks and agreements (which included a ceasefire agreement), and the women's sector within this Assembly was better empowered to include its recommendations in the formal discussion because there was a person officially designated with that function as part of the structure of the peace negotiations.³⁴

Conclusion

Negotiation of ceasefires is often understood to relate primarily to armed actors, and to constitute a limited exercise of agreeing to halt fighting. However, how the ceasefire is framed and implemented is important beyond these armed actors to women and indeed the entire society, and often has a sustained impact on the pathway of the peace process. Ceasefires deal with the security concerns of 'the conflict' but can give rise to other security concerns (for example where troops are stationed during demobilisation processes, or problems with firearms re-entering homes). They often also provide for humanitarian aid, DDR and prisoner release which affect women in different ways from men in ways that require to be specifically addressed. Ceasefires can also include principles and agendas for future talks.

Practices on gender inclusion and women's meaningful participation in the negotiation and implementation of ceasefire agreements have received little attention to date. The examples provided in this Spotlight show how past ceasefires have sought to include gender-related provisions, and provide evidence of the influence of women and gender equality advocates. However, they also indicate that there is substantial room for improvement in terms of both when and how women are included in ceasefire negotiations, and in the terms of ceasefire provisions. Some guidance for women's organisations and mediators is now emerging (as set out in our resource guide at the end of this Spotlight), reflecting the need to be more focused with regard to women's participation and gender inclusion at earlier stages of peace processes.

Key Resources

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United Nations International Small Arms Control Standards, 6.10 Women, men and the gendered nature of small arms and light weapons, New York: UNDP. Available at: <http://www.smallarmsstandards.org/isacs/0610-en.pdf>

Broader Gender Tools

Conciliation Resources (2015), Gender and Conflict Analysis Toolkit, London: Conciliation Resources. Available at: <https://www.c-r.org/resources/gender-and-conflict-analysis-toolkit-peacebuilders>

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- 16 See, Chapter 3 and 6, Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire, 23 February 2008, Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/694>; and Chapter 2, Agreement on Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration, Juba, Sudan, 29 February 2008, Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/685>.
- 17 Jenkins and Goetz, 2010, 265.
- 18 Interestingly, no national peace agreement has any reference to sexual violence prohibition relating to peacekeepers, however, interstate agreements in the African Great Lakes designed to address a cluster of conflicts in the region make commitments in terms which seem designed to cover all actors. For example, the Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region, 15 December 2006, Chapter 11, Article 11, contains a Protocol on the Prevention and Suppression of Sexual Violence Against Women and Children which states: "The Member States undertake, in accordance with the Protocol on the Prevention and Suppression of Violence Against Women and Children, to combat sexual violence against women and

- children through preventing, criminalizing and punishing acts of sexual violence, both in times of peace and in times of war, in accordance with national laws and international criminal law." African Great Lakes, Pact on Security, Stability and Development in the Great Lakes Region, 15 December 2006. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/668/>.
- 19 United Nations Department of Political Affairs. 2012. Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements. New York: United Nations. Available at: <https://peacemaker.un.org/node/1447>.
- 20 Art. 14, 16, Third Geneva Convention (1949); Art. 27, Fourth Geneva Convention (1949).
- 21 Art. 132, Fourth Geneva Convention (1949).
- 22 Art. 9, First Additional Protocol (1977); Art. 12 First and Second Geneva Protocol (1949).
- 23 Art. 14, 25, 29, 108, Third Geneva Convention (1949).
- 24 Article 2, Syria, Terms of Cessation of Hostilities, 22 February 2016. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1507/>.
- 25 Syria, Hudna' (truce) of al-Zabadani, Kefriyya and al-Fu'aa, 20 September 2015. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1440/>.
- 26 Chapter 3 and 6, Uganda, Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire, 23 February 2008. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/694>.
- 27 Buchanan, C., A. Cooper, C. Griggers, L. Low, R. Manchanda, R. Peters and A.P. Prentice. 2012. From clause to effect: including women's rights and gender in peace agreements. Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue.
- 28 Myanmar. Joint Monitoring Committee guideline for Each Level (Draft), 15 October 2015. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1545>.
- 29 See for example, Sudan/Darfur, Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (JEM), 10 February 2013. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/880/>.
- 30 Article 2, Syria, Homs Hudna Agreement, 7 February 2014. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1525>.
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- 34 See further, Diaz P.C., and S. Tordjman, 2012. Women's Participation in Peace Processes: Connections between Presence and Influence. New York: UN Women, at 24. Available at: <https://reliefweb.int/report/world/women%E2%80%99s-participation-peace-negotiations-connections-between-presence-and-influence>
- 35 Note: Revision underway in 2019.

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The Political Settlements Research Programme (PSRP) is centrally 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:

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