



PA-X SPOTLIGHT: GENDER



# Humanitarian Assistance and Gender Perspectives in Peace Agreements

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This research draws on the PA-X Peace Agreement Database ([www.peaceagreements.org](http://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 to be more inclusive. Each Spotlight provides brief comparative 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 do peace processes provide for humanitarian assistance?  
Do peace agreements that provide for humanitarian assistance adopt a gender perspective?

## Introduction

A feature of negotiation efforts in Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen has been attempts to relieve human suffering by complementing informal arrangements through formal agreements to provide humanitarian assistance to conflict-affected civilian populations, particularly in urban areas such as Homs, Tai'z, and Benghazi. Although these efforts are often categorized as distinctive from political negotiations and peace processes, in order to preserve the humanitarian principles of neutrality, impartiality and independence, provisions to facilitate or support humanitarian assistance during armed conflict have become intertwined with peace and transition agreements signed between 1990 and 2015.

When peace processes stall, or negotiations break down over questions of security or governance, allowing flows of aid or humanitarian evacuations of vulnerable populations may in fact be the only issue that parties to conflict can agree on. Mediators can also include humanitarian assistance provisions in formally agreed documents to alleviate the human cost of conflict. In several peace processes since 1990, conflict parties have signed agreements that are entirely dedicated to addressing issues relating to humanitarian assistance, such as International Humanitarian Law (IHL), access and evacuations, prisoner releases, displacement, and relief aid.

Whilst the relationship between humanitarianism and gender, the role of women in negotiating humanitarian deals, and the gender perspective of peace processes have been well-documented in previous research,<sup>1</sup> less attention has been paid to how gender, humanitarianism, and peace processes interlink through formalizing agreements providing for humanitarian assistance. These agreements are important to consider because women are not only understood as intended beneficiaries of humanitarian assistance, but can also be integral to the negotiation processes by which humanitarian commitments between armed parties are reached, even if women's roles are not always acknowledged formally in documentation. Agreements providing for humanitarian assistance may present opportunities for gender-equality advocates to engage in early stages of peace processes in ways that might improve the gender sensitivity of these agreements, and put in place gender-equality pathways that reflect women's needs in humanitarian crises. However, they can also risk further entrenching gendered assumptions of women's roles in conflict, and re-entrench notions of women as passive victims of violence.

This Spotlight examines the role of 'humanitarian assistance agreements' and provisions in peace and transition processes from 1990 to 2015, and the various mechanisms agreed on by parties to facilitate humanitarian assistance within conflict-affected contexts. In particular, the Spotlight focuses on whether these humanitarian assistance agreements adopt a gender perspective<sup>2</sup> by examining in-text references to women, girls, and gender, and the inclusion of women in negotiating humanitarian assistance agreements from 1990-2015. It questions whether humanitarian assistance agreements reflect the diverse practices of women's involvement in frontline negotiations and humanitarian assistance, and adequately address the gendered experiences and consequences of conflict.

# I. Humanitarian Assistance in Peace Agreements

## 1.1. Humanitarian Assistance and Access Provisions

The following are key types of commitments made in peace and transition agreements that aim to facilitate humanitarian assistance during conflicts:

- ▶ **Mobility and access:** Provisions that guarantee or publicly recognise the need for, unimpaired access to conflict-affected areas for humanitarian organisations.<sup>3</sup>
- ▶ **Prisoner release or exchange:** Provisions in which conflict parties agree to conduct or enable prisoner exchanges, releases, or evacuations, including on medical grounds.<sup>4</sup> These can also include provisions for allowing humanitarian organisations to facilitate or observe prisoner releases.
- ▶ **International Humanitarian Law:** Provisions in which parties agree to operate according to obligations under international humanitarian law, including, but not limited to, the Geneva conventions.<sup>5</sup> These often include commitments to operating under International Humanitarian Law without discrimination to protected characteristics, and provisions that establish mechanisms to safeguard at-risk persons or vulnerable groups, or set up protection zones for humanitarian facilities such as hospitals.<sup>6</sup>
- ▶ **Relief aid:** Provisions that facilitate humanitarian and other organisations to distribute relief aid to conflict-affected populations, including mechanisms to monitor distribution activities to prevent diversion of aid.<sup>7</sup>
- ▶ **Infrastructure restoration:** Unlike general development and reconstruction provisions once violence has ceased, these are provisions which specifically aim to restore utility services such as power and water supplies during ongoing hostilities to relieve human suffering. They can also include commitments for the safety of workers whilst they undertake restoration activities.<sup>8</sup>
- ▶ **Missing persons and other victims:** Provisions in which parties agree to cooperate with or otherwise support services that attempt to trace missing persons or agree to return mortal remains of victims to their families.<sup>9</sup>

The most prevalent of these categories referenced in peace agreements is mobility and access. Provisions that either guarantee or restrict mobility and access occur in 443 out of 1,518 agreements in peace processes between 1990 and 2015 (PA-X Version 1). These 443 agreements are part of multiple peace processes from a wide variety of contexts, with 5 per cent of access provisions featuring in peace agreements from peace processes in Iraq, Libya, Syria, and Yemen.

Whilst some of the mobility/access provisions in agreements from peace processes globally simply agree to guarantee free movement of people and goods, which could implicitly facilitate humanitarian assistance activities, some of these provisions explicitly commit to supporting humanitarian access. Most references to humanitarian access are brief commitments such as the following provision from the 2015 [Final Declaration on the Results of the Syria Talks](#):

*"Humanitarian access will be ensured throughout the territory of Syria, and the participants will increase support for internally displaced persons, refugees, and their host countries."*<sup>10</sup>

Some agreements do specifically provide unrestricted access for particular actors (such as the ICRC or the United Nations) or access to specific locations (such as through humanitarian corridors to cities under siege), such as the following provision from the 1994 [Agreement on a Ceasefire in the Republic of Yemen](#):

*"The International Committee of the Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations shall be allowed to deliver humanitarian relief without hindrance, primarily medicine, water and food supplies, to the areas affected by the conflict, especially Aden and other places where refugees are concentrated."*<sup>11</sup>

## 1.2 Humanitarian Assistance Agreements

In addition to agreeing on provisions for humanitarian assistance alongside other issues in peace agreements, conflict parties signed 54 out of 1,518 agreements in peace processes between 1990 and 2015 that predominantly deal with humanitarian assistance.<sup>12</sup>

Humanitarian assistance agreements are formal documents between some or all parties to a conflict, and are entirely dedicated to addressing issues relating to humanitarian assistance, such as: humanitarian principles and International Humanitarian Law; access and evacuations; prisoner releases; displacement; and access for relief aid. They can be agreed as part of broader high-level mediation efforts, or mediated on an ad hoc basis by locally-based actors,<sup>13</sup> which then feed into the wider context of peacemaking processes in a conflict.

This collection of agreements includes (see Appendix 1 for full list):

- ▶ evacuations, prisoner releases, and exchanges of conflict-affected persons in Israel/Palestine, Colombia, Sierra Leone, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia
- ▶ implementing and operating guidelines for humanitarian monitoring and other activities in Indonesia, the Philippines, Mozambique, Sudan, and Sri Lanka
- ▶ protocols to facilitate safe resettlement of refugees and displaced persons to Rwanda, South Africa, Tajikistan and Georgia
- ▶ a series of agreements on conflict parties' adherence to International Humanitarian Law in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, brokered in Geneva and the Hague by the International Committee of the Red Cross during the early 1990s,<sup>14</sup> and
- ▶ guidelines for specific operations into conflict zones such as the Campaign to Ban Landmines in the Philippines, establishment of a Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure in Sri Lanka, and Operation Lifeline Sudan

These deals are often negotiated or witnessed by representatives of humanitarian organizations who are then tasked to implement the agreement by facilitating the agreed actions, participating in a form of monitoring, or contributing funding. For example, the 2014 [Homs Hudna Agreement](#) in Syria commits representatives of the United Nations, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the Syrian Red Crescent to attend the evacuation of civilians to the Old City.<sup>15</sup> It is important to note, however, that although humanitarian agreements in some conflicts have attempted to alleviate human suffering, they have also been criticized for facilitating population exchanges through evacuation procedures or exchanging humanitarian access for surrender under the guise of parties agreeing on equal terms – and these criticisms have been made of some peace agreements in Syria.<sup>16</sup>

## II. Gender Perspectives in Humanitarian Agreements

Conflict can affect men, women, and non-binary people in different ways,<sup>17</sup> therefore assessing peace agreements for their adoption of a gender perspective can enable gender-equality advocates to identify potential gaps and pitfalls in a peace process that could further entrench inequalities. According to the following criterion, a peace process with a gender perspective encompasses:

- ▶ consulting with and including women in peace negotiations structures and fora
- ▶ “explicitly addressing women’s needs and demands in the text of any peace agreement and subsequent processes of implementation”
- ▶ conducting “consultative conflict assessment of the power relations at the heart of the conflict, and its relationship with gender power relations”, and
- ▶ conducting “consultative assessment of the implications for women and men of draft peace agreement provisions, including provision for legislation, policies or programmes in any area and at all levels”<sup>18</sup>

The sensitive nature of frontline humanitarian negotiations means that it is not always possible to access the level of information required to fully assess the gender perspective of the process as a whole. However, using the PA-X dataset of humanitarian assistance agreements means that it is possible to assess:

- ▶ whether the texts of humanitarian agreements explicitly address the needs of women
- ▶ how the texts of humanitarian agreements frame gendered understandings of vulnerability and
- ▶ whether women were included in the peace negotiations using signatories as a proxy for presence, in lieu of any information on women's meaningful participation in negotiating these agreements

## 2.1. References to Women, Girls, and Gender in Agreement Text

Compared to agreements which do not comprehensively address humanitarian assistance, humanitarian agreements contain an above-average number of references to women, girls, and gender. Between 1990 and 2016, 31 per cent of humanitarian peace agreements signed, contain references to women, girls, and gender (17 out of 54 agreements), in contrast to 21 per cent of all peace agreements signed in the same time period, and 11 per cent of ceasefires. However, these agreements vary greatly in terms of the comprehensiveness of these provisions, and whether they seriously address the needs of women and other groups most affected by conflict.

### Box 1: Comprehensive and Rhetorical Gender References

An example of comprehensive inclusion of gender references in a humanitarian assistance agreement is the 1998 [Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law](#) from the peace process between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front. In this agreement, both parties commit to respecting a number of human rights and IHL principles, and includes provisions relating to non-discrimination on the basis of sex, gender, and maternal status, protection against rape and violence against women, and commitments to international human rights and humanitarian law.

This contrasts sharply with the following singular reference to women from the [Sarajevo Declaration on the Humanitarian Treatment of Displaced Persons](#) for Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1992, which states that the parties are: "Concerned by the tragedy of tens of thousands of people, most of them women, children and the elderly, who all suffer the bitter consequences of the conflict equally, regardless of their ethnic, religious or national origin...". Whilst this provision acknowledges the impact of the emergent conflict is having on women and vulnerable groups from all sides of the conflict, it simply raises this as an impetus to reach an agreement on humanitarian assistance, without providing detail as to how those measures will take the gendered dynamics of displacement into consideration.

#### 2.1.1 Participation and Implementation

In order to support women's effective participation in peace processes, gender equality advocates call for women to be included in all stages and mechanisms of peace processes, including those structures set up by peace agreements. Across all peace agreements, 8 per cent include provisions for women's participation, but only 5 per cent of humanitarian agreements contain references to women's participation in humanitarian assistance activities agreed on in the texts, such as implementing evacuation processes, or formal organizational bodies.

## Box 2: Provisions for women's participation in humanitarian assistance agreements

### Sri Lanka, Accelerated Action on Resettlement and Humanitarian Action, Progress on Human Rights, 9 January 2003

"Following an agreement made at the third session of talks, a committee was established to ensure the effective inclusion of gender issues in the peace process. The terms of reference for the committee will be formulated by the members at their first meeting. The committee will be facilitated by the Royal Norwegian Government, which will seek to provide a senior Norwegian resource person and necessary financial resources. The committee will consist of the following five representatives of each party:

- LTTE: Ms. Sivahimi Subramaniam, Ms. Renuga Sanmugaraja, Ms. Mathimalar Balasingam, Ms. Sridevy Sinnathampi, Ms. Vasanthapireminy Samasundaram.
- GOSL: Dr. Kumari Jayawardena, Dr. Deepika Udagama, Ms. Kumuduni Samuel, Ms. Faizoon Zakariya, Dr. Fazeela Riyas."

### Sri Lanka, Memorandum of Understanding for the Establishment of a Post-Tsunami Operational Management Structure (P-TOMS), 27 June 2005

"Now, therefore, in consideration of the foregoing the Parties have entered into this MOU and agreed as follows:

#### 6. Regional Committee

... c. Composition. The Regional Committee shall consist of the following members:

... iv. The Regional Committee shall have a proper gender balance.

#### 8. District Committees

...c. The District Committee shall also have a proper gender balance."

### Syria, Homs Hudna Agreement, 7 February 2014

"The first step should be evacuating the first batch of the civilians to the closest convenient place in the Old City with the participation and attendance of the United Nation representatives and the International Committee of the Red Cross, preferably. In addition to that, teamwork from our side consists of social and medical commission, representatives of the Syrian Red Crescent and civil police, with female police agents in attendance."

The most comprehensive reference to women's participation in a humanitarian agreement is clearly the 2003 agreement on [Accelerated Action on Resettlement and Humanitarian Action, Progress on Human Rights](#) from Sri Lanka. The agreement not only establishes a committee "to ensure the effective inclusion of gender issues in the peace process", but it also provides procedural details of this institution, including a time-line for setting out the terms of reference, funding plans, and names of committee members from each party. The other above provisions are mostly vague "statements of intent",<sup>19</sup> that "emphasize" the need for "equitable representation" or women's "presence" without defining clearly what meeting this threshold would mean, and could be difficult for gender-equality advocates to monitor for implementation, or be disputed by parties to the agreements.

Whilst some of the provisions declare intent to include women in decision-making forums, it is unclear how any of these agreements would support women's meaningful participation in practice. In contrast, the provision to establish a gender committee in Sri Lanka explicitly states the composition of the membership, which includes named women from both sides of the conflict, making it harder (but not impossible) for those gains to be reversed at a later date. Given empirical evidence of women's lived experiences as agents who negotiate humanitarian assistance agreements, delivery of aid, and facilitate prisoner releases (either as representatives of international humanitarian organizations or through informal, communal networks, provisions that intend the presence of women), but do not make clear how women's meaningful participation will be operationalized, risk detracting from the gender perspective of a peace agreement.

### 2.1.2 Protection and Special Measures

Given the emphasis on protection from violence as a pillar of humanitarianism, it is unsurprising that most of the humanitarian agreements with gender references include provisions that specifically address protection as a form of humanitarian assistance for women and other vulnerable groups. Only three agreements, from peace processes in Bosnia,<sup>20</sup> Sudan,<sup>21</sup> and the Philippines<sup>22</sup> respectively, refer to non-discrimination on the basis of gender or sex for the guarantee of humanitarian treatment or protection. For example, the 2004 Humanitarian Ceasefire Agreement on the Conflict in Darfur explicitly states that humanitarian assistance to Darfur will be guided by the principle of impartiality, and that "humanitarian assistance is provided regardless of ethnic origin, gender, nationality opinions, race or religions. Assistance to victims will be guided only by urgent distress cases".

The rest of humanitarian agreement gender provisions specifically identify women as a group of beneficiaries to be prioritized. In the language of these agreements, women are referred to in groups-based terms, and as requiring protection because they are “vulnerable”. Protection is usually agreed on for “women and children”, alongside other vulnerable persons such as the elderly, the disabled, or the injured (see Box 3).

### Box 3: Provisions for women’s protection and special measures in humanitarian assistance agreements

Philippines, Comprehensive Agreement on Respect for Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law from the peace process between the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front, 16 March 1998

“Parties shall provide special attention to women and children to ensure their physical and moral integrity. Children shall not be allowed to take part in hostilities.”

South Sudan/ Sudan, SPLM-United / Operation Lifeline Sudan Agreement on Ground Rules, 1 May 1996

“All humanitarian assistance provided is for the use of identified civilian beneficiaries. Priority must at all time be given to women and children and other vulnerable groups such as the elderly, disabled and displaced people.”

Rwanda, Protocol of Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Rwanda and the Rwandese Patriotic Front on the Repatriation of Rwandese Refugees and the Resettlement of Displaced Persons, 9 June 1993

“The repatriation programme shall also include the supply of medicines and various equipment for the existing or newly established Health Centres. Vulnerable groups, i.e. women, children, the aged people and the handicapped shall be specifically taken care of.”

These provisions reflect the calls from the Women Peace and Security (WPS) agenda for all parties to armed conflict to respond appropriately to protect civilians, including through special measures to protect women and girls from all forms of violence, including sexual and gender-based violence, and particularly to women and girls in refugee and IDP camps.<sup>23</sup> However, if not combined with provisions to support women's meaningful participation in humanitarian assistance mechanisms and special measures, provisions that emphasize women's vulnerability risk perpetuating an image of women as passive victims of conflict with limited agency, rather than reflecting the many roles that women inhabit as agents within their communities, whom often negotiate access and distribute aid.<sup>24</sup>

Understanding gender perspectives not simply a synonym for referencing women, requires taking into consideration the roles and power relations between women, men, and non-binary people. Provisions in these humanitarian agreements overwhelmingly focus on women and girls as constituencies in greater need of humanitarian assistance,<sup>25</sup> even though a gender perspective might also address the ways conflict affects men and boys. However, one humanitarian agreement provision relating to protection references "men and boys", and this is in fact a negative reference that emphasizes that males do not qualify for evacuation on humanitarian grounds, in an [agreement](#) signed between the Army of Republika Srpska and UN forces in Srebrenica, 1995.<sup>26</sup> This is similar to a provision in the 2014 [Homs Hudna agreement](#), which defines who qualifies as a civilian for evacuation based on gender and age markers, which means that females, children under the age of 15, and adults over the age of 60 are the only persons to be evacuated from the Old neighborhood in the city of Homs.

Whilst it is unrealistic to expect a full gender power relations analysis in a peace agreement text, these cases highlight the need to be aware that understanding women as uniquely vulnerable – rather than being made vulnerable in distinctive ways by circumstances, can have negative repercussions for both women and other vulnerable constituencies.<sup>27</sup>

## 2.2. Women as Signatories to Humanitarian Agreements

There is currently limited data that demonstrates when and how women are involved in humanitarian negotiations. Due to the closed nature of frontline negotiations, it is possible that gender-diverse teams negotiate humanitarian deals, but such inclusion is not reflected in the signatories of agreement texts. This may be due to a lack of signatures within the agreement text in general, limited members of negotiating teams acting as signatories, or deciding not to add team members names for operational or security reasons. Insights from female frontline negotiators operating in Syria, Iraq, and Afghanistan,<sup>28</sup> and interviews conducted with female negotiators at the International Committee of the Red Cross,<sup>29</sup> suggest that women are frequently involved in humanitarian access negotiations, both as delegates of humanitarian organizations or in informal capacities as community brokers. However, these negotiations do not always produce publicly available texts, or written agreements at all, which makes it difficult to fully assess the gender composition of frontline negotiating teams.

Where humanitarian agreement texts with signatories do exist, it is possible to establish whether women were present when the agreement was signed, and the role in which they were a signatory to the agreement (for example, conflict party, witness, mediator, humanitarian actor). As shown by existing research, the role of women in peace processes who negotiate and sign agreements is small. Between 1990 and 2019, five per cent of signatories to peace agreements and eight per cent of negotiators at peace tables were women.<sup>30</sup>

Of the 54 humanitarian agreements listed on PA-X between 1990 and 2015 where signatories could clearly be identified, only two were signed by women as representing parties to the conflict. In the Philippines, a humanitarian principles agreement was signed by Ms. Zenaida H. Pawid, on behalf of the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, and Coni K. Ledesma, on behalf of the National Democratic Front.<sup>31</sup> In Croatia, Dr. Ljiljana Stojanovic signed an agreement to establish a protected zone around the hospital in Osijek on behalf of the Yugoslav Federal Secretariat for Labour, Health, Veteran Affairs and Social Policy.<sup>32</sup> Meanwhile seven humanitarian agreements were signed by women as third parties or witnesses, mostly as delegates of UNHCR or the ICRC.<sup>33</sup> None of the humanitarian agreements in this time period were signed by women as representatives of women's interest groups or blocs, with women's presence referenced by their signatures on behalf of conflict parties or organizations (although it is conceivable that on occasions signature may raise distinctive security or political concerns).

#### Box 4: Women in Yemen as Humanitarian brokers

Research conducted across different governorates in Yemen shows that women are actively involved in humanitarian assistance efforts, including resolving conflicts between tribal groups over access to resources such as water, and in negotiating prisoner releases (Tabbara and Rubin, 2018). In addition to working with regional and international organizations, such as the UAE Red Crescent Society and UNICEF, women have coordinated groups such as Aden Rescue and Yemeni Youth for Humanitarian Relief.

Challenges for women negotiating providing humanitarian assistance include “lack of support from the community, controls at checkpoints, and threats or restrictions imposed by certain groups or conservative Islamists, who worked to limit the public participation of women” (Heinze and Baabbad, 2017: 15). However, in Ma’rib governorate women have utilized tribal customs around women’s roles to mediate conflicts within the family and community in order to push for mediation efforts as part of diverse teams (Heinze and Stevens, 2018: 35). This shows that there are tools women use to include themselves in or to instigate humanitarian access and mediation efforts, but that they can face heightened security risks as a consequence, particularly from groups that oppose women’s participation.

*Drawing from Heinze, M., and Stevens, S. 2018. Women as Peacebuilders in Yemen. Social Development Direct and Yemen Polling Center; Heinze, M., and Baabbad, M. 2017. “Women nowadays do anything.”: Women’s role in conflict, peace and security in Yemen. Saferworld; and Tabbara, H., and Rubin, G. 2018. Women on the Frontlines of Conflict Resolution and Negotiation: Community Voices from Syria, Iraq and Yemen – a discussion paper; UN Women.*

In addition to those listed on the 1990–2015 humanitarian assistance agreement dataset, a more recent example of a humanitarian agreement with multiple women signatories was the [Humanitarian Appeal for Benghazi](#), published on 16 March 2016.<sup>34</sup> This was an agreement that brought together a range of diverse actors from different conflict parties and constituencies in Libya, around the goal of alleviating human suffering. It was endorsed by 76 political and community leaders, including former heads of different militia, members of both the rival Tobruk and Tripoli parliaments, and was brokered by both men and women. The Appeal aimed to highlight the humanitarian crisis in the city of Benghazi and included demands for parties within the Libya conflict to respect international humanitarian law and organizations providing humanitarian assistance, and for international humanitarian actors to urgently respond to the crisis. This deal demonstrates how women from competing political backgrounds have mobilized in response to humanitarian crises, and that their involvement is occasionally reflected by formal texts.

All of these humanitarian agreements signed by women as parties in Croatia, Libya, and the Philippines, included references to women, girls, and gender in the agreement text. The language and comprehensiveness of these provisions, however, varies between the agreements, and with such a small dataset of agreements it is inadvisable to draw any conclusions about a correlation between women as signatories and the inclusion of gender references. Also, because the nature of these negotiations are often closed, it is not clear how such language entered into the agreement text, for example, whether women signatories proposed, supported, or opposed the gender references.

## Conclusion

Humanitarian assistance and access are crucial aspects of third-party responses to violent conflict, yet comparatively little is known about the role these issues play in peace and transition processes. This review of 1990-2015 peace agreements at all stages of a peace process, including humanitarian agreements demonstrates that not only are provisions for humanitarian assistance frequently included as part of peace processes, but that peace processes also include formalized agreements between conflict parties which are exclusively dedicated to humanitarian assistance whilst conflict is ongoing.

Although conflict resolution research to date has largely overlooked such deals, the number of agreements and diversity of cases in which they appear suggest that these deals perform a specific function in peace and transition processes. The mechanics of humanitarian negotiations demand greater scrutiny for the opportunities they afford women to engage in agreements at an early stage of a process, or before it begins, in ways that might improve the gender sensitivity of these agreements, and put in place gender-equality pathways in any emergent peace process, that reflect women's needs and can continue to structure any subsequent peace process. This review of humanitarian assistance agreements and provisions in peace processes suggests that whilst some agreements do indicate some adoption of a gender perspective, the majority do not. Therefore there is an opportunity to improve the ways in which peace agreements include gender references to humanitarian assistance, without overlooking many women's experiences as agents and brokers of humanitarian assistance deals.

## Appendix: Humanitarian Agreements in Peace Processes, 1990-2015 (PA-X Version 1)

Note: this list mostly includes agreements where the majority of the provisions relate to humanitarian needs and assistance, and not ceasefires that include a humanitarian component.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Sarajevo Declaration on the Humanitarian Treatment of Displaced Persons, 11 April 1992.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1469/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Geneva Agreement on humanitarian principles, 22 May 1992. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1475/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement of 5 June 1992 on the reopening of the Sarajevo Airport for humanitarian purposes, 5 June 1992.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1022/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement (ICRC Humanitarian Principles), 6 June 1992. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1589/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement on mutual release of the prisoners along the line "all for all", 5 July 1992.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1607/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Programme of Action on Humanitarian Issues agreed between the Co-Chairmen to the Conference and the Parties to the Conflict, International Conference on Yugoslavia (The London Conference), 27 August 1992.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1170/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former), Declaration of 19 September 1992 of Haris Silajdzic, Radovan Karadzic and Mate Boban, 19 September 1992.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1567/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement on the release and transfer of prisoners, 1 October 1992. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1610/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Release of all civilian prisoners and cleaning up of the battle field, 29 April 1993.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1621/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement on the Passage of Humanitarian Convoys (Makarska Agreement), 10 July 1993.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1628/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement to restore the public utilities in and around the city of Sarajevo, 12 July 1993.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1485/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement on the evacuation of the severely sick and wounded, 31 August 1993.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1630/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Joint Declaration, 18 November 1993.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1494/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement of 26 January 1994 on the restoration of the electricity system, 26 January 1994.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1598/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Prisoner exchange agreement, 8 February 1994. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1872/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement, 4 March 1994.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1850/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement, 17 March 1994.

Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1636/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/Yugoslavia (former), Agreement on Prisoner Releases, 1 October 1994. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1503/>.

Bosnia and Herzegovina/ Yugoslavia (former), Agreement between General Smith and General Mladic, 19 July 1995. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1643/>.

Colombia, Acta de la Reunión entre la Comisión Humanitaria del Gobierno y la Vocería del ELN: Gestiones Para Liberar a Todos los Secuestrados, 10 June 1999. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1148/>.

Colombia, Acuerdo entre el Gobierno Nacional y las FARC-EP (Acuerdo Humanitario), 2nd June 2001. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/170/>.

Croatia/Yugoslavia (former), The Hague Statement on Respect of Humanitarian Principles, 5 November 1991. Available at: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/view/1879/>.

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