



Landmarks in Myanmar's Post-2011 Peace Process

The Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement in Myanmar: A Gender Equality and Women's Rights Analysis

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Government officials, members of ethnic rebel groups and international witnesses pose for a picture after the signing ceremony of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA) in Naypyitaw, Myanmar October 15, 2015. Myanmar's government and eight armed ethnic groups signed a ceasefire agreement on Thursday, the culmination of more than two years of negotiations aimed at bringing an end to the majority of the country's long-running conflicts.

LANDMARKS IN MYANMAR'S POST-2011 PEACE PROCESS

THE NATIONWIDE CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT IN MYANMAR: A GENDER EQUALITY AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS ANALYSIS

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PREFACE

The Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement (NCA), signed on 15 October 2015 and ratified by Parliament on 8 December 2015, is a landmark in Myanmar's post-reform peace process. The NCA outlines the terms and conditions of the ceasefire; defines a code of conduct for the *Tatmadaw* and ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) in maintaining and strengthening the ceasefire; provides for the establishment of a Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee; and mandates an inclusive political dialogue "whose decisions ... shall be the basis for amending, repealing and adding provisions to the Constitution and laws, in line with established procedures." Although it was signed by only eight (out of 16) EAOs, its text was unanimously agreed to by all parties in the negotiations.

Moreover, it broke completely new ground in pre-reform peace processes with respect to the inclusion of women and their priorities. This presents a huge window of opportunity for a critical mass of women to be engaged in Myanmar's ongoing peace process and for women's priorities to be addressed more robustly in line with international human rights instruments on women, peace and security and Myanmar's own commitments to gender equality and women's rights as outlined in its Constitution and its National Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women (2013-22).

This publication begins by profiling and analysing women's participation in the nationwide ceasefire negotiations. It emphasizes the fact that the ongoing peace process in Myanmar must include a critical mass of gender-aware and capacitated women who can strategically influence agenda setting, processes, peace deliberations and their outcomes. It highlights the normative reasons for women's engagement and a range of practical benefits that women's inclusion contributes to the sustainability of peace, development and reform efforts.

The publication then provides a detailed analysis of the NCA from a gender equality and women's rights perspective, highlighting its strengths and limitations. It provides a set of recommendations that draw on the perspectives of Myanmar women and on global good practices on ceasefire and peace agreements.

This publication is intended to enrich post-NCA implementation processes from a gender equality standpoint. It is also intended to be a resource that informs the content and process of the ongoing peace deliberations, which aim at achieving a long-term peace accord or agreement.



Jean D'Cunha
Head, UN Women, Myanmar

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Context

Myanmar has embarked on a landmark reform process, one that is marked by a triple agenda of democratic and accountable governance; economic reform; and national reconciliation and peace. Initiated on 18 August 2011 by former President U Thein Sein, the reconciliation and peace process pillar aims to achieve lasting and sustainable peace after six decades of armed conflict between the military and ethnic armed organizations (EAOs).

Successive governments have pursued ceasefire agreements with EAOs since Myanmar's 1948 independence. Between 2011 and 2013, the Government of Myanmar and 14 EAOs signed 34 bilateral state- and union-level ceasefire agreements as part of the new peace process. At a meeting between the government and EAOs in Laiza, Kachin State in November 2013, an historic agreement was reached to negotiate a nationwide ceasefire agreement (NCA).

EAOs formed the Nationwide Ceasefire Coordination Team (NCCT) to collectively negotiate the NCA with the government. On 15 October 2015, following two years of lengthy negotiations, the Government of Myanmar and eight EAOs signed the NCA in Nay Pyi Taw. Although it was signed by only eight (out of 16) EAOs, its text was unanimously agreed to by all parties in the negotiations.

The NCA mandates the drafting of a Framework for Political Dialogue that guarantees a political dialogue and roadmap. The resulting Framework, drafted and adopted in December 2015, elaborates the details for this dialogue. The dialogue is expected to produce a final Union Peace Accord that will be the basis for constitutional changes agreed to during negotiations.

The NCA and the bilateral ceasefire agreements that have been signed in the post-reform phase have been markedly different from pre-reform ceasefire agreements. A 2014 study, 'Understanding Myanmar's Peace Process: Ceasefire Agreements',¹ highlights how these post-reform ceasefire agreements differ from those reached prior to 2011. The study identifies differences on the following points:²

1 Oo, 2014, p.10, p.22.

2 Ibid, p.10, p.22 (points 1-7).

1. **Negotiating a nationwide ceasefire agreement:** The ceasefire negotiations of the pre-reform phase did not make joint attempts towards a nationwide ceasefire agreement; the government refused to talk with any coalition. In contrast, in 2013 the government and EAOs agreed to negotiate a nationwide ceasefire agreement.
2. **Recognizing the need for political dialogue:** In the pre-reform phase, the government refused to engage in political dialogue. Following the reform, the government and EAOs recognized political dialogue as central to the new peace process. The NCA guarantees a political dialogue and lays out a broad roadmap for it.
3. **Involving multiple government and other actors:** Ceasefire negotiations in the pre-reform phase were handled by the military government and Military Intelligence was the key decision maker. In contrast, the new ceasefire negotiations and their implementation have involved various branches of government. Civilians—including some individuals who were formerly in exile—were engaged in important facilitating roles, especially as technical experts.
4. **Making the ceasefire texts publicly available:** Pre-2011 ceasefire agreements were unwritten and publicly undisclosed 'gentleman's agreements', made behind closed doors. All post-reform ceasefire agreements are written, officially signed by the government and eight EAOs, and have been made publicly available.
5. **Establishing specific rules of engagement:** Prior to 2011, parties to the agreements did not establish clear codes of conduct to maintain or monitor ceasefires. Both sides established liaison offices to settle disputes between conflicting parties. Demarcated borders of territorial control were recognized. In the new phase, the NCA and many of the bilateral agreements include detailed military codes of conduct to maintain and monitor the ceasefire, with a role for liaison offices.
6. **Engaging international actors:** While ceasefire negotiations in both phases were nationally driven, there was no international engagement in the pre-reform ceasefire negotiations between the military and EAOs. In the post-2011 phase, some international involvement was permitted. This included allowing some international observers in the negotiations, funding of the peace process and various institutional actors in it, and delivery of humanitarian assistance to conflict-affected people.
7. **Involving women in negotiations:** Women were never part of the pre-2011 closed ceasefire negotiations. This was considered a male privilege between the military and EAO leadership; many women may never have contemplated being at the negotiating table. Moreover, there is no evidence that the agreements that were reached contained any gender equality content or reflected women's priorities in pursuit of peace. However, the post-2011 reform process included some women in formal roles in the nationwide ceasefire negotiations as negotiators, technical advisers and co-facilitators.

Women were also included in the bilateral negotiations between the government and 14 EAOs as negotiators, technical experts and observers on an *ad hoc* basis. In such cases, the number of women involved was small. A minuscule number of bilateral agreements and the NCA addressed women's participation in the peace process as well as some of the concerns that women faced in conflict. This inclusion provides immense scope to expand the gender equality content of future peace texts as Myanmar's peace process moves forward.

Purpose

Against this background, this publication briefly profiles and analyses women's participation in the nationwide ceasefire negotiations. It also analyses the content of the agreement from a gender equality and women's rights perspective. This is intended to enrich the post-NCA implementation process from a gender equality standpoint. It is also intended to inform the content and process of upcoming peace deliberations, which are designed to achieve a long-term peace accord or agreement.

The analysis is based on two premises that are critical to women's full involvement in Myanmar's peace process. First, women must meaningfully participate in all aspects of the peace process and negotiations for a peace agreement. This involves ensuring the representation of a critical mass of gender-aware and capacitated women who can strategically influence agenda setting, processes, peace deliberations and their outcomes. Second, the content of the peace texts and agreements that will be negotiated and agreed upon in Myanmar's ongoing peace process must reflect women's priorities and rights, including through clear references to gender equality standards.

These two elements are important because the inclusion of women and their priorities in all aspects of Myanmar's peace process will enhance the inclusiveness and sustainability of peace and development in Myanmar. Data and analysis in Myanmar,³ as well as the 2015 Global Study on the implementation of the United Nations Security Council resolution (UNSCR) 1325⁴ bear this out, and advance the following specific reasons for the inclusion of women and their priorities in Myanmar's peace process:

1. **Participation is a woman's right:** It is a woman's right to participate in all aspects of the peace process and in the political dialogue in Myanmar. It demonstrates the government's commitment to gender equality and women's rights, which entails a responsibility to include women in public participation and decision-making in compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).⁵

3 Swisspeace, Gender and Development Initiative – Myanmar, UN Women, 'Why Gender Matters in Conflict and Peace: Perspectives from Mon and Kayin States', 2015.

4 UN Women, 'Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the implementation of United Nations Security Council resolution 1325', 2015.

5 Swisspeace, GDI-Myanmar and UN Women 2015, p.11.

2. **Women best represent their own interests:** In Myanmar, as elsewhere, conflict affects men, women, boys and girls differently. These differences are rooted in the varying roles and statuses that men and boys have in relation to women and girls, who are accorded a relatively subordinate status. In Myanmar, women have experienced the deeply adverse effects of conflict and know what strategies need to be put in place to address these impacts. Consequently, they can best represent their own interests in NCA implementation and in the dialogue for the peace accord.⁶
3. **Inclusion generates role models and multiplier effects for women's significant engagement:** Women's inclusion and effective participation in peace processes provide role models for other women to emulate. It demonstrates to male decision-makers and society at large that women can play an effective role at the peace table. It can generate a multiplier effect resulting in a critical mass of women at the peace table. It provides an opportunity for women to play bigger and more significant roles in formal peace processes. From November 2013 through October 2015 there were six women directly engaged in different roles in the official nationwide ceasefire negotiations in Myanmar (including in the senior delegation). As of January 2016, there were 52 women participants in the 700-strong Union Peace Conference. Though the numbers are still small, this represents improvements in participation rates.

Box 1: Women's Participation in Peace Talks in Colombia

At the time of peace talks in late 2012 in Colombia, there was only one woman participant. One year later, women's mobilization and advocacy resulted in women making up approximately one-third of the delegates of each side in the peace talks and women made up at least half of the participants in all public consultations about the peace talks. A sub-commission on gender has been established to ensure that gender perspectives are incorporated into the peace process and that women's views are included in negotiations. Women went on to hold leadership positions and key technical advisory positions in the Office of the High Commissioner for Peace (the government institution leading the negotiations).

Source: UN Women, 'Global Study on the implementation of resolution 1325' 2015, p.46.

4. **Gender-inclusive content of peace agreements is enhanced:** There is a positive correlation between the incorporation of women's concerns in peace agreements and women's presence in peace negotiations, deliberations and dialogues as decision-makers, negotiators, mediators, technical experts, observers and signatories. This is borne out in the case of Myanmar, even though the number of women participants in the nationwide ceasefire negotiations was small. The NCA has three gender provisions, as addressed

6 Ibid, p.35.

in this analysis. The Framework for Political Dialogue also has three gender provisions that relate to ensuring equal opportunity for both men and women to participate in the dialogue; targeting women's representation at 30 per cent in the dialogue and in the thematic committees; and deliberating on gender equality as a social issue in the dialogue.⁷ In Myanmar, as elsewhere, women at the table were supported by civil society mobilization and by funding, capacity building and diplomatic advocacy by international partners.

Box 2: Women's Participation and Priorities in the Philippines Peace Negotiations and Agreement

In March 2014, the Philippines government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) signed a comprehensive peace agreement that paved the way for the creation of a new autonomous political entity called 'Bangsamoro' in the Southern Philippines. The peace agreement had strong provisions on women's rights: eight out of its sixteen articles mention mechanisms to engage women in governance and development or protection against violence. Importantly, Bangsamoro must set aside at least 5 per cent of the official development funds it receives for programmes specifically targeted at women. A consultation mechanism for women is to be established, and women are to be included in the Bangsamoro council of leaders and among provincial governors, mayors and indigenous representatives. Special economic programmes will be established for decommissioned female forces of the MILF. The draft Bangsamoro Basic Law requires the future Bangsamoro Parliament to enact a law recognizing the important role of women in state building and development and to take steps to ensure their representation, including in the Parliament. The government has announced the construction of six women and peace training centres in the proposed Bangsamoro territory.

This was the direct result of women's participation in the negotiations, built on a long history of women's leadership at the local and national levels over the years, including under the leadership of two female presidents (who were both instrumental in restarting negotiations with the rebel group). The important shift came in 2001, when for the first time two women were appointed to a five-member government panel. Since then, every negotiating panel appointed by the government has included at least one woman. By the time the peace agreement was signed in 2014, one-third of the people at the table were women. Women were also close to one-third of the members of the transition commission tasked with drafting the Bangsamoro Basic Law, which is the equivalent of a constitutional document for Bangsamoro. Other government bodies supporting the process (e.g. the presidential

7 Union Peace Dialogue Joint Committee, 'The Framework for Political Dialogue' (Unofficial Translation), 2015, pp. 2-4.

Box 2: Women's Participation and Priorities in the Philippines Peace Negotiations and Agreement

adviser, secretariat, legal panel, technical working groups) were also headed or composed mostly of women. In December 2012, the government panel had its first female chair. The women were selected because of their past work for peace, their expertise on negotiation and technical issues, and their representation of significant constituencies through their work in the women's movement.

Source: UN Women, 'Global Study on the implementation of resolution 1325' 2015, p.43.

5. **Inclusive content of peace agreements in relation to the priorities of other sectoral groups is enhanced:** Women, in their caregiving roles as mothers, daughters, wives, mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law and in their public peacebuilding work roles, know how conflict has affected children, the elderly, the disabled, the ill, displaced people and refugees. Research in Myanmar and other parts of the world shows that women are more likely than men to go beyond articulating their own sectoral interests in ceasefire and peace negotiations. Women have also called attention to the root causes of conflict. For example, women in Myanmar see peace as not just the cessation of hostilities, but as a condition in which there is development, justice, freedom and enjoyment of human rights. They say there is no peace without development and no development without peace and are not only engaged in immediate peace process issues, but also in longer-term peace and development issues.⁸ Women identified education and health for all, in addition to their own priorities, in community consultations on key issues to be addressed in consultations about the need for state-based peace dialogues in Shan State, Myanmar.⁹
6. **Higher chances of reaching, implementing and sustaining peace agreements:** There is a positive correlation between women's participation and the effectiveness of peace agreements in terms of finalization, implementation and sustainability. Women play important roles in the community in preventing, resolving and monitoring conflict and in promoting and building peace. For example, women from the Mon and Kayin States in Myanmar detected the early warning signs of conflict, such as increased troop deployment and movement in the vicinity, gunshots and landmine explosions. They acted quickly via their family and social networks to facilitate either flight or concealment of family members, especially their menfolk. Women negotiated with both parties to the conflict to fight outside inhabited areas. In addition, they convinced the parties that the community

8 Swisspeace, GDI-Myanmar and UN Women 2015, p.34.

9 Presentation by EBO, Myanmar on State-based Dialogue Model for Shan State at Workshops on Including Women and their Priorities in the Framework for Political dialogue, organized by UN Women and EBO, Myanmar, 7-8 and 11-12 August, 2015.

would pay land and crop taxes to them outside the village. Both sets of negotiations prevented clashes and preserved human life and property. In some instances, women assumed the role of village head as most men had fled to avoid arrest and torture. Women have demonstrated the intuition and ability to negotiate among parties, strike strategic compromises, assume leadership roles and diffuse tensions that would otherwise trigger conflict. Women's complementary knowledge, skills and understanding can enhance the effectiveness and sustainability of a peace agreement.¹⁰

Box 3: Global Evidence of Higher Chances of Reaching, Implementing and Sustaining Peace Agreements with Women's Influential Participation

The 2015 Global Study on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 shows how women's skills have benefited formal peace processes. Of 40 peace processes analysed, cases where women exercised a strong influence in negotiation processes demonstrated a much higher chance of reaching and implementing an agreement compared to cases where women's participation and influence was weak. The Global Study also shows that peace agreements are 64 per cent less likely to fail when civil society representatives—such as women's groups—participate. According to the study, one of the most repeated effects of women's involvement in peace processes was pushing for the commencement, resumption or finalization of negotiations when momentum had stalled or talks had faltered. The study also pointed out that women's participation increases the probability that a peace agreement will last at least two years by 20 per cent and will last at least 15 years by 35 per cent. When analysing implementation commissions set up after peace agreements were reached, the research found that the more specifically an inclusive composition of these commissions is written into the agreement, the more effective they have been in practice.

Source: UN Women 'Global Study on the implementation of resolution 1325' 2015, pp. 41-42.

7. **Optimization of peace dividends:** An important dynamic that women's involvement catalyses is a deepened peace dividend and its impact on post-conflict peacebuilding. When women are placed at the core of peace and development processes, they are often direct recipients of a range of peace dividends, including job creation and public services. These means that communities will enjoy peace dividends more rapidly. In Myanmar as elsewhere, women are more likely to invest their increased incomes in food, education, health of children and family members¹¹ and in building human capital. These investments all result in important inter-generational development impacts and contribute to longer-term stability. If women's priorities (as well as those that are related to other marginalized groups)

¹⁰ Swisspeace, GDI-Myanmar and UN Women 2015, pp.35-36.

¹¹ Justino et al., 2012. pp. 20-21.

are not included in ceasefire agreements or political dialogues, it is less likely that these priorities will be included in post-dialogue planning and implementation mechanisms and expenditures. For example, the amount of gender-based expenditures in post-conflict budgets is influenced by prior analytical and planning instruments that identify needs and enable priority-setting. Less than 3 per cent of the indicative budgets of Post-conflict Needs Assessments or Poverty Reduction Plans worldwide are dedicated to women's and girls' specific needs.¹² The exclusion of women—half of the constituency—from peacebuilding and poverty reduction efforts in Myanmar fails to optimize Myanmar's investments in reconciliation and recovery. This potentially undermines Myanmar's peace dividends.

Methodological Framework and Structure

This publication analyses the NCA from a gender equality and women's rights perspective as defined in international human rights instruments that Myanmar has endorsed, including CEDAW, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action 1995 (BPFA) and UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions. Section 11 of Myanmar's National Strategic Plan for the Advancement of Women (2013–2022) is also an important reference point that makes the case for addressing women and their priorities in conflict contexts. A focus on global good practices further informs the NCA analysis. Finally, it draws on Myanmar women's perspectives expressed in research by UN Women and its partners (particularly Shalom and Swisspeace) and articulated in consultations and capacity-building workshops on Women, Peace and Security, including on the NCA and peace agreements.¹³

The publication is divided into five parts. Following this introductory section, Part II defines ceasefire and peace agreements, highlighting the distinctions and overlaps between them in order to elucidate the purpose of the NCA. Part III profiles and analyses women's representation and participation in post-2011 bilateral agreements and in the nationwide ceasefire negotiations in Myanmar. Part IV—the publication's key section—undertakes a gender analysis of the NCA. Presented in tabular form, the table identifies the gender references in the NCA; analyses the existing text from a gender perspective; considers good practice examples of comparable provisions from ceasefire and peace texts from other contexts; and highlights global lessons learned that are relevant to Myanmar's own experience. Part V presents the conclusions drawn from the gender analysis of the NCA and proposes recommendations based on Myanmar women's perspectives and on global good practices.

¹² UNDP 2010, p.6.

¹³ Swisspeace, GDI-Myanmar and UN Women 2015. Workshops conducted between October 2012 and May 2014.

PART 2: DEFINING CEASEFIRE AND PEACE AGREEMENTS

A **ceasefire agreement** is a temporary stoppage of war or armed conflict wherein each party agrees to suspend aggressive actions. Lacking a prescribed form, ceasefire agreements are aimed primarily at ensuring the temporary cessation of armed hostilities and are therefore more limited in scope than a comprehensive peace agreement.¹⁴ The temporary nature of a ceasefire agreement reflects that it is a measure designed to establish an enabling environment for peace talks to commence. By agreeing to suspend armed conflict, the parties can advance peace discussions and work towards a comprehensive peace agreement, which will include making the ceasefire permanent.

Typically, ceasefire agreements contain commitments to cease and refrain from committing hostile acts such as continuing violence, laying land mines, restricting access to humanitarian assistance and deploying or moving troops. Measures aimed at protecting civilians are a key feature of ceasefire agreements and an important element to building sustainable peace. Monitoring mechanisms to ensure compliance with the terms of the ceasefire are also routinely established as part of the agreement. The Myanmar NCA addresses key features of a typical ceasefire agreement and does not differ greatly from the scope of content included in other ceasefire agreements, such as the Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army/Movement in 2008¹⁵ or the Agreement on a Ceasefire between the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam in 2002.¹⁶ Each of these ceasefire agreements addresses the terms and conditions of the ceasefire, conduct that violates the ceasefire and establishes a mechanism for monitoring the implementation of the agreement.

Peace agreements are designed to “end violence and provide a platform to achieve sustainable peace, justice, security and reconciliationThey should both address past wrongs and create a common vision for the future of the country, taking into account the differing implications for all segments of society. They should also respect international humanitarian, human rights and refugee

14 UN ‘Quality Peace Agreements’, p.48.

15 Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire between the Government of the Republic of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army/Movement, 23 February 2008.

16 Agreement on a Ceasefire between the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, 22 February 2002.

laws.”¹⁷ Typically, peace agreements outline the substantive elements of what political, economic and social changes will be made, the procedural components of how peace will be established (including through new governance, judicial and security structures), the organizational features of how the peace process will be monitored and implemented and what peacebuilding mechanisms might be introduced.¹⁸

A comprehensive peace agreement includes a broader range of commitments than a ceasefire agreement. These are dependent on the country context and may make provision for constitutional reforms and new governance structures, such as in the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in the Republic of the Sudan in 2005.¹⁹ Commonly, peace agreements specify and formalize power, revenue and natural resource sharing arrangements among central and regional governments, such as in the Philippines Peace Negotiations and Agreement (called ‘Bangsamoro’, see Box 2) in 2014.²⁰ Peace agreements may also reform the electoral framework and often include agreements on measures to restore the rule of law.

Rule of law reforms included within peace agreements can incorporate transitional justice mechanisms aimed at delivering accountability for violations committed during the conflict period. For example, the Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan in 2015 establishes a Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing that ensures “the experiences of women, men, girls and boys are sufficiently documented.”²¹ Security sector reform may also be addressed, such as in the Bougainville Peace Agreement of 2001,²² and comprehensive measures for ensuring the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants may be agreed to. As the NCA is a preliminary text in Myanmar’s peace process, the content of a future peace agreement can be expected to reflect some elements of this broader scope of potential content.

A number of interim agreements may be developed to advance the peace process between the ceasefire and peace agreement stages. These are commonly referred to as interim or framework agreements and may also include annex documents or memoranda of understanding. For example, prior to the Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro being completed in the Philippines in 2014, the Bangsamoro Framework was signed in 2012 as a preliminary peace text in which some of the new governance provisions were agreed upon, signifying a step towards the completion of the Comprehensive Agreement. The Framework

17 United Nations, ‘Quality Peace Agreements’, p.49.

18 Yawanarajah and Ouellet, 2003, p.1.

19 The Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of the Republic of the Sudan and the Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Sudan People’s Liberation Army, 9 January 2005.

20 The Comprehensive Agreement on the Bangsamoro between the Government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, 27 March 2014.

21 Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan, 17 August 2015, Chapter V (2.1.3), p.40.

22 Bougainville Peace Agreement between the Government of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea and Leaders representing the people of Bougainville, 30 August 2001, Chapter 10(c), p.49-52.

Agreement was drafted to include gender considerations and protects the “right of women to meaningful political participation and protection from various forms of discrimination and violence.”²³

Although the structure and content of ceasefire and peace agreements differ according to the country context, peace agreements commonly include provisions for a permanent ceasefire in order to ensure that the cessation of hostilities in the ceasefire agreements is consolidated into a permanent arrangement. This was highlighted in the Comprehensive Peace Accord between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal in 2006, which, in addition to making arrangements for economic, political and social transformation, included a provision for “giving permanent form to the ongoing ceasefire” that had been in place as a result of prior ceasefire agreements.²⁴ As a result, provisions governing ceasefires may be found in both ceasefire and peace agreements.

23 Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro between the Government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, 15th October 2012, Part 6 (1)(g).

24 Comprehensive Peace Accord between Nepal Government and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), 22 November 2006, Part 6.1, p.8.

PART 3: INCLUDING WOMEN AND THEIR PRIORITIES IN MYANMAR'S PEACE ARCHITECTURE AND CEASEFIRE NEGOTIATIONS

In May 2012, the government established the Union Peace Central Committee, a policy and decision-making committee in the new peace architecture, led by the President. There were no women on the 11-member committee. Nine out of the 11 members of the Central Committee were members of the National Defence and Security Council.²⁵ The government also established a 52-member Union Peace Work Committee led by the Vice President, of which two members were women. The Myanmar Peace Center that served as the secretariat and technical resource to the nationwide ceasefire negotiations had 12 women staff members out of a total staff of 50 as of early 2014. Of them, one was a special adviser and one was an associate director; others had managerial and administrative roles.²⁶

Women's Participation in Bilateral Ceasefire Negotiations

Of the 14 non-state EAOs that signed bilateral ceasefires agreements with the government, three had women on their negotiating teams: the Karen National Union had three women members on its ceasefire negotiating team between 2011 and 2012, at the time of its 14th Congress; the New Mon State Party had one woman member on its 34-member team;²⁷ and the Karenni National Progressive Party also had one woman member on its negotiating team. Karen and Mon women also played roles as observers, facilitators and as technical and legal advisers.

Women's Participation in the Nationwide Ceasefire Negotiation

The nationwide ceasefire negotiations that commenced in November 2013 had 32 total delegates (16 from the government and 16 from EAOs). Two negotiators

25 The National Defence and Security Council is constitutionally sanctioned to make the highest level of security-related policies. See Oo, 2014.

26 Htin, 2013. Paper presented at the Open Day on Women, Peace and Security 'Women Count for Peace: Advancing Women's Contribution to Peace building in Myanmar' organized by Ministry of Social Welfare, Relief and Resettlement, Myanmar Women's Affairs Federation and the UN, 31st October 2013.

27 Khen and Nyo, 2014, p.36.

were women; one each on the government and EAO teams. The nationwide ceasefire negotiations also had a woman co-facilitating the process with a counterpart from the Myanmar Peace Center and one woman technical adviser on the side of the EAOs. There were two women on the 15-member senior delegation, considered a dialogue partner with the government when there was a stalemate in the negotiations.

Table 1: Proportion of Women in the NCA Peace Architecture that Related to Bilateral and Nationwide Ceasefire Negotiations 2012–2015 and Requirements to Reach Standards Set by CEDAW and UNSCR 1325

Decision-making and Negotiating Mechanisms	Number and Proportion of Women on these Mechanisms	Number and Proportion of Women that would meet the Minimum CEDAW Requirement of 30%	Number of Additional Women Needed to meet the Minimum CEDAW Requirement of 30%
Union Peace Central Committee	0 out of 11 (0%)	4 women out of 11 members would meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation	4 more women needed to meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation
Union Peace Work Committee	2 out of 52 (4%)	16 women out of 52 members would meet 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation	14 more women needed to meet 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation
Government Nationwide Ceasefire Negotiating Team	1 out of 16 (6%)*	5 women out of 16 members would meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation	4 more women needed to meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation
EAO Nationwide Ceasefire Negotiating Team	1 out of 16 (6%)*	5 women out of 16 members would meet 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation	4 more women needed to meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation

Decision-making and Negotiating Mechanisms	Number and Proportion of Women on these Mechanisms	Number and Proportion of Women that would meet the Minimum CEDAW Requirement of 30%	Number of Additional Women Needed to meet the Minimum CEDAW Requirement of 30%
Government Negotiating Team and NCCT	2 out of 32 (6%)*	10 women out of 32 members would meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation	8 more women needed to meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation
Senior Delegation	2 out of 15 (16%)	5 women out of 15 members would meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation	3 more women needed to meet the 30% CEDAW benchmark for women's participation

(UN Women adaptation of Table 1 on Number of Women in the peace Process 2011 to 2015 in *Women, Peace and Security Policymaking in Myanmar; Alliance for Gender Inclusion in the Peace Process*, December 2015). * Note that the numbers on each side of the negotiating teams changed with every meeting.

While women's representation in the nationwide ceasefire negotiations has improved from pre-reform days, it stands well below the CEDAW benchmark of 30 per cent. There are a number of reasons for this. Gender stereotypes in Myanmar construct men in public sphere roles as leaders, strategists and combatants; women are relegated to the space of domesticity. Women are consequently perceived to have little understanding of military strategy, tactics and conflict or are seen to have made marginal contributions to peace. In a militarized culture like Myanmar, ceasefire negotiations are seen as combatant-to-combatant negotiations that include only parties to the conflict in negotiations, consequently marginalizing women. What this perception neglects, due to a lack of data and analysis and an inadequate understanding of women's relationship to peace and conflict, is that Myanmar has had female combatants. Female combatants and women at large have experienced the adverse effects of conflict differently from men and have contributed in numerous ways to community-level conflict prevention, resolution, monitoring, peace promotion and peacebuilding. Their knowledge, perspectives, networks and skills developed as a consequence of this engagement are an invaluable resource for an inclusive and sustainable NCA.

Another pervasive view is that negotiations are tedious and would be further complicated by adding gender to the ceasefire negotiation agenda. Women's priorities, it has been argued, can wait until later. This is a short-sighted perspective that overlooks the fact that inclusivity leads to greater sustainability and that if women's priorities are not included in the preliminary stages of peace processes, they are not likely to be addressed in post-conflict planning and resource allocation, restricting the optimization of peace dividends.

Finally, the number of women with the same seniority as the government, military or EAO leadership, or even approximating similar levels of seniority is negligible. This closes or restricts the space for women at the peace table.

Much more needs to be done to enhance women's representation, participation and influence in subsequent phases of the peace process in Myanmar. This includes advocacy and capacity building with all parties to include women and their priorities in the peace process. There is a need to build women's substantive capacity and skills to participate effectively in the peace process and to introduce and implement a level of representation of woman of at least 30 per cent to fast-track their participation in decision-making. It should be noted that a proposed 30 per cent quota for women's participation in the political dialogue under the framework of the NCA was approved in January 2016 at the Union Peace Conference in Naypyitaw.

Gender Equality and Women's Rights Content in Bilateral Ceasefire Agreements

Of 26 bilateral agreements studied, only three were found to have included a gender component (the Chin National Front-Government and the Pa-O National Liberation Organization-Government union agreements and the 13-point Karen National Union agreement).²⁸ While it is positive that these three bilateral ceasefire agreements incorporated gender concerns into their texts, the gender references in them do not address the conditions that bar women from actually benefiting from these provisions.

28 See Annex 1: Review of the English translations of ceasefire documents collated by the Myanmar Peace Monitor at <http://www.mmpeacemonitor.org./research/ceasefire-documents>; Khen and Nyo, 2014, p.32. Full text of union agreement available at: KNU HQ Preliminary Ceasefire Talks 2012 <http://www.knuhq.org/preliminary-ceasefire-talks-2012>

Table 2: Gender References in Bilateral Ceasefire Agreements in Myanmar 2011-2015

Agreement Parties	Level	Date	Section	Gender Reference
Chin National Front (CNF)-Government	Union Agreement	7-9 Dec, 2012	S.24. Agreements on Social and Cultural Matters	It is agreed that in the appointment or promotion in civil service positions there shall be no discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, region or gender
Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO)-Government	Union Agreement	23 March 2013	S.8 Youth, Women and Labor	<p>A. To help the coordination and promotion of Pa-O youth, women and workers.</p> <p>B. To permit the Pa-O national, youth, women and labour conferences in accordance with the law.</p> <p>C. To Permit the establishment of social networks, media, publications and broadcasting businesses.</p> <p>D. To permit promoting the empowerment of youth, women and labourers.</p>
Karen National Union-Government	Union Agreement	6 April 2012	S.5	District and township peace building teams must be established to help foster the peace process. In particular, women must be included in the peace process.

The Chin National Front agreement prohibits discrimination in civil service employment on the basis of certain characteristics, including gender. However, there are no provisions that address the discriminatory conditions that prevent women from actually securing civil service jobs. Similarly, the Karen National Union agreement makes provision for women to be included in the peace process

through district and township peacebuilding teams, but does not mandate the number of women to be involved, specify the roles that they will occupy or address conditions that present barriers to their representation on these teams. Both of these provisions would be enhanced by including quotas in the text of the agreements that guarantee women's participation and by addressing the discriminatory conditions that prevent women from actually benefiting from these provisions.

Of the three provisions, the Pa-O National Liberation Organization agreement provides the strongest gender equality content; it actively commits the parties "to help" the coordination and promotion of women. It is, however, not clear from the terms of the agreement what activities will constitute helping women or how they will be implemented. Additionally, the Pa-O National Liberation Organization agreement specifies that the Pa-O national youth, women and labour conferences must be permitted, guaranteeing that no restrictions will be placed on holding these events. The provision also specifies that the parties must "permit promoting the empowerment" of women. While this ensures that activities to promote women's empowerment cannot be inhibited, the provision could have been strengthened by placing a positive obligation on the parties to promote women's empowerment rather than merely "permitting" it.

These three references to gender in Myanmar's bilateral ceasefire agreements illustrate that for gender equality content to be meaningfully incorporated into peace texts (including the NCA and future texts developed through the political dialogue process), references to women cannot be tokenistic but must ensure that women receive concrete gains.

PART 4: GENDER ANALYSIS OF THE NCA

The NCA is divided into eight chapters, with a preamble outlining the overarching purpose of the agreement. Chapters 1 and 2 establish the context for the substantive elements of the agreement by providing the basic principles, aims and objectives of the NCA as a step towards lasting and sustainable peace. Chapter 3 addresses a range of ceasefire-related matters, including regulations on ceasing military activity and abiding by set criteria regarding the deployment and movement of troops. Chapter 3 also provides for the protection of civilians and for humanitarian assistance. Chapter 4 regulates the procedural requirements for maintaining and strengthening the ceasefire, including the establishment and functioning of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee. Chapter 5 details the roadmap for conducting the political dialogue and the holding of an inclusive dialogue. Chapters 6 and 7 identify future tasks to be addressed and miscellaneous issues arising in relation to the NCA.

Of the 33 articles of the NCA, three include an express reference to gender (Chapter 1, Article 1; Chapter 3, Article 9; and Chapter 5, Article 23). Although the remaining articles do not expressly reference gender, analysis of the content highlights that women and girls will be impacted by the operation of those provisions of the ceasefire agreement. The procedural chapters of the NCA contain provisions with minimal gender implications. (See Table 3.)

Table 3: Snapshot of NCA and its Gender Content.

Chapter	Express gender reference	Gender unreferenced, but the article has unintended gender impacts	Minimal gender impacts
Preamble		X	
Chapter 1: Basic Principles (Article 1)	X		
Chapter 2: Aims and Objectives (Article 2)			X

Chapter	Express gender reference	Gender unreferenced, but the article has unintended gender impacts	Minimal gender impacts
Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related matters—troop-related terms and conditions (Articles 3 - 6)		X	
Deployment of military forces to avoid confrontations (Article 7)		X	
Free movement of troops (Article 8)		X	
Protection of Civilians (Article 9)	X		
Provision of humanitarian assistance (Article 10)		X	
Chapter 4: Maintaining and Strengthening Ceasefire—ceasefire-related rules and regulations and military code of conduct (Article 11)		X	
Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee (Articles 12-15)		X	
Liaison offices (Articles 16-18)		X	
Chapter 5: Guarantees for Political Dialogue (Article 19)			X
The political roadmap (Article 20)			X
Political dialogue (Article 21)		X	
Holding of inclusive political dialogue (Articles 22-23)	X		

Chapter	Express gender reference	Gender unreferenced, but the article has unintended gender impacts	Minimal gender impacts
Chapter 6: Future Tasks – confidence building measures (Article 24)		X	
Tasks to be implemented during the interim period (Article 25)		X	
Submission to the Pyidaungsu Hluttaw for ratification (Article 26)			X
Chapter 7: Miscellaneous (Articles 27-30)			X
Joint dispute resolution (Article 31)			X
Entry into force (Article 32)			X
Signing of the agreement (Article 33)			X

Each Chapter is analysed individually by first highlighting any express gender references included and the implications of the existing text. Where there are no explicit gender references, any inadvertent gender implications are explored and the minimal gender impacts of procedural provisions are assessed (where relevant). The analysis then provides good practice examples from other ceasefire and/or peace agreements.²⁹ Drawing on lessons learned from the current NCA provisions and global good practices, the analysis makes recommendations on how future peace texts in Myanmar may be able to incorporate strengthened gender considerations.

In analysing each NCA provision, the following checklist was considered:

- Is there a gender reference in the text?
- What does the existing text suggest about its implementation from a gender perspective?
- What are the unintended gender implications of text in which there are no gender references?

²⁹ For a comprehensive mapping of gender references in peace texts from June 2008 – April 2012, see Mediatuer, 2013.

- What are the minimal gender impacts of text dealing with procedural issues?
- What are examples of good gender-sensitive provisions with comparable content in other ceasefire texts?
- What are examples of good gender-sensitive provisions with comparable content in peace agreements?
- What are Myanmar women's perspectives on these provisions?
- What are some key recommendations from lessons learned to take into consideration looking forward?

As provisions governing ceasefires may be found in ceasefire agreements, peace agreements and in transitional and interim agreements that provide the framework for ceasefire monitoring processes, the examples provided of good practice gender content in 'ceasefire texts' includes any text with ceasefire content, not just those that are formally titled as ceasefire agreements. It should be noted that very few gender references are found in ceasefire-specific texts, and gender-responsive content is more commonly found in peace agreements. The examples included in the table are not an exhaustive list of gender references in ceasefire and peace texts and are only those where the gender-inclusiveness of the provision acts as a guide to good practice from existing agreements.

The analysis of (and subsequent recommendations for) the NCA incorporated inputs from ethnic women leaders and women in conflict-affected areas. These inputs were derived from trainings, coachings and consultations conducted by UN Women in partnership with Swisspeace and the Shalom Foundation between October 2012 and May 2014, particularly the workshop, "Inclusion of Women's Priorities in the Peace Process in Myanmar," conducted in May 2014. The workshop, which focused on gender in ceasefire and peace agreements (including the NCA), resulted in specific recommendations—from women—on including women and their priorities in the NCA.

Table 4: Gender Analysis of the Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement

Preamble	
Content overview	Outlines commitment of the signatories to secure enduring peace.
Gender reference	No: NCA aims to "secure an enduring peace ... through an inclusive political dialogue process involving all relevant stakeholders."
Analysis of existing text	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no definition of what constitutes an "inclusive political dialogue process" and who is considered a "relevant stakeholder." However, these references can be used to advocate for the involvement of women's groups as relevant stakeholders.

Preamble	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no definition of what constitutes an “inclusive political dialogue process” and who is considered a “relevant stakeholder.” However, these references can be used to advocate for the involvement of women’s groups as relevant stakeholders. • The preamble does not reference international human rights standards, including those relevant to the protection and promotion of women’s rights such as CEDAW and UNSCR 1325.
Good practice examples from ceasefire provisions	The Code of Conduct for Ceasefire agreed between the Government of Nepal and the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist) (2006) commits to “the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the basic principles and norms concerning international humanitarian law and human rights.”
Good practice examples from peace agreements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Nepal’s Comprehensive Peace Accord (2006), the preamble recognizes existing gender inequality as inhibiting the progressive functioning of the State. An objective of the Accord is “to carry out a progressive restructuring of the state to resolve existing class-based, ethnic, regional and gender problems.” • In its preamble, the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011) condemns “all acts of violence against civilians and the violations of human rights, in particular violence against women and children; and [stresses] the imperative to refrain from such acts of violence and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law.” • The Libyan Political Agreement (2015) preamble underscores “the important role of Libyan women in conflict prevention and resolution as well as in peace building, and the importance of their equal contribution to all efforts that aim to resolve the Libyan crisis; also, the need to increase their decision-making role in relation to those efforts and participation in the political process.”
Lessons learned and recommendations	Not all peace texts contain a preamble. However, where one is included it should refer to human rights and should explicitly mention gender equality and women’s rights in line with CEDAW, BPFA and UNSCR 1325 as framing principles of establishing lasting peace.

Chapter 1: Basic Principles (Article 1 (a) – (k))	
Content overview	The principles listed guide the implementation of the NCA and include commitments to democracy and federalism, a secular state, common national identity and the political dialogue process.
Gender reference	Yes: “guarantee equal rights to all citizens who live within the Republic of the Union of Myanmar; no citizen shall be discriminated against on the basis of ethnicity, religion, culture or gender.”
Analysis of existing text	Explicit reference to non-discrimination on the grounds of gender calls attention to the discriminatory experience of women and girls, whose situation is often worse than men and boys. However, while many ceasefire and peace agreements similarly entrench the principle of non-discrimination as a basic principle in their texts, other agreements use stronger language to address gender inequality.
Good practice examples from ceasefire provisions	In the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011), specific principles of the ceasefire (Art 62, s.333) include that measures to protect women and children must be taken, taking into account their special status in international law, and in recognition that they have suffered disproportionately during the conflict.
Good practice examples from peace agreements	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Nepal Comprehensive Peace Agreement 2006 (s.3.5) recognizes that discrimination is linked to the political structure, asserting that the principle of the agreement is “to carry out an inclusive, democratic and progressive restructuring of the state by ending the current centralized and unitary form of the state in order to address the problems related to women [and other vulnerable groups] ... by ending discrimination based on class, caste, language, gender, culture, religion, and region.” • A basic principle included in the Agreement between the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the Movement for Democratic Change (Zimbabwe) (2008) (s.6) is to ensure the “protection of the equality of all citizens, particularly the enhancement of full citizenship and equality of women.”

Chapter 1: Basic Principles (Article 1 (a) – (k))

Lessons learned and recommendations	The principle of non-discrimination is an important human rights standard. The basic principles included in a peace text should include additional human rights principles. In particular, gender equality should be explicitly referenced as a human rights standard. This is critical to ensure that all content of the peace text, including women's participation in decision-making bodies, is interpreted consistently with gender equality norms and that women's human rights, including those of the most excluded women, are protected.
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Chapter 2: Aims and Objectives (Article 2 (a)-(d))

Content overview	Outlines that the NCA is an agreement to begin the political dialogue, form a ceasefire monitoring committee, reaffirm the previous bilateral agreements between the government and EAOs and recognize and include EAOs in the collective signing.
Gender reference	No
Analysis of existing text	This chapter reiterates the need for an “inclusive dialogue process” without specifying who will be included in this dialogue or making provision to ensure women's fair representation.
Good practice examples from ceasefire and peace texts	This chapter refers to the procedural objectives of the agreement. No examples from other ceasefire or peace texts could be found that reference gender concerns in their procedural provisions. Other peace texts have also used different chapter titles for provisions with procedural content. For example, Nepal's Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2006) outlines similar procedural objectives under the chapter title “Preliminary.”
Lessons learned and recommendations	Procedural objectives should address gender equality concerns and make it clear that women's participation in the procedural considerations of the political dialogue is integral to the peace process.

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Terms and Conditions (Articles 3, 4,5(a)-(k) and 6)

Content overview	The terms and conditions ensure that parties to the ceasefire cease military activities, avoid hostile action or unnecessary troop movements (including in public spaces), undertake de-mining activities and administer the rule of law in ceasefire areas.
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Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Terms and Conditions (Articles 3, 4,5(a)-(k) and 6)	
Gender reference	No
Analysis of existing text	<p>None of the troop-related terms and conditions address the gender impacts of troop activities. However, women may be affected in multiple ways, including:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Article 5(a) prohibits the destruction of property but does not recognize the property of women, or the impacts of the appropriation or destruction of property on women. • Article 5(b) and (f) specify that hostile acts or defamatory speech must be avoided. This should expressly include prohibiting gender stereotypes. • Article 5(d) specifies avoiding the use of buildings such as schools and hospitals for military activity, but does not specifically reference public or private spaces that women frequent (e.g. markets). • Article 5(g) mandates that the rule of law applies and action must be taken against perpetrators. This should make specific reference to prosecuting perpetrators of all forms of violence against women.
Good practice examples from ceasefire and peace texts	There is a lack of gender-responsive provisions in other ceasefire and peace texts related to military movement and troop deployment.
Lessons learned and recommendations	Regulations on military activity should include the direct and indirect impacts on women as highlighted above.

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Deployment of Military and Free Movement of Troops (Articles 7(a)-(f) and 8(a)-(b))	
Content overview	These provisions govern the movement and positioning of troops to avoid confrontation, to encourage consultation between forces and to regulate the free movement of unarmed and armed troops.
Gender reference	No
Analysis of existing text	The regulations on military movement to “avoid confrontations” in Articles 7 and 8 did not include reference to prohibiting violence against women and girls during movement and positioning. Further, the articles did not address the impact military confrontations may have on the civilian population, including the safety and security of women and girls.

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Deployment of Military and Free Movement of Troops (Articles 7(a)-(f) and 8(a)-(b))

Good practice examples from ceasefire and peace provisions	There are a lack of gender-responsive provisions in other ceasefire and peace texts related to military movement and troop deployment.
Lessons learned and recommendations	Regulating the movements and activities of the military must incorporate express prohibitions against threatening the physical, sexual, emotional and economic safety and security of women and girls.

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Protection of Civilians (Article 9(a)-(q))

Content overview	These provisions outline the requirements to protect civilians, including avoiding acts of violence, displacement, theft or restriction of rights to health and education.
Gender reference	Yes: “Avoid any form of sexual attack on women, including sexual molestation, sexual assault or violence, rape and sex slavery.”
Analysis of existing text	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This provision protects women from sexual violence. However, the section does not define sexual violence or specify how those that violate the provision will be held accountable or prosecuted. • The Articles do not reflect the Myanmar Women's Groups recommendation that breaches of these provisions be considered a crime punishable under the NCA and expressly under relevant national law. However, while accountability measures for breaches of the ceasefire, including for committing sexual attacks against women, are not expressly referred to in the NCA, there is opportunity to incorporate accountability provisions into the Terms of Reference for the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee. • There is also no express prohibition on amnesty being provided to any of the parties to the conflict and entities under their control who have committed acts of sexual and gender-based violence prior to or after the signing of the agreement. Commitment to prosecuting such individuals is absent from the NCA.

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Protection of Civilians (Article 9(a)-(q))

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The scope of protection is restricted to sexual violence and does not include protection against other forms of violence against women such as forced marriage, human trafficking, forced labour, appropriation or destruction of women's socioeconomic assets and livelihoods. • Other protections in Article 9, including paragraph (a) on improving livelihoods "for the people" and paragraph (i) on avoiding impeding an "individual's" right to health, use gender-neutral language and do not refer to men, women, boys and girls separately. This use of gender-neutral language may have an adverse impact on the rights of women and girls. For example, improving the livelihoods of women will require tailored interventions that consider women's roles and opportunities in the formal and informal economies. As this provision only references "the people" as a whole, these specific considerations for women are not accounted for. Similarly, referring to the "individual" right to health without clear mention of women's right to health may mean that certain issues of sexual and reproductive health or injuries related to violence that only applies to women and girls could be overlooked. • Article 9 paragraph (n) protects against specific types of violence against children, including forced conscription. However, this does not specify how the forced conscription of children during the period of conflict will be addressed or whether people will be held accountable and prosecuted for having recruited children and violated their rights. Government initiatives to ensure the release of boy soldiers and rehabilitate them are being undertaken, but these are not referenced in the NCA. There is little information on girl soldiers.
<p>Good practice examples from ceasefire and peace provisions</p>	<p>The Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement (2013) framed the responsibility to ensure accountability for the commission of violence against women during conflict within Women, Peace and Security obligations (s.32v) "in accordance with the UNSCR 1325 (2000) the Commission shall ensure that all forms of violence that specifically affect women and children are heard and redressed in a gender sensitive and competent manner."</p>

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Protection of Civilians (Article 9(a)-(q))

<p>Good practice examples from peace agreements</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Nepal Comprehensive Peace Agreement (2006) reinforces the principles of non-discrimination, including on the basis of gender, as part of its commitment to human rights and international humanitarian law in the protection of civilians (s7.1.1). It further provides a specific section to protect women and children's rights (s7.6.1) assuring that "both parties fully agree to provide special protection to the rights of women and children, to immediately stop all types of violence against women and children." • The Bangsamoro Framework Agreement of (2012) (Part 6.1.g) protects the "right of women to meaningful political participation and protection from all forms of violence;" Part 6.4 provides for government assistance to communities "to enhance their economic, social and cultural development." • Measures to combat impunity in peace agreements include the establishment of a Special Court for Darfur under the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011) to try crimes during the conflict period. Gross violations of human rights and humanitarian law are excluded from the scope of application of amnesty. • Provision for reparations was also included in the Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011) (Art 43, s.225) as "all victims of conflict have the right to financial compensation for the harm and losses they have incurred as a result of the conflict, including loss of lives, physical injury mental and emotional suffering and economic losses;" (Art 46, s.237) and women "have equal rights to obtain all necessary identity documents and have the right to have such documents issued in their own names."
<p>Lessons learned and recommendations</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protections against violence against women and girls must cover a broader range of violence than sexual violence. • A comprehensive definition of violence against women and girls must be provided that is consistent with the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, which defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life," and CEDAW General Recommendation 19 on violence against women.

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Protection of Civilians (Article 9(a)-(q))

Lessons learned and recommendations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A definition of sexual violence should be provided, such as the one used by the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights that “sexual violence is a form of gender-based violence and encompasses any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed against a person’s sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting.” • Measures of justice and accountability for all forms of violence against women and girls must be specified in the peace text, including provision for prosecutions, prohibition on amnesties and guarantee of reparations. • Individual protections for civilians in the spheres of livelihoods, health and others should not use gender-neutral language, but rather should explicitly refer to the livelihoods of men and women or the health of men and women and must consider the distinct and different needs of men, women, boys and girls.
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Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Provision of Humanitarian Assistance (Articles 10(a)-(c))

Content overview	The responsibility of government, EAOs and local organizations to coordinate humanitarian assistance and to ensure the safety and resettlement of internally displaced persons is outlined.
Gender reference	No
Analysis of existing text	<p>This fails to incorporate the recommendations of the Myanmar Women’s Groups that the NCA should ensure that humanitarian assistance to internally displaced persons takes into account the specific needs and perspectives of men, women, girls and boys and accords with standards set for gender-sensitive humanitarian guidelines.</p> <p>Article 10 uses gender-neutral language to refer to conflict victims, refugees and internally displaced persons. This does not take into account the distinct needs of men, women, girls and boys in ensuring their safety and dignity. The gender-neutral language also does not account for the resettlement needs of women (article 10(b)), including those from women-headed households and their access to employment and land rights.</p>

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Provision of Humanitarian Assistance (Articles 10(a)-(c))	
	<p>The verification processes for internally displaced persons and refugees under Article 10(c) must also take into account the special circumstances of women, including those who head households as a result of their husbands having left the family to become combatants, and women internally displaced persons and refugees that may not have documentation of their identities.</p>
Good practice examples from ceasefire and peace texts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Liberia's Peace Agreement (2003) (Art 31, s.1.a) addresses humanitarian assistance for Vulnerable Groups and the need to "accord particular attention to the issue of the rehabilitation of vulnerable groups of war victims (children, women, the elderly and the disabled)." • The Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (2015) contains obligations for social service delivery in its humanitarian assistance provisions (Ch 3, s.1.2.2), providing that the government shall "offer special consideration to conflict-affected persons (children, orphans, women, widows, war-wounded etc.) in the provision of public service delivery, including access to health and education services." • The Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011) includes a range of gender-sensitive humanitarian protections including: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » (Art 42, s.221) "Establish mechanisms to promote, enable and facilitate the active participation of [internally displaced persons], returning refugees, victims of conflict and civil society in the planning and implementation of strategies, policies and programmes related to addressing the humanitarian and human rights impact of the conflict and to the return process. Special measures shall be taken to » (Art 44, s.226) "The Parties shall provide security and protection from all forms of physical attack, all forms of sexual violence, exploitation... and the government shall address the impact of such violation by taking the necessary steps to ensure effective and timely justice."

Chapter 3: Ceasefire-related Matters – Provision of Humanitarian Assistance (Articles 10(a)-(c))	
	<p>» (Art 44, s.228) “The Parties shall undertake all measures necessary to ensure security in [internally displaced persons] camps... such measures shall ensure the effective participation of women in the decision-making process within the camps.”</p>
Lessons learned and recommendations	<p>Provisions for humanitarian assistance in peace texts should expressly reference the special needs of women and girls, including in the protection of their security; access to relief goods; access to services (including sexual and reproductive health services); treatment for violence-related injuries; programmes that promote women's participation in economic recovery and capacity-building for livelihood opportunities in the post-conflict setting; and their participation in decision-making.</p> <p>A gender-sensitive infrastructure for internally displaced persons and refugee sites should be developed that ensures women's participation in camp decision-making and reflects women's needs in the design and layout of campsites. This includes ensuring that the location of sanitation and water facilities at a campsite is designed to ensure women's privacy and safety and not expose them to threats of violence when carrying out their daily activities.</p>

Chapter 4: Maintaining and Strengthening the Ceasefire (Articles 11, 12(a)-(c), 13(a)-(e), 14 and 15)	
Content overview	Commits to enacting a military code of conduct, establishing a Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee, and establishing Liaison Offices.
Gender reference	No: The composition of members of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee does not include express representation of women.
Analysis of existing text	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The provisions for maintaining and strengthening the ceasefire are not gender-sensitive and there is no explicit reference to the participation of women in the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee or any guarantee of their representation. • The recommendation of the Myanmar Women's Groups that an equal number of women and men be included in mechanisms to implement the NCA is not reflected in the agreement.

Chapter 4: Maintaining and Strengthening the Ceasefire (Articles 11, 12(a)-(c), 13(a)-(e), 14 and 15)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities for women's representation on the Committee should be canvassed, with consideration given to any opportunities for women to be representatives of committees at all levels of joint ceasefire monitoring including union, state and local levels. Women should also be represented in verification teams and as observers, advisers and providers of technical assistance. Development of the terms of reference for ceasefire monitoring can be used as an opportunity to ensure women's representation. • The Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee will investigate violations of the NCA. This commitment can be used to ensure alleged violations of the rights of women as protected civilians are investigated. • Article 13 outlines the responsibilities, rights and guiding principles of the monitoring committee. However, there is no obligation for the Committee to ensure that ceasefire monitoring protects women's rights and is implemented in accordance with gender equality principles.
Good practice examples from ceasefire provisions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The terms of reference for the Civilian Protection Component of the International Monitoring Team Philippines (2010) (Art 1.8) references guiding instruments, including UNSCRs 1325 and 1820 "which protect women and girls from all forms of violence, particularly during and after armed conflicts." • The Ceasefire Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement (2013) establishes a Sector sub-ceasefire commission (s.9) "cognisant of the important role of women in peacemaking, adequate and effective representation of women shall be guaranteed by the parties at all levels of the ceasefire mechanism." (s.22) "inclusive of women... team site groups inclusive of women, shall be established as the primary sources of reporting and investigating violations." • The Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (2015), the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism (Ch 2, s.4.3.4) has a mandated representative from the Women's Bloc.

Chapter 4: Maintaining and Strengthening the Ceasefire (Articles 11, 12(a)-(c), 13(a)-(e), 14 and 15)	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011) (Art 64, s.345) is “cognizant of the important role of women in peace making, adequate and effective representation of women shall be guaranteed by the Parties at all levels of the ceasefire mechanism” and states that women shall be included in all Ceasefire Team Site Groups. The Commission to resolve disputes relating to violations of the ceasefire provides (Art 65, s.369.v) “in accordance with the UNSCR 1325 (2000), the Commission shall ensure that all forms of violence that specifically affect women and children are heard and redressed in a gender-sensitive and competent manner.”
Good practice examples from peace agreements	<p>All examples of ceasefire monitoring bodies are in the provisions as listed above and not in other chapters of peace texts. However, several peace agreements mandate women's representation at post-ceasefire stages of the peace process on mechanisms, committees and institutions such as governance bodies, judicial mechanisms and public institutions:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict in South Sudan (2015) requires (s.10.5.2) a quarter of the members of the Executive to be women, and guaranteed quotas for Ministers and Deputy Ministers; In the agreed document of the Second Somali National Consultative Constitutional Conference (2012), quotas are committed to for the Interim Independent Electoral Commission, the Parliament and the National Assembly that includes a third of women members; The Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (2011) in its provisions on the composition of the new National Civil Service (s.54ii) “reserves certain posts ... exclusively for qualified women from Darfur;” and In the South Sudan Agreement on the Resolution of the Conflict (2015) establishes a Commission for Truth, Reconciliation and Healing “of the four South Sudanese Commissioners two must be women, of the three non-South Sudanese Commissioners at least one must be a woman.”
Lessons learned and recommendations	<p>Mandated quotas for women's representation in monitoring mechanisms should be included.</p> <p>Monitoring mechanisms should pay special attention to breaches of the ceasefire that impact women's rights and should ensure that measures of redress are in place.</p>

Chapter 5: Guarantees for Political Dialogue (Articles 19, 20(a)-(g), 21(a)-(e), 22(a)-(d) and 23)	
Content overview	This chapter outlines the political roadmap to reaching a peace accord, the format of the political dialogue and the commitment to include diverse representatives in the political dialogue.
Gender reference	Yes: "We shall include a reasonable number/ratio of women representatives in the political dialogue process."
Analysis of existing text	The guarantee of a "reasonable number/ratio" of women represented in the political dialogue does not provide a fixed quota or an assurance that women will participate in all elements of the dialogue process. The decisions and minutes of the NCA clarifies that "a reasonable number/ratio means that all parties will strive for inclusion of 30 per cent of women representatives in the political dialogue," however this is only a target and not a mandated quota.
Good practice examples from ceasefire provisions	The Agreement on a Permanent Ceasefire between the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army/Movement (2008), provides that "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." This reference to UNSCR 1325 can be viewed as framing the requirement of women's participation in the peace process within its status as an international mandate.
Good practice examples from peace agreements	The framework agreement to resolve the conflict in Darfur between the Government of Sudan and the Liberation and Justice Movement of Sudan 2010) (s.6) includes the "agreement on the importance of the role of civil society in the peace process and the necessity to establish mechanisms for general participation, in particular by civil society to ensure that the views, voice, needs, rights of women ... are reflected in the negotiations."
Lessons learned and recommendations	The ratio of women representatives in the peace process should be protected through a clear quota of at least 30 per cent in compliance with CEDAW recommendations.

Chapter 6: Future Tasks (Articles 24 (a)-(c), 25(a)-(c) and 26)	
Content overview	This chapter outlines the confidence-building measures to increase faith in the signing of the NCA, the tasks to be implemented in the interim period to build development and security and the procedure for ratification of the agreement.
Gender reference	No
Analysis of existing text	Tasks to be implemented during the interim period specified in Article 25 include carrying out programmes and projects concerning matters such as health; education; environmental conservation; socioeconomic development; preservation and promotion of ethnic culture; peace and stability and the rule of law; and the eradication of illicit drugs.
Good practice examples from ceasefire provisions	<p>These programmes and projects can promote gender-sensitive considerations, including ensuring that health initiatives incorporate women's general health and sexual and reproductive health needs, gender parity in school enrolment and retention at all levels of education, gender-sensitive curricula, women's greater access to productive assets (e.g. land registered jointly with male relatives and/or sole titles for women), financial inclusion for women and increased livelihood opportunities for both urban and rural women. Rule of law initiatives should also pay special attention to preventing and ensuring accountability for discrimination and violence against women.</p> <p>Programmes for the reintegration of former combatants are not included in the tasks listed to promote development and security under Article 25. Interventions should target former women combatants to encourage their reintegration into their communities and participation in the post-conflict social, economic and political transformation.</p>
Good practice examples from peace agreements	The Framework Agreement on the Bangsamoro (2012) (s.11) provides that a normalization initiative task for the future will be to establish a Trust Fund that prioritizes economic facilitation for marginalized groups' (including women and children) return to normal life.
Lessons learned and recommendations	<p>Measures to improve development and security should include express consideration of the needs of women and girls. The implementation of programmes and projects should be gender sensitive.</p> <p>Special attention should be paid to former female combatants and the impact of small arms in the community on women's security.</p>

Chapter 7: Miscellaneous (Articles 27-30, 31(a)-(b), 32 and 33)	
Content overview	The miscellaneous provisions address procedures for implementation of the agreement, joint dispute resolution and entry into force and signing of the NCA.
Gender reference	No
Analysis of existing text	This chapter addresses procedural considerations related to NCA implementation. These procedural elements include specifying that the parties shall hold separate negotiations to reach agreements on additional issues and shall engage in joint dispute resolution on any issues that arise. The participation and role of women in these negotiation and dispute resolution processes is not addressed; the provisions would be strengthened by including reference to women's role in these procedures.

PART 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This gender analysis of the NCA reveals that although progress has been made in including gender equality content in Myanmar's nationwide ceasefire text, there are still striking deficiencies in the Agreement for protecting and promoting women's rights.

Key Conclusions

- Gender-neutral language is frequently used. This fails to recognize the different concerns of men, women, girls and boys in the post-conflict environment.
- There is no reference to international norms and standards of humanitarian law or human rights, including gender equality. Principles of international humanitarian law and international human rights law do not frame the implementation of the NCA. Myanmar's obligations to gender equality, including through compliance with CEDAW, BPFA and UNSCR 1325 are not referenced.
- Regulations on military activities, including troop movements, positioning and conduct fail to consider the full range of direct and indirect socioeconomic, physical and sexual impacts on women.
- The protection of women as civilians is limited to specified types of sexual violence and does not include physical, psychological or economic violence against women and girls. Provisions for redress, reparations and accountability for discrimination and violence against women and girls are not included.
- Humanitarian assistance measures are gender-neutral and do not consider the distinct needs of women and girls, including as refugees or internally displaced persons.
- The Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee established under the NCA does not explicitly mandate women's representation or participation. The role of the Committee in monitoring violations of women's rights is not addressed.
- There is no mandated quota for the number of women that will be included in the political dialogue process.

- Development and security measures to be implemented in the interim period do not take account of or specify the concerns of women and girls that must be addressed. The NCA does not include measures to reintegrate former women combatants or address the impact of small arms in the community on women and girls.

Recommendations

The NCA and the Framework for Political Dialogue are landmarks in Myanmar's post-reform peace process. As the National League for Democracy takes up the reins of power after its landslide victory in the national general elections of 8 November, 2015, there could be changes made in Myanmar's peace architecture and the form and direction of the peace process. Whatever the way forward, Myanmar's peace process needs to robustly reflect a gender equality and women's rights perspective. It must promote compliance with CEDAW, BPFA and UNSCR 1325 and related resolutions. Women must be well represented in Myanmar's peace architecture and process and in all mechanisms related to it. Moreover, their priorities must be included and addressed in peace deliberations and outcomes. Inclusion of these priorities will ensure that negotiations have regard for the power dynamics between women and men in the context of the conflict in Myanmar.³⁰

1. **Implementation of the NCA:** The government and EAOs should ensure the gender-sensitive implementation of the NCA. Women should be included in all structures at all levels of the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee, including the secretariat that supports the Committee. The Committee should monitor NCA implementation in order to ensure that the ceasefire is upheld in ways that protect women's rights. In particular, the implementation of the ceasefire should not in any way discriminate on the basis of gender (section 1(d)) or permit the commission of sexual violence (section 9(m)). Women representatives must be included in the political dialogue process (section 23). Other provisions that can be leveraged to advance women's rights include assurances of civilian protections of land access (section 9(f)), rights to education and health services (section 9(h)and(i)), and guarantees of humanitarian assistance (section 10). Reports from Myanmar women's organizations monitoring these aspects of ceasefire implementation on the ground should inform the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee's work.
2. **Women's participation in the political dialogue/peace process:** The parties to the political dialogue (or any other form of deliberation for a long-term peace agreement) should commit to a 30 per cent quota for women's involvement in all structures at all levels of the political dialogue/peace process. Women should be included as delegates in decision-making committees, technical committees, logistics, safety nets and deadlock-breaking committees. At least 50 per cent of the participants in broader community consultations should be women.

³⁰ Bell, 2015, p.5.

All thematic issues in the political dialogue and deliberations for a long-term peace agreement must be addressed from a gender equality and women's rights perspective.

3. **Strengthening the ceasefire provisions and civilian protections when the ceasefire is made permanent:** Provisions of ceasefire agreements that fail to have regard for gender are often strengthened in final peace agreement texts. For example, the Agreement on Ceasefire and the Cessation of Hostilities in Liberia (2003) made no mention of gender in its provision on humanitarian assistance, but the peace agreement reached later that year included a dedicated chapter on humanitarian assistance to vulnerable groups and recognized that women required specific attention. This highlights the opportunity for women's needs and voices to be reflected in a future peace agreement in Myanmar, even if these elements are absent from the NCA. Reflecting on the gaps in the provisions within the NCA may enable strengthening their formulation in a future peace agreement.
4. **Pursuing measures of accountability for sexual violence:** Sexual violence committed in violation of the NCA must be monitored as a breach of the ceasefire by the Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee and investigated and prosecuted in a timely manner under national law.³¹ The Joint Ceasefire Monitoring Committee must categorize all forms of sexual attack against women as severe violations of the terms of the ceasefire and ensure that they are prosecuted accordingly. Conflict-related sexual violence should be addressed in a future peace agreement by ensuring that transitional justice mechanisms are established to address the sexual violence committed during conflict. Transitional justice measures should ensure a prohibition on amnesties and a commitment to delivering reparations to survivors.
5. **Pursuing a comprehensive peace accord or agreement that includes clear protection and promotion of women's rights:** Through participation in the political dialogue (or any other form of deliberation) for a long-term peace agreement, a comprehensive, gender-sensitive peace accord should be reached. This peace agreement should reflect women's priorities and reflect gender equality standards in accordance with CEDAW, BPFA and UNSCR 1325. It should include explicit provisions that grant women enforceable rights and protections in Myanmar's post-conflict setting on thematic issues such as:
 - The rule of law, justice, accountability and reconciliation;
 - Security sector reform;
 - Economic recovery and sustainable development (including private-sector investment, infrastructure development and extractive industries, full and productive employment and decent work, access to economic assets and resources, land tenure, use and management and rural development);

31 For further guidance, see UN Department of Political Affairs, 'Guidance for Mediators: Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence in Ceasefire and Peace Agreements' 2012.

- Environmental protection and climate change;
- Social issues and public service delivery;
- Gender and power sharing, including representation in political institutions; and
- Humanitarian assistance and resettlement of internally displaced persons.

ANNEX: BILATERAL CEASEFIRE AGREEMENTS REVIEWED(ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS)

TITLE	PARTIES	DATE
12 Points Agreement of Union Peacemaking Work Committee and All Burma Students' Democratic Front Union-level Peace Talks	Government-All Burma Students' Democratic Front	10 August 2013
Rakhine State Liberation Party-Government 5-Point State-level Peace Agreement	Rakhine State Government-Rakhine State Liberation Party	4-5 April 2012
Chin National Front (CNF) Government 9-point State-level Peace Agreement	Government-CNF	6 January 2012
CNF-Government Ceasefire Agreement	Government-CNF	7 May 2012
CNF-Government Union Level Peace Agreement	Government-CNF	7-9 December 2012
Kalo Htoo Baw (DKBA-5), Government State Level peace agreement	Karen-Kalo Htoo Baw	3 November 2011
Kalo Htoo Baw (DKBA-5) Government Union Level peace agreement	Taungtha Township Pyithu Hluttaw-Kalo Htoo Baw	11 December 2011
Seven Points Agreement Between Myanmar Government and Kachin Independence Organization	Government-Kachin Independence Organization	30 May 2013
Eight Points Agreement between Union Peace Work Committee and the Karenni National Progressive Party	Government-Karenni National Progressive Party	20 June 2013
Initial Agreement between Karen National Union (KNU) and Burmese Government	Government-KNU	13 June 2012
The KNU Press Release on 1st Meeting between KNU Delegation and Union- Level Peace Delegation	Government-KNU	7 April 2012

TITLE	PARTIES	DATE
KPC Government 6-point State-level Peace Agreement	KNU-KNLA Peace Council	7 February 2012
National Democratic Alliance Army (NDAA) Proposed Terms	Government-NDAA	7 September 2011
NDAA Government 6-Point Union level Peace Agreement	Government-NDAA	27 December 2011
New Mon State Party (NMSP) Government 5-point State-level Peace Agreement	Government-NMSP	1 February 2012
NMSP Government 4-point Union-level Peace Agreement	Government-NMSP	25 February 2012
Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland-K, Government State Level peace agreement	Government-Nationalist Socialist Council of Nagaland-K	9 April 2012
State Level Ceasefire Agreement – Pa-O National Liberation Organization (PNLO) and Myanmar Government	Government-PNLO	25 August 2012
Union Level agreement between PNLO and Union Peace Work Committee	Government-PNLO	23 March 2013
Shan State Army-South (SSA-S) Government Ceasefire Agreement	Government-Restoration Council of Shan State (RCSS)/SSA	2 December 2011
SSA-S Government 11-point peace agreement	Government-RCSS/SSA	16 January 2012
SSA-S Government 12-point peace agreement	Government-RCSS/SSA	19 May 2012
SSA-S, Government, UNOFC Tripartite agreement	Government-RCSS-UNOFC	28 October 2012
SSPP/SSA-N Government Preliminary Peace and 5-Point Peace Agreement	Government-Shan State Progress Party/SSA	28 January 2012
United Wa State Army-Government 6-point Union-level Peace Agreement	Government-United Wa State Army	26 December 2012

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Agreement on a Ceasefire between the Government of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, 22 February 2002: http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/LK_020222_CeasefireAgreementGovernment-LiberationTigersTamilEelam.pdf

Peace Agreement between the Government of Liberia, the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), the Movement of Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and the Political Parties, 18 August 2003: http://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/LR_030818_Peace%20Agreement%20btwn%20GovLiberia%2CLURD%2CMODEL%20and%20the%20Political%20Parties.pdf

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