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Women, Peace and the United Nations:

The UN's Role in Advancing Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements

Celeste Popoff



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PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform
School of Law, Old College, The University of Edinburgh
South Bridge, Edinburgh EH8 9YL
Tel. +44 (0)131 651 4566
Fax. +44 (0)131 650 2005
E-mail: peacerep@ed.ac.uk
Website: PeaceRep.org
LinkedIn: www.linkedin.com/company/peacerep/

About the author

Celeste Popoff is an LLM Human Rights graduate from the University of Edinburgh Law School, where her research focused on gender, conflict and peacebuilding practice, freedom of expression in the digital sphere, and human rights law. She previously completed her LLB at King's College London and has worked on research projects relating to environmental rights and the intersection of peacebuilding and development.

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List of Abbreviations

AU	African Union
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
DPO	Department of Peace Operations
DPPA	Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
EU	European Union
LPDF	Libyan Political Dialogue Forum
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women
PBC	Peacebuilding Commission
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
UN	United Nations
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
UNSG	United Nations Secretary General
UNSMIL	United Nations Support Mission in Libya
WPS	Women, Peace and Security

Key Findings

- ▶ Peace agreements with references to women, girls, and gender increased from 12% to 28% following the adoption of UNSCR 1325. Gender provisions increased both in agreements signed by the UN and agreements to which the UN was not a signatory, though non-UN agreements saw the greater rise in provisions (8% to 19%, compared with 4% to 10% for UN-signed agreements). Post-1325, the most common provisions in UN-signed agreements concerned participation, equality, violence against women, and institutional reform, reflecting alignment with key priorities under the WPS agenda.
- ▶ Despite the post-UNSCR 1325 rise in references, the overall prevalence of peace agreements containing gender provisions is low. Only 21% of agreements contain references to women; UN signatories are present in 34% of these. Recent years show a downturn: between 2019 and 2023, both UN and non-UN agreements declined in gender references, although UN agreements had peaked in 2019.
- ▶ As a share of all agreements, agreements not signed by the UN reference women more often than UN-signatory agreements. However, UN involvement correlates with higher proportions of references to different gender issues (Gender Score) – UN-signatory agreements generally include a greater share of gender references, though the pattern is volatile. Trends are episodic rather than cumulative – UN influence is marked by sharp peaks (2012, 2017, 2019) and steep declines (2018, 2023) rather than steady growth.
- ▶ Within peace agreements, the quality and substantiveness of gender provisions remains limited. Most agreements only include references to between two and three priority WPS areas (Gender Score), such as participation, equality, violence against women, and institutional reform, rather than holistically addressing multiple gendered issues. For both UN and non-UN signed agreements, inclusion of multiple issues fluctuates across time. Between 2014 and 2018 and between 2019 and 2023, the share of provisions addressing multiple gender issues in non-UN agreements fell by 76%. By contrast, UN-signed agreements recorded only a 10% decline, maintaining comparatively higher levels of inclusion.

- ▶ General references to the UN as a signatory account for the largest share of agreements with gender provisions (27% of the total dataset). Where agreements are signed by specific UN actors, the Secretary General signed the highest proportion of agreements with gender references (62%), while UN Missions recorded the lowest (27%). Participation is the most common type of gender provision across all UN actors, mirroring wider dataset trends, whilst references to international law appear more frequently in agreements signed by the Secretary General and Security Council. Average Gender Scores across UN actors show limited variation (2.5–3.8) and remain low overall, suggesting that no actor demonstrates consistently stronger engagement.
- ▶ Although the period from 2019 to 2023 is marked by decline, UN-signed agreements remained more likely than non-UN agreements to include gender provisions. The 16 UN-signatory agreements with gender references in that time period were spread across multiple regions and half were framework agreements, yet most (9) contained only a single reference (Gender Score of 1). The prevalence of 'one-off' or 'hook' references may reflect the influence of the UN's 2019 Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies. The 2020 Juba Agreement stands out as a near-comprehensive inclusion of gender provisions across multiple issues, but this agreement is an exception rather than evidence of a broader trend.

Introduction

The year 2025 marks 25 years since the adoption of the United Nations Security Council's (UNSC) landmark Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS).¹ While 2025 is intended to be a year of celebration, in reality, it also represents a 'moment of reckoning'.² With the annual inclusion rate of gender-related provisions in peace agreements stagnating between 20% and 35%, the international community remains far from fulfilling its commitment to ensure that 'all actors involved in negotiating and implementing peace agreements adopt a gender perspective'.³

Since its foundation, the maintenance of peace and security has been one of the key pillars of the United Nations (UN).⁴ The WPS agenda builds directly on this mandate by recognising, for the first time, that peace and security cannot be achieved without addressing the specific needs, experiences, and contributions of women in conflict and post-conflict settings.⁵ Through Resolution 1325 and the resolutions that followed it, peace and security came to be understood as inextricably linked to gender equality, with women's participation in peace processes and the protection of their rights established as central to sustainable peace.⁶

Although there have been important advances in areas such as reproductive freedoms and protections against gender-based violence, these rights have never been fully secured globally and remain subject to uneven progress.⁷ This ongoing instability not only threatens women's rights in everyday life but also erodes the political will and normative frameworks necessary for embedding gender equality in peace processes. In this context, the limited inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements reflects more than a technical gap; it also signals how broader resistance to gender equality constrains the scope of the WPS agenda in practice. At the same time, these developments highlight, perhaps more than at any point since its adoption, the continued relevance of Resolution 1325 to contemporary peace-making.⁸ Twenty-five years on, the limited integration of gender perspectives in peace agreements underscores that the agenda's transformative potential remains only partially realised.

As the institution that established these norms, the UN carries a direct responsibility to ensure their full implementation in its own operations, and provide a model for leadership.⁹ Its unique mandate, expertise, and resources place the UN in a pivotal position to embed women's, girls' and gender perspectives within peace processes.¹⁰

This study examines how the UN seeks to fulfil this responsibility and the extent to which its efforts have resulted in the meaningful integration of gender perspectives in peace agreements. In doing so, it situates this analysis within a wider context of plateauing inclusion rates, a global rollback of women's rights, and an increasingly fragmented mediation landscape. Understanding how the UN operates under these conditions is critical for assessing the future relevance and impact of the WPS agenda in advancing gender equality through peace processes.

Existing research has shown that UN involvement as a third party in peace agreements is associated with increased rates of gender-related provisions in agreements, compared to those agreements without UN involvement.¹¹ The most comprehensive study to date by Christine Bell and Kevin McNicholl, which draws on the PA-X Gender peace agreements database, covers the period between 1990 and 2016, but leaves subsequent years unexplored.¹² Another study in 2019 examined a sample of agreements between 1990 and 2019. However, it did not provide continuous year-on-year analysis.¹³ As a result, an empirical gap remains, particularly given the rapidly changing nature of conflict, mediation practices, and geopolitical dynamics over the past decade. With the 25th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 coinciding with stagnating inclusion rates, there is a pressing need to reassess whether the UN's influence on gender provisions has been sustained, diminished, or transformed.

This report addresses the empirical gap in year-on-year analysis of UN involvement by providing a continuous analysis of peace agreements containing gender-related provisions from 1990 to 2023, updating and extending the Bell and McNicholl study beyond its original 2016 endpoint. While the dataset used in this report also includes agreements signed before 2000 for inclusive representation, the pre-1325 period is not used for direct comparative purposes. Instead, the adoption of the WPS agenda is treated as a critical reference point, building on the established finding that references to women and gender in peace agreements increased significantly in its aftermath.¹⁴

Whereas earlier studies concentrated mainly on overall trends before and after 1325, this report places the UN itself at the centre of analysis. It not only traces the prevalence of gender references in agreements signed by the UN, but also disaggregates its role by examining the involvement of different UN bodies, and assessing how the quality and type of gender provisions vary across contexts. By doing so, it offers a more nuanced picture of the UN's influence on gender inclusion in peace agreements.

Section 1 outlines the background and conceptual framework for this analysis, focusing on the WPS agenda and the UN's institutional architecture. Section 2 then explains the methodology and limitations of the study, explaining how the PA-X Gender and Actors datasets are combined to capture patterns of UN involvement and gender provisions. Section 3 presents the descriptive-quantitative findings, structured around five areas: (1) the impact of UNSCR 1325 on the inclusion of gender provisions; (2) the overall prevalence of gender provisions and general trends; (3) the distribution of provisions across categories and their depth, assessed using the Gender Score devised by Bell and McNicholl; (4) the role of different UN bodies in shaping agreements with gender provisions; and (5) developments between 2020 and 2023, a period marked by institutional reform and renewed debate over the UN's effectiveness. Complementing this dataset analysis, Section 4 turns to Libya as a case study, exploring how the UN has navigated the shifting realities of a fragmented conflict, and what this reveals about the limits of its gender commitments in practice. The report concludes with a discussion that draws these strands together to assess the UN's evolving role in advancing gender perspectives in peace agreements.

1. Background and Conceptual Framework

This section situates the UN's role in gender provisions within its broader normative and institutional context. It considers the foundations laid by UNSCR 1325 and the WPS agenda, examines how the UN's institutional architecture shapes its influence in peace processes, and reviews existing literature to highlight the debates and gaps to which this study contributes.

1.1. Normative Framework: UNSCR 1325 and the WPS Agenda

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 in October 2000 represented a pivotal moment in the UN's peace and security mandate, embedding gender equality within its institutional framework for conflict resolution and peacebuilding. Its foundations lie in the UN Charter (1945), the UN Decade for Women (1975 to 1985), the Windhoek Declaration, and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), which explicitly linked gender equality to peace and security.¹⁵ UNSCR 1325 formally recognised the need for women's inclusion in peace processes, both through their participation in negotiations and through the incorporation of gender perspectives in peace agreements. The resolution was adopted under Chapter VI of the UN Charter, as opposed to Chapter VII, meaning that it lacks binding enforcement mechanisms.¹⁶ Nevertheless, its unanimous adoption has given it significant normative authority. Although its precise legal status remains contested, the resolution has been instrumental in advancing the inclusion of women, girls, and gender perspectives within the international peace and security agenda.¹⁷ In Paragraph 8, the resolution:¹⁸

'Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia:

- (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;
- (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all the mechanisms of implementation of peace agreements;
- (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary; ((UNSC), 2000).'

This paragraph is relevant for peacemaking practice because it explicitly requires the integration of a gender perspective in both the negotiation process and the resulting agreement.

Since its initial adoption, the UNSC has passed nine subsequent resolutions that collectively form the framework for implementing the WPS agenda. These resolutions fall into two broad categories. The first, comprising of four resolutions, promotes women's active and effective participation in peacebuilding.¹⁹ Beyond recognising the gendered impacts of conflict, these resolutions establish mechanisms for regular monitoring and reporting,²⁰ call for stronger engagement by senior UN leadership,²¹ and seek to increase accountability.²² The second category, beginning with UNSCR 1820 (2008) and followed by four additional resolutions, focuses on preventing and addressing conflict-related sexual violence, framing it as both a human rights violation and a matter of international peace and security.²³ Together, these resolutions have expanded and deepened the WPS framework, establishing a comprehensive normative agenda that links gender equality to peace and security. This framework provides the backdrop against which the UN engages in peace processes and shapes the inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements.

1.2. Institutional Architecture: UN Peacebuilding Structures and Mediators

The UN's capacity to influence the inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements is shaped by its institutional architecture and the way it coordinates work on gender across its different bodies. Today, UN Women is seen as the lead agency responsible for overseeing the WPS agenda.²⁴ However, before its establishment in 2010, responsibility was divided among several entities, including the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), the Office of the Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI), and the Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW).²⁵

In 2019, Secretary-General António Guterres undertook a comprehensive reform of the UN peace and security architecture, aimed at improving coherence, integration, and effectiveness across the entire sector.²⁶ This restructuring replaced the Department of Political Affairs, the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, and the Peacebuilding Support Office with two new entities: the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and the Department of Peace Operations (DPO).

While the reform was not specific to the WPS agenda, its emphasis on breaking down silos and enhancing cross-pillar collaboration has direct implications for the UN's ability to promote gender provisions in peace agreements. Under the new structure, the DPPA Gender, Peace and Security Team and DPO Gender Team work closely to support UN Women and the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) with advancing the WPS agenda.²⁷

Recognising the need to integrate gender considerations into these processes, the UN issued its first comprehensive *Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies* in 2017, building on its 2012 *Guidance for Effective Mediation*.²⁹ This guidance outlines practical measures to ensure women's effective participation and to embed gender sensitivity in both the process and content of peace agreements, such as including provisions on participation, protection, and specific legal rights.³⁰ In doing so, it provides mediators with tools to translate WPS commitments into concrete text within agreements, directly shaping the likelihood and quality of gender provisions.

The UN's institutional reforms, as well as its gender strategy and mediation guidance, demonstrate that the organisation has developed clear frameworks for mainstreaming gender across peace and security. The key question, however, is whether these strategies translate into consistent outcomes in peace agreements. This reflects wider concerns about the gap between normative ambition and practical implementation within the WPS agenda.³¹ Although gender mandates have expanded, provisions are often included unevenly or superficially, raising doubts about their impact. The tension between policy and practice highlights the need to assess not only the presence of gender frameworks, but their influence in practice. This remains a central challenge for advancing gender-responsive peacebuilding.

1.3. The Importance of Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements

Peace agreements play a critical role in shaping post-conflict societies. They help define the relationship between the nation and the state, influence the development of nationalism, regionalism, and constitutionalism, set the minimum requirements for democratic governance and political party formation, and guide the transition to economic recovery.³² Peace agreements also serve as essential roadmaps for reconstruction: they determine who participates in governance, how resources are allocated, and which reforms are prioritised.³³ As such, gender-neutral or 'gender-blind' agreements are insufficient, as women's interests and priorities cannot be assumed to mirror those of men.³⁴

The inclusion of gender provisions is closely tied to women's participation in peace processes, both formally and informally. For example, True and Riveros-Morales found that the likelihood of achieving a peace agreement with gender provisions increases when women's civil society participation is significant.³⁵ While Krause, Krause and Branfors do not examine gender provisions specifically, their findings complement this connection by showing that women's participation, particularly through networks tied to civil society, enhances the durability and inclusivity of peace agreements.³⁶ Together, these studies underscore how women's involvement not only shapes the content of agreements but also strengthens the prospects for more comprehensive and gender responsive outcomes.

The close relationship between women's participation and gender provisions has clear implications for the UN. Although the UN's ability to contribute and the nature of its role are often shaped by the consent of the warring parties,³⁷ its own mediation guidance nonetheless stresses that mediators can influence participation and inclusion outcomes, both through the way mandates are formulated and through the allocation of resources.³⁸ As a frequent mediator, the UN therefore has at least some capacity to shape both the degree of women's involvement in negotiations and the likelihood that gender commitments are included.

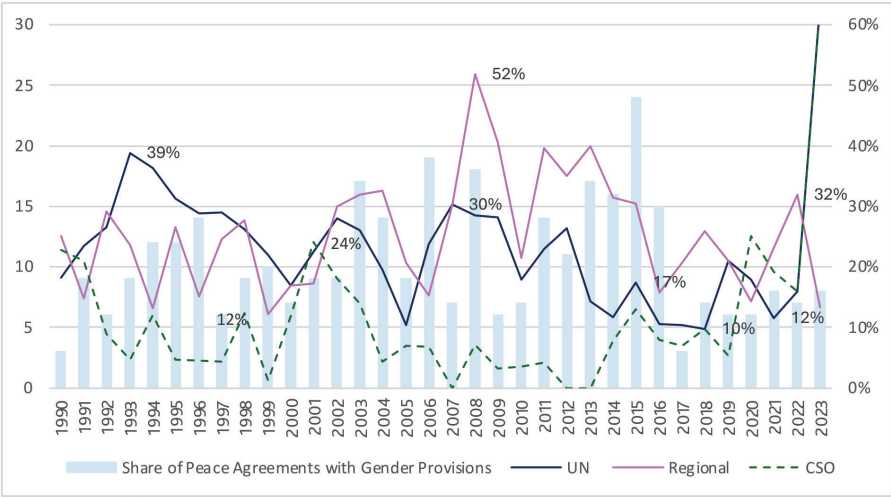
1.4. The UN in a Changing Mediation Landscape

The UN's role in peace processes has been shaped by shifts in both conflict dynamics and the wider mediation landscape. Since 2000, wars have become more protracted and fragmented, and the UN's place in the mediation landscape has evolved accordingly.³⁹ Since 2008, when regional organisations such as the African Union (AU), European Union (EU) and Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) reached peak involvement of 52%, their participation in peace agreement processes has generally remained higher than that of the UN and civil society organisations (CSOs) (Figure 1).⁴⁰

Despite this, the UN remains the most prolific international third-party signatory to peace agreements.⁴¹ It has participated in 42% of all peace processes and signed 24.5% (414 agreements) of all agreements recorded in the PA-X dataset (1690 agreements).⁴² Since 1990, 37 distinct UN entities have acted as signatories, with the most frequent being general references to the United Nations (289 agreements),⁴³ followed by the United Nations Protection Force (50 agreements) and the United Nations Security Council (26 agreements).⁴⁴

Although UN involvement has generally declined since 2007, 2023 marks an unprecedented increase in both UN and CSO participation, with each reaching their highest recorded levels. As seen in Figure 1, the lines representing UN and CSO involvement overlap in 2023, reflecting identical proportions of participation. This sharp rise is attributed to the Colombia VI – Government–ELN post-2015 process, in which all agreements involving the UN and CSOs were part of this single peace process.

Figure 1. UN, regional organisation, and civil society organisation (CSO) involvement in peace agreement processes, and the share of peace agreements with gender provisions (1990–2023).



Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

The share of peace agreements with gender provisions has fluctuated over time without a clear long-term trend, but with notable spikes in 2003, 2004, 2008 and 2023 (Figure 1). Interestingly, these spikes align with peaks in regional organisation involvement, while the 2018 dip coincides with lower UN and CSO participation. While these movements suggest that actor participation may influence the inclusion of gender provisions in particular years, there is not consistent upward or downward trajectory evident across the period examined. These dynamics illustrate that while the UN remains a central actor, its influence on gender provisions cannot be assumed to be steady or uniform.

The relationship between UN involvement and the inclusion of gender-related provisions in peace agreements has been the subject of sustained scholarly attention. Much of the early literature suggests a positive association. Examining agreements between 1990 and 2010, Bell and O'Rourke found that the increase in gender provisions was notably higher in agreements where the UN acted as a third party.⁴⁵ Extending this analysis to the period between 1990 and 2016, Bell and McNicholl reported that, after the adoption of Resolution 1325, this rise became even more apparent in agreements involving UN participation, highlighting the significance of the Resolution.⁴⁶

The *United Nations Global Study on the Implementation of UNSCR 1325* (2015) reinforced these findings, reporting that 38% of all agreements negotiated with UN involvement mentioned women or gender equality.⁴⁷ Significantly, it also observed a qualitative shift: references are gradually becoming less tokenistic, moving from general affirmations of equality to more substantive commitments, such as ensuring women's participation in decision-making bodies, integrating them into security arrangements, and implementing specific measures to address violence against women and girls.⁴⁸

However, this positive correlation is not consistently observed. Christien and Mukhtarova found that UN involvement between 1990 and 2019 was not statistically significant in increasing the likelihood of adopting gender provisions.⁴⁹ Instead, their analysis linked higher likelihoods to third-party mediation by states or regional organisations, and to the presence of UN peacekeeping forces in conflict-affected countries.⁵⁰ This divergence in findings suggests that the UN's impact may partially depend on its role and the broader constellation of actors involved, rather than its presence alone.

More recent work by Badanjak (2025) using the PA-X corpus database, shifts the focus from the presence of formal provisions to the diffusion of gender norms.⁵¹ By employing a dictionary-based word-counting method, Badanjak captured a broader spectrum of gender-related language than provision-specific coding allows. The study found that agreements were more likely to address gender and women's issues when UN representatives were signatories, potentially reflecting the UN's role in promoting the norm of gender inclusion.⁵²

Together, these studies suggest a generally positive, though not universal, association between UN participation and gender inclusion in peace agreements, with most analyses rooted in the post-1325 period and framed around the WPS agenda.

2. Methodology

2.1. PA-X Gender Database and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset

This report uses a mixed-methods approach, drawing on the publicly available PA-X Gender Database (Version 8)⁵³ and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1)⁵⁴ to analyse over 1689 peace and transition agreements between 1990 and 2023 (excluding local agreements).⁵⁵ For the purpose of these datasets, 'peace agreements' are defined as formal, publicly-available documents, produced after discussion with conflict protagonists and mutually agreed to by some or all of them, addressing conflict with a view to ending it.⁵⁶

The PA-X Gender database codes references to women, girls, and gender using a binary variable, where a value of one (1) indicates that an agreement includes provisions addressing women, their inclusion, or their rights, or if the agreement was signed by a women's representative – even if it contains no gender-related provisions.⁵⁷ The Actors Dataset identifies UN third-party involvement based solely on the agreement text.⁵⁸ An agreement is classified as involving the UN if it explicitly names the United Nations, a UN agency, or a UN representative as a party or third-party signatory, such as an observer, guarantor, or witness.⁵⁹ Mentions of the UN in other contexts, such as general references to the UN's role in future implementation, are not considered as evidence of UN involvement for the purpose of the dataset.

The PA-X Gender and PAA-X Actors datasets were merged using each agreement's unique identifier to ensure consistency and avoid duplication. Agreements were then categorised based on whether the UN was listed as a signatory or a third party. Gender-related provisions were analysed across the PA-X Gender sub-categories using basic cross-tabulations and frequency analysis, allowing for comparisons over time and between agreements with and without UN involvement.⁶⁰

The data is divided into five-year periods beginning in 1990, with an additional four-year period covering 2020–2023 to capture the most recent agreements. The primary aim of the analysis is to examine overall temporal trends in the inclusion of gender provisions across peace agreements, providing insight into changes over time. The secondary purpose, as discussed in Section 3.1, is to isolate the impact of UNSCR 1325 by comparing pre- and post-2000 periods, enabling a clearer assessment of how this resolution may have influenced the presence of gender-related language.

2.2. Study Limitations

The relatively small number of agreements in certain periods, particularly at the start and end of the timeline, limits the extent to which patterns can be generalised. This small sample size likely contributes to some of the volatility observed in the visualisations, especially where fluctuations appear more pronounced. While this approach provides valuable insight into the language and formal commitments contained in peace agreements, it also has limitations. The PA-X Gender dataset records only what is explicitly written in the text, excluding background materials that may provide relevant context. It does not capture important distinctions such as the level of detail or specificity in the provision. Moreover, the dataset does not differentiate between positive and negative references to gender, nor does it indicate whether provisions were subsequently implemented.

Furthermore, the PAA-X Actors Dataset identifies formal signatories, but it does not necessarily capture the full range of negotiation participants or informal roles played by external actors. For example, UN mediators may have played a role in facilitating a peace process without being listed as signatories. Conversely, the UN may be included as a third-party signatory even when its capacity to influence the content of the agreement was limited. That said, being formally named as a third-party signatory likely reflects at least some capacity to shape the text.⁶¹ In the case of the UN, there is evidence that it has withheld its signature when agreements did not conform to its normative standards, as evidenced by the case in Sierra Leone.⁶² The dataset also excludes local-level agreements, meaning that these were not included when merging the databases. This omission may affect the analysis, as local agreements can sometimes contain stronger gender provisions, particularly where civil society organisations are actively engaged, although this is not universal.⁶³

Beyond assessing the quantity of gender provisions in peace agreements, this report also evaluates their quality using Bell and McNicholl's Gender Score. The PA-X Gender database records whether agreements include provisions across 11 sub-categories: participation, equality, particular groups of women, international law, new institutions, gender-based and sexual violence, transitional justice, institutional reform, development, implementation, and other gender-related provisions.

Using this coding, each agreement in the combined PA-X Gender-PAA-X dataset was assigned a score reflecting the number of sub-categories addressed, with higher scores indicating a broader range of gender-related commitments.⁶⁴ While disaggregating different types of provisions and evaluating their quality is essential, it is important to recognise that textual references in peace agreements do not necessarily translate into real improvements in gender equality. References to women, while important and often hard-won, should not be treated as an end in themselves.⁶⁵ To impactfully enhance the quality of women's lives, these provisions must go beyond mere inclusion in the text; they must be actively implemented, enforced, and supported through comprehensive policies and actions that address the root causes of gender inequality.⁶⁶

Perhaps most importantly, while this study conducts a descriptive quantitative analysis of the datasets, it does not include statistical modelling. It cannot therefore be said that any trend identified is directly attributable to UN participation. Previous research has shown that the inclusion of gender references in peace agreements is shaped by a range of factors, including the type of agreement (e.g., implementation, ceasefire, framework), the duration and nature of the conflict, the role of third parties, and the involvement of civil society.⁶⁷ While these additional explanatory factors are recognised as significant, this study does not attempt to isolate the UN's role from these other influences. Instead, its aim is to identify patterns and broad trends in the data concerning UN involvement and the presence of gender provisions.

In addition, the study does not provide a comprehensive review of UNSC resolutions or other policy documents that may have shaped the negotiation of gender provisions. Except for the case study selected, the analysis is primarily confined to the content of the agreements themselves. Given these limitations, the findings of this study are best understood as exploratory, identifying patterns within the data rather than establishing definitive causal relationships.

3. UN Involvement and Gender Provisions: Data Analysis

Building on the methodological approach outlined above, this section explores how the UN's involvement as a third-party signatory has shaped the inclusion of gender-related provisions in peace agreements between 1990 and 2023. The findings are organised around five areas of inquiry:

- (1) Analysis of the impact of UNSCR 1325 comparing the pre-and post-1325 periods (Section 3.1);
- (2) The overall prevalence of gender provisions in peace agreements, and how these compare between agreements with and without UN involvement (Section 3.2);
- (3) The depth and distribution of gender provisions across categories, using the Gender Score as a measure of quality of the agreement (Section 3.3);
- (4) The role of different UN actors and bodies in shaping the content of gender-related commitments (Section 3.4); and
- (5) Recent trends between 2019 and 2023, a period marked by significant institutional reforms within the UN and broader debate about the organisation's effectiveness (Section 3.5).

Together, these areas of inquiry provide an updated and more nuanced basis for evaluating the UN's role in promoting gender perspectives within peace agreements, highlighting both areas of progress and persistent limitations.

3.1. The Impact of UNSCR 1325

The adoption of UNSCR 1325 in 2000 marked a clear turning point for the inclusion of gender perspectives in peace agreements. Before 1325, only 12% of all agreements referenced women; after its adoption, this rose to 28%, reflecting a significant normative shift in recognising women's participation in peace and security. While gender references increased for both UN and non-UN signed agreements after 1325, the rise was more pronounced in those without UN involvement, from 8% to 19%, compared with UN signed agreements, which increased from 4% to 10%. Although this disparity may partly reflect differences in sample size, as non-UN agreements make up a larger share of the dataset, it nonetheless suggests that UNSCR 1325 had a broader influence on global peace processes, shaping expectations beyond UN facilitated negotiations.

Table 1. Peace agreements with and without a UN third-party role, cross-referenced with references to women
Figures show both the number and percentage of all agreements before and after the adoption of UNSCR 1325.

	UN Signatory Agreements / Percentage of Agreements Signed	UN Agreements Referencing Women / Percentage of Agreements Signed	Non - UN Agreements / Percentage of Agreements Signed	Non - UN Agreements Referencing Women / Percentage of Agreements Signed	Agreements Signed Referencing Women / Percentage of Agreements Signed
Before 1325	216 (28%)	32 (4%)	561 (72%)	66 (8%)	98 (13%)
After 1325	198 (22%)	87 / (10%)	714 (78%)	169 (19%)	256 (28%)
Total	414 / (25%)	119 / (7%)	1275 / (75%)	235 / (14%)	Total

Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

Table 2 illustrates the significant rise in peace agreements referencing women after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, particularly among UN-signed agreements, which increased from 15% in the pre-1325 period to 44% after. In the post-UNSCR 1325 period, the most frequent provisions in UN-signed agreements addressed participation (25%), equality (14%), violence against women (15%), and institutional reform (15%) (Table 5). The prevalence of these provisions may reflect the UN's normative commitments as these categories correspond closely to the priorities set out in the WPS agenda.

Table 2. Percentage of peace agreements containing gender references, shown as a share of those signed by the UN and those signed without UN involvement, aggregated for before and after the signing of UNSC 1325.

	Percentage of UN Signed Agreements Referencing Gender	Percentage of Non-UN Signed Agreements Referencing Gender
Before 1325	15%	12%
After 1325	44%	24%

Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

For example, participation was established as a central principle of UNSCR 1325 and reinforced in subsequent resolutions,⁶⁸ while CEDAW General Recommendation 30 (2013) likewise called for women's equal participation across all stages of peacebuilding.⁶⁹ Moreover, trends in provisions on sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) highlight both the influence and the limitations of the UN's normative agenda. Since the adoption of UNSCR 1820 in 2008, which established conflict-related sexual violence as a matter of international peace and security, the incidence of such provisions in UN-signed agreements increased.⁷⁰

While UNSCR 1325 marked a significant normative shift in recognising women's roles in peace processes, the inclusion of gender provisions has remained uneven. Nevertheless, the influence of UNSCR 1325 and the broader WPS agenda should be kept in mind when interpreting the findings that follow, as they continue to shape patterns of gender inclusion across peace agreements.

Table 3. Distribution of gender provisions across peace agreements, categorized by UN signatory status (shown in blue) and specific provisions (e.g., participation, equality, violence against women, institutional reform), before and after the adoption of UNSCR 1325.

Non-UN Signatory	1990 – 2023	Pre-1325	Post-1325
Non-UN Signatory			
Participation	87 (7%)	15 (3%)	72 (10%)
	58 (14%)	9 (4%)	49 (25%)
Equality	80 (6%)	26 (5%)	54 (8%)
	36 (9%)	9 (2%)	27 (14%)
Particular Women Groups	35 (3%)	15 (3%)	20 (3%)
	18 (4%)	5 (2%)	13 (7%)
International Law	42 (3%)	15 (3%)	29 (4%)
	39 (9%)	11 (5%)	28 (14%)
New Institutions	41 (3%)	8 (1%)	33 (5%)
	28 (7%)	5 (2%)	23 (12%)
Violence Against Women	63 (5%)	10 (2%)	53 (7%)
	37 (9%)	7 (3%)	30 (15%)
Transitional Justice	31 (2%)	10 (2%)	20 (3%)
	18 (4%)	2 (1%)	16 (8%)
Institutional Reform	48 (4%)	15 (3%)	33 (5%)
	37 (9%)	8 (4%)	29 (15%)
Development	68 (5%)	14 (3%)	54 (8%)
	31 (7%)	7 (3%)	24 (12%)
Implementation	26 (2%)	6 (1%)	20 (3%)
	27 (7%)	5 (2%)	22 (11%)
Other	13 (1%)	2 (0%)	11 (2%)
	5 (1%)	1 (0%)	4 (2%)

Percentages represent the number of agreements containing each type of provision divided by the total number of agreements signed by UN or non-UN actors in the specified period. Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

3.2. Overall Prevalence of Gender Provisions

Of the agreements in the PA-X Database, 21% (354 agreements) contain references to women,⁷¹ with the UN listed as a signatory in 34% of these cases (119 agreements).⁷² Across these, 25 distinct UN entities have been recorded as signatories to agreements containing gender provisions. The most frequent reference is to the UN as a whole (95 agreements), followed by the UN Secretary-General (11 agreements) and the UNSC (5 agreements).

Table 4 presents the distribution of agreements by UN signatory status and the inclusion of gender references. It demonstrates that gender references are more frequent in agreements without UN involvement (14%) than in those with UN involvement (7%). This aligns with Bell and O'Rourke's findings (1990–2010), which suggest that agreements concluded without UN participation as a third party were more likely to reference women.⁷³ Most significantly, the data shows that despite the UN's commitment to ensure that peace agreements contain a gender perspective, the overall share of agreements with UN signatories that reference women has remained low – between 3% and 12% across the entire time period, with no clear upward trend or consistent improvement (Table 1). By contrast, agreements without UN involvement display greater variation, with notable increases in certain years, such as 26% between 2015 and 2019. This indicates that the UN's presence has not translated into steady gains across the dataset, and that progress on gender provisions has often been uneven regardless of whether the UN was involved.

Table 4. Peace agreements with and without a UN third-party role, cross-referenced with references to women.

	UN Signatory Agreements / Percentage of Agreements Signed	UN Agreements Referencing Women / Percentage of Agreements Signed	Non - UN Agreements / Percentage of Agreements Signed	Non - UN Agreements Referencing Women / Percentage of Agreements Signed
1990-1994	114 / (30%)	13 / (3%)	266 / (70%)	26 / (7%)
1995-1999	94 / (27%)	16 / (5%)	252 / (73%)	35 / (10%)
2000-2004	59 / (22%)	18 / (7%)	204 / (78%)	38 / (14%)
2005-2009	52 / (25%)	21 / (10%)	157 / (75%)	38 / (18%)
2010-2014	42 / (19%)	25 / (11%)	177 / (81%)	40 / (18%)
2015-2019	22 / (13%)	13 / (8%)	141 / (87%)	42 / (26%)
2020-2023	31 / (28%)	13 / (12%)	78 / (72%)	16 / (15%)
Total	414 / (25%)	119 / (7%)	1275 / (75%)	235 / (14%)

Figures show both the number and percentage of all agreements signed during each time period, five-year periods from 1990, and a four-year period from 2020-2023. Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

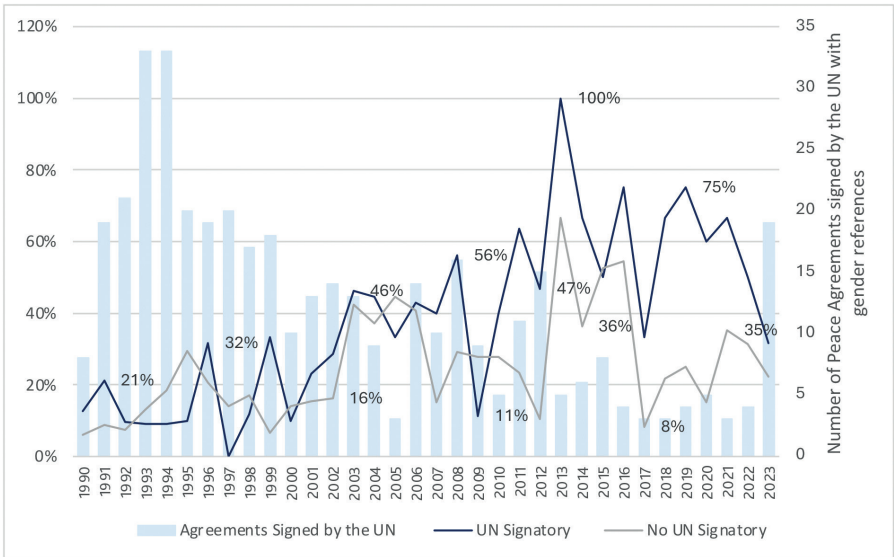
Table 5. Percentage of peace agreements containing gender references, shown as a share of those signed by the UN and those signed without UN involvement, by time period.

	Percentage of UN Signed Agreements Referencing Gender	Percentage of Non-UN Signed Agreements Referencing Gender
1990-1994	11%	10%
1995-1999	17%	14%
2000-2004	31%	19%
2005-2009	40%	24%
2010-2014	60%	23%
2015-2019	59%	30%
2020-2023	42%	21%
Total	29%	18%

This table complements Figure 2 by providing a breakdown by five-year periods with a four-year period for 2020–2023. Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

Agreements with UN signatories display sharp peaks in the presence of gender related provisions, reaching 56% in 2007, 100% in 2012, and 75% in both 2017 and 2019 (Figure 2). Yet these peaks are followed by steep declines, with the share dropping to 33% in 2018 and 22% in 2023. However, this volatility is likely due to the small number of agreements signed during this period. For instance, between 2012 and 2017, the total number of UN-signed agreements was lower than in other periods, sometimes dropping below five agreements a year, which magnifies percentage fluctuations. By contrast, agreements without UN involvement fluctuate more narrowly, and rarely exceed 50%. In recent years, both categories show a downturn. Despite peaking in 2019, gender references in peace agreements fell to their lowest level of the decade by 2023, while non-UN agreements also declined. Overall, these movements indicate that while UN participation is often associated with higher proportions of gender references than non-UN agreements, this effect is episodic rather than consistent.

Figure 2. Line graph represents the percentage of peace agreements with gender references, by UN signatory status.



Percentages reflect the share of agreements within each category (UN vs. non-UN) that include at least one reference to women or gender-related provisions. Bars show the number of peace agreements signed by the United Nations for each year. Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

3.3. The Quality of Gender Provisions and Their Distribution Across Gender Categories

To assess how UN signatory status influences the prevalence and substance of gender provisions, this section draws on two measures: the Gender Score of agreements, and the distribution of provisions by type. These measures help evaluate how comprehensively the UN incorporates women's rights and gender concerns into peace agreements.

When measured through application of Bell and McNicholl's Gender Score, the inclusion of gender provisions remains consistently low. Agreements with gender references typically score between 2 and 3, with slightly higher averages in the periods between the years 2000 and 2019 (Table 6). However, these gains are not consistently sustained: between 2020 and 2023, the average score for UN-signed agreements fell to its lowest level since before UNSCR 1325. While agreements with UN signatories generally achieved higher average gender scores (2.8) than those without (2.3), the relatively high standard deviations among UN signatory agreements (average 2.5) compared to non-UN agreements (average 1.6) points to considerable variation. This means that while some UN-involved agreements incorporated extensive gender commitments, others included few, reflecting inconsistency in the UN's influence across different peace processes.

Table 6. Average gender score and standard deviation in agreements with gender references, by UN signatory status with data segmented by five-year intervals and a four-year interval for 2020–2023.

	UN Signatory Average / (Standard Deviation)	Non-UN Signatory Average / (Standard Deviation)
1990-1994	1.5 / (0.6)	1.9 / (1.3)
1995-1999	2.4 / (2.3)	2.1 / (1.4)
2000-2004	3.6 / (3.4)	1.8 / (1.3)
2005-2009	3.1 / (2.4)	2.8 / (1.5)
2010-2014	3.0 / (2.5)	2.7 / (2.0)
2015-2019	3.0 / (2.4)	2.3 / (2.0)
2020-2023	2.5 / (2.7)	1.6 / (1.2)
Total Average Gender Score	2.8 / (2.5)	2.3 / (1.6)

Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

Among the highest-scoring agreements, the UN is a signatory in seven out of nine cases (Table 7).⁷⁴ Notably, all of these agreements are comprehensive agreements, suggesting that broader settlements may provide greater opportunities for the integration of gender provisions. While these examples demonstrate the potential for more extensive integration, the overall averages indicate that most peace agreements fall well short of the standards envisioned by UNSCR 1325.

Table 7. Lists the highest-scoring peace agreements in the PA-X database based on their Gender Score, showing the UN signatory status and the year of each agreement.

PA-X Gender Top Scoring Agreements	PA-X Gender Score	UN Signatory	Year
Arusha Peace and Reconciliation Agreement for Burundi	10	Yes	2000
Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No. 20)	9	Yes	2013
Dar-Es-Salaam Declaration on Peace, Security, Democracy and Development in the Great Lakes Region	10	Yes	2004
Darfur Peace Agreement	9	Yes	2006
Doha Document for Peace in Darfur (DDPD)	9	Yes	2011
Final Agreement to End the Armed Conflict and Build a Stable and Lasting Peace	9	No	2016
Intercongolese Negotiations: The Final Act ('The Sun City Agreement')	11 ⁷⁵	Yes	2003
National Dialogue Conference Outcomes Document	10	Yes	2014
Sudan peace agreement (Juba Agreement)	10	Yes	2020

Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

The analysis of Gender Scores demonstrates that despite UN-signed agreements generally achieving slightly higher averages, there is no evidence of consistent improvement over time. This points to two areas of inquiry: (1) whether certain types of gender provisions have become more common and how their distribution has shifted across different periods, which is addressed in the following analysis, and (2) why some provisions encounter resistance from negotiating parties, a question that falls outside the scope of this study.

Across most categories and time periods, UN-signed agreements display higher rates of inclusion than those without UN involvement (Table 8). Yet rather than showing steady progress, UN-signed agreements fluctuate across periods. Participation and equality provisions are among the most frequently included, but rise and fall without establishing a sustained trajectory. References to SGBV increased following UNSCR 1820, peaking in 2015–2019 when nearly one-third (32%) of UN-signed agreements contained such provisions compared with only 8% of non-UN agreements, before declining thereafter. This suggests that the UN's normative commitments influenced the inclusion of SGBV provisions, though inconsistently.

Institutional reform provisions show similar fluctuation, while development and implementation provisions remain marginal. Development references appear in only 3% of UN-signed and 4% of non-UN agreements between 2020 and 2023, while implementation provisions account for 3% of UN-signed and 4% of non-UN agreements. These figures demonstrate that transformation-oriented commitments have yet to gain traction compared with participatory or protective measures. This unevenness across categories reflects the selective uptake of the WPS agenda's priorities: participation and protection have become more common, but structural and long-term reforms remain limited.

Table 8. Distribution of gender provisions across peace agreements, categorized by UN signatory status (shown in blue) and specific provisions (e.g., participation, equality, violence against women, institutional reform), with data segmented by five-year intervals and a four-year interval for 2020–2023.

Non-UN Signatory	1990 – 2023	1990 – 1994	1995 – 1999	2000 – 2004	2005 – 2009	2010 – 2014	2015 – 2019	2020 – 2023
Non-UN Signatory								
Participation	87 (7%)	3 (1%)	10 (4%)	9 (4%)	18 (11%)	21 (12%)	22 (16%)	4 (5%)
	58 (14%)	2 (2%)	6 (6%)	11 (19%)	6 (12%)	15 (36%)	10 (45%)	8 (26%)
Equality	80 (6%)	11 (4%)	14 (6%)	9 (4%)	15 (10%)	17 (10%)	12 (9%)	2 (3%)
	36 (9%)	5 (4%)	3 (3%)	5 (8%)	8 (15%)	4 (10%)	6 (27%)	5 (16%)
Particular Women Groups	35 (3%)	4 (2%)	11 (4%)	4 (2%)	4 (3%)	5 (3%)	5 (4%)	2 (3%)
	18 (4%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	4 (7%)	4 (8%)	4 (10%)	1 (5%)	1 (3%)
International Law	42 (3%)	4 (2%)	9 (4%)	6 (3%)	9 (6%)	10 (6%)	3 (2%)	1 (1%)
	39 (9%)	3 (3%)	7 (7%)	6 (10%)	8 (15%)	10 (24%)	2 (9%)	3 (10%)
New Institutions	41 (3%)	3 (1%)	4 (2%)	9 (4%)	9 (6%)	7 (4%)	8 (6%)	1 (1%)
	28 (7%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	6 (10%)	7 (13%)	9 (21%)	1 (5%)	1 (3%)
Violence Against Women	63 (5%)	3 (1%)	5 (2%)	11 (5%)	12 (8%)	14 (7%)	11 (8%)	7 (9%)
	37 (9%)	1 (1%)	5 (5%)	6 (10%)	7 (13%)	9 (21%)	7 (32%)	2 (6%)
Transitional Justice	31 (2%)	6 (2%)	3 (1%)	5 (2%)	7 (4%)	4 (2%)	5 (4%)	1 (1%)
	18 (4%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	6 (10%)	4 (8%)	3 (7%)	2 (9%)	2 (6%)
Institutional Reform	48 (4%)	9 (3%)	5 (2%)	6 (3%)	8 (5%)	8 (5%)	10 (7%)	2 (3%)
	37 (9%)	3 (3%)	4 (4%)	7 (12%)	9 (19%)	7 (17%)	3 (14%)	4 (13%)
Development	68 (5%)	5 (2%)	9 (4%)	7 (3%)	17 (11%)	15 (8%)	12 (9%)	3 (4%)
	31 (7%)	1 (1%)	5 (5%)	6 (10%)	8 (15%)	7 (17%)	2 (9%)	2 (6%)
Implementation	26 (2%)	2 (1%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)	6 (4%)	4 (2%)	7 (5%)	3 (4%)
	27 (7%)	1 (1%)	3 (3%)	7 (12%)	3 (6%)	5 (12%)	5 (23%)	3 (10%)
Other	13 (1%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	3 (2%)	1 (1%)	5 (4%)	0 (0%)
	5 (1%)	1 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	0 (0%)	1 (3%)

Percentages represent the number of agreements containing each type of provision divided by the total number of agreements signed by UN or non-UN actors in the specified period. Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

Overall, the data suggests that UN involvement influences both the likelihood and the type of gender provisions included, particularly in relation to participation, equality, and sexual violence. Yet this influence has not translated into sustained or comprehensive inclusion: progress remains uneven, with peaks offset by declines and provisions often narrow in scope. These inconsistencies likely reflect variation in the priorities of mediators and negotiating parties, as well as differing mandate strengths and levels of political will across peace processes. This inconsistency underscores that while normative commitments can shape the direction of inclusion, they have not ensured its consistency or depth.

3.4. The Role of Different UN Bodies in Shaping Peace Agreements with Gender Provisions

When examining which UN actors are most frequently associated with peace agreements containing gender provisions, three categories stand out: general references to the United Nations, the Security Council, and the Secretary General (Figure 3). The category of 'UN General' does not refer to a specific body but rather to agreements signed on behalf of the organisation where no individual office, organ, or mission is explicitly identified.⁷⁶ For instance, agreements signed as "[Person's Name], for the United Nations" are classified in this category.

Table 9 breaks down agreements signed by these three main actors, alongside UN Missions grouped into a single category. While Missions vary widely in mandate, they are combined here to capture their role as field-based presences of the UN, rather than fragmenting the dataset further. To avoid skew from pre-2000 cases, this section focuses only on the post-1325 period: for instance, during its operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the 1990s, the UN Protection Force signed 50 agreements, but only two referenced gender.⁷⁷

Table 9. Data for the post-UNSCR 1325 period, showing the most frequent UN signatories to peace agreements with gender provisions, including both the proportion of each actor's signed agreements that contain gender references and their share of all gender-referencing agreements in the dataset.

	Agreements Signed by Actor	Agreements Signed by Actor Containing Gender Provisions	Percentage of Actors agreements with Gender References	Percentage of All-Gender referencing Agreements Attributable to Actor
United Nations (General)	155	70	45%	27%
UN Secretary General	13	8	62%	3%
UN Security Council	12	5	42%	2%
UN Missions	37	10	27%	4%

Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

Actors who fell into the United Nations (General) category entered into the greatest number of agreements (155 agreements) of any category of actors, and they were also signatories to the greatest number of agreements (70 agreements) with gender related provisions (Table 9). However, when considering the proportion of agreements with gender provisions, the strongest performer was the Secretary-General, with 62% of agreements signed including such references – well above the UN average of 44% for this period (see Table 10). By contrast, UN field missions performed poorly on this measure, with only 27% of their agreements containing gender provisions. Agreements signed by the UNSC and by actors in the United Nations (General) category were broadly in line with the overall average. Meanwhile, agreements signed by the Security Council and actors in the United Nations (General) were not materially different than the overall average.

Table 10 examines whether certain types of gender provisions appear more often under specific UN actors. Participation is the most consistently referenced theme, particularly in agreements signed by the UNSC (100%). Agreements signed by the Secretary General (50%) and the UNSC (60%) also frequently reference international law. However, of the 12 agreements signed by the UN Secretary General and UNSC combined, six referenced international law broadly (human rights, humanitarian, or general international law), and only one explicitly cited UNSCR 1325 (Resolution 1721, 2006). This indicates that while these actors do invoke legal frameworks, they rarely link them directly to the WPS agenda. Given the small number of agreements involved, these figures should be treated with caution: they point to possible differences in emphasis between UN actors, but the sample is too limited to support firm conclusions.

Table 10. Types of gender provisions in peace agreements signed by selected UN actors (post-UNSCR 1325), showing both the frequency and proportion of agreements containing each type of reference, alongside the average Gender Score.

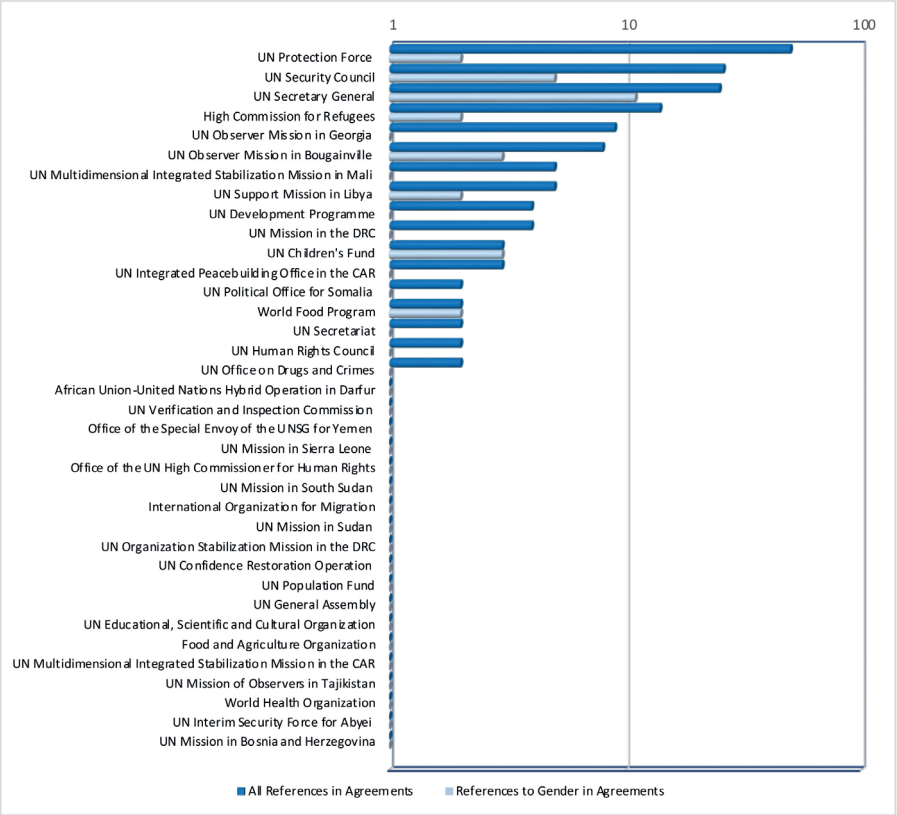
Incorporation of Provision Number of Agreements Percentage of Agreements	United Nations (General)	UN Secretary General	UN Security Council	UN Missions
Participation	42 (60%)	5 (63%)	5 (100%)	5 (50%)
Equality	25 (36%)	1 (13%)	1 (20%)	4 (40%)
Particular Women Groups	12 (17%)	1 (13%)	0 (0%)	1 (10%)
International Law	22 (31%)	4 (50%)	3 (60%)	2 (20%)
New Institutions	19 (60%)	2 (25%)	2 (40%)	2 (20%)
Violence Against Women	26 (37%)	3 (38%)	2 (40%)	3 (30%)
Transitional Justice	14 (20%)	2 (25%)	1 (20%)	2 (20%)
Institutional Reform	27 (39%)	1 (13%)	2 (40%)	4 (40%)
Development	19 (27%)	1 (13%)	2 (40%)	3 (30%)
Implementation	17 (24%)	2 (25%)	1 (20%)	4 (40%)
Other	3 (4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (20%)
Average Gender Score / (Standard Deviation)	3.2 / (2.7)	2.5 / (2.2)	3.8 / (2.0)	3.2 (2.4)

Percentages are calculated as the share of gender agreements signed by each actor that include the respective type of provision. Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

The average Gender Scores across UN actors show moderate variation, and they remain low overall (Table 10). Agreements signed by the UNSC record the highest score (3.8), while those signed by the UN Secretary-General are somewhat lower (2.5), with UN Missions (3.2) and UN General references (3.2) close to the overall dataset average. The standard deviations, which range from 2.0 to 2.7, indicate substantial variation within each category, meaning that the inclusion of gender provisions is inconsistent even among agreements signed by the same UN actor. This suggests that while some agreements include more extensive gender commitments, many contain only minimal references, reflecting uneven engagement rather than systematic integration. These modest averages and high variances together imply that, regardless of the actor involved, the depth of gender provisions tends to remain limited, with no UN body demonstrating a consistently stronger or weaker approach.

Overall, while the Secretary General has the strongest proportional record, the largest contribution comes from general UN references. The predominance of participation across all actors mirrors wider trends in the dataset (see Table 8), underlining its centrality as the most common form of gender provision. At the same time, the variation between actors indicates that the UN's role in advancing gender-sensitive provisions is unlikely to be uniform. Differences may partly reflect the distinct institutional mandates through which the UN engages in peace processes, although the limited sample size makes it difficult to draw firm conclusions. The overall pattern underscores that the UN contributes to gender provisions in diverse and uneven ways, rather than through a single coherent institutional approach.

Figure 3. Number of references in peace agreements attributed to UN actors, showing total references and those specifically mentioning gender, before and after the adoption of UNSCR 1325.



Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

3.5. Developments in UN Involvement and Gender Provisions (2020–2023)

The period from 2020 to 2023 marks a turning point in the inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements. Of the 35 agreements signed in this period, 16 contained references to women, girls, or gender, representing 46% of all agreements (Table 11). While this might appear to be encouraging, the period is also marked by concerning downward trends. In 2020 and 2021, over 60% of agreements contained gender provisions, but this proportion fell sharply to 32% by 2023 (Figure 2). Likewise, the average Gender Score of agreements in this period was the lowest recorded since before UNSCR 1325 (Table 6). In addition to these downward trends, this period is particularly significant as it coincides with major reforms of the UN's Peace and Security Pillar as well as mounting criticism of the organisation's effectiveness and relevance in addressing contemporary peace and security challenges.⁷⁸

Table 11. Number and percentage of peace agreements mentioning women, by UN and non-UN signatory status, 2019–2023.

	UN Signatory	% with gender provisions	Non-UN Signatory	% with gender provisions
2020	5	60% (3)	23	13% (3)
2021	3	67% (2)	23	26% (6)
2022	4	50% (2)	21	24% (5)
2023	19	32% (6)	11	18% (2)
Total	35	16 / 46%	93	19 / 20%

Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1).

Despite the overall decline, the data suggests that UN involvement continues to make a clear difference. Table 8 shows that agreements signed by the UN across the entire five-year period were more likely to reference women than those without UN involvement. In 2020, 60% of UN-signed agreements contained gender references, compared to a peak of only 26% for non-UN agreements in 2021. However, the proportion of UN agreements with gender provisions fluctuated considerably, and by 2023 had fallen to 32%. Notably, all UN agreements in 2023 that contained gender provisions were connected to the Colombia peace process.

Table 12 details the type of UN agreements containing gender provisions between 2020 and 2023. These were geographically diverse, covering Africa, the Middle East, and the Americas, reflecting the UN's global engagement in peace processes. Of these agreements, 46% (6 agreements) were framework agreements, either partial or comprehensive. Five were signed by UN field missions, involving four distinct missions in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Darfur, Libya, and Yemen. However, eight of the total number of agreements had a Gender Score of just one (1). This suggests that references to gender during this period were often isolated provisions, with few agreements adopting a more comprehensive gender perspective. This pattern may have been shaped by the UN's 2019 Guidance on Gender and Inclusive Mediation Strategies, which advises that when substantive gender-specific provisions are difficult to secure, mediators should at least suggest 'hooks' for later, such as references to WPS resolutions, humanitarian or human rights law, or the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The prevalence of one-off provisions in this period may reflect such an approach.⁷⁹

When broken down by type, participation references were the most common, appearing in 63% (10) of UN-signed agreements containing gender provisions, while equality was referenced in 44%. A notable exception to the general trend of limited inclusion is the 2020 Juba Agreement, which achieved a near-perfect Gender Score, missing only a reference to implementation.⁸⁰ Yet, considered within the broader context between 2020 and 2023, the Juba Agreement appears to be an outlier – a rare instance of a comprehensive gender perspective, rather than evidence of a wider positive trend. Its impact was further limited by political developments, as the 2021 coup and the collapse of the transitional government blocked implementation and gave way to renewed conflict between the Sudanese Armed Forces and Rapid Support Forces.⁸¹ This underscores the extent to which even ambitious and wide-ranging commitments to gender inclusion remained contingent on the stability of the political order and highlights the fragility of such advances in the absence of sustained international support.

Table 12. Peace agreements signed by the UN between 2019 and 2023 that reference women, showing the agreement name, peace process name, stage, UN actor(s) involved, and the specific gender-related provisions included, and the total calculated Gender Score of each agreement.

[illegible]

Agreement Name	Peace Process	Stage	UN Actor	Participation	Equality	Particular Groups of	International Law	New Institutions	Violence Against	Transitional Justice	Institutional Reform	Development	Implementation	Other	Total Gender Score
2021															
Declaration of Principles between the Transitional Government of Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement - North (28/03/2021)	Sudan Transition Process	Framework-substantive, partial	World Food Program	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
The Second Berlin Conference on Libya (23/06/2021)	Libyan peace process	Implementation	UN (General), UNSG, United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL)	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
2022															
United Nations Initiative for a Two-Month Truce (02/04/2022)	Yemen peace process	Ceasefire	Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Yemen (OSESG-Yemen)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1

Agreement Name	Peace Process	Stage	UN Actor	Participation	Equality	Particular Groups of	International Law	New Institutions	Violence Against	Transitional Justice	Institutional Reform	Development	Implementation	Other	Total Gender Score
Draft Political Framework Agreement (15/05/2022)	Sudan Transition Process	Frame-work-sub-stantive, compre-hensive	UN (General)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
2023															
Acuerdo de Mexico (10/03/2023)	Colom-bia VI - Govern-ment-ELN post-2015 process	Pre-negotiation	UN (General)	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Protocolo de Acciones Espec Áfricas para el Cese al Fuego Bilateral, Temporal y Nacional entre el Gobierno Nacional y el Ejército de Liberación Nacional - ELN (09/06/2023)	Colom-bia VI - Govern-ment-ELN post-2015 process	Ceasefire	UN (General)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Agreement Name	Peace Process	Stage	UN Actor	Participation	Equality	Particular Groups of	International Law	New Institutions	Violence Against	Transitional Justice	Institutional Reform	Development	Implementation	Other	Total Gender Score
El proceso de Participación de la Sociedad en la Construcción de la Paz (Primer Acuerdo de Cuba) (09/06/2023)	Colombia VI - Government-ELN post-2015 process	Framework-substantive, partial	UN (General)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Protocolo De Seguridad Y Protección Para Los Integrates Del Mecanismo De Monitoreo Y Verificación - MMV En el Marco Del Acuerdo De Cese Al Fuego Bilateral, Nacional Y Temporal - CFBNT, Entre El Gobierno De La República De Colombia Y El Ejército De Liberación Nacional - ELN (13/07/2023)	Colombia VI - Government-ELN post-2015 process	Ceasefire	UN (General)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1

Agreement Name	Peace Process	Stage	UN Actor	Participation	Equality	Particular Groups of	International Law	New Institutions	Violence Against	Transitional Justice	Institutional Reform	Development	Implementation	Other	Total Gender Score
Protocolo Sobre Pedagogía Del Acuerdo De Cese Al Fuego Bilateral Nacional Y Temporal - CFBNT Y Sus Protocolos, Entre El Gobierno De La República De Colombia Y El Ejército De Liberación Nacional - ELN (13/07/2023)	Colombia VI - Government-ELN post-2015 process	Implementation	UN (General)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Reglamento Operativo del Comité Nacional de la Participación (14/07/2023)	Colombia VI - Government-ELN post-2015 process	Framework-substantive, partial	UN (General)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Data compiled from the PA-X Gender Database (Version 8) and the PAA-X Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (Version 1)

4. Libya: The UN's Struggles to Implement a Gender Perspective in a Fragmented Conflict

4.1. Overview of the Conflict and the UN's Role

The Libyan conflict highlights the difficulties that the UN encounters when attempting to embed a gender perspective into peace agreements. Libya is a particularly relevant case given the UN's sustained involvement, the prominence of gender issues, and the role of the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) as an integrated mission combining political, humanitarian, and development functions.⁸² This section examines developments since the 2020 ceasefire, the evolution of UNSMIL's mandate from 2021 onwards, and the breakdown of recent peace talks.

Following the Arab uprisings of 2011 and the overthrow of Colonel Gaddafi, Libya entered into a prolonged cycle of conflict and political fragmentation.⁸³ Although rebel factions—with NATO support—were initially united in their efforts to bring down Gaddafi, they quickly fractured, turning against one another in a struggle for power that fuelled instability. The conflict has been strongly internationalised, with a range of foreign states, both Western and non-Western, exacerbating existing tensions.⁸⁴

Since 2014, Libya has experienced repeated cycles of armed conflict between rival authorities and their international backers. The fighting culminated in a military stalemate in 2019–2020, after which a nationwide ceasefire was agreed in October 2020 and overseen by a Joint Military Commission. The 2020 ceasefire paved the way for a UN-backed political process, with the Libyan Political Dialogue Forum (LPDF) creating a Government of National Unity in 2021. However, amid disputes, planned elections collapsed, leaving institutions fragmented and political progress stalled. Violence has remained at lower levels since 2020, but unilateral moves by the House of Representatives and failed UN negotiations in 2023 underscored the deadlock.⁸⁵ Alongside this, Libya continues to grapple with economic dependence on oil, arms proliferation, climate pressures, migration, and persistent humanitarian vulnerabilities.⁸⁶

Women played a prominent and highly visible role in the 2011 revolution, participating in protests, forming civil society organisations, and engaging in political activism.⁸⁷ Hundreds of new organisations were established in this period, and the introduction of a quota system for parliamentary elections raised expectations that the revolution could serve as a 'window of opportunity' for women's political and social roles.⁸⁸

This apparent progress, however, was soon reversed. Although women under Gaddafi had comparatively progressive rights in regional terms, the ensuing conflict and the rise of violent extremism subjected them to harassment, threats, and targeted violence, including assassinations and abductions of prominent activists.⁸⁹ UNSMIL itself acknowledged in 2020 that the 'public space for Libyan women to voice their opinions and take an active role in the political life and post-conflict reconstruction is rapidly shrinking,' a statement reflecting the reality that many women activists had already been forced to withdraw from public life or to flee the country.⁹⁰ Moreover, conflict-related sexual violence has remained severely underreported due to stigma and fear.⁹¹

The UN has been present in Libya since the 1950s, but its role expanded significantly following the 2011 uprising with the establishment of UNSMIL. As a special political mission, UNSMIL was mandated to assist Libya's transition, support peace and democratic governance, and contribute to the reconstruction of national institutions.⁹² Since then, UNSMIL's mandate has evolved through successive Security Council resolutions. Resolutions 2542 (2020) and 2570 (2021) tasked the mission with advancing an inclusive, Libyan-owned political process, building on the Libyan Political Agreement and LPDF roadmap, and to support the implementation of the 2020 ceasefire.⁹³ As an integrated mission, UNSMIL also coordinates the work of UN agencies, funds, and programmes in Libya, including the UN Development Programme, UN Population Fund, UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and UN Women.

Importantly, UNSMIL's mandate incorporates clear commitments to the WPS agenda. Resolutions 2542 and 2570 urge UNSMIL to ensure women's 'full, equal, effective and meaningful participation' in political and peace processes,⁹⁴ to mainstream a gender perspective throughout its work,⁹⁵ and to protect women and girls from conflict-related sexual violence.⁹⁶ In line with these commitments, UNSMIL has supported initiatives such as UN Women's programmes to strengthen women's political participation, including the 'Promoting Libyan Women as Agents of Peace' project.⁹⁷ Despite this mandate, UNSMIL's practical impact on women's inclusion has been limited.

4.2. The UN's Influence in Implementing a Gender Perspective

Assessing UNSMIL's performance is further complicated by the broader reforms to the UN's Peace and Security Pillar, introduced from 2019 onwards with the aim of strengthening coherence, prioritising prevention, and mainstreaming gender across all peace and security work. However, it remains extremely difficult to determine whether these structural changes had any tangible effect on Libya. Despite sustained involvement through UNSMIL and a mandate that explicitly incorporates the WPS agenda, the mission has struggled to embed gender perspectives in a systematic way.

UNSMIL's approach to peacemaking has been narrowly defined around the restoration of ceasefires, the organisation of elections, and the establishment of transitional institutions.⁹⁸ While consistent with its mandate and key to halting violence, such procedural priorities did little to address the structural drivers of conflict. The fragility of this model was evident in the collapse of both the 2015 Libyan Political Agreement and the 2020 Roadmap when elections failed to materialise, illustrating how the pursuit of institutional milestones displaced deeper efforts to transform conditions of conflict. This state-centred vision privileged stability and elite bargains but left little scope for confronting entrenched inequalities, the exclusion of women, or the prevalence of SGBV.⁹⁹ As the Women's International League for Peace & Freedom has argued, the UN's simplified and unilateral approach to peacebuilding reflects traditional and hegemonic attitudes to gender, locating solutions in the economic and political roles of men.¹⁰⁰

Women's rights in this context have been described as a 'hot potato', whereby the UN and the wider international community are often reluctant to confront tensions between globally promoted agendas for gender equality and conservative patriarchal norms at the local level.¹⁰¹ During the Libyan peace processes, concerns have persisted that raising such issues could destabilise the fragile balance of power between conservative and liberal forces in the post-conflict phase. Yet, as Emily Burchfield argues, it is both misguided and reductive to assume that most Libyans oppose women's participation in peacebuilding. Instead, the UN's cautious approach reflects a deeper misunderstanding of Libyan society and its diverse attitudes towards women and equality.¹⁰²

According to local activists, this hesitation has contributed to the systematic side-lining of women in UN-led processes.¹⁰³ Despite the visibility of women's activism during the revolution and in subsequent demands for inclusion, Libyan women were consistently marginalised. When included, their participation was largely tokenistic, reduced to symbolic consultations, or quotas without mechanisms for substantive influence – an approach activists described as 'add women and stir'.¹⁰⁴ For example, women were systematically excluded from the Paris Convention, where negotiations remained dominated by armed actors.¹⁰⁵ As Dr Alaa Murabit, founder of The Voice of Libyan Women, observed in 2015: 'From my own experience in Libya, I know the only reliable requirement for admission to peace talks is a gun.'¹⁰⁶ Such testimony highlights the contradictions between the UN's endorsement of UNSCR 1325 and the realities of its implementation.

Instability in UN leadership further undermined efforts to embed a gender perspective in Libya. Between 2020 and 2024, three different Special Representatives rotated through UNSMIL, each bringing shifting priorities that disrupted continuity and made it impossible to develop a sustained gender strategy.¹⁰⁷ As civil society groups observed, in the absence of a mission-wide WPS framework since 2018, women's inclusion relied largely on the personal commitment of individual envoys.¹⁰⁸ Stephanie Williams, who brokered the 2020 Roadmap, strongly advocated for women's inclusion, but her tenure as Acting Special Representative lasted only from 2020 to 2021.¹⁰⁹ Ghassan Salamé warned against international interference,¹¹⁰ Jan Kubiš concentrated narrowly on elections, and Abdoulaye Bathily, upon his resignation, dismissed the process as 'moribund'.¹¹¹ None managed to institutionalise women's participation within the peace process, leaving gender consistently side-lined.

The Libyan case, therefore, demonstrates both the indispensability of the UN in providing a framework for dialogue and the limits of its ability to realise its WPS commitments. Unless UNSMIL is able to transcend procedural bargains and adopt an approach that substantively empowers women and guarantees their meaningful participation, its capacity to advance a gender perspective in Libyan peace agreements will remain severely constrained.

4.3. Linking Quantitative Findings to the Libyan Case

This section builds on the quantitative findings presented in Section 3 by examining how the patterns identified in the dataset are reflected in the Libyan case. Recapping briefly, the analysis highlighted three main trends in the UN's role in shaping gender inclusion in peace agreements. First, agreements signed by the UN are more likely to include gender references than those without UN involvement. Yet the scope of these provisions remains limited, with average Gender Scores rarely exceeding three (3). Concerningly, the period from 2020 to 2023 has been marked by a sharp decline in both frequency and depth. Second, the UN's normative agenda appears to have some influence, as the provisions most frequently included in UN-signed agreements reflect the priorities of the WPS framework, particularly participation and equality. Third, the data suggests that UN influence has been episodic rather than cumulative, characterised by short-lived peaks and subsequent declines rather than steady progression over time.

The Libyan case demonstrates these patterns and reveals the constraints of UN involvement. Since 2011, twelve Libyan peace agreements have been concluded, eight under UN auspices. Of these, six contained gender references, three of which were signed by the UN.¹¹² Within these agreements, references to women were broad, most often addressing participation (four) and equality (three), with only isolated mentions of women's groups, international law, institutional reform, new institutions, and development (one each). However, none of the agreements scored higher than 3 on the Gender Score, and none advanced a comprehensive framework for women's rights. Despite repeated Security Council resolutions – including Resolution 2542 (2020),¹¹³ which explicitly urged the implementation of Resolution 1325 and measures against sexual violence, not a single agreement incorporated provisions on conflict-related sexual violence. This disjuncture underscores the gap between the UN's rhetorical commitments to the WPS agenda and their substantive translation in Libya, and reflects the broader trend that even where the UN is a signatory, the scope of gender references in peace agreements is limited.

The dataset shows that different UN actors vary significantly in their engagement with gender provisions, and Libya illustrates this unevenness. In all peace processes, the Secretary-General has the strongest proportional record, with 62% of agreements signed containing gender references, while UN field missions perform far less consistently, with only 27% of their agreements including such provisions.

Other central actors, such as the Security Council or agreements signed on behalf of the UN more generally, fall closer to the overall average. Libya reflects this variation. Despite UNSMIL's integrated mandate and explicit instruction to advance the WPS agenda, leadership instability and shifting priorities meant that no sustained gender strategy was institutionalised. Gender provisions were sporadic, dependent on the preferences of individual envoys rather than embedded within the mission's structure. This highlights the difficulty of ensuring that normative commitments articulated at the UN level are translated into consistent practice within field missions.

Of the agreements signed by the UN in Libya, five were signed by UNSMIL, two by the UN in general, and two by the Secretary-General. Of the agreements signed by UNSMIL, only two contained gender provisions. The most substantive example being the Second Berlin Conference on Libya (23 July 2021), which encouraged 'the full, effective and meaningful participation of women and youth in all activities relating to Libya's democratic transition, conflict resolution and peacebuilding.'¹¹⁴ It also recognised the need to protect women in public spaces from threats and reprisals,¹¹⁵ and it recalled the interim Government of National Unity's commitment to appoint women to at least 30% of senior positions.¹¹⁶ While it is difficult to determine which actor drove these issues onto the agenda, UNSMIL has repeatedly echoed such priorities in its statements, calling for accountability for crimes against women and greater protective measures, including access to assistance and safe reporting mechanisms.¹¹⁷ Yet these rhetorical commitments did not translate into a systematic institutionalisation of gender within Libya's peace process, leaving inclusion fragmented and contingent.

The Libyan case shows how limited progress on gender provisions undermines peace agreements. References to women have appeared sporadically, but they have not grown more detailed or comprehensive over time. The collapse of both the 2015 Libyan Political Agreement and the 2020 Roadmap illustrates that minimal provisions, without mechanisms for enforcement, do little to protect women's rights or secure their participation. This reflects the broader trend revealed by the quantitative findings: UN involvement may increase the likelihood of gender being mentioned, but these references rarely move beyond narrow categories or achieve higher Gender Scores.

Taken together, the quantitative findings and the Libyan case suggest that UN involvement does influence the likelihood that gender is included in peace agreements, but its impact remains constrained. Quantitatively, UN-signed agreements show higher rates of gender references, yet these provisions are rarely comprehensive and have not progressed over time. Libya provides a concrete example of this limitation: despite an explicit mandate under the WPS agenda, UNSMIL failed to embed women's perspectives in a systematic or durable way. References to gender were present, but often superficial, externally driven, and disconnected from mechanisms of enforcement.

Conclusion

This report has examined the UN's role in shaping the inclusion of gender provisions in peace agreements between 1990 and 2023, drawing on updated data to extend existing analyses of the UN's record. By combining descriptive quantitative analysis with a qualitative case study of Libya, this study has assessed not only whether UN involvement correlates with greater gender inclusion, but also how institutional practices, leadership dynamics, and local conditions influence the scope of such commitments.

The quantitative findings suggest that UN involvement does make a difference, but in constrained and inconsistent ways. UN-signed agreements are more likely to contain gender provisions than those without UN participation, and the categories most frequently referenced – participation and equality – closely mirror the UN's normative priorities under the WPS framework. Yet the influence of the UN has not produced cumulative progress. Instead, inclusion is episodic, with peaks and declines over time, and the scope of commitments remains limited: most provisions are narrow in focus, and rarely exceed a Gender Score of three. Variation across UN actors further underscores these inconsistencies. Agreements signed by the Secretary-General contained gender references in 62% of cases, whereas those concluded by UN field missions did so in only 27%. This disparity points to important differences in how institutional roles and leadership dynamics shape outcomes, and represents an area for further study. Finally, while UN-signed agreements in the most recent period (2019–2023) remain more likely than non-UN agreements to include gender references, this period is nonetheless marked by a concerning decline. To remain relevant in this domain, the UN must move beyond symbolic commitments and develop strategies that embed gender perspectives consistently and substantively across its engagements.

The Libyan case helps to explain why these patterns persist. Despite UNSMIL's explicit mandate to advance the WPS agenda, gender inclusion was not institutionalised. Leadership instability, the prioritisation of procedural benchmarks such as elections and ceasefires, and a reluctance to confront understand Libyan perspectives about gender. While gender references were present in some agreements, they tended to be superficial and externally driven, lacking local ownership and meaningful enforcement. Women's activism in Libya was strong and sustained, yet their demands were marginalised in UN-led processes, underscoring the limited impact of rhetorical commitments when not matched by concrete institutional strategies.

These findings highlight the gap between the UN's normative commitments and its practice. The organisation has been central in framing gender equality as a global peace and security priority, and its involvement does appear to increase the likelihood that gender is mentioned in agreements. However, this influence has not translated into the systematic or transformative outcomes envisaged in Resolution 1325. Closing the gap requires more than rhetorical commitments: it demands consistent strategies, strong leadership, meaningful local engagement, and the institutional capacity to embed gender perspectives in practice. Without such changes, gender provisions risk remaining limited in scope, and the promise of Resolution 1325 will remain unfulfilled.

Endnotes

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- ¹⁷ *ibid* 540–542
- ¹⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) S/RES/1325 (31 October 2000)
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- ²⁰ UN Security Council Resolution 2122 (2013) S/RES/2122 (18 October 2013) [1]
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⁴⁰ Badanjak, Sanja and Henry, Niamh, 'The Peace Agreement Actors Dataset (PAA-X). Version 0.1.' (2025) *PeaceRep*, University of Edinburgh

⁴¹ Anderlini (n 8) 35

⁴² The PA-X Database (Version 8) codes 1706 agreements between 1990 and 2023, excluding local agreements. 17 agreements are excluded from this dataset as they do not list signatories. Christine Bell and Sanja Badanjak, 'Introducing PA-X: A New Peace Agreement Database and Dataset' (2019) 56(3) *Journal of Peace Research* 452–466 <<https://peaceagreements.org/>>

⁴³ 'United Nations (General)' refers to any general reference to the United Nations, including any of its bodies or offices that may not be explicitly named, as well as Special Rapporteurs or related entities. For example, an agreement listed as '[Person's Name], for the United Nations' is counted as a general reference.

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⁴⁸ *ibid* 45

⁴⁹ Christien and Mukhtarova (n 13) 13

⁵⁰ *ibid*

⁵¹ Sanja Badanjak, 'Peace agreement texts as a data resource: presenting the PA-X Corpus' (Unpublished manuscript, University of Edinburgh School of Law, July 2025)

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⁵³ Christine Bell, Sanja Badanjak, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Adam Farquhar, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, Sean Molloy, Kevin McNicholl, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, and Laura Wise, 'PA-X Gender Peace Agreements Database and Dataset, Version 8' (2024) <www.peaceagreements.org/wggsearch>

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⁵⁶ Christine Bell, Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Epple, Robert Forster, Jennifer Hodge, Astrid Jamar, Kevin McNicholl, Sean Molloy, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson, Laura Wise 'PA-X Codebook, Version 8. Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform' (2024) (PeaceRep, University of Edinburgh)

⁵⁷ Christine Bell et al, 'PA-X Gender Peace Agreements Database and Dataset, Version 8' (n 53)

⁵⁸ Badanjak and Henry (n 40)

⁵⁹ *ibid* [5]

⁶⁰ The PA-X Gender sub-categories are participation, equality, particular groups of women, international law, new institutions, violence against women, transitional justice, development, implementation, and other.

⁶¹ Bell and O'Rourke (n 11) 969

⁶² Bell and O'Rourke (n 11); see para 7, 'Seventh Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Observer Mission in Sierra Leone' UN SCOR, UN Doc S/1999/836 (1999)

⁶³ For example, in 2021, detailed gender provisions could be found in local agreements, such as the Lou Nuer-Dinka Bor-Murle Action for Peace agreement in Jonglei, South Sudan, where provisions "seemed to be more contextually rooted in the community mediation processes preceding them": see United Nations Security Council Resolution 740 (2022)

⁶⁴ The maximum score an agreement can achieve is 11, corresponding to each of the PA-X Gender categories. However, as one of these categories is 'Other', an agreement scoring 10 may still demonstrate a comparable level of substantive gender inclusion, since the 'Other' category captures additional or context-specific provisions not covered elsewhere.

⁶⁵ Laura Wise and Anna Asproi, 'Gender Perspectives in Peace Agreements: Time for a New Approach?' (PeaceRep, 21 July 2022) <<https://peacerep.org/2022/07/21/gender-perspectives-in-peace-agreements-new-approach/>> accessed 23 June 2025.

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PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform is a research consortium based at Edinburgh Law School. Our research is rethinking peace and transition processes in the light of changing conflict dynamics, changing demands of inclusion, and changes in patterns of global intervention in conflict and peace/mediation/transition management processes.

Consortium members include: Conciliation Resources, Centre for Trust, Peace and Social Relations (CTPSR) at Coventry University, Dialectiq, Edinburgh Law School, International IDEA, LSE Conflict and Civicness Research Group, LSE Middle East Centre, Queens University Belfast, University of St Andrews, University of Stirling, and the World Peace Foundation at Tufts University.

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peacerep@ed.ac.uk | <https://peacerep.org>

University of Edinburgh, School of Law
Old College, South Bridge EH8 9YL