

PA-X DATA SERIES

Gender References in Peace Agreements in 2025

Insights from the PA-X
Peace Agreements Database



PA-X
Peace
Agreements
Database

PeaceRep
University of Edinburgh

Laura Wise

PA-X Data Series

The **PA-X Data Series** explores global insights into peace agreements signed in the previous year, including their characteristics and analysis of the agreement contents and key topics. This report draws on the PA-X Peace Agreements Database and Dataset, developed and maintained by PeaceRep researchers at the University of Edinburgh. PA-X provides a comprehensive record of peace agreements across multiple conflict contexts and stages of peace processes, systematically documenting and archiving formal peace agreements, relevant metadata and thematic coding of their contents. This report looks specifically at agreements included in PA-X Gender, which tracks the presence of any references to women, girls, gender or sexual violence.

For more information on the PeaceRep consortium and on the PA-X Peace Agreements Databases, please visit the following websites:

PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform: www.peacerep.org

PA-X Gender Database: <https://www.peaceagreements.org/agreements/wggsearch/>

Acknowledgments

The core PA-X research and dataset management team includes Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Laura Wise, Robert Wilson, Juline Beaujouan, and Héloïse Guichardaz. Niamh Henry supports the database's technical development, consistency checks, and data visualisation, while Tim Macdonald, John Allison, and colleagues at the University of Edinburgh Information Services have supported the database infrastructure and interface development. PA-X has been founded and developed by Professor Christine Bell

This release also benefited from the contributions of PA-X coders and analysts, including Mohamad Al-Ashmar, and from the communications and programme support of Harriet Cornell, Allyson Doby, Alice Raymond, Sandra McArthur, and Marie Drysdale.

This research is supported by the Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep), funded by UK International Development from the UK government. However, the views expressed are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the UK government's official policies. Any use of this work should acknowledge the authors and the Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform using the suggested citations below.

Citations

Cite data as: Bell, Christine, 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 (2026). PA-X Gender Peace Agreements Database and Dataset, Version 10. www.peaceagreements.org/wggsearch

Cite report as: Wise, Laura (2026). Gender References in Peace Agreements in 2025: Insights from the PA-X Peace Agreements Database [PA-X Data Series]. PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform. <https://doi.org/10.7488/era/7195>

Table of Contents

1	Peace Agreements in 2025	3
2	Peace Agreements with References to Women, Girls, Gender, and/or Sexual Violence in 2025	5
3	Trends in Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements	11
4	Spotlight: The UN as a Third-Party Actor	13
5	Limitations and Future Research	15
6	Table of Agreements with Gender References in 2025	16

Executive Summary

- In 2025, **10 of the 54 peace agreements (19%)** published on PA-X **include at least one provision referencing women, girls, gender or sexual violence** (excluding local agreements). This is a slight decrease compared to agreements in 2024 (23%) - a share that was heavily driven by gender-inclusive peace processes in Colombia - and identical to 2023 (19%).
- Conflict parties signed peace agreements in 17 peace processes in 2025; however, **only six of those processes, in five countries, produced agreements which contained gender provisions.**
- **In 2025, the processes in which peace agreements have addressed conflict between states comprised a record high of 29% of all processes that resulted in agreement.** This increase has implications for gender mainstreaming in contemporary peace processes, as no agreements to resolve inter-state conflict from 1990-2025 reference women, girls, or gender, despite the gendered harms that are produced by international armed conflict.
- In 2025, only **three peace agreements included references to gender-based violence or violence against women: in Colombia and in the Democratic Republic of Congo agreement with Rwanda.** None of 13 the ceasefire agreements reached in 2025 included conflict-related sexual violence or other gendered forms of insecurity as prohibited acts.
- The addition of peace agreements for previous years as part of PA-X Version 10 means that we can now identify a **downward trend of gender references in peace agreements from 2020-2025, gradually dropping from 33% to 19%**, rather than a 20-30% plateau as we had previously tentatively identified for the post-2020 period.
- This finding means that the **UNSCR 1325 objective** that “all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, [...] adopt a gender perspective” **is still not being reached in the majority of peace processes**, and that gender mainstreaming in peace agreements is experiencing a decline across global peacemaking practice.
- The **decline of gender references in peace agreements over the past five years is likely to continue given the sharp decrease of donor funding allocated for women’s rights organisations and civil society groups**, who are a critical part of advocacy movements for incorporating gendered perspectives in peace processes.

1 Peace Agreements in 2025

In April 2026, PeaceRep published Version 10 (V10) of the PA-X Peace Agreement Database, which includes 54 agreements reached in 2025 (excluding local agreements).¹ For the purpose of the PA-X data collection, a peace agreement is defined as a ‘formal, publicly available document, produced after discussion with conflict protagonists and mutually agreed to by some or all of them, addressing conflict with a view to ending it’ (Bell, Badanjak et al. 2026a).

Peace agreements listed on PA-X for 2025 (excluding local agreements)² come from peace processes addressing armed conflict in or between: Afghanistan and Pakistan; Armenia and Azerbaijan (Nagorno Karabakh); Cambodia and Thailand; China and India; Colombia; Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Rwanda; India (Nagaland); Ireland and United Kingdom (Northern Ireland); Israel (Palestine); Papua New Guinea (Bougainville); Russia and Ukraine; Syria; and Türkiye (Kurdistan).

These agreements were produced by the following peace processes: Colombia VII - Petro Peace Dialogues with multiple armed groups - Coordinadora Nacional Ejército Bolivariano (CNEB), Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia—Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP), Ejército de Liberación Nacional (ELN), Segunda Marquetalia, Autodefensas Gaitanistas de Colombia; implementation of the Northern Ireland peace process; India-Nagaland peace process; Israel-Palestine peace process to secure a ceasefire in Gaza; Bougainville peace process to implement the independence referendum; Syrian peace process post-Assad; and the revived Türkiye- Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) process. As with previous years, almost half of the agreements reached in 2025 were produced by peace processes between the government and armed groups in Colombia.

2025 also saw a series of inter-state peace processes addressing border disputes, territorial conflict, and armed groups located in borderlands: the border incursions process for Afghanistan-Pakistan; the process led by the United States (US) for Armenia and Azerbaijan over Nagorno Karabakh; border dispute process between Cambodia and Thailand; border dispute process between China and India; the Doha Track for Eastern DRC; and interstate agreements between Ukraine and the US relating to Ukraine and Russia.

¹ PA-X includes agreements from a wider variety of negotiation practices – including some local agreements that are not associated with conflicts in which there have been more than 25 battle-related deaths (UCDP conflict threshold). These types of local agreements can be excluded from the search if all Agreement/Conflict levels are selected, except for Intrastate/local (other) [IntraLocal]. The analysis in this data report excludes local agreements.

² For full analysis of peace agreements signed in 2025, see: Badanjak, S. et al. (2026). Peace Agreements in 2025: Insights from the PA-X Peace Agreements Database [PA-X Data Series]. PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform. <https://doi.org/10.7488/era/7186>

The percentage of peace processes that were classified as addressing conflict between states reached a record high of 29% in 2025.³ This has implications for the incorporation of gender perspectives in peace processes: zero agreements that address inter-state conflict from 1990-2025 contain women, girls and gender references, compared to 22% of agreements addressing intra-state conflict over the same period.⁴

Conflict between states produces multiple, intersectional gendered harms, such as exposure of displaced women from southern Lebanon to health risks and violence in shelters, displacement of pregnant and lactating women from the Thailand-Cambodia border regions, conflict-related sexual violence perpetrated against men and women in detention by Russian forces in Ukraine, and US-Israeli air strikes on an IVF clinic and maternity facilities in Iran (Busol 2024; Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security 2026; Middle East Eye 2026; World Vision International 2026). Yet, gender is noticeably absent from diplomatic discourse on inter-state conflict, with it commonly being treated as a geopolitical, gender-blind phenomenon.

³Percentage per year of unique peace process identifiers (PP) of agreement/conflict level (Agtp) (total count 'inter-state/inter-state' plus 'inter-state/intrastate' plus 'intrastate/intrastate') classed as 'inter-state/inter-state', based on PA-X V10 metadata.

⁴Comparison of % of total no. agreements classed as agreement/conflict level 'inter-state/inter-state (Agtp: Inter) with women, girls, gender (GeWom) value 1 (0%) vs. of % of total no. agreements classed as agreement/conflict level intra-state/intra-state (Agtp: Intra) plus as agreement/conflict level 'inter-state/intra-state' (Agtp: InterIntra) (22%) with WGG value 1 (0%), both from 1990-2025, excluding agreement/conflict level 'intra-state/local' (Agtp: IntraLocal) using PA-X V10 (2026).

2 Peace Agreements with References to Women, Girls, Gender, and/or Sexual Violence in 2025

The PA-X Database and the PA-X Gender sub-database include all peace agreements between 1990 and 2025 that contain provisions referencing women, girls, gender, and/or sexual violence.⁵ PA-X publishes open-access annual data tracking both gender provisions in peace agreements and the actors who signed those agreements as parties or third parties, alongside analysis of the substantiveness of gender provisions and longitudinal trends. Analysis drawn from PA-X in April 2026 illustrates recent trends in gender provisions in peace agreements in 2025:

- **19% of peace agreements (10 out of 54 agreements, excluding local) reached in 2025 included at least one provision explicitly referencing women, girls, gender or sexual violence.**⁶ This is a slight decrease compared to agreements in 2024 (23%) - a share that was heavily driven by gender-transformative peace processes in Colombia - and identical to 2023 (19%) (see Figure 1).

Percentage of Agreements with a Women, girls and gender Provision per Year (excluding local agreements)

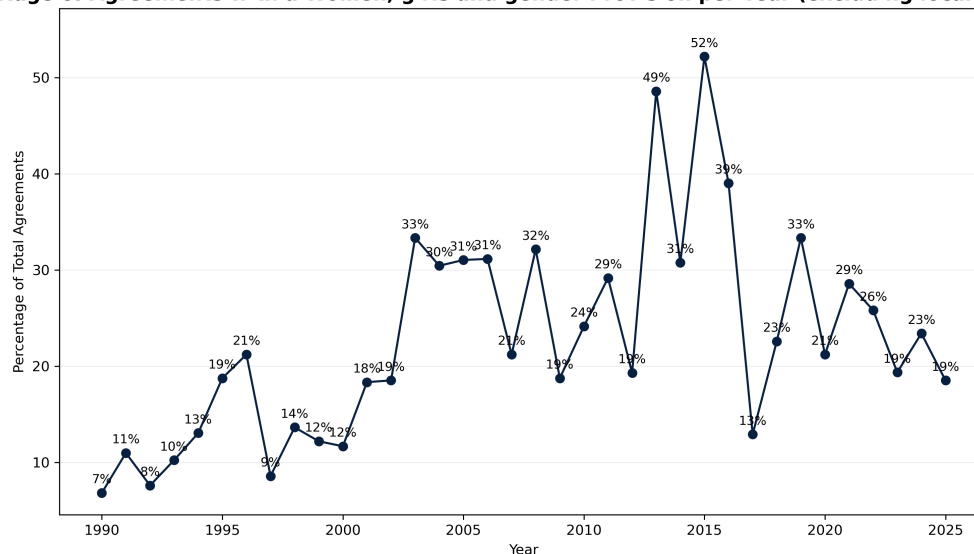


Figure 1: Percentage of agreements with gender provision per year (excluding local agreements) for 1990-2025.

⁵Sub-categorised as 'Gender: Women, Girls and Gender' (GeWom) in PA-X Main. Does not include the following PA-X Main sub-categories: 'Gender: Men and Boys'; 'Gender: LGBTI' or 'Gender: Family' for consistency with data submitted to the UN High-Level Review of UNSCR1325 in 2015, even though these are all gendered identities and/or concepts. For further information see (Bell 2015).

⁶Percentage of agreements on PA-X Main, agreement/stage = inter-state/inter-state, inter-state/intra-state, and intra-state/intrastate, with value = 1 Gender (category) Issue Women, Girls, Gender (GeWom).

- **In 2025, conflict parties signed peace agreements in 17 peace processes; however, less than half of those processes (6) in 5 countries produced agreements which contained gender provisions:** Colombia (Colombia VII - Petro Peace Dialogues with the Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – Ejército del Pueblo (FARC-EP); Dialogues with the Coordinadora Nacional Ejército Bolivariano (CNEB)); Türkiye (Kurdistan); Papua New Guinea (Bougainville); the Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda (Doha Track); and Israel (Palestine).⁷
- As with recent years under the Petro government's 'Total Peace' policy, peace processes in Colombia account for a high proportion of the total agreements with gender references in peace agreements – **50% of peace agreements with gender references in 2025 were results of Colombian peace processes.**⁸ This proportion of Colombian agreements has implications for how we interpret global data on gender references in peace agreements, as these processes tend to be more gender inclusive than other contemporary peace processes, with current peace processes between the Government and armed groups building on or adapting the “gender approach” incorporated in the process with the FARC-EP (Corredor 2022).
- One way of addressing the high volume of peace agreements from Colombia in recent years is to compare gender references across peace processes rather than agreements. **The percentage of peace processes with at least one agreement that contained at least one reference to women, girls or gender in 2025 (35%) is consistent with recent years** (27% in 2024; 33% in 2023; 32% in 2022; and 29% in 2021).⁹ However, in most of the processes that did include gender references (excluding Colombia), only one or two references were found in one agreement out of the entire process, showing a limited incorporation of gendered language, or the ability of a gender gain in an agreement text to stick from one stage of a process to another.

⁷The Israel-Palestine conflict is classed as an 'intra-state' dispute on PA-X, reflecting the fact that Palestine is not universally recognised as a state by all member states of the United Nations, and that the pursuit of Palestinian statehood is an integral issue within the peace process. This should not be interpreted as a comment on the validity of statehood claims or the existence of the state of Palestine.

⁸Excludes agreement/conflict 'intra/local'.

⁹Using metadata peace process (count of unique process IDs per year), agreement stage (to exclude local), date (filter for year) and GeWom value 1 (count) using PA-X V10 (2026).

- **Gender provisions in 2025 focussed on:** the effective participation of women's organisations in peace processes and political life, recruitment of girls into non-state armed groups, protection of women and girls in the context of small-scale mining, prioritising the release of women by Israel and Hamas, and compliance with United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security. The category with the most provisions in 2025 was participation (see Figure 2), but mostly as statements affirming the importance of participation, rather than through specific or substantive measures to facilitate women's full, safe, equal, and meaningful participation. No peace agreements in 2025 included gender quotas for political institutions or peace delegations.
- In 2025, **only three peace agreements included references to gender-based violence or violence against women**, in Colombia and DRC-Rwanda respectively. Qualitatively, in Colombia these provisions addressed: the protection of girls as part of territorial transformation in the *Relatoría de Conclusiones - Encuentro en La Macarena para Avanzar en las Transformaciones Territoriales* and the *Acuerdo Especial sobre el Desescalamiento del Conflicto Armado, Hechos y Gestos de Paz* between the government of Colombia and the FARC-EP (EMBF). In the *Regional Economic Integration Framework Between the governments of the DRC and Rwanda*, the agreement included a provision for the prevention and mitigation of violence against women and girls in the context of artisanal and small-scale mining in the eastern DRC. None of 13 the ceasefire agreements reached in 2025 included conflict-related sexual violence or other gendered forms of insecurity as prohibited acts, which can be an important mechanism for preventing and monitoring gender-based violence during ceasefire processes.

Number of Agreements per PA-X Gender Topic, by Conflict Location (2025)

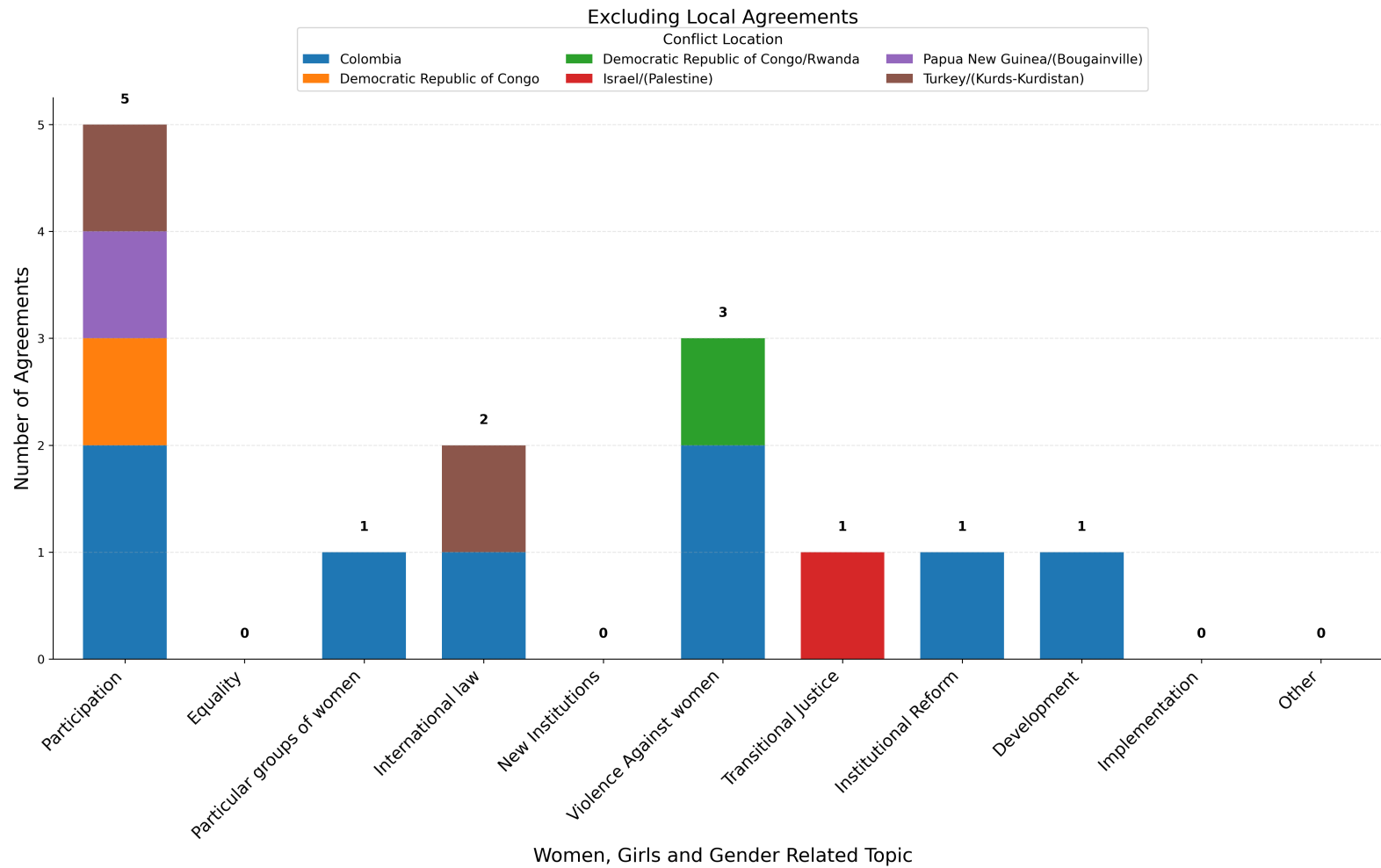


Figure 2: Number of agreements signed in 2025, per PA-X Gender topic and country of conflict location (excluding local agreements).

- No peace agreements in 2025 included a reference to women having a role in implementation of the agreement and **no agreements were signed by a representative on behalf of women in 2025** (excluding local agreements).¹⁰ This is consistent with PA-X longitudinal signatory data since 1990, in which 1% of peace agreements were signed by someone explicitly claiming to represent women and their interests, ranging from formal women's organisations and institutions, to individuals listed as signing on behalf of women.¹¹
- However, as with previous years, **substantive reading of agreements suggests that women's representatives did participate in peace processes in 2025**, even if they did not sign the resultant agreements. For example, the *Relatoría de Conclusiones–Encuentro en La Macarena para Avanzar en las Transformaciones Territoriales*, between the government of Colombia and the EMBF of the FARC-EP states that “The Table of Dialogues for Peace reaffirms its commitment to continue advancing in actions that guarantee the right to participation of all actors in the construction of peace, especially ethnic communities, peasants, women's groups and LGBTIQ+ people in each zone.” In the Melanesian Agreement, from Bougainville, parties note ‘the wider consultations that have taken place with... women's groups’ as part of the post– independence referendum consultation process, of which the agreement is a product. Secondary qualitative studies on women's involvement in peace processes are therefore needed to fully understand how and where women participate, in addition to peace agreement signatory data.
- **A characteristic of multiple peace agreements in 2025 was the involvement of the US as either a party or third-party** signatory, related to conflicts in Israel/Palestine, Thailand/Cambodia, Armenia/Azerbaijan (Nagorno Karabakh), Russia/Ukraine, and the eastern DRC/Rwanda.¹² Despite the second Trump administration's purge of what they refer to as ‘gender ideology’ language from government policy and public life in the US (The White House 2025), the **US Government was publicly involved as a third-party in peace processes that did produce peace agreements with limited women, girls, and gender references**, although the US did not formally sign these texts as a third-party.

¹⁰PA-X only codes for Women's Representatives as signatories, not any individual signatory who could be assumed to be a woman based on their name. See PA-X Gender Codebook (Bell, Badanjak et al. 2026b).

¹¹Count of all agreements listed on PA-X from 1990–2025 (excluding Agtp: IntraLocal) with ‘WggImplSign’ value 1 using PA-X Main and PA-X Gender CSV using PA-X V10 (2026). Source for WggImplSign is PA-X metadata categories ‘Part’ or ‘ThrdPart’.

¹²Based on the qualitative text entered in the metadata under ‘Part’ or ‘ThrdPart’ in the PA-X CSV output for 2025. Includes any reference to a signatory signing on behalf of the United States, whether simply as ‘United States’ or individuals representing the government of the United States (e.g., Donald Trump, Marco Rubio).

- These agreements included: a commitment to 'gender and youth participation' as a guiding principle for the *Doha Framework for a Comprehensive Peace Agreement* between the Government of the DRC and the Alliance Fleuve Congo/March 23rd Movement (AFC/M23); prioritising the release of women as part of the *hostage and prisoner exchange agreement between Israel and Hamas*; and a reference to violence against women and girls in the context of artisanal and small-scale mining in eastern DRC in the *Regional Economic Integration Framework*.
- However, **these peace agreements constitute a minority of deals that the US was involved in as a mediation actor**, and none of the brief gender references translated into a gendered perspective being applied to those peace processes. For example, none of the agreements between Cambodia and Thailand relating to their border, a process in which the US was publicly involved, contained any gender references, despite the differentiated harms of displacement for women and girls. Furthermore, only one agreement that the US was involved with used the term 'gender', whilst the others referred to 'women' or 'women and girls', which would still be in line with current US policy.
- Generally, the US approach to peacemaking in 2025 was markedly masculine, favouring high-level, elite talks that centred the President or other senior male envoys, quick transactional 'wins' in pursuit of US interests over sustainable, inclusive outcomes, and an emphasis on 'peace through strength'.

3 Trends in Gender Provisions in Peace Agreements

The addition of peace agreements for previous years as part of PA-X Version 10 means that we **can now identify a slight downward trend of gender references in peace agreements since 2020**, gradually dropping from 33% to 19%, rather than a 20-30% plateau as we had previously tentatively identified for the post-2020 period.

2015 continues to be the only year since 1990 that over 50% of peace agreements included a reference to women, girls and gender (52%), although the average annual percentage of WGG references since 2020 (27%) is still above the annual average in the pre-UNSCR 1325 period (14% from 1990-2000).

This finding means that the UNSCR 1325 objective that “all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, [...] adopt a gender perspective” (United Nations Security Council 2000) is not being reached in the majority of peace processes, and the mainstreaming of gender issues into peace agreements is experiencing a decline in global peacemaking practice.

The decline of gender references in peace agreements over the past five years is likely to continue given the sharp decrease of donor funding allocated for women’s rights organisations and civil society groups, who are a critical part of advocacy movements for incorporating gendered perspectives in peace processes (Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security 2025).

Qualitatively, none of the peace agreements with references to women, girls, and gender in 2025 would be described as ‘gender transformative’. Most of the agreements only include one or several references, and most references were textually brief. Agreements that referenced participation were positive regarding women’s involvement in political life and peace processes, but some were aspirational, or committed to women’s participation without explaining how this would be implemented or monitored.

Given the importance of implementation phases of peace processes for the effectiveness of gender provisions, (Madhav 2025) it is concerning, from a gender advocacy perspective, that none of the 2025 agreements included any references to women’s involvement in implementation.

As in other recent years, there is still a contrast between the low number of references to Conflict Related Sexual Violence (CRSV), Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG), and Gender-Based Violence in peace agreements in 2025, and the prevalence of armed conflict globally, in which gendered violence is largely considered to be underreported. Only one peace agreement related to conflict in eastern DRC - which is marked by wide-

spread, brutal CRSV and VAW - contained a specific reference to protection of women and girls. Agreements addressing conflict across Syria post-Assad did not include any references to VAW, despite reports of kidnapping and rape targeting women from religious minorities (although this is unsurprising, given authorities' repeated denials that such violence exists) (BBC Arabic News 2026; Mroue 2026).

Whilst the Uppsala Conflict Data Programme have not yet released conflict data for 2025, in 2024, “nearly 17% of the global female population lived within 50 km of a deadly conflict event – the highest proportion recorded since the 1990s” (Rustad 2025), which is unlikely to have improved significantly in 2025 given escalations of violence in places such as Myanmar, Sudan, Cambodia, Thailand, and South Sudan, and the ongoing Palestinian genocide. This rise in female conflict proximity makes the gender-blindness of peace agreements in 2025 troubling for gender equality advocates, as the processes undertaking to resolve those conflicts are failing to take a gender perspective.

4 Spotlight: The UN as a Third-Party Actor

The UN's activity as a third-party signatory in 2025 was concentrated in peace processes in Colombia (excluding local agreements).¹³

- In the peace process between the Government and the ELN, **Carlos G. Ruiz Massieu**, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, signed one agreement as a Permanent Companion (*Acuerdo No. 7: Ideas básicas para el desarrollo del primer punto de la Nueva Agenda de Diálogos*).
- As an Accompanying Entity, **Angela Bargellini**, as Delegate of the Special Representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations in Colombia with the UN Verification Mission in Colombia, signed multiple agreements between the Government and the CNEB.¹⁴
- **Fernando Burguillo**, also signed the *Acuerdo Marco sobre las Zonas para la Capacitación Integral y Ubicación Temporal* with CNEB as an Accompanying Entity, in their position as Delegate of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Colombia – Observer.
- In the process between the Government and the FARC-EP¹⁵, **Antonio Delgado** signed multiple agreements as Delegate of the Special Representative of the UN Secretary General in Colombia – Observer, also in the position of Accompanying Entity.

In all of the Colombian peace processes where a UN actor was a third party, the UN was one among multiple third parties, including: states — such as Venezuela, Norway, the Swiss confederation, and Ireland; regional organisations – such as the Organisation of American States (OAS) and the European Union (EU); and religious organisations – such as the Episcopal Conference of Colombia, the World Council of Churches, and the Diocese of Tumaco.

Colombian peace processes in 2026 are examples of contemporary peacemaking practice more broadly, whereby processes are increasingly not led or convened by the UN, but in which the UN serves as a part of a co-ordinated group of interested third parties to support talks.

¹³If local agreements were included in the analysis, then actors representing the UN also signed one agreement in South Sudan: Agt 2745 was signed by representatives of UNMISS - United Nations Mission in South Sudan, UNISFA - United Nations Interim Security Force in Abyei, UN-FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and UN-IOM - International Organization for Migration.

¹⁴See all agreements in the *Dialogues with the Coordinadora Nacional Ejército Bolivariano (CNEB) on PA-X*.

¹⁵See all agreements in the *Dialogues with FARC-EP in 2025 on PA-X*.

Of the peace agreements signed by UN actors in 2026 (excluding local agreements), 25% included references to women, girls and gender (three out of 12). This proportion roughly aligns with the UN as a third-party signatory from 1990-2025, in which 31% of agreements signed by UN representatives include gender references (Figure 3).

Agreements Signed as Third Party, by Gender Reference

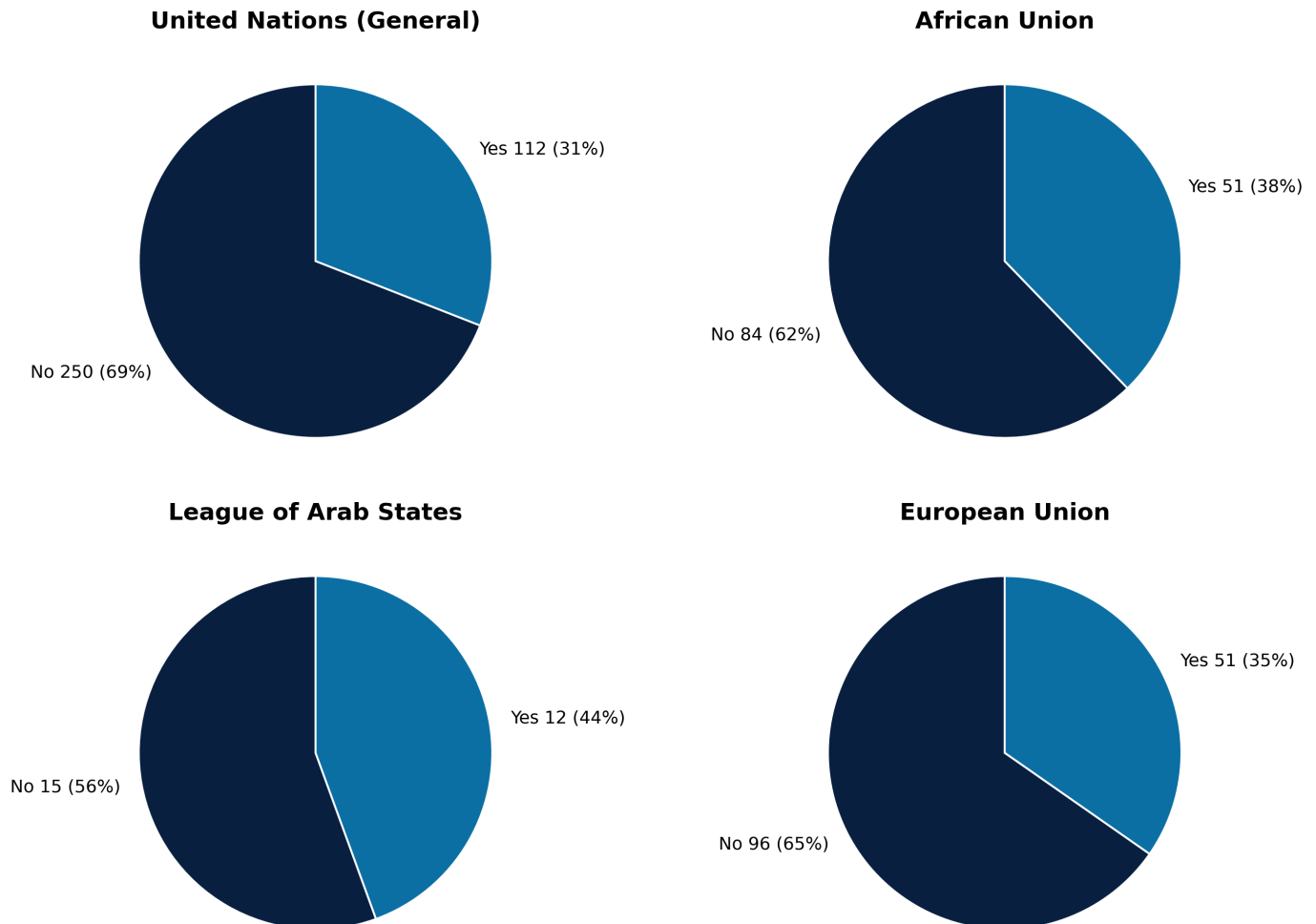


Figure 3: Percentage of agreements containing references to Women, Girls and Gender (Wgg) on PA-X Main signed by each actor as a third party signatory, 1990-2025.

5 Limitations and Future Research

Qualitative approaches are an essential part of analysing peace agreements from a gender perspective, as there can be textual variation as to the substantiveness of gender references across agreements, which is not captured by the quantitative analysis. For example, two agreements may both have a value 1 on PA-X Gender for references to violence against women, but one of those agreements could include a rhetorical statement to ‘protect women and children’ without providing much detail, whilst the other agreement could include substantive commitment and steps for preventing conflict related sexual violence, and for holding perpetrators accountable. Both references are important and contextually may have different impacts. However, the detailed nature of the second provision could more easily support monitoring and implementation of parties’ commitments to addressing CRSV.

This example shows that although peace agreements with a higher PA-X Gender ‘score’ (containing references in more than one sub-category, and therefore addressing more than one gendered issue) (Bell and McNicholl 2019) could be thought of as more substantive than an agreement with a provision in only one category, there could still be an important qualitative difference in the strength of the language and the robustness of the commitment.

Due to the small numbers of peace agreements with gender references involved in this analysis, and the historic time lag in collecting and publishing agreements, findings related to trends should be interpreted with care. Not all peace agreements reached in 2025 will necessarily have been made publicly available by the time PA-X Version 10 was released, which means that data for 2025 will likely be updated in future PA-X releases.

As previously mentioned, the high proportion of total agreements with gender references in peace agreements that come from Colombian peace processes in 2025 has implications for how we interpret global data on gender references in peace agreements, given the incorporation of a “gender approach” in many of those processes. Furthermore, in 2025 peace agreements from Colombia made up 43% of the overall peace agreements published on PA-X (excluding local agreements), in part due to a culture of writing down points of agreement and publishing soon after reaching an agreement. This practice means that, due to the PA-X focus on written, publicly available agreement texts, we may be capturing peacemaking in some contexts more than others, despite exhaustive efforts by the PA-X team to collect and curate agreements from around the world.

6 Table of Agreements with Gender References in 2025

Table 1: Agreements with gender references signed in 2025

Country	Peace Process	Agreement (ctrl + click to view in PA-X)
Colombia	Colombia VII - Petro Peace Dialogues with FARC-EP	Relatoría de Conclusiones - Encuentro en La Macarena para Avanzar en las Transformaciones Territoriales (16/03/2025)
Colombia	Colombia VII - Petro Peace Dialogues with FARC-EP	Acuerdo sobre Ambiente, Bioeconomía y Revitalización de la Selva Amazónica (18/11/2025)
Colombia	Colombia VII - Petro Peace Dialogues with FARC-EP	Acuerdo Especial sobre el Desescalamiento del Conflicto Armado, Hechos y Gestos de Paz (19/11/2025)
Colombia	Colombia VII - Petro Peace Dialogues with FARC-EP	Declaración VII Ciclo Campo Hermoso (20/11/2025)
Colombia	Colombia VII - Petro Peace Dialogues with the Coordinadora Nacional Ejército Bolivariano (CNEB)	Acta 10 de Abril de 2025 - Sesión N° 4 de la Mesa de Diálogos de Paz entre el Gobierno de Colombia y la Coordinadora Nacional Ejército Bolivariano (10/04/2025)
Democratic Republic of Congo	DRC: the Doha Track for Eastern DRC	The Doha Framework for a Comprehensive Peace Agreement (15/11/2025)
Democratic Republic of Congo/ Rwanda	DRC: the Doha Track for Eastern DRC	Regional Economic Integration Framework Between the Government of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the Government of the Republic of Rwanda (04/12/2025)
Israel/(Palestine)	Israel-Palestine peace process	Practical Procedures And Mechanisms To Implement The Agreement For The Exchange Of Israeli Hostages And Palestinian Prisoners And The Return To A Sustainable Calm Which Would Achieve A Permanent Ceasefire Between The Two Sides (15/01/2025)
Papua New Guinea/(Bougainville)	Bougainville: peace process	Melanesian Agreement (26/06/2025)
Turkey/(Kurds-Kurdistan)	Turkey: PKK process	Final declaration of the PKK's 12th Congress (12/05/2025)

References

- BBC Arabic News (2026). *Syria unrest news article reference*. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/articles/cn5g751p171o>. Accessed: April 2026.
- Bell, Christine (2015). *Text and Context: Evaluating Peace Agreements for their 'Gender Perspective'*. URL: https://wps.unwomen.org/pdf/research/Bell_EN.pdf.
- Bell, Christine, Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Eppele, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, Kevin McNicholl, Sean Molloy, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson and Laura Wise (2026a). *PA-X Codebook, Version 10. PeaceRep, University of Edinburgh*. PA-X Peace Agreements Database. URL: https://www.peaceagreements.org/cms/documents/3956/PA_X_codebook_v10.pdf.
- Bell, Christine, Sanja Badanjak, Adam Farquhar, Juline Beaujouan, Tim Eppele, Robert Forster, Astrid Jamar, Kevin McNicholl, Sean Molloy, Kathryn Nash, Jan Pospisil, Robert Wilson and Laura Wise (2026b). *PA-X Gender Codebook, Peace Agreements Database and Dataset, Version 10*. Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform (PeaceRep), University of Edinburgh. URL: https://www.peaceagreements.org/cms/documents/3925/PA_X_codebook_wgg_v8.pdf.
- Bell, Christine and Kevin McNicholl (2019). 'Principled Pragmatism and the 'Inclusion Project': Implementing a Gender Perspective in Peace Agreements'. In: *Feminists@law* 9.1. URL: https://www.politicalsettlements.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/2019_Bell-McNicholl_feminists-law.pdf.
- Busol, Kateryna (2024). *Russia is weaponising sexual violence in Ukraine*. The Guardian. Accessed: April 2026. URL: <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2024/mar/25/russia-weaponising-sexual-violence-ukraine-values>.
- Corredor, Elizabeth S. (2022). 'Feminist Action at the Negotiation Table: An Exploration Inside the 2010–2016 Colombian Peace Talks'. In: *International Negotiation* 28.2, pp. 229–252. DOI: 10.1163/15718069-bja10063.
- Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (2025). *Women Peacebuilders Funding Freeze: How You Can Help*. <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/2025/04/30/women-peacebuilders-funding-freeze-how-you-can-help/>. Accessed: April 2026.
- Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (2026). *Gendered Risks in Lebanon*. <https://giwps.georgetown.edu/2026/04/02/gendered-risks-in-lebanon/>. Accessed: April 2026.
- Madhav, J. (2025). 'Does the Implementation Status of Gender Provisions Affect the Implementation of a Peace Agreement? Evidence From Colombia's 2016 Peace Agreement Implementation Process'. In: *Policy Studies Journal* 53.4, pp. 1152–1163. DOI: 10.1111/psj.12584.
- Middle East Eye (2026). *US-Israeli strikes in Iran tear through IVF clinic, hospitals and homes*. <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/us-israeli-strikes-iran-tear-through-ivf-clinic-hospitals-and-homes>. Accessed: April 2026.
- Mroue, Bassem (2026). *In post-Assad Syria's chaos, Alawite women face sexual violence*. <https://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/in-post-assad-syrias-chaos-alawite-women-face-sexual-violence/>. Accessed: April 2026.
- Rustad, Siri Aas (2025). *Women exposed to armed conflict, 1990–2024*. Tech. rep. GPS Policy Brief, 4. Accessed: April 2026. Oslo: Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). URL: <https://www.prio.org/publications/14514>.
- The White House (2025). *Defending Women from Gender Ideology Extremism and Restoring Biological Truth to the Federal Government*. <https://www.whitehouse.gov/presidential-actions/2025/01/defending-women-from-gender-ideology-extremism-and-restoring-biological-truth-to-the-federal-government/>. Accessed: April 2026.
- United Nations Security Council (2000). *Resolution 1325*. <https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/WPS%20SRES1325%20.pdf>. Accessed: April 2026.
- World Vision International (2026). *Situation Report: Displacement Caused by Cambodia-Thailand Border*. <https://www.wvi.org/publications/report/cambodia/situation-report-displacement-caused-cambodia-thailand-border-8>. Accessed: April 2026.

PA-X Peace Agreements Database & Dataset

The PA-X Peace Agreement Database is a database and repository of peace agreements from 1990 to date, current up to December 2025. PA-X provides a comprehensive dataset of peace agreements, capable of underpinning both quantitative and qualitative research.

PA-X is primarily produced by a team of researchers at the University of Edinburgh as part of the Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Program (PeaceRep).

PeaceRep

PeaceRep is a research consortium based at the University of Edinburgh focused on peace and conflict resolution, mediation, and peace process design.

Acknowledgments

The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Program (PeaceRep) is funded by UK International Development from the UK government.

Contact and further information

peaceagreements.org
peacerep.org
peacerep@ed.ac.uk

