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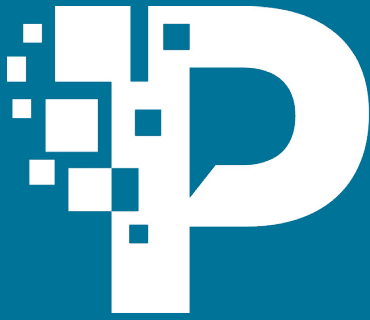


MEND DATA SERIES

Mediation in 2024: First Insights from the MEND Database

Mateja Peter

August 2025



The MEND Data Series explores global insights into mediation and mediation-related activities in the previous year, focusing on third-party activities and any agreements reached.

This report is based on the first release of the Mediation Event and Negotiators Database (MEND), an evolving dataset by PeaceRep researchers at the University of St Andrews and the University of Edinburgh. MEND offers a comprehensive record of peacemaking efforts within major armed conflicts, systematically tracking all mediation and mediation-related events involving external third-party actors—regardless of whether these efforts result in formal peace agreements. The core research team, led by Mateja Peter, includes Elisa D’Amico, Kasia Houghton, and PeaceRep Co-Investigator, Sanja Badanjak. Niamh Henry played a key role in facilitating the integration of MEND with the PA-X dataset, while Tomas Vancisin was responsible for the visualisations, including those featured in this report. The initial release of MEND also reflects the valuable contributions of our dedicated analysts: Louise Courbin, Siheon Choi, Delia Burns, Sarah Gharib Seif, Ben Houghton and Aarushi Sharma.

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1. Executive Summary

- » The first release of the Mediation Event and Negotiators Database (MEND) captures recent mediation efforts across six conflict-affected contexts—Sudan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Israel (including Palestine/Gaza, Iran, and Lebanon)—with the following analysis offering initial insights from across these cases in 2024.
- » For 2024, a total of 230 mediation events and 903 mediation-related events were recorded across six conflict-affected contexts in the MEND dataset.
 - Over half of all recorded events were linked to conflicts involving Israel, making it the most active context for mediation in 2024.
 - Mediation activity in Sudan was most intense during the first quarter of 2024, before tapering off later in the year.
 - A notable surge in mediation events in December 2024 was largely driven by efforts following the fall of President Bashar al-Assad’s regime in Syria.
- » Mediation efforts in 2024 involved a diverse set of actors, including regional powers, global states, and multilateral organisations—underscoring the growing need for improved coordination among mediators.
 - Egypt and the United States emerged as the most effective mediators, each contributing to four agreements across the six conflict contexts.
 - Egypt played a central role in mediating agreements related to Libya, Sudan, and the Israel-Gaza conflicts—all of which are located along its borders, highlighting its strategic regional influence.
 - Most agreements in 2024 focused on humanitarian access and temporary ceasefires, reflecting a shift toward short-term, needs-based mediation—where humanitarian-focused actors such as the ICRC played an indispensable role in facilitating access and relief in high-risk areas.
- » A total of 17 agreements were added to the MEND dataset in 2024, involving 19 unique mediators across the six conflict-affected contexts analysed.
 - Many of these agreements are informal or unwritten, highlighting the limitations of traditional legal tracking mechanisms.
 - Only four legal agreements involving third-party actors were captured in the PA-X Peace Agreements Database for 2024, underscoring the gap in formal peacemaking. MEND contributes an additional 13 agreements, many of which fall outside formal legal frameworks but are crucial for enabling humanitarian outcomes and sustaining minimal dialogue between parties.

2. World in Turmoil and a Fresh Perspective on Mediation

According to the [Uppsala Conflict Data Program \(UCDP\)](#), the number of active conflicts in 2024 rose to 56, the highest recorded since the end of World War II. Notably, inter-state conflicts—once thought to be relics of the 20th century—have re-emerged with force. Hostilities involving Israel, Palestine/Gaza, Lebanon, and Iran also underscore a troubling resurgence of interlinked conflicts involving multiple states. At the same time, the landscape of international mediation is undergoing a profound transformation. Once dominated by Western powers and international organisations, mediation efforts are now increasingly shaped by a multiplicity of third parties. Countries such as China, Russia, Turkey, and several Gulf states are asserting themselves as influential mediators, reflecting a broader shift in global power dynamics.

As part of the [PeaceRep Global Fragmentation project](#), research teams at the University of St Andrews and the University of Edinburgh are developing a new resource: the [Mediation Event and Negotiators Database \(MEND\)](#). MEND sits within PeaceRep's extensive suite of PeaceTech data and digital tools to support adaptive engagement in peace processes, including the flagship PA-X Peace Agreements Database. While PA-X focuses on the formal and publicly available legal documents (Bell and Badanjak, 2019), MEND illuminates the politics of contemporary peacemaking. It traces constellations of actors involved in mediation efforts tracking whether these engagements lead to formal or informal agreements between conflict parties. In doing so, MEND facilitates the monitoring of the shifting landscape of mediators and mediation initiatives, including within complex conflicts, such as the ones involving Israel.

Introducing the Mediation Event and Negotiators Database (MEND)

MEND is an evolving dataset designed to support both researchers and practitioners working in the field of peace and conflict resolution. It offers a comprehensive record of peacemaking efforts within major armed conflicts, systematically tracking all mediation and mediation-related events involving external third-party actors—regardless of whether these efforts result in formal peace agreements, as captured in the [PA-X Peace Agreements Database](#).

The database captures both formal mediation initiatives as well as parallel and supporting efforts, providing a detailed account of each event. Each entry includes metadata on the location, third-party mediators, local actors, and individual negotiators involved. This structure enables a nuanced understanding of how different actors contribute to peace processes, including efforts that may not succeed but still shape the broader conflict landscape.

In an era of increasing global fragmentation, MEND offers critical insights into where, when, how, and why mediation occurs. As the dataset grows, it will lend itself to mapping of network dynamics between international and local actors, allowing us to identify the conditions under which mediation is more likely to lead to formal agreements.

The first release of MEND (Peter et al., 2025) provides a glimpse into these dynamics. It focuses on recent mediation efforts in six conflict-affected contexts: Sudan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Israel (including Palestine/Gaza, Iran, and Lebanon). These case studies are visualised on a [dedicated website](#) hosted by the Global Fragmentation project, where further updates will be released as the dataset develops. The following analysis presents initial insights drawn from mediation efforts across all six contexts for 2024.

Mediation events: non-coercive facilitation of communication or negotiation between disputing parties to help them reach a mutually acceptable agreement or resolution to their conflict by an external third-party. Mediation always involves at least two (local) conflict stakeholders, at least one of them needing to be a belligerent.

Mediation-related events: non-coercive measures to facilitate the mediation. These measures are aimed at (1) encouraging a conflict party or parties to come to/continue with the negotiation; (2) expanding the range of actors directly or indirectly included in the mediation; (3) coordinating among third-parties; (4) monitoring and advising on implementation as part of formal follow-up mechanisms.

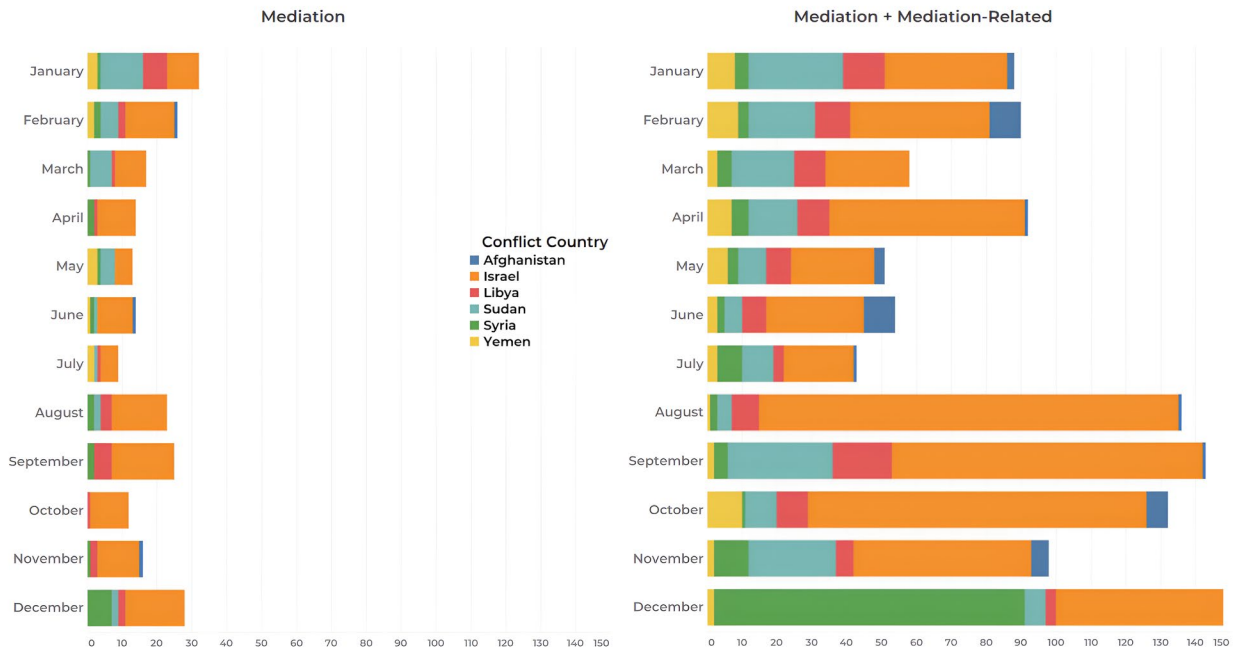
3. Mediation in 2024

3.1 Intensity of Mediation

2024 was an active mediation year, with 230 mediation and 903 mediation-related events recorded across the six conflict-affected contexts in MEND.

Mediation was most active around the conflicts involving **Israel**, with over half of events (632) recorded relating to Israel (represented in orange in Graph 1). The majority of these mediation events featured shuttle diplomacy, contributing to a rise in the number of discrete events documented in the dataset. Until April, these mediation efforts were primarily concentrated on negotiations between Israel and Hamas. After that point, there was a noticeable increase in mediation activity concerning Israel-Lebanon (Hezbollah) and Israel-Iran.

Graph 1: Intensity of mediation and mediation-related events

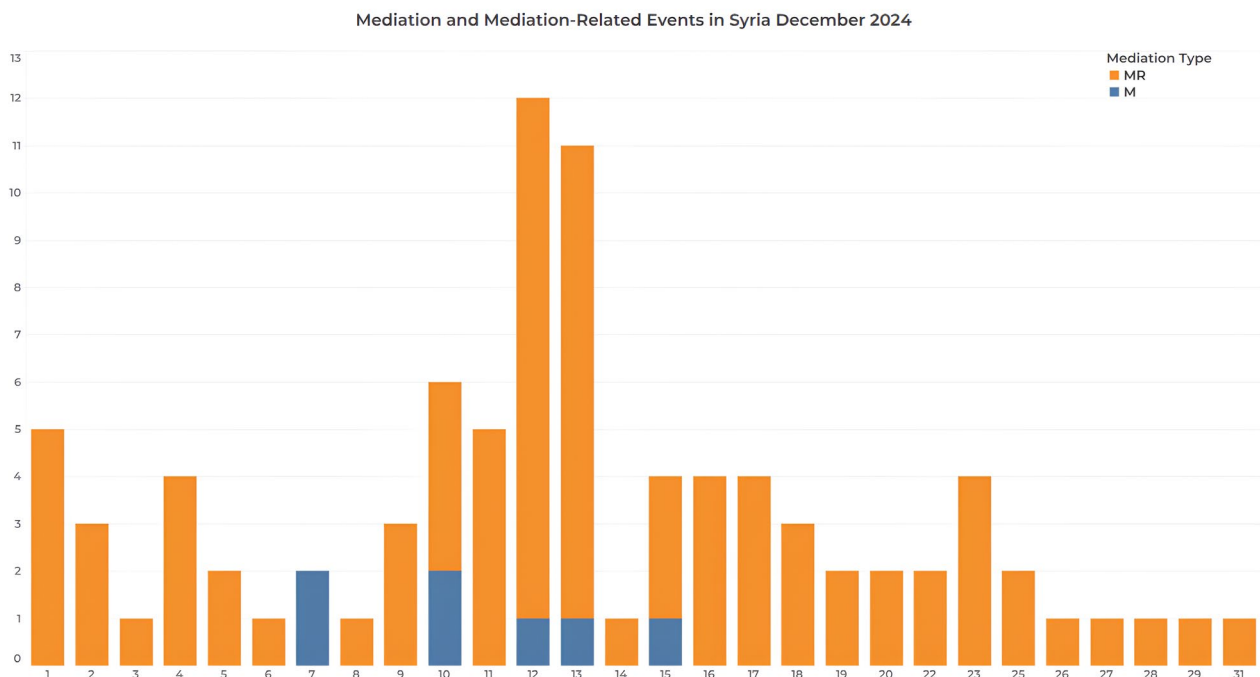


Mediation in **Sudan** (light blue in Graph 1) was the most active in the first three months of 2024 compared to the rest of the year. At the start of 2024, there was renewed international focus on resolving the conflict between the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF). The African Union (AU) launched the High-Level Panel on Sudan (HLP-Sudan) in February 2024, merging efforts with IGAD to form a joint mediation platform. The UN Secretary General also appointed Ramtane Lamamra as its special envoy in late 2023, contributing to an increase in activities. Early 2024 also saw a de facto military stalemate, with neither SAF nor RSF able

to make decisive gains. This led to a flurry of mediation and mediation-related activities more broadly, including by regional states (Pospisil, 2024). By mid-2024, no meaningful breakthroughs occurred, and the momentum faded.

Overall, the second half of 2024 was noticeably more active when it came to mediation-related events. A lot of these activities involved Israel, but the most notable spike happened in December 2024. A surge of events in our dataset in the last month of 2024 was largely driven by mediation and mediation-related efforts that emerged following the fall of President Bashar al-Assad's regime in **Syria** (green in Graph 1). While external actors were largely absent in this transition (Houghton, 2025), a flurry of international activity followed. Graph 2 below highlights the spike after 8 December after the rebel group Hayat Tahrir al-Sham captured Damascus and ousted Assad from power.

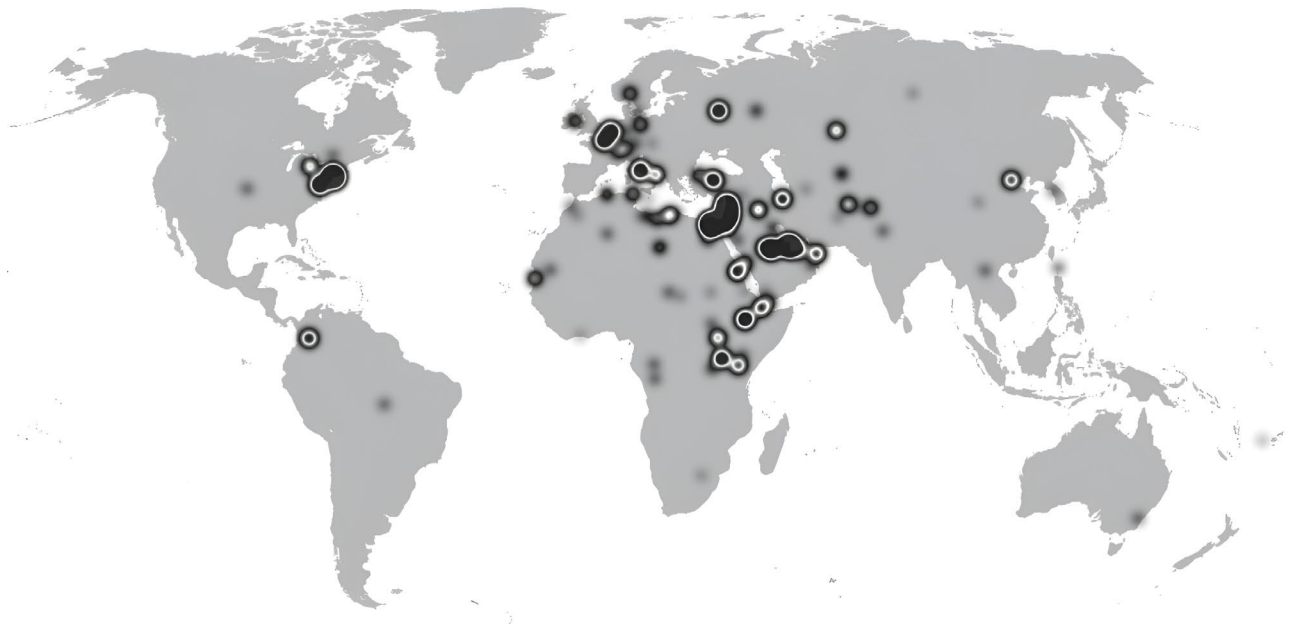
Graph 2: Mediation and mediation-related events for Syria, December 2024



3.2 Mediation Locations

Mediation events are taking place across the globe (see Graph 3). While a significant concentration remains in conflict-affected regions, Europe and North America continue to play a major role. However, there is a noticeable expansion, with mediation activities increasingly emerging in more geographically diverse and previously less represented areas, including China.

Graph 3: Mediation locations



3.3 Top Mediators

The presence of both global and regional actors among the top mediators, as illustrated in Table 1 and Graph 4, highlights the increasingly layered and diversified nature of contemporary mediation efforts. Across all six conflict contexts, **leading mediators include a combination of regional powers, global states, and multilateral organisations**—highlighting the need for increasing coordination among mediators.

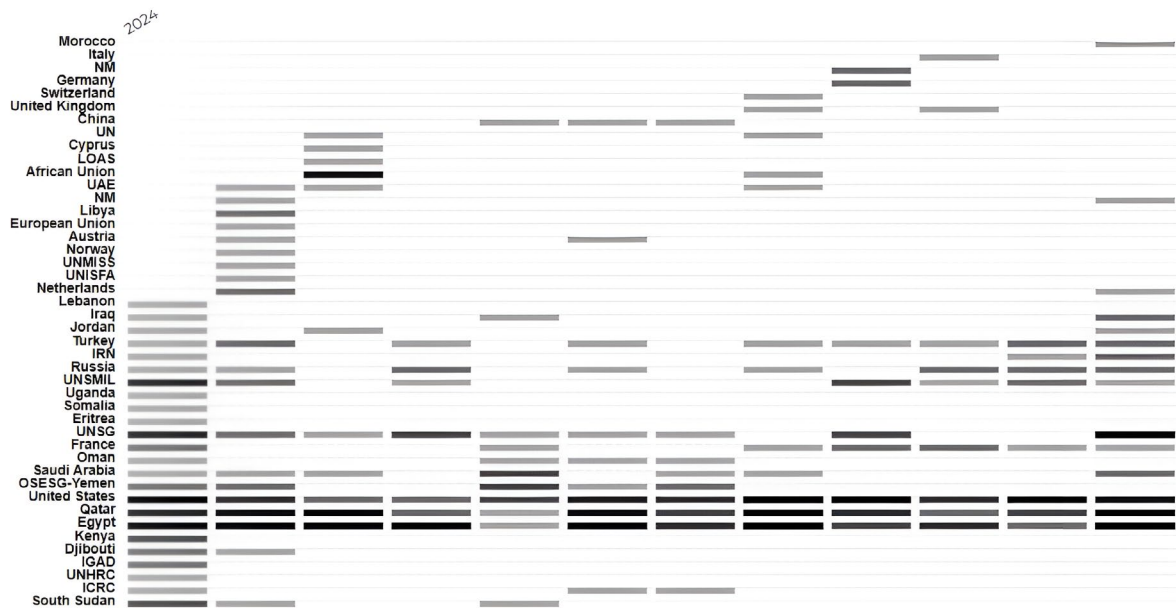
This trend reflects a broader direction for international diplomacy, signalling that conflict management is not the exclusive domain of major powers or international organisations. Instead, regional actors are playing a more prominent role, bringing localised knowledge, cultural proximity, and political leverage to the table.

Neighbouring countries often play a pivotal role in mediating conflicts, particularly in regions where they have vested security, economic, or cultural interests (Freer, 2023; Magara and Pospisil, 2024). Our data shows that except for Afghanistan, which saw very little mediation activity in 2024, neighbouring states were some of the top mediators in all included conflicts (bold in Table 1). Their geographic proximity allows for a deeper understanding of local dynamics, and they may have greater leverage or trust among the conflicting parties. However, their involvement can also be complicated by their own strategic interests or historical entanglements in the conflict.

Table 1: Top mediators (number in brackets indicates events, neighbouring countries in bold)

Conflict	Top mediators				
Sudan	UN Secretary General [9]	African Union [7]	South Sudan [5]	Djibouti [3]	Kenya [3]
Syria	UN Secretary General [14]	Russia [6]	Turkey [5]	Iran [4]	Iraq [4]
Libya	UNSMIL [15]	USA [5]	Egypt [5]	League of Arab States [1]	France [1]
Yemen	OSESG-Yemen [10]	Oman [4]	Saudi Arabia [4]	ICRC [2]	France [1]
Israel+	Egypt [67]	USA [61]	Qatar [52]	France [7]	Russia [6]
Afghanistan	Austria [2]	Qatar [1]	EC [1]	Turkey [1]	

Graph 4: Mediators across the year



While the above identifies the most active mediators, it is equally important to evaluate whether their involvement contributes to successful outcomes—specifically, the achievement of an agreement among conflict parties.

3.4 Effective Mediators

Across the six conflict contexts, **Egypt and the United States emerged as the most effective mediators in 2024**, each contributing to four agreements (Table 2). Their cross-conflict engagement suggests these states are not only mediators but also regional power brokers with vested interests in stability and influence.

The United States played a key role in negotiations related to Israel (both related to its conflict with Hamas in Gaza and with Lebanon), Sudan, and Syria. These agreements pertained to ceasefires and aid deliveries.

Egypt played a pivotal role in agreements related to Libya, Sudan, and the Israel-Gaza conflicts. This pattern underscores Egypt's active diplomatic engagement within its immediate region, while also highlighting a strategic dilemma, as **all three conflicts are unfolding along its borders.**

With the notable exception of Libya, **the majority of agreements reached in 2024 were centered on humanitarian access, prisoner exchanges, and temporary ceasefires.** This trend highlights the urgent need to address immediate human suffering amid protracted conflicts. In this context, **humanitarian-focused mediators such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) have proven indispensable**—not only in facilitating life-saving aid but also in maintaining channels of communication when political negotiations falter or stall.

UN-affiliated actors—including the United Nations (UN), the United Nations Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL), the Office of the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for Yemen (OSESFY), and the United Nations Secretary-General (UNSG)—featured prominently across several agreements in 2024. **UN involvement was particularly notable in protracted conflicts such as Libya, Israel-Palestine, and Yemen, underscoring the UN’s sustained institutional presence in these contexts.** In Yemen and the Israel-Gaza conflict, UN-linked actors played a key role in facilitating humanitarian agreements. In Libya, UNSMIL was especially active in negotiations addressing the Central Bank crisis, reflecting its key role in supporting political stabilisation efforts.

The August 2024 ALPS (Aligned for Lifesaving and Peace in Sudan) Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan, which secured the reopening and expansion of critical aid routes, including the Western border crossing in Darfur at Adre and the Dabbah Road from Port Sudan, had the highest number of associated mediators (6), including the UN, African Union, Switzerland, the UAE, Egypt, and the United States.

Table 2: Effective mediators

Mediator	Number of Agreements	Conflicts	Agreements (Name, Date, Conflict)
Egypt	4	Israel+; Libya; Sudan	Agreement to form a technical committee concerned with amending the laws of the 6+6 committee (elections) (Libya, 10/03/2024); April 2024 Agreement on humanitarian access via Rafah (Israel, 22/04/2024); Joint statement by the House of Representatives and the High Council of State on elections and interim government (Libya, 18/07/2024); ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (Sudan, 23/08/2024)

United States	4	Israel+; Sudan; Syria	16 April 2024 Agreement on humanitarian access via Erez crossing (Israel, 14/04/2024); ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (Sudan, 23/08/2024); Announcement of a Cessation of Hostilities and Related Commitments on Enhanced Security Arrangements and Towards the Implementation of UNSCR 1701 (Israel, 26/11/2024); Ceasefire in Manbij (Syria, 12/12/2024)
ICRC	3	Sudan; Yemen	Addis Ababa Declaration between The Coordination Body of the Democratic Civil Forces (Taqaddum) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) (Sudan, 02/01/2024); Unilateral release of prisoners as a follow-up to the Agreement for the exchange of prisoners (6/12/2018) (Yemen, 26/05/2024); Preliminary agreement on release of government aligned political leader Mohamed Qahtan (Yemen, 06/07/2024)
UN	2	Israel+; Sudan	March 2024 Agreement on Cyprus-Gaza maritime humanitarian corridor (Israel, 12/03/2024); ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (Sudan, 23/08/2024)
UNSG	2	Israel+	April 2024 Agreement on humanitarian access via Rafah (Israel, 22/04/2024); One-sided agreement to secure access for humanitarian aid by SHRC (Israel, 11/09/2024)
OSESG-Yemen	2	Yemen	Preliminary agreement on release of government aligned political leader Mohamed Qahtan (Yemen, 06/07/2024); Statement by the Office of the UN Special Envoy for Yemen (Yemen, 23/07/2024)
UNSMIL	2	Libya	Understanding on the next steps to resolve the crisis around the Central Bank of Libya (Libya, 02/09/2024); Agreement on the Central Bank (Libya, 26/09/2024)
UNHRC	1	Sudan	Addis Ababa Declaration between The Coordination Body of the Democratic Civil Forces (Taqaddum) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) (Sudan, 02/01/2024)
IGAD	1	Sudan	Addis Ababa Declaration between The Coordination Body of the Democratic Civil Forces (Taqaddum) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) (Sudan, 02/01/2024)
Norway	1	Israel+	Agreement to facilitate a partial transfer of the monthly clearance revenues, not including the amount Israel pays the PA transfers to Gaza (Israel, 18/02/2024)

League of Arab States	1	Libya	Agreement to form a technical committee concerned with amending the laws of the 6+6 committee (elections) (Libya, 10/03/2024)
Cyprus	1	Israel+	March 2024 Agreement on Cyprus-Gaza maritime humanitarian corridor (Israel, 12/03/2024)
Oman	1	Yemen	Preliminary agreement on release of government aligned political leader Mohamed Qahtan (Yemen, 06/07/2024)
China	1	Israel+	Beijing Declaration on joint control and rebuilding of Gaza among Palestinian factions (Israel, 21/07/2024)
Switzerland	1	Sudan	ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (Sudan, 23/08/2024)
Saudi Arabia	1	Sudan	ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (Sudan, 23/08/2024)
United Arab Emirates	1	Sudan	ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (Sudan, 23/08/2024)
AU	1	Sudan	ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (Sudan, 23/08/2024)
France	1	Israel+	Announcement of a Cessation of Hostilities and Related Commitments on Enhanced Security Arrangements and Towards the Implementation of UNSCR 1701 (Israel, 26/11/2024)

3.5 Agreements

Across the six conflict contexts analysed, we added a total of 17 agreements to the MEND dataset in 2024, involving 19 unique mediators. The overwhelming majority of these agreements focused on humanitarian access and temporary ceasefires, underscoring the urgent imperative to alleviate human suffering amid protracted and often escalating violence—particularly in crisis zones such as Sudan, Yemen, and Gaza. As indicated in Table 3, conflicts involving Israel produced the most agreements, six of which relate to the conflict in Gaza and one to the conflict between Israel and Lebanon.

Table 3: Agreements 2024

Conflict	Number of Agreements	List of Agreements with Dates
Israel+	7	Agreement to facilitate a partial transfer of the monthly clearance revenues, not including the amount Israel pays the PA transfers to Gaza (18/02/2024); March 2024 Agreement on Cyprus–Gaza maritime humanitarian corridor (12/03/2024); April 2024 Agreement on humanitarian access via Erez crossing (14/04/2024); April 2024 Agreement on humanitarian access via Rafah (22/04/2024); Beijing Declaration on joint control and rebuilding of Gaza among Palestinian factions (21/07/2024); One-sided agreement to secure access for humanitarian aid by SHRC (11/09/2024); Announcement of a Cessation of Hostilities and Related Commitments on Enhanced Security Arrangements and Towards the Implementation of UNSCR 1701 (26/11/2024)
Libya	4	Agreement to form a technical committee concerned with amending the laws of the 6+6 committee (elections) (10/03/2024); Joint statement by the House of Representatives and the High Council of State on elections and interim government (18/07/2024); Understanding on the next steps to resolve the crisis around the Central Bank of Libya (02/09/2024); Agreement on the Central Bank (26/09/2024)
Yemen	3	Unilateral release of prisoners as a follow-up to the 2018 Agreement for the exchange of prisoners (26/05/2024); Preliminary agreement on release of government aligned political leader Mohamed Qahtan (06/07/2024); Statement by the Office of the UN Special Envoy for Yemen (23/07/2024)
Sudan	2	Addis Ababa Declaration between The Coordination Body of the Democratic Civil Forces (Taqaddum) and the Rapid Support Forces (RSF) (02/01/2024); ALPS Group Humanitarian Access Agreement in Sudan (23/08/2024)
Syria	1	Ceasefire in Manbij (12/12/2024)

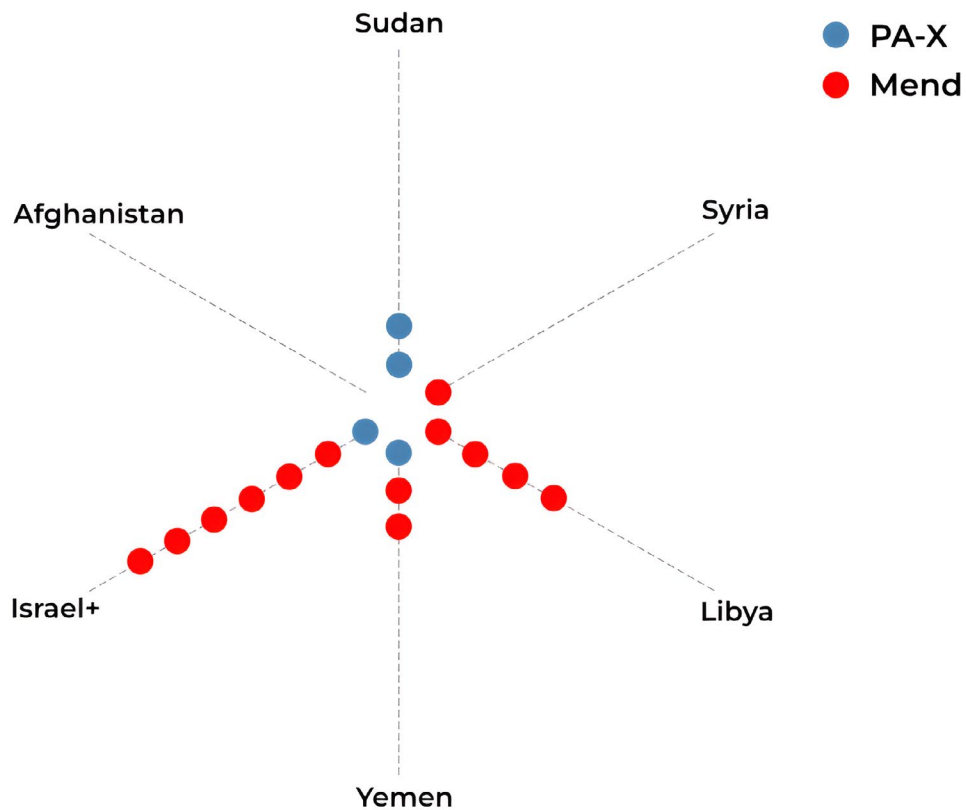
A significant portion of these arrangements are informal or unwritten. Rather than emerging from structured peace processes, they often result from ad hoc negotiations, backchannel diplomacy, or humanitarian necessity. This reflects a broader trend in contemporary conflict mediation, where formal legal agreements are increasingly rare, and pragmatic, short-term arrangements dominate the landscape.

Across the six conflict contexts, the PA-X dataset captures only four legal agreements involving third-party actors in 2024 (see Graph 5). While PA-X also includes agreements not involving third-parties, any agreement entering the PA-X dataset must be a formal and publicly available document (Bell and Badanjak, 2019). Many contemporary agreements do not meet this criteria, and the MEND dataset contributes an additional 13 agreements—many of which fall

outside traditional legal frameworks but nonetheless play a critical role in shaping humanitarian outcomes and sustaining minimal dialogue between parties.

As highlighted in Graph 5, Israel shows the highest number of agreements added in MEND, indicating a high volume of informal or non-legal arrangements. Sudan is the only context with agreements exclusively recorded in PA-X, reflecting more formalised peacemaking.

Graph 5: PA-X and MEND agreements 2024



4. Conclusions

The overview above offers insight into mediation efforts across six conflict-affected settings: Sudan, Syria, Libya, Yemen, Afghanistan, and Israel—encompassing related dynamics in Palestine/Gaza, Iran, and Lebanon. Drawing on the initial release of the MEND dataset, it becomes clear that the mediation landscape is becoming increasingly diversified and layered. Instead of being dominated by one region or key player, the field now exhibits a broader, more dynamic distribution of activity.

A snapshot of mediation activity in 2024 further underscores a shift away from formal, structured peace processes toward more immediate, pragmatic interventions addressing pressing issues. These often focus on urgent priorities such as ceasefires and the facilitation of humanitarian access. Many of these agreements are of a more informal nature, rather than codified in legal terms—highlighting the growing importance of documenting such arrangements alongside the formal agreements traditionally captured in datasets like PA-X.

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About PeaceRep

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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