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ABSTRACT

In 2000, The United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 actively promoted the inclusion of women and their perspectives in peace processes, as well as promoted a gender perspective in post-conflict recovery and institution building. The number of gender provisions in civil war peace agreements has increased since 2001 as a result, but not all such provisions serve the same purpose. In this study, we present a provision typology that divides gender provisions into those that seek to empower women and compare them to those that address conflict victimization. We suggest that the context under which the peace agreement takes place, and conditions of the conflict itself, should influence where empowerment and victimization provisions are employed if they are to have the type of impact sought by the UNSC and improve post-conflict outcomes. We test our propositions on all civil war peace agreements occurring between 1990-2018. Findings indicate that gender provisions designed to empower women are unlikely to emerge in societies where they are perhaps most needed. Comparatively, it appears there is less resistance to gender provisions aimed at addressing conflict-related victimization.

Introduction

More than 20 years after the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000), the international community continues to struggle to incorporate women's involvement, experiences, and concerns in peacebuilding processes. The landmark SC resolution recognized the unique impact conflict has on women and girls and called on conflict actors and other members of the international community to increase women's participation in peace processes and post-conflict situations (United Nations Security Council 2000). Since the adoption of UNSCR 1325, there has indeed been a growing emphasis on women's inclusion in peace processes and in incorporating gender provisions in peace agreements (Bell 2015). Bell and O'Rourke (2010) suggest women's inclusion in formal peace processes is attributable to the passage and implementation of UNSCR 1325. They observe that there has been a marked increase in gender provisions following the UN's landmark resolution: 12% of agreements between 1990 and 2000 included references to women, whereas 30% of agreements had these references post-2000. It appears also that the inclusion of gender provisions matters; peace agreements with such provisions lead to improved political rights for women in post-conflict environments (Reid 2021).

Despite their increasing frequency, however, gender concerns are regularly excluded from important peacebuilding measures such as ceasefires and peace agreements. For example, a diverse coalition of civil society representatives articulated the right to women's political

participation and representation on a constitutional committee in the statement of the Congress on the Syrian National Dialogue in January 2018.[1] Clearly, both of these principles are designed to encourage female political empowerment, as well as empower other marginalized groups, which would seem particularly important in Syria. According to Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (WPS), Syria ranks second to last on their WPS index measuring female status and empowerment with a 2021 score of .375 (just above Afghanistan's .278). Yet, these references to women's political participation did not make their way into a joint statement signed in May 2018 by Iran, Russia, and Turkey as guarantors of a ceasefire in Syria. This example signals that in dire situations where female empowerment may have been necessary to improve settlement outcomes, gender provisions may be sidelined by opposition to such societal progress.[2]

It is important to note, however, that not all gender provisions seek to improve agreement outcomes in the same way. In fact, the variances among gender provisions has yet to be explored. In this paper, we test what factors may predict the inclusion of gender provisions before outlining a novel typology of gender provisions that categorizes those provisions by their intent as one of two types: Empowerment or Victimization provisions. We suggest here that previous research has yet to explain the variation among gender provisions, and in particular, under what conditions they emerge. We suspect that certain gender provisions seem to find their way into only less controversial, and therefore, potentially less impactful situations. Understanding the context under which Empowerment versus Victimization provisions arise can help inform third party efforts to expand women's rights through peace processes.

In this paper, we offer a theory, rooted in the literature on civil wars and negotiations, to understand why some peace agreements reflect particular gender concerns, whereas others do not. We are particularly interested in learning whether or not certain gender provisions emerge in situations where they are most needed (i.e. in societies where support for women has been neglected). Further, we explain the methodology we use to develop a typology to code gender provisions as Empowerment or Victimization provisions and test whether differences in the state or the conflict circumstances affect provision inclusion in peace agreements.[3]

Literature Review

Previous research on gender provisions and civil war peace processes suggests that when peace agreements incorporate gender provisions, the prospects for enduring peace become more likely (Reid 2021; Stone 2014). Further, when gender provisions are included in peace agreements, post-conflict societies do indeed become more gender equitable on average (True and Riveros-Morales 2019). Other studies find post-conflict peacebuilding efforts are generally more effective in societies that hold higher levels of female empowerment and political participation than societies where women have lower social status and participation levels. In these societies, where women have higher levels of political opportunity and participation, UN Peacekeeping operations have been more successful compared to those in countries where women hold a lower social status (Gizelis 2009).

Women's representation in political office is an important reflection of women's agency and ability to voice their concerns; this empowerment could translate into greater demands for women's rights and other gender provisions in a peace deal. Previous work provides guidance on understanding when gender provisions are likely to find their way into civil war peace agreements. Research by True and Riveros-Morales (2019) found that in countries with higher levels of parliament and civil society representation, gender provisions are indeed more likely. Women's participation in local organizations, such as NGOs and civil society organizations, are crucial for women's empowerment at a local and state-level. Still, women's activism in civil society organizations depends on their socioeconomic position, the structure of their family relations, and

access to state institutions (Paffenholz, 2015). Still, men hold the majority of positions in these organizations, which can ensure women's civil society group voices go largely unheard, as these links often remain weak.

A society's ability to design encompassing political institutions with participating civil society actors would seem to foster a more successful peace post-conflict even when prior gender participation is lacking. This is the case of some post-conflict African countries. Tripp (2015) found that when compared to non-post-conflict countries, post-conflict African countries, specifically those that experience civil conflicts, particularly those that were intense and more enduring, were those most likely to see drastic institutional changes for women drafted through formal peace agreements which result in a more enduring peace and a stable society. These post-conflict societies hold higher rates of female political representation and women's rights reforms because of the mechanisms implemented through the peace-building processes. Hughes (2009) found that certain types of conflict were more likely than others to produce women's political gains in war's aftermath. Rwanda, for example, is the world leader for the number of women in parliament following their reconstruction process in the 1990s, something facilitated by shifts in the view of women as political actors and the encouragement of female connections with the state by external actors (Berry 2015). Hudson (2009) reaffirms the necessity of post-conflict reconstruction to address women in the peace process and after through female political participation to decrease the likelihood of conflict recurrence.

The presence of gender provisions in civil war peace agreements appears also to be a function of third-party mediators. Civil wars are challenging to resolve without third-party assistance due to asymmetric power structures that deter governments from engaging in good faith negotiations (Olson Lounsbery and Cook 2011; Keels and Grieg 2019; Melin and Svensson 2009). While a negotiated outcome is unlikely to emerge when parties are not yet ready to seek an alternative to violence,[4] third-party assisted negotiations (i.e. mediation) can help facilitate communication and help to overcome trust issues when parties are indeed ready to consider mediation. The success of mediation in moving parties toward a peace agreement appears to vary depending on a number of factors, including mediator leverage (Reid 2017), relative rebel strength (Clayton 2013), and mediator type (Svensson 2007, 2009; Gartner 2011), among others. When mediation is successful, those agreements do appear to include more provisions generally than unassisted negotiations (Olson Lounsbery and DeRouen, 2018).

The United Nations, charged with 'maintaining international peace and security,' is, as a result, an active civil war mediator.[5] The literature on mediation/international law suggests that the United Nations will promote certain policies at the negotiating table, and may be necessary to overcome an unwillingness by internal actors to widen the negotiating circle and include a gendered perspective (Wanis-St. John and Kew 2008). Further, UN personnel are trained to promote these norms and ideas while negotiating the peaceful resolution of disputes; therefore, UN involvement will make all types of gender provisions more likely. Prior work has found that gender provisions are more likely in processes in which the United Nations was a signatory or declaratory to the peace agreement (Bell and O'Rourke 2010; Bell 2015). The link between UN participation and a consideration of women's inclusion suggests that UN advocacy is key to the diffusion of this norm within peacebuilding practices. UN representatives can act as advocates for victims, using the lessons learned from other conflict processes to ensure that victims are acknowledged and that their needs are addressed.

The United Nations has been a strong promoter of women's inclusion following UNSCR 1325 and the subsequent nine Women, Peace and Security (WPS) resolutions. There are now a total of 10 resolutions consisting of the WPS agenda: Security Council Resolutions 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2008), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), 2122 (2013), 2242 (2015), 2467 (2019), and 2493 (2019). For example, Resolution 1889 (2009) urges states to include women in political and economic decision making throughout the peacebuilding process, and Resolution 2122 (2013) emphasizes the

importance of gender provisions in all UN mission mandates and in peacebuilding activities, including elections, demobilization, reintegration, and security sector reforms such as increasing women in peacekeeping (UN Women 2017). The UN's Sustaining Peace Agenda reaffirmed the importance of women's rights to international peace and security by acknowledging the vital role of UN partnerships with women's civil society organizations (Ponzio 2018). Nathan (2020) has made clear the importance of mediation mandates and UNSC resolutions in guiding the work of mediators and the types of provisions they must pursue.

In addition to the promotion of gender provisions by the United Nations, it appear that the presence of female signatories improves the chances that gender provisions will be included in the agreement as well (Krause, Krause, and Bränfors 2018). Further, the presence of women in peace processes as witnesses, signatories, mediators, and/or negotiators makes it 20 percent more likely a peace agreement will last two years and 35 percent more likely that it will be an enduring peace (O'Reilly et al. 2015). Despite UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions, including women in peace processes continues to be a challenging endeavor (Ellerby 2016). Aggestam and Towns (2019) note that 85% of all ambassadors, 97% of those engaged in international mediation, and 95% of all international negotiators are men. Female presence in international diplomacy is clearly lacking; supporting women's perspectives seems to require significant external support (Reimann 2013; Saiget 2016). When women are included, and they are able to truly influence the negotiation, peace agreements do appear to embrace more transformative qualities (Paffenholz et al. 2016).

Finally, previous work by Bell and McNicholl (2019) suggests that agreements with power sharing provisions are more likely to include gender considerations as well. An agreement with power-sharing provisions reflects a concern for the inclusion of marginalized individuals and groups, such as minority political parties or religious minorities. Such agreements may be more likely to extend this principle of inclusivity to women, as well. The literature presented here provides some insight into how and why gender consideration makes its way into civil war peace agreements but does little to understand what types of such provisions are included, and importantly, if they match the needs of the conflict and/or the society.

Gender Provision Typology

Peace processes provide a unique opportunity to move a society toward a more positive peace – one that addresses underlying grievances and inequitable relationships improving society in the process (Paffenholz and Ross 2015).[6] In order to do so, agreements may include a number of different provisions aimed at mitigating grievances and empowering previously discriminated groups. These types of provisions tend to involve power-sharing mechanisms, such as political power-sharing arrangements, integrated military and police forces, and/or autonomous arrangements (DeRouen, Lea, and Wallensteen 2009). Peace processes and resulting agreements must also deal with conflict-related issues that emerge as a direct result of the war itself. It is not uncommon to see provisions that address human rights violations, for example.

We see a similar dichotomy in gender provisions. Norms relating to empowerment in peace processes have expanded to include women. While women themselves may not serve as an identity group that mobilizes cohesively and takes up arms against their government in an effort to address societal grievances aimed at them specifically,[7] research suggests that female empowered societies are less war prone (Caprioli and Boyer 2001; Caprioli 2005; Melander 2005). It is not surprising that peace process practitioners have also embraced power-sharing mechanisms that aim to increase the presence of women actors in governing and social structures. For example, when adopting its 2005 constitution, Burundi required that the government would be comprised of 60% Hutu Ministers/Vice-Ministers and no more than 40% Tutsi Ministers/Vice-Ministers. At least 30% of all ministers were to be women (Article 129, Burundi Constitution, cited in Jamar 2017).

Women have also been empowered through newly created institutions. In the final 2015 Colombian peace agreement, a gender sub-commission was created to ensure 'an adequate gender approach on the agreements reached and on an eventual final agreement' (Joint Communique, Havana, 5 August 2014). These types of provisions seek to improve female representation in political and societal institutions and/or in the peace process itself. In doing so, the aim of such provisions is to empower women in the post-conflict environment and governing structures.

Of course, not all provisions aim to empower or addressing underlying grievances. Civil wars are particularly destructive to the societies in which they rage. It is not at all uncommon for civilians to be targeted and human rights violations to occur as a civil war ebbs and flows over time (Wood and Kathman 2013). Whether indiscriminate violence is motivated by opportunistic troops in search of lootable resources (Weinstein 2007; Beardsley and McQuinn 2009), or it is employed as a strategy to improve their bargaining position (Hultman 2007, 2009; Kydd and Walter 2006), the result is a level of victimization that will require significant healing and accountability.

According to Wessells (2007), psychosocial intervention is necessary to move post-war societies toward peace and prevent future terrorism. The experience of ethnic cleansing, rape, and genocide becomes a part of the historical memory of one's experience in the conflict, which results in socially constructed identities that reflect that victimization. As a result, discussions occurring in civil war peace processes may (*should*) turn toward mechanisms to deal with such atrocities in order for the healing process to begin. In 2000, an agreement aimed at ending the Georgia-Abkhazia conflict created a commission to engage in real search activities to find missing persons who were abducted during the conflict (see the Statement of the State Commissions of Abkhazia and Georgia on Search for the Persons Missing without Trace, 7/11/2000). Similarly, the 2003 Accra peace agreement over the civil war in Liberia included provisions that provided for the rehabilitation of war victims noting women and children in particular. Neither of these provisions were designed to improve the political or societal status of women, but instead, they aim to address victimization that emerged during the course of war. Both empowerment and victimization provisions seek to avoid civil war recurrence, but the former aims to do so through altering/improving societal power structures, while the latter does so through acknowledgement and proposing mechanisms for healing.

Explaining the Type of Gender Provision Inclusion in Civil War Peace Agreements: Hypotheses

The promotion of gender provisions, based on the text of UNSC 1325, is designed to increase the representation of women in decision-making in order to improve agreement outcomes (recommendation 1). Previous work suggests that efforts to make more room at the negotiating table is challenged by mediator and actor preferences to focus intently on armed belligerents (Paffenholz et al. 2016). Further, in the interest of stopping the violence, mediators tend to focus on immediate grievances that led to the dispute (Paffenholz and Ross 2015). Provisions that promote female empowerment require negotiators to think long term, while also seeking to change current power structures and norms, but also require primary conflict actors to be receptive to their suggestions.

Embracing empowerment provisions would appear to be particularly challenging in societies where women's rights have been explicitly curtailed. For example, according to the Women, Peace and Security Index (Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security 2019/20), Syria ranks 165 out of 167 countries included in the study for women's level of peace and security. The challenges of including gender provisions in the Syrian case have already been discussed above. The two countries that have worse rankings than Syria are Afghanistan (.373 index score) and Yemen (.351 index score). Both countries are in the midst of lengthy, deadly civil wars as well.

The New York Times, July 4, 2021, US Leaves Its Last Afghan Base, Effectively Ending Operations). The decision was made after nearly two years of peace talks where women were largely excluded from the negotiations. When the United States made the decision to intervene in Afghanistan following the 9/11 attacks, it did so with significant international support. The international

community was eager to address perceived injustices under Taliban rule, and in particular, the treatment of women (Human Rights Watch 2009). Reports of schools for girls reopening, women returning to work, and female political representation followed. Talks between the Taliban, the recognized US-supported Afghan government, and the United States emerged. While some women were present due to the demands of the international community and advocates within Afghanistan, their presence at the talks was largely ignored. Further, it appears that violence against women, particularly advocacy groups, increased at that time. The year 2020 marked the highest women casualties recorded – having tripled from 2019 (Rahmaty 2021). Excluding or ignoring women and civil society actors from the previous negotiations risked future female empowerment, as well as the rights of women in the post-U.S. withdrawal environment in Afghanistan.

Peace negotiations emerging in countries with low levels of women's rights are unlikely to see gender concerns that make their way into resulting peace agreements because doing so would be in stark contrast to existing power structures and norms. For example, the Taliban's recent edicts include a mandate that women cover their faces in public (The Guardian, May 7, 2022, Taliban Order all Afghan women to Cover their Faces in Public). Internal resistance to such female empowerment and a predominately patriarchal society remain significant obstacles. While the United States continues to pressure those involved in the negotiations to include female voices, having removed themselves as a warring party will in essence diminish whatever influence they had in this regard. Both Afghanistan and Syria serve as examples of cases where gender provisions are needed yet remain elusive.

Some conflict societies will, however, have higher levels of female political participation. Pre-existing levels of women's political rights will mean that a peace agreement is more likely to contain women's empowerment provisions. This is because in these societies, women will have had more practice at asserting their rights and holding leadership roles. As such, their inclusion will appear less risky and less offensive to the current power structure. Secondly, women's political rights may reflect other widely shared norms and values in society that will make it more likely that the conflict parties, as well as national governments and civil society, advocate for the inclusion of women's rights provisions in peace agreements. Higher levels of women's legislative representation made gender provisions more likely in prior tests (True and Riveros-Morales 2019).

Women may also organize collectively as a result of the civil war experience and seek to improve their representation in the process. According to Itto (2006), women in Sudan organized into groups, networks, and NGOs in order to gain international attention for resolution efforts, but also to influence the peace agreement. As a result of their efforts, demands for women's representation in civil service, legislative, and executive levels of government was part of the dialogue. Their lack of political power, and perceptions of their role, meant that gender quotas were dropped entirely. Women in Sudan simply did not have the political clout and influence necessary to play an active role in a society where their prior involvement was limited. As a result, we propose here that gender provisions that emerge in societies with female representation are likely to further increase female empowerment through peace agreements, and unfortunately, those societies without it, will continue in that vein. We present the following hypothesis based on this argument:

H1. *Empowerment* provisions are more likely in civil conflict states that have higher levels of female political participation.

Civil wars can be more or less violent (Pettersson, et al. 2019). Some ebb and flow at fairly low levels of intensity for some time. Comparatively, others can spark intense violence rather quickly. Similarly, some civil conflicts will experience significantly higher levels of civilian victimization over others. Pervasive violence, particularly that which is indiscriminate, means an increased chance that women and girls experience that violence directly. This could be a function of simple chance, or it may be by design, as noted earlier. Indiscriminate violence, like that occurring in Burma/Myanmar during the 'Four Cuts' policy in the 1960s,[8] meant the destruction of entire towns, including any

people that remained. The policy was designed to terrorize everyone that might have ties to the KNU rebel faction, but women became victims as well when widespread sexual violence was employed (Amnesty International 2017; Fishbein, Nu Lusan, and Vahpual 2021). Comparatively, in the Bosnian War of the 1990s, women were specifically targeted by Serbs through deliberate attempts to ethnically cleanse Bosnia-Herzegovina of Muslims (Dahlburg 2000). Rape was used as tool of ethnic cleansing in the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, as well as in Bangladesh and Rwanda (Sharlach 2000). Pinaud (2020) goes further to assert that rape is being used as a means of genocide in the current conflicts in South Sudan. Higher levels of female victimization in both situations would seem to necessitate efforts through the peace process to promote healing and accountability, as well as support reconciliation processes.

Unlike with empowerment provisions, healing/victimization provisions are less threatening to current political/societal power structures. When conflicts are significantly intense, transitional justice mechanisms are more likely to emerge post-conflict (Reiter, Olsen, and Payne 2013). Transitional justice processes and mechanisms are designed to hold perpetrators of abuses accountable, while also assisting in the healing process for victims (Anderlini, Camille, and Kays 2004). We suggest that demands to address atrocities tend to arise in conflicts with more indiscriminate violence than others. Indiscriminate violence, also known as one-sided violence, refers to conflict situations in which civilians become targets (Otto 2013). International norms relating to human rights promote the inclusion of transitional justice mechanisms as a necessary step towards reconciliation (see UNSC S/2004/616). This is particularly necessary to avoid conflict recurrence (UN Rule of Law 2010).

Through the use of transitional justice mechanisms, the healing process can begin. While not all indiscriminate violence targets women specifically, the indiscriminate nature of such violence suggests that women will be targets nonetheless, either by design or by chance. Indeed, the United Nations offered specific guidance to encourage peacebuilders to ensure women's rights in any transitional justice process, noting the importance of consulting women to determine their priorities and urging peacebuilders to recognize gender inequality as a pervasive form of social inequality that can make women more vulnerable to conflict-related harms, such as sexual and gender-based violence (United Nations 2010: 5). We suggest here that peace processes for conflicts with higher levels of indiscriminate violence will necessitate provisions to specifically assist women as their victimization experience tends to be different than that of men. Sexual violence, a fairly frequent form of female victimization in war, has been referred to as 'a violent manifestation of a patriarchal culture and gender inequalities' and is 'arguably the most gendered type of violence' (Kreft 2019: 220). To ignore the healing and accountability needs of women in the face of high levels of indiscriminate violence runs counter to prevailing human rights norms.

Further, even in societies where women are largely absent from positions of power, the inclusion of gender provisions aimed at addressing female victimization is less risky and/or controversial than are provisions that aim at increasing women's political power. While empowerment provisions may feel threatening, and therefore, run into internal challenges, we expect that victimization provisions (i.e. transitional justice provisions) will experience less internal challenge and be more likely to find their way into peace agreement text when human rights violations have been particularly acute, in other words, where they are most needed. To consider this possibility, we present the following hypothesis:

H2: *Victimization* provisions are more likely in civil conflicts with higher levels of civilian victimization.

While we expect that indiscriminate violence will necessitate victimization provision inclusion, we suggest also that societal characteristics are an important consideration as well. An important driver of women's rights in a peace agreement is the pre-existing level of women's participation in civil society organizations. We suggest that pre-existing levels of women's political and civic participation

will promote the inclusion of gender provisions in the peace accords. In many conflict zones, women may be marginalized and excluded from traditional centers of power, such as the legislature or the executive. However, women have been perhaps over-represented in civil society organizations – groups that exist in the space between the family and the state, including trade unions, nonprofit associations, community groups, and faith groups. In the Northern Ireland context, as well as in places such as post-conflict Liberia, women's organizations have offered a place where women of various faiths and ethnic groups can work together for a common purpose. In describing the community development work of women in Northern Ireland prior to, and following, the Good Friday Agreement in 1998, Amanda Donahoe (2017) observes that civil society work gave women leverage in a way that they did not achieve through formal political representation. The so-called 'wee women's work' of community development is 'interpreted as an extension of traditional roles,' and thus, 'allow(s) women to navigate through the constraints of a gendered public space to seek change that does not threaten the political status quo' (3). Civil society can be particularly important in post-conflict, divided societies, due to its ability to promote common community interests and goals. Comparatively, when civil society inclusion is lacking, the negotiating circle tends to involve only the positions of the belligerents and will lack perspectives that embrace women's needs (Wanis-St. John and Kew 2008).

The relationship between gender violence in the midst of conflict and gendered civil society actors may actually be bidirectional. According to Otto (Kreft 2019), women's civic groups may actually organize in response to high levels of gendered violence in war. In doing so, such groups seek to address that victimization. Collective efforts are likely to pay off, particularly compared to societies where women's civic groups are not mobilized. Thus, we suggest that levels of women's civil society participation will act as another means of women's empowerment and translate into greater demands from women constituents during peace talks. This should then lead to an articulation of these demands through civil society representatives, who may act as observers or send a formal delegate as a signatory to the peace process. Countries in which women have a tradition of engaging in civil society mean that women's groups have a history of organizing around grassroots concerns, such as food security and access to education. This history of democratic involvement will mean that at a crucial moment, such as peace talks, women's organizations will be more likely to assert their claims, address grievances, and call upon conflict parties and the transition government to address the needs of marginalized peoples or vulnerable groups (True and Riveros-Morales 2019). We suspect that such groups will be particularly motivated to encourage victimization provisions in peace agreements when such provisions are needed. As a result, we propose the following hypothesis relating to victimization provisions:

H3. *Victimization* provisions are more likely in civil conflict states that have higher levels of female civil society participation.

Methodology

In order to examine the hypotheses presented above, all civil war peace agreements were identified by UCDP in the Peace Agreement Dataset (Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen 2006; Högbladh 2011) for the 1990-2018 time period. In order to be considered a peace agreement, there must be an agreement signed by at least two warring parties involved in a conflict identified by the Armed Conflict Database (Gleditsch et al. 2002). The unit of analysis for the study is the peace agreement, of which there were 231 identified for analysis.[9]

Our two dependent variables of interest are the two types of gender provisions described earlier. We first identify gender provision inclusion (GeWom). In order to identify which agreements include these types of provisions, we utilize both the Peace Agreement Database project (Pa-X) and the Gender Peace Agreement Database project (Gender Pa-X) which contains provision information for over 1500 agreements in 140 peace processes. Each peace agreement identified in the UCDP data was matched by name and date to an agreement in the Pa-X database. Doing so allowed us to identify whether an agreement included gender provisions, and if so, which provisions. In the rare instance when a UCDP agreement could not be located in the Pa-X data, we coded the agreement ourselves through examining the text and through other news and scholarly sources discussing the text of the agreement. Using this approach, we were able to identify whether or not a peace agreement 'specifically address[ed] women, their inclusion, and their rights,' including 'references to girls, widows, mothers, sexual violence (or forms thereof), gender violence, UNSC 1325 or CEDAW, lactating women' (Bell et al. 2018, 19). Of the total 231 agreements, 91 (39.39%) included *Gender Provisions*.[10]

Of the gender provisions identified in peace agreements, each was coded to indicate whether the agreement included victimization provisions and/or empowerment provisions using Gender Pa-X provision identification. The Gender Pa-X dataset identifies eleven different categories of gender provisions with forty-two subcategories within (see the Women and Peace Agreements Codebook for a list of all subcategories). These categories are the following:

(1) Participation
(2) Equality
(3) References to Particular Groups of Women
(4) International Law
(5) New Institutions
(6) Violence Against Women
(7) Transitional Justice
(8) Institutional Reform
(9) Development
(10) Implementation
(11) Other

Many of the categories, and therefore, provisions identified as falling within these categories, aim to address any inequalities and lack of political participation that may exist within the society or in the implementation of the agreement. We consider the following to be *empowerment* provisions: Participation, Equality, References to Particular Groups of Women, Institutional Reform, Development and Implementation. These are provisions designed to expand political power or provide mechanisms that give women voice in society and politics. Comparatively, several categories specifically focus on addressing *victimization* during the conflict through the accountability and/or healing processes. These include International Law, Violence Against Women, and Transitional Justice. One category was divided in terms of intent, and therefore, type. Provisions that are designed to create New Institutions included subcategories of Institutions for Women, Infrastructure, and Reconciliation/Peace Processes. We considered the first two to empowerment provisions, while the final subcategory addresses victimization. There were 44 (19.05%) agreements with victimization provisions, 82 (35.5%) agreements with empowerment provisions, and 36 (15.6%) with both types.

Our first independent variable of interest is *female political participation*. We expect that empowerment provisions will be more likely when political participation by women is already fairly high. The *Women's Political Participation Index* is identified by the V-Dem project, which considers the

power distribution by gender and percentage of lower chamber female legislators (Coppedge et al. 2019; Sundstrom, et al. 2015).

Our second variable of interest, *civilian victimization*, is thought to predict the inclusion of victimization provisions in civil war peace agreements. To account for this possibility, we include the level of one-sided violence as a predictor of such provisions. UCDP's One-sided Violence dataset is used to identify one-sided violence by conflict year (Pettersson, et al. 2019; Eck and Hultiman 2007). Just over half (56.72%) of the peace agreements occurred in conflicts with one-sided violence. The mean number of one-sided violence victims was 1,518 with a standard deviation of 2,757. As a result, the *cumulative one-sided violence* prior to the agreement was logged to control for skewness.

We suspect also that the presence of victimization provisions are more likely when civil society groups are active to promote the interests of women. The *Women's Civil Society Participation Index* measures the percent of female journalists in print and broadcast media, the levels of freedom of discussion for women, and civil society organization participation for women. These data are drawn from the V-Dem: Varieties of Democracy data (Coppedge et al. 2019).

Control Variables

To account for other factors thought to influence the inclusion of gender provisions, we include several relevant control variables in our models. These factors relate to the conflict and the peace agreement itself, and include the following:

> *UN mediator* – In light of the various Security Council resolutions highlighted earlier aimed at improving the inclusion of women in peace processes, we expect that UN involvement in civil war mediation will likely seek to include gender provisions of all types, but in particular, empowerment provisions given this focus in the UNSCR 1325. UN mediator is a dichotomous variable coded as '1' when a representative of the United Nations was present during negotiations as indicated by the UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset. We include also *non-UN mediators*, or mediated agreements without UN assistance, in order to compare the impact across those two mediator types.

Power-sharing Provisions – Previous work has focused intently on the benefits of power-sharing provisions in promoting last peace (Hartzell and Hoddie 2007). We include the presence of power-sharing provisions in our models to account for the possibility that agreements with such provisions will be more inclusive than those without. Power-sharing is coded in the UCDP Peace Agreement dataset (Högbladh 2011). *Africa* – It has been found that post-conflict African countries tend to make the most constitutional and legislative changes with regard to women's rights, as well as hold higher rates of female legislative representation (Tripp 2015). In part, this may be due to the push by the United Nations to promote gender inclusivity in the peacebuilding process, as the United Nations tends to be brought in to mediate the end to the armed conflict if states or regional organizations should fail to do so (Wallensteen and Svensson 2014). Because of this distinctiveness of African conflicts to be mediated, we generated a dichotomous variable to identify peace agreements occurring in African conflicts. There were 130 (54.62%) African cases examined. The remaining cases were in Asia (41, or 17.23%), Europe (17, or 7.14%), the Western Hemisphere (41, or 17.23%), and the Middle East (9, or 3.78%).

Territorial Conflicts – We control for the possibility that the incompatibility of the conflict may influence provision type by identifying territorial conflicts using the incompatibility measure of the Armed Conflict Data (Gleditsch et al. 2002).

Democracy – We predict that states that are democratic will be more open to including gender provisions in their peace agreements. To control for this possibility, the variable democracy is coded

as '1' when Polity2 scores drawn from the updated Polity V Dataset fall within the 6-10 range (Marshall and Gurr 2020).

Gross Domestic Product per Capita – We control for the possibility that a state's economic development may influence prospects for gender provisions in peace agreements using GDP/capita as a proxy measure for economic development. These data are drawn from Spencer, et al. (2012) for the 1950-2015 time period.

Type of Peace Agreement – We would expect that full peace agreements (i.e. those that address most or all of the underlying conflict grievances) would be more likely to include gender provisions due to their comprehensive nature over partial agreements. To account for this possibility, we include a dichotomous measure that indicates if an agreement was considered a full agreement by Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen (2006), 2011).

Female Combatants – When women are themselves involved in fighting, it would seem that they might also be more likely to engage in end-of-conflict discussions. We use the Women in Combat Data (WARD) created by Wood and Thomas (2017) who identify conflict dyads that include women and girls as combatants, coded dichotomously.

Conflict Duration – Conflict duration could influence provisions included in a peace agreement. As a result, we include a measure of time from the start of the conflict onset (identified using the ACD data of Gleditsch et al. (2002) to the signing of the peace agreement (identified in the Peace Agreement Dataset of Harbom, Högbladh, and Wallensteen (2006) and Högbladh (2011) to calculate conflict duration. This measure is logged to address skewness.

In order to test our hypotheses, we employ logit regression to account for the dichotomous nature of our two outcome variables. We cluster standard errors on the conflict to account for any panel effects in multiple and subsequent peace agreements occurring within the same conflict. We also present substantive impacts of statistically significant variables by presenting probability shifts, which were generating using the average marginal effects of our independent variables on the probability of occurrence in our dependent variable.[11] Variance inflation factor scores and correlation matrices were used to avoid biased estimates as a result of multicollinearity. Summary statistics for all variables are included in online Appendix.

Findings

Before we test our hypotheses, we first present models with all of our independent and control variables predicting Gender Provision Inclusion (all types). Women's participation in politics and in civil society are, not surprisingly, highly correlated. As a result, their impact is measured in separate models, with Model 1 (full model)[12] and Model 2 (parsimonious model)[13] including women's political participation as a key predictor, and Model 3 (full model) and Model 4 (parsimonious model) including women's civil society index. Without consideration of gender provision type, it appears that when peace agreements occur in societies with higher levels of female political participation, gender provisions are more likely to be included. Comparatively, women's civil society index is a less robust predictor of gender provisions. It appears also that higher levels of victimization (one-sided violence) leads to gender provision inclusion, as does UN mediation and power-sharing arrangements. We recognize that UN mediation is not robust in Model 4 suggesting that higher levels of female political representation may be necessary as well.

Table 1 presents models testing our expectation that despite the necessity of gender provision that empower women in societies where their political representation has been limited, such provisions are more likely to emerge in peace agreements that occur in states with higher existing levels of female political representation (hypothesis 1). The bivariate, full, and parsimonious model confirm our expectations, and again, higher levels of one-sided violence, UN mediation, and power-

Table 1. Logit estimations predicting empowerment provisions.

	(1) Empowerment	(2) Empowerment	(3) Empowerment	(4) Empowerment
Women's Pol Participation	3.096** [1.026]	4.083* [1.646]	4.865** [1.293]	4.808** [1.257]
OSV		0.000176* [0.0000796]	0.000163* [0.0000635]	0.000158* [0.0000651]
UN		0.882+ [0.475]	0.936** [0.352]	
Power-sharing		0.868* [0.417]	1.427** [0.371]	1.466** [0.374]
Africa		−0.332 [0.780]		
Territory		−0.307 [0.697]		
Democracy		−0.182 [0.816]		
GDP/pc		0.0000131 [0.0000587]		
Full agmt		0.757 [0.558]		
Female Combatants		0.358 [0.635]		
Non-UN mediator				−0.690+ [0.378]
_cons	−2.827** [0.790]	−4.646** [1.376]	−5.000** [1.103]	−4.326** [1.032]
N	230	195	230	230

Standard errors in brackets
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01

sharing arrangements are associated with gender considerations, in particular empowerment provisions. We also present Model 4 replacing UN mediators with mediated agreements without UN representation. Those agreements are *less* likely to include empowerment provisions demonstrating that gender advocacy generally does not extend beyond UN efforts.

Findings testing both hypotheses 2 and 3 are presented in Table 2, and both appear to be confirmed. Higher levels of one-sided violence not only increase the chances that women's considerations will be included in civil war peace agreements (Table 3), but they improve specifically the probability of provisions that help address female victimization through healing and accountability mechanisms. The variable is statistically significant and robust across all models. It appears also that higher levels of women's civil society representation improves the likelihood of victimization provisions as well. Power-sharing provisions and UN mediation both indicate that victimization provisions are more likely, though UN mediation is not robust in Model 2. The presence of female combatants is included in the parsimonious model because its inclusion improves the model, but it is not statistically significant.

We generated the average marginal effects to determine the substantive impacts of our statistically significant independent variables on the occurrence of empowerment and victimization gender provisions. Probability shifts are based on the parsimonious models. The base probability of empowerment gender provision inclusion in a peace agreement is .352. One standard deviation shift in women's political participation increases the probability of empowerment provisions by nearly 21%. Mediation by the UN increases the baseline probability of gender provisions by .18 (or 18%), whereas non-UN mediators decrease the probability by .12 (12%) (a finding based on Model 4). One standard deviation shift in one-sided violence increases the probability of gender provisions by .09 (or 9%). Finally, when power-sharing provisions are included in the agreement, the probability of gender specific empowerment provisions increases even more by 28%.

Table 2. Logit estimations predicting gender provisions (All gender provisions).

	(1) Gender Provisions	(2) Gender Provisions	(3) Gender Provisions	(4) Gender Provisions
Women's Pol Participation	4.351** [1.514]	4.699** [1.104]		
OSV	0.000199* [0.0000864]	0.000178* [0.0000698]	0.000156* [0.0000709]	0.000155** [0.0000586]
UN	0.983+ [0.506]	0.927* [0.373]	0.920+ [0.501]	0.629 [0.418]
Power-sharing	1.100* [0.460]	1.421** [0.370]	0.824+ [0.481]	1.085** [0.367]
Africa	−0.202 [0.748]		0.224 [0.684]	
territory	−0.206 [0.665]		−0.214 [0.735]	
Democracy	−0.0907 [0.804]		0.397 [0.756]	
GDP/pc	0.00000260 [0.0000583]		0.00000456 [0.0000628]	
Full agmt	0.468 [0.558]		0.425 [0.563]	
Female Combatants	0.179 [0.611]		0.685 [0.601]	
Women's Civil Society Index			2.034 [1.841]	2.151+ [1.153]
_cons	−4.703** [1.239]	−4.685** [0.944]	−3.368** [1.284]	−2.341** [0.826]
N	195	230	195	230

Standard errors in brackets
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01

Victimization provisions have a lower baseline prediction of .167 compared to empowerment provisions. A one standard deviation shift in both one-sided violence levels and women's civil society participation increases the probability that a peace agreement will include victimization provisions by about 10%. UN mediation and power-sharing arrangements improve the probability of victimization provisions occurring by 13.6% and 13.2% respectively. All probability analyses are included in the online Appendix, but Figures 1-9 illustrate the impact of these shifts.

Conclusion and Implications

The research presented here coincides with previous work in demonstrating that twenty years after UNSCR 1325, there is still a significant amount of work to be done in order to make real change and improvement in women's experience in post-civil war environments. While there has been an increase in the number of gender provisions in peace agreement texts, we demonstrate here that those provisions do not necessarily apply in states where women's political access has been particularly curtailed. By disaggregating gender provisions into those that seek to empower women and comparing them to those that aim to address victimization experiences in the midst of conflict, it seems clear that empowering provisions are limited to societies where women already have higher levels of political access and representation. In societies that are resistant to female empowerment, it appears that negotiations leading to civil war peace agreements are unable to make much headway to shift societal norms related to women. This suggests that efforts to increase women's agency may actually have the unintended consequence of creating a larger gap between societies where women have some level of political power and those where they have very little to none.

Table 3. Logit estimates predicting victimization provisions.

	(1) Victimization	(2) Victimization	(3) Victimization	(4) Victimization
OSV	0.000255**	0.000263**	0.000259**	0.000240**
	[0.0000572]	[0.0000772]	[0.0000616]	[0.0000528]
Women's Civil	3.241**	4.491*	4.034**	3.647*
Society Ind	[1.215]	[1.856]	[1.464]	[1.429]
UN		1.080	1.110+	
		[0.693]	[0.627]	
Power-sharing		1.082*	0.950*	0.983*
		[0.542]	[0.453]	[0.492]
Africa		−0.0738		
		[0.825]		
Territory		−0.376		
		[1.097]		
Democracy		0.730		
		[0.931]		
GDP/pc		−0.0000936		
		[0.0000927]		
Full agmt		−0.167		
		[0.570]		
Female		0.937	1.015	0.915
Combatants		[0.764]	[0.699]	[0.701]
Non-UN mediator				−0.665
				[0.477]
_cons	−3.848**	−5.966**	−5.908**	−4.859**
	[0.824]	[1.335]	[1.308]	[1.028]
N	230	195	198	198

Standard errors in brackets
+ p < 0.10, * p < 0.05, ** p < 0.01
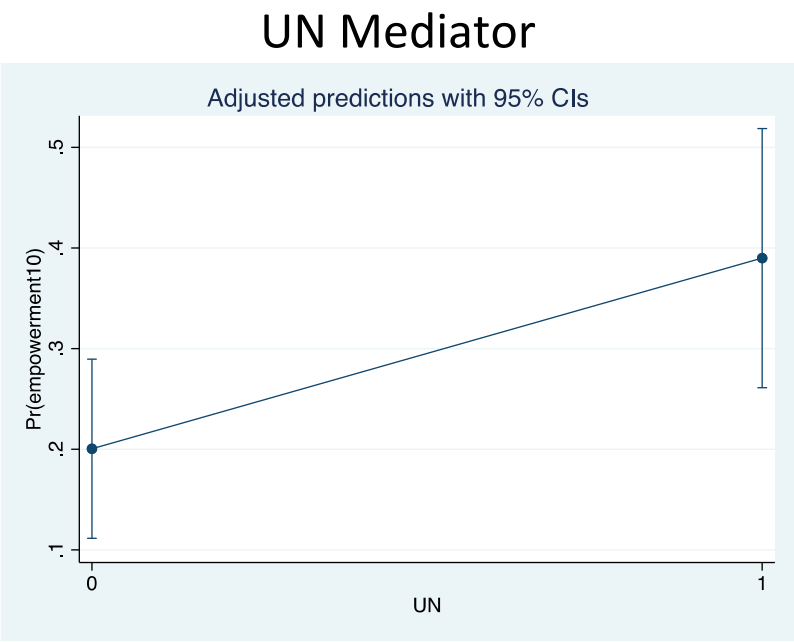
UN Mediator

Figure 1. UN mediator.

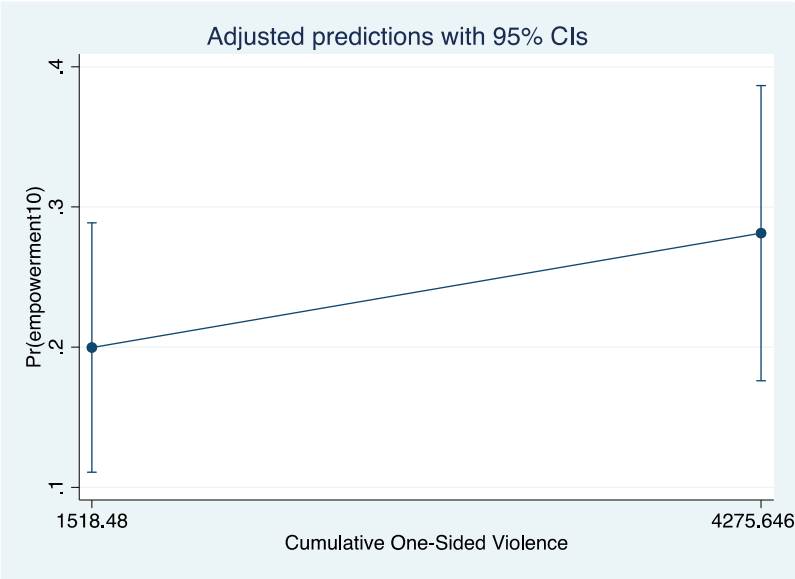## Cumulative One-Sided Violence

Figure 2. Cumulative one-sided violence.

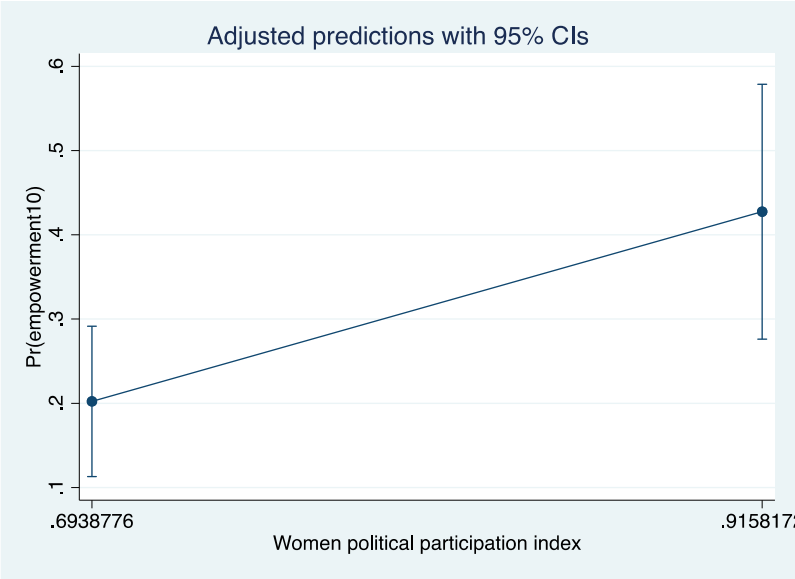## Women's Political Participation

Figure 3. Women's political participation.
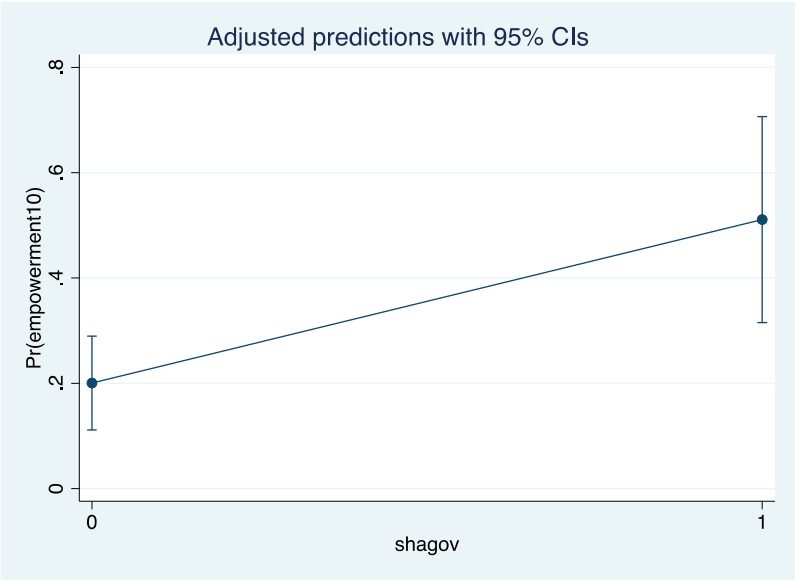
Power-Sharing Provisions

Figure 4. Power-sharing provisions.
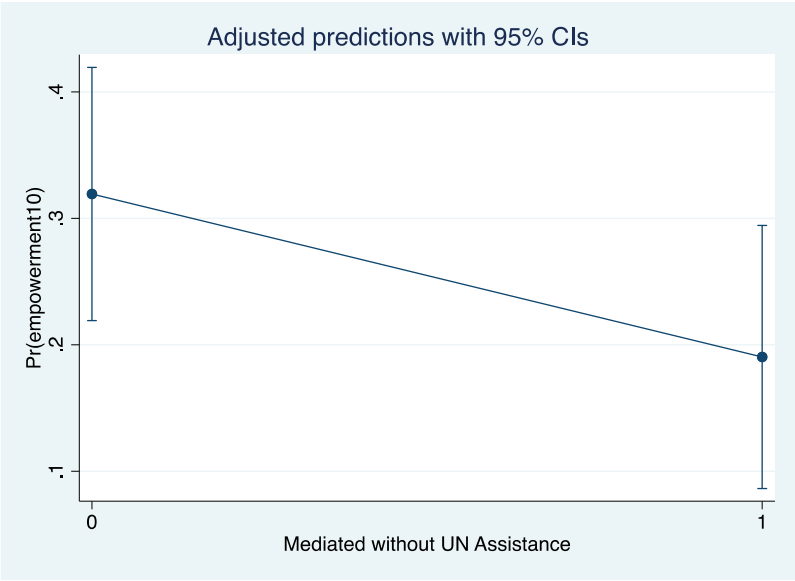
Non-UN Mediator

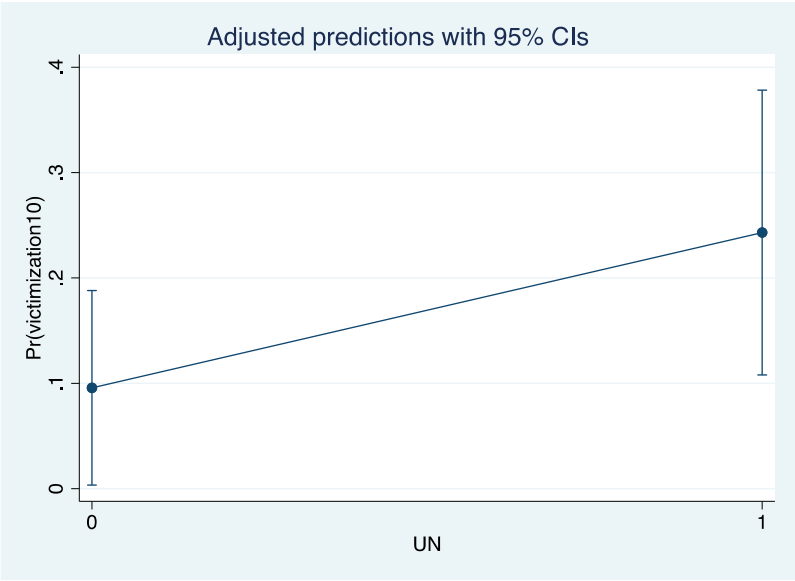

Figure 5. Non-UN mediator.

UN Mediator

Figure 6. UN mediator.

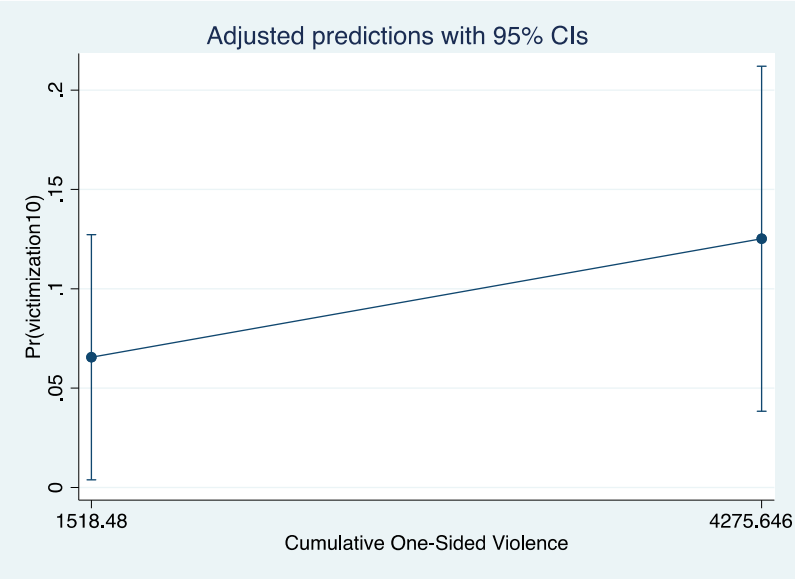# Cumulative One-Sided Violence

Figure 7. Cumulative one-sided violence.
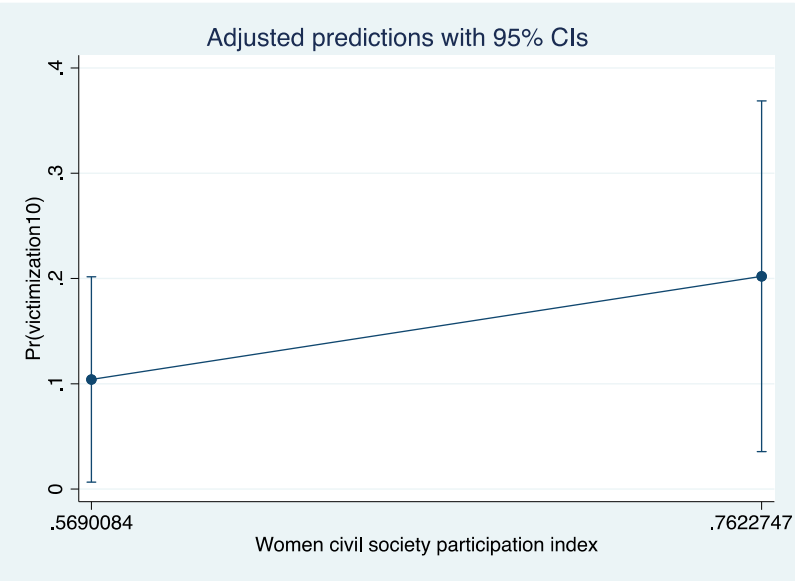
Women's Civil Society Index

Figure 8. Women's civil society index.

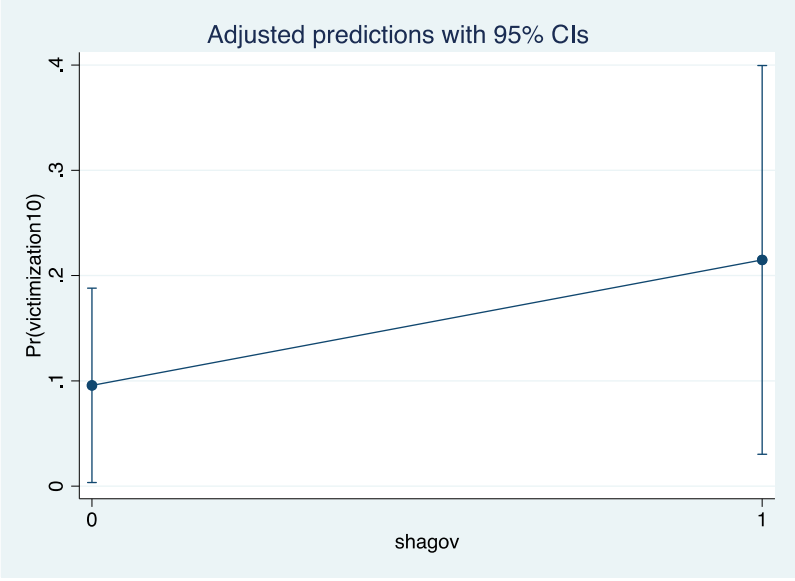# Power-Sharing Provisions

Figure 9. Power-sharing provisions.

It does appear that the United Nations' own mediation teams can move at least some parties in the direction of empowering women through peace agreement provisions, which is a promising finding. It is also clear that mediation teams without UN presence do not include female empowerment on their agenda, or at the very least, they are unable to move resistant parties toward such provisions. Previous work has suggested that international efforts need to increase women's participation where it counts (Paffenholz 2018). Those efforts need to be perhaps coupled with increased UN presence as well in order to advocate where women do not themselves have a seat at the table. Even with evidence suggesting that implementing gender provisions into the peace negotiations sets the foundation for a more enduring peace, they seem to only find their way in less controversial, and therefore, potentially less impactful situations. Even with the international community's commitment to addressing gender inequality through peace processes, mediators may be forced to abandon gender provisions in the interest of stopping the violence immediately, or they may not even raise the issue at all if we are faced with non-UN affiliated mediators. The feminist peace literature suggests this is a short-sighted approach given the higher propensity for civil war occurrence and recurrence in gender inequitable societies generally.

We found also that provisions addressing abuses (i.e. victimization provisions) do indeed appear when they are most needed, which are in agreements seeking to settle civil wars involving high levels of one-sided violence. Women's representation in civil society organizations improve these prospects as well, though previous work made clear that these groups may actually emerge as a result of female victimization over the course of conflict in order to influence how such abuses are addressed. We can conclude that local civil society actors may have to build a stronger coalition with former armed groups or other powerful actors to ensure the inclusion of gender sensitive provisions in the peace agreement.

Our findings also indicate that power-sharing and gender provisions are related to one another. It seems evident that negotiations resulting in power-sharing mechanisms are qualitatively different from those that do not. Warring actors that agree to work together in post-conflict governing structures are simply more inclusive. Those that are unable to agree on power-sharing mechanisms are also less likely to factor in gender considerations. These research implications leave tall marching orders for conflict resolution practitioners. When faced with mediating civil war solutions in inequitable societies, what tools and/or approaches can be developed to move resistant actors toward accepting women as relevant peace makers in emerging post-conflict environments? The words within formal peace agreements matter. While the United Nations may apply pressure to encourage a gender equitable peace, it appears even their employment is rather limited. It is necessary to further recognize that in situations where efforts are successful and result in gender provision inclusion, the implementation may be lacking if those provisions were indeed coerced or not internally operationalized.

Conflict resolution practitioners have spent a good deal of time and energy presenting mechanisms and approaches to civil war resolution designed to overcome identity-based differences and disputes (see Rothman and Olson 2001; Fisher 1996, as examples). Future research and peacemaking undertakings must expand these endeavors to include gender perspectives, particularly if mediators are going to overcome internal resistance to gender empowerment. In utilizing these types of approaches, the actors involved may be able to generate cross-cutting ties, but also bring women into the fold at the grassroots level. Doing so may help women gain access to peace negotiations as well as reconfigure their role in society, a recommendation made by Anderson (2015). Women are a significant, often neglected, resource when it comes to rebuilding post-conflict societies. The societies experiencing conflict, the international community, and conflict resolution practitioners need to better understand how to overcome internal resistance and disinterest to incorporate female political involvement in governing structures, as well as in the peace process itself. In doing so, it will help address gender inequities within a society, the overt trauma of conflict, and the destructiveness of war; therefore, it will improve long-term resolution prospects and decrease the likelihood of a nation backsliding into violence.

Even with the growing effort to make peace agreements more inclusive and gender sensitive, there is a noticeable lag in implementation. Fortunately, the findings presented above indicate that the needs of women in post-war societies are not entirely ignored. When high levels of victimization occur, victimization-specific gender provisions designed to heal those wounds become more likely. While the recognition of women's vastly varied and nuanced experience in war seems to be improving, political empowerment remains an obvious challenge.

Notes

1. The assembly of diverse actors of Syrian society gathered in Sochi, Russia to articulate a list of principles that they argued are necessary to achieve an end to the lengthy Syrian civil war. Principle 9 would include the respect for human rights and nondiscrimination, including actions to achieve 30% women's participation in political institutions 'and the goal of parity.' Principle 12 alludes to a constitutional committee that should include women and civil society along with government, tribal leaders, and opposition leaders.
2. An attempt to bring Syrian women into the peace process was made through the Syrian Women's Advisory Board created by the Office of the Special Envoy in January 2016. Their involvement in the peace process appears rather limited (Asad 2022), and was particularly challenged by UNSCR 2254 which made 'engagement in violence' a precondition for participating in the Syrian political process (Ghanem 2021).
3. The Women and Peace Agreements (Pa-X Women) Database identifies 11 different categories of gender provisions, each having three to seven sub-types within those categories (Bell 2017).
4. See Zartman's (1985) work on the necessity of a mutually hurting stalemate for mediation efforts to be successful.
5. UN mediators were involved in 31% (N = 74) of the peace agreements included in this study.
6. See Johan Galtung's (1964, 1969) work that created the dichotomy between peace that simply stopped the violence (negative peace) and that which transformed the relationships involved making recurrence less likely (positive peace).
7. This is not to say that women do not participate in war. Previous work by Reed and Thomas (2017), as well as work by Henshaw (2016), demonstrate that not only do women participate in rebel groups, but tend to do so under certain conditions. While women may join rebel factions, they themselves do not organize collectively as women in order to take up arms for their own gendered cause.
8. The Four Cuts strategy was re-employed in 2011 against the Kachin and in 2017 against the Rohingya.
9. We focus specifically on partial and full peace agreements. As a result, process agreements were removed from the analyses. There were 238 agreements in total in the UCDP dataset, but seven were eliminated from the analyses because we could not match them with the Pa-X data nor could we locate the agreement text for coding.
10. Note the discrepancy between the previously reported 30% of agreements with gender provisions compared to our own analysis. This discrepancy is due to the use of the UCDP Peace Agreement dataset versus the Pa-X data.
11. All analyses were completed using Stata 17. The replication and .do file can be found at [website inserted here].
12. Conflict duration was removed from all models; it was not a statistically significant predictor of gender provisions, but it did inflate VIF scores creating concerns over multicollinearity.
13. The parsimonious models are presented alongside the full models due to missing data in the full models and concerns over degrees of freedom given the fairly small number of cases in the global sample.

Data Availability Statement

All analyses were completed using Stata 17. Replication data and .do file will be made available upon publication on the lead author's faculty page. The website will be provided in footnote 10. https://politicalscience.ecu.edu/about/faculty-staff/lounsbery/

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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