



Promoting Women-Led Peacebuilding for Impact: Recommendations for the Formal Phase of the 2025 PBAR

The role of women in peacebuilding is well-recognised in the UN agreed language. The 2016 dual resolution on peacebuilding and sustaining peace notes the substantial link between women's full and meaningful involvement in efforts to prevent, resolve and rebuild from conflict and those efforts' effectiveness and long-term sustainability ([A/RES/70/262-S/RES/2282](#), PP21). This document presents recommendations for the 2025 Peacebuilding Architecture Review (2025 PBAR) outcome document, with a focus on strengthening women's participation and gender analysis in peacebuilding in line with [the Women, Peace and Security \(WPS\) Agenda](#).

The 2025 PBAR outcome document should focus on the following priorities:

- **articulate what inclusive national ownership in peacebuilding and sustaining peace means;**
- **increase quantity and improve quality of financing for women-led peacebuilding;**
- **encourage increased engagement by the Peacebuilding Commission on WPS;**
- **promote increased integration of the WPS Agenda in the work of UN field presences.**

The outcome document should focus on concrete time-bound objectives to be reviewed in 2030.

The 2025 PBAR should articulate what inclusive national ownership in peacebuilding and sustaining peace means.

According to the 2016 and 2020 dual resolutions, the responsibility for peacebuilding and sustaining peace lies primarily with governments and other national stakeholders, including women ([A/RES/70/262-S/RES/2282](#), PP8; [A/RES/75/201-S/RES/2558](#), OP3)¹. These responsibilities have yet to be clearly articulated. The Independent Eminent Panel for the 2025 PBAR highlights that 'strengthening bottom-up participation, particularly of women and youth, [...] are urgent and essential' ([A/79/634-S/2024/869](#), p. 3). In many instances, governments work to actively partner with women in peacebuilding and sustaining peace. For example, WPS national action plans (NAPs) of Finland, the Philippines, Uganda and Vietnam underscore the importance of local action and Indigenous knowledge in ensuring the effectiveness of measures ([S/2024/671](#), para 82). Yet, it is well-recognised that women and young people continue to face entrenched and systemic barriers to participation in peace and political processes² ([A/79/552-S/2024/767](#), para. 5). Commitments that can help articulate inclusive national ownership can be found in the [Pact for the Future](#), as well as in the [Women, Peace and Security resolutions](#).

¹ Specifically, the responsibilities of national governments include 'identifying, driving and directing priorities, strategies and activities for sustaining peace', based on the principles of 'inclusivity [...] to ensure that the needs of all segments of society are taken into account' ([A/RES/70/262-S/RES/2282](#), PP9).

² Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN), Kvinna till Kvinna, MADRE, and Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (2022). Fund Us Like You Want Us To Win: https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/fund_us_like_you_want_us_to_win.gnwp_gppac_ican_wilpf_kvinnatillkvinna.madre_211122.pdf.

The 2025 PBAR outcome document should:

- Urge *the full, effective and meaningful leadership, engagement and participation of diverse women* in the design, monitoring and implementation of national prevention and peacebuilding efforts ([A/RES/70/262-S/RES/2282](#), OP21, OP23; [A/RES/76/305](#), OP7-9), ‘create *safe spaces* for all actors to contribute’ to peacebuilding and sustaining peace ([A/79/552-S/2024/767](#), para. 16), and reinforce *the support for women’s formal and informal conflict prevention efforts* ([CEDAW/C/GC/30](#), para. 33 (a))
- Encourage ‘a comprehensive approach to sustaining peace’ ([A/RES/70/262-S/RES/2282](#) (PP12)) and request Member States to develop and implement comprehensive *fully-funded and inclusive³ nationally-owned prevention/peacebuilding strategies and approaches* ([Pact for the Future](#), Action 18 (d)). These strategies and approaches should build on existing efforts of women peacebuilders and efforts to implement the WPS Agenda and include gender-related indicators and benchmarks ([CEDAW/C/GC/30](#), para. 33 (d)).
- Emphasise ‘*a shared commitment of Member States to peacebuilding and sustaining peace through assessed contributions*’ ([A/RES/76/305](#), OP 3, OP17) and reiterate the need to ‘increase the mobilisation of domestic resources’ ([Pact for the Future](#), Action 4 (f)) and, in this regard, encourage Member States to allocate specific budgetary resources for peacebuilding, distinct from security spending ([Pact for the Future](#) Rev. 3, Action 13, para 34(c)).

PRIORITY 2: The 2025 PBAR outcome document should urge for increased quantity and improved quality of financing for women-led peacebuilding.

The 2016 dual resolutions on peacebuilding and sustaining peace ([A/RES/70/262-S/RES/2282](#)) recognise the need for UN peacebuilding efforts to have ‘adequate, predictable and sustained financing for peacebuilding’ (PP16). Financing for peacebuilding requires both increased quantity and improved quality of investment by all Member States, including through their national budget allocations and development aid⁴. The General Assembly resolution on financing for peacebuilding ([A/RES/76/305](#)) urges ‘efforts to fund initiatives that integrate women’s full, equal and meaningful participation in the planning, implementation and reporting of peacebuilding and sustaining peace at all levels [and] encourages United Nations and non-United Nations funding mechanisms to increase the percentage of peacebuilding funding dedicated to gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls’ (OP6).

At the same time, peacebuilding financing is currently characterised by unpredictability, projectisation, unfair competition among actors with different levels of capacity, and increased transaction costs⁵. The latest data show that in 2021–2022, bilateral aid to conflict-affected contexts⁹ stood at \$47.7 billion on average per year. Of that amount, \$20.5 billion included gender equality objectives; however, only \$2.5 billion (5%) was dedicated to gender equality as a principal objective ([S/2024/671](#), para. 8). Further, existing resources often fail to meet [the principles of quality funding](#) rooted in participatory approaches, simplified processes, sustained

³ The 2024 Secretary-General’s report on peacebuilding and sustaining peace ([A/79/552-S/2024/767](#)) highlights that ‘to be successful, these strategies should be genuinely inclusive’ (para. 65).

⁴ Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation (DHF), Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), Life & Peace Institute (LPI) (2022). Principles for Quality Financing for Peacebuilding and Conflict Prevention: https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/principles_for_quality_financing_for_peacebuilding_and_conflict_prevention_.pdf.

⁵ Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), International Civil Society Action Network (ICAN), Kvinna till Kvinna, MADRE, and Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) (2022). Fund Us Like You Want Us To Win: https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/fund_us_like_you_want_us_to_win.gnwp_gppac_ican_wilpf_kvinnatillkvinna.madre_211122.pdf.

and flexible long-term support, youth-led definitions of impact, and realistic and transparent approaches to risk.

The 2025 PBAR outcome document should:

- Mandate a review of the implementation of the General Assembly Resolution on Financing for Peacebuilding ([A/RES/76/305](#)), including its OP 6 on financing for women peacebuilding and request the Secretary-General to include regular updates on the implementation of all aspects of resolution 76/305 in his reporting on peacebuilding and sustaining peace ([A/RES/76/305](#), OP 20).
- Encourage Member States to allocate a minimum of 15% of ODA to conflict-affected countries to advance gender equality ([A/79/552-S/2024/767](#), para. 66).
- Emphasise the need for adequate, predictable, flexible and accessible (or *quality*) financing for peacebuilding and encourage testing innovative and participatory funding models.
- Encourage the UN agencies, funds and programmes to reduce its bureaucratic processes and operational demands to enable quicker delivery of peacebuilding programming⁶ and adopt indicators to track the amount of funding that goes directly to women-led organisations ([Grading the UN](#), p. 7).

PRIORITY 3: The 2025 PBAR should encourage increased engagement by the Peacebuilding Commission on WPS.

In the WPS resolutions, the Security Council encourages the Peacebuilding Commission to support the role of women in peacebuilding, including through continued support for ‘the participation of women-led peacebuilding organisations in planning and stabilisation efforts in post-conflict reconstruction and recovery’ ([S/RES/2493](#), OP 4). The Peacebuilding Commission’s [Gender Strategy](#) (2016) and [Action Plan](#) (2021) make the institution well-positioned to lead in implementing the WPS commitments ([A/79/552-S/2024/767](#), para 21) in peacebuilding, as a way to follow-up on [the 7-Points Action Plan on Women in Peacebuilding](#).

The 2025 PBAR outcome document should request the Peacebuilding Commission to:

- Fully implement its [Gender Strategy](#) to further promote women’s participation in peacebuilding efforts ([S/RES/2493](#), OP 4) and continue regular stocktaking exercises on its implementation ([2023 Assessment of the implementation of the PBC’s Gender Strategy and Action Plan](#), p. 11).
- Establish regular mechanisms for thematic consultations and expert-level meetings with women and women-led organisations, building on the established practice of meeting with women peacebuilders, during the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) and local peacebuilders during the CSO-UN Dialogue on Peacebuilding ([2021 Written update of the implementation of the PBC’s Gender Strategy and Action Plan](#), p. 10) and set up an independent panel of geographically diverse peacebuilding experts, including women, to enrich the advice that it provides to the Security Council and other intergovernmental bodies ([A/79/552-S/2024/767](#), para. 25).
- Broaden and diversify the representation of women peacebuilders within the Commission’s engagements ([2023 Assessment of the implementation of the PBC’s Gender Strategy and Action Plan](#), p. 11).

⁶ Women peacebuilders suggest it takes on average over a year to receive funding support from UN agencies, funds and programmes. See more at GPPAC-ICAN 2024 2025 PBAR paper on ‘Grading the UN’ [here>>](#).

- Encourage country or region-specific meetings on gender-responsive peacebuilding issues in that country or region ([2021 Written update of the implementation of the PBC's Gender Strategy and Action Plan](#), p. 9) and strengthen the systematic integration of gender dimensions into all thematic, country, and regional engagements and the Commission's outcome documents, including through i) improved gender analysis based on sex-disaggregated data; ii) increased women's, including young women, participation in all PBC engagements; and iii) provision of specific/concrete recommendations in support of gender-responsive conflict prevention, peacebuilding and sustaining peace ([2023 Assessment of the implementation of the PBC's Gender Strategy and Action Plan](#), p. 11).
- Ensuring *the recommendations from past Commission meetings* are consistently included in speaking points, concept notes and other preparatory documents ahead of meetings on the same country, region and theme and provide updates on how recommendations are progressing ([2021 Written update of the implementation of the PBC's Gender Strategy and Action Plan](#), p. 10).

PRIORITY 4: The 2025 PBAR outcome document should promote the integration of the WPS Agenda across the work of the UN field presences.

The 2 July 2020 Peacebuilding Commission (PBC) Chair's letter encourages measuring the success of peacebuilding and sustaining peace 'in terms of impact rather than outputs'⁷. There is a growing recognition among donors and policymakers that the impact of peacebuilding policy and programming stems from context-specific action driven by local realities, experiences and needs. Moreover, the UN Peacebuilding Architecture based in the UNHQ - the Peacebuilding Commission, the Peacebuilding Fund, and the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) - have a very small footprint at the field level and are, therefore, not accessible and often not known to women peacebuilders⁸. Most of the work that is accessible and relevant to civil society is done by the UN AFPs based in their respective countries. Moreover, it is generally accepted that the entire UN System should 'assist countries to sustain peace and prevent the outbreak, escalation, continuation and recurrence of conflict' ([A/RES/70/262-S/RES/ 2282](#), PP16); however, a concrete mandate for doing so is not defined. Strong UN field-level peacebuilding action requires a strong peacebuilding strategy and peacebuilding capacities (i.e., peace and development advisors) within the UN peace operations and country teams⁹.

The 2025 PBAR outcome document should:

- Welcome the progress made in the implementation of the resolutions on peacebuilding and sustaining peace, including [...] *by the UN system*, [...] and in particular at the field level through the work of peacekeeping operations, special political missions and UN country teams [...], and encourage Member States and the United Nations system, in partnership with relevant stakeholders, to continue to take action to implement resolutions on peacebuilding and sustaining peace and to advance efforts to bring greater coherence to peacebuilding efforts, in support of national peacebuilding, and in particular in conflict-affected countries ([S/PRST/2025/3](#), para. 3).

⁷ UN, 'Letter dated 2 July 2020 from the Chair of the Peacebuilding Commission addressed to the President of the General Assembly and the President of the Security Council (A/74/935); 7 July 2020, Accessible at: https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/a_74_935-2009035e_1.pdf.

⁸ See more at GPPAC-ICAN 2024 2025 PBAR paper on 'Grading the UN' [here>>](#).

⁹ Operationalising Sustaining Peace Roundtable Series (2024). Lessons Learned from the Sustaining Peace Roundtable Series Recommendations for the 2025 Peacebuilding Architecture Review: <https://www.gppac.net/resources/operationalising-sustaining-peace-lessons-learned-sustaining-peace-roundtable-series>.

- Encourage the UN Secretary-General to *revise the UN 7-Point Action Plan on [Women in Peacebuilding](#)* and develop updated guidance for the UN field presences.
- Fully implement [the UN System-Wide Community Engagement Guidelines on Peacebuilding and Sustaining Peace](#) that outlines the ways for the UN field presences to engage with local women and women-led civil society organisations and networks (Recommendation 4). The engagement with young peacebuilders should be integrated into the general processes of the Resident Coordinator's Offices, as well as all of the entities within the UN Country Teams.
- Express full support to the initiative of the PBSO to hold an [annual CSO-UN Dialogue on Peacebuilding](#) and encourage annual regional preparatory meetings with civil society and women's groups to contribute to the Dialogue (similar to the regional preparatory meetings for the HLPF mandated by [A/RES/67/290](#), OP13).