

(En)gendered security in Rwanda and Liberia

A comparative case study of the peace processes in
post-conflict Rwanda and Liberia

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Abstract

Many consider the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 as a groundbreaking document and as a resolution which attest to the new ambition of gender equality in the international community. However, the question remains of the actual effects of UNSCR 1325. This thesis analyses, and compares the peace processes in Liberia and Rwanda in order to understand how UNSCR 1325 has affected the peace processes. The analysis uses the term (en)gendered security, a three levelled concept based on UNSCR 1325 created by Kara Ellerby, to further the understanding of the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Ellerby divides the implementation of UNSCR 1325 to three levels: basic-, secondary- and indicator-level, and this thesis focuses on the secondary level. The study shows that out of the four properties of inclusion found on the secondary level, the peace processes in Rwanda and Liberia fulfils all four: *representation, incorporation, protection, and recognition*. This indicates an increased awareness of (en)gendered security in the peace processes.

Keywords: (en)gender security, Rwanda, Liberia, UNSCR 1325, post-conflict

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1. Introduction

In 2000 the United Nation Security Council created history when they adopted UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 on *Women, peace and security* and it is often described as a ground-breaking resolution (Shepherd, 2011, 505). For the first time women were considered as significant actors and their participation and experiences in conflict were given legitimacy and status. Since then several resolutions on the theme *Women, peace and security* have been adopted and issues such as gender-based and sexual violence have been put on the international and local security agendas. This change represents the idea that the prospect of a sustainable peace increases by including women in the peace process. This notion has been widely discussed, debated and analysed by international and national organisations, scholars and policymakers. (Muriaas et al, 2013, 90). The UNSCR 1325 mandates member states to “...[E]nsure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions (...)” (UNSCR 1325, 2000, 2). (See appendix for UNSCR 1325)

UNSCR 1325 was the result of many years of lobbying. The embryos for the ideas put forward in the resolution can be found in the Beijing Platform for Action. In 1995 governments called upon the international community to “...[T]ake positive action to build a critical mass of women leaders, executives and managers in strategic decision-making positions”, (Muriaas et al, 2013, 90). and it was established to work towards the goal that 30% of the parliamentary seats reserved for women. Since then women’s political representation has featured high on the agenda. Many post-conflict countries in sub-Saharan Africa, such as Rwanda and Liberia, have seen an increase in female mobilisation to put gender equality on the agenda. However, it can be argued that this change has been caused by constitution and law-making developments more generally and the adoption of a gender quota for political bodies such as national parliaments, rather than from demands from the people (Muriaas et al, 2013, 90).

The resolution includes many important recommendations and demands such as the inclusion of women in the peace process, as specified in article 1 and 8. In article 1 the UNSCR “*Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict*” (UNSCR 1325 ,2000, art. 1, 2) Article 8 in the resolution specifies that when negotiating and implementing peace agreements all actors involved shall adopt a gender perspective (UNSCR 1325, 2000, art. 8, 3). Article 10 concerns gender-based violence and it calls upon all parties to take special measures to protect women and girls from such violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse as well as all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict (UNSCR 1325, 2000, art. 10, 3).

As UNSCR 1325 calls for a higher involvement of women in the peace processes, the

argued correlation between women in peace processes and the prospect of a sustainable peace has been under scrutiny by researchers. A good deal of feminist scholarship has focused on gender-sensitive peace processes as the foundation for the post-conflict society, and in accordance with the peace process. Such an inclusion is said to be in correlation with women's ability to take part in political and public sphere and how they are valued as politicians, leaders and public figures. The idea is that if women are able to be part of the re-invention of their country and contribute to its rebuilding after a conflict, the post-conflict society will be more inclusive to women and more gender equal on a broader scale (Shepherd, 2011, 505). However, depending on how you define gender equality this hypothesis can be questioned. If the aim is to just include more women in parliament it is easy to ignore other areas in society where women's rights are violated or discarded. There may be a high percentage of women in parliament, but women may still be seen as second class citizens, more victimised than men and more affected by socio-economic differences. It is therefore important to investigate how peace processes affect the status of women in political and public forums in post conflict societies.

1.1 Purpose and research question

This study aims to further the understanding of the effects UNSCR 1325 have on peace processes. The resolution uses strong language in regards to how increase the inclusion of women, but is it not clear if the written words in the resolution are implemented. One way to monitor the implementation is to analyse peace agreements. The peace agreements give a clear understanding of the aims of the warring parties, as well as a demonstration of the representation of women. Nevertheless, the journey from the peace agreements to implemented actions is long, and it is therefore important to study the process from the peace agreement to a stable peace.

For this thesis Rwanda and Liberia have been chosen as the cases to study. The two countries both experienced a civil war during the 1990s with elements of ethnic conflicts, and today they are both considered progressive developing countries regarding gender equality. However, with different preconditions their peace processes differs in shape and form, as well as in regards to measures taken to create a society with sustainable peace and gender equality.

By analysing and comparing the two cases it is possible to identify differences in the peace processes and how these have affected the current situation for women in the two post-conflict societies. Furthermore it makes it possible to study the connection the peace processes have to UNSCR 1325 and the measures derived from UNSCR 1325.

Hence, the research question underpinning this essay is: *How differs the peace process in Liberia from the peace process in Rwanda, and which affect has UNSCR 1325 had on them?*

2. Previous research and theoretical framework

2.1 Previous research

The role of women in peace processes, as well as in post-conflict societies have been analysed by several prominent researchers such as Cynthia Enloe (1993) and Laura Sjogren (2001) and it would be impossible to include everything that has been written in this field of study. Certain key authors and researchers, such as Laura Shepherd, Miriam J. Anderson, Liam Swiss, Tiffany D. Barnes, and Stephanie M. Burchard, have been identified and their contribution to the field is in this section explained and discusses. They have been categorised based on their area of focus and the reason for this is to make it easier to understand the different areas of study.

A big part of previous research regarding the role of women in peace processes and post-conflict societies discusses and use the UNSCR 1325 as a starting point. There are many voices for and against the ideas presented in the resolution: that women need to be included in both the peace processes and the rebuilding of a country. Shepherd has written extensively on how to understand resolution 1325 and the implementation of it. In *"Women, armed conflict and language – Gender, violence and discourse"*, (2010) she discusses how the language in the resolution may affect its implementation, as well as how practitioners in the field and those affected by violence and conflict may benefit from this field of research (Shepherd, 2010,149-150). Shepherd points out the importance of the words chosen and their context, and argues that the meaning of concept is never "fixed", but can vary depending on the context (Shepherd, 2010, 148). Shepherd writes that the challenges of implementing UNSCR 1325 will vary from place to place, and over time. She uses poststructural theory to explain how the challenges of the resolution is a function of language it self (Shepherd, 2010, 149-150) since different actors may interpret words such as women and gender differently (Shepherd, 2010,151). She notes that women often are given more responsibility to address the issue with sexual violence in conflict, and she poses the question whether the international community really should expect more from women than men when combatting sexual violence in conflict (Shepherd, 2010, 153). She argues that there is a problem in how the concept of violence is constructed in the resolution. By portraying men as the sole perpetrators and women as the only victims of violence in conflict the resolution reflect the notion that violence is something that happens to women and something that is perpetrated by men. This is problematic both for men and women, since violent acts directed towards men are forgotten and women are put in a position of constant victimhood (Shepherd, 2010,155).

In *"Sex, Security and Superhero(in)es: From 1325 to 1820 and Beyond"* Shepherd continues her study of resolutions focusing on women, peace and security (2011). In the article she goes further into her analysis of the roles women and men are portrayed to have in a conflict. She points to a flaw in studies made by feminist scholars of security and post-conflict in regard to the portrayal of women in conflicts (Shepherd, 2011, 510). Women are being portrayed either as victims or as "superheroines, agents of their own salvation, capable of representing the needs and priorities of others and with the capacity to effect positive transformation in their given environments." This semantic put women into different roles and overlook how women can be both victims of sexual violence as well as actors in the post-conflict society (Shepherd, 2011, 510-511).

Since the peace process and the peace agreements determine post-conflict reconstruction and governance, they are critical to study. Peace processes and peace agreement can rectify inequalities of the past and as a result grant women and marginalised groups rights and opportunities that they previously were denied. On the other hand, if they are not dealt with in a transparent way, they can, at the same time, bolster inequalities, preserve injustices and marginalise part of the population, and in doing so lay the foundation for a fragile state where a sustainable peace may be harder to achieve (Hellsten, Sirkku, 2006).

In *"Engendering" Politics: The Impact of Descriptive Representation on Women's Political Engagement in Sub-Saharan Africa* (2012) Barnes and Burchard study the correlation between the political presence of women in 20 sub-Saharan African legislatures and women's individual-level political engagement in their respective countries (2012, 768). They use a time-series data from 20 countries across sub-Saharan Africa and are able to demonstrate that increased representation of women in the political sphere is positively related to the political engagement of women at the mass level. (Barnes & Burchard, 2010, 769) In addition, they find that as the proportion of women in the legislature increases to somewhere between 25% and 35% the gender gap in women's and men's political engagement virtually disappears (Barnes & Burchard, 2010, 769).

Closely connected to such research on women's political representation is the research on electoral quotas. In *"Peace Accords and the Adoption of Electoral Quotas for Women in the Developing World, 1990–2006"* Anderson and Swiss look at the relationship between post-conflict transition, peace processes, and quota adoption, with a focus on peace accords and women's rights in leading countries to adopt electoral quotas for women. They identify three bodies of literature to build upon when addressing the issue of post-conflict transition and women's representation. The first is focused on levels of women's representation, the second on the adoption of women's electoral quotas, and the third relates to women in peace processes. Anderson and Swiss argue that these bodies of literature asserts that a gender-inclusive peace process will result in better conditions for women in the post-conflict state, and even though they do not dispute this hypothesis they argue that it has not been critically evaluated. Therefore they test this hypothesis through analysing the correlation between women's rights in peace accords and their effect on electoral quota adoption (Anderson & Swiss, 2014, 34).

Anderson and Swiss studied the relations between a gender-inclusive peace process, as indicated by a gender-inclusive peace agreement, and the subsequent adoption of a

women's electoral quota. They employ cross-national statistical models to analyse a sample of 115 developing countries between 1990 and 2006, and by using event-history analysis, they explored the rate of quota adaptation for three categories of states: those without a peace agreement, those with a peace agreement that does not include references to women, and those with a gender-inclusive peace agreement. Their result showed that countries where a peace accord is put into place more rapidly adopt quotas for women than countries without a peace accord, and that if the peace accord has a specific women's rights provision the shift will happen more rapidly (Anderson & Swiss, 2014, 35).

2.2 Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework of this thesis is informed by relevant previous research in the field of feminist and post-structural peace and conflict studies. Much like the study by Anderson and Swiss, this thesis is based on the hypothesis that a gender-inclusive peace process will result in better conditions for women in the post-conflict state (Anderson & Swiss, 2014, 34). My thesis seeks to add to their study rather than replicating it – it does so by focusing on conducting a smaller qualitative analysis of two peace processes and with a different theoretical framework.

One of the challenges with UNSCR 1325 and the field of study surrounding it, is the abstraction of the concept. When a government states its commitment to enforcing and respecting the resolution it is uncertain what part of the resolution they refer to and how they plan to implement their commitment in action. Professor Ellerby at University of Delaware has identified this “blank spot” in the research field and she has constructed a model to create a bridge between the abstract theoretical concept to the concrete practical approach to the resolution. In *“(En)gendered Security? The Complexities of Women's Inclusion in Peace Processes”* (2013) she engages UNSCR 1325 as a operational concept by engaging it as a three-level concept useful for studying the way in which women are “brought into” security, called (en)gendering security. For her article she studied intrastate peace agreements between 1991 and 2010 to further the understanding of where and how women are included in peace processes (Ellerby, 2013, 435). Her findings shows that more peace agreements since 2005 seem to better include (en)gendered security than in the previous 15 years, and that there are very few cases which include all form of women's inclusion (Ellerby, 2013, 455).

Ellerby's approach to engage UNSCR 1325 as a concept consist of her using previous work on social science concepts (Goertz, 2006, Goertz & Mazur, 2008 as cited in Ellerby, 2013, 440). She writes: *“concepts are best understood as having three levels: the basic level, secondary level, and indicator level”* (Goertz, 2006, as cited in Ellerby, 2013, 440). The first level, the basic level is the most abstract. Ellerby “contends” that this level includes the goal/principles/values/ideal of a given concept. As illustrated in fig. 1, the secondary level connects the abstract to the concrete indicators, which she refers to as “properties” (Ellerby, 2013, 440). Finally the third level, the indicator level includes measurement tools and the data. Ellerby refers to this level as the “practices” of a

concept, i.e. the material way we know a concept exist (Ellerby, 2013, 440-441). Important to note is that Ellerby limits her discussion to (en)gendered security as a constitutive concept, as the concept is not based on causality, but a certain constitution of women’s security (Ellerby, 2013, 440).

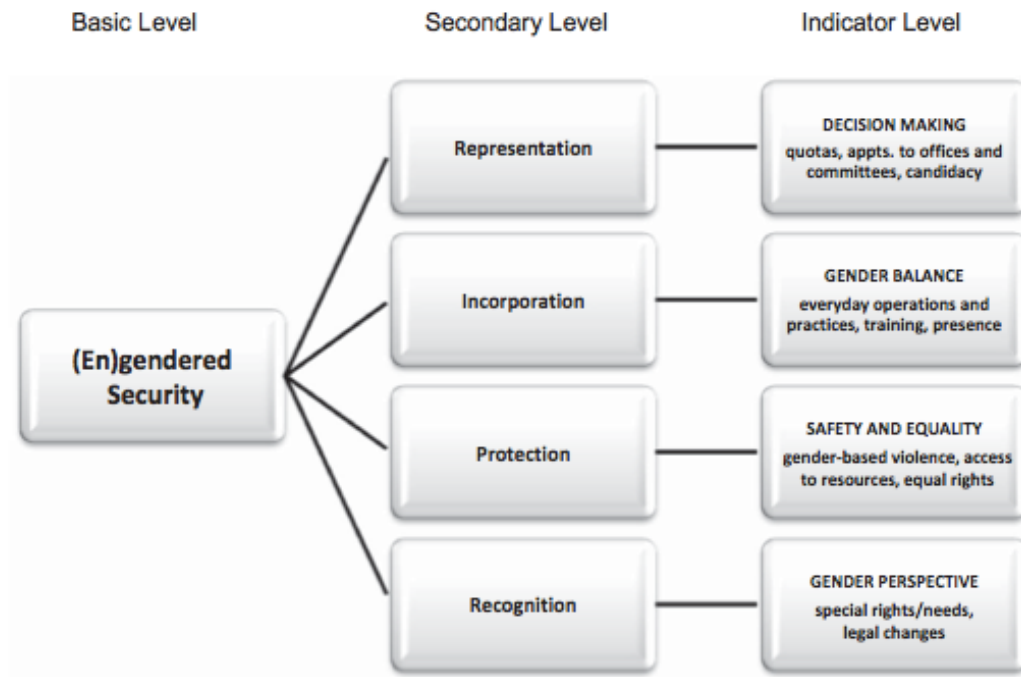


Figure 1 (Ellerby, 2013, 441)

Ellerby argues that (en)gendered security is a specific conceptualisation of women’s security interests and that it can be understood as a *”paradigmatic case of women’s security, or an emblematic representation of what women’s security entails”*(Ellerby, 2013, 441). It therefore belongs to the concepts basic level, i.e. what the concept is called. She writes:

This specific representation of security produces particular meanings regarding who women are, what they need, and which institutions protect and are in need of protecting. While clearly not the *only* definition or representation of women’s security, (en)gendered security stands out as a particularly powerful concept because of its status as a Security Council document: it has become the referent for women’s security interests within international organizations, NGOs, and activists groups worldwide and thus should be taken seriously as a discursive site that (re)produces a particular understanding of women’s security (Ellerby, 2013, 441).

The secondary level of a concept is by Goertz identified as the *”constitutive dimensions”* of a concept (Goertz, 2006, as cited in Ellerby, 2013, 442) and this level links the abstract to the concrete indicators. This level includes the properties of a concept, i.e those elements that represent the basic level and Ellerby went back to UNSCR 1325 to

identify these properties. She writes:

...[L]ooking for common terms and ideas using open coding, these points clustered on similar ideas and practices about how women should be included. Four forms of inclusion emerged, the “properties” of (en)gendered security, which were slightly different than the aforementioned approaches. (...) these properties coincide with broader ideas of women’s inclusion that could apply to other peacebuilding activities and actors besides peacekeeping or the UN (Ellerby, 2013, 442).

As illustrated in fig. 1, (en)gendered security the four properties of inclusion are: *representation*, *incorporation*, *protection*, and *recognition*, and they build upon different points in UNSCR 1325 (Ellerby, 2013, 442). *Representation* builds upon points 1, 2 and 3 in the resolution, and all of these focuses on women as decision makers. *Incorporation* “addresses the ways in which women are incorporated into existing bureaucratic and peacebuilding bodies, but not in positions of authority”, (Ellerby, 2013, 443) and build upon points 4, 8(b) and 15 in the resolution. They all emphasize the presence of women. *Protection* is based on the centrality of violence, discrimination, and rights of women. This category builds upon points 6, 8(c), 10, 11, and 12, and all of these points emphasize the protection of women’s bodies, their rights and their access to institutions. (See appendix for UNSCR 1325) *Protection* also includes:

...[S]tipulations addressing direct forms of violence, including physical harm and sex-based discrimination as well as language regarding limited access to economic/legal/social resources, or issues of structural violence (Ellerby, 2013, 443).

The final category, *recognition*, is somewhat different from the two first categories, as it identify need to address women as a separate group and require evaluation and attention specific to them, whereas the first two categories address the inclusion of actual women, as in increasing their physical presence (Ellerby, 2013, 443-444).

Recognition builds upon points 5, 8(a) and 13, and all three of these call for identifying women’s perspectives and needs within the development of policies as well as the need “to incorporate or adopt a ‘gender perspective’ in peacekeeping, reconstruction, and demobilization” (Ellerby, 2013, 443-444).

The third level of a concept is the indicator level. Goertz refers to this as the “operationalization level” (Goertz, 2006, as cited in Ellerby, 2013, 444) and the focus of this level is on the practices meant to embody a concept, i.e. the things we can concretely identify and measure when estimating a concepts presence/absence. In figure 1 the connection between the levels are illustrated, and as seen in the figure, key practices on the indicator level emerge from the properties of inclusion on the secondary level. Ellerby have identified these key practices by using key words and ideas within the peace agreements from her study (Ellerby, 2013, 444). *Representation* is indicated via decision-making measures in the peace agreements, which illustrated the access to positions of

power. These include formal branches of government, as well as transitional committees related to peace building and conflict management. These clauses often used term like; represent, quota, reform, candidate, nominate, appoint, and manage.

The second property of inclusion is *incorporation*. This was indicated via measures of “gender balance” or “*general claims for more and/or equitable participation of women in peace processes and society more generally*” (Ellerby, 2013, 444). *Protection* is the third property of inclusion and it includes provisions regarding direct and structural violence. More specific, provision regarding gender violence, access to resources and specific forms of discrimination, in order to guarantee the safety and equality for women. The fourth, and final property of inclusion is *Recognition*. It includes the provisions in the peace agreements calling for adoption of a “gender perspective” or identifies women as “vulnerable group” or that specifies women’s “special need”. Ellerby writes: “*This category deals with the ways in which laws constitutions and other policy outputs are targeted for gender and /or women centered language*” (Ellerby, 2013, 444).

In her article Ellerby uses the categories on the indicator level to map the peace agreements into a time frame and the categories they fall into. Since this study is a comparative case study between the peace agreements from the two countries Rwanda and Liberia and will use Ellerby’s theory to understand the peace process in the two countries, it is important to see where Ellerby places them. She places Rwanda under one category, *protection*, and Liberia under two categories, *protection* and *representation* (Ellerby, 2013, 446).

3. Research design

3.1 Method

This thesis is conducted as a comparative case study. The aim of this approach is to give an explanation to the research question by comparing a few cases (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 236). In this study the peace processes of Liberia and Rwanda will be compared with each other with the aim to identify differences and illustrate the effects UNSCR 1325 have had on the peace processes. This means that the study has two approaches to the cases: descriptive, and explanatory (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 22). The descriptive part of the question provides an important foundation for the analysis of the explanatory part of the question (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 23). The aim with a research question is to measure the empirical reality, and in order to do so, it is helpful to consider what precisely it is the research question seeks to measure, i.e. which variables (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 24). When analysing a causal relation between two variables the focus could either be on the source of a variable, or the consequences of a variable (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 27). In order to ease the research, the variables are often given names depending on their role in the causal relation. The cause, often called X, is called the independent variable, and the effect, often called Y, is called the dependent variable (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 29). This study it on the effect UNSCR 1325 have had on the peace processes in Rwanda and Liberia. This means that UNSCR is the independent variable, and the peace processes are the dependent variable.

When choosing cases for a comparative case study there are different approaches to strategic case selection. Two of them, *method of difference* and *method of agreement*, are born out of Mill's philosophy and methods. *Method of difference* is when two cases are selected based on being completely similar in all regards, except from the independent and dependent variable (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 226). *Method of agreement* is the opposite, i.e. when two cases are selected based on being completely different in all regards, except from the independent and dependent variable (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 227). As this thesis study the effect of UNSCR 1325 on the peace processes in the two cases, Liberia and Rwanda, the cases share the same independent and dependent variable. This study is therefore based on the *Method of agreement*. More about the reasoning for the comparability of the two cases can be found in subchapter 3.5 Material.

3.2 Operationalization

In order to analyse and further the understanding of the two peace processes certain key factors have been identified in the theoretical framework. These are used in the analysis to find the similarities between the peace processes and whether or not the UNSCR 1325 has affected the peace processes. The three levelled concept of (en)gendered security of Ellerby works as the foundation for the analysis. Contrary to Ellerby's own study, where the data consist of all intrastate conflict peace agreements between 1990 and 2010, this thesis further the use of her three levelled concept to use it on the time after the peace agreement came into place, i.e. the peace processes in the post-conflict societies. The peace processes are evaluated based on the four properties identified within UNSCR 1325 by Ellerby: representation, incorporation protection, and recognition (Ellerby, 2013, 442). As these properties are closely connected to the indicator level, where it is possible to concretely identify and measure a concepts presence/absence (Ellerby, 2013, 444). In the analysis the measures identified by Ellerby in the indicator level, are applied to the peace processes. Based on the data from the empirical case study the peace processes are categorised under the different measures from the indicator level. Different examples of this is the wording in the peace agreement, reforms instituted during the peace processes by the different governments, and statistic on the situation regarding health, education and political representation in Liberia and Rwanda.

3.3 Cases

In a thesis like this there are numerous countries and conflicts that could be used and my choice was proceeded by careful deliberation. As Mill's *Method of agreement* was chosen as base for choosing of cases, it was desirable to find countries which had a similar peace process (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 227). The desire was to find countries that had experienced a civil war around the same time and where cultural differences between the cases were minimal. To find countries from the same part of the world with a high comparability was to be preferred since it could be argued that they share some cultural heritage and similarities. It was also important that the conflicts were of similar type, since it would devalue the study to compare cases where the country had experienced a civil war and another country had experienced a interstate conflict, since the peace process may differ depending on the type of conflict. Another important factor when choosing the cases was to find countries with similar conflicts during the same time period (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 226). The time period explored here is 1990-2015; with the 25-year time interval from commencement in 1990 seeming a long enough period to acquire results from the peace processes. Furthermore, the time period is also of relevance since the peace process in Rwanda was started before the Security Council adopted UNSCR 1325, but close enough in time for the UNSCR 1325 to have an impact on the peace process.

In this thesis the two countries Liberia and Rwanda have been chosen. They share a similar past with a civil war in the 1990- and early 2000, and a peace process resulting in “stable” peace. In both of the conflicts ethnicity played an important role and the conflicts have been fought between the government and different rebel groups. The conflicts and the peace processes have all been subject of research. However, even though the countries share some similarities it is important to note that their historical background is quite different, seeing as Rwanda has a colonial past, whereas Liberia never were under foreign colonial control. Furthermore, even though the countries both are located in sub-Sahara Africa, the distance between them are vast. As Rwanda is in the Great Lake region, and Liberia is in West Africa, they share no borders, and have no mutual neighbouring countries. These differences gives reasons to believe that they come from different contexts, and are therefore suitable for Mill’s *Method of agreement* (Teorell & Svensson, 2007, 227).

3.4 Material

There is extensive writings on the wars in Liberia and Rwanda, and the peace processes which followed. This study use secondary sources to present an overview of the historical framework, the conflicts, the peace processes. Different articles, books and statistics have been used as secondary material. Since the purpose is to analyse the peace process in Liberia and Rwanda it has been important to find material, which can give an insight into, how the peace processes were conducted. Therefore the relevant peace agreements have been chosen and these have been found via Uppsala Conflict Data Program (UCDP). The conflict in Liberia ended with the Accra peace agreement, signed on the 18th of August 2003 and the Accra Ceasefire Agreement, signed on the 17th of June 2003, and these have been used as primary sources. In the case of Rwanda there is no peace agreement from the time after the genocide. The Arusha accord (1993-08-04) was written before the genocide and failed to end the conflict. After the genocide no new peace agreement were written since the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) declared their intention to honour the Arusha accord.

4. The empirical case study

4.1 Rwanda

4.1.1 Historical background

After being colonised in the 19th century by the Germans, and later under Belgian colonial control, Rwanda became an independent state in 1962. During the colonial control the people that populated that area was divided into three groups: the Hutu, the Tutsi and the Twa. They were to some extent distinct in physical appearance, but the prevalent societal order was more one of social class than race. When independence came the Tutsis had the dominant place in society and the Belgian creation of a racial and ideological myths of Tutsi superiority and Hutu inferiority had already led to clashes between the groups. As the country was reformed to follow a majority rule the Tutsi elite was replaced with Hutu representatives. The independent state of Rwanda became a state dominated by the Hutu, where the Tutsi were repressed and the ethnic divides increased.

In the 1990s a civil war erupted when the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) invaded the Rwanda from Uganda, and the Tutsi exile groups became a potent threat to the Rwandan government (UCDP, Rwanda). Thousands of people were displaced and the government targeted propaganda towards the Tutsis. The government labelled all Tutsis inside Rwanda as accomplices of the RPF and the Hutu members in the opposition parties were labelled as traitors (UN.org, Rwanda).

Through the efforts of the Organisation of African Unity and the governments in the region, a peace process took place in 1993 and the Arusha agreements were signed. In October 1992, the Security Council established the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda with a mandate including peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance and general support for the peace process. However, as the presidents of Burundi and Rwanda died in a plane crash on 6th of April 1994, the peace process fell apart and a massive genocide of the Tutsi population, as well as all who opposed it, took place. The genocide ended when the RPF overthrew the Hutu-dominated government on the 4th of July 1994 (UN.org, Rwanda).

4.1.2 The peace agreement

In the case of Rwanda there is one peace accord in place, the Arusha accords, and even though it was written before the conflict came to an end, it was the accord the parties decided to uphold. The peace accord stipulates several important key factors on how

Rwanda is to be governed and the power of the Transitional Government. Women are mentioned twice in the document. Firstly, under article 56 in the main protocol it stipulates that the ruling party shall have control of the Ministry of Family Affairs and Promotion of the Status of Women (Arusha accord, 1993, 29). The second time women are mentioned is in an annexing protocol regarding Rwandese Refugees and the Resettlement of Displaced Persons. In this protocol the article 19 states: "*Vulnerable groups, i.e. women, children, the aged people and the handicapped shall be specifically taken care of*" (Arusha accord, 1993, 40).

4.1.3 The peace process

As the genocide came to an end and the RPF came in to power, the country was faced with new challenges. The risk of falling back into conflict was high and the future was uncertain for many Rwandans. The new post-genocide and post-conflict Rwanda presented itself with many problems in dire need of solutions. One consequence of the conflict was a shift in the demography. Many of the perpetrators during the conflict had been men, and it was primarily men who fought for the Hutu-dominated government. Fearing reprisal from the Tutsis, thousands of men fled the country. This, combined with the killing of many men during the conflict and the genocide, the country experienced a shift in the gender demography. ProFemme, a women's rights organisation in Rwanda, estimated that immediately after the genocide in 1994 about 88% were female. Between July 1994 and January 2003 authorities imprisoned approximately 130 000 Rwanda men on suspicion of genocide-related crimes (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 139). In January 2003 roughly half of the detainees were released, and eventually many of the men who had fled the country returned (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 139-140). The shift in the gender demographic did not last long, as a national survey from 2002 found that women accounted for 52,77 % of the people, but it had an impact on post-conflict Rwanda. The conflict, and especially the genocide had left many women traumatised as a result of physical assault and widespread instances of rape and sexual enslavement, but many women were burdened with new responsibilities to reunite their family, and in some cases to become the primary caretaker. The 2002 survey showed that females were the heads of 34% of households. This highlights the civil war's impact on the demographic, as well as a shift in women's societal roles (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 140).

Another consequence of the genocide and civil war was the destruction of the source of income for many households, and what was left was a decimated social economic fabric. The government, infrastructure and systems, once relied on by the population were also left in tatters and traditional communal and extended family connections were decimated and protection mechanism was devastated (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 140).

The government of national unity recognised women's abilities and their possibility to work as catalysts for peace building, and made a conscious effort to view women as actors, not only victims of a tragedy. In their work to rebuild the nation, the national unity government reformed the legal system and created structural changes. These paved the way for women's advancement in the politics and decision-making. The Rwandan

women rose to the challenge and played an important role in the post conflict society on many different levels. In addition to being the head of the household they assumed other non-traditional roles in performing manual labour and managing businesses (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 140).

The shift in the societal roles did not happen over night, and the process is still on-going. The processes have come a long way from the time of the genocide. At that point in history women were a marginalised group, and the reason for this can be traced to a colonial legacy in institutions and the legal framework (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 142).

The government of national unity dedicated much attention in including women in the reconstruction of the society. In addition to legal reforms, other political reforms were carried out. One of the most notable was the new constitution, which requires the inclusion of women at a minimum of 30% at all levels of government. To ensure this, women's committees appeared at all decentralised levels of governance and they played an important role in the inclusion of women. These reforms, along with the quota system that assigns 24 seats in parliament for women has helped women establish themselves as elective representatives at all levels of governance. Important to note is that women serve in the same governance structure as men, and that this is to ensure that their presence is not just a token (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 150). Today, Rwanda is the country with the highest female representation in parliament with 63,8% (Inter-Parliament Union [IPU], 2015b) and it is a position they have held since 2003 when 48,8% of the seats in parliament were occupied by women (IPU, 2003, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014). It rose from 25,7% in 2000, and the increase continued in 2006 when it increased to 48,8%, and again in 2008 to 56,3%(IPU, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008,)

The constitution also created directives to institute a gender observatory body and it became functional in 2008 to monitor all governmental and non-governmental organisations for gender disparities and due compliance. Another important initiative was the establishment of the Ministry of family and gender development, which works with gender mainstreaming in all ministerial bodies and institutions (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 150).

The measures taken by the government of national unity happened in symbiosis with the work of civil society. After the genocide many women came together and formed grassroots initiatives. An example of this is Avega-Agahozo, a genocide survivors' organization, which was founded by grieving women who had witnessed their loved ones die during the genocide (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 144). There were also grassroots initiatives to further economic growth and help women develop businesses and entrepreneurship, by creating cooperation between rural and urban women, as well as cooperatives. A positive effect of this was the increased belief in women as a important part of the workforce and in women's advancement (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 144-145). These grassroots initiatives have also played a big part in regards to the reconciliation process. Women-led initiatives at all levels worked with overcoming ethnic

divisions and create reconciliation between the ethnic divides (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 146).

Despite advancements for women in Rwanda, there are still many challenges to be faced. The country is still a poor country, and this is a challenge many women have to deal with (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 151). A legal challenge is the stigmatisation of rape and the problems seeking justice for crimes of sexual violence that occurred during the conflict and genocide, as well as in the post-conflict society. One way of battling this challenge was to establish the Gacaca courts. Established in 2001 the Gacaca courts are a traditional inspired “open trial” system of community justice, where prosecution and cross-examination are done in public and in a society where both the women and perpetrator are often known (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 152). The judges were elected by the villagers, and out of 200, 000 judges, about 35% were women. For a trial to take place, at least 100 persons had to be present (Mibenge, 2004, 4) The Gacaca courts worked alongside the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The latter have been criticised for its slow process and lack of letting the victims voices being heard (Nowrojee, 2008, 109-110). However, both courts have been criticised for causing re-traumatisation for the victims (Brounéus, 2008, 70).

4.2 Liberia

4.2.1 Historical background

Contrary to Rwanda, The Republic of Liberia was never under control of a foreign colonial power. The country Liberia was founded in 1847 by freed slaves from the Americas and with the help of the US government. The political life in Liberia was from the start dominated by Americo-Liberians (freed slaves or free-born African diaspora from the US), while the “indigenous” tribes were marginalised and excluded from state power. Through the True Whig party, the Americo-Liberian minority governed Liberia until 1980, when Samuel Doe took power in a bloody military coup. During Doe’s time at power he “ethicised” the politics of Liberia and the tensions between the ethnic groups increased (UCDP, Liberia). In the 1980s Liberia faced financial problems, and Does corrupt regime was met with discontent. A rebellion towards the government arose in 1989 when the group National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) invaded Liberia from bases in the Ivory Coast. Their leader was the Americo-Liberian Charles Taylor, and even though the rebellion was suppressed by the military, the rebel group gained support by the people and the country was divided by a civil war (Globalis, 2013).

The first Liberian civil war lasted from 1990 until 1996 when a peace agreement was signed in Abuja. A year later Charles Taylor was elected president and at first it seemed as though the conflict had come to an end. The NPFL was transformed into the National Patriotic Party (NPP) and the international forces left the country. However, in 2002 the civil war was resumed when the rebel group the Liberians United for Reconciliation and

Democracy (LURD) took up arms against Charles Taylor. A year later the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) joined the fight with the aim to oust Taylor from power. Negotiations began in 2003, and after diplomatic and military pressure Charley Taylor stepped down as president on 11th of August and left for exile in Nigeria. One week later a peace agreement between the government, LURD and MODEL was signed, and it stipulated a broad-based transitional government, new elections, and the restructuring of the armed forces, as well as a request the deployment to Liberia of a multinational peacekeeping force to preserve the peace. On 14th of October 2003 the National Transitional Government of Liberia under president Gyude Bryant was inaugurated and around the same time the United Nations Mission in Liberia was deployed. This is as considered the end of the conflict (UCDP, Liberia).

4.2.2 The peace agreement

In the case of Liberia several peace agreements were written. The Accra agreement of Ceasefire and Cessation of hostilities from 2003 stipulates the ceasefire arrangement for the conflict. The document is seven pages long and it does not mention women (Accra Ceasefire Agreement, 2003). However, in the Accra peace agreement women are mentioned several times. Under Article 19 the National Transitional Legislative Assembly (NTLA) was established, and it was decided that NTLA should have maximum 76 seats. Of these 76 seats, 7 were to be reserved for civil society and interest groups, and in this women organisation were included. Furthermore it states that women organisation shall be a part of the NTLA. (Accra peace agreement, 2003, 17-18) Article 27 states that *“The parties shall reflect national and gender balance in all elective and non-elective appointment within the NTLA”* (Accra peace agreement, 2003, 21).

Similar to the peace agreement in Rwanda, the Accra peace agreement has a special regulation regarding *“Vulnerable groups”*. Article 31 is titled *“Vulnerable groups”* and it states that the transitional government shall give particular attention to rehabilitation of vulnerable groups or war victims, i.e. children, women, the elderly and the disabled (Accra peace agreement, 2003, 22).

4.2.3 The peace process

The war in Liberia was lengthy and it took a long time to reach a peace agreement. Traditionally women remain largely excluded from official peace-building processes, but in the case of Liberia a large group of women from the civil society demanded to have their voices heard and they demanded to have a seat at the final negotiation table (Romanova & Sewell, 2011, 223).

During the conflict gender-based violence became common practice and government statistics confirm that the majority of girls and women are survivors of war-related sexual-violence (Chandler, 2010, 32). The women’s movement started as a response to the violence directed towards them. They decided to fight back using non-violent

methods, and even though they were not invited to the peace conference, they demanded to be heard and found a way to attend (Romanova & Sewell, 2011, 225). Women's mobilisation gained international recognition and became a powerful force in bringing peace to Liberia (Romanova & Sewell, 2011, 224).

The Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNE) is an organisation composed of women from Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone. It was formed as a regional network and worked to mobilise women in the peace movement. The organisation signed the peace agreement for the conflict in Liberia in 2003 and served as the official organisation to represent women. The same year the organisation was awarded the 2003 United Nation Prize in the field of human rights. This award proved that women are essential as well as important actors in the peacebuilding process (Romanova & Sewell, 2011, 226).

There are many reasons why women's organisations managed to play an important part in the peace process in Liberia. In Liberia educated and uneducated women worked side by side to address the need of their communities and this helped to demonstrate the ability of women's organisation to build bridges (Romanova & Sewell, 2011, 228). In Liberia women took ownership for their initiatives and stuck by them. There was also a high level of international support of the women's peace movement in Liberia (Romanova & Sewell, 2011, 229) and many point to the political aspiration of the leaders and their political agenda and argue that this is what made it a movement (Romanova & Sewell, 2011, 231).

As a post-conflict society Liberia faced many different challenges. As sexual-violence became the norm during the war, many medical conditions went untreated and this is something the survivors still have to struggle with (Chandler, 2010, 36).

In 2006 a presidential election was held and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected president, and as such became the first female head of state in Africa. She had played an important role in the country's peace process and in 2011 she was, alongside Leymah Gbowee, a fellow peace activist in the peace process in Liberia, and Tawakkol Karman, a Yemen peace activist, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. The motivation state: "*for their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women's rights to full participation in peace-building work*" (Nobelprize.org, 2011). Ellen Johnson Sirleaf campaigned on a dual platform: ending corruption and confronting gender-based violence (Chandler, 2010, 32).

The government of Johnson Sirleaf has started many reforms to fight sexual violence and to give victims justice. A new law was introduced to make rape a capital unailable offence, but there were many loopholes in the implementation of the law due to a novice police force. To combat this the newly rehabilitated criminal court established a "fast-track" for cases of sexual violence (Chandler, 2010, 33). Ellen Johnson Sirleaf announced a "*zero tolerance*" for gender-based violence, and recognizes that it need to come with training of police officers, judges and general public, as well as raising the awareness regarding these issues (Chandler, 2010, 39). Furthermore, Liberia is combating violence against women through education and legal reforms (Chandler, 2010, 38).

After the war, a truth and reconciliation commission was formed. They concluded that women were victimized by the war, but there are also countless of stories of women defying their roles as victims and instead played an important role in keeping society going during the war (Chandler, 2010, 40). The Violence National Action plan of 2008 states that over half of Liberia's women are survivors of gender-based violence. Due to this high amount it has a multisectoral strategy to combat it at all levels of society (Chandler, 2010, 38).

When it comes to female representation in the public forum and in political bodies the numbers are low. Even though their head of states is female, there are a surprisingly low number of women in public office. Between 2000 and 2003 the number was 8% and in 2004 it dropped to 5% (IPU, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004). In the first election after the peace agreements the number increased in 2005 to 13% and this number held until 2011 when it dropped again to 10% (IPU, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011). The number went up again in 2012 to 11% and this is number remained until 2015 (IPU, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015). The low number of women in parliament can be attributed to the lack of a gender quota for the parliamentary election. Due to this Liberia's Women's Caucus presented a new draft for a Gender Representation Bill to Parliament in August 2011, calling for the adaptation of a legislated gender quota. The bill was unsuccessful on account of political party alliances and opposing schools of thought on gender quotas, but the Liberia's Women's Caucus continue their lobbying and advocacy work (Liberian Women's Caucus, 2011).

4.3 Comparison

The previous sub-sections have presented the peace processes in Liberia and Rwanda, and in this chapter this information will be compared to each other.

4.3.1 Similarities

Both in the Arusha accord and in the Accra peace agreement women were mentioned as a vulnerable group. In the case of Rwanda it was in annexing protocol regarding Rwandese Refugees and the Resettlement of Displaced Persons, and in Liberia it was in Article 31.

In both conflicts sexual- and gender-based violence occurred, and both countries have been forced to deal with this. It is interesting to note their different approaches. As previously mentioned, rape was made a capital unbailable offence in Liberia, and the newly rehabilitated criminal court established a "fast-track" for cases of sexual violence (Chandler, 2010, 33). In Rwanda the Gacaca courts have played an important role in bringing perpetrators to justice (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 152), but as victims are

being re-traumatised it has to be questioned if it is the right way to proceed (Brounéus, 2008, 70).

A common debate in the field of peace and conflict studies is where the measures and actions should come from. Should it come from the international community, the government or from the grassroots levels. In regards to the peace processes in Liberia and Rwanda, it is important to note the important role the civil society, and especially women's movement, has played on both a grassroots level, but also in regards to affecting the governmental policies.

4.3.1 Differences

A notable difference between the Arusha accord and the Accra peace agreement is that in the Accra peace agreement there are special provisions for reserving seats in the National Transitional Legislative Assembly, for women's organisations. (Accra peace agreement, 2003, 17-18) However, since the seats reserve for women's organization are so few, it could be argued to have little effect.

Another difference is that in the Accra peace agreement there is a outspoken goal of gender balance in the NTLA. It states: "*The parties shall reflect national and gender balance in all elective and non-elective appointment within the NTLA*" (Accra peace agreement, 2003, 21).

Another difference between Liberia and Rwanda is the constitution. In Rwanda a new constitution is in place and it has played an important role in the reshaping of the country with a more gender inclusive perspective (Uwineza & Noël Brown, 2011, 150). In Liberia the constitution remains the same as before the conflicts, with no special provisions to gender equality. (GOL, 1986)

When it comes to the political representation of women in national parliament the situation in Rwanda are miles ahead of the situation in Liberia. It comes as no surprise since Rwanda is the country with the highest representation of women in parliament. With its 64% it is high above the world average of 22,5% (IPU, 2015b). Many researchers attributes this high percentage to the national quota the country has legislated (Muriaas et al, 2013, 90). Compared to Rwanda, the political representation of women in national parliament in Liberia is a bleak story. With its 11% the country is well under the worlds average. While Rwanda is leading the worlds, Liberia is on the 108th ranking of the political representation of women in national parliament (IPU, 2015, a).

5. Analysis

Based on the findings in the previous section certain key patterns can be established, and in this section they are related to the theoretical framework. When Ellerby mapped the peace agreements for her study she found that the Arusha accord, i.e. Rwanda, fulfilled one of the categories regarding the properties of inclusion. It was the third property of inclusion *protection*. This is due to the provision of women as a vulnerable group. The Accra peace agreement, i.e. Liberia fulfilled two categories: *protection* and *representation* since, as the agreement, Ellerby puts it: “*Include(s) a nod to the importance of women’s participation as decision makers, but without any specific as to how this should be instituted.*” (Ellerby, 2013, 446). In the next part of the thesis other parts of the peace process is analysed based on Ellerby’s three levelled concept of (en)gendered security.

5.1 Representation

Representation was indicated via decision-making measures in the peace agreements, which illustrated the access to positions of power. (Ellerby, 2013, 444) Liberia was the only country to fulfil this in the peace agreement (Ellerby, 2013, 446). In the years since the peace agreement other measures have been taken to promote and advance women’s representation in Liberia. One of the most notable is when Johnson Sirleaf was elected president, and as such became the first female head of state in Africa (Chandler, 2010, 32). On the other hand the amount of women in parliament is still below world average (IPU, 2015, b). As mentioned above, Rwanda is the country with the highest percentage of women in national parliament, and the new constitution is often cited as a contributing factor. However, since Liberia, which has special provisions regarding women in power, is the country of with the lowest representation of women in national parliament compared to Rwanda, it is possible to argue that the importance of the peace agreement for the representation in the post conflict society is highly exaggerated. It can therefore be argued that it is more important with other measures and actions to promote female participation in the public sphere. Measures such as quotas and reserved seats are often cited as important to increase the amount of women in parliament, and in the cases of Rwanda and Liberia, the provisions can be found only in Rwanda. However, it could be argued that representation is not that relevant, since a gender equal parliament does not guarantee a more gender equal politics.

5.2 Incorporation

The second property of inclusion is *incorporation*. This was indicated via measures of “gender balance” or everyday operations and practices, training, and presence of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Ellerby, 2013, 441). In the cases of Rwanda and Liberia, it becomes clear that the governments of both countries have had an ambition to incorporate women in the peace process. A perfect example of this is the Ministry of family and gender development in Rwanda, and the provision to include women in the National Transitional Legislative Assembly in Liberia.

However, even if the measures taken by the governments in the two countries have been progressive, the role of the civil society and the women’s movement cannot be ignored. Both countries demonstrates a civil society with a high ambition and in both Liberia and Rwanda the women’s movement played an important role in the peace processes.

5.3 Protection

The third property of inclusion is *protection* and it includes provisions of fighting gender-based violence, access to resources and specific forms of discrimination, in order to guarantee the safety and equality for women (Ellerby, 2013, 444). Both countries are facing the challenge of battling sexual violence, and they are both tackling it in a legal manor, but in different ways. The new law in Liberia with harsher punishments for rape is a significant advancement of the protection of possible rape victims, and the Gacaca courts in Rwanda have been seen as a successful measure to ensure justice for victims of sexual violence. The problem is when the courts are not protecting the victims, but instead are re-traumatizing them (Brounéus, 2008, 70). Considering the widespread nature of the sexual- and gender-based violence during both the conflicts and the years after, both countries are faced with a reality of victims they cannot ignore. Judging by the new legal measures it can be argued that both Rwanda and Liberia are trying to create a legal framework that will protect and give justice for victims of sexual- and gender-based violence.

5.4 Recognition

According to Ellerby, *recognition* includes provisions in the peace agreements calling for adoption of a “gender perspective” or identifies women as “vulnerable group” or that specifies women’s “special need” (Ellerby, 2013, 444). When applied to the peace processes in Liberia and Rwanda as a whole, some interesting findings are evident.

Firstly, considering the peace agreements, the provision of “*vulnerable group*” was included in both the Arusha accord (Arusha accord, 1994, 40) and the Accra peace agreement (Accra peace agreement, 2003, 22). Even though these phrasings are problematic due to the implied victimhood of women, they recognise the difficulties women faces during conflict.

Secondly, the attitudes and measures taken against sexual- and gender-based violence, also falls under *Recognition*. In Liberia President Johnson Sirleaf adopted a “*zero tolerance*” to fight the gender-based violence (Chandler, 2010, 39). This statement, along with legal measures, sends a clear signal that sexual- and gender-based violence is a severe crime and that the ramifications shall suit the crime. The primary victims of these crimes are women and it can therefore be argued that the call for “*zero tolerance*” for these crimes provides legitimacy for a “women’s issue” and putting it on the same level as crimes where men are the primary victim. Based on this it can be argued that it is a recognition of women’s rights.

6. Conclusion

In this study the peace processes in Liberia and Rwanda have been presented, compared and analysed based on Ellerby's three levelled concept of (en)gendered security. The research questioned posed in the beginning of the thesis was how the two peace processes differs from each other and which affect the UNSCR 1325 has had on them.

The analysis of the peace processes based on Ellerby's three levelled concept of (en)gendered security shows that both the peace processes in Liberia and Rwanda fulfils four of the properties of inclusion; *representation, incorporation, protection, and recognition*. This conceptualisation indicates a measurable implementation of UNSCR 1325 in the peace processes, which in turn indicates an increased awareness of (en)gendered security. This area of the field would benefit of more research in the future.

An interesting finding is how the peace agreements differ from each other in regards to women. The peace agreement with the most references to women and their role in peace processes is the Arusha accord, i.e. in Liberia. The UNSCR 1325 was presented in 2000, i.e. in between the two peace agreements, explains the increased interest and focus on (en)gendered security in the latter peace agreement. However, even more interesting is how the development regarding gender equality has developed.

One of the most notable differences is between Liberia and Rwanda is the new constitution in Rwanda. The outspoken ambition for gender equality in Rwanda's constitution, can be considered an example of (en)gendered security in practice. This is an area of research, which is recommended for further study in the future.

Sexual violence is a challenge both of the countries are faced with, and as this study shows, they have dealt with it in different ways. The two cases both present a consciousness regarding the issue and a willingness to deal with it. Considering the newfound awareness in the international community, much as a result of the UNSCR 1325 and the following resolution on the same theme, it can be argued that the countries are following a global trend.

This study has shown that even though there is a relevance of incorporating the ideas from the UNSCR 1325 with an (en)gendered security agenda in the peace accords, the peace accords can only travel so far and other measures need to be made in the post conflict society. This study of the peace processes in Liberia and Rwanda has shown that both countries have displayed the importance of an active civil society, a government committed to solve the issue of sexual- and gender-based violence through legislative and improved judicial system, as well as measures to ensure political representation, to achieve (en)gendered security.

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8. Appendix

Table 1

| | 1990–1993 | 1994–1996 | 1997–1999 | 2000–2002 | 2003–2005 | 2006–Present |
|--------------------------|---|------------------------------|---|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| No (en)gendered security | Cambodia Slovenia India (Tripur) India (Bodoland) Afghanistan | Georgia Croatia Niger | Bosnia (Croat) Moldova Tajikistan Guinea Bissau Congo Yugoslavia | Djibouti Macedonia Colombia | Comoros Senegal Indonesia | Central African Republic |
| 1 category | El Salvador Mali Mozambique Rwanda Somalia | Bosnia-Serbia Philippines | Bangladesh Israel | Sierra Leone Papua New Guinea Angola | Sudan (CPA) | Ivory Coast Somalia DRC (Kivu) |
| 2 categories | | Liberia (LURD) | UK | | Liberia (NPF) | Kenya |
| 3 categories | | Mexico | | | | Zimbabwe |
| All categories | | Guatemala | | Burundi | DRC | Darfur Uganda |



Resolution 1325 (2000)

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on
31 October 2000**

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

Emphasizing the need for all parties to ensure that mine clearance and mine awareness programmes take into account the special needs of women and girls,

Recognizing the urgent need to mainstream a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and in this regard *noting* the Windhoek Declaration and the Namibia Plan of Action on Mainstreaming a Gender Perspective in Multidimensional Peace Support Operations (S/2000/693),

Recognizing also the importance of the recommendation contained in the statement of its President to the press of 8 March 2000 for specialized training for all peacekeeping personnel on the protection, special needs and human rights of women and children in conflict situations,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security,

Noting the need to consolidate data on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls,

1. *Urges* Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;

2. *Encourages* the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;

3. *Urges* the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard *calls on* Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;

4. *Further urges* the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;

5. *Expresses* its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations, and *urges* the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;

6. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, *invites* Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian police personnel in preparation for deployment, and *further requests* the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

7. *Urges* Member States to increase their voluntary financial, technical and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts, including those undertaken by relevant funds and programmes, inter alia, the United Nations Fund for Women and United Nations Children's Fund, and by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other relevant bodies;

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

(a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction;

(b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements;

(c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls, especially as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

10. *Calls on* all parties to armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, and all other forms of violence in situations of armed conflict;

11. *Emphasizes* the responsibility of all States to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, and war crimes including those relating to sexual and other violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes, where feasible from amnesty provisions;

12. *Calls upon* all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolutions 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998 and 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000;

13. *Encourages* all those involved in the planning for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration to consider the different needs of female and male ex-combatants and to take into account the needs of their dependants;

14. *Reaffirms* its readiness, whenever measures are adopted under Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, to give consideration to their potential impact on the civilian population, bearing in mind the special needs of women and girls, in order to consider appropriate humanitarian exemptions;

15. *Expresses* its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups;

16. *Invites* the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and *further invites* him to

submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

17. *Requests* the Secretary-General, where appropriate, to include in his reporting to the Security Council progress on gender mainstreaming throughout peacekeeping missions and all other aspects relating to women and girls;

18. *Decides* to remain actively seized of the matter.
