IT IS A MAN'S WORLD BUT A WOMAN'S ACCOUNTABILITY

A Gendered Understanding of the Hybrid Peace Processes in Northern Ireland and Liberia

Amanda Wendel Malm

Lund University   SIMV07
Department of Political Science   Tutor: Annika Björkdahl

Abstract

Within Peace Research, there is a long tradition of studying the creations and conditions of peace. Within this, Hybrid Peace Theory has constituted a more critical strand, emphasising the importance of the interactions between international and local actors. This thesis has aimed to contribute to critical peace research by arguing for the importance of including a gender perspective on the Hybrid Peace Theory. Hence, this was done by conducting a case study through a combination of structured and focused comparison and qualitative content analysis on the peace processes in Northern Ireland and Liberia. The thesis genders and criticises Hybrid Peace by highlighting the concepts of Masculinities and Femininities, Agency, Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren', Public and Private Spheres and Experience of War. The main conclusions drawn are that the Hybrid Peace theory does not provide a perspective that is inclusive enough to understand the interactions between local and international levels. The thesis argues that a gender perspective facilitates the understanding of the complexities inhabited in these interactions. Hence, Hybrid Peace can be seen as the umbrella and by gendering it a deeper understanding of peace is provided. Lastly, the thesis attempted to propose a Gendered Hybrid Peace.

Key words: Hybrid Peace, Gendered Hybrid Peace, Gender, Peace Process, Women, Peace and Security Agenda

Word count: 21.333

Acknowledgements

As most people know, it is quite impossible to write a thesis in total isolation and without help from your close and loved ones. Therefore, I wish to thank those who have been involved in this thesis – in one way or another.

First of all, I would like to thank my supervisor, Annika Björkdahl, for the support, guidance and positivity when I doubted the entire thesis – which was most of the semester.

Secondly, without Janine's, Fredrika's and Julia's continuous peer reviewing this thesis would probably look like shit and there is a very solid reasoning for why the three of you were the chosen ones for this task.

On a more personal note, I need to thank my family and friends. Particularly, my endless thanks to my family. Especially Alice, you are the omega of my heart and you deserve all my Happy Hippos. My main support group – Hedda, Fredrika and Louise – needs special thanks and love for their ability to make me forget the thesis and for sticking around after all these years. Xénia – I would not have been able to remain sane (somewhat at least…) without our eggs benedict and cava. Trust me, it means a lot. Janine, thank you for handling my perfectionism and breakdowns.

But naturally, I alone am responsible for the remaining errors.

See You Again

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AU	African Union
CLMC	Combined Loyalist Military Command
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
GBV	Gender Based Violence
IR	International Relations
IRA	Irish Republican Army
LNAP	The Liberian National Action Plan
LURD	Liberians United for Reconstruction and Democracy
MODEL	Movement for Democracy in Liberia
NEC	National Electoral Commission
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NTGL	National Transitional Government of Liberia
NTLA	National Transitional Legislative Assembly
SDLP/SFLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party
UN	The United Nation
UNSCR 1325	The United Nation Security Council Resolution 1325
UUP	Ulster Unionist Party
WIPNET	Women in Peacebuilding

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

On the 20th of October 2000, the United Nation Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325), focused on Women, Peace and Security. This was the first time that the UN implemented a resolution and incorporated women's interest and concerns into an agenda (Tryggestad 2009:539). In the resolution, they, in a "ground-breaking" manner, stressed the importance of women by…

> *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 (UNSCR 1325).

Through this, they urged the international community and countries to take measures for the inclusion of women in relation to issues of peace and security. In the aftermath of the resolution, several offspring resolutions have emerged on the topic.

An extensive amount of literature has shown that women have a fundamental role in the reconstruction of societies and the development of peace (Ball 2019:4). However, women are not often included based on that as they did not participate in the war, they should not be involved in the peace-making (Sharp 2013:161). Even if this is the case, research has shown that the active participation of women in peace negotiations often leads to results and implementation of higher quality (Krause et al. 2018:1006). This exclusion shows the importance to make peace processes gendered from the start (Bell 2018:426).

At the same time as the international community is promoting the inclusion of women, the research area on the notion of peace has started to take into account perspectives from feminist and gendered strands. Approaches to peace are ranging from Immanuel Kant's (1891) ideas on Perpetual Peace, Johan Galtung's (1969) definition of Positive and Negative Peace, Liberal Peace thoughts rooted in Wilsonian ideas and Roland Paris (2004) writings on institutionalisation before liberalisation. Moreover, the field has developed more critical strands taking into account "the local turn" and ideas on Hybrid Peace (see for example Hughes et al. 2015a and Mac Ginty 2011 & 2010). However, the importance of feminist and gender perspectives on the issues has not been as extensive. Some researchers have argued for the significance of adding these to understand what an inclusive and just peace consist of. Still, there is further important contributions that can be made (see for example Björkdahl 2012, McLeod 2015 and Confortini 2006). Nonetheless,

when using a gender lens on the matter Ryan and Basini (2017:187) stress the importance of asking questions such as 'who participates' and 'how do they participate?'. Hence, the only thing that matters is not to gain peace – we also need to focus on peace for whom? and how to achieve an equal and inclusive peace?

1.1   The Research Problem, Purpose of the study and Research Question(s)

As noted, there is a need for including more gender perspectives in the research field on peace. Based on this, the thesis will argue, from a gender perspective, that not enough focus has been placed on the role of women within Hybrid Peace. Even if research on this perspective exist, there still is a gap in the field that can be filled by feminist research with a gender focus on the Hybrid Peace theory. However, this needs further development and testing.

Based on this, the aim of the thesis is to understand which contributions and understandings a gender perspective can provide to the hybrid peace theory, this by highlighting concepts such as Masculinities and Femininities, Agency, Victimhood and Beautiful Souls, Private and Public Spheres and Experience of War. Hence, the goal is to show how these concepts can provide a deeper understanding of hybrid peace and emphasise the role of the structures inhabited within it. The purpose is to demonstrate that previous research on hybrid peace theory does not pay attention to deeper structures in society, and through that neglects the understanding of differences within the local population and their participation in peace processes. With this in mind, the thesis is foremost focused on creating an understanding of the limitations of a hybrid peace and why a gendered perspective is necessary to incorporate. Therefore, the research questions that will guide this thesis are the following:

How can we understand peace processes from a Gendered Hybrid Peace perspective?

What can a Gendered Hybrid Peace look like?

In what way can a Hybrid Peace theory benefit from a gender perspective?

Drawing on the thesis' research questions, aim and purpose, questions that are going to be addressed can be focused on the overall theme of the role of women in peace processes and agreements. If the work on gender issues at the UN really has had an impact on peace processes? If it is necessary to develop a gendered hybrid peace theory? What contribution can a gender perspective have? And what information and knowledge can we gain from a gendered hybrid peace theory?

In order to investigate this topic, this thesis will perform a structured and focused comparison to analyse the peace processes in Northern Ireland and Liberia.

Thus, by developing a gender hybrid peace, this thesis contributes to the contemporary critical peace research by highlighting the importance, and usefulness, of viewing hybrid peace from a gendered perspective. The intent is that the study will highlight the importance of a gender perspective and that it will facilitate the analysis of understanding issues of power, exclusion and sustainable peace that pose to be problems in post-conflict countries. Based on this, this thesis will conduct research from a poststructuralist point of view, which implies that the focus is not solely placed on women's bodies, it also emphasises why a reconstruction of the political assumptions and identity in the modern state is needed. Accordingly, why a reconstruction of state solutions of issues regarding citizenship, belonging, identity, power and the public-private dichotomy is necessary (Hansen 2010:23).

1.2   Structure of the Thesis

The introduction of the thesis is followed by a chapter that relates the research topic to the previous research on the subject. After this, the theories that are going to be included in the theoretical framework are presented and then applied to the respective cases. Thirdly, methodology and method are presented and connected to the theoretical framework. After this, the theoretical and analytical framework is used to analyse the cases in the analysis chapter. Lastly, a conclusion and a consideration of the usefulness of a gendered hybrid peace is provided.

2 Previous Research

2.1 International Relations and Women

Within the study of International Relations, feminist perspectives have contributed with an understanding of complexities such as power and gendered structures, inequalities and existing discourses. Hence, several contributions have been made to show how global politics are infused with ideas of maleness and femaleness, the dynamics of marriages and relationships, the private and public spheres and international traditional problems. Furthermore, it has pointed out that it is impossible to separate making sense of global politics and understanding it from a feminist standpoint. Hence, scholars have highlighted the need for understanding the role of women and gender in global politics and what knowledge this perspective can contribute with (Tickner – Sjoberg 2011b:2). As Tickner (1997:620) has noted, within feminist IR, the focus is rather placed on the acquisition of genuine knowledge that will facilitate the understanding of the issues at hand – however, this approach is not often visible within the IR field.

Within IR, as well as national and local levels, most institutions are characterised as "men's clubs" where women only are partly allowed (Enloe 2014:28). Thus, women are underrepresented within public institutes and positions of power. However, feminists have been working on pushing governments and public spaces to be more inclusive. This has resulted in that women are now, to a larger extent, visible in roles that were traditionally seen as male (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:8). It is by conducting research on this limited access, and in that the role gender has in international, that we will be able to unravel the power inhabited in it and the different forms that it takes (Enloe 2014:8). Within this, gender should not only be seen as "[…] a noun (i.e., an identity) and a verb (i.e., a way to look at the world, as in the phrase 'gendering global politics') but also a logic, which is produced by and productive of the ways in which we understand and perform global politics" (Shepherd 2010:5). This is closely related to Foucault's argument that "[…] the body is […] directly involved in a political field; power relations have an immediate hold upon it; they invest in it, mark it, train it, torture it, force it to carry out tasks, to perform ceremonies, to emit signs" (Foucault 1977:25). Lastly, it is through conducting feminist research on international relations, paying attention to gender and women, and by asking the question *Where are the women?* that we will be able to understand how the world works (Enloe 2014:6).

2.2   Women and Peace

In the field of peace research, studies have been conducted that emphasise issues regarding gender and women with the aim to contribute with an understanding of the role these play in relation to diplomacy, negotiations, peace agreements, post-conflict recovery, peacebuilding amongst others. As with other institutions, women have, to a large extent, been excluded from peace processes. This, in turn, has had severe effects on their participation in the post-conflict societies and on the work for gender equality.

Within peace agreements, there is a trend to address women's rights and gender equality; however, the peace agreements are not always gender-sensitive (True – Riveros-Morales 2019:23). Due to this exclusion, women's political marginalisation is further continued and through that also reduces political reforms, the implementation and durability of peace (Krause et al. 2018:992). However, there are several legit reasons for why it is important to include women and integrate their ideas and concerns. Firstly, as women are affected by the conflict and the peace process, they should be included in the negotiation, work and implementation of peace. Secondly, the peace agreements need to adopt gender perspectives in order to include a larger population. Lastly, it is also important that feminist advocacy continues in the peace process and not stops after the signing of peace agreements (Bell 2018:425).

Other studies (for example Krause et al. 2018:1007) have shown that the inclusion of women in peace negotiations has several benefits with regard to the effectiveness, quality and durability of peace – and, naturally, also equality. Adopting a gender perspective to peace processes and agreements is necessary, and the inclusion of women is vital. Furthermore, a gender perspective requires highlighting the material improvements that women in the conflict might need. Lastly, a gender perspective is also important for the creation of a holistic perspective of peace and to create an understanding of how issues of gender can influence the structure and content of them (Bell – McNicholl 2019:4f). Hence, True and Riveros-Morales (2019:25) have noted that the argument for including women in peace processes is simple, "[…] equal participation is a right, women's participation contributes to the prevention and resolution of conflicts while the lack of this participation undermines it, and women as well as men play important roles in rebuilding the fabric of recovering societies".

2.3   The Development of the Concept of Peace

During the 1990s, peace interventions were continuously created to stabilise and help countries suffering from conflict. During the time, peace interventions followed, to a large extent, the same principles and strategies, i.e, the implementation and promotion of democracy and a marketization processes (Paris

2004:19). The development of liberal views on peace was rooted in the idea of positive peace, as proposed by Galtung (1969 & 1996), stating that to gain a positive peace, direct, structural and cultural violence must be absent. On the other hand, the negative peace supports a realism perspective where absence of violence is the main focus (Richmond 2008:35). However, Paris (2004:7) has, in reaction to the Wilsonian strategies of peacebuilding, put forward the idea that it is important to transform conflict ridden countries into liberal market democracies as those are prone to be more peaceful. However, in comparison to the Wilsonian ideas, Paris proposes the strategy of 'institutionalisation before liberalisation'. Which is based on that transforming countries into democracies and marketization processes are turbulent and can affect peace negatively and therefore requires support.

The liberal strands of peace research have been exposed to criticism from several perspectives. The critical strand within the research is important for emphasising orders and their (re)production within peacebuilding. The post-liberal strands and hybrid peace approaches grew as a reaction to the crisis that the liberal peace faced on the basis of being illiberal, top-down, technocratic and not taking into account the local experiences. Furthermore, through this promotion of Western and elite ideas, the country of intervention becomes undermined and alien ideas are pushed upon them (Nadarajah – Rampton 2015:53).

Peace from a hybridity perspective enables criticising that the ideas within liberal peace. Stating that they should not be seen as a superior framework that can be used to implement liberal ideas without the rejection from local power structures and norms. Secondly, it will also help to highlight local agency and norms. Lastly, it facilitates to question the basis of contemporary peace and the politics, economics, social and cultural orders that it is based on. Through this, we can critically examine what peace consist of and how to improve it (Mac Ginty 2011:68f). The work on hybridity presented by scholars such as Richmond and Mac Ginty are to a large extent grounded in Foucauldian and postcolonial thoughts, such as Bhabha and Scott. They look at peacebuilding as a resistance towards the dominant discourse and practice of peacebuilding projects and to develop a post-liberal order within it. To do this, emphasis is placed at analysing structures of power, domination and types of resistance (Paffenholz 2015:859f). Hence, of importance is to create a solid and more legitimate 'social contract' that is founded on more inclusive citizenship (Nadarajah – Rampton 2015:60).

However, the criticism that has been put towards hybrid peace theories have been numerous. They have mainly been focused on that the perspective is incomplete and that the international peace frameworks are still dominant. Thus, that hybridity is only used in shallow terms and that it is mainly focused on the domestic in relation to the external and their relationship – and how non-liberal forms of decision-making and solutions are deployed (Nadarajah – Rampton 2015:57). Furthermore, feminist criticism towards the hybrid peace and the liberal peace has argued that the perspectives neglect important aspects of achieving a sustainable peace. Scholars have emphasised a discursive and pragmatic view on gendered deterministic within international relations to emphasise the importance of active and pragmatic project of an empathetic, every day and inclusive peace. Thus, not only dealing with issues of class and/or economic and political processes

of marginalisation (Richmond 2008:125). Therefore, a feminist perspective plays an important role when uncovering the practices of domination, marginalisation and hegemony (Richmond 2008:144). Lastly, as McLeod (in Ryan – Basini 2017:189) has argued, there is a clear absence of gender within the field of hybrid peace. However, this perspective is important to fully understand the functions of hybridity. In combination with gender, the power relations in the local and international creates a meaningful contribution for understanding the impact of who participates in hybrid peace and in what way (Ryan – Basini 2017:189).

3   Theory

In this section, the theoretical foundation of the thesis is presented, consisting of two parts. Firstly, Hybrid Peace theory is discussed in order to understand hybridity within peace processes. Secondly, to apprehend and criticise the Hybrid Peace theory, a gender perspective is applied by means of the following concepts: Masculinity and Femininity, Agency, Victimhood and Beautiful Souls, Private and Public spheres and Experience of War. Finally, the last section will present how these theories are combined and, further, their contribution to gendering Hybrid Peace.

3.1   Definitions of Peace

Defining central concepts is an important part when conducting research and as this thesis is focused on the development of the concept of peace. In this thesis, a discussion of peace definitions will be provided and an understanding of a Gendered Hybrid Peace will be presented in the conclusion of the study.

Peace has been defined in several ways, and the roads and views towards a sustainable and durable peace has been extensive. One of the most famous definitions of peace was coined by Galtung (1969) who made the distinction between positive and negative peace. Here, negative peace is merely the absence of violence while positive peace is a more comprehensive version of peace that consists of the absence of structural violence and a larger degree of freedom. Furthermore, with the positive peace as a background, the liberal peace thesis has presented the idea that states with liberal institutions do not fight each other as they are more peaceful (Paris 2004:6). This, in turn, is called the democratic peace and is to a large extent rooted in Kant's views on perpetual peace (Kant 1891). As a further development of the positive and negative peace, ideas of what a hybrid positive and negative peace consist of have been defined. A negative hybrid peace can be defined by the process of gaining peace where international norms and interests are opposing local ones. Through this, the peace does not gain international or local legitimacy. Hence, a negative hybrid peace can be linked to an outsourcing of power and norms from the international to the local. A positive hybrid peace, on the other hand, is rather representative of a contextual process where a larger variety of political and social injustices are stressed. Additionally, this also results in that the legitimacy is to a larger extent rooted in the local. Therefore, the local is the basis for the state and the international through networks and relationality (Richmond 2015:51).

Within a feminist and gendered strand of peace research, Björkdahl (2012:287) has discussed the concept of gender-just peace that is founded on a positive peace where social justice and equity are cornerstones of the promotion and recognition of women and their roles and agency. Furthermore, such definition of peace "[…] contributes to a fundamental shift in the provision of specific rights related to women's gender roles, a transformation of gender relations in society and redefinition of caste hierarchies" (ibid.).

3.2   Hybrid Peace

Hybridity within the field of peacebuilding is mainly focused on the interactions between the local and international, formal and informal as well as liberal and illiberal. Based on this, the hybrid peace is especially focused on the usage of local knowledge to create a broader support and legitimacy for peace (Björkdahl – Höglund 2013:293). Hybridity was developed from the more critical strand of peace research focused on the local levels, also called the local turn. This is mostly based on Robert Cox' conceptualisation, viewing the local as a way to obtain peaceful and prosperous societies (Hughes et al. 2015b:817). The local turn started with Lederach's writings but has since then been developed upon further. The main difference that the local turn provides, is that the local people are viewed as agents of peace (Paffenholz 2015:858). Furthermore, the local should not be seen as "[…] a solution, but a range of opportunities to think differently about the relationship between power, agency and freedom" (Hughes et al. 2015b:818f).

Mac Ginty (2010:407) proposes the alternative form of hybrid peace on the basis that a hybridised of the liberal peace urges us to de-construct the peace to look at the sources and direction of the power and agency in the process. However, hybridity should not be seen as a way to understand the results of peacebuilding in relation to its creation within the complex relations between the local and international and the power relations within it and their development (Ryan – Basini 2017:186f). Since the interplay between the actors constitutes a large part of the framework, as presented by Mac Ginty (2010:392), the main aim of hybrid peace theory is that it should explain the relationships and the process between the actors and the constructed relationship and how the latter is maintained and replicated. Within this, it is especially interesting to look at the interaction between the agents to understand the factors combined to produce a hybrid peace. In relation to this, the agency of the local actors needs to be confirmed and incorporated. But, it is equally important to highlight the power that regional and international powers contribute in relation to coercion, incentives and guidance (ibid.:295).

However, there is still often a hierarchical order between the different layers – where the ideas often trickle down from the international, to the national and the local (ibid.:399). This process, however, should not be seen as static, it is rather an ongoing interaction that encourages actors within liberal peace, networks and structures in peace and the ability of local actors to resist, ignore or embrace liberal peace ideas. Therefore, the agency of local actors and structures are important to

present and keep alternative forms of peace (McLeod 2015:52). Furthermore, this is a process in which several ideas and actors are included. Also, hybridity should not be seen as a metaphor for attaching values and practices from the Global North to the Global South. Rather, it is a two-way traffic, or a dynamic set of processes that involved blowback and distortion. Actors and values from the global north are susceptible to change as a result of the complex web of interaction in liberal peace-contexts (Mac Ginty 2011:89).

The interaction between the different levels and the role of the regional and local plays an important part in a hybrid peace. Hence, Mac Ginty (2010:402) emphasises the resistance, ignorance, subversion or adaptions of the liberal peace interventions among actors, networks and structures. This is an important part in the hybrid peace framework as it highlights the agency among the local actors. Here, the local actors are not seen as passive, but rather as a unit with agency that can also have an opinion on the proposed ideas, either positive or negative. Therefore, it is important to emphasise the ability of local actors to propose alternative forms of peace. A problem emphasised towards the liberal peace is that the hegemonic ambition inhabited within it often undermines alternative forms of peace. The liberal peace is often perceived as 'the only game in town', which results in an undermining and de-legitimation of the ideas presented by others than the global North (Mac Ginty 2010:403). Therefore, the liberal peace aims to strengthen state institutions, nevertheless, if the focus is solely founded on these ideas, it could result in an alienation of the local society by claiming them as weak in relation to their local responsibility and find local ownership and solutions (Mac Ginty 2010:408). Hence, the resistance in the process is one of the main sources of agency amongst the local population that can happen through their influence and, sometimes violent, protest (Richmond – Mitchell 2012:25).

3.3   Gender Perspective

In order to gender hybrid peace theory, it is important to add concepts to the framework that will facilitate a gender perspective on the issue. Hence, main focus of is to "[…] look at *women* (female bodies), *gender* (the characterizations of traits assigned on the basis of perceived membership in sex groups) and *genderings* (application of perceived gender tropes to social and political analyses) […]" (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:224).

When conducting research oriented towards gender awareness and feminism, it is important to define and state the difference and meaning between gender and sex. In this thesis, *sex* is mere the biological difference between men and women. *Gender*, on the other hand, is the cultural difference that is based on the biological difference between the sexes (Connell – Pearse 2015:24f). Therefore, gender is built around social constructions through our daily lives and practices (ibid.:25f). Furthermore, gender is also entangled in a power system that socially constructs expectations about individuals, states and actors (Tickner – Sjoberg 2011b:3f).

Closely related to the above-mentioned, is how maleness and femaleness is connected to, and how they represent, femininity and masculinity (ibid.).

Ryan and Basini (2017:187) have provided a gendered perspective on hybrid peacebuilding arguing that it is important to ask questions such as *'who participates?'* and *'how do they participate?'*. It is important to note that the thesis does not argue that women are more peaceful than men, based on their assumed characteristics. Rather, the thesis aims to understand the participation of women in peace processes and how these can be analysed through highlighting the presented concepts to obtain an inclusive peace. To understand this, it is important to consider how participation functions based on power gaps in institutions, rituals and practices. To gain this knowledge, the following gender concepts will be implemented and used in the theoretical framework, which is presented in section 3.3.

3.3.1 Masculinities and Femininities

An important aspect to look at when analysing the gendering of the international community, is the present masculinities and femininities that (re)construct our society. From a peace perspective, the creation of masculinities and femininities are important to incorporate in the analysis to go beyond only "adding women" (McLeod 2015:49). Thus, it has been evident that there has been a creation of women through peacefulness, or peace-prone femininities. By viewing peace from femininities and masculinities, the analysis will get an understanding of how people in different power positions experience the situation (Confortini 2006:365). Furthermore, this is especially important in a patriarchal society that privileges certain masculinities, which make women subordinated and dependent on men (Enloe 2014:31).

As previously mentioned, gender is deeply embedded in the creations of ideas and views on what it means to be either a male and a female in relation to femininity and masculinity. However, gender is also closely connected to the creation of gender systems, where differences between the genders and within the genders are created (Connell – Pearse 2015:106). Within this, by being feminine or masculine we automatically place ourselves in a gender order, or we are being placed within it based on how we are and how we act (ibid.:20). Gender orders are in a constant changing state as humans are constantly creating new situations and structures (Connell – Pearse 2015:27). Here, gendering is the process of classifying and structuring society based on gender and their perceived traits (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:6).

A common classification of gender norms is that women are viewed based on traits such as being naturally nurturing, emotionally sensitive and domesticated. In turn, these are then connected to women and femininity – which are put in contrast to how men and their masculinity are portrayed (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:7). Within the gender order, there are differences between the genders based on masculine and feminine traits. Here, femininity is often less valuable in comparison to masculinity. However, there are also variations within masculinity. Thus, more "feminine" traits

can result in discrimination (Connell – Pearse 2015:22). Nonetheless, there is a complex structure within gender differences and structures that are constantly changing in time and space. Hence, the structures within one context can be fundamentally different from another (Kessler et al. 1985).

3.3.2 Agency

By discussing the importance of masculinities and femininities within global politics, it becomes evident that closely related to the constructions of femininity and masculinity is how agency is affected by the dichotomies and hierarchies created. Women can be assigned a certain agency and identity within discursive practices that is connected to femininity and masculinity. Hence, the feminine traits are often related to civilian, protected and passive traits while masculinity is often related to combatant, protector and active actors (Väyrynen 2010:147). This, in turn, gives women a certain agency in relation to their role as an agent. Furthermore, it is important to acknowledge that female agency should not solely be seen as a victim, but rather that they are an active member within conflict ridden societies and peace processes (Väyrynen 2010:147). This is also connected to why it is important to include Agency in the analysis. Thus, even if women not always are allowed in the formal process they are active agents in the creation of peace in their everyday life. Therefore, women need to be viewed not solely as passive victims, but also as agents in peace processes. This, in turn, will facilitate an understanding of different perspectives of peace and how it is created (Björkdahl – Mannergren Selimovic 2016). Additionally, this also indicates that there are different types of agency in peace processes.

Moon (in Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:203) has argued that it is important to emphasise the role that disposed women inhabit in the global politics, beyond the dichotomy between self-agency and victimhood. Agents, and through that agency, are normally understood as actors that can be decision makers in the global politics (both as individuals or political units). From Wendt's (in Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:224) perspective, agency is an important part of the relation between people as actors and global politics from two views. Firstly, since actors are not acting in a world that provides fully independent choices. Secondly, even if actors and their choices do matter in the global politics, the role of how they are portrayed is also important. Through this, important questions for understanding agency from a gender perspective are "[…] *where are the women?* […]" and "[…] *what is their agency?* […]" (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:224).

3.3.3 Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren'

As in comparison to agency, it is equally important to acknowledge that discourse and narrative can undermine the agency of women. As shown by Bell and O'Rourke (2010), UN resolutions have a tendancy to further establish stereotypes of women in conflict and peace contexts as victims, mothers or not able to end conflicts.

Through this, women's agency is being challenged. Therefore, it is useful to understand if, and possibly how, the peace processes in Northern Ireland and Liberia are also (re)creating this.

Elshtain (1982) has argued that a division between men and women based on the categorisation of beautiful souls and just warriors is evident in discourses of conflicts and during war. Derived from Hegel, the concept of beautiful souls is showing how individuals are described based on goodness and purity and disconnected from the world that they are living in (Elshtain 1982:341). Within this, women as beautiful souls, in relation to being against war and violence, have to a large extent been shown as a "[…] pure, rarified, self-sacrificing, otherworldly and pacific Other […]". Men, on the other hand, have rather been portrayed as animals and uncontrollable. Furthermore, the men as Just Warriors also need women as support and help to uphold the daily and material life to sustain their ability to fight (Elshtain 1982:342). Furthermore, as described by Elshtain (1982:345):

> The Beautiful Soul, remember, proposes to make each individual a beacon of light in the surrounding darkness and to draw others in on a life of spiritual perfectionism, or to repudiate them if they fail. But such counsel rarely percolates upward or outward; moreover, the Beautiful Soul position includes no notion of structural constraints-economic, political, ideological-under which people labor. The Just Warrior, on the other hand, does involve the 'real world', does place individuals under a set of political obligations. But under present circumstances, the individual must undertake those obligations from a position which he or she confronts as the passive recipient of afuit *accompli* with reference to war and peace policy-making.

Within this narrative, women are seen as innocent and as in need of protection from the fighters. Hence, women are labelled as victims, which creates a picture of victimhood. However, they can also be seen as the reason of the war. A beautiful soul is seen as something vulnerable that needs protection and can be disconnected from reality. Such discourse and narrative can also facilitate a view that marginalises women through discourses that imply what is best for them (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:4). Furthermore, the concept of 'womenandchildren' (Enloe 2014:1) is an additional way of lowering the agency given to women based on the combination of them with children. Thus, as women are combined with a unit that is children – and through that not developed adults with the same rights – their authority and agency are undermined.

3.3.4 The Public and the Private Sphere

In close relation to the limited space that women have occupied within the global politics and community, an important aspect to consider is the division of public and private spaces. In the case of peace processes, this concept is useful in order to understand the activity that is happening in the different spheres.

Furthermore, this is especially interesting since women are often more active and included in informal peace (McGuinness 2007:76f). Additionally, it has also been established that women are often overlooked as participants and contributors in peace negotiations (Cockburn 2013:157). Through adding these concepts, the analysis is able to understand the role of the spheres in the peace processes and the role which women and men have in relation to them.

Enloe (in McLeod 2015:52) has noted, that it is important to acknowledge that politics is not only happening and shaped in formal procedures and spaces. Furthermore, Enloe (2014:348) has argued that the personal is to some extent political, assuming that our private relationships are also a space infused with power that is further supported by the public. However, by turning the words – the political is personal – one can understand that what happens in the personal is also shaping the political. Nonetheless, men usually obtain a larger part of the political space (Enloe 2014:348). Furthermore, if women are included there is still an evident discursive and performative gender subordination (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:9f). Even if women are included, or "added", institutions do not necessarily change (Sjoberg – Gentry 2007:10).

Likewise, that the international is personal also shows the importance to make women visible when studying international politics. Thus, the relationship between governments and international organisations are to a large extent founded on a basis where women are viewed as providers of emotional support, unpaid and low-paid workers and symbolic participants. Therefore, it is important to include women in the analysis (Enloe 2014:354). This is especially relevant when analysing hybridisation and hybrid initiatives, as they are not solely derived from formal rules and processes. Thus, both local and international actors that are involved in both formal and informal practices and processes (Mcleod 2015:52).

3.3.5 War as Experience

Lastly, it is useful to highlight the importance of different experiences of war to create a more inclusive peace process, and through that a more sustainable peace. This is central as those involved in war, independent on their location and experience, view the war differently (Sylvester 2013:1). This is especially important in a globalised world, where everything is more interconnected and everyone is involved in the war matrix; resulting in different experiences (Sylvester 2013:5). Hence, everyone is affected by war in different ways and their experiences, memories, conceptualisations and interpretations differ which results in different perspectives and understandings (McLeod 2015:49). In relation to Hybrid Peace, this concept then becomes vital to stress the importance of including more representation in peace processes. Thus, as the body experiences war differently – this also implies that it has different understandings and contributions to peace.

As the body experiences conflicts in different ways, the notion of the body is essential. From this, the physical and emotional experiences of war are deeply connected to the bodies and the minds of those living in war (Sylvester 2013:5). Moreover, a body can experience war both physically and emotionally. From the

former, war has physical implications on humans through wounds, fighting, gunfire and the destruction of buildings. On the latter, the body is also emotionally affected by war, which can be connected to a mind-body dualism (Sylvester 2013:5). Another useful insight that highlights the importance of inclusion is pointed out by McLeod (2015:49), who states that people living in conflict-ridden places all experience and have different perceptions on the ongoing situation. Therefore, these contrasting experiences need to be taken into consideration in a post-conflict setting. The idea that different bodies across the globe experience the same situation differently is important, as it gives us different circumstances and implications when considering hybridity and the international community (McLeod 2015:52f).

This view of bodies different experience of war is to a large extent founded in the idea that "[…] the body is far more than a surface where meanings are inscribed". Instead, the body is in a constant state of suffering and responding to the events around it. Based on this, emotions are not solely limited to the private space but "[…] emotions and affect enable a 'certain field of intelligibility' […]". Furthermore, one can then try to get an understanding of how the body 'feels' the world around it (McLeod 2015:53).

3.4   Theoretical Framework

 The theories and concepts discussed in the sections above, are going to create the foundation for the theoretical framework of this thesis and the forthcoming analysis. As the thesis aims to criticise the Hybrid Peace Theory, as well as to develop why it is important to take into account gender perspectives, the foundation of the theoretical framework is placed within the thoughts of hybrid peace theory.

As evident in the previous discussion, Hybrid Peace is useful for understanding the interplay between the international and local levels when it comes to the reforms and ideas presented to the countries and their involvement, ideas and resistance towards the international community. In this thesis, the important aspects brought forward by the Hybrid Peace theory is to understand the interplay between the international and local to create an understanding and analyse peace processes. The goal is that the thesis will, through this, contribute to the theoretical research area of peace. However, the thesis does this by understanding the practical peace process in Northern Ireland and Liberia. To do this, the ideas presented by Mac Ginty (2010 – 2011) on hybrid peace focus the study to understand the role of global and local actors. In order to understand the *interactions between the local and the international*, the thesis highlights the ideas proposed by the international community in relation to the criticised "blueprint" of liberal ideas, how the global participated and what role they had. Furthermore, to understand the *local participation and resistance* within the peace process, important aspects that are going to be highlighted are whether the local was present in the peace processes, if local ideas contributed to the development of the ideas in the peace processes – which can be understood as an "individualisation" of blueprint – and what these propositions and requirements consist of. Furthermore, the refusal of local and

international requirements presented will be analysed to understand hybridised policies and institutions. In this thesis, the local will be understood as the government of the country of concern, civil society and grassroots actors. Simply, the local can be understood as "[…] those who are on the receiving end of applications […] and whose voices are least likely to be heard" (Hughes et al. 2015b:818). The international, on the other hand, will consist of international organisations, outside governments and third parties. With this as a foundation, the hope is that the theoretical framework will provide an understanding about the hybrid peace and facilitate the analysis of why this is relevant to studying from a gender perspective.

In order to gender hybrid peace theory, this thesis has presented gender concepts that are used in the analysis. The concepts presented are used as a foundation to understand the role given to women (how they are represented) and their participation within the peace process. Firstly, the notion of *Masculinity and Femininity* will be applied in order to understand how women and men are portrayed in relation to the attributes given to them and if there is a prevalent gender order. Secondly, to understand the role that women constitute in the process, the concept *Agency* is useful to highlight how women are participating, how the female participation is perceived, what traits that are given to women as agents of peace and their inclusion in the agreements. Thirdly, in relation to the role of agents within the peace process is the role given to women that is lowering their agency. Here, the concepts of *Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren'* are used to understand whether women are represented in a neglected way where they are labelled with traits such as being a victim, caring, vulnerable and if they are in need of protection. Fourthly, the notion of the *Public and Private Spheres* is used to understand women's participation on the basis that the peace process is a public sphere. Furthermore, the different spheres are also useful to understand how the two are treated within the peace process; hence, if private and public spheres are treated equally, if men and women are emphasised equally in relation to the spheres and if women have gained meaningful and participatory roles in the public spheres. Lastly, the ideas of different *Experiences of War* will provide this thesis with an understanding that bodies experience war differently, to highlight if this is emphasised and how it is shown within the peace process to create an inclusive participation for a variety of experiences. Furthermore, this is also important to create an understanding of how war can be experienced physically and emotionally and how this is evident in the peace process. Based on this, the aim is for the gendered concepts and notions to complement and criticise hybrid peace theory and to gain an understanding of what a gendered hybrid peace could look like and why it is needed.

4 Methodology

4.1 Feminist Methodology

When conducting research, the researcher always has a point of view or perspective on the subject of interest (Becker 1998:14). Therefore, it is important to emphasise that a feminist methodology frames this study. As the intention is to understand and contribute to knowledge on women's rights and gender perspectives on peace, with the purpose of creating a more equal international society, it is natural that the methodological foundation of the thesis is grounded in feminist thoughts. More specifically, within feminist IR the main focus is to uncover and understand why women are disadvantaged in political, social and economic spheres in comparison to men and how this is related to international politics and economies. Additionally, it has also uncovered and questioned how these structures play a role in the support of international systems of states and unequal resource distribution (Tickner 2006:24). Research with its basis in feminism has used "[…] differing theories and ontologies (different ideas of what the social reality essentially are), and differing epistemologies (different rules for how knowledge of gender should be produced)". Hence, the approaches are varying and there are several ways of viewing knowledge and validity (Ramazanoğlu – Holland 2011:47f). In this thesis, the approach is that knowledge is believed to be relative, that it is not possible to reach a full knowledge and that the knowledge produced will always be obtained from a certain perspective and background. Overall, a central aim of a feminist approach is to understand existing power relations and transform them. However, a general knowledge of the social world does not exist (Ramazanoğlu – Holland 2011:57).

4.1.1 Reflexivity

Based on Harding's notion of strong objectivity, it is important for the researcher to reflect on their own personal experience, life, privileges and belonging that might affect the research process. However, this does not imply that the researcher should not be value-free, but rather that the objectivity of the study is strengthened if we consider it (Weldon 2006:80f).

Therefore, it is important to emphasise that my personal background plays an important role in the interest and choices that I have made when conducting this thesis. Hence, it has made it possible for me to be in the position where I am today, and it has an impact on the developments of my personal views as a feminist and researcher within a more critical strand. Additionally, as a woman, my experience of structural inequalities has played a large role in my interests of gender issues and

it did influence my choice of proposing why gender perspectives are important in peace research. Furthermore, I am also aware of that I am in a position defined by me as a white woman living in Sweden – where I also grew up – which affects my perspective. With this in mind, I am in no position – or aim to be in a position – where I want to claim or talk for, or make generalisations concerning anyone else.

Another important factor to note is that the thesis is committed to giving "the local levels" a voice within peace processes, as well as to emphasise their role and significance. However, I am aware of that the material analysed is mainly published by international and governmental actors, which could affect and undermine the presence of civil society and grassroots perspectives.

Lastly, I am aware of the negative connotation that the word "gendered" inhabit. However, in this thesis the word is not referring to the negative essence of the term, but rather, it is denoting it in an emancipatory, equality and empowering manner.

4.2 A Case of Peace Processes – Material and Limitations

When deciding upon cases, the researcher often needs to decide between the parsimony or richness of the study. This is a trade-off between the tensions of reaching a high internal validity, and an interesting empirical case in contrast to generalisations that can speak for a large population (George – Bennet 2005:22). Nonetheless, in relation to case studies, criticism has been put forward that they are prone to selection bias from the researcher. However, as the aim is not to draw conclusions as in statistical research, this should not be regarded as a problem (George – Bennet 2005:22).

A case can be defined in several different ways, but simply described, it can be seen as a class of events. These are then chosen by the researcher who is aiming to develop theory and find (dis)similarities amongst them (George – Bennet 2005:17f). In this thesis, it is important to ask the question: 'a case of what?'. Here, the case is defined as a peace processes. A *peace process* will be defined as the process where international actors together with countries are negotiating and working towards peace in the country. Within this process, the *peace agreement and documents* are an essential component – and material – that illustrates the formal process and the interaction between the levels. The case study in this thesis is a comparative case study design, where two countries are compared (Höglund 2011:115). A case study is often framed from 'how' and 'why' questions and is beneficial for the researcher as some control over the events is possible and studying cases that can be connected to reality (Yin 2003:1). More specifically, this thesis is focused on the case of peace processes and agreements. As it is suitable to illustrate with examples and reach the aim of the thesis.

This thesis analyses two cases – which often can be viewed as a more robust way of using case studies – as it is not as vulnerable as single-case studies (Yin 2003:46). A comparison between the peace processes in Northern Ireland and

Liberia is made. Within this, automatically, a comparison over time is also conducted since Northern Ireland is analysed before the establishment of the UNSCR 1325 and Liberia after. The cases in this thesis have been chosen from a theoretical sampling, which aims to facilitate the analysis for providing theoretical insights. Furthermore, cases within theoretical development are usually chosen based on their ability to replicate, extend or show coherence (Eisenhardt – Graebner 2008:27). Within this, the cases are chosen based on a technique that considers 'polar types' – which means that the units are chosen from two ends and are, therefore, different from each other. The sample is especially useful to see patterns, constructions, relationships and logics in cases (Eisenhardt – Graebner 2008:27).

The argument of using peace process as a case study in this thesis is based on that the peace process is an essential part of the initiative of creating efforts towards peace in countries. Based on this, to understand the outcome of peace and the interactions, it is suitable to use documentation from the peace process such as peace agreements. In addition to this, further information on the peace process will be obtained through secondary material such as previous research. Thus, as much information as possible will be derived from the documentation and agreements from the peace process.[1] However, the secondary material will be included to complement the primary material.

In order to narrow down the population to gain a manageable sized sample, it is important to create requirements for the sample. Hence, in this case there are several factors that the cases should meet.

- The selection is made in relation to the creation of UNSCR 1325 and one case should be from the 1990s and the other unit should be from after 2000.
- The country should today be defined as a post-conflict country that has reached somewhat stable situation.
- Been involved in a peace process with international actors.
- The previous conflict should be of civil war character.

As previously mentioned the cases chosen are selected based on the mentioned criteria's and as polar types. The difference between the cases can be based on several factors, such as social, cultural and geographical contexts (Höglund 2011:116). Northern Ireland and Liberia are seen as polar types based on several factors. Firstly, they are geographically placed on different continents. Secondly, the conflict context is fundamentally different as Northern Ireland happened in a somewhat stable context in comparison to Liberia. Thirdly, the international engagement was different as the EU, British and Irish Governments were the main actors in Northern Ireland while in Liberia it was the UN. Fourthly, another important factor is that the UNSCR 1325 was established after the peace process in Northern Ireland and before the process in Liberia. Lastly, an interesting factor is

---

[1] The material for each case is presented in 8.2 Appendix II. Furthermore, the documents and agreements from Northern Ireland is limited to the years before the creation of UNSCR 1325 and in Liberia it is limited to after the resolution. The material is obtained from the Peace Agreement Database Project (PA-X).

that while Northern Ireland had 10% women as signers and in negotiating teams, Liberia only had 17% women solely witnessing the process (UN Women 2012:4f).[2]

4.3   A Structured and Focused Comparison

Since the main aim of this thesis is to develop theory and to highlight the possible contributions through peace processes, this thesis is going to employ a method proposed by George and Bennet (2005) labelled as a structured and focused case comparison. Hence, the method is, in comparison to the methodology, the tool that is used to conduct the research (Ramazanoğlu – Holland 2011:11).

The structure behind the structured and focused comparison is quite simple: the method is structured since questions are developed in relation to the objective and aim of the study that then are asked to each case and the material. The questions developed for this study are presented in section 4.4.1 Analytical Strategy and Framework. Through this, the data analysis becomes in a way standardised. The method is focused as it only emphasises certain aspects in the cases (George – Bennet 2005:67). This method borrows some parts from quantitative methods as a set of standardised questions that are asked to each case to structure and focus it. As this is an important part of the research, it was important to carefully develop the questions that were asked to the material in relation to the objective and theory of the research. The aim of the structured and focused method is to enhance the possibilities of making a valid comparable data (Ibid.:69). Furthermore, results and findings when doing case studies can contribute both to theory development and theory testing (Ibid.:109). However, as this implies, this approach is more positivistic in relation to the feminist research approach presented earlier. Therefore, it is important to note that this thesis is guided by the views of feminist methodology discussed but uses the tools in the structured and focussed comparison to analyse the material.

In this case, a deductive approach is taken in developing and contributing to the theory. Hence, this approach can develop new, or resolve gaps, within existing theories. Case studies can be useful to deductively test theories and to present new variables that could contribute to the theory (George – Bennet 2005:111). Development of theory from a case study has been especially popular based on the richness in the empirical material that can guide a deductive study. Therefore, the "[…] emphasis on developing constructs, measures, and testable theoretical propositions makes inductive case research consistent with the emphasis on testable theory within mainstream deductive research" (Eisenhardt – Graebner 2007:25). The thesis is deductive as it establishes a theoretical framework from which the study then proceeds to create an understanding of the peace processes in Northern Ireland and Liberia and how the two cases are then used as a basis for conclusions and contributions to a gendered perspective on Hybrid Peace.

---

[2] More detailed information on this will be provided in 5. Gendering Hybrid Peace: A Comparative Analysis

4.4 Qualitative Content Analysis

In combination with the structured and focused comparison, a qualitative content analysis enables the analysis and manages the text documents (from the peace process and the peace agreements). As the focus of this thesis is not to deeply engage in the discourse or the meaning and power of the texts, it is suitable to apply a qualitative content analysis. Furthermore, the approach of the qualitative content analysis is somewhat similar to the structured and focused comparison – and questions will be developed to analyse the material that also functions as the codes for the analysis to derive sub-categories.

Bryman (in Kohlbacher 2006) has noted that this method is "[…] probably the most prevalent approach to the qualitative analysis of documents' and that it 'compromises a searching-out of underlying themes in the materials being analyzed'". The main advantage of a qualitative content analysis is that it is a systematic and controlled way of analysing material. An important part in the approach, which correlates with the method of this thesis, is that the category system is closely developed from the theory and then applied on the material (Kohlbacher 2006).

A qualitative content analysis is normally used to explain the meaning of qualitative data through a systematic approach. This is done as the researcher creates code frames and categories, in which the material is analysed through. The frame that is developed functions as the heart of the method and facilitates the analysis (Schreier 2013:170). This approach facilitates for the researcher to focus on specific aspects – to help the researcher to focus the problem and research questions of the study (Schreier 2013:170). The coding frame is the most important element and should consist of a head-category and sub-categories. The main categories functions as a reflection of what the researcher wishes to gain information on and the subcategories are focused on what is actually said in the material (ibid.:175).

With this as a foundation, the thesis employs a deductive approach where it is driven from a theoretical standpoint that then is connected to the text (Kohlbacher 2006). To do this, prior to the analysis, a frame will be formulated – in close relation to the theoretical framework – which is used when analysing the material. Furthermore, the qualitative element in the method is to connect the categories with examples from the text (Mayring 2000). The development of the code frame, and test coding and coding of the material is then followed by the analysis of the material where the main coding takes place. However, at this point the coding frame should not be modified to develop a reliable and valid frame before conducting the analysis (Schreier 2013:182).

4.4.1 Analytical Framework

In order to analyse the material, and to incorporate a structured and focused method, a framework consisting of questions is developed that is going to be asked to each

case. It is important that the questions are general, which implies that they should not be too specific so they only fit one case, but rather should be applicable to all cases within that class or subclass of events (George – Bennet 2005:86). The questions in this study are based on the theoretical defined concepts and are therefore emphasising the components of a hybrid peace and the gender concepts previously defined. The questions, and therein the analytical framework, can be found in Appendix I. Furthermore, here the criteria's is also found. Summarised, they are focused on the agreements and documents from the peace process in the respective case – which furthermore also includes levels such as the parties concerned, the international community and the civil society. This framework is useful to understand the meaning and evidentiary value of the information that is written or communicated in material. When conducting this research, it is important to be aware of "[…] who is speaking to whom, for what purpose and under what circumstances" (George – Bennet 2005:99f). In combination with this method, the qualitative content analysis is used as it has similar features – creating a standardised sheet for the analysis – but is more focused on analysing the text.

The development of the question for the structured and focused method, in combination with the qualitative content analysis, plays an important role for the validity and reliability of the study. In order to create a good validity, a frame has been developed for analysing the material based on the thesis' central concepts. Furthermore, the reliability of the study is also strengthened through this, as it facilitates a repetition of analysing the material (Yin 2003:34). Nonetheless, it is important to note that since it is an interpretive study the results when analysing texts can differ between researchers based on their interest, background and approach. In this thesis, the development of the analytical framework, that is presented in Appendix I, together with the definition of the theoretical framework aims to work in an interplay to provide a more reliable and valid study.

The structured and focused comparison of the cases in this study is beneficial to combine with a qualitative content analysis. The structured and focus comparison provides the study with a framework that will in a systematic way compare the cases within the case study of peace processes through the developed questions that serve as the analytical framework. Moreover, as in a similar way to the focused and structured comparison, the qualitative content analysis presents the development of an analysis scheme as essential in order to analyse texts and obtain the information needed for the study. Therefore, the questions that are created in order to analyse the texts also function as the main categories in the analytical scheme of the qualitative content analysis. From these, subsequently, sub-categories from the texts are obtained and created, which collects the information needed to illustrate and analyse each document and agreement as material. Furthermore, the sub-categories are also used as guidance when comparing the cases. The analytical schedule that is used when analysing the material is presented in Appendix I.

5 Gendering Hybrid Peace: A Comparative Analysis

The analysis of the thesis starts with analysing the peace processes in Northern Ireland and Liberia from a Hybrid Peace theory. After this, an analysis of the defined gender concepts is made to provide a deeper understanding of the Gendered Hybrid Peace in each case.

5.1 Hybrid Peace: The Global Level

An important aspect to consider to understand the hybridisation of peace, is the interaction between the local and global actors. From the analysis of the material, it became clear that there were several themes in both cases; some similar and some opposing. The analysis of the interaction between the levels can be divided up into sections; firstly, the ideas proposed by the international level. Secondly the ideas related to the Liberal Peace tradition and requirements from the international actors. However, it is worth noting that it is not fully evident who exactly proposed the ideas in the peace agreements and documents. In relation to the ideas promoted in the liberal peace theory, the subcategories derived from the material that are similar in both cases are democracy, elections and institutions. Hence, this can be related to liberal peace which promotes those things and believes that is the way towards peace and security (Paris 2004:19).

5.1.1 Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, several attempts to solve the conflict had been initiated during the twentieth century, but it never seemed to have an effect and the conflict appeared irresolvable. However, in 1998 on the 10th of April the peace negotiations between the Unionist, Nationalist and Republican parties, accompanied by the Irish and British Governments, resulted in the signing of the Belfast Agreement (Goddard 2012:501). This division within Northern Ireland was also visible in the politics of a deeply polarised region. Therein, the oppositions between the Nationalists and Republicans, and the Unionists and Loyalists was the foundation of the disputes. Here, the latter wanted to be a part of the United Kingdom while the opposition parties wanted the contrary (Goddard 2012:507). In Northern Ireland, the international actors consisted mostly of the British and Irish

Governments and partly the EU. Overall, they were more "local", in the sense that it involved fewer participants and actors from the international community. Furthermore, the EU is mentioned on several occasions and the agreement is mainly referring to the need to implement and take the EU framework, policies and programmes into consideration (Good Friday Agreement 1998, Strand 2 – Point 14). The conflict in Northern Ireland is overall different from other conflicts, as the involvement of the UN has been minimal, and no collapse of the state in relation to public health emergencies, displacement, destruction of infrastructure or severe destructions of the educational system has been evident (Mac Ginty 2011:191f).

The peace negotiations in Northern Ireland were divided into four sections labelled as Strand One, Strand Two, Strand Three and Business Committee. Strand One focused on the relationships within Northern Ireland – as relationships between new institutions and the Westminster parliament, where the participants is the British Government and political parties. Strand Two is focused on the Irish relationships and the negotiation with the presence of the two Governments and political parties. Strand three handled the relationship between the British and Irish Government and is a negotiation between the two Governments (Rules of Procedure 1996). During the negotiations, the third parties were Senator George Mitchell, General John de Chastelain and Prime Minister Harri Holkeri (Consultation Paper 1996; Rules of Procedure 1996). Moreover, all third parties had different fields of responsibilities in connection to the participating parties (Goddard 2012:509).

As noted, the EU is mentioned on several occasions but the agreement is mainly referring to the need to implement and take into consideration the EU framework, policies and programmes (Good Friday Agreement 1998, Strand 2 – Point 14). The focus was mainly placed on creating a context and results, in which power sharing institutions and organs were emphasised. Hence, the overarching goal was to get the population in the region to live in a safe and stable manner (A New Framework Agreement 1995). Thus, in the documents, the focus was mainly placed on the establishment of institutions that would facilitate the relationship between the people. Nonetheless, this was mainly perceived as reachable through the creation of political institutions and functions. Additionally, the EUs involvement can also be found in the establishment of peace programs focused on reconciliation and building a shared community at the local levels (Hyde – Byrne 2015:99). However, this to some extent led to that the civil society was required to favour the peace process promoted by the international actors, as the funding from EU went through the British and Irish governments. Which, in turn, promoted liberal agendas (Mac Ginty 2011:203f).

Thus, the promotion of democratic institutions shows the liberal peace traditions. This is clearly stated through the importance that the peace process should be democratic and peaceful. Which, additionally, should influence the establishment of the political arena, criminal justice system and state institutions (Good Friday Agreement 1998). Furthermore, the documents are emphasising human rights, democratic means and power-sharing institutions that were going to be established. Additionally, to promote the democratic aims of the negotiations it is also stated that it is important that the "[…] democratically mandated parties […] establish a commitment to exclusively peaceful methods and […] that they abide

by the democratic process, are free to participate fully in democratic politics and to join in dialogue in due course between the Governments and the political parties on the way ahead". This indicates their work towards a democratic country and inclusion (Downing Street Declaration 1993). However, this can overall be related to what Mac Ginty (2011:193) has noted on that Northern Ireland is rather a liberal-lite version since the liberal peace ideas promoted in the country has been more emancipatory. In addition, this also influenced the interactions between the parties. Hence, the main liberal peace actors were the British and Irish Governments as well as the European Union (ibid., 184).

5.1.2 Liberia

Liberia has suffered from violent conflict for a long time, and several peace negotiation attempts have been made without positive outcomes while the country has not remained stable for long. In 1999, the civil war flared up with resistance towards Taylor from the ethnically-based groups Liberians United for Reconstruction and Democracy (LURD) and Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) (Basini 2013:540f). The continuation of the civil war lasted until 2003, when a ceasefire agreement was signed and peace negotiations were initiated – which led to the Accra Peace Agreement (ibid.).

The peace process in Liberia was comprehensive and focused on several different areas of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Such as the establishment of an international stabilisation force, demobilisation, rehabilitation and reintegration, reconstruction of national police and security institutions. Furthermore, topics such as human rights, humanitarian and political issues, international assistance and the implementation processes are also evident (Accra Peace Agreement 2003). However, Liberia's National Action Plan stands out and is strongly influenced by the international as it is implementing international requirements on women, peace and security. However, the document is highly individualised and the local community has had an important role in forming it after their needs and conditions, resulting in a document where you can "see the local" (LNAP 2009).

The participation of international actors was more extensive in Liberia than in Northern Ireland. The international actors constituted representation from ECOWAS, UN, EU and the International Contact Group on Liberia. Additionally, the third parties present were His Excellency John Agyekum Kufuor, President of the republic of Ghana and the mediator General Abdulsalami Abubakar (Accra Peace Agreement 2003). However, the ideas and focus was quite similar, touching upon subjects such as peace, democracy, elections and equality. This is not a surprising occurrence, since Mac Ginty and Richmond (2015:178) have noted that the liberal peacebuilding during the 1990s often came as a blueprint with similar proposed ideas. In contrast, the peace process has been criticised on the basis that the international actors failed to support the development of legitimate political authority which undermined the prospects of the peace process (Atkinson 2008:40).

However, the situation in Liberia called for a larger intervention and reconstruction of the society – which is also shown in the peace agreement (Accra Peace Agreement 2003). Something that was especially interesting in Liberia, was that they clearly state in the Accra Peace Agreement (2003:intro) that the post-peace agreement situation in the country should be "[guided] by the principles of democratic practice [and] good governance […]". This, in turn, was going to be done in assistance by experts from national and international levels (Accra Peace Agreement 2003). Another interesting aspect in relation to international actors is that the international community implemented sanctions in Liberia, inter alia on trade (Atkinson 2008:32).

The promotion of democracy was much more evident in Liberia and shaped the peace process to a large extent. Thus, besides from the strong promotion of democracy, they also created deadlines on elections and establishment of promotions all in line with international recommendations and a focus on negotiations and assistance. Furthermore, they clearly state that "[…] the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and other widely recognised international instruments on human rights, including those contained in the Constitution of the Republic of Liberia […]" should be taken into account when establishing and promoting democracy in the country (Accra Peace Agreement 2003:intro). Even if this was the case, the process has been criticised for not entirely comprehend the scope of the challenged in the country – which later resulted in the failure of the establishment of a regional apparatus on disbarment and demobilisation (Nilsson – Söderberg Kovacs 2005:405).

In the promotion of liberal views, previous research has showed that the Accra Peace Agreement to a large extent was based on a blueprint emphasising power-sharing approaches – much alike the agreements often promoted and established during the 1990s (Atkinson 2008:33). It is very clear that the establishment of institutions and commissions are made to facilitate the democratic governance. For example, when establishing the Governance Reform Commission, it is stated that it should be "[…] a vehicle for the promotion of the principles of good governance in Liberia" (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 8 – Article XVI). In the Liberian peace agreement overall, the mentioning of the concept "good governance" is frequent which indicates thoughts derived from liberal peace. Hence, through emphasising concepts such as capacity building, participation, good governance and transparency they are arguing for ideas embedded in liberal peace thoughts. It is, furthermore, interesting how the agreement also promotes a stabilisation and democratisation of the country based on possible interests from the outside. As an example, they state that they want to "[…] ensure an enabling environment which will attract private sector direct investment" (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 8 – Article XVI). This is an interesting statement, which is not present in the case of Northern Ireland, that strongly promotes liberal ideas such as the private market and marketization.

5.2 Hybrid Peace: The Local Level

In addition to the role of the international, another important aspect to take into consideration when analysing Hybrid Peace processes is to explore the role of the local community in relation to their participation and resistance. Hence, as noted by Mac Ginty (2010) the local level can resist and participate in the hybridised process in different ways. This can be done through influence on the process, resistance towards international suggested ideas and refusal to agree on the proposed ideas. In this study, the participation and resistance of the local is understood through their role in the process, the individualisation of the documents, if there are any evident locally produced ideas, evidence of compromises, and the creation of hybrid institutions and/or policies.

In both Northern Ireland and Liberia, there was an evident participation of the local level in the peace process through engagement, resistance and negotiations. The sub categories that emerged in both cases were mainly surrounded on the institutions within the new government and the constitution of them. Additionally, the establishment of commissions, promotion of democracy and governance and the help form international organisations is also a sign for this. Furthermore, in both cases the development of a peace agreement that is the result from a peace negotiation and process can in itself be seen as hybrid policies as they are developed and established dynamic the local and international levels.

5.2.1 Northern Ireland

In Northern Ireland, the participation was quite clear as the Northern Irish political parties were attending throughout the process. However, from the analysis of the document, it seems like the negotiation between the local and international was quite ongoing and natural. Here, the local participants consisted mainly of participants from Northern Ireland (Consultation Paper 1996; Rules of Procedure 1996). In this interaction, the focus was on a cross-community and power-sharing government where the interests that Northern Ireland, Britain and Ireland needed to take into account (Goddard 2012:501).

Quite early in the process, "[t]hey also acknowledge the many requests, from parties in Northern Ireland and elsewhere, for both Governments to set out their views on how agreement might be reached on relationships within the island of Ireland and between the peoples of these islands" (A New Framework Agreement 1995). Furthermore, issues that are "concerning" the civil society and the population, are emphasised throughout the documents in relation to the consideration of different sub-groups, minorities and language among others (Agreement on Implementation Bodies 1999:351). In the IRA ceasefire (1994), the local participation is mentioned and referred to differently. Here, their participation is mentioned in a much more "intimate" way, stating that "[y]our courage, determination and sacrifice have demonstrated that the freedom and the desire for peace based on a just and lasting settlement cannot be crushed. We remember all

those who have died for Irish freedom and we reiterate our commitment to our republican objectives […]" (IRA Ceasefire Statement 1994). Hence, the mentioning and participation of the local is definitely evident, but is humble in the way that it almost seems to be a given event. To some extent, the participation of the local political parties was extensive and they were involved in most of the process. However, as it can be seen in the structure of the negotiations the political parties seem to have been included in two of the three strands of the negotiations. As Goddard (2012:511) has noted, the new peace efforts in Belfast had much more support than previous attempts both amongst the political parties such as UUP, SDLP, the Alliance Party and the British and Irish Governments but also parties such as SFLP, UUP, Sinn Fe'in, Unionist parties and representatives of the Loyalist paramilitaries. Lastly, the agreement also got a solid support from the population, except from the DUP who refused to participate in the negotiations.

The governmental structure was the main place where compromises were evident. In the institutions, compromises could be found in the development of committees, governmental organs, laws, the divisions within the government and areas of responsibility. In this case, the negotiations early established that they were proposing a blueprint that the governments had to follow and adapt to, but they promoted flexibility and goodwill from all parties and that it was through negotiations that they could reach a good political solution (A New Framework Agreement 1995). Even if this was the case, the British and Irish governments still had power to influence the creation of the new context in which the civil society was working. Thus, the civil society had a say in the process, resisted and changed parts of the liberal peace agenda. Thus, there was an evident hybridisation in the negotiations (Mac Ginty 2011:184f).

Furthermore, another evident compromise is that after the agreement they could be perceived as a "middle community" between Ireland and Britain which indicates that they gain some independence. Nevertheless, they still need to participate in British and Irish politics, i.e., they have obligations towards them (Good Friday Agreement 1998). This can be seen as a compromise from both ends. From the perspective of Northern Ireland, the compromise is placed in that they are allowed to, based on the populations' voting, belong to whichever government they want and are to some extent allowed to have their own governing bodies and elections as long as the British and Irish Government are involved. On the other side, from the British and Irish perspectives the compromise is placed upon the fact that they are allowing Northern Ireland to have some independence, but through creating power sharing institutions they are still involved in the region. Therefore, many of the departments and institutions can be seen as a cooperation between the governments, which indicates that they agreed on a shared system and their willingness to compromise and cooperate (Joint Statement by David Trimble and Seamus Mallon 1998).

However, resistance from the local levels was evident in the case of Northern Ireland, as it was stated that in the negotiations "[o]ne side has insisted that some decommissioning of arms must take place before all-party negotiations can begin. The other side has insisted that no decommissioning can take place until the end of the process, after an agreed settlement has been reached. This has resulted in the

current impasse" (Report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning 1996:6). This clearly indicates that participants had an independent voice in the process and that they can influence – and even postpone – the negotiations. Furthermore, it has also been stated by IRA, that the ideas presented in the Downing Street Declaration should not be seen as a final solution. Instead, an emphasis on a solution through inclusive negotiations is required (IRA Ceasefire Statement 1994).

5.2.2 Liberia

In Liberia, the participation looked slightly different, and civil society was both present as participants but also with regard to the focus of the issues and the aim of the implementation of the agreement. Quite early on in the peace agreement, it is stated that they are "[moved] by the imperative need to respond to the ardent desire of the people of Liberia for genuine lasting peace, national unity and reconciliation" (Accra Peace Agreement 2003:intro). The involvement of regional actors was also an important factor in the establishment of a stronger legitimacy of the negotiations and peace process (Atkinson 2008:27).

The participation of the local level was mainly constituted of the Liberian Government, LURD, MODEL and political parties (Accra Peace Agreement 2003).[3] However, the local was even more visible in the LNAP as it was developed between the Government of Liberia together with participants from the Government, international organisations, NGOs and grassroots and civil society organisations (LNAP 2009:8). Based on this, the participation looks quite different between the peace agreement and the LNAP. Hence, in the peace process several local participants were evident, but the focus seemed to a larger extent, to be placed upon a "blueprint" that was being implemented. However, some individualisation of the ideas was present (Accra Peace Agreement 2003). Though, in the LNAP, they clearly state the engagement of civil society and organisations and how they, through workshops and engagement, developed the agenda. Secondly, even though it is heavily influenced by the UNSCR 1325, the approach makes the implementation and progress of the document more specialised and individualised to Liberia (LNAP 2009). In contrast, in the ceasefire and peace agreement the civil society and local participants were hardly mentioned in relation to their participation in the negotiations, except from their signing etc. However, in the LNAP the local and grassroots were included in order to gain information on women in relation to peace and security and understand their role in institutions and

---

[3] As participants: National Patriotic Party; Unity Party; Liberian Peoples Party; National Reformation Party; Labor Party; Liberia Unification Party; Liberian Action Party; Peoples Democratic Party; National Democratic Party; Free Democratic Party; True Whig Party; Liberia National Union; Equal Rights Party; Progressive Peoples Party; New Deal Movement. As witnesses: Inter-Religious Council for Liberia; The Mano River Women Peace Network; Liberia Bar Association; Liberians in Diaspora; Liberia Leadership Forum; Civil Society Organisations in Liberia (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 11 – Article XXXVII).

agencies to create a plan that could tackle these problems (LNAP 2009:8f). Furthermore, they made an effort to include especially women in this process, from both rural and urban areas, to gain a bottom-up and inclusive approach in the process to gain validation at community, country and national levels (ibid.).

However, from another inclusion perspective, the future participation of the local and the civil society in Liberia was also mentioned in the creation of the new democratic institutions and agencies. For example, when establishing the Commission, they clearly stated that it was important to include a chairperson from civil society organisations (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 8 – Article XVI – Point 3). This indicates that there was a strong will to include the local, and that their participation in the coming reconstruction of the society was valuable and given agency in the process. Hence, in several places they stated that the civil society was going to be included in the coming establishment of institutions. However, the point further states that the participants are supposed to have experience within the area and have national and/or international experience which to some extent excludes parts of the society (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 8 – Article XVI – Point 3). Nonetheless, even if the local participation is very present in the documents it has been shown that there were not sufficient efforts made to incorporate these views, or have a deeper dialogue, in the development of institutional solutions in the country (Atkinson 2008:29).

The compromise between the levels was similar to Northern Ireland in the sense that much focus was on the establishment of institutions. However, the most evident in this case was how certain compromises on "the blueprint" existed. Hence, within the framework of the liberal intervention, the proposed ideas were compromised as they were specialised for implementation in Liberia. Here, the creation of institutions was a cooperation between the international and local, that proposed collective implementation programs. Consequently, as presented in Annex 3 in the Accra Peace Agreement (2003), there are several programs and interventions for implementing the peace agreement that were developed with both international and local actors' participation. As aforementioned, this can be seen as a compromise from both ends to gain their common goal: to establish peace and implement democratic values in the governmental system.

The case is similar in the LNAP (2009). However, in the LNAP the cooperation between the levels and the conditions is even more initiated by the local level. However, even though they created specialised implementation programs, Liberia was participating in several UN programs to further develop and improve. For example, joint programmes on the prevention and response towards sexual and gender based violence, on food security and nutrition, gender equality and women's economic empowerment and lastly on employment and the empowerment of young women and men (LNAP 2009:7). Furthermore, they also requested help from the international community in the implementation of measures in relation to cantonment, disarmament, demobilisation, rehabilitation and reintegration programs (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 3 - Article VI – Point 11). Within this, hybrid institutions and policies were created, mainly focused on the presence of the international community as monitors, cooperation partners and active participants in governmental settings, development projects and implementations

(Accra Peace Agreement 2003). In the LNAP, similar patterns of hybridised policies and institutions were present, which focused especially on the issues of women, peace and security. Especially present as a hybrid cooperation is a timetable and programs aimed at different areas of issues in relation to UNSCR 1325 and how grassroots, civil society organisations and governmental organs can work together with international actors to implement and accomplish the aims and goals of the programs presented (LNAP 2009:47f).

In Liberia, there was also a visible resistance amongst the participants in relation to the acknowledgement and participation in the peace negotiations. For example, Charles Taylor evidently refused to accept the ceasefire agreement and to step down from his position. Eventually, after several setbacks and through regional and international pressures he did (Nilsson – Söderberg Kovacs 2005:401). Furthermore, the resistance in Liberia can also be visible amongst the local population, as it has been highlighted by Pollock (2007), there was civil society demonstrations that became an important part of the peacebuilding strategy. These civil society demonstrations consisted to some extent of women's groups that demonstrated for peace and their participation in it.

5.3 Adding a Gender Perspective

In order to provide a gendered understanding and criticism of Hybrid Peace, this chapter analyses the material and the cases from the five gender concepts. Hence, it begins with understanding the creation of Masculinities and Femininities, then move on to Agency, Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren', Private and Public Spheres and lastly highlights the notion of Experience of War.

5.3.1 Masculinities and Femininities

As stated in the theory section, an analysis of the material from a gender perspective of the evident Masculinities and Femininities that are present is conducted. As a recap, this perspective provides the thesis with knowledge on what attributes are linked to masculinities and femininities and how these, then, are put in relation to men and women. Furthermore, it is analysed if these create a basis for a gender order.

In the material, masculinities and femininities were not as present as could have been expected. Therefore, it was hard to derive concrete examples on traits based on the notion of masculinity and femininity. Traits of masculinity were overall not extremely present in the documents. However, in the LNAP, traits were mainly mentioned in relation to the creation of implementation programmes to enhance the role and rights of women in the society. For example, a program focused at capacity building states that an enhancement of local capacities of women and men in relation to psycho-social and trauma management counselling and training should be made (LNAP 2009:15). Another one states that the benefits given to women

should be viewed in relation to those provided to men (LNAP 2009:19). The masculine traits were often connected to men, and their inclusion to be more aware of the issues connected to gender. However, it was also evident that men were connected to traits often viewed as feminine: being vulnerable and traumatised.

Nevertheless, traits of femininity were more evident. However, this also creates an understanding of the masculinity produced – as it is often placed as opposites. In the case of Northern Ireland, specific indications towards masculine of feminine traits are not really evident. Consequently, this is interesting as Deiana (2013:401) has noted that women's citizenship in Northern Ireland often has been related to constructions of femininity in relation to division in society. In the catholic and national tradition, it has often been connected to a suffering Virgin Mary or the Celtic mythological symbol of the nation that emphasises loving mother Ireland. However, in contrast, women have also been seen as combatants and revolutionaries in the rhetoric in nationalist spheres. Hence, the view of women as combatants and revolutionaries is not really present in the documents analysed. Furthermore, in the political life in Northern Ireland there has been a strong link between militarism and hegemonic masculinity indicating, and supporting, traditional structures of male dominance in political spheres in relation to masculinity (Gilmartin 2019:90f).

In Liberia, the traits given women in relation to femininity were focused on their role in relation to family, participants, victims, government and mothers. This can be illustrated from that in the peace agreement and documents, women are mentioned in a few places in relation to the inclusion in the government or that they are in a vulnerable positon in need of help (Accra Peace Agreement 2003). A very clear example of this is that women are mentioned under the section of "Vulnerable Groups" (ibid.). Through this, certain traits of femininity are given to women indicating what it should include to be a woman. In Liberia, this seems to be derived from that they are vulnerable in the sense that they need protection but they also are agents that can, and should, be included in the government. However, the evidence that women are explicitly mentioned to be included in the government, and not men, indicates that there are differences in society between them.

In the national action plan in Liberia, women are to a larger extent portrayed in relation to their need of help and their position in the private sphere. For example, they do mention that women need to obtain certain skills in order to be included in traditionally male dominated labour markets such as architects, builders and city planners (LNAP 2009:35). Accordingly, masculinity is viewed in relation to rougher and traditionally male dominated works. In addition to this, an interesting theme that emerged during the analysis was evident in the LNAP where femininity was focused on giving women roles as mediators and peacebuilders. Hence, one implementation program is focused on 'civic education' where they are launching information on topics such as "the role of women in socializing the community to peace" (ibid.:28).

Furthermore, in political institutions in Liberia it has been evident that women have been called "iron ladies" – which is a connection that is often made to men showing their strength. Additionally, women have also been seen as victims of war and peacebuilders. Thus, in Liberia this division has been hard to neglect as they

have been active agents and have used it to their advantage (Garnett 2016:108). Similarly, within political structures in Northern Ireland, Ward (2006:272f) has noted that it has been a male-dominated area where the institution structure is alien to women and that gender issues have been neglected. Furthermore, this is also an issue in relation to that stereotypes towards women are created indicating that they are not able to handle those "hard issues" (ibid., 276), indicating that traits considered masculine are necessary for participating.

In the creation of masculinities and femininities a creation of gender orders is also evident. A gender order can be understood as a classification of subordination and superiority. In Northern Ireland, as traits of femininity and masculinity were quite absent and it is therefore hard to say that there was an evident gender order. Hence, sex and gender was mentioned as important aspects to include in the government but was not further developed upon. It has been shown in previous research that women are facing barriers in their participation and that this can be derived from gender stereotypes, male monopoly on power or education. Here, the large political parties have not shown any initiative for the inclusion of gender equality or considerations (Gilmartin 2019:91).

However, the gender order in Liberia was clearer, as the traits given to men were more masculine and women were given traits such as "softer attributes". This was especially evident in the LNAP where a clear separation between the target groups was made. For example, when talking about a special program, it was stated that it was towards "[…] women, girls and men, including those with disabilities and special needs […] to protect them against GBV" (LNAP 2009:27). This indicates that they think there is a difference between them. However, both sexes are mentioned in relation to vulnerability: as victims of violence.

5.3.2 Agency

As discussed, highlighting the concept of agency is important to emphasise how women and their participation is viewed, if they are allowed agency in the peace process and what type of agency that they have. As stated in the theory section, the definition of agency is based on the active participation and the agency and identity given to women in different situations.

In Northern Ireland, the inclusion of women in the agreement was foremost placed in the participation within the government and political bodies, their human rights, equal opportunities for participation in the government and elections (Good Friday Agreement 1998). In relation to their political representation, women are often mentioned and included by using the word "(s)he" when referring to the structure of the governments and its institutions (ibid.). Thus, this indicates that women are not excluded from the participation in the government and other "formal" activities. Rather, they are perceived as an equally valued male participant as they do not seem to make a difference between them.

The peace agreement also explicitly discusses the right to equality of opportunity in relation to social and economic activity, stating that this should be implemented "[…] regardless of class, creed, disability, gender or ethnicity […]"

(Good Friday Agreement 1998:18). However, what is interesting in this case is that even if this is a promotion of equal opportunities and rights – hence, "giving" agency – gender is put in relation to minorities. Within the same section, they state that it is also important to work with "[…] the right of women to full and equal political participation" (Good Friday Agreement 1998:18). In this example, the issue of equality between the sexes is evident, but as a separate category. An interesting aspect is why, in relation to social and economic activity, they are referring to all the aforementioned categories, while in relation to political participation they solely mention women. This also shows that at that given time women were not taken for granted in these institutions, and that women needed to be included – which gives them an agency connected to political, social and economic activity and participation.

However, research has shown that the actual inclusion of women in the formal politics has not been as extensive. Rather, it has been hard to find support for its "non-sectarian women-centred political agenda", and the inclusion of women has been modest (Racioppi – O'Sullivan 2006:201). However, during the peace process women had active roles, as stated by Anderson (2016:77) where they mobilised in two ways: firstly, they responded within the efforts to find a peaceful solution to the conflict and secondly, they worked for the inclusion and access of women in the peace talks. Hence, this is interesting to see since the inclusion has been modest but the actual activity of women has been quite extensive – which creates an interesting dualism. In this process, women had several strategies to include gender perspectives in the peace agreement. Firstly, they convinced authorities to allow women to participate in the election. Secondly, they needed to gain enough votes to participate in the talks. And lastly, at the negotiations they promoted the inclusion of women's references in the agreement (Anderson 2016:86f).

Similarly, in Liberia, much of the focus in the peace process was placed on their participation as active agents in political institutions, civil society, women's organisations, social movements and as leaders. Within the different document, the peace agreement mentioned the inclusion of women to a larger extent in relation to political institutions and reconstruction. However, within the LNAP, the focus was more placed on the reconstruction and rehabilitation of the society. Overall, women were more present in the peace process in Liberia. Several parts of the peace agreement explicitly mention the importance of including women in the new political scene. In the establishment of the structure of NTLA, it is stated that it needs to include women's organisations, in addition to other political parties and organisations. However, in the next section they are providing a list of the division of places in relation to the warring parties, political parties and civil and other organisations (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 8). What is interesting in this case is that while there is a strong emphasis on the inclusion of women voices and giving them agency, they are not providing any further details on the exact number of seats that they should be allocated with. However, the conflict did create new opportunities for women during the war. Normally, women are pushed back into traditional roles after the conflict, but in Liberia women could use their conflict role in the peace-making process and start a change in existing gender roles (Gizelis 2011:527f).

This is to some extent evident in the LNAP as well, where their agency is mainly surrounded by women as agents that can be part of changing the environment. As stated in the document, "[f]inally, to all the women of Liberia – this is our journey and our plan […]" (LNAP 2009:2). This clearly gives a strong sense of agency to women in Liberia and those that participated in the establishment of the action plan. However, the rest of the documents gives mixed signals. On the one hand, a clear empowerment of women's initiative and participation is evident. Furthermore, it is stated that "In Liberia, women have played a significant role in ensuring a sustainable Peace Accord that has laid the basis for the current post-conflict recovery phase […]" (LNAP 2009:7), which quite straightforward gives acknowledgement to women and their role as agents. On the other hand, women are repeatedly portrayed as vulnerable and in need of protection.

Agency in relation to the implementation of particular policies, strategies and programmes is quite clear in both cases. Besides from the previously discussed role of the agreement in relation to agency, another important aspect is to analyse the participation of women in the actual peace negotiations and development of the documents. In Northern Ireland, women were included to some extent in the peace negotiations. Firstly, the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition was present in the negotiation and signing of the Good Friday Agreement (1998). Furthermore, women also appear in other agreement and documents, such as the Agreement on Implementation Bodies (1999). Furthermore, this indicates that women were given a role within the peace negotiations. Also, the inclusion of female actors such as Liz O'Donnell, Martha Pope, Northern Ireland Women's Coalition was evident (Deiana 2013:403). However, even if this was the case, it has been apparent that due to the male monopoly in the region and the political institutions – women's active participation has often been placed in informal parts of the society such as grassroots activism and community politics. Hence, there is a strong tradition of women organising in the informal political space in Northern Ireland focusing on issues such as support, training, service in areas with high levels of domestic violence, education, amongst others. Thus, women have been more focused on the everyday life politics and issues that affect them and their communities more directly (Gilmartin 2019:92f).

Similarly, during the peace negotiations in Liberia women were represented and present as participators. Thus, the representation as witness was made in the inclusion of the Mano River Women Peace Network during the negotiations and signing of the peace agreement (LNAP 2009, Part 11 – Article XXXVII). However, the presence of women during the creation of Liberia's National Action Plan was more extensive, which was visible both in that the Minister of Gender and Development (a female) attended and was the leader of the project, but also as the development of the plan was done through an inclusion of women at different levels in society (LNAP 2009:8).[4] Self-evidently, this provided women with a strong voice. Through their role as active participants and influencers, they gained an important role as actors in the process. This can be put in contrast to what Gbowee (2009:50) has argued, that in many West African countries the peace negotiations

---

[4] At levels such as international actors and local actors form civil society, grassroots and women's movements.

have failed to take into account women and their concerns and contributions in the conflict and peacebuilding efforts. As can be seen, both cases gave women active roles as agents during the peace process – however, it has also been evident that this has been done in different ways and to different extents.

5.3.3 Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren'

In opposition to viewing women as agents, it is also interesting to examine whether or not women are given roles and traits that undermine their agency. Hence, as defined in the theoretical framework, this is accomplished by viewing the female representation in relation to the concepts of Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren'.

When viewing the role of women in the peace process from a perspective of victimhood, it is important to consider in what way women were portrayed as victims. In Northern Ireland, as women were not particularly often mentioned, their representation in relation to victimhood was not fully present. However, it was evident in the documents under the title "Reconciliation and Victims of Violence", a mentioning of victims of violence in relation to their right to be remembered and valued for their efforts (Good Friday Agreement 1998). However, the section did not explicitly state or refer to women, except from in the constellation of families.

In Liberia, the situation looks quite different. Here, women are portrayed as victims in relation to several different areas – such as diseases, traumas, restrictions and their security. This appeared both in the peace agreement and, even more extensively, in the LNAP. In the peace agreement, especially one place mentioned women as a vulnerable group in society, stating that "[…] NTGL shall accord particular attention to the issue of the rehabilitation of vulnerable groups or war victims (children, women, the elderly and the disabled) within Liberia, who have been severely affected by the conflict […]" (Accra peace Agreement 2003, Part 9 – Article XXXI). Hence, this shows two interesting aspects. Firstly, women are mentioned as a vulnerable group that has been affected by the war considerably – indicating their need for help and protection. Secondly, women are mentioned in relation to groups that normally are more vulnerable such as children, elderly or disabled. Through this, their agency is undermined.

In the LNAP, the role of women as victims is to a large extent focused on two pillars, namely protection and prevention. For example, one of the implementation programmes is focused on providing women and girls who have been affected by violence during the war with psycho-social and trauma counselling (LNAP 2009:14). However, it is interesting that in a program focused on economic empowerment, they are stating that it should be encouraged for "[…] vulnerable and traumatized women and men […]". However later in the same program, they only refer to traumatised and vulnerable women in need of help (LNAP 2009:16). This example is especially interesting as they refer to the victims as both men and women – and not solely women. However, the further development on the issue is clearly only linked to women as victims (LNAP 2009:16). In this case, the protection of a vulnerable group in relation to diseases, security and violence

emerged. However, this is interesting in relation to an example brought up by Pollock (2007), where peace activist Ruth Perry actually used her identity as a mother, as a way to gain political support in contrast to warlords and male counterparts. By doing this, she "[…] employed a self-sacrificing, maternal ideal to contest prevailing male militant dominance". Even if this is the case, it can be seen that women have gained "new roles" in this process. However, there is no insurance that this has also changed the patriarchal structures (Fuest 2008:220).

It is also evident that referring to women in relation to children is a way of undermining women, as they are related to a subject that does not hold complete agency. Thus, this can be evident in an example stating that they need to "[…] protect the rights and strengthen security for women and children […]" and, within this, it is important with "[…] prevention of all types of violence against women and girls […]" (LNAP 2009:13). Therefore, through connecting women to children, in this case girls, women are perceived as in a unit with girls with the same rights and possibilities. However, another interesting aspect is that this language was not evident in the case of Ireland – which is either a sign of that women were not included in the document to the same extent, or that they are not perceived as victims in the same way. But, as there is no mention of this in the documents it is not possibly to know certainly. However, previous research has shown that some laws might have the potential to improve the life of women – yet by providing a stereotype of women as mothers their agency in the political space is further related to their role as mothers. Within this, a creation of an assumption that only women are concerned about issues related to gender, while men are not, is evident. This, in turn, affects the role of women and men in the reconstruction of society (Garnett 2016:107).

5.3.4 Public and Private Spheres

As discussed in the theoretical framework, women are often placed in the private spheres while men take up the public ones. Within the context of the peace processes, it can be useful to understand the different spheres from three perspectives: firstly, in relation to whether women were present during the peace negotiations and settlement of the agreements. Secondly, the sphere were women are focused on in relation to measures and interventions. Lastly, in which way the public and private spaces were managed in the document.

The participation of women in the peace negotiations is important to understand in relation to whether or not women were allowed into the public space of the peace processes. As aforementioned, women were included and engaged in both Northern Ireland and Liberia. Thus, in both cases it is evident that women were active participants that were allowed in the public room. However, this was to some extent restricted in the sense that it still was male dominated. The limited inclusion of women in the peace processes is further interesting in relation to previous research, which has shown that women were more active in the civil society and at grassroots levels. Thus, as noted by Gizelis (2011:537), women's organisations have been particularly active at local levels and not in the formal political sphere. This is, in

turn, an interesting connection the case of Hybrid Peace in Liberia, where the resistance in the civil society was to some extent constituted of women's organisations (Pollock 2007). Therefore, a connection between the Hybrid Peace and the gender perspective in the case of the civil society agency and public and private spheres is evident. This clarifies that Hybrid Peace is touching on areas that can be connected to concepts of agency as well as public and private spheres.

In Liberia, this was shown through the engagement with their pre-war social networks, which mobilised women in the demands and working for peace. However, as previously noted, the engagement and visible participation within the analysed material indicates that women in the public spheres, in the peace negotiations, differ between both cases. In both cases this can be focused on the following themes: democracy, elections, equal opportunity and the reconstruction of the society (Good Friday Agreement 1998; Accra Peace Agreement 2003).

In Northern Ireland women are explicitly mentioned in relation to the definition of public and private spaces. When they are discussing the right to equal opportunities and human rights, it is noted that the British Government will establish policies that are focused on economic development and stability, and within they should be "[…] promoting social inclusion, including particular community development and the advancement of women in public life" (Good Friday Agreement 1998:20). Hence, through explicitly mentioning the need of including women in the public life, they are to some extent indicating that women are restricted to the private sphere. Furthermore, it also indicates that they are aware of it and that they are working on including women. However, the hopes given in the Good Friday Agreement are not reflected in reality. Here, women have remained excluded from a lot of public institutions and have been placed in relation to certain issues, while men are doing the "real work" (Ward 2006:282f). However, even if some improvements have been made, women are still to a large degree excluded from community development and politics (Pierson 2019:59). Thus, as stated by Deiana (2013:405), even though "[…] the conflict and the initial phase of the peace negotiations opened up new spaces for women's civic and political agency, the consolidation of Northern Ireland's 'peace' has entailed a reversal of those fragile 'gains'".

In Liberia's peace agreement, however, it is not explicitly stated that the public and private spaces and sex have a connection. Yet, women's inclusion and rights to equal opportunity in the government and elections are mentioned. For example, in the Liberian Action Plan (2009:19) the importance of a quota system for including women as participants in the government and political parties is noted. Within this, the creation of a percentage of female participants should be integrated at decision-making levels in "[…] political parties and at all levels of society" (LNAP 2009:19). Hence, this indicates that there is a knowledge of the difference of opportunity and the need to acknowledge it. A further indication on this is that the government "[…] promotes women's full participation in all conflict prevention, peace building and post-conflict recovery processes at community, country, national and sub-regional levels" (LNAP 2009:23). Furthermore, even if the document does not explicitly mention the public and private spaces, they are stating the different levels of society indicating that there is a difference between them. Moreover, as discussed, the

Accra Peace Agreement (2003) also notes the importance of including women in state institutions through points of how the structure of these institutions should look. The access for women in peacebuilding activities in Liberia was hard, and it has been evident that the support of NGOs in countries gives women confidence to participate, but it also makes men more accepting on issues of gender equality (Justino et al. 2018:925). However, even if this is the case, Justino et al. (2018:924) notes that a male member of Justice and Peace Commission in Liberia noted that "[…] [w]omen build peace among themselves. They mediate and solve disputes at the community level. Most men solve conflicts at "chief" level […]". Hence, women are excluded from "chief" level. This further is supported by the notion that women are often more engaged at civil society levels and men are more active in public spheres.

The private spheres, on the other hand, are therefore equally important to understand. In Northern Ireland, the private sphere was evident through the reference towards the suffering of the population, stating that "[…] we must never forget those who have died or been injured, and their families […]", which indicates an acknowledgement of the importance and existence of other spheres then the public (Good Friday Agreement 1998:2). Hence, this in relation to the previously discussed recognition of the private and public spaces shows that there is an awareness of different levels in their society. However, there has been a fear that the public institutions will not consider issues such as psychological, financial or sexual violence – that is often related to the private sphere – as serious as other matters (Gilmartin 2019:97). However, something that has been evident is that the participation of women in the public spheres is often focused on that women work on subjects related to their private life; such as children, caring for the vulnerable and community development (Racioppi – O'Sullivan See 2006:191).

However, in Liberia the private space was manifested in different ways. Firstly, in the ceasefire they are recognising the suffering of the population in the country, their need for help and a solution to the conflict. By mentioning that the conflict "[…] has led to the loss of innumerable lives and that displacements of populations […]" and that they are concerned about the "[…] current deteriorating humanitarian situation where people are denied access to food, health care and adequate shelter […]", they highlight issues of the conflict that are present in the private spheres (Liberia Ceasefire Agreement 2003:1). Additionally, in the educational programmes, the LNAP (2009:28) aims to work on issues in relation to the role of families in the prevention of violence towards women and girls. Furthermore, an interesting theme in the LNAP is that measures are implemented in the private sphere to empower women, such as access to housing, land resources and natural resources in relation to the management of the environment (ibid.:34). This indicates that some of the programs are focused on the private levels on issues, such as the right to housing and owning land, diseases and awareness of the discrimination of women (LNAP 2009).

5.3.5 War as Experience

The last concept within the gender perspective is to gain an understanding of whether the peace processes are paying attention to, and acknowledging, the notion that different bodies can experience war in different ways. In the analysed material, there was two main themes that emerged in relation to the subject: the reference to the body in the documents and how people can experience war in different ways.

Within the first theme, it became evident that both physical and emotional experience of the war and suffering was noted. Hence, this was foremost put in relation to the damage from the war, the trauma that it brings and diseases. Besides from the previous noted mentioning of the suffering of the population, in Northern Ireland, the emphasis on the body was most evident in the ceasefire statements of the warring party. They seemed to be more "personal" and "intimate" in comparison to the other documents. Furthermore, in the CLMC ceasefire statement (1994), both a physical and emotional reference to the body was noted as they stated that "[t]o our physically and mentally wounded who have served Ulster so unselfishly, we wish a speedy recovery […]". Here, it is clear that it is recognised that the body can experience the conflict and violence in different ways – and not just in one.

A similar explicit mentioning of the spheres was not evident in Liberia. However, in the LNAP they implemented programmes focused on recovery and rehabilitation of psycho-social traumas, sexual abuse and diseases such as HIV/AIDS (LNAP 2009:15;21). Furthermore, in the LNAP this is further connected to the quality of health education for vulnerable women and girls and the promotion and improvement of it (ibid.:24). In this case, women and girls are to a large extent connected to these issues. However, as the document is aimed at issues of women, peace and security, this should not be viewed as excluding men but rather that they in this case are focusing on women. Furthermore, they also state that they are creating programmes for the "[…] [e]mpowerment of women and girls including those living with HIV/AIDS […]" (ibid.:26). Hence, this also shows that they are considering that the experience of those living with or without HIV/AIDS are different and that they need to particularly include them. Furthermore, this is also evident in the case of the development of prevention efforts aimed at women and girls, where those with disabilities and special needs are mentioned as a separate unit – somehow connected but also separate from others (ibid.:27).

This indicates the notion that they are referring to bodies' different experience of war both within the population, between men and women but also between women and girls. As in comparison, in Northern Ireland it was evident that the experience of the population was noted on some places. Thus, it is recognised by the international community in Northern Ireland that it is important to acknowledge "[…] how those who have suffered during the many years of internal strife can accept the fact the establishment of a lasting peace will call for reconciliation with those they hold responsible for their loss and pain. Surely they continued suffering and bereavement of individuals and of families should never be forgotten" (Report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning 1996:3). This indicates that they are acknowledging the view and perspective of the population – which can be an indicator that they might experience it in different ways. Furthermore, as the

peace agreement also indicates the need of diversity in relation to the equal inclusion of women and minorities, especially women, this shows that their experience is valued (Good Friday Agreement 1998).

Furthermore, the inclusion of women organisations and representatives, and a variation of political parties and organisations, is another indicator in the establishment of a diverse representation in both peace processes. Hence, as noted in previous research, participation during the peace process in Northern Ireland was inclusive and committed towards women (Gilmartin 2019:90). However, Deiana (2013:409), has noted that the failure of Northern Ireland to transition to peace, while having an including perspective towards women, shows the need for a broader social transformation and gender mainstreaming. In order to achieve this, it is important that gender equality and justice are worked with in a more thorough way and not only as a way of "ticking boxes".

However, in the analysis of the documents of Liberia, it is especially evident that the concentration of engagement of different actors – such as political parties, civil society etc. – was extensive which indicates a process that was infused with difference perspectives, voices and experiences (Accra Peace Agreement 2003, Part 11 – Article XXXVII). Consequently, this is another way of understanding how different experiences of war are taken into account – besides from explicitly mentioning and implementing strategies that are focused on different experience and sufferings. Accordingly, this can be seen as a way of gaining perspectives from different experiences in order to get a more inclusive peace agreement and, with this, implementation programmes and issue areas. However, the participation of different groups and perspectives in Liberia has been noted by Moosa et al. (2013:458) in relation to that men and women tend to define peace in different ways. Hence, for women peace includes factors such as food security, economic empowerment, healthcare and education and freedom from home abuse. Therefore, it is important to include both men and women in the process – as their unique experiences are formed by the war and the structures of society (Ibid.:458).

6 Concluding Reflections

Before embarking on the concluding reflections of the analysis, it is useful to get a reminder of the research questions, the aim and purpose of this thesis. Hence the thesis has aimed at answering the following questions:

How can we understand peace processes from a Gendered Hybrid Peace perspective?

What can a Gendered Hybrid Peace look like?

In what way can a Hybrid Peace theory benefit from a gender perspective?

With the research questions in mind, the aim of the thesis has been to understand what contributions and understandings that a gender perspective can provide to the Hybrid Peace Theory through highlighting concepts such as Masculinities and Femininities, Agency, Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren', Private and Public Spheres and Experience of War. Furthermore, with this as a basis, the thesis has tried to show and argue for the importance of including a gender perspective in order to get a more detailed and inclusive analysis of peace.

As the analysis has shown, there was clear signs of hybridisation processes in both Northern Ireland and Liberia. However, they looked differently. In Northern Ireland, the peace process was to a larger degree independent from international actors and influence. Hence, even if international actors were present in the interaction, the actors seem to take into account local conditions. In comparison, the peace process in Liberia seemed more hybridised as the negotiations and interaction between the local and the international was more evident. Thus, evident in the sense that the "footprint" of the international was larger as the promotion of liberal institutions and structures was manifested in the agreements to a larger extent. Furthermore, a clear participation and resistance amongst the local in the negotiations with the international existed in both cases. As indicated, there seems to have been a clear interaction between the actors in the peace processes for the establishment, or effort, of peace. Furthermore, the analysis showed that it seems to be relevant to use the hybrid peace framework to understand the complexities of the interactions evident in peace processes. Also, it showed that the case of hybridity within peace processes can look quite differently based on the context.

Even if the analysis of the hybrid peace showed interesting results and themes, the thesis argues that it fails to show a deeper dimension. The hybrid peace analysis can be seen as an umbrella – and underneath, in the hybridised institutions and processes, there are further factors that needs to be taken into account. The analysis of the gender concepts on the two cases showed several interesting aspects that are

useful to emphasise for understanding how gender structures and power hierarchies are created within a hybrid peace. Hence, when looking at the analysis of the Masculinities and Femininities present in the cases, there were some indicators that feminine attributes – such as vulnerability and relations to families – is given to women to a larger extent. However, this was foremost present in the case of Liberia, where women were ascribed roles in relation to femininity: topics such as family and victims. But, they were also present in relation to roles such as participants and in the reconstruction. Through the establishment of traits of femininity in relation to women, masculinities are indirectly established. In the same process, we can see that this created gender orders where women were given traits of femininity that were subordinated.

In relation to Agency and women's representation and participation; in both cases this mostly took the form of women's right to equal participation in the political sphere. Here, both agreements stated the importance of equality with regard to the inclusion of women. However, in Liberia, this was evident to a larger extent. Furthermore, it seems like women had a larger role in the peace process in Liberia when it comes to the negotiations and civil society movements. However, it is important to note that even if women were included in the process, they did not in either of the cases seem to have the same role as men. Even if both peace processes emphasised the role of women – there was still an evident absence of further instructions on the implementation of the female participation. However, the LNAP stood out in this case, since women were very present and clear instruction on implementation programs existed. In opposite to agency, women were also related to traits such as Victims of Violence and Beautiful Souls, in need of protection or connected to children. In Liberia, this was foremost evident through women's connection to vulnerability and in need of protection from diseases, violence and traumas. Furthermore, in relation to this, women were on occasion put in relation to minorities and children – which lowers their agency. As in the case of agency, the LNAP mentions women as victims more often. However, in Northern Ireland this was not present in the same way – even if there still was references to women in relation to vulnerability.

In relation to the Public and Private spheres it is evident that there was a separation between the spheres in the documents and in implementation programs. From the analysis, it became clear that in the documents women were referred to in relation to both spheres. Hence, in relation to the public sphere this was foremost as inclusion in governmental institutions and in the private spheres it was mostly in relation to family, suffering and social inequalities. Furthermore, the public sphere took up a big part of the documentation as it often was focused state institutions.

Lastly, the different Experiences of War can be understood in two ways: the reference to the body and taking into account physical and emotional experiences – providing different perspectives. Firstly, both cases, to different extents took into account the bodily experience of war. This was done in different ways, but was mostly visible through the mentioning of trauma, abuse, violence and psychological factors. Furthermore, both cases – but Liberia to a larger degree – took into account different parts of the populations' view in the peace process which indicates an inclusive approach to perspectives in the process.

6.1 An Attempt Towards a Gendered Hybrid Peace

In addition to the conclusions drawn, the thesis has also shown that there are important contributions that a gendered perspective can provide to a hybrid peace theory. The developed theoretical framework was useful from several points. Based on the analysis this thesis has tried to show, and argue, that the hybrid peace can be understood as the overarching framework to understand the interactions between the local and the global. This thesis has shown that there are indicators suggesting that it is highly relevant to view hybrid peace from a gendered perspective – but due to limitations it is impossible to state that the study is representative and can be generalised from. Rather, the results should be seen as an indicator for the relevance and prospects for further research on Gendered Hybrid Peace. Therefore, to establish a more solid ground for the theory more research and other cases need to be analysed.

The analysis of the Gendered Hybrid Peace in Northern Ireland and Liberia has shown that there is an interesting, deeper understanding, of the interactions between the international and local that is necessary to emphasise for understanding how gendered assumptions and structures are created at international and local levels – and in their interaction. Thus, as noted by Tickner and Sjoberg (2011b:11), the normative agenda within feminist international relations assumes that the international community is unjust. This study has shown that inequalities are still intact, even though interactions between international and local levels have been made. However, the study indicates that is seems like the UNSCR 1325 has provided a larger inclusion of women, yet, this inclusion is still limited and seems to (re)create gendered assumptions affecting women's position in peace processes. Hence, there is indications that the international level might be promoting gender in peace processes. However, the inclusion of women in the process does not necessarily lead to a change in the country after the implementations.

Moreover, this shows that in order to create an inclusive and just peace, it is important to incorporate and actively work with the way in which women are included. Thus, it is not enough to only include the local level – but rather to actively think about different parts of the local level. This is especially important, as argued by McLeod (2015:61), since the 'locals' cannot be seen as a homogenous unit as there are different groups, individuals, power and privilege dynamics that need to be taken into consideration for understanding hybridity.

The gender concepts included in the theoretical framework have highlighted more aspects to why a gendered perspective is important to understand the need for gendering hybrid peace. Therefore, this has indicated that, to create a Gendered Hybrid Peace, it is useful to highlight issues and structures that are related to Masculinity and Femininity, Agency, Victimhood, Beautiful Souls and 'womenandchildren', the Private and Public Spheres and Experience of War. Furthermore, it has also shown that even if the UN is working on women's participation, this inclusion still leads to gendered constructions of their participation.

As aforementioned, the understanding of Hybrid Positive Peace is a state where political and social injustices are addressed with larger legitimacy. However, this thesis argues that to create a just and inclusive peace, it also important to include women on a basis where they are not imbedded in the (re)creation of assumptions and stereotypes that they are often ascribed. Hence, to create a just and inclusive peace, women needs to be included on a basis where they are not imbedded in the (re)creation of assumptions and stereotypes that is often given to them as this can undermine their participation. Furthermore, this is especially interesting in relation to the implementation of policies on women's inclusion, as it seems like the exclusion of women finds new forms to continue the exclusion. Even if the exclusion is changing, it is maintained in new forms and needs to be highlighted through frameworks as this to be combatted.

Lastly, as criticised by Tickner (1997:614), international relations often assume that gender is foremost focused on interpersonal relations between men and women and that it is not related to international politics. In relation to this, this thesis has argued and shown that international politics is important to view from a gendered perspective since the international affect all levels of society. This can be related to Enloe's (2014:28) argument that institutions can mostly be seen as "men's clubs", where women are only partly participating. Thus, the evidence in this thesis supports that women in peace processes are included, but in a relative and incomplete way. At the same time, women's movement and activity is extensive and innovative at the civil society level. Nevertheless, often focused on "softer issues" that can be related to the private sphere. Therefore, it could be argued that peace processes are a man's world, but that the accountability is to a large extent placed on women.

Bibliography

A New Framework Agreement, A Shared Understanding between the British and Irish Governments to Assist Discussion and Negotiation Involving the Northern Ireland Parties (1995/22/02), Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Government of Ireland. Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Accra Peace Agreement, "Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between the Government of Liberia and the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and Political parties" (2003/08/18), Government of the Republic of Liberia, Liberians United for Reconciliation, Democracy and Movement for Democracy in Liberia and Political Parties. Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=76&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Ackerly, Brooke A, Maria Stern – Jacqui True (2006) *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland Establishing Implementation Bodies (1999/03/08) by the Government of Ireland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Anderson, Miriam J. (2016) *Windows of Opportunity: How Women Seize Peace Negotiations for Political Change,* New York: Oxford University Press

Atkinson, Philippa (2008) "Liberal interventionism in Liberia: Towards a tentatively just approach?", *Conflict, Security & Development.* 8(1):15-45

Ball, Jennifer (2019) *Women, Development and Peacebuilding in Africa. Stories from Uganda*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan

Basini, Helen S. A. (2013) "Gender Mainstreaming Unraveled: The Case of DDRR in Liberia", *International Interactions,* 39:535-557

Becker, Howard S. (1998) *Tricks of the Trade: How to think about your research while you're doing it.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Bell, Christine (2018) "Women, Peace Negotiations, and Peace Agreements: Opportunities and Challenges" in Ní Aoláin, Fionnuala et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Bell, Christine – Catherine O'Rourke (2010) "Peace Agreements or Pieces of Paper? The Impact of UNSC Resolution 1325 on Peace Processes and Their Agreements", *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly,* 59(4):941-980

Bell, Christine – Kevin McNicholl (2019) "Principled Pragmatism and the 'Inclusion Project': Implementing a Gender Perspective in Peace Agreements", *feminist@law,* 9(1):1-51

Björkdahl, Annika (2012) "A Gender-Just Peace? Exploring the Post-Dayton Peace Process in Bosnia", *PEACE & CHANGE,* 37(2):286-317

Björkdahl, Annika – Johanna Mannergren Selimovic (2016) "Gender – the missing piece in the peace puzzle" in Richmond, Oliver et al. (eds.) *The Palgrave Handbook of Disciplinary and Regional Approaches to Peace. Palgrave MacMillan.* Baskingstoke: New York

Björkdahl, Annika – Kristine Höglund (2013) "Precarious peacebuilding: friction in global-local encounters"*, Peacebuilding,* 1(3):289-299

Cockburn, Cynthia (2013) "When is peace? Women's post-accord experiences in three countries", *Soundings,* 53:143-159

Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) Ceasefire Statement (1994/10/13). Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Confortini, Catia C. (2006) "Galtung, Violence, and Gender: The Case for a Peace Studies/Feminism Alliance", *Peace & Change,* 31(3):333-367

Connell, Raewyn – Rebecca Pearse (2015). *Om genus.* (3rd ed.) Göteborg: Daidalos

Consultation Paper: Ground Rules for Substantive All-Party Negotiations issued by the British Government (1996/03/15). Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Deiana, Maria-Adriana (2013) "Women's Citizenship in Northern Ireland after the 1998 Agreement", *Irish Political Studies,* 28(3):399-412

Downing Street Declaration" (1993/12/15), Joint Declaration.

Eisenhardt, Kathleen M. – Melissa E. Graebner (2007) "Theory Building from Cases: Opportunities and Challenges", *Academy of Management Journal,* 50(1):25-32

Elshtain, Jean Bethke (1982) "On Beautiful Souls, Just Warriors and Feminist Consciousness", *Women's Studies Int. Forum,* 5(3/4):341-348

Enloe, Cynthia H. (2014) *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: making feminist sense of international politics*, (Second Edition). Berkeley: University of California Press.

Flick, Uwe (2013) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Foucault, Michel (1977) *Discipline and Punish. The Birth of the Prison.* London: Penguin Books

Fuest, Veronika (2008) "'This is the Time to Get in Front': Changing Roles and Opportunities for Women in Liberia", *African Affairs,* 107/427:201-224

Galtung, Johan (1969) "Violence, Peace, and Peace Research", *Journal of Peace Research,* 6(3):167-191

Galtung, Johan (1996) *Peace by peaceful means: peace and conflict, development and civilization.* London: Sage

Garnett, Tanya Ansahta (2016) ""Ellen is Our Man" Perceptions of Gender in Postconflict Liberian Politics", *International Feminist Journal of Politics,* 18(1):99-118

Gbowee, Leymah (2009) "Effecting Change through Women's Activism in Liberia", *IDS Bulletin,* 40(2):50-53

George, Alexander L. – Andrew Bennett (2005) *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences,* Cambridge: MIT Press

Gilmartin, Niall (2019) "Gendering the 'post-conflict' narrative in Northern Ireland's peace process", *Capital & Class,* 43(1):89-104

Gizelis, Theodora-Ismene (2011) "A Country of their Own", *Conflict Management and Peace Science,* 28(5):522-542

Goddard, Stacie E. (2012) "Brokering Peace: Networks, Legitimacy, and the Northern Ireland Peace Process", *International Studies Quarterly,* 56:501-515

Good Friday Agreement, The Northern Ireland Peace Agreement. Ireland, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland (1998/04/10). Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Hansen, Lene (2010) "Ontologies, Epistemologies, Methodologies" in Shepherd, Laura (ed.) *Gender Matters in Global Politics. A Feminist Introduction to International Relations.* London and New York: Routledge pp. 17-27

Höglund, Kristine (2011) "Comparative Field Research in War-torn Societies" in Kristine Höglund & Magnus Öberg (eds.) *Understanding Peace Research. Methods and Challenges.* London: Routledge

Höglund, Kristine & Magnus Öberg (2011) *Understanding Peace Research. Methods and Challenges.* London: Routledge

Hughes, Caroline et al. (2015a) "Special Issue: The 'local turn' in peacebuilding: the liberal peace challenged", *Third World Quarterly,* 36(5).

Hughes, Caroline – Joakim Öjendal – Isabell Schierenbeck (2015b) "The struggle versus the song – the local turn in peacebuilding: an introduction", *Third World Quarterly,* 36(5):817-824

Hyde, Julie – Sean Byrne (2015) "Hybrid Peacebuilding in Northern Ireland and the Border Countries: The Impact of International Fund for Ireland and the European Union's Peace III Fund", *International Journal of Conflict Engagement and Resolution,* 3(2):93-115

Irish Republican Army (IRA) Ceasefire Statement (1994/08/31). Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Joint Statement by David Trimble and Seamus Mallon, including "Agreement Reached on Departments and Cross-border Bodies" (1998/12/18). Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Justino, Patricia – Rebecca Mitchell – Catherine Müller (2018) "Women and Peace Building: Local Perspectives on Opportunities and Barriers", *Development and Change,* 49(4):911-929

Kant, Immanuel (1891) *Kant's Principles of Politics, including his essay on Perpetual Peace. A Contribution to Political Science.* Translated by W. Hastie. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark

Kessler, S. – D. J. Ashenden – R. W. Connell – G. W. Dowsett (1985) "Gender Relations in Secondary Schooling", *Sociology of Education,* 58(1):34-48

Kohlbacher, Florian (2006) "The Use of Qualitative Content Analysis in Case Study Research", *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 7(1) art. 21.

Krause, Jana – Werner Krause – Piia Bränfors (2018) "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions,* 44(6):985-1016

Liberia Ceasefire Agreement, "Agreement on Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostalities Between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia" (2003/06/17), Government of the Republic of Liberia, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and Movement for Democracy in Liberia. Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=76&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

LNAP: Government of Liberia. Ministry of Gender and Development (2009) "The Liberia National Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nation Resolution 1325". Available: https://www.peacewomen.org/nap-liberia Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Mac Ginty, Roger (2010) "Hybrid Peace: The Interaction Between Top-Down and Bottom-Up Peace", *Security Dialogue,* 41(4):391-412

Mac Ginty, Roger (2011) *International Peacebuilding and Local Resistance. Hybrid Forms of Peace,* London & New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Mac Ginty, Roger – Oliver Richmond (2016) "The fallacy of constructing hybrid political orders: a reappraisal of the hybrid turn in peacebuilding", *International Peacekeeping,* 23(2):219-239

Mayring, Philipp (2000) "Qualitative Content Analysis", *Forum: Qualitative Social Research,* 1(2).

McGuinness, Margaret E. (2007) "Women as Architects of Peace: Gender and the Resolution of Armed Conflict", *Michigan State Journal Of International Law,* 63:63-84

McLeod, Laura (2015) "A Feminist Approach to Hybridity: Understanding Local and International Interactions in Producing Post-Conflict Gender Security", *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding,* 9(1):48-69

Moosa, Zohra – Maryam Rahmani – Lee Webster (2013) "From the private to the public sphere: new research on women's participation in peace-building", *Gender & Development,* 21(3):453-472

Nadarajah, Sutharan – David Rampton (2015) "The limits of hybridity and the crisis of liberal peace", *Review of International Studies,* 41:49-72

Nilsson, Desirée – Mimmi Söderberg Kovacs (2005) "Breaking the Cycle of Violence? Promises and Pitfalls of the Liberian Peace Process", *Civil Wars,* 7(4):396-414

PA-X (no date) Peace Agreement Database. Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search

Paffenholz, Thania (2015) "Unpacking the local turn in peacebuilding: a critical assessment towards an agenda for future research", *Third World Quarterly,* 36(5):857-874

Paris, Roland (2004) *At War's End. Building Peace After Civil Conflict.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Pierson, Claire (2019) "Gendering peace in Northern Ireland: The role of United Nation Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security", *Capital & Class,* 43(1):57-71

Pollock, Jennifer (2007) "(En)Gendering Peace: Female Agency, Civil Society and Peacebuilding in Liberia", *Undercurrent,* 4(1)

Racioppi, Linda – Katherine O'Sullivan See (2006) "Engendering Democratic Transition from Conflict: Women's Inclusion in Northern Ireland's Peace Process", *Comparative Politics,* 38(2):189-208

Ramazanoğlu, Caroline – Janet Holland (2011) *Feminist Methodology,* London: SAGE Publications Ltd.

Report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning (1996/01/22), George J. Mitchell, John de Chastelain, Harri Holkeri. Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Richmond, Oliver P. (2008) *Peace in International Relations.* London and New York: Routledge.

Richmond, Oliver P. (2015) "The dilemmas of a hybrid peace: Negative or positive?", *Cooperation and Conflict,* 50(1):50-68

Richmond, Oliver P. – Audra Mitchell (2012) *Hybrid Forms of Peace. From Everyday Agency to Post-Liberalism.* Basingstoke & New York: Palgrave Macmillan

Rules of Procedure, (1996/07/29), NICS Northern Ireland Office. Available: https://www.peaceagreements.org/search?SearchForm%5Bregion%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcountry_entity%5D=104&SearchForm%5Bname%5D=&SearchForm%5Bcategory_mode%5D=any&SearchForm%5Bagreement_text%5D=&s=Search+Database Last Accessed: 6/5/19

Ryan, Caitlin – Helen Basini (2017) "UNSC Resolution 1325 national action plans in Liberia and Sierra Leone: An analysis of gendered power relations in hybrid peacebuilding", *Journal of Intervention and Statebuilding,* 11(2):186-206

Schreier, Margrit (2013) "Qualitative Content Analysis" in Flick, Uwe (ed.) *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis.* London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Pp. 170-183

Sharp, Ingrid (2013) "Feminist Peace Activism 1915 and 2010: Are We Nearly There Yet?", *Peace & Change,* 38(2):155-180

Shepherd, Laura (2010a) *Gender Matters in Global Politics. A Feminist Introduction to International Relations.* London and New York: Routledge

Shepherd, Laura (2010b) "Sex or Gender? Bodies in World Politics and Why Gender Matters in Shepherd, Laura (ed.) *Gender Matters in Global Politics. A Feminist Introduction to International Relations.* London and New York: Routledge pp. 3-16

Sjoberg, Laura – Caron E. Gentry (2007) *Mothers, Monsters, Whores. Women's Violence in Global Politics.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sylvester, Christine (2013) *War as Experience. Contributions from international relations and femninist analysis.* Oxon: Routledge

Tickner, Ann J. (1997) "You Just Don't Understand: Troubled Engagements Between Feminists and IR Theorists", *International Studies Quarterly,* 41:611-632

Tickner, Ann J. (2006) "Feminism meets International Relations: some methodological issues" in Ackerly, Brooke A, Maria Stern – Jacqui True (eds.), *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 19-41

Tickner, Ann J. – Laura Sjoberg (2011a) *Feminism and International Relations. Conversations about the past, present and future.* New York: Routledge

Tickner, Ann J. – Laura Sjoberg (2011b) "Introduction: International Relations through feminist lenses" in Tickner, Ann J. – Laura Sjoberg (eds.) *Feminism and International Relations. Conversations about the past, present and future.* New York: Routledge. Pp. 1-21

True, Jacqui – Yolanda Riveros-Morales (2019) "Towards inclusive peace: Analysing gender-sensitive peace agreements 2000-2016", *International Political Science Review,* 40(1):23-40

Tryggestad, Torunn L. (2009) "Trick or Treat - The UN and Implementation of Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security, *Global Governance,* 15:539-557

UN Women (2012) "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence", *United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women.* Availability: https://www.peacewomen.org/node/92120 Last accessed: 18/5/2019

UNSCR 1325: United Nations Security Council. (2000). *Resolution 1325(2000).* 31 October 2000. Availability: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/. Last accessed: 15/5/2019

Väyrynen, Tarja (2010) "Gender and Peacebuilding" in Richmond, Oliver P. (ed.) *Palgrave advances in peacebuilding. Critical developments and approaches.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. Pp. 137-153

Ward, Margaret (2006) "Gender, Citizenship and the Future of the Northern Ireland Peace Process", *Éire-Ireland,* 41(1&2):262-283

Weldon, Laurel S. (2006) "Inclusion and understanding: a collective methodology for feminist International Relations" in Ackerly, Brooke A, Maria Stern – Jacqui True (eds.), *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 62-87

Yin, Robert K. (2003) *Case Study Research. Design and Methods.* 3rd Edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.

Appendices

Appendix I: Analytical Framework

Categories	Category Breakdown	Questions for each category	Sub-categories derived from text[5]
Background	Material	What is the aim of the document/ agreement? How comprehensive are the documents?	
	Representation	Who is represented in the agreement? - Local representation? - International representation? - Third party? Where did the negotiations take place? Are the documents named after any specific place/holiday?	
Hybrid Peace	International Community	What ideas are proposed by the international community in the documents? What international requirements were proposed? Are there any ideas from liberal peace ideas are present indicating the importance of democracy and other liberal thoughts?	

---

[5] The sub-categories that has been derived from the analysis of the documents is presented in Appendix III and IV.

	Local Participation and Resistance	Is the local participation acknowledged in the documents? What local parties are present? Is there any evidence of a "individualisation" of the proposed requirements in the documentation? Are there any locally influenced requirements and propositions? And what do they include?	
Hybrid Peace cont.	Local Participation and Resistance cont.	Is there a compromise between the local and the international requirements? Is there any event in the documents that were refused by the local parties – resulting in not a fully signed agreement? Does it seem to be any negotiations with the internationally proposed demands and ideas? Is there an evident compromise between the parties? Did the local participants resist any of the proposed ideas? Do the negotiations propose any hybridised policies and institutions?	
Gender Concepts	Masculinity and Femininity	What traits are they given that can be related to masculinity and femininity? Where is *women* present in the documents? In relation to any specific topic? Where is *men* present in the documents? In relation to any specific topic? Is there an evident gender order? Are women and/or men more present in certain areas of the document?	

	Agency	How are women portrayed in relation to agency? Is there a female participation in the document/agreement? In what way is the female participation perceived? In what areas are women included and how is the female participation valued? What traits and what role are women given that is related to their agency in the process?	
Gender Concepts	Victimhood and Beautiful Souls	Are women given any certain "vulnerable" traits in the documents? Are the women connected and mentioned in relation to children? Are women perceived as vulnerable and in need of protection?	
	Public and Private Spheres	Are women included in the public debates and peace process (in the agreements and/or document)? How, if evident, are the private spheres represented in the documents? What role are given to the public spheres in the documents? And what role are given to the private spheres? Is there a larger focus on any of the spheres? Is there a dominant emphasise of women or men in relation to each sphere? Are there any guidelines stating women's participation in the reconstruction of the society?	

	Experience of war	Is there any emphasise on the bodily experience of war? Is there an emphasis on that citizens might experience the war in different ways? Is the peace process inclusionary when it comes to different experiences and perspectives on the conflict? And in what way is this emphasised? Is both physical and emotional experiences noted? And how are they mentioned?	

Appendix II: Material

Northern Ireland

"Downing Street Declaration" (1993/12/15), Joint Declaration.

"Irish Republican Army (IRA) Ceasefire Statement" (1994/08/31)

"Combined Loyalist Military Command (CLMC) Ceasefire Statement" (1994/10/13)

 "A New Framework Agreement", A Shared Understanding between the British and Irish Governments to Assist Discussion and Negotiation Involving the Northern Ireland Parties (1995/22/02), Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Government of Ireland.

"Joint Communiqué", British and Irish Governments (1995/11/02)

"Report of the International Body on Arms Decommissioning" (1996/01/22), George J. Mitchell, John de Chastelain, Harri Holkeri.

"Consultation Paper: Ground Rules for Substantive All-Party Negotiations issued by the British Government" (1996/03/15)

"Rules of Procedure", (1996/07/29), NICS Northern Ireland Office

"Text of Document on Decommissioning" (1997/06/25)

"Agreement on Independent International Commission on Decommissioning" (1997/08/26), Government of Ireland and Government of the United Kingdom.

"Good Friday Agreement", The Northern Ireland Peace Agreement. Ireland, United Kingdom and Northern Ireland (1998/04/10).

Joint Statement by David Trimble and Seamus Mallon, including "Agreement Reached on Departments and Cross-border Bodies" (1998/12/18)

"Text of Joint Statement by British and Irish Governments" (1998/01/12), British and Irish Governments

"Propositions on Heads of Agreement", issued by the British and Irish governments (1998/01/12)

"Agreement Between the Government of Ireland and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Establishing a North/South Ministerial Council" (1999/03/08) by the Government of Ireland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

"Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland Establishing Implementation Bodies" (1999/03/08) by the Government of Ireland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

"Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland Establishing a British-Irish Council" (1999/03/08) by the Government of Ireland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

"Declaration issued by by the Taoiseach, Mr Ahern, and the British Prime Minister, Mr Blair", at Hillsborough Castle, (1999/04/01)

Liberia

Liberia Ceasefire Agreement, "Agreement on Ceasefire and Cessation of Hostalities Between the Government of the Republic of Liberia and Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia" (2003/06/17), Government of the Republic of Liberia, Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy and Movement for Democracy in Liberia.

Accra Peace Agreement, "Comprehensive Peace Agreement Between the Government of Liberia and the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD) and the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) and Political parties" (2003/08/18), Government of the Republic of Liberia, Liberians United for Reconciliation, Democracy and Movement for Democracy in Liberia and Political Parties

LNAP: Government of Liberia. Ministry of Gender and Development (2009) "The Liberia National Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nation Resolution 1325"

Appendix III: Northern Ireland

Categories	Category Breakdown	Questions for each category	Sub-categories derived from text
Background	Material	What is the aim of the document/ agreement?	Peace – Facilitate Discussions – Negotiations
		How comprehensive are the documents?	Differs, but some are quite comprehensive and some are less.
	Representation	Who is represented in the agreement? - Local representation? - International representation? - Third party?	Local: Northern Ireland parties and organisations International: British Government and Irish Government Third party: Senator George Mitchell, General John de Chastelain and Prime Minister Harri Holkeri
		Where did the negotiations take place?	Different places in the United Kingdom: Belfast, London and Dublin.
		Are the documents named after any specific place/holiday?	Peace Agreement: The Good Friday Agreement.
Hybrid Peace	International Community	What ideas are proposed by the international community in the documents?	Peace – Democracy –Elections Ceasefire – Institutions – Twin-Track
		What international requirements were proposed?	Unclear, but correlating to above mentioned.
		Are there any ideas from liberal peace ideas are present indicating the importance of democracy and other liberal thoughts?	Democracy – Elections – Institutions – Human Rights – Democratic Means – Electorates

	Local Participation and Resistance	Is the local participation acknowledged in the documents?	To different extents.
		What local parties are present?	Acknowledged, Northern Ireland and sometimes civil society organisations
		Is there any evidence of a "individualisation" of the proposed requirements in the documentation?	Yes: Institutions – Elections – Inclusion – Negotiation between the parties
		Are there any locally influenced requirements and propositions? And what do they include?	Yes: "Middle Community" – Cooperation
Hybrid Peace cont.	Local Participation and Resistance cont.	Is there a compromise between the local and the international requirements?	Institutions – Committees – Governmental Organs – Laws – Functioning
		Is there any event in the documents that were refused by the local parties – resulting in not a fully signed agreement?	Not that many, especially one evident.
		Does it seem to be any negotiations with the internationally proposed demands and ideas?	Institutions – Divisions within government – Areas of responsibility -
		Is there an evident compromise between the parties?	Unclear
		Did the local participants resist any of the proposed ideas?	-
		Do the negotiations propose any hybridised policies and institutions?	British-Irish Council – British-Irish Intergovernmental Conference – North/South Ministerial Council
Gender Concepts	Masculinity and Femininity	What traits are they given that can be related to masculinity and femininity?	-
		Where is *women* present in the documents? In relation to any specific topic?	Government – Institutions – Human Rights
		Where is *men* present in the documents? In relation to any specific topic?	-
		Is there an evident gender order?	-
		Are women and/or men more present in certain areas of the document?	Inclusion in Government

	Agency	How are women portrayed in relation to agency?	Participation in Government – Human Right – Equal opportunities
		Is there a female participation in the document/agreement?	Yes
		In what way is the female participation perceived?	Equal right
		In what areas are women included and how is the female participation valued?	Government – Institutions – Election
		What traits and what role are women given that is related to their agency in the process?	Equal participators
Gender Concepts	Victimhood and Beautiful Souls	Are women given any certain "vulnerable" traits in the documents?	No
		Are the women connected and mentioned in relation to children?	Sex – Class – Creed – Colour
		Are women perceived as vulnerable and in need of protection?	Vulnerable population
	Public and Private Spheres	Are women included in the public debates and peace process (in the agreements and/or document)?	Yes
		How, if evident, are the private spheres represented in the documents?	Vulnerable/hurt population
		What role are given to the public spheres in the documents?	Reconstruction – Democracy – Election
		And what role are given to the private spheres?	-
		Is there a larger focus on any of the spheres?	Public
		Is there a dominant emphasise of women or men in relation to each sphere?	No
		Are there any guidelines stating women's participation in the reconstruction of the society?	Yes: elections – equal opportunities – economic and social activity

	Experience of war	Is there any emphasise on the bodily experience of war?	Suffering – Reconciliation – Inclusion
		Is there an emphasis on that citizens might experience the war in different ways?	Population – Wounded – Suffering – Individuals and Families
		Is the peace process inclusionary when it comes to different experiences and perspectives on the conflict? And in what way is this emphasised?	Limited, but mentioned to some extent.
		Is both physical and emotional experiences noted? And how are they mentioned?	Families – Population

Appendix IV: Liberia

Categories	Category Breakdown	Questions for each category	Sub-categories derived from text
Background	Material	What is the aim of the document/ agreement? How comprehensive are the documents?	Peace – Peace Negotiations – Ceasefire – Women, Peace and Security Comprehensive
	Representation	Who is represented in the agreement? - Local representation? - International representation? - Third party? Where did the negotiations take place? Are the documents named after any specific place/holiday?	Local: Fighting parties, political parties, civil society organisations International: ECOWAS, AU, UN, Third Party: Mediators NAP: more grassroots, civil society engagement Ceasefire and Agreement: Accra, Ghana "Accra Peace Agreement"
Hybrid Peace	International Community	What ideas are proposed by the international community in the documents? What international requirements were proposed? Are there any ideas from liberal peace ideas are present indicating the importance of democracy and other liberal thoughts?	Unclear: Democracy – Elections – Negotiations - Peace – Equality - NAP: 1325 Democracy – Elections – Negotiations – Commissions – Assistance – Good Governance – Capacity Building – Participation – Transparency

		Is the local participation acknowledged in the documents?	Yes
	Local Participation and Resistance	What local parties are present?	Warring parties, Political parties, local organisations, civil society organisations (both as participants and observers) NAP: also inclusive of grassroots
		Is there any evidence of a "individualisation" of the proposed requirements in the documentation?	Yes, the "blueprint" seems to be individualized to the situation in the country. NAP: specialized and developed specifically for Liberia (clear that the local had more influence)
		Are there any locally influenced requirements and propositions? And what do they include?	Ceasefire + Agreement: Unclear NAP: Yes.
Hybrid Peace cont.	Local Participation and Resistance cont.	Is there a compromise between the local and the international requirements?	Yes. Individualisation – co-organised institutions – liberal peace ideas – Collective Implementation Programs
		Is there any event in the documents that were refused by the local parties – resulting in not a fully signed agreement?	Ceasefire: Charles Tyler exemple.
		Does it seem to be any negotiations with the internationally proposed demands and ideas?	Yes. Overall, the documents seem to be quite personalized to the situation in Liberia (NAP even more)
		Is there an evident compromise between the parties?	Yes. Institutions – Electorates – Ceasefire – Implementation Programs -
		Did the local participants resist any of the proposed ideas?	Yes. Ceasefire: Charles Tyler.
		Do the negotiations propose any hybridised policies and institutions?	Commissions – Help from international organisations – Democracy – Good Governance – Commissions

Gender Concepts	Masculinity and Femininity	How are women portrayed?	Inclusion in government – Help – Mothers – Families – Rural/Urban – Victim – Active participants – Need of Protection
		What traits are they given that can be related to masculinity and femininity?	
		Where is *women* present in the documents? In relation to any specific topic?	Government Institutions – Victims of Violence - Reconstruction of Society -
		Where is *men* present in the documents? In relation to any specific topic?	To some extent also as victims and in relation to suffering
		Is there an evident gender order?	Agreement/Ceasefire: To some extent LNAP: Yes
		Are women and/or men more present in certain areas of the document?	Women: Government Institutions – Victims of Violence – Action Programs – Civil Society
	Agency	How are women portrayed in relation to agency?	One signing – Government – Civil Society – Active Participants – Victims of war, violence, diseases – Need of Protection -
		Is there a female participation in the document/agreement?	Yes
		In what way is the female participation perceived?	Governmental institutions – Womens Organisations – Need of Protection – Active Agents (civil society and government) -
		In what areas are women included and how is the female participation valued?	Government institutions – Victims – Suffering – Protection – Equal opportunity – Social Movements -
		What traits and what role are women given that is related to their agency in the process?	Protection – Suffering - Active Agents – Participants – Leaders

Categories	Category Breakdown	Questions for each category	Sub-categories derived from text
Gender Concepts	Victimhood and Beautiful Souls	Are women given any certain "vulnerable" traits in the documents?	Womenandchildren – Victims – Diseased – Vulnerable – Traumatised – Restricted – Security
		Are the women connected and mentioned in relation to children?	Yes
		Are women perceived as vulnerable and in need of protection?	Yes: Vulnerable group – Protection – Diseases – Issues of Security – Violence
	Public and Private Spheres	Are women included in the *public debates* and peace process (in the agreements and/or document)?	Yes
		How, if evident, are the private spheres represented in the documents?	Families – Diseases – Improve Inclusion – Awareness – Housing – Right to Land – Education - Awareness of Discrimination
		What role are given to the public spheres in the documents? And what role are given to the private spheres?	Reconstruction – Reconciliation – Good Governance – Democracy – Elections – Splitting of governmental and private institutions and assets – Training of women – Inclusion
		Is there a larger focus on any of the spheres?	Overall public, but the NAP mentions the private to a larger extent.
		Is there a dominant emphasise of women or men in relation to each sphere?	No
		Are there any guidelines stating women's participation in the reconstruction of the society?	Yes. Elections – Positions in Government – Civil Society actors – Environment

	Experience of war	Is there any emphasise on the bodily experience of war?	Inclusion of many representations – Diseases – SGBV – Suffering
		Is there an emphasis on that citizens might experience the war in different ways?	Yes: Women/Men – Rural/Urban – Adults/Kids
		Is the peace process inclusionary when it comes to different experiences and perspectives on the conflict? And in what way is this emphasised?	Inclusion – Representation
		Is both physical and emotional experiences noted? And how are they mentioned?	To some extent, mostly physical.