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Understanding Gender Equal Conflict Resolution

A Sociology of Law Perspective of Inclusive Education as One Pathway to Sustainable Peacebuilding

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Lund University
Sociology of Law Department

Master Thesis (SOLM02)
Spring 2023



Supervisor: Anna Lundberg

Examiner: Peter Scharff Smith

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¹ Bain News Service. Peace Delegates on NOORDAM -- Mrs. P. Lawrence, Jane Addams, Anna Molloy [Photograph]. 1915. <https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2014698779/> (Accessed 2023-03-14).

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Abstract

The significance of access to education has, like women's role in peacebuilding, previously been examined in various studies. However, the relationship between these two has rarely been touched upon. Particularly the discipline of Sociology of Law has been observed to discuss the topics in separate academic discussions. Hence, findings in accordance with my study have revealed that there is no research investigating whether access to education has an impact on global peace and security. In this thesis I have therefore approached the linkage between girls' inclusion in education, and women's participation in peacebuilding, while investigating if other factors could have an effect on gender equal peacebuilding, and hence, global peace and security. The thesis has followed the mixed-methods approach of an explanatory sequential design, allowing for a quantitative analysis to be nuanced by a qualitative examination. The quantitative segment has investigated the relationship between the indicators of school enrolment and female signatories through an OLS regression analysis. Based on this thesis' main conceptual claim, I have argued that increased access to primary education among girls leads to higher chances of global peace and security obtained through gender equal peacebuilding. This claim has been assessed in a qualitative thematic narrative analysis, using narrative data from biographies about Agda Rössel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The quantitative analysis has portrayed a positive relationship between school enrolment and female signatories, revealing that higher educational access might lead to increased inclusion among women in peacebuilding. Building upon these results, the qualitative analysis has confirmed the first established findings, but has claimed that access to primary education alone does not generate inclusion in peacebuilding. Instead, education might open for opportunities which, in collaboration with components such as external encouragement and inclusion in networks, can be used for a blooming career in peacebuilding. On these groundings, I have concluded my thesis by introducing the framework of legal security feminism.

Key words: *gender equality, education, girls, conflict resolution, peacebuilding, global security, peace negotiation, peace processes, legal empowerment, legal feminism, legal security feminism*

List of Abbreviations

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CLEP	Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
ECE	Early Childhood Education
GPE	Global Partnership for Education
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
OLS	Ordinary Least Squares
PRIO	Peace Research Institute Oslo
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
RoL	Rule of Law
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SoL	Sociology of Law
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UNSC	United Nations Security Council
WCSO	Women Civil Society Organization
WPS	Women, Peace, and Security

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INTRODUCTION

I grew up as the only child to a single mother at a time when it was more imaginable than ever for the younger generation to obtain an education. I was the first, and lucky member of my family to go to University at an early age. My mother, who grew up in Poland during the Cold War, raised me on her own, and my grandparents, who throughout my childhood recalled their experiences from World War II, constitute an important part of my life. Growing up among family members who had faced a life affected by both patriarchy and conflict, I was positioned to develop a strong interest in gender equality and international relations. As a consequence of my access to inclusive primary education, this enthusiasm was feasible to form and express from an early age. The indicated interest later emerged into a bachelor's degree in Peace and Conflict Studies at Uppsala University, and currently, master's studies in Sociology of Law (SoL) at Lund University. Complementing my academic background, my professional experiences supported by an internship at the UN Women Nordic Liaison Office and two years within private sector partnerships at UNICEF Denmark, have further influenced my professional endeavours. My identity is therefore actively connected to this thesis and its topic. The analysis I am conducting develops from my commitment to educational rights, gender equality, and animosity towards the conflicts our world has been, and is facing. My personal narrative, and hence, my subjective standpoints, are undoubtedly colouring this thesis.

The research problem my thesis presents began developing when I came across the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) resolution on the protection of education in conflict zones. The resolution was adopted on October 30th, 2021, and is understood to be a significant part of protecting the rights of the most exposed children to obtain an education.² It does, in comparison to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC),

² Protection of Education in Conflict Zones – a Step in the Right Direction, *PRIO*, 2021., <https://blogs.prio.org/2021/11/protection-of-education-in-conflict-zones-a-step-in-the-right-direction/> [accessed 2023-03-13].

have particular focus on education in conflict affected societies. The CRC claims that children shall have the right to inclusive and non-discriminatory education, as well as to learn about their rights.³ The resolution on the protection of education in conflict zones on the other hand argues that all children *particularly in conflict zones*, disregarding their background, shall have the right to attend school.⁴ It further states that education is of high significance when enhancing peace and development. Thus, the right to education is being described as a security question. According to the Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO), threatening the right to education may both harm children's future economic opportunities and increase the risk of children joining armed groups, as lacking education may increase recruitment to such alliances.⁵ Therefore, a lack of education may have negative effects on peacebuilding and development. Securing access to education in particularly conflict-affected societies is, hence, a significant tool to enhance peace-durability, development, and democracy.⁶ It has further been observed that education in conflict-affected societies oftentimes is unequal between genders. Having adopted the new resolution on protecting classrooms from conflict, PRIO therefore argues that the UN's Women, Peace, and Security (WPS) agenda should be taken into account when implementing the resolution. According to PRIO, educating girls does enhance economic development as well as expanding women's capacity to purposely take part in peace processes.⁷ This last statement is of particular relevance for this thesis. Having described the significance of girls' access to education in conflict-affected areas, I aim to further investigate the linkage between girls' access to primary education and women's inclusion in peacebuilding. The primary aspiration is to test if there is a significant causal relationship between the number of girls in schools and the number of women in peacebuilding to further nuance the potential linkage. 'Peacebuilding' will in this thesis be defined as

³ Rustamjon Urinboyev, Per Wickenberg And Ulf L, "Child Rights, Classroom and School Management: A Systematic Literature Review", *The International Journal of Children's Rights* 24:3 (2016), doi:10.1163/15718182-02403002, p. 523.

⁴ Protection of Education in Conflict Zones – a Step in the Right Direction, *PRIO*, 2021., <https://blogs.prio.org/2021/11/protection-of-education-in-conflict-zones-a-step-in-the-right-direction/> [accessed 2023-03-13].

⁵ Protection of Education in Conflict Zones – a Step in the Right Direction, *PRIO*, 2021.

⁶ Protection of Education in Conflict Zones – a Step in the Right Direction, *PRIO*, 2021.

⁷ Protection of Education in Conflict Zones – a Step in the Right Direction, *PRIO*, 2021.

‘involvement in peace processes’. Such involvement could further consist of i.e., female peace negotiators, mediators, and signatories. Depending on the lacking availability of data sets, I will use ‘signatories’ as an indicator of female inclusion in peacebuilding, which is further defined under section 3.1.2 on operationalisation.

To investigate the relationship presented, this thesis has three aims: The first is to examine how the causal relationship between girls’ access to primary education and female inclusion in peacebuilding can be demonstrated. This will be conducted through an ordinary least squares regression (OLS) analysis. The second aim is to investigate what factors besides education, if any, that could contribute to female inclusion in peacebuilding. More precisely, my aspiration with the qualitative analysis is to examine how primary education enables a higher level of female inclusion in peacebuilding, and what other components that may also be affecting women’s participation in peacebuilding. This will be conducted through a qualitative thematic narrative analysis. The third aim is to investigate what theoretical indications that, based on the findings collected in the quantitative and qualitative analyses, can be demonstrated for future developments within the discipline of SoL. Hence, the research questions consist of the following:

1. How can the casualties between girls’ access to primary education and female inclusion in peacebuilding be demonstrated?
2. What other factors, besides access to education, may contribute to female inclusion in peacebuilding?
3. What theoretical indications can the quantitative and qualitative findings demonstrate for future developments within the discipline of SoL?

My ambition with this thesis’ work is to gain a deeper understanding of why gender equal peacebuilding is of significance for long-term peace and development, and how this may be obtained. The inception of this thesis is based on the linkage between girls’ access to education and women’s participation in peacebuilding. The research is conducted through a mixed-methods approach: first, a quantitative analysis deriving from two merged data sets, *‘the Replication Data for Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability*

of Peace' and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Institute for Statistics' (UIS) dataset: '*School Enrollment Primary, Female*'.⁸ The analysis sample is limited to 242 observations, as this is the number of observed cases the two merged datasets provide between the years of 1991-2011. I am moreover measuring 'women's participation in peacebuilding' by using the indicator 'female signatories'. This is not representative for the exact number of women involved in peacebuilding, but is the best fit for this thesis as other statistical information on the topic is lacking. Second, the qualitative analysis is obtained by conducting a thematic narrative analysis of two biographies portraying women who have been involved in peacebuilding. The two analysed cases cover biographies of Agda Rössel (former politician and diplomat from Sweden), and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (former Nobel Peace Prize winner and former president of Liberia). The chosen cases have been selected in order to contemplate and observe how it is to become, and be, a woman in peacebuilding.

Analysing the possible relationship described above is not only crucial for girls' right to education, female inclusion, and global peace and security. Investigating the linkage between girls' access to primary education and women's inclusion in peacebuilding would further contribute to meaningful findings within the academic discipline of SoL. The processes which lead to peace agreements, i.e., law-making, and their effects in society are of relevance for the discipline. Peace agreements are written norms resulting from peace negotiations. These negotiations show how post-conflict societies will be organised. This is done by, for example, establishing how law is transformed, and might thus, have an impact on acknowledging inequalities.⁹

⁸ Jana Krause; Werner Krause; Piia Bränfors, 2018, "Replication Data for: Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/LNMEXL>, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:9Q0XQSRjx1NU8zKWJIHDWA== [fileUNF]; UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). UIS. Stat Bulk Data Download Service. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.ENRR.FE> [accessed 2013-05-04].

⁹ Malathi, de Alwis, Julie, Mertus, and Tazreena, Sajjad, "Women and Peace Processes", in Carol, Cohn (ed.), *Women and wars* (Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013).

Within previous research in the field of SoL, I identified a gap concerning combined discussions on feminism and global security. The Routledge Handbook of Law and Society can be mentioned as one general introductory example.¹⁰ It consists of an anthology that provides the reader with a comprehensive overview of this relatively new academic discipline. Part one in the anthology outlines an overview of contemporary perspectives and approaches within SoL, where chapter four on feminism briefly describes the meaning of social reproduction,¹¹ and chapter ten on global security and socio-legal studies introduces the significance of transnational governance and law.¹² Part two describes sites of engagement, where chapter twenty six on gender and law discusses how the power of law affects the gendered order,¹³ and chapter twenty eight on human rights is challenging universality within law.¹⁴ Although the handbook is introducing themes of relevance including both feminism and global peace and security, there is no chapter combining the two. A similar discussion that aligns the two themes within SoL has not been observed elsewhere. Therefore, I argue that the described gap would be beneficial to fill. Not only for the academic research itself, but likewise for the adoption of the resolution on the protection of education in conflict zones, and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 on women, peace, and security. Hence, the two main socio-legal topics dominating this thesis, consisting of legal feminism and global peace and security, will be combined in this thesis, and referred to as the concept of ‘legal security feminism’. The concept has not been observed to occur elsewhere.

Although not being part of this thesis’ aim, it is likewise of interest to point out that the investigated relationship might bring light to future research within feminist

¹⁰ Mariana Valverde, Kamari Maxine Clarke, Eve Darian-Smith & Prabha Kotiswaran (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of law and society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021).

¹¹ Donatella, Alessandrini, “Feminism”, in Mariana Valverde, Kamari Maxine Clarke, Eve Darian-Smith & Prabha Kotiswaran (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of law and society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021).

¹² Gavin, Sullivan, “Transnational governance and law”, in Mariana Valverde, Kamari Maxine Clarke, Eve Darian-Smith & Prabha Kotiswaran (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of law and society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021).

¹³ Pallavi, Banerjee and Pedrom, Nasiri, “Gender and law”, in Mariana Valverde, Kamari Maxine Clarke, Eve Darian-Smith & Prabha Kotiswaran (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of law and society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021).

¹⁴ Ben, Golder, “Human rights: challenging universality”, in Mariana Valverde, Kamari Maxine Clarke, Eve Darian-Smith & Prabha Kotiswaran (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of law and society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021).

methodologies. Such methodologies could help reach the sustainable development goals (SDGs). I therefore argue that the implementation of the SDGs is being slowed down due to the global conflicts we are facing today. I am additionally claiming that when gender equality is present, the likelihood of girls attending educational institutions, and hence, women participating in peacebuilding, increases. This may moreover lead to stronger global peace, and security. Therefore, a discussion of how Agenda 2030 can be implemented through such feminist methodologies, and increase gender equality, is likewise of significance to discuss. However, due to the limited scope of this thesis, these arguments remain as topics for prospective in-depth research.

This thesis has started out by presenting the introduction to this study, covering the research problem, research questions, and aim. The thesis is thereafter divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 presents the theoretical framework and terminology. Followed by chapter 2, the review of previous research is introduced. Chapter 3 presents the methodological approaches, including the mixed-methods design. While chapter 4 describes the analysis and findings, chapter 5 summarises and concludes the thesis.

CHAPTER I

Theoretical framework and terminology

This chapter introduces first, the thesis' research approach, followed by definitions of key concepts, theoretical argument, and lastly, hypothesis, including an introduction to the proposed causal mechanism. The key theoretical argument is based on perspectives from liberal feminism and peace and conflict studies, where their relevance to SoL likewise is introduced.

1.1 Research approach

This thesis is generally built on a *deductive approach*, meaning that I aspire to provide an explanation to the presented research problem, by outlining a hypothesis. However, the qualitative analysis emerges from an abductive approach, which means that I am interpreting a hypothesis that has evolved from insights on the studied phenomenon.¹⁵ These particular insights are provided by the quantitative post-positivist deductive analysis. The post-positivist view takes its main standpoint in interpreting the world as an “objective entity”, and is thus external to human perception.¹⁶ The view further trusts probabilistic knowledge more than causal knowledge, and may therefore allow for unpredictability to some extent.¹⁷ The deductive perspective in my thesis derives from its purpose to explain a phenomenon which evolves from a theoretical hypothesis. As my ambition is to use existing theories as probable answers to the outlined research questions, a post-positivist deductive approach is suitable. The deductive approach guides the thesis in collecting data, conducting an analysis, testing a hypothesis, and thus, supporting or rejecting the theories initially introduced.¹⁸ Nonetheless, as always, there are limitations. The main limitation is the approach's deficiency in proving a phenomenon, and thus accurately reflecting the

¹⁵ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative methods for the human sciences* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 74.

¹⁶ Donatella Della Porta & Michael Keating (eds.), *Approaches and methodologies in the social sciences: a pluralist perspective* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 23-24.

¹⁷ Della Porta & Keating 2008, p. 24.

¹⁸ Della Porta & Keating 2008, p. 63.

reality.¹⁹ By this I do not state that the observed world cannot be perceived. Instead, I am suggesting that my general ideas of the world might result in particular findings being wrong if any of the original assumptions are incorrect. Thus, there is a risk that reality is incorrectly reflected. However, as I seek to support, rather than prove a theory, a deductive approach is the most applicable for my analysis. Furthermore, there is a difference between supporting and proving a theory according to my interpretation. By supporting, I aim at demonstrating that something potentially could be true, while by proving, I mean that something is true based on acknowledged evidence. As a result of the chosen approach, the research my thesis presents should be recognised as an encouragement to further research within the given field.

The mixed-methods approach of a so-called *explanatory sequential design* is chosen to investigate how girls' access to primary education influences female inclusion in peacebuilding. The design is identified as the most suitable for this thesis, as I seek to first conduct an analysis through quantitative methods. Thereafter, I intend to conduct an analysis using qualitative methods, in order to illustrate the first obtained quantitative results exhaustively.²⁰ Although quantitative results alone may provide statistically significant results, this kind of analysis rarely explains how these outcomes appeared. Hence, an additional qualitative study is identified as beneficial for this particular research topic.²¹ To proceed with the explanatory research, a quantitative OLS regression analysis conducted on two merged datasets is used to establish a causal relationship. Moreover, a qualitative thematic narrative analysis of two biographies about women in peacebuilding is conducted to provide a qualitative analysis of what role primary education has played in these women's lives. An additional purpose of the qualitative study is to establish whether other factors than primary education might have a significant impact on women being included in peacebuilding. To illustrate how the explanatory sequential design is interpreted in correspondence to this thesis, a figure is presented on the following page.

¹⁹ Della Porta & Keating 2008, p. 63.

²⁰ John W. Creswell, *A concise introduction to mixed methods research* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2015), ch. 1., par. 7.

²¹ Creswell 2015, ch. 2., par. 8.

Figure 1. *The explanatory sequential design*

Except for the justification mentioned above, there are three prominent reasons for why I have identified a mixed methods design as the most appropriate for the present study. First, this design is opportune to use when either close-ended or open-ended research alone is incomplete for obtaining holistic knowledge of the topic studied. Second, mixed-methods research contributes to two various perspectives, which both can complement each other and allow both to gain information from a large-n sample, and gather a deeper perspective from a small-n sample.²² Third, particularly using a mixed methods explanatory sequential design allows me to integrate the available quantitative data with the existing qualitative empirical material while establishing sufficient findings. An OLS regression analysis is offering a description of the relationship between the studied variables. This is providing an answer to how girls' access to primary education might affect women's inclusion in peacebuilding. However, this analysis alone does not indicate how the found relationship occurred. Hence, the second reason to use the research approach presented is based on this thesis' commitment of seeking more comprehensive knowledge of the phenomenon. Therefore, a qualitative thematic narrative analysis of material describing women's path to the field of peacebuilding might nuance the relationship of the quantitatively measured concepts.

²² Creswell 2015, ch. 2., par. 14.

1.2 Definition of key terms

Investigating the relationship between girls' access to primary education and women's inclusion in peacebuilding requires several key concepts to be defined. This section thus aims to provide an introduction to this thesis' most significant terms.

While discussing girls' access to primary education, the concepts of 'girls', 'primary education', 'access' and 'gender equality' should be elaborated upon. By *girls*, this thesis aims at 'female children or young women, especially one still at school'.²³ *Primary education* can be compared to elementary education, which is being explained as "the first stage traditionally found in formal education, beginning at about age 5 to 7 and ending at about age 11 to 13".²⁴ When mentioning education, this thesis will onwards refer to primary education, unless else is stated. By investigating *access*, I aim at the 'universal access to education', which is explained by "the ability of all people to have equal opportunity in education, regardless of their social class, race, gender, sexuality, ethnic background or physical and mental disabilities".²⁵ *Gender equality* describes, according to the Cambridge Dictionary, 'the act of treating women and men equally'.²⁶ Although agreeing with the definition, I would like to add an additional dimension to it by rephrasing the definition of gender equality as follows: the act of treating *all genders* equally.

When examining women's inclusion in peacebuilding, the concepts of 'women', 'inclusion', 'transition', 'legal empowerment' and 'peacebuilding' are of essence to understand. *Women* are being defined as 'adult female human beings'.²⁷ *Inclusion* is in my thesis interpreted as "the act of including someone or something as part of a group, list, etc., or a person or thing that is included".²⁸

²³ Girl, *Cambridge Dictionary*, n.d., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/girl?q=girl>, [accessed 2023-05-08].

²⁴ Elementary Education, *Encyclopedia Britannica*, n.d., <https://www.britannica.com/topic/elementary-education>, [accessed 2023-05-08].

²⁵ Universal Access to Learning Improves All Countries, *Global Campaign For Education*, September 2010, <http://campaignforeducationusa.org/blog/detail/universal-access-to-learning-improves-all-countries>, [accessed 2023-05-08].

²⁶ Gender Equality, *Cambridge Dictionary*, n.d., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/gender-equality>, [accessed 2023-05-08].

²⁷ Woman, *Cambridge Dictionary*, n.d., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/woman>, [accessed 2023-05-08].

²⁸ Inclusion, *Cambridge Dictionary*, n.d., <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/inclusion>, [accessed 2023-05-08].

Given that I particularly refer to inclusion in peacebuilding, it is likewise of interest to discuss the concept in relation to transition, which can be established through peacebuilding or lead to peacebuilding. To understand this interrogation, the term of *social inclusion* is adapted, and is understood as “the process of improving the terms on which individuals and groups take part in society – improving the ability, opportunity, and dignity of those disadvantaged on the basis of their identity”.²⁹ As I interpret social inclusion to contribute to inclusion in peacebuilding, it is of importance to interpret what ‘peacebuilding’ really entails. *Peacebuilding* can be understood as an act of “preventing the outbreak, the reoccurrence or continuation of armed conflict”.³⁰ To nuance the concept of peacebuilding, I would like to turn its attention to the components peacebuilding consists of. This is of significance, as women’s inclusion can be defined through various efforts. Peacebuilding is by this thesis interpreted as a peace process. People participating in peace processes can be split up into negotiators, mediators, or signatories.³¹

What academia is referring to while discussing female inclusion in peacebuilding is not always obvious, nevertheless, my thesis particularly aims at female signatories, partly due to this particular availability in datasets. To elaborate on the understanding of women in peacebuilding, the sub-concepts of the presented definition for peacebuilding need an explanation. *Armed conflict* is in my thesis aimed at state-based disputes, defined as

“a contested incompatibility that concerns government and/or territory where the use of armed force between two parties, of which at least one is the government of a state, results in at least 25 battle-related deaths in one calendar year”.³²

To fully understand this definition, *incompatibility*, *government*, *state*, and *battle-related deaths* require elaboration. An *incompatibility* refers to “generally incompatible positions”,

²⁹ “Social Inclusion,” *World Bank*, n.d., <https://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/social-inclusion>.

³⁰ Peacebuilding, *PRIO*, n.d., <https://www.prio.org/groups/peacebuilding> [accessed 2023-05-04].

³¹ Women’s Participation in Peace Processes, *Council on Foreign Relations*, n.d., <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/> [accessed 2023-05-04].

³² UCDP Definitions - Armed conflict, *Department of Peace and Conflict Research*, n.d., https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#tocjump_3908407213968348_2 [accessed 2023-05-04].

which may occur verbally or written.³³ In the field of Peace and Conflict Studies, incompatibility can concern either the government, or territory. By *government*, this thesis indicates “the party controlling the capital of the state”. By *state*, it means “either an internationally recognised sovereign government controlling a territory, or an internationally unrecognised government controlling a specific territory”.³⁴ Furthermore, *battle-related deaths* refer to “the use of armed force between warring parties in a conflict dyad, be it state-based or non-state, resulting in deaths.”³⁵ Hence, peacebuilding in my thesis is interpreted beyond the scope of “preventing the outbreak, the reoccurrence or continuation of armed conflict”. Following this elaboration, a distinction between *positive and negative peace* should be introduced. According to Galtung, positive peace is the “absence of indirect and structural violence”, while negative peace refers to “absence of personal and direct violence”.³⁶

Negative peace can also be portrayed as ‘transition’. *Transition* is in social sciences defined as “periods of attempted democratisation or attempted peacebuilding”.³⁷ It describes the “limbo” of no peace, but no war.³⁸ Through transitions, legal empowerment might evolve as a state of negative peace often is reached through “new constitutions or peace agreements”.³⁹ Such new regulation might further enhance “social justice values, progressive constitutions, inclusive political settlement, ratification and domestic incorporation of human rights treaties”, just to mention a few.⁴⁰ Previous research argues that transition “may reduce power asymmetries”, which in turn can promote legal empowerment.⁴¹ Hence, there is a strong relationship between transitional justice and legal empowerment. *Legal empowerment* can be understood through various approaches,

³³ UCDP Definitions - Incompatibility, *Department of Peace and Conflict Research*, n.d., https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#tocjump_3908407213968348_23 [accessed 2023-05-04].

³⁴ UCDP Definitions - State, *Department of Peace and Conflict Research*, n.d., <https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#State> [accessed 2023-05-04].

³⁵ UCDP Definitions - Battle related deaths, *Department of Peace and Conflict Research*, n.d., https://www.pcr.uu.se/research/ucdp/definitions/#Battle-related_deaths [accessed 2023-05-04].

³⁶ Dean G. Pruitt, Sung Hee Kim & Jeffrey Z. Rubin, *Social conflict: escalation, stalemate, and settlement*, 3rd ed ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2004), p. 223.

³⁷ Lars Waldorf, "Introduction: legal empowerment in transitions", *The International Journal of Human Rights* 19:3 (2015), doi:10.1080/13642987.2015.1029335, p. 230.

³⁸ Waldorf 2015, p. 233.

³⁹ Waldorf 2015, p. 233; Pruitt & Kim 2004, p. 233.

⁴⁰ Waldorf 2015, p. 233.

⁴¹ Waldorf 2015, p. 233.

however, the most useful in the scope of my thesis are the perspectives of the practitioners' and academics' definition. Legal empowerment has been described by practitioners working in development agencies or related organisations, however, no consensus about the concept's definition exists among practitioners. Yet, harmony emerges since legal empowerment is "broad and multi-faced in nature", which does further suggest the definition of "the use of law specifically to strengthen the disadvantaged".⁴² From academia's perspective, the concept is also challenging to define. The most well-known definition is formulated by the Commission on the Legal Empowerment of the Poor (CLEP). CLEP describes the concept as

"a process of systemic change through which the poor and excluded become able to use law, the legal system, and legal services to protect and advance their rights and interests as citizens and economic actors".⁴³

Although the two perspectives present similarities in their definitions, I have chosen to refer to the scholarly definition, since this thesis is academic, but also due to the definition's detailed explanation. The academic perspective additionally describes legal empowerment as a tool to "protect poor people from injustice" by e.g., providing them with "equal opportunity to access local, national, and international markets".⁴⁴ This illustration does particularly suit this thesis' research, as it aims to exemplify how 'people's protection from injustice' can be conducted through access to education and inclusion in peacebuilding.

1.3 Theoretical argument

My theoretical pathway is supported by two theories. The first, *liberal feminism*, is emerging from feminism, while the second, *female inclusion and peace-durability*, is derived from the field of peace and conflict studies. Liberal feminism aims to support my

⁴² Stephen Golub, "The Rule of Law and the UN Peacebuilding Commission: a social development approach", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20:1 (2007), doi:10.1080/09557570601155328, pp. 12-13.

⁴³ Lars Waldorf, "Introduction: legal empowerment in transitions", *The International Journal of Human Rights* 19:3 (2015), doi:10.1080/13642987.2015.1029335, p. 230.

⁴⁴ Waldorf 2015, p. 230.

overall perspectives, while female inclusion and peace-durability aspires to highlight the liaison between the subjects my thesis studies.

Liberal feminism underlines the consequence of legal and economic restraints on women's oppression.⁴⁵ The theoretical standpoint advocates for jurisdiction's transformation for the benefit of gender equality.⁴⁶ Emerging from the 18th and 19th century, liberal feminism reiterates democracy and liberalism.⁴⁷ Claiming that women and men are substantially similar, liberal feminism advocates for the genders' equal rights.⁴⁸ Hence, the theory interprets that sexual diversities do not constitute a pretence to revoke women's equal rights or social inclusion.⁴⁹ In line with liberal feminism, I believe that all genders should possess equal privilege to regulate their liberty, and hence, have the same possibilities to become legally empowered.⁵⁰ Acknowledging a gendered world order imposed by stereotypes, liberal feminism argues that female attributes are being situated unequally in comparison with male characteristics where masculinity is considered beneficial.⁵¹ Targeting gender inequality within institutions, legal feminism addresses the institutions themselves as gender-neutral to establish a positioning of gender equal aspirations.⁵² Hence, liberal feminism argues that the gendered order can only be developed by addressing the norms within institutions, rather than by changing the institutions themselves.⁵³ Therefore, liberal feminism challenges women's marginalised positions in the political sphere, questioning why women cannot be engaged in decision-making on

⁴⁵ Carolyn Zerke Enns, *Feminist theories and feminist psychotherapies: origins, themes, and diversity*, 2nd ed ed. (New York: Haworth Press, 2004), p. 53.

⁴⁶ Nadine Ehlers, "Identities" in Lisa Jane Disch & M. E. Hawkesworth (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of feminist theory* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 348.

⁴⁷ Carolyn Zerke Enns, *Feminist theories and feminist psychotherapies: origins, themes, and diversity*, 2nd ed ed. (New York: Haworth Press, 2004), p. 53.

⁴⁸ Enns 2004, p. 53.

⁴⁹ Nadine Ehlers, "Identities", in Lisa Jane Disch & M. E. Hawkesworth (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of feminist theory* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), p. 348.

⁵⁰ Ehlers 2015, p. 349; Steve Smith & Patricia Owens in John Baylis & Steve Smith (eds.), *The globalization of world politics: an introduction to international relations*, 2nd ed ed. (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 284; Loretta Kensinger, "(In)Quest of Liberal Feminism", *Hypatia* 12:4 (1997), doi:10.1111/j.1527-2001.1997.tb00303.x, p. 184.

⁵¹ Paul Higate, 'Men, Masculinity and Global Insecurity' in Laura Sjoberg, Laura J. Shepherd & Caron E. Gentry (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of gender and security* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), pp. 73-74; Smith & Owens 2001, p. 284; Kensinger 1997, p. 184.

⁵² Celeste Montoya. "Institutions" in Lisa Jane Disch & M. E. Hawkesworth (eds.), *The Oxford handbook of feminist theory* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 367-372.

⁵³ Montoya 2016, pp. 367-372.

proportionate conditions as men.⁵⁴ As interpreted through the theory of liberal feminism, I claim that women's oppression exists within political and legal spheres, which is where I believe norms require transformation in order to enhance gender equality.⁵⁵ The question of how to transform norms within institutions remains.

As liberal feminism reaffirms that female inclusion is crucial to transform the unequal gendered order within institutions, I interpret that women's participation in institutions such as both academia and peacebuilding is of significance.⁵⁶ I find this assumption supported by liberal feminist claims, stating that female inclusion is significant in decision-making processes, where women's marginalisation in the area of security is being questioned.⁵⁷

Although not being formally introduced as a theory, I nevertheless find *Krause et al.'s theoretical argument* applicable to support my theoretical points of departure. Krause et al. investigate "how women's participation may contribute to durable peace".⁵⁸ In their mixed-method study, they find that there is a potent linkage between agreements ratified by female signatories and peace-durability. They correspondingly conclude that the number of treaties focused on political reform, together with "higher implementation rates for provisions", are an outcome of females signing agreements.⁵⁹ In their study, Krause et al. develop the theory that "women's participation in peace negotiations increases the

⁵⁴ Chantal de Jonge Oudraat & Michael E. Brown (eds.), *The gender and security agenda: strategies for the 21st century* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), p. 3.

⁵⁵ Oudraat & Brown 2020, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Paul Higate, 'Men, Masculinity and Global Insecurity' in Laura Sjoberg, Laura J. Shepherd & Caron E. Gentry (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of gender and security* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), p. 74.

⁵⁷ Catherine Powell, "What if Women Ran the World Would it be a Better Place?: International Law as Gender Performance", *SSRN Electronic Journal* no. (2015), doi:10.2139/ssrn.2671309.; Laura Sjoberg, *Gendering global conflict: toward a feminist theory of war* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013).; Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386.; Valerie M. Hudson, Mary Caprioli, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Rose McDermott & Chad F. Emmett, "The Heart of the Matter: The Security of Women and the Security of States", *International Security* 33:3 (2009), doi:10.1162/isec.2009.33.3.7.; J. Ann Tickner, "Feminist responses to international security studies", *Peace Review* 16:1 (2004), doi:10.1080/1040265042000210148.; Chantal de Jonge Oudraat & Michael E. Brown (eds.), *The gender and security agenda: strategies for the 21st century* (Abingdon, Oxon ; New York: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2020).

⁵⁸ Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386, p. 985.

⁵⁹ Krause et al. 2018, p. 985.

durability and the quality of peace”.⁶⁰ I therefore argue that gender inclusive peace, obtained through education, does create an outcome of enhanced sustainable peace, and likewise an increased global peace and security.

It is further of interest to note that Krause et al.’s theory is grounded in female signatories’ collaboration with women civil society organisations (WCSOs), who otherwise do not have the access to the negotiation table.⁶¹ Taking this argument into account, I claim that female inclusion generates an increased involvement from the civil society, which in turn could cause an expanded enrolment among girls in primary education. This would by all means depend on the civil society’s aspirations, however, I interpret the collaboration between female signatories and WCSOs as highly likely to take such matters into account.

I motivate my choice of theories by underlining how they support jurisprudence within gender related issues. I am referring to these issues as the concept of ‘gender law’, which I argue provides a strong relevance to the field of SoL. Based on my perception, liberal feminism highlights the power of law, and how the ability to influence can affect legalisation to enhance legal empowerment if this would be the aspiration. Furthermore, I use the theory of female inclusion and peace-durability to broadcast the relationship between gender equality and peace. Although not being formally outspoken as a theory, I find Krause et al.’s assumptions highly suitable to apply as they are arguing for sustainable peacebuilding through female inclusion. The rationale behind this choice is based on both the well-illustrated examples that Krause et al. provide in their study, but likewise because of the limited research options available on this particular topic.

1.4 Hypothesis

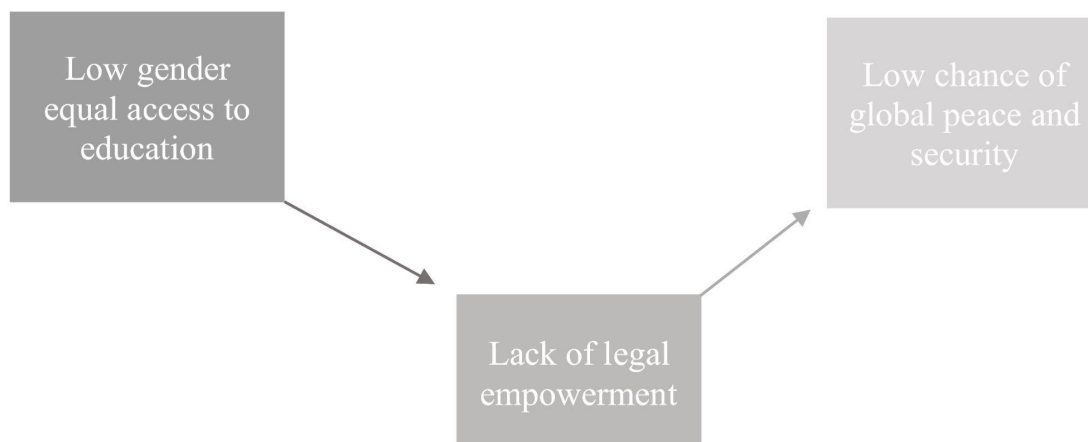
Based on the theoretical framework, together with the causal mechanism presented on page twenty six, I will test the hypothesis in what follows. The hypothesis that is aspired to be either supported or rejected is: *the less gender equal access to primary education, the lower chance of global peace and security* as presented in Figure 2 on the following page. The

⁶⁰ Krause et al. 2018, p. 985.

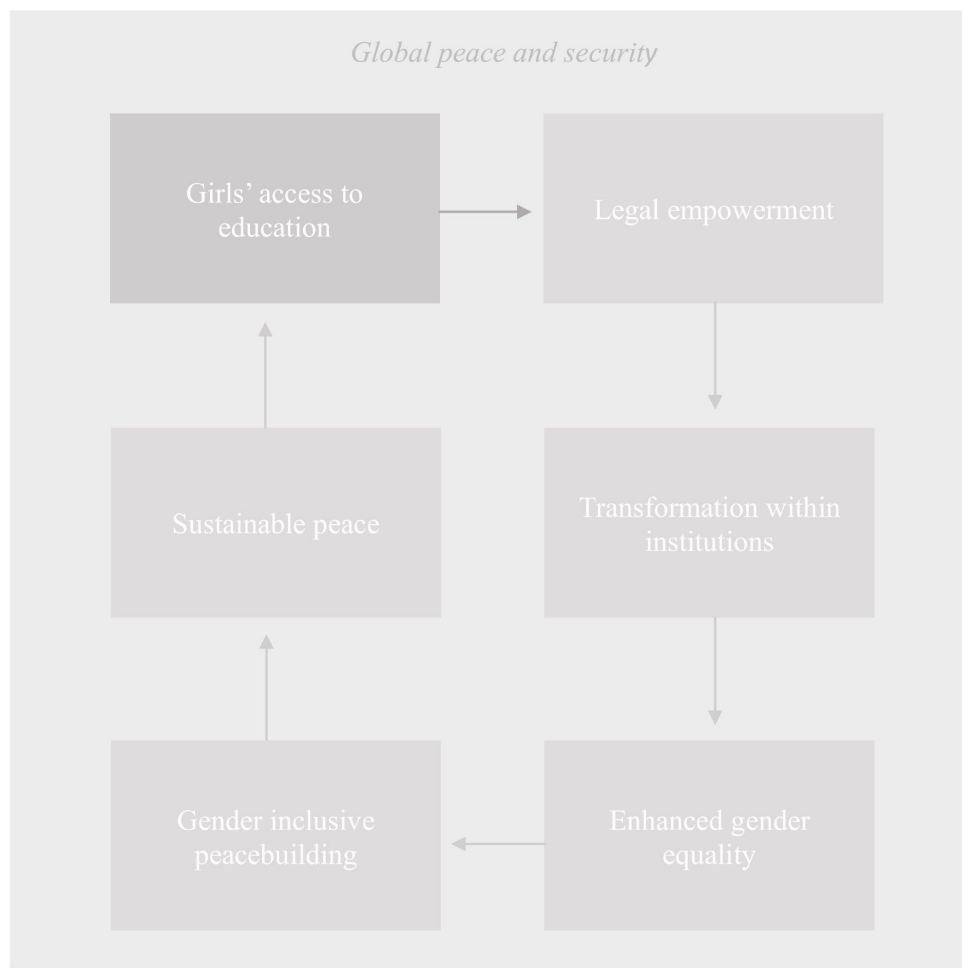
⁶¹ Krause et al. 2018, p. 987.

null hypothesis therefore claims that *the less gender equal access to primary education, the higher chance of global peace and security*

Figure 2. *Hypothesis*



Following the presented theoretical framework, together with the introduced hypothesis, the developed causal mechanism consists of the following components: *girls' access to primary education* → *legal empowerment* → *transformation within institutions* → *enhanced gender equality* → *gender inclusive peacebuilding* → *sustainable peace*, as presented by *Figure 3* on the following page.

Figure 3. *The causal mechanism*

CHAPTER II

Review of previous research

This chapter introduces a literature review of previous research, which is divided into three parts. First, it presents the background knowledge about the thesis' topic, while elaborating on its significance. Second, it examines previous research, divided into four subtopics. Third, it concludes the key findings while underlining the research gap, which further supports the thesis' theoretical framework.

2.1 Background

Today's world is facing plenty of challenges threatening its global peace and security. As a strained togetherness is taking place, humans seek for solutions to respond to the crises affecting their lives. Lately, the media is portraying various responses to i.e., the ongoing climate crisis, the invasion and up-scale of the war in Ukraine in 2022, the earthquake in Türkiye and Syria in February 2023, and most recently, the armed conflict in Sudan in April 2023. According to this thesis' standpoint, a common denominator for the crises humanity is facing, is their threat to global peace and security. The current situation in Europe, mainly impacted by Russia's invasion of Ukraine, and provocation of the Western countries, is, i.e., described as the biggest nuclear threat since the cold war.⁶² Given the circumstances, one may assume that a natural response to the threats is to strengthen world peace. However, various actors seem to have contrasting opinions about how to succeed with such a huge mission. This thesis does, like many other actors, have its own and independent standpoint. In my analysis, I argue that global peace can be promoted through gender equal peacebuilding. Gender equality obtained through access to education is by the research in my thesis identified as one hypothetical aspect which might enhance peace. I additionally recognize that other aspects than access to education might as well affect my quantitative research's outcome. From this backdrop, a further qualitative thematic

⁶² Nathan Williams, "Ukraine war: Biden says nuclear risk highest since 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis." BBC. 7/10 2022. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-63167947> [accessed 2023-05-04].

narrative analysis is conducted to illustrate education's meaning, and impact. The quantitative empirical material consists of publicly available datasets, while the qualitative material emerges from biographies about women "who have contributed to peace and security around the world".⁶³ The chosen cases are based on stories about Agda Rössel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Agda Rössel was in 1958 appointed the first female UN ambassador – something that was met with opposition at that time, as she came from the 'wrong' background.⁶⁴ Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011 to recognize her efforts in protecting women's participation in peacebuilding. She was the first "elected head of state in Africa", and she served as Liberia's president between the years of 2006 and 2017.⁶⁵

2.2 Previous research

This section is divided into four parts. First, it processes previous research of girls' access to primary education while searching for a connection to women's inclusion in peacebuilding. Second, it covers previous research of women's inclusion in peacebuilding, and its implication on global peace and security. Third, the literature review examines previous research about education in general, and its impact on peace. Fourth, it seeks for background research about the topic in connection to the discipline of SoL. While creating room for certain delimitation, the structure of the literature review likewise provides a common thread and allows the reader to follow this thesis' progress of further developing its arguments.

First, previous research about *girls' access to primary education* is discussed. UNICEF argues that investing in girls' secondary education contributes to strengthening economies,

⁶³ Women's Participation in Peace Processes, *Council on Foreign Relations*, n.d., <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/> [accessed 2023-05-04].

⁶⁴ Agda Rössel – Svensk utrikespolitikens mest okända gigant. *Stockholms Kvinnohistoriska*, n.d., <https://www.kvinnohistoriska.se/kalendarium/2019/3/21/agda-rssel-svensk-utrikespolitikens-mest-oknda-gigant> [accessed 2023-03-13].

⁶⁵ Women's Participation in Peace Processes, *Council on Foreign Relations*.

while reducing inequalities. The organisation further states that gender equal education empowers not only girls, but also boys, in developing skills such as self-discipline, verbal expression, discussion, and thinking critically. Skills that are required for all children to succeed and thrive in the 21st century.⁶⁶ Although secondary education is of significance, I am choosing to focus on research about particularly girl's access to primary education. The reason for this is twofold. First, primary education is, according to my understanding, interpreted as the link to secondary education, which thereafter bridges to higher education. This interpretation is based on early research by Colclough, which shows evidence of primary education significantly contributing to the improvement of industrial and communal evolution.⁶⁷ The improvement of industrial and communal development in turn, is already in the 1950s identified as having an impact on the evolution of secondary education.⁶⁸ Second, Buckland argues for primary education being the ground of the whole education structure and is thus of high importance.⁶⁹ These findings make it clear that primary education is significant to focus on. Furthermore, primary education focuses on children of a lower age. Early learners have shown to possess a greater possibility of developing at their full potential as adults. According to UNESCO, the time period from birth up until eight years is important for brain development and represents "a crucial window of opportunity for education".⁷⁰ Children who get the opportunity to learn from a young age thus have a better chance of developing necessary skills as adults, including effective participation in life regarding economic and social matters.⁷¹

Whether girls' primary education has an impact on peacebuilding, however, does not seem to be studied extensively in academia. Although this is the case, there are a few academic articles as well as reports of relevance on the topic. A study published for the

⁶⁶ Girl's education - Gender equality in education benefits every child. *UNICEF*, n.d., <https://www.unicef.org/education/girls-education> [accessed 2023-03-14].

⁶⁷ Christopher Colclough, "The impact of primary schooling on economic development: a review of the evidence", *World Development* 10:3 (1982), doi:10.1016/0305-750X(82)90008-0, pp. 169-170.

⁶⁸ Donald A. Leton & Nolan C. Kearney, "The Impact of Social and Economic Changes on Secondary Education", *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas* 31:8 (1957), doi:10.1080/00098655.1957.11475632, p. 489.

⁶⁹ Peter Buckland, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (The World Bank Group, 2005), p. 32.

⁷⁰ Why early childhood care and education matters. *UNESCO*. 2022.

<https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/why-early-childhood-care-and-education-matters> [Accessed 2023-03-14].

⁷¹ Why early childhood care and education matters, *UNESCO*.

World Bank by Vishwanath investigates school enrolment in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Although school enrolment is increasing in the region, and more females are included in education in comparison to males, gender equality in the political and economic sector is not fulfilled.⁷²

Further academic research conducted in relation to the topic shows that for girls' education to become successful, external support is required. Abuya et al. investigate how girls' primary education and transition to secondary school in Nairobi interact. Based on their findings, the authors claim that girls' upbringing might affect how they succeed in their primary education, and later secondary education. Thus, parents' and caregiver's role-modelling to their daughters seems to be of relevance. The study does therefore conclude that girls who are "better raised" with support from the community tend to enable parental and caregiver support, which in turn emphasises girls' education and navigates them in realising "their full potential".⁷³

UNICEF's report on gender, education, and peacebuilding investigates the role education has on the promotion of gender-transformative peacebuilding. The report finds through four case studies that all levels of education have probable impact on "the formation of gendered attitudes, identities and capabilities, even in the most difficult circumstances".⁷⁴ They mean that a secure and honest education system might furnish the groundwork for a protected and decent civilisation.⁷⁵ Additionally, the report highlights that education has shown to enhance social cohesion through shifts in gender relations.⁷⁶

A report presented by the GWI Resolutions Committee indicates that building peace through women's education is highly significant. As stated in the report: "there can be no

⁷² Tara, Vishwanath. 2012. Opening Doors : Gender Equality in the Middle East And North Africa. MENA Knowledge and Learning Quick Notes Series; No. 60. © World Bank, Washington, DC. <http://hdl.handle.net/10986/10844> License: CC BY 3.0 IGO, p. 2.

⁷³ B. A. Abuya, W. M. Ngware, M. Mutisya & M. Nyariro, "Girls' primary education and transition to secondary school in Nairobi: perceptions of community members at the onset of an education intervention", *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 22:3 (2017), doi:10.1080/02673843.2016.1185446, p. 349.

⁷⁴ Judy El-Bushra, Emilie Rees Smith, "Gender, Education and Peacebuilding - A review of selected Learning for Peace case studies", *UNICEF*, 2016, p. 23.

⁷⁵ El-Bushra & Smith 2016, p. 23.

⁷⁶ El-Bushra & Smith 2016, p. 24.

sustainable development without peace and no peace without sustainable development”.⁷⁷ According to the findings, the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 argues that “education is a human right and a force for sustainable development and peace”.⁷⁸ Women’s role in this context is additionally being highlighted by the Global Partnership for Education (GPE). The initiative states that the empowerment of women through education may contribute to a general enhanced scope of satisfaction among women.⁷⁹ This in turn makes them feel competent in contributing to society, which might lead to higher inclusion.⁸⁰

Second, previous research about *women’s inclusion in peacebuilding* is discussed. Although this thesis examines whether and how girls’ access to primary education affects the inclusion of women in peacebuilding, concepts beyond peacebuilding are likewise of significance to consider while investigating previous research. The reason for this is the somewhat unclear career path which might lead to a position within peacebuilding. To become involved in this particular field of career, I suggest that peace-workers might begin their profession in various sectors. These could be fields which offer positions in parliamentary representation, politics, activism or even something more distant from peacebuilding. Therefore, this section not only takes inclusion in peacebuilding into account when discussing previous research, but also inclusion in decision-making at various levels, which might have the chance of leading to peacebuilding.

Rural women in leadership positions are observed to contribute to positive effects on peace development. The general recommendation on article 14 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) claims that rural

⁷⁷ Building Peace through Women’s Education, *GWI Resolutions Committee*, 2019, p. 9, <https://graduatewomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/2020-Advocacy-Campaign-2019-Resolutions-2.pdf> [accessed 2023-03-14].

⁷⁸ Building Peace through Women’s Education, *GWI Resolutions Committee*, 2019, p. 9.

⁷⁹ Juliet Kimotho, The role of education for women and girls in conflict and post-conflict countries, *GPE*, 19/6 2017, <https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/role-education-women-and-girls-conflict-and-post-conflict-countries> [accessed 2023-03-14].

⁸⁰ Kimotho 2017.

women's inclusion in leadership and decision making has a significant impact on their economic empowerment. Economic empowerment opens up access to enhance agricultural production, which in turn might decrease hunger. Undernourishment on the other hand is identified as one of many causes of conflict. Food insecurity might foster grievances, which may encourage political actions such as protests. Protests caused by grievances are frequently built upon weak institutions and a risk of conflict arises.⁸¹ Research by, i.e., Brinkman and Hendrix, therefore proves that rural women in leadership may promote political stability, and thus food security and peace. This is only one example of how women in other positions than particularly those within diplomacy are interlinked with women in peacebuilding. The example also presents the significance of women's inclusion in peacebuilding.

Having introduced the important role of women in relation to food security and peace, research by Krause et al. highlights additional benefits of female inclusion.⁸² The authors examine the relationship between women's participation in peace negotiations and the durability of peace. Krause et al. argue that the strong linkage between female inclusion and peace, depend on women's connections to WCSOs, which in turn have a meaningful impact on peace.⁸³ This is due to the fact that women have shown to consider a broader group of people when implementing peace. However, it is important to note that Krause et al.'s study is based on an exceptionally low number of observations. Their analysis is built upon the amount of peace agreements signed by women, which to begin with are few. Despite the shallow study sample, the researchers do determine that there is a relationship between female signatories and durable peace.⁸⁴ The main argument supporting this claim is twofold. First, women in peacebuilding promote power sharing provisions in negotiated peace agreements. Second, women in peacebuilding include civil society representatives to

⁸¹ UN General Assembly, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, 18 December 1979, United Nations, Treaty Series, vol. 1249, p. 13, <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/cedaw.htm>; Henk-Jan Brinkman & Cullen S Hendrix, "Food Insecurity and Violent Conflict: Causes, Consequences, and Addressing the Challenges", no. (2011), doi:10.13140/2.1.3379.2003, p. 2.

⁸² Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386

⁸³ Krause et al. 2018, p. 987.

⁸⁴ Krause et al. 2018, p. 987.

the negotiation. This has shown to be constructive for both the implementation and the lasting of peace.⁸⁵

Since the UNSC adopted Resolution 1325 on women peace and security in the year of 2000, academia has contributed with plenty of research promoting women's valuable contributions towards enhanced peace. Dayal and Christien present, i.e., how women in fact do work towards peace, and stress that their research does not focus on reasons as to why women are excluded from peacebuilding.⁸⁶ The authors present two types of peace processes consisting of Track I diplomacy and Track II diplomacy. The first characterises formal peace processes, while the second features informal interactions among other actors such as the civil society or academia. Dayal and Chistien claim that women are largely involved in Track II diplomacy, which is generally beneficial in establishing peace.⁸⁷

Third, previous research about *education's impact on peace* is discussed. In accordance with research conducted by Peter Buckland, who writes on behalf of the World Bank, education has a great impact on reshaping the future of post-conflict reconstruction. The exploration shows that there is a significant relationship between education and conflict. Buckland argues that education can be recognized as a development activity, meaning that it is a part of humanitarian assistance. It is further argued to be beneficial for children, social protection, and political development.⁸⁸ The researcher further states that the education in post-conflict reconstruction often focuses on conflict prevention through social cohesion, which decreases the risk of relapse into conflict.⁸⁹ I therefore argue that the lack of education increases the risk of the opposite – an increased risk of relapse. This has been particularly observed in relation to gender dynamics, stating that a serious number of

⁸⁵ Krause et al. 2018, pp. 4-5.

⁸⁶ Anjali Kaushlesh Dayal & Agathe Christien, "Women's Participation in Informal Peace Processes", *Global Governance: A Review of Multilateralism and International Organizations* 26:1 (2020), doi:10.1163/19426720-02601002, p. 70.

⁸⁷ Kaushlesh Dayal & Christien 2020, p. 70.

⁸⁸ Peter Buckland, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (The World Bank Group, 2005), p. 30.

⁸⁹ Buckland 2005, p. 32.

conflict-affected countries announce immense gender inequalities.⁹⁰ High inequalities in turn contribute to the likelihood of conflict.⁹¹ While gender dynamics consist of a convoluted relationship, research indicates that girls' decreased access to education during conflict frequently links to the responsibilities expected from girls in times of crisis. Girls tend to take on unusual roles in their families as conflict develops, because their mothers are coping with the endurance necessities for their family members.⁹² In addition to the family burden, the transport to and from school constitutes a supplementary individual safety danger for girls during conflict.⁹³ Thus, both gender equality and access to primary education have been identified as significant for peacebuilding.

Studies from South Sudan further indicate that textbooks used in primary education may provide the students with knowledge about peace and inclusion, which promotes transformation and decreases the risk of conflict.⁹⁴ One example consists of a picture in one of the textbooks representing a woman repairing an aeroplane. According to Vanner et al., such images illustrate women in non-traditional positions, which may increase the representation of, in this case, women in areas connected to decision-making and authority.⁹⁵ This is likewise observed in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka, where post-war education is identified as a positive patron of peacebuilding, and where diverse perspectives are observed to be emphasised.⁹⁶

Educational experiences are additionally identified as positive for how refugee youth engage in peacebuilding. Van der Dussen Toukan argues in her article, that schools are significant to reduce marginalisation and oppression by "promoting democratic environments in which power is shared".⁹⁷ Power-sharing is a concept that also has been

⁹⁰ Buckland 2005, p. 20.

⁹¹ Buckland 2005, p. 2.

⁹² Buckland 2005, p. 19.

⁹³ Buckland 2005, p. 19.

⁹⁴ Catherine Vanner, Thursica Kavinthan Levi & Spogmai Akseer, "South Sudanese primary school textbooks: Transforming and reinforcing conflict", *PROSPECTS* 48:3-4 (2020), doi:10.1007/s11125-019-09452-2, p. 193.

⁹⁵ Vanner et al. 2020, pp. 203-204.

⁹⁶ Catherine Vanner, Thursica Kavinthan Levi & Spogmai Akseer, "South Sudanese primary school textbooks: Transforming and reinforcing conflict", *PROSPECTS* 48:3-4 (2020), doi:10.1007/s11125-019-09452-2, p. 32.

⁹⁷ Elena Van der Dussen Toukan, "Refugee youth in settlement, schooling, and social action: reviewing current research through a transnational lens", *Journal of Peace Education* 16:1 (2019), doi:10.1080/17400201.2018.1481020, p. 11.

mentioned by Krause et al., who claim that power-sharing provisions are more likely to be promoted by female peace negotiators, which therefore enables women to positively contribute to peace-durability.⁹⁸ Thus, I argue that there is a significant correlation between education, inclusion, and peacebuilding.

Rasheed and Munoz claim that decreased educational opportunities due to conflict might “disempower those best suited to eventually rebuild and reconstruct after war’s end”.⁹⁹ Based on a study from the Kurdistan region in Iraq, the authors investigate whether refugee inclusion in education can be used as a tool for future peacebuilding.¹⁰⁰

To reverse the focus to education in primary school, research on how children interpret peace, conflict, and war in contemporary post-war Uganda is further of interest to highlight. The findings likewise conclude that peace, according to the children, is interlinked with “awareness of social justice” and “equity”.¹⁰¹

Fourth, previous research about *SoL’s perspectives on girls’ access to education and women’s inclusion in peacebuilding* is discussed. According to UNESCO and the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) education may strengthen the rule of law (RoL). The United Nation (UN) system perceives RoL as

“a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards”.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women’s Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386, p. 988.

⁹⁹ Rebeen A. Rasheed & Alexander Munoz, "Higher education and peacebuilding – a bridge between communities?", *Journal of Peace Education* 13:2 (2016), doi:10.1080/17400201.2016.1205003, p. 172.

¹⁰⁰ Rasheed & Munoz 2016, p. 172.

¹⁰¹ James Kagaari, Kirabo Nakasiita, Edward Ntare, Richard Atuhaire, Ali Baguwemu, Gerald Ojok, Auma S Okumu, Goretti Kaahwa, Gastone Byamugisha, Paul Semakula, Jane Namusoke, Nathan Mayengo, Barbara Dennis & Chalmer E Thompson, "Children’s conceptions of peace in two Ugandan primary schools: Insights for peace curriculum", *Research in Comparative and International Education* 12:1 (2017), doi:10.1177/1745499917698299, p. 15.

¹⁰² What is the Rule of Law, *United Nations and the Rule of Law*, n.d., <https://www.un.org/ruleoflaw/what-is-the-rule-of-law/> [accessed 2023-05-04].

The UN agencies state that rule of law fosters justice, inclusiveness, and peace.¹⁰³ Such features may be obtained through primary education, as schools have the possibility to engage in education both inside and outside of the educational sector..¹⁰⁴ Working outside of the education sector might, i.e., entail engaging with civil society organisations, which is an example of a collaboration that can enhance e.g., approaches of participation.¹⁰⁵ Participating in society, may in turn contribute to a child's understanding and respect of law. Thus, education has been identified to play an important role while striving towards engaging children in RoL. Based on these findings, I argue that primary education might promote legal empowerment among children, and in my thesis' case, among girls.

Although having presented evidence of the relationship between education and empowerment, a primary school alone cannot enhance legal empowerment among girls. A case study from Tanzania, examining international and national legal provisions for girls' education, investigates whether national policies in Tanzania do promote girls' educational rights.¹⁰⁶ The research concludes that girls' right to education is well preserved both globally and across Africa. However, there are national legacies in Tanzania, which may defeat these rights through "some weaknesses in relation to girls' empowerment".¹⁰⁷ This thesis interprets this as a circle-oriented relationship, where primary education may foster legal empowerment and where legal policies simultaneously may weaken the empowerment. The conclusion that I draw from the research presented is that education's role in legally empowering girls is crucial for the future amendment of the contradicting laws which may weaken legal empowerment among girls. The consequence interpreted is thus, that primary education might contribute to legal empowerment among girls.

Having established that there might be a significant relationship between girls' primary education and legal empowerment among girls, it is likewise of interest to investigate whether legal empowerment might have an impact on women's inclusion in

¹⁰³ How education can strengthen the rule of law, *UNESCO*, 17/2 2019, <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/how-education-can-strengthen-rule-law> [accessed 2023-05-04].

¹⁰⁴ How education can strengthen the rule of law, *UNESCO*.

¹⁰⁵ How education can strengthen the rule of law, *UNESCO*.

¹⁰⁶ Hassan Iddy, "Girls' Right to Education in Tanzania: Incongruities between Legislation and Practice", *Gender Issues* 38:3 (2021), doi:10.1007/s12147-021-09273-8, p. 324.

¹⁰⁷ Iddy 2021, p. 339.

peacebuilding. Generally, little is studied about whether legal empowerment can enhance social justice in times of political transitions “from authoritarianism and from conflict”, according to Waldorf.¹⁰⁸ In his article, the author examines how legal empowerment correlates with peacebuilding and transitional justice.¹⁰⁹ One of his core arguments is based on transformations during the last twenty years, where a liberal peacebuilding agenda featured by legal empowerment has been pushed forward. Liberal peacebuilding consists, i.e., of the support from governmental entities fulfilling a state’s key functions, which e.g., entails security and justice.¹¹⁰ One component characterising liberal peacebuilding is the rule of law reform which promotes “democratic accountability, economic predictability and institutional solidity”.¹¹¹ In greater detail, the rule of law reform engages in reviewing jurisprudence and framing capacity within the justice system, and has, according to Waldorf, performed “disappointing results” in peacebuilding.¹¹² Although being the argued case, legal empowerment is claimed to adopt law while reconstructing socio-economic power, which is why Waldorf states that legal empowerment might enhance hybrid peacebuilding, as it targets “local agency, norms and practices”.¹¹³ In his introduction, Waldorf stresses that little research has been conducted on this particular topic, which, according to my understanding, contributes to research gaps.

The interpretation determined above is further confirmed in Pizzamiglio, and Kovacs’ research in Tanzania and Uganda. The authors argue that women’s empowerment is enhanced when an integrated implementation of legal empowerment and social accountability is in use. The approaches are both “rights-based” and have the ability to “address grievances for marginalized individuals, mobilize collective action from community members and exact accountability from state actors”.¹¹⁴ Empowering women on the other hand, might have a positive impact on peacebuilding. This is partly confirmed in

¹⁰⁸ Lars Waldorf, "Introduction: legal empowerment in transitions", *The International Journal of Human Rights* 19:3 (2015), doi:10.1080/13642987.2015.1029335, p. 229.

¹⁰⁹ Waldorf 2015, p. 229.

¹¹⁰ Waldorf 2015, p. 233.

¹¹¹ Waldorf 2015, p. 233.

¹¹² Waldorf 2015, p. 233.

¹¹³ Waldorf 2015, p. 233.

¹¹⁴ Raffaella Pizzamiglio & Pamela Kovacs, "Accelerating Women’s Empowerment Through Legal Empowerment and Social Accountability Strategies: International Development Law Organization (IDLO)", *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* 22:3 (2021), doi:10.1080/19452829.2021.1890005, p. 517.

Golub's article from the early 2000's, which presents the "rule of law orthodoxy".¹¹⁵ The concept is described as the contrast to legal empowerment which uses law to enhance the situation of the "disadvantaged populations". This is frequently being carried out through development work, to enhance their liberty, advance governance and mitigate underdevelopment.¹¹⁶ According to Golub, it might transform gender-bias and thereby become beneficial for both peacebuilding, social development, and hence, women's further legal empowerment.¹¹⁷

Further research of interest to review in relation to this section is the Routledge Handbook of Law and Society. The book was first published in 2021 and presents an overarching overview of the key aspects and topics within law and society scholarship.¹¹⁸ The book touches upon peacebuilding in its chapter about transnational governance and law, and global security and socio-legal studies. The author describes terrorist financing, and peacebuilding organisation's role in response to this.¹¹⁹ Moreover, the book mentions women's role within the field of SoL in relation to trafficking, religion, labour, etc. The book does not include literature on women in connection to global security. Neither girls, primary education, nor legal empowerment are being part of this overview of the field of SoL. Similar patterns are observed in Hammerslev and Madsen's anthology on classic and modern perspectives of SoL.¹²⁰ In their book, Schömer discusses feminism and SoL, while Madsen examines law and globalisation.¹²¹ Although the topics are touched upon, they are discussed separately without examining law in relation to feminism in globalisation and security. Given these brief findings, this might entail a research gap within SoL, and hence, an opportunity for my thesis to further develop.

¹¹⁵ Stephen Golub, "The Rule of Law and the UN Peacebuilding Commission: a social development approach", *Cambridge Review of International Affairs* 20:1 (2007), doi:10.1080/09557570601155328, p. 47.

¹¹⁶ Golub 2007, p. 47.

¹¹⁷ Golub 2007, p. 63.

¹¹⁸ Golub 2007, p. 1.

¹¹⁹ Gavin Sullivan, "Transnational governance and law", in Valverde, Mariana, Clarke, Kamari Maxine, Darian-Smith, Eve & Kotiswaran, Prabha (eds.), *The Routledge handbook of law and society* (Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY: Routledge, 2021), p. 61.

¹²⁰ Ole Hammerslev & Mikael Rask Madsen, *Retssociologi. Klassiske og moderne perspektiver* (København: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2022).

¹²¹ Eva Schömer, "Feministiske teorier og retssociologi" in Ole Hammerslev & Mikael Rask Madsen, *Retssociologi. Klassiske og moderne perspektiver* (København: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2022); Mikael Rask Madsen, "Ret og globalisering" in Ole Hammerslev & Mikael Rask Madsen, *Retssociologi. Klassiske og moderne perspektiver* (København: Hans Reitzels Forlag, 2022).

2.3 Key findings and gap

This chapter finds that much valuable research focuses on girls' and women's general education, oftentimes without specifying its level. The studies present various findings of both how education affects the individual, and vice versa. Several findings in earlier research argue for education's positive impact on girls, through e.g., their impact on strengthened economic and social development. Based on UNESCO's research on early childhood education (ECE), I claim that primary education might have a greater impact on children's adult life than secondary education.¹²² I further argue that a fulfilled early education might lead to fully reaching potential as adults, which in turn might increase the chance of social inclusion in various settings. I additionally claim that education, whether it is primary or secondary, will not contribute to female inclusion, unless legal empowerment is considered in the education system. Given the presented findings, I interpret that girls' access to primary education might have an impact on peacebuilding. However, there is little academic research studying this relationship.

Throughout this chapter, meaningful research is further discovered concerning women's inclusion in peacebuilding. Two findings are particularly engaging. The first consists of female peace signatories' positive impact on peace-durability. The second outlines insights into how women oftentimes are being promoted as valuable participants in peace processes because of their gender instead of being humans possessing rights. These findings are of great interest, as they may nuance this thesis and its research.

The literature review further discovers that, like academic research on girls' access to education, there is limited material found on how education in general impacts peacebuilding. Although this is the case, research has shown that access to education and gender equality, might be beneficial for peacebuilding. Primary education has e.g., shown to be able to provide knowledge about peace through textbooks. Having identified a correlation between primary education and peace, there is still a lacking distinctive linkage to girls and women.

¹²² Peter Buckland, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (The World Bank Group, 2005), p. 32.

As previously stated by Buckland, primary education outlines a ground for the entire education system and is hence an important focus-area.¹²³ The present thesis makes the assumption that primary education therefore impacts secondary education and thus, indirectly affects the outcomes of all educational forms above primary education. One of the most striking findings of this literature review is the role of legal empowerment in correlation to education and peace building. Included studies present that primary education might foster RoL, justice, inclusiveness, and peace. Understanding and respecting the law might, according to my interpretation, be proportionate to legal empowerment. Legal empowerment on the other hand is observed to reconstruct socio-economic power, which might enhance peacebuilding. Thus, the chapter's findings conclude that there are significant relationships between components such as girls' access to primary education, primary education's impact on legal empowerment, and legal empowerment's effect on peacebuilding. These variables are, however, not found to be investigated in one study, but are oftentimes split up between various articles from different journals. Indirectly, I interpret that these perceptions, investigated among children in primary school, might have arisen from the education itself. Hence, the findings presented by Kagaari et al., could show additional evidence of primary education's positive impact on peace.¹²⁴ Therefore, I identify a research gap consisting of the impact of girls' primary education on legal empowerment, and how it links to female inclusion in peacebuilding.

Overall, I have identified two main contributions that this thesis' topic brings to the field of SoL. First, I conclude that education plays a significant role in legal empowerment among girls, as it may foster modifications of the contravene legal regulations which are at risk to diminished girls' legal empowerment. My understanding of these repercussions is that primary education might have a positive impact on legal empowerment among girls, which is of relevance to study within the field of SoL. Second, as briefly mentioned in the introduction, the structure of peace agreements and their impact is applicable to examine

¹²³ Buckland 2005, p. 32.

¹²⁴ James Kagaari, Kirabo Nakasiita, Edward Ntare, Richard Atuhair, Ali Baguwemu, Gerald Ojok, Auma S Okumu, Goretti Kaahwa, Gastone Byamugisha, Paul Semakula, Jane Namusoke, Nathan Mayengo, Barbara Dennis & Chalmer E Thompson, "Children's conceptions of peace in two Ugandan primary schools: Insights for peace curriculum", *Research in Comparative and International Education* 12:1 (2017), doi:10.1177/1745499917698299, p. 15.

within the discipline of SoL. The outcome of a peace negotiation usually results in a peace agreement, where guidance on how to regulate post-conflict societies is being agreed upon. A peace agreement's connection to law is vital for further understanding of my thesis' contribution to SoL. Peace agreements (also referred to as 'treaties' or 'accords') are legally binding documents, which constitute a part of international law.¹²⁵ Although being built upon "legal standards", the implication of what a peace agreement really is, according to Bell is "largely undefined and unexplored".¹²⁶ Despite this, Bell defines peace agreements as "documented agreements between parties to a violent internal conflict to establish a ceasefire together with new political and legal structures".¹²⁷ The definition is based on the Vienna Convention's interpretation of a peace agreement, which was codified in 1969. It argues that peace agreements, whether it be between state or non-state actors, "are subjects of international law".¹²⁸

In conclusion, my thesis' contribution to SoL consists of its research linking the social aspect of a phenomenon (gender equality) with the legal aspect of a phenomenon (peace agreements). This linkage is being exemplified by the topic of this thesis, namely inclusive education as one pathway to sustainable peacebuilding.

¹²⁵ Christine Bell, "Peace Agreements: Their Nature and Legal Status", *American Journal of International Law* 100:2 (2006), doi:10.1017/S0002930000016705, p. 379.

¹²⁶ Bell 2006, p. 374.

¹²⁷ Bell 2006, p. 374.

¹²⁸ Bell 2006, p. 380.

CHAPTER III

A mixed-method approach

This chapter presents the methodology and the methods applied to answer the research questions. The selected methodology consists of a mixed-methods explanatory sequential design, combining methods of a large-n quantitative OLS regression analysis with a small-n qualitative thematic narrative analysis. The chapter begins by introducing the quantitative method and research design, and its structure of quantitative data collection, and operationalisation. The chapter thereafter presents the qualitative method and research design by describing the structure of qualitative data collection together with the research strategy and analysis method. This section is followed by segments on validity and reliability of the research design. Finally, the chapter concludes with ethical considerations.

3.1 Quantitative method and research design

The quantitative method of analysis is conducted through a linear regression of ordinary least squares (OLS), split into a bivariate, and a multiple regression analysis. OLS is a frequently used approach to assess coefficients of linear regression equations' relationship between variables.¹²⁹ The bivariate regression analysis tests the relationship between the dependent and independent variables. The multiple examination of the analysis aims to control for alternative causes influencing the first established linkage by incorporating the control variables in the examination model. According to Kellstedt and Whitten, the independent and dependent variables' types need to be considered before choosing the method of analysis.¹³⁰ An OLS regression analysis is thus an applicable choice, as the independent variable is identified as continuous, while the dependent variable as binary.¹³¹

To measure to what extent girls' access to primary education influence female inclusion in peacebuilding processes, the quantitative analysis operationalises girls' school

¹²⁹ ORDINARY LEAST SQUARES REGRESSION (OLS), *XLSTAT*, n.d., <https://www.xlstat.com/en/solutions/features/ordinary-least-squares-regression-ols>, [accessed 2023-05-10]

¹³⁰ Paul M. Kellstedt & Guy D. Whitten, *The fundamentals of political science research*, Second edition ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 146.

¹³¹ Kellstedt & Whitten 2013, pp. 230-231.

enrolment, and the presence, or absence, of female signatories, both in post-conflict societies. Taking its point of departure in the four criteria for causality, the analysis is guided by 1) determining covariation between the independent and dependent variables; 2) detaching the relationship from alternative causes; 3) establishing that the investigated variables follow the correct time order (in this case that the data representing female signatories is gathered prior to the data defining school enrolment).¹³² The fourth criteria for causality aims to investigate the causal mechanism's correlation. Although being a valuable criteria, this will not be tested in this particular analysis, as this study is committed to first explore if a correlation between the variables of interests even does exist. This will henceforth constitute a suggestion for future research (see chapter 5), as the variable's correlation first can be tested when a relationship is established. Furthermore, as described by the third criteria for causality, time order is of significance. It is of particular relevance for this analysis because to see a potential impact, girls' access to primary education needs to be established before women's inclusion in peace building. This is being identified as a time order issue, which can cause endogeneity problems.¹³³ To avoid such concerns and confirm that women's inclusion in peace processes is established before girls' access to primary education is measured, the column 'year' in the dependent variable's dataset is lagged with twenty years. Applying a distributed lag model, or 'lagging', allows previous data to affect current data and does thus eliminate the endogeneity issue.¹³⁴ The overall aim of this analysis is to obtain and interpret a p-value. The lower a p-value, the higher possibility of a high confidence supporting a systematic linkage between the independent and dependent variables.¹³⁵

3.1.1 Structure of quantitative data and collection

The empirical material of the quantitative analysis in the present study is based on two publicly available datasets: the UNESCO Institute for Statistics' (UIS) dataset *School*

¹³² Kellstedt & Whitten 2013, p. 55.

¹³³ Greg J. Duncan, Katherine A. Magnuson & Jens Ludwig, "The Endogeneity Problem in Developmental Studies", *Research in Human Development* 1:1–2 (2004), doi:10.1080/15427609.2004.9683330, p. 66.

¹³⁴ Paul M. Kellstedt & Guy D. Whitten, *The fundamentals of political science research*, Second edition ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 263.

¹³⁵ Kellstedt & Whitten 2013, p. 148.

enrollment primary, female (% gross), and the *Replication Data for Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace*.¹³⁶ UIS's dataset is used as the main data source where indicators from Krause et al.'s dataset are added to it. The first provides statistics on the independent variable, while the latter adds data on the dependent variable together with five control variables. All variables of interest are being presented under the following section on operationalization.

The quantitative analysis studies the population of *school enrollment*, while the unit of analysis is based on *school enrollment in post-conflict societies*. The study sample is based on 242 observations (excluding missing values), which are limited to the time period of 1991-2011. The scope of this analysis is determined by the availability of an overlap between the datasets, taking into account material for both the dependent and independent variables. Hence, the global geographical outlook is therefore regulated based on school enrollment that occurs in the given time period. The time period of 1991-2011 is selected based on the time-bound framework of the available data on women's participation in peace negotiations. This limits the inputs on school enrollment as these statistics initially include a larger number of observations before the two datasets are merged.

3.1.2 Operationalisation

The operationalisation of the dependent variable *women's inclusion in peacebuilding* is measured through the binary indicator 'female signatories'. Coding the inputs as either 1 or 0, the indicator represents the presence or absence of female signatories in peace negotiations without specifying the amount of participants.¹³⁷ The group of female signatories interpreted in the *Replication Data for Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace* consist of women with various backgrounds, and professions, such as "female members of armed groups, female government

¹³⁶ Jana Krause; Werner Krause; Piia Bränfors, 2018, "Replication Data for: Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/LNMEXL>, Harvard Dataverse, V1, UNF:6:9Q0XQSRjx1NU8zKWJIHDWA== [fileUNF]; UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). UIS. Stat Bulk Data Download Service. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.ENRR.FE> [accessed 2023-05-04].

¹³⁷ Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386.

representatives, and female delegates from civil society groups”.¹³⁸ Krause et al. argue that their findings support a prosperous linkage between female inclusion in peace negotiations and peace-durability.¹³⁹ Given this statement and the otherwise limited data on this topic, Krause et al.’s dataset is considered a good statistical source supporting this thesis examination.

The operationalisation of the independent variable *girls’ access to education* is measured through the continuous indicator ‘school enrollment’. The indicator is extracted from UIS’s dataset *School enrollment primary, female (% gross)*, which measures the ratio of total enrollment disregarding age of the population enrolled in primary education.¹⁴⁰ UIS defines primary education as schooling that provides pupils with “basic reading, writing, and mathematics skills along with an elementary understanding of such subjects as history, geography, natural science, social science, art, and music”.¹⁴¹ The indicator for school enrollment measures the values through a percentage ratio of total enrollment.¹⁴² The indicator for enrollment is established through conducted annual school surveys. It is worth notifying that the surveys may exclude data on actual participation in education, and withdrawal from primary school.¹⁴³ UIS further points out that differences across national school systems are not taken into consideration among the gathered data, which may affect my study’s validity.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, looking at the gross value measuring the independent variable, some rates exceed 100 percent. This is due to the pupils’ age, where some are either above or below the formal primary school age. The age may vary as some students either repeat certain educational levels, while others begin primary school early or late.¹⁴⁵ Although constituting a limitation, this indicator is being utilised due to restraining alternatives of statistical sources. Despite the fact that the measured rate, exceeding 100 percent, might affect the study, the outcome overcomes the limitations convincingly.

¹³⁸ Krause et al. 2018, p. 987.

¹³⁹ Krause et al. 2018, p. 987.

¹⁴⁰ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS). UIS. Stat Bulk Data Download Service. <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SE.PRM.ENRR.FE> (accessed 2013-05-04).

¹⁴¹ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS).

¹⁴² UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS).

¹⁴³ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS).

¹⁴⁴ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS).

¹⁴⁵ UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS).

The five following control variables, derived from *the Replication Data for Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace*, are included in the merged dataset: 1) warring parties; 2) democracy; 3) gender quotas; 4) female combatants; and 5) political rights. The purpose of including the control variables is to establish isolation, i.e., to govern for variables that could affect the dependent and independent variables. This is crucial to avoid omitted variable bias.¹⁴⁶ The five presented control variables are therefore included in the multivariate OLS regression analysis (see *Model 2* in *Table 4*) to support the investigation of the independent variable's effect on the dependent variable. Although establishing isolation to some extent, and decreasing the exposure to an omitted variable bias, the control variables cannot explain alternative confounders. This is where the qualitative research design shows its significance (see section 3.2). The qualitative study is of particular importance while searching for other potential control variables that could be of relevance for my analysis, and for a future in-depth quantitative analysis. While consisting of solid factors for the governance of alternative confounders, the control variables I am using in my quantitative study are not fully representative of the issue I am investigating. Thus, the analysis would benefit from including control variables representing, i.e., economy and culture. However, due to limitations in the available data, I have not found it feasible to include other control variables than the five presented. Instead, my thesis is offering a qualitative analysis which to some extent hopes to complement the limited sample of control variables. The existing control variables are further elaborated upon below.

The numeric control variable *warring parties* refers to the number of active actors in a conflict.¹⁴⁷ As Krause et al.'s research shows that this is one variable which has shown to impact peace-durability, I found it of relevance to include.¹⁴⁸ The dichotomous control variable *democracy* indicates the presence or absence of, i.e., freedom of press and rule of

¹⁴⁶ Paul M. Kellstedt & Guy D. Whitten, *The fundamentals of political science research*, Second edition ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 228.

¹⁴⁷ Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386, p. 995.

¹⁴⁸ Krause et al. 2018, p. 995.

law.¹⁴⁹ These attributes have outlined significant components in peacebuilding ever since the end of the Cold War, a relevant linkage to women's inclusion in peacebuilding that motivates my selection of the control variable.¹⁵⁰ The binary control variable *gender quotas* implies whether a peace agreement is devoted to include a certain number of female actors in their peace processes.¹⁵¹ This is of relevance as parties supporting gender quotas might be more prone to promote women's general empowerment.¹⁵² The categorical control variable *female combatants* is used to measure the value distribution of combatants in armed groups that are women.¹⁵³ This variable is of interest as Krause et al. argues that armed actors that include women may be more expected to welcome female participation in peacebuilding.¹⁵⁴ The final and ordinal control variable *political rights* portrays a nation's recognition of fundamental political rights, empowerment, international environment, and democratic development.¹⁵⁵ All components have likewise shown to affect peace-durability.¹⁵⁶ Although being of interest, the presented control variables do not explain alternative confounders. Hence, a qualitative analysis might complement the understanding of other components that might affect female inclusion in peacebuilding. Furthermore, while data on women's inclusion in peacebuilding is not available, data on female signatories in post-conflict societies is. This grants access to study the relationship of interest, however, from a somewhat limited angle, only including signatories – a limitation that is further discussed under section 3.4 on validity and reliability. Thus, the limited data requires this thesis to identify additional components which are expected to nuance the analysis and results. Therefore, a qualitative research design is applied in correspondence with the explanatory sequential design. By interpreting the quantitative relationship between educational access and female inclusion, a deeper qualitative analysis

¹⁴⁹ Marshall, M., T. Gurr, and K. Jaggers. (2016) Polity IV Project. Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2015 Dataset Users' Manual. Centre for SystemicPeace, p. 15.

¹⁵⁰ Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386, pp. 993-994.

¹⁵¹ Krause et al. 2018, p. 997.

¹⁵² Krause et al. 2018, p. 997.

¹⁵³ Krause et al. 2018, p. 996.

¹⁵⁴ Krause et al. 2018, p. 996.

¹⁵⁵ Krause et al. 2018, p. 996.

¹⁵⁶ Krause et al. 2018, p. 996.

is allowing for a determination of how certain components navigate in the linkage established.

3.2 Qualitative method and research design

Previous research indicates that qualitative content analysis (QCA) is a dominating method while analysing biographies. This is for example observed in Brown's and Gershon's article which presents an exploratory study of minority congress women's websites' biographies.¹⁵⁷ The method likewise occurs in Bynum et al.'s article about Chandler's biography of Henry Varnum Poor.¹⁵⁸ Although QCA is suitable while studying biographies, I am choosing a seemingly less common methodological approach, namely a qualitative thematic narrative analysis. This decision is based on the fact that QCA focuses on interpreting qualitative material in a systematic way, commonly by categorising the findings in a coding frame, something I wanted to avoid.¹⁵⁹ The reason behind this is my belief in narrative value. Hence, my aim is to present "what content a narrative communicates, rather than precisely how a narrative is structured".¹⁶⁰ This standpoint is inspired by Franzosi's article on why and how sociologists should conduct a narrative analysis.¹⁶¹ The author argues that methods like QCA do indeed provide patterns to draw results upon, however, without highlighting the broader social relations that can be valuable when understanding particular phenomena.¹⁶² Franzosi further states that sociologists commonly "cut up" and "recompose" stories into new narratives through methods like QCA, which might lead to the original narrative becoming "lost and forgotten".¹⁶³ While agreeing with Franzosi's arguments, I acknowledge the advantages and limitations of both

¹⁵⁷ Nadia E. Brown & Sarah Allen Gershon, "INTERSECTIONAL PRESENTATIONS: An Exploratory Study of Minority Congresswomen's Websites' Biographies", *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 13:1 (2016), doi:10.1017/S1742058X15000181.

¹⁵⁸ Leigh Ann Bynum, Russell W. Clayton, Mario Hayek, Miriam Moeller & Wallace A. Williams, "Chandler as a biographer: content thematic analysis of Chandler's biography of Henry Varnum Poor", *Journal of Management History* 15:3 (2009), doi:10.1108/17511340910964135.

¹⁵⁹ Margrit Schreier, *Qualitative content analysis in practice* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2012), p. 1.

¹⁶⁰ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative methods for the human sciences* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 73.

¹⁶¹ Roberto Franzosi, "Narrative Analysis—Or Why (and How) Sociologists Should Be Interested In Narrative", *Annual Review of Sociology* 24:1 (1998), doi:10.1146/annurev.soc.24.1.517.

¹⁶² Franzosi 1998, p. 548.

¹⁶³ Franzosi 1998, p. 548.

QCA and thematic narrative analysis. Given the qualitative study's small-n sample, I have come to the conclusion that a thematic narrative analysis is feasible to conduct. However, if I had larger qualitative empirical material, a QCA might have been more appropriate. Considering biographies as empirical material open for interpretation, rather than sources which should be transformed to unilateral results, I value the reader's possibility to freely interpret what a narrative discloses. Although possessing a positive attitude towards the method of thematic narrative analysis, one limitation that has arisen is based on the research design's utilisation. Most commonly, a thematic narrative analysis seems to be applied on empirical material gathered through interviews. However, given Riessman's definition of the method, where she highlights that a narrative analysis aims to disclose "what content a *narrative* communicates", I interpret biographies as 'narratives' and hence as suitable empirical material for the given method. Biographies tell stories and stories are in fact narratives. While I am presenting this argument, it is worth noting that Riessman likewise highlights that there is a lacking consensus upon how a narrative should be defined. Among others, she presents Labov and Waletzky's definition, which states that narratives shall follow a chronological structure. Thus, the narrative should be composed in a linear order and provide an answer to the question: "and then what happened?".¹⁶⁴ This is the closest definition I have encountered that matches with my interpretation of the concept.

3.2.1 Structure of qualitative data and collection

The empirical material builds upon two stories of women who have been involved in peacebuilding. The biographical books are: 1) *Swedish*: 'Hennes excellens Agda Rössel: från banvaktstugan till FN-skrapan' (in English *Her Excellency Agda Rössel: from the ranger's cabin to the UN scraper*) by Elin Jäderström; and 2) 'Madame President: The Extraordinary Journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf' by Helene Cooper. The first-mentioned biography reveals the life of Agda Rössel, the world's first female UN ambassador.¹⁶⁵ The biography tells Rössel's personal journey from the daughter of a railway worker in northern

¹⁶⁴ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993); Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3:2 (2006), doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa, p. 17.

¹⁶⁵ Elin Jäderström, *Hennes excellens Agda Rössel: från banvaktstugan till FN-skrapan* (Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2019).

Sweden to one of Sweden's foreign politics' most influential diplomats.¹⁶⁶ The second biography tells the story of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, the 2005 winner of the Liberian presidential election and later a Nobel Peace Prize laureate.¹⁶⁷ The book describes how Johnson Sirleaf went from being a mother of four and victim of domestic abuse to the first woman chief of state in the history of Africa.¹⁶⁸ While outlining the sampling strategy, it becomes obvious that biographies about women in peacebuilding are a limited genre in comparison to stories about men within the same field. Simple research on the search engine Google provides results such as books about female composers although key words such as 'female diplomats' and 'women in peacebuilding' are included in the investigation. Therefore, I allow the sampling strategy to be initiated and inspired by CFR's list of "Women at the Table", which presents historical highlights of female inclusion in peace and security processes globally.¹⁶⁹ Except CFR's contribution to the sampling strategy, no particular recruitment technique is applied, given that my selected study population consists of publicly available secondary sources, namely published books about women in peace processes. Furthermore, the sampling frame is based on biographies, while the sampling unit consists of the two main characters in the books: Agda Rössel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. Given the limited scope of this paper, I chose to include two quite different books in my qualitative empirical material. This will further be discussed as one of this thesis' limitations (see section 4.4), where further biographies and autobiographies are recommended for future research (see Appendix D).

The qualitative analysis research contexts are Liberia and Sweden, and these are primarily chosen for diversity reasons. My leading aim while searching for qualitative empirical material is to take intersectionality into account to ensure this thesis' diversity. However, while realising that the amount of wished sources is heavily limited, I choose to analyse biographies that I consider to be the most diverse. Rössel (born in 1910 in Sweden) and Johnson Sirleaf (born in 1938 in Liberia) might have been raised two decades apart,

¹⁶⁶ Jäderström 2019.

¹⁶⁷ Helene Cooper, *Madame President: the extraordinary journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf*, First Simon&Schuster trade paperback edition ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2018).

¹⁶⁸ Cooper 2018.

¹⁶⁹ Women's Participation in Peace Processes, *Council on Foreign Relations*, n.d., <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/> [accessed 2023-05-04].

however, both experienced war, rose through the ranks, and had similar careers. Despite their similarities, the two women grew up and worked in different countries, which are aspects I believe might be valuable for both the approached feminist path of this thesis and the diverse findings.

3.2.2 Qualitative research strategy and analysis method

Introducing narrative analysis as a qualitative research design, Riessman argues that a “standard set of procedures” does not exist in this case like it does among other analysis structures.¹⁷⁰ She further claims that narrative analysis has not been assigned to any particular academic disciplines.¹⁷¹ Hence, a narrative analysis allows, according to my interpretation, for more liberty in its procedures than other methods. Therefore, I find it feasible to form my qualitative study based on my preferences and according to what I identify as essential for a successful implementation of the analysis. Thus, I am combining narrative analysis with thematic analysis generating *thematic narrative analysis*. Thematic analysis is like narrative analysis, flexible.¹⁷² Given that the two research designs individually are formable, I argue that they can be combined in this particular study. Moreover, a thematic analysis of narratives is, according to Riessman, applicable when analysing stories extracted from written documents.¹⁷³ She claims that this outlines the prevailing research path when examining autobiographies and biographies.¹⁷⁴ The qualitative analysis method in my thesis is therefore guided by Riessman’s protocol on narrative analysis and complemented by Braun and Clarke’s guide on thematic analysis.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁰ Catherine Kohler Riessman, “Narrative Analysis” in A. M. Huberman & Matthew B. Miles (eds.), *The qualitative researcher’s companion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 246.

¹⁷¹ Riessman 2002, p. 217.

¹⁷² Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, “Using thematic analysis in psychology”, *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3:2 (2006), doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa, p. 78.

¹⁷³ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative methods for the human sciences* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 53.

¹⁷⁴ Riessman 2008, p. 65.

¹⁷⁵ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993); Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, “Using thematic analysis in psychology”, *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3:2 (2006), doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

Narrative analysis does, according to Riessman, target what has been “told”, instead of the actual “telling”.¹⁷⁶ The analysis emerges from an abductive approach, aiming to explain a theoretical hypothesis which evolves from an insight on a certain phenomenon.¹⁷⁷ Similar to feminism, which aspires to ‘make oppressed voices heard’, ‘narrativism’ aims at hearing these voices and interpreting them – an ambition that makes the presented research design ideal for my thesis’ topic.¹⁷⁸

Interpreting narratives, I do not possess an entry to the experiences expressed through the stories. Thus, my positioning of the narratives is based on subjective representation.¹⁷⁹ According to Riessman, there are five levels of representation in narrative research processes: 1) attending; 2) telling; 3) transcribing; 4) analysing; and 5) reading.¹⁸⁰ Aspects extracted from these five are together with components from thematic analysis processes guiding my qualitative research. Thematic analysis is used for “identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data”.¹⁸¹ Braun and Clarke specify that although thematic analysis is being applied universally, there are no definitions of what a thematic analysis is nor guidelines of how to conduct one.¹⁸² Despite that being the case, Braun and Clarke provide a step-by-step suggestion of how to apply a thematic analysis (see *Table 1*). This proposition is in my analysis being incorporated to Riessman’s five levels of representation in narrative research processes. More specifically, Braun and Clarke’s phases of thematic analysis are included under Riessman’s level two, three, and four (see *Table 2*).

¹⁷⁶ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative methods for the human sciences* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), p. 53.

¹⁷⁷ Riessman 2008, p. 74.

¹⁷⁸ Catherine Kohler Riessman, “Narrative Analysis”, in A. M. Huberman & Matthew B. Miles (eds.), *The qualitative researcher’s companion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 220.

¹⁷⁹ Riessman 2002, p. 221.

¹⁸⁰ Riessman 2002, p. 221.

¹⁸¹ Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, “Using thematic analysis in psychology”, *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3:2 (2006), doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa, p. 79.

¹⁸² Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 79.

Table 1. *Phases of thematic analysis*

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Note. The table is extracted from Braun and Clarke's article "Using thematic analysis in psychology".¹⁸³

Riessman grounds the first step of narrative analysis on the second level of representation in narrative research processes: *telling*. This step refers to the information gained while disclosing a story and offers various propositions of how a researcher can direct the narrative through interview questions.¹⁸⁴ As the qualitative data I am collecting exist in the format of biographical books, I claim that I cannot interpret the telling of the narrative in any other way than through repetitive reading and subjective interpretation. Thus, I am, after having read the biographies outlining my data, beginning the analysis by applying Riessman's level three: *transcribing* (see Appendix B). This step mainly refers to the process of transcribing taped interviews. Given that my data is being extracted from a book, I claim that it already is transcribed to some degree. Thus, I am beginning the analytical process by re-transcribing the data to resolve the story into categorised segments. As suggested by Riessman, I am using Labov's organisational structure for retranscription.¹⁸⁵ Labov's framework is divided into the following segments: abstract (A), orientation (O), complicating action (CA), evaluation (E), and resolution (R). Abstract identifies the story's plot according to the narrator. Orientation defines the time and setting of the plot. Complicating action refers to the identification of the puzzle. Evaluation

¹⁸³ Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 87.

¹⁸⁴ Catherine Kohler Riessman, "Narrative Analysis", in A. M. Huberman & Matthew B. Miles (eds.), *The qualitative researcher's companion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), pp. 246-248.

¹⁸⁵ Riessman 2002, p. 251.

assesses the conflict's content. Resolution indicates how the puzzle has been resolved.¹⁸⁶ Thereafter, the forth, and in my thesis last, level of representation in narrative research processes is being implemented, namely: *analysis*. Analysis and transcription are closely connected according to Riessman, and are thus complex to separate.¹⁸⁷ In my analysis, I mainly focus on the semantic substance, i.e., the definitive interpretation of the data instead of the latent context which explains the hidden inferences.¹⁸⁸ This is as I aim towards capturing the explicit content in the biographies, instead of recomposing the narrative based on subjective interpretations. Riessman argues that a thematic narrative analysis focuses on revealing underlying substances, which is why she suggests focusing on the latent context. However, as stated under section 3.2, I aim towards reducing the risk of the original narrative becoming "lost and forgotten", which is why I am concentrating on the semantic substance.¹⁸⁹ Hence, I am incorporating Braun and Clarke's framework onto this level. The full data interpretation process is presented in *Table 2* on the following page.

¹⁸⁶ Riessman 2002, p. 251.

¹⁸⁷ Riessman 2002, p. 253.

¹⁸⁸ Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3:2 (2006), doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa, p. 84.

¹⁸⁹ Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 84.

Table 2. *Narrative data interpretation process*

Interpretation process step	Description
1. Second level of representation: Telling	➤ Riessman's levels of representation in narrative research processes: ○ Interviewing or repeated reading ○ Focus on semantic substance ➤ Braun and Clarke's phases of thematic analysis: ○ Familiarisation
2. Third level of representation: Transcribing (see Appendix B)	➤ Riessman's levels of representation in narrative research processes: ○ Generate relevant events in narratives ○ Organise data through retranscription ➤ Braun and Clarke's phases of thematic analysis: ○ Generation of codes
3. Fourth level of representation: Analysing	➤ Braun and Clarke's phases of thematic analysis: ○ Search and review of themes ○ Definition of themes ○ Final analysis of selected extracts

Note. The table is inspired by Riessman's levels of representation in narrative research processes, and Braun and Clarke's phases for thematic analysis.¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Catherine Kohler Riessman, *Narrative analysis* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1993); Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3:2 (2006), doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa.

The phase of *familiarisation* includes ‘immersion’, meaning that active engagement in the data’s content is being applied to enable search for patterns. Immersion is accomplished through repeated reading of the empirical data and is, based on my understanding, closely connected to Riessman’s ‘telling’.¹⁹¹ *Generation of codes* implies compiling aspects of interest from the read data and structuring them into codes (see Appendix C).¹⁹² *Search and review of themes* refers to arranging codes based on themes, composing the codes inside the categories and reviewing the themes in two steps. Step one looks at the “coded data extracts” within each theme, while step two repeats this process, but focusing on the whole data disregarding themes.¹⁹³ *Definition of themes* is initiated when the themes have been mapped out based on the generated codes. This step refers to defining the substance and meaning of the themes.¹⁹⁴ Lastly, the *final analysis of selected extracts* aspires to present the convoluted narrative outlining my data in a persuasive way.¹⁹⁵

3.3 Validity and reliability

Validity is central when ensuring that the measured grade corresponds to the phenomenon that is aimed for operationalisation. Whilst safeguarding that a study is presumed to obtain the equivalent results when conducted again, reliability is of significance. Controlled by this thesis’ research design, validity and reliability are being addressed in different ways.¹⁹⁶

Within the quantitative research design, validity shall be high to allow for the measurement to be comprehended.¹⁹⁷ As the dependent variable’s indicator, female signatories, consist of the only statistical evidence of female inclusion in peacebuilding that I encountered, the results of my quantitative analysis are of lower validity. The study’s validity is further affected negatively by the independent variable’s indicator, school enrolment, which oftentimes is coded as higher than hundred percent due to some cases of

¹⁹¹ Virginia Braun & Victoria Clarke, "Using thematic analysis in psychology", *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3:2 (2006), doi:10.1191/1478088706qp063oa, p. 87.

¹⁹² Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 88.

¹⁹³ Braun & Clarke 2006, pp. 89-91.

¹⁹⁴ Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 92.

¹⁹⁵ Braun & Clarke 2006, p. 93.

¹⁹⁶ Paul M. Kellstedt & Guy D. Whitten, *The fundamentals of political science research*, Second edition ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 126.

¹⁹⁷ Kellstedt & Whitten 2013, p. 101.

repeated grades and school dropout. Furthermore, the combination of the dependent and independent variable does impact the validity's degree when the two datasets are merged. Given that some observations of school enrolment cannot be matched with observations of female signatories because of missing data, the number of observations decreases. Although being the case, I interpret both the UIS's dataset *School enrollment primary, female (% gross)* and the *Replication Data for Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace* to possess a steady consistency between their analytical and practical analysis, which increases my thesis' quantitative examination. Furthermore, as the column 'year' in the dependent variable's dataset is lagged with twenty years to reduce endogeneity issues, the reliability might be affected. Lagging can be captured through various commands in the software *R*, which could affect the results if the study were to be conducted again using a different coding script.

As a part of the qualitative analysis, criteria of high validity are remarkably complicated to meet in comparison with the quantitative part of the study. I understand this issue to depend on my data consisting of personal stories. As argued by Riessman, the retelling of stories "should vary because the past is a selective reconstruction".¹⁹⁸ However, validity is aspired to be reached by taking the following measures into account. First, persuasiveness together with plausibility indicates that validity can be met when the presented interpretation of a narrative is convincing.¹⁹⁹ Thus, the presentation of the narratives has been provided in a credible manner, by, i.e., presenting quotes directly from the books. Second, correspondence is required, meaning that my reconstructions should be recognisable for validity to be met.²⁰⁰ Thus, I have been mindful of not rephrasing the narratives too much. Third, thick coherence on a global, local and themal level is crucial. This means that my analytical goals must justify actions, express these actions well linguistically, and provide relevant thematic content.²⁰¹ I have particularly taken this into account in the re-transcription phase. Fourth, pragmatic use shall be considered, and refers

¹⁹⁸ Catherine Kohler Riessman, "Narrative Analysis" in A. M. Huberman & Matthew B. Miles (eds.), *The qualitative researcher's companion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 257.

¹⁹⁹ Catherine Kohler Riessman, "Narrative Analysis" in A. M. Huberman & Matthew B. Miles (eds.), *The qualitative researcher's companion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 258.

²⁰⁰ Riessman 2002, p. 258.

²⁰¹ Riessman 2002, pp. 259-260.

to the readers' future interpretation of the validity. This measure should become present by incorporating the first three aspects mentioned.²⁰²

3.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical aspects of research are fundamental elements of academic studies. I therefore take various ethical principles into account while writing this thesis. The measures considered are based on Diener's and Crandall's four ethical codes introduced by Mason.²⁰³ The first code consists of 'harm to participants'.²⁰⁴ Given this study's already publicly accessible empirical material, I have not been dependent upon information from individual participants. Thus, I argue that the first ethical code can be disregarded. The second code is 'lack of informed consent'.²⁰⁵ Comparable with the first code, the empirical material I am using is already officially published and accessible through search engines such as Google. Hence, I claim that consent is not required. However, I am obligated to reference all material I am using and indicate both who the 'owner' of the sources is and what has been stated by whom. The third code is based on 'invasion of privacy'.²⁰⁶ Recognising that individuals' privacy must be respected, I simultaneously argue that it already is through the chosen empirical material in my thesis. I claim that statistics in quantitative research is 'private' in its nature, while privacy in the utilised biographies is their authors' responsibility. The fourth code is 'deception', which highlights the significance of avoiding disinformation.²⁰⁷ While taking this aspect into account, I have interpreted that there exists a fine line between disinformation and interpretation. Both quantitative statistics and qualitative knowledge can be understood in various ways. How empirical data is chosen to be interpreted is according to my understanding a subjective choice based on preferences together with accessible resources, knowledge, and theoretical frameworks. Hence, the same knowledge can by different receivers be interpreted in various ways. In my thesis,

²⁰² Riessman 2002, p. 260.

²⁰³ Jennifer Mason, *Qualitative researching*, 2nd ed ed. (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2002).

²⁰⁴ Mason 2002, p. 100.

²⁰⁵ Mason 2002, p. 101.

²⁰⁶ Mason 2002, p. 119.

²⁰⁷ Mason 2002, pp. 101-102.

there are three aspects that can devote diverse interpretations and potentially lead to perceptions of disinformation. First, it is the fact that quantitative data on women's inclusion in peacebuilding is limited and thus not fully representative of the components constituting the research problem. Second, it is my subjective way of interpreting the biographies, which may or may not, correspond to other investigators' preferable approach of understanding personal narratives. Third, it is my personal opinion on gender equality, and peace, which is colouring this thesis in a way that could outline a bias.

CHAPTER IV

Analysis and results

This chapter presents the implementation of the analysis, the results obtained, and the interpretation of the findings. It is divided into three parts framed by the quantitative as well as the qualitative research design, and discussion. The first section introduces the analysis and results from the descriptive analysis and the regression analysis. The second section outlines the investigation and findings from the thematic narrative analysis. The third section offers a discussion about the analysis, highlighting findings, together with limitations, alternative explanations, and future research.

4.1 Linkages between education and inclusive peacebuilding

The quantitative analysis was conducted in the software programming language *R*, version 4.2.2. (2022-10-31). It consisted of two segments. First, a bivariate regression analysis, which was applied to examine the linkage between the dependent and independent variables. Second, a multivariate regression analysis was performed, including the control variables, to regulate potential alternative explanations.

The first conducted analysis and presented findings were introduced through the *descriptive statistics*. The analysis' dataset combined 242 observations of girls' global school enrolment ratio between the years 1991-2011. Having observed the scope of the dependent variable, *female signatories*, the table revealed the variable's minimum value to consist of 0.00 and the maximum value of 1.00. This was due to the variable being binary, and the measurement was thus interpreted as the highest rate of female signatories being hundred percent. Furthermore, the dependent variable's mean value of 0.23 was likewise of interest. It described that female signatories were present in twenty three percent of the observations. Having compared it to the median value, the table revealed that the mean was higher than the median which might indicate that fragments of the data contents outliers

i.e., that the data was positively skewed (to the right).²⁰⁸ Furthermore, having studied the independent variable, *school enrolment*, the table showed a mean value of 65.78 and a median value of 61.33. Like in the dependent variable's measurement, the observation indicated a negatively skewed proportion. *Table 3* below presented the sample data of the dependent, independent, and control variables.

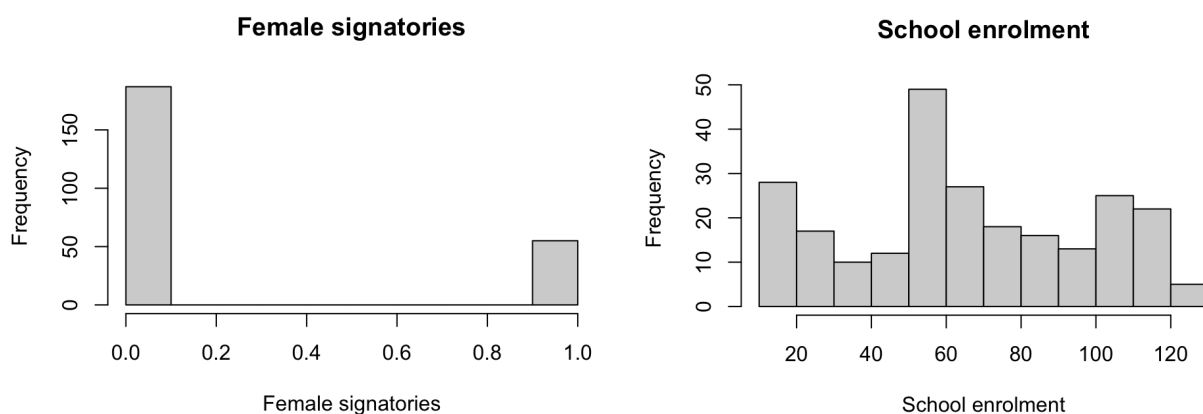
Table 3. *Descriptive summary statistics for all variables in the data set*

<i>Statistic</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>Median</i>	<i>St. Dev.</i>	<i>Min.</i>	<i>Max.</i>
School enrolment	242	65.78	61.33	31.71	10.30	124.44
Female signatories	242	0.23	0.00	0.42	0.00	1.00
Warring parties	242	4.63	3.00	4.28	2.00	23.00
Democracy	242	0.63	1.00	0.59	0.00	2.00
Gender quotas	242	0.08	0.00	0.27	0.00	1.00
Female combatants	242	1.44	2.00	1.20	0.00	3.00
Political rights	242	8.23	8.00	3.01	0.00	14.00

Note. N = number of observations (without missing values), SD = Standard deviation. Values are rounded to two decimals.

The dependent and independent variables' distribution was further observed in the histograms in *Figure 4* below.

²⁰⁸ Paul M. Kellstedt & Guy D. Whitten, *The fundamentals of political science research*, Second edition ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 232.

Figure 4. *Histograms of the dependent (left) and independent (right) variables*

The figure revealed higher fluctuation among school enrolment rates in countries where female signatories were present twenty years later. According to my understanding, this indicated that girls' access to education might have a positive effect on women's inclusion in peacebuilding.

Second conducted analysis and presented findings were introduced through the *regression results and analysis*. The purpose of the quantitative analysis was to examine how the casualties between girls' access to primary education and female inclusion in peacebuilding can be demonstrated. The thesis' overarching hypothesis was that the less gender equal access to primary education, the lower chance of global peace and security. Global peace and security was in turn argued to become institutionalised once the number of women in peace processes increased and conflict resolution thus became gender equal. The claim was investigated by conducting an OLS regression analysis, incorporating a bivariate (1), and a multivariate (2) linear examination, and hence, compiling the linkage between the dependent, independent, and control variables. The study's analysis, step by step, is to be found in the R-script, attached under Appendix A. *Table 4* below introduced the findings,

which illustrated the causality between girls' access to primary education and women's inclusion in peacebuilding.

Table 4. *Regression analysis table.* The impact girls' access to primary education had on women's inclusion in peacebuilding per signed agreement, 1991-2011. Missing data excluded.

	<i>Dependent variable:</i>	
	Female signatories	
	(1)	(2)
School Enrolment	0.004*** (0.001)	0.002* (0.001)
Warring Parties		0.020*** (0.006)
Democracy		0.008 (0.049)
Gender Quotas		0.217** (0.087)
Female Combatants		0.022 (0.021)
Political Rights		0.081*** (0.009)
Constant	-0.009 (0.060)	-0.694*** (0.091)
Observations	242	242
R ²	0.074	0.366
Adjusted R ²	0.070	0.350
Residual Std. Error	0.405 (df = 240)	0.339 (df = 235)
F Statistic	19.075*** (df = 1; 240)	22.601*** (df = 6; 235)
<i>Note:</i>		
* p<0.1; ** p<0.05; *** p<0.01		
SE in parantheses		

According to Kellstedt and Whitten, a p-value below 0.05 is considered to provide a statistically significant analysis.²⁰⁹ The bivariate OLS regression analysis, presented under column 1 in *Table 4*, examined the dependent and independent variables' statistical significance and covariation. As the independent variable's indicator, school enrolment, provided a p-value of less than 0.01, I concluded that it was statistically significant. Hence, girls' access to primary education had a statistically significant relationship with female signatories – the indicator for women's inclusion in peacebuilding. This, at a ninety nine percent confidence level. However, the effect was small as an increase in school enrolment with one single value can be interpreted to increase the likelihood of female signatories' presence with only 0.4 percent. This indicated that if school enrolment's standard deviation would increase (= 31.71), the likelihood for presence of female signatories would likewise increase with $(0.004 * 31.71)$ thirteen percent. Furthermore, the bivariate model's coefficient consisted of a positive value. I found that school enrollment had a higher likelihood to contribute to the presence of female signatories, and thus to women's inclusion in peacebuilding. Given that the p-value is identified to be below 0.05, I conclude that the confidence level is higher than ninety five percent. Hence, the chance of a falsely rejected null hypothesis is low.²¹⁰ However, to further investigate whether this linkage applied and to examine whether external components might influence the findings, a multivariate OLS regression analysis was conducted.

The multivariate analysis was presented under column 2 in *Table 4* and investigated the first established linkage, incorporating the five control variables. The multivariate model revealed, according to my interpretation, that the independent variable's coefficient decreased to 0.002. Although a slightly changed value, the linkage prevailed positive, meaning that girls' access to primary education still seemed to have a positive impact on female signatories' presence in peacebuilding. The decreased value in the coefficient was explained by the variables in *Model 2*, which seemed to have a higher explanation value. Like in the bivariate model, the multivariate model showed a statistically significant relationship, providing a p-value below 0.05. Except incorporating external components

²⁰⁹ Paul M. Kellstedt & Guy D. Whitten, *The fundamentals of political science research*, Second edition ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 147-150.

²¹⁰ Kellstedt & Whitten 2013, pp.147-148.

consisting of control variables, the multivariate analysis provided the ‘best fit’, presented by the adjusted R-square rate, which showed a value of 0.366. According to my perception, this implied that the multivariate model explained thirty five percent (see the adjusted R² value in *Table 4*) of the variation. The adjusted R² value increased drastically from *Model 1* to *Model 2*. Thus, my main variable, school enrolment, explained little of the variation.

4.2 Education’s impact on inclusive peacebuilding

The qualitative analysis was conducted by repeatedly reading the selected biographies about Agda Rössel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The stories revealed both what attending school meant for the two women and what other possible factors might have contributed to their career paths.

The biography about Agda Rössel was published in 2019 by her distant relative, the Swedish journalist Elin Jäderström. It was, according to Aftonbladet’s review, a sympathetic personal portrait with a balanced narrative about private events and public episodes. The story has not been told before, as Rössel never found it meaningful to share. Despite her restraints and perhaps also because of them, Jäderström chose to tell Rössel’s incredible story the way she interpreted it hundred seven years after Rössel’s birth.²¹¹

The biography about Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was published in 2018 by Helene Cooper, an American-Liberian journalist whose home country, Liberia, had undergone incredible transformations in the early 2000s. One of them was the appointment of Liberia’s new president in 2005: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The biography revealed details about Johnson Sirleaf’s incredible life and career, while incorporating local elements that nuance the reader’s understanding of both Liberia’s history and the role Johnson Sirleaf played in it.²¹² As wisely framed by Washington Post’s review, Cooper’s book about Johnson Sirleaf tells a narrative beyond an individual’s life portrait. It presents the human destiny of broken

²¹¹ Elin Jäderström, *Hennes excellens Agda Rössel: från banvaktstugan till FN-skrapan* (Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2019), p. 11.

²¹² Helene Cooper, *Madame President: the extraordinary journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf*, First Simon&Schuster trade paperback edition ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2018), p. 13.

barriers, as well as the story of Liberia as a country.²¹³ Through the various layers of her book, Cooper managed to highlight various aspects of relevance for this thesis' analysis.

Agda Rössel (1910-2001) was the world's first woman appointed to the UN's General Assembly. She became known for both her upward social mobility from northern Sweden's Gällivare to UN headquarters, and her contributions to human rights.



Agda Rössel in 1959.²¹⁴

²¹³ Cooper 2018, p. 1.

²¹⁴ Agda Rössel on her way to represent Sweden in 1959. Photo: Kerstin Strömberg/TT. <https://www.ushnorrbotten.se/sv/fodelse/agda-rossel/> [accessed 2023-05-01].

Rössel's focused work on migration, women and children, and death penalty, made her one of the greatest female pioneers of her time.²¹⁵ Although not directly working as a peace negotiator or mediator, Rössel undoubtedly contributed to future generations' perspective of female inclusion within peacebuilding. Being a diplomat, international head of Save the Children during World War II, Swedish representative to the UN Human Rights Commission and the first female to lead a UN delegation, Rössel undeniably paved the way for increased female inclusion in decision-making positions.²¹⁶ Guided by Labov's organisational structure for retranscription, I identified elements of interest in data found by reading and transcribing the biography about Agda Rössel (see Appendix B). Organising my reading and transcription through the five components provided by Labov, I was able to extract data sequences of relevance for my analysis. Within these sequences, I could establish ten themes of interest that occurred in the biography about Rössel. The theme of *childhood* referred to episodes during Rössel's upbringing that I found meaningful. *Setting* highlighted the time in history and circumstances that might have affected both Rössel as a person, and her choices in life. *Network* described her inclusion in social surroundings that I interpret had an impact on her. *Destiny* introduced the unpredictable events that might have affected Rössel. *Geography* highlighted meaningful events that occurred in connection to geographical relocation. *Personal interests and traits* described attributes in Rössel's personality that by the author were featured as beneficial. *Support from home*, although being closely connected to the theme of childhood, defined Rössel's family's encouragement throughout her life. *Education/School* illustrated how the meaning of learning was portrayed in the biography. *Relationships* characterised companionship I found of importance for the interpretation of Rössel's life path. Finally, *Benefits* specified privilege and advantageous positions that I believe might have had an impact on Rössel's career. These themes were further explored in a coding sheet (see Appendix C), in which I divided each thematically organised retranscription into grouped segments to search for patterns. Mapping out the patterns, valuable findings presented below were revealed.

²¹⁵ Jäderström 2019.

²¹⁶ Agda Rössel, *Women in Peace*, n.d., <https://www.womeninpeace.org/r-names/2017/7/14/agda-rossel> [accessed 2023-05-05].

Although continuously mentioned, Rössel's access to primary education did not itself dominate the narrative's development. Instead, her personality, together with authorisation through external encouragement, did. Rössel was from an early age curious about the world:

“Early during her schooling in Gällivare, Agda came into contact with what would bring her joy for the rest of her life, namely reading and books.”²¹⁷

Rössel enjoyed reading books from an early age, something that would follow her throughout life. This personality trait has recurrently been mentioned as a benefit in Rössel's career. Although being featured as part of her nature, I argue that her enthusiasm towards learning, and understanding the world, evidently was encouraged by her parents:

“At the kitchen table at the Jäderströms' home, the waves of political discussions ran high, and the young Agda listened as often as she had the chance. In several interviews as an adult, she has told about when her father urged her to read the editorial page herself if she wanted to understand the conversation. This despite the fact that she was only seven years old.”²¹⁸

At the age of seven, Rössel's father would encourage her to read the newspaper to follow political discussions at home. The seeds for Rössel's interests undeniably seemed to be planted by her parents at her home. They were further able to develop when Rössel received the opportunity to continue her education after primary school, something that was not obvious for girls at the time.²¹⁹ Rössel was not only supported by her parents and through her education. Her siblings, four brothers and one sister, likewise encouraged her, where primarily her brothers were portrayed as role models.²²⁰ Except for Rössel's social and supportive working class home, there are two aspects in Jäderström's narrative that

²¹⁷ Elin Jäderström, *Hennes excellens Agda Rössel: från banvaktstugan till FN-skrapan* (Bokförlaget Atlantis, 2019), p. 23. *Own translation. Original quote in Swedish:* “Tidigt under skolgången i Gällivare kom Agda i kontakt med vad som skulle komma att skänka henne glädje resten av livet, nämligen läsning och böcker.”

²¹⁸ Jäderström 2019, p. 21. *Original quote in Swedish:* “Vid köksbordet hemma hos Jäderströms gick de politiska diskussionernas vågor höga, och den unga Agda lyssnade så ofta hon hade tillfälle. Hon har i flera intervjuer som vuxen berättat om när pappan uppmanade henne att själv läsa ledarsidan om hon ville förstå samtalet. Detta trots att hon bara var sju år.”

²¹⁹ Jäderström 2019, pp. 24-25.

²²⁰ Jäderström 2019, p. 27.

stand out as particularly influential towards Rössel's career development. The first element was Rössel's relocation to Stockholm, which opened up new opportunities in regards to advancing studies, developing inclusion in social networks, and career opportunities.²²¹ The second aspect was the time in which Rössel grew up, and lived in. She not only witnessed women obtaining the right to vote in 1921,²²² but was also engaged in women's movements herself :

“Even during the years after her graduation in 1939, what was called at that time as ‘women’s issues’, were at the centre. The work she began at SARA continued when, in October 1941, she was hand-picked for the assignment as ombudsman for the union ‘Kvinnliga Telefonisttjänstemannaföreningen’.”²²³

Within the women's movement, Rössel had the opportunity to work with like-minded role models and build a strong inclusion in social networks. This inclusion seemed to have had a great impact on Rössel's career as she established herself among future employers. Through these networks, she developed close relationships with people possessing well-established positions within the movements, and she obtained favourable posts herself.²²⁴ As interpreted through Jäderström's presented narrative, these positions came to Rössel by primarily two coincidental events. First, Sweden's former minister of foreign affairs, Östen Undén, was determined to invest in women within the diplomatic job market, opening up the doors for Rössel.²²⁵ Second, Eleanor Roosevelt was appointed greater responsibility when her husband and former U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt became ill. Mrs Roosevelt and Rössel got along well, which according to Jäderström contributed to Rössel's blooming international career.²²⁶ Rössel possessed several personal attributes which endeared her to the surrounding network. Except for being perceived as social and

²²¹ Jäderström 2019, p. 38.

²²² Jäderström 2019, p. 22.

²²³ Jäderström 2019, p. 48. *Own translation. Original quote in Swedish:* “Även under åren efter hennes examen 1939 stod vad man på den här tiden kallade kvinnofrågor i centrum. Det arbete hon påbörjat vid SARA fortsatte när hon, i oktober 1941, handplockades till uppdraget som ombudsman för fackförbundet Kvinnliga Telefonisttjänstemannaföreningen.”

²²⁴ Jäderström 2019, p. 50.

²²⁵ Jäderström 2019, p. 82.

²²⁶ Jäderström 2019, p. 101.

welcoming, Rössel got along well with her male colleagues, something that Jäderström argues was a product of growing up with four brothers.²²⁷

Based on the qualitative analysis of personal narratives in the biography about Agda Rössel, I conclude that her access to primary education did not alone influence Rössel's inclusion in diplomacy. Instead, her access to primary education opened up possibilities to engage in matters of subjective interest. In Rössel's case, this was the women's movement, which also was high on the agenda during this time in history. Other components, besides primary education, clearly generated the quantitative established linkage (see section 4.1.2). For Rössel, I conclude that there was a combination of components contributing to this outcome. First, *environmental impact*, consisting of the time in which Rössel lived, together with unpredicted coincidences had a meaningful influence. Second, *authorisation* and *inclusion*, composed by support from home and strong inclusion in social networks, paved the way for Rössel's growth. *Skills* and *personality*, outlined by Rössel's knowledge and personal traits, contributed to her progress. In sum, I argue that her primary education enabled Rössel possibilities which she, based on her personal traits, chose to place in women's movements. This in turn was the beginning of her career.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (1938) was the president of Liberia between the years 2006-2017. Being the first woman as head of state in Africa, she fought for women's increased participation in peacebuilding. This became an internationally recognised effort for which Ellen was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 2011.²²⁸ Being married at the age of seventeen, Johnson Sirleaf's life certainly transformed when she a couple of years later obtained her master's degree from Harvard University and began working for the Liberian government. Before becoming president, Johnson Sirleaf was both imprisoned and lived in exile. She likewise served as Liberia's minister of finance under Samuel K. Doe's dictatorship.²²⁹

²²⁷ Jäderström 2019, pp. 180-181.

²²⁸ Women's Participation in Peace Processes, *Council on Foreign Relations*, n.d., <https://www.cfr.org/womens-participation-in-peace-processes/> [accessed 2023-05-04].

²²⁹ Helene Cooper, *Madame President: the extraordinary journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf*, First Simon&Schuster trade paperback edition ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster Paperbacks, 2018).



Ellen Johnson Sirleaf in 2011.²³⁰

This part of my qualitative analysis was not only guided by Labov's organisational structure for re-transcription, but likewise unintentionally by my previous analysis of Agda Rössel as that was the first biography I read for the purpose of my study. On these grounds, I established components of significance in data found by reading and transcribing the biography about Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. I used identical themes as identified in my previous analysis about Rössel. Both due to compatibility reasons, but also because my perspective was unconsciously affected by the already-established qualitative findings.

²³⁰ Ellen Johnson Sirleaf – Facts. NobelPrize.org. Nobel Prize Outreach AB 2023.
https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2011/johnson_sirleaf/facts/ [accessed 2023-05-01])

Although belonging to Liberia's upper middle class and having attended an elite high school, Johnson Sirleaf married at an early age and did not pursue a career until after her four children were born.²³¹ Due to her mother's German heritage, and her father's profession as a lawyer, Johnson Sirleaf had good possibilities of receiving a scholarship when pursuing her education in the U.S.²³² Johnson Sirleaf's family not only provided her with societal status, but also with encouragement:

"One little girl, delivered in the back bedroom of her family's house on Benson Street in Monrovia on October 29, 1938, was, her relatives believed, destined for great things. After all, the Old Man, one of the many prophets who wandered through Monrovia spreading their wisdom, predicted it when he showed up at Carney and Martha Johnson's half-concrete house days after the birth of baby Ellen — nicknamed Red Pumpkin because she was 'red like one pumpkin' — to have a look at the baby. 'This child will be great,' he said, after peering into the crib. 'This child is going to lead.'"²³³

Johnson Sirleaf, being "armed with that prophecy", was thus determined to live an outstanding life.²³⁴ Being surrounded by accomplished family members and friends who both worked and studied abroad, Johnson Sirleaf's surroundings had high expectations for her, and this inevitably affected her own confidence.²³⁵ However, it was not until after having experienced domestic abuse by her husband (whom she later divorced) that Johnson Sirleaf engaged herself in the women's movement, urging to support women's rights:

"Little girls do not come out of the womb vowing to become activists for female power. They don't spend their childhood thinking about how they will repair the indignities, large and small, that bleed women daily. It's a series of things that multiply and turn ordinary women into movements of female determination. You're living your life, sweeping floors at Rennebohm Drug Store in Madison, Wisconsin, when your husband storms in to yell at you in front of your white boss lady. You're huddling with your sons inside your house at night, wondering what catastrophe awaits you, while that same husband sits in his parked car outside for hours. You're stunned by the violent shock of a

²³¹ Cooper 2018, pp. 5-6.

²³² Cooper 2018, pp. 9-10.

²³³ Cooper 2018, p. 1.

²³⁴ Cooper 2018, p. 2.

²³⁵ Cooper 2018, p. 2.

hand slapping your face, delivered by the man who promised to love, honor, and cherish you till death do you part”.²³⁶

Johnson Sirleaf favoured democracy and engaged in society in various ways aiming to make it better.²³⁷ Given her possibilities to both study and work abroad, Johnson Sirleaf developed a strong inclusion in networks to her career’s benefit.²³⁸ In her profession, Johnson Sirleaf was perceived as strong and sometimes cold, a personal trait the author argued might have benefited her work.²³⁹

According to the qualitative study of the biography about Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, I conclude that, like in Agda Rössel’s case, primary education alone did not contribute to Johnson Sirleaf’s inclusion in peacebuilding. However, I claim that it might have been an initial step towards evolving her personal interest and engagement in society. As a child, Johnson Sirleaf dreamed of becoming a schoolteacher.²⁴⁰ While analysing the book, I cannot help but wonder if this still would have been the case if Johnson Sirleaf would not have experienced unrest. Hence, I argue that Johnson Sirleaf’s engagement in peacebuilding, like in Rössel’s situation, was strongly dependent on the political situation in the women’s respective home countries at the time, and thus, *environmental impact*. Furthermore, *authorisation* through external encouragement, and *inclusion* in networks seemed to be a recurring theme in the analysis of Johnson Sirleaf’s narrative. Authorisation was observed in the form of societal status that her family had due to the parents’ heritage and profession. This in turn resulted in close connections within the upper middle class in Liberia and acquaintances abroad, enabling Johnson Sirleaf to attend school locally as well as abroad. Given the traumatic experiences of imprisonment and living in exile, I interpret that Johnson Sirleaf developed a strong *personality*, which likewise seemed to benefit her in her career path and engagement for peace. In sum, I conclude that primary school was not the only reason for why Johnson Sirleaf got included in peacebuilding. However, her early education assisted her in finding a career-ladder to climb on.

²³⁶ Cooper 2018, p. 87.

²³⁷ Cooper 2018, p. 141.

²³⁸ Cooper 2018, p. 119.

²³⁹ Cooper 2018, pp. 153-154, 200.

²⁴⁰ Cooper 2018, p. 87.

4.3 Discussion

Despite coming from different social classes and backgrounds, both Agda Rössel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf attended primary school. This was central to later give them access to educational structures such as secondary, upper secondary, and higher education. As confirmed by Buckland, primary school outlines the ground of the whole education structure.²⁴¹

I answer my first research question by quantitatively concluding that there is a linkage between girls' access to primary education and women's inclusion in peacebuilding. Despite this finding, the answer to my second research question reveals that qualitative findings offer alternative nuances to the quantitative result. The analysis of the biographical narratives highlights that primary education indeed is crucial. However it does alone not necessarily lead to an increased participation among women in peacebuilding or other diplomatic positions. Instead, primary education functions as a formal admission ticket to various professional career opportunities. How this significant ticket further becomes utilised is determined by complementing factors. In both Rössel's and Johnson Sirleaf's situations, their personal traits seem to have been of great importance. These traits, I argue, are in turn formed through education in collaboration with external encouragement such as support from home during their childhoods. This is confirmed in research conducted by Abuya et al. who argue that parents' and caregiver's role-modelling to their daughters is important.²⁴² I refer to this external encouragement support as 'authorisation'. Furthermore, Rössel's and Johnson Sirleaf's inclusion in networks is identified as a significant component to the formation of their careers. The relationship to networks has further been found to be of significance in research conducted by Krause et al., who argue that strong linkage between female inclusion and peace, depend on women's connections to WCSOs.²⁴³ However, what differs in the two biographical cases is when the inclusion in

²⁴¹ Peter Buckland, *Reshaping the Future: Education and Post-Conflict Reconstruction* (The World Bank Group, 2005), p. 32.

²⁴² B. A. Abuya, W. M. Ngware, M. Mutisya & M. Nyariro, "Girls' primary education and transition to secondary school in Nairobi: perceptions of community members at the onset of an education intervention", *International Journal of Adolescence and Youth* 22:3 (2017), doi:10.1080/02673843.2016.1185446, p. 349.

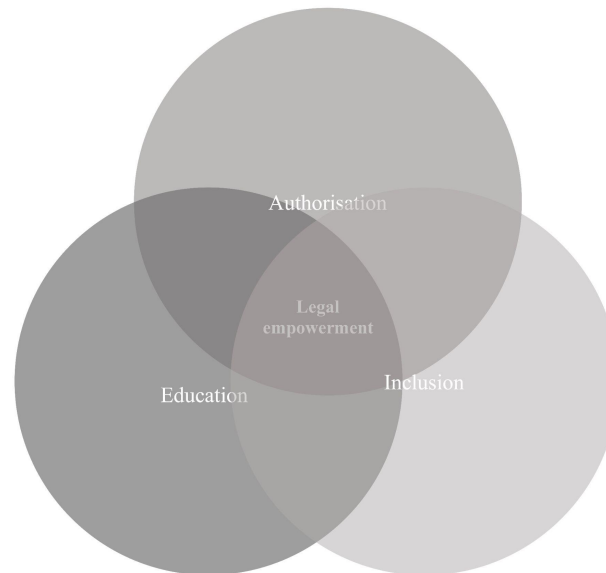
²⁴³ Jana Krause, Werner Krause & Piia Bränfors, "Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations and the Durability of Peace", *International Interactions* 44:6 (2018), doi:10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386, p. 987.

networks is established. The two women came from different social classes. Johnson Sirleaf was included in a beneficial network from birth, while Rössel composed her network by own means. Although this was the case, the women's social background did not seem to have any larger impact on their future careers. While I argue this, I likewise acknowledge that class as well as social background might play an important role for access to education in other cases than those my qualitative analysis has covered. Furthermore, one particular component seems to have an outstanding impact on both Rössel's and Johnson Sirleaf's career paths, namely the involvement in the women's movement. Both women fought for women's rights from an early stage in their professional development, which clearly contributed to professional growth in an inclusive direction. I argue that this element derives from environmental impact, referring to the time and place the women lived in. In sum, I conclude that primary school, although being a significant component, did not itself lead to Rössel's or Johnson Sirleaf's inclusion in peacebuilding. Instead, their education opened up possibilities that were also determined by complementary factors. The factors of interest that I identify consist of education together with authorisation and inclusion. I argue that while generating legal empowerment, the factors are likewise constituted by legal empowerment. The individual interaction between education, inclusion, and authorisation promotes an empowerment, which Agda Rössel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf chose to invest in what I would identify as peacebuilding.

Nuancing the linkage between access to education and inclusion in peacebuilding throughout my thesis, the two socio-legal topics of legal feminism and global peace and security are merged. This constitutes what I attribute as 'legal security feminism', and answers my third research question by generating a theory on the linkage between girls' education and female inclusion. To elaborate on the findings that this thesis brings to the developed theoretical concept, I present a conceptual framework highlighting the core components that affect girls and women in relation to peace, and hence, legal feminism in the field of global peace and security. As presented in *Figure 6* on the following page, I

claim that education combined with authorisation through external empowerment and inclusion in networks, both constitute, and are generated by legal empowerment.

Figure 5. *Conceptual framework of Legal Security Feminism*



Based on previous research on the RoL (see section 2.2.4), I argue that primary education contributes to girls' and women's increased awareness of how to use their knowledge and rights.²⁴⁴ I claim that possessing such an understanding generates legal empowerment among the individuals. Both the education and legal empowerment does further enhance the individuals external encouragement and support, leading to authorisation. Pizzamiglio and Kovca's research on legal empowerment reveals that legally empowered girls and women tend to have an increased understanding of their rights over time and are therefore at a chance to participate more in, i.e., peacebuilding.²⁴⁵ Hence, I claim that both

²⁴⁴ How education can strengthen the rule of law, *UNESCO*, 17/2 2019, <https://www.unesco.org/en/articles/how-education-can-strengthen-rule-law> [accessed 2023-05-04].

²⁴⁵ Raffaella Pizzamiglio & Pamela Kovacs, "Accelerating Women's Empowerment Through Legal Empowerment and Social Accountability Strategies: International Development Law Organization (IDLO)", *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities* 22:3 (2021), doi:10.1080/19452829.2021.1890005, p. 517.

authorisation and legal empowerment additionally enables inclusion among these individuals. While arguing that legal empowerment is beneficial, it is worth noting that it might depend on the law itself. Unfortunately, not all laws are favourable and jurisprudence has many times shown to discriminate against people instead of empowering them. One recent example is Uganda's so-called "anti-gay law".²⁴⁶ Although choosing to bring light to what I identify as 'positive legislation' in my thesis, such as the UNSC resolution on the protection of education in conflict zones, it is crucial not to overlook the negative aspects jurisprudence can bring. While the power of law can indeed help people, it can likewise control them. Based on this, I do acknowledge that my thesis overall applies a partially uncritical legal path, allowing for favourable outcomes of legal amendments to be presumed.

The presented arguments are supported by two theories from the discipline of SoL: legal positivism and theory of justice. Given the theories' perspectives on laws' construction, and backing of both the UNSC resolution on the protection of education in conflict zones and the CRC, I find them significant to support my findings. Legal positivism, first developed by Jeremy Bentham and John Austin, was by the latter legal philosopher, Austin, explained as follows:

"The existence of law is one thing; its merit and demerit another. Whether it be or be not is one enquiry; whether it be or be not conformable to an assumed standard, is a different enquiry."²⁴⁷

Based on this definition, I interpret that legal positivism considers a law being formed once it has been established by one equipped with the authorisation to create it.²⁴⁸ Thus, legal positivism does, according to my understanding, not consider a law's pros, cons, nor

²⁴⁶ Linn Koch-Emmery, "Uganda inför ny antigaylag – homosexualitet kan leda till dödsstraff". SVT.. 29/5 2023. <https://www.svt.se/nyheter/utrikes/uganda-infor-ny-antigay-lag-homosexualitet-kan-leda-till-dodsstraff> [accessed 2023-06-01].

²⁴⁷ Legal positivism, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 3/1 2003, <https://plato.stanford.edu/Entries/legal-positivism/> [accessed 2023-05-08].

²⁴⁸ Legal positivism, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

interests. Instead, it can be perceived to outline law's fulfilment as a phenomenon built on communal experience. Furthermore, H. L. A. Hart does additionally theorise Bentham's and Austin's reasoning.²⁴⁹ He claims that laws are constructed by humans and that jurisprudence hence cannot be linked to righteousness.²⁵⁰ Thus, from a legal positivist point of view, law as a social construction does not necessarily appease "ideals of justice, democracy, or the rule of law".²⁵¹ Legal positivism does thus argue that a law can be "legally valid" although being "morally unjust".²⁵² It shows that laws could be "legally-legitimate" due to their social construction although being principally discriminatory.²⁵³ Hence, I conclude that legal positivism can also work the other way around, where laws likewise can be valid while being fundamentally fair. By this I am arguing that if law is interpreted as being a social construction through a legal positivist's lens, then law can be reconstructed. In other words, I claim that what humans create can be changed, which exemplifies the power of law. In this regard, I argue that both education and gender equality generally are governed by socially constructed national law. This demonstrates that once an individual with enough authorisation to reconstruct the law applies their powers to establish legal change, this materialises without any regards to the jurisprudence's morality. One example of this is the newly adapted regulations in Afghanistan. After the Taliban's takeover in 2021, girls above the age of 12 are no longer allowed to pursue an education.²⁵⁴ Being socially constructed, this is an unfair but legally valid regulation in Afghanistan. Thus, the outcome for girls in Afghanistan might have been contrasting if the socially constructed legal regulations would differ. By this, I claim that it is not the power of law, but the human authorisation to develop law that directs how people shall live their lives. Hence, based on the theory of legal positivism, I conclude that if socially constructed legalisation can prioritise to provide education for girls and gender

²⁴⁹ Nicola Lacey, "Law in the Perspective of Philosophy: Causation in the Law, The Concept of Law", in *A Life of H.L.A. Hart*, Lacey, Nicola, 1 ed. (Oxford University Press Oxford, 2006), p. 225.

²⁵⁰ Lacey 2006, p. 225.

²⁵¹ Legal positivism, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, 3/1 2003, <https://plato.stanford.edu/Entries/legal-positivism/> [accessed 2023-05-08].

²⁵² Legal positivism, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

²⁵³ Legal positivism, *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.

²⁵⁴ Afghanistan school year starts without millions of teenage girls, *Aljazeera*, 23/3 2023. <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2023/3/23/afghanistan-school-year-starts-without-teenage-girls>, [accessed 2023-05-04].

equality, girls and women can become socially included and thus legally empowered. Therefore, I see no justification in not applying the UNSC resolution on the protection of education in conflict zones, nor following the articles in the CRC.

Grounded on the theory of justice, I moreover argue that legal empowerment can generate gender equality. The theory of justice was first coined by John Rawls, who defines it by the two steps as follows:

- “1. Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal basic liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all.
2. Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both:
 - (a) to be greatest benefit of the least advantaged, consistent with the just savings principle, and
 - (b) attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity”.²⁵⁵

Peterdy simplifies this interpretation and translates it into the understanding that all human beings have identical rights “to basic liberties”, as well as that every individual “should have the right to opportunities and an equal chance as other individuals of similar ability”.²⁵⁶ The theory of justice thus supports the argument that girls should have the right to a fair socially constructed jurisprudence, i.e., to education that further allows legal empowerment. By possessing the rights ‘to basic liberties’ and ‘equal chance as other individuals’, which I interpret can be translated into ‘legal empowerment’, I argue that gender equality can be generated. While presenting this claim, I take the liberty to freely interpret Rawls’ theory of justice. In his arguments about the theory, Rawls does not explicitly mention neither women’s role nor gender equality.²⁵⁷ However, given his generic definition, consisting of statements like ‘each person’ and ‘fair equality’, I interpret that girls, and women, should be treated as included in Rawls’ rationale about justice. Hence, based on the theory of justice, I argue that all girls’ should have the right “to opportunities

²⁵⁵ John Rawls, *A theory of justice*, Rev. ed ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 266.

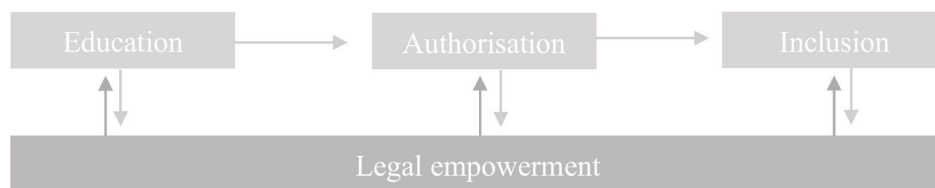
²⁵⁶ A Theory of Justice, *CFI*, 8/3 2023, <https://corporatefinanceinstitute.com/resources/esg/a-theory-of-justice/> [accessed 2023-05-04]

²⁵⁷ Susan Moller, Okin. “Justice and Gender.” *Philosophy & Public Affairs* 16, no. 1 (1987): 42–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2265205>, p. 45.

and an equal chance as other individuals”, i.e., education and legal empowerment, and that this can be advantageous for “greatest benefit of the least advantaged”, i.e., benefit enhanced gender equality.²⁵⁸

Based on my quantitative and qualitative findings, I not only reveal that access to primary education allows authorisation and inclusion to flourish in a way that may generate women’s inclusion in peacebuilding. I also outline the investigated theoretical pathway in a framework supported by legal positivism and theory of justice. The core aspects supporting the framework are grounded on legal empowerment, a process which allows the disadvantaged to understand and use the legal system for the protection of their own rights.²⁵⁹ To become legally empowered, education is crucial. It generates authorisation, which in turn engenders inclusion. I see this linkage going in various directions, as explained by *Figure 7* below. As this statement is based on a somewhat general perspective of law, it is worth noting that legal reforms can have contrasting roles in various jurisdictions. Hence, I interpret that, e.g., international law and national law consists of various components, different processes, and thus have a contrasting effect on people’s lives. Due to the limited scope of my thesis, I do not go into a deeper discussion in this regard, however, I do acknowledge that both my analysis and discussion would benefit from such a debate.

Figure 6. *Linkages within the conceptual framework*



²⁵⁸ John Rawls, *A theory of justice*, Rev. ed ed. (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), p. 266.

²⁵⁹ Lars Waldorf, "Introduction: legal empowerment in transitions", *The International Journal of Human Rights* 19:3 (2015), doi:10.1080/13642987.2015.1029335, p. 230.

Hence, I argue that the three components of education, authorisation, and inclusion (as well as their intersections) together constitute legal empowerment. Legal empowerment is thus identified as key to transforming institutions, enhancing gender equality in peacebuilding, and generating sustainable peace, as first hypothesised in the causal mechanism in *Figure 3*.

4.4 Limitations and alternative explanations

One limitation of my analysis is based on my thesis' mixed-methods approach. The valuable contribution of providing a more comprehensive understanding of my research problem than a quantitative or qualitative study might have done alone is undoubtedly present. However, my thesis does not go in depth on neither its quantitative nor qualitative examinations. This is not only due to the mixed-methods approach itself, but more a result of the approach in combination with the limited scope of this thesis, together with limitations based on the combination of my qualitative data.

There are existing limitations within each individual research design mainly based on the quantitative and qualitative data used. First, my quantitative dataset on women's inclusion in peacebuilding does only include statistics on female signatories. Thus, it is not representative for all groups of women in peacebuilding such as female negotiators and mediators. Furthermore, as described in section 3.1.1, merging the two datasets creates a common constraint of decreasing the gathered statistics. In this case, it does not execute an issue, but is worthy of mentioning. Additionally, the independent variable of 'women's inclusion in peacebuilding', is measured by examining the presence or absence of female signatories. Although being a solid dataset providing useful information, it does only represent whether female signatories were present during the peace negotiations, not how many they were. However, due to limited data on the phenomenon of interest for this thesis, the presence or absence of female signatories is chosen to represent the independent variable. Second, my qualitative data is based on secondary sources consisting of biographical narratives. Due to this, my subjective interpretation of the narratives are at risk to limit the stories' representation.²⁶⁰ To reduce this risk, the narrative approach is mainly

²⁶⁰ Catherine Kohler Riessman, "Narrative Analysis", in A. M. Huberman & Matthew B. Miles (eds.), *The qualitative researcher's companion* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2002), p. 228.

used in ‘natural narratives’ where the source is based on primary oral origin.²⁶¹ Hence, using secondary sources in my thesis outlines one limitation. However, the main identified limitation of my qualitative data is based on the two biographies representation of time and setting. Rössel’s and Johnson Sirleaf’s narratives represent both a variation in the given time periods, both also in the representation of geographical areas. This affects the comparison possibilities, and makes it difficult to draw valid conclusions of the qualitative analysis. Although being the case, it is likewise of significance to mention that my qualitative data still allows me to observe a broader area of interest, highlighting it from various angles. It increases the representation of women more than it would if I, e.g., would have looked at two similar cases from Sweden from the same period of time, even though this alternative might have generated more reliable results. Hence, I interpret that there are advantages and disadvantages with both data-sample approaches. Within the scope of this thesis, and with the available qualitative empirical material, I identify a choice between choosing data that generates results with comparable patterns, or findings allowing for border representation. Due to both limited access to suitable sources, and due to a globally broad representation in my quantitative data, I chose qualitative empirical material with a broader geographical and historical representation.

As the limitations are identified, alternative explanations defining the presented results can be disclosed. The positive quantitative relationship between the studied variables may depend on the representation of only female signatories. If a dataset covering all female groups would have been accessible, this might have generated other results. Conducting the qualitative analysis, I find alternative explanations to the quantitatively established linkage. However, these results are also determined by the availability of publicly accessible data, meaning that using primary sources instead might generate other explanations.

²⁶¹ Riessman 2022, p. 262.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

I have investigated how the causal relationship between girls' access to primary education and female inclusion in peacebuilding can be demonstrated. My study was built on a mixed methods explanatory sequential design, aspiring to answer three research questions. First, I quantitatively examined the casualties between girls' access to primary education and female inclusion in peacebuilding. This study was conducted through an OLS regression analysis, measuring the indicators of school enrolment and female signatories in a merged dataset. Despite its data-based limitations, my analysis presented a statistical significant relationship between access to education and inclusion in peacebuilding ($p < 0.05$). The findings introduced a positively skewed relationship between the variables, which rejected the null hypothesis and confirmed that access to primary education might contribute to inclusion in peacebuilding. Second, I qualitatively investigated personal narratives in biographies about Agda Rössel and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf. The ambition was to explore the quantitatively established results by investigating what other factors, besides access to education, that may contribute to female inclusion in peacebuilding. The identified components consisted, except education, of authorisation and inclusion. I argued that these components were significant as they promoted legal security through empowerment. Third, this argument further answered my third research question by proposing that the quantitatively and qualitatively established components generated a theory on legal security feminism. Moreover, based on my hypothesis, I suggested that the more access to primary education among girls, the higher chance of global peace and security. According to the liberal feminist theory and Krause et al.'s theoretical argument on female inclusion and peace-durability, I presented a causal mechanism. The suggested path claimed that girls' access to education generated legal empowerment, which led to transformations within institutions and thus enhanced gender equality. This in turn contributed to gender inclusive peacebuilding, which led to sustainable global peace and security. Having conducted my analysis and presented its findings, I only scratched the surface of a much broader research

field. This opened up possibilities for future research based on my suggestions as follows. First, future quantitative research would benefit from taking the fourth criteria for causality into account, and investigating the causal mechanism's correlation. Second, given that my study's data on women's inclusion in peacebuilding was limited to female signatories, I would suggest that future research considers developing a dataset including all groups of women active in peacebuilding. Third, my quantitative analysis could benefit from additional control variables on, e.g., economy and culture. Forth, I would suggest conducting a large-n qualitative study consisting of either more biographies or autobiographies analysed through a QCA, or alternatively interviews, analysed through this thesis given method. A particularly interesting strategy would be to apply a comparison approach to a future qualitative interview-based analysis to further nuance variances in time and setting among access to education and inclusion in peacebuilding. Fifth, a future study would benefit from applying a more critical perspective on rule of law, and discussing the meaning of contrasting roles of law in various jurisprudences. Sixth, one particular future consideration that could improve this given study is by looking at qualitative empirical material from the same period of time and geographical region. This could be conducted by, e.g., comparing the biography about Agda Rössel, to narratives about Alva Myrdal. Myrdal was a Swedish human rights activist that was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1982.²⁶² She was just eight years older than Rössel, worked in the same field, and would thus constitute suitable data for this thesis. The reason why Myrdal has not been portrayed in my thesis depends on my personal lack of knowledge – I was not aware of Myrdal until the end of my writing process. However, it is worth pointing out that my lack of knowledge in turn, could be an effect of how historical women generally are forgotten in our society, which again highlights the importance of my thesis' topic. Fifth, as my qualitative results revealed that various components are crucial for children to develop, thrive, and establish a solid ground for their adult life and career, it would be of interest for future research to incorporate a discussion on the Agenda 2030 and the CRC. The convention's articles five

²⁶² Alva Myrdal. *Den Store Danske*, n.d., https://denstoredanske.lex.dk/Alva_Myrdal [accessed 2023-06-01].

and twenty eight could, i.e., be of interest, as they highlight both the importance of caregiver support, and right to education.²⁶³

The significance of my findings were based on the presented linkage between education and inclusion. It showed that primary education played an important role, but that it was not the only component of significance. Therefore, women's inclusion in peacebuilding showed to be important. It became obvious that girls accessing education is crucial, but likewise that strengthening other parts of their existence is essential as both elements could secure a long-lasting peace and security. I grew up at a time when it generally was more imaginable than ever for the younger generation to obtain a higher education. Today, I dream of my future children to grow up at a time when it is more imaginable than ever for the younger generation, disregarding gender, class or country of origin, to participate in democratic peace processes.

²⁶³ Barnkonventionen, *UNICEF Sverige*, n.d., <https://beta.unicef.se/barnkonventionen/las-texten>, [accessed 2023-05-10].

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. R-script

```
# Title: **QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS FOR MASTER'S THESIS**
### Author: *Michelle Sara Gano*
### Date: *Spring Semester 2023*
### Output: *html_document*

### **SETTINGS:**
#### Find out what version of R I am using:
R.Version()

#### Clean up memory space:
rm(list=ls())

#### Set working directory:
setwd("~/Desktop/R Master Thesis Files/Datasets")

#### Install and run packages:
install.packages("pacman")
pacman::p_load(
  tidyverse,
  rio,
  broom,
  lmtest,
  sandwich,
  stargazer,
  tidylog
)

library(dplyr)
glimpse(mtcars)

library(rio)
install_formats("arrow")
install_formats("feather")
install_formats("fst")
install_formats("hexView")
install_formats("pzfx")
install_formats("readODS")
install_formats("rmatio")

install.packages("tidyr")
library(tidyverse)

### **DATA PREPARATIONS:**

#### Load dv data:
load("data_dv_cv.RData") # named 'table' in data set
table %>% glimpse() # check structure of the data

#### Extract columns:
```

```

cols <- c("year", "iso3c", "fem_sig", "war_par", "hum_rig", "dem", "quo",
"fem_com")
table <- table[, cols] %>%
  rename(country_code = iso3c) #rename for merging
table %>% glimpse()

#### Load iv data:
iv <- import("data_prim_iv.xls") %>%
  select(-c(`Indicator Code`,
            `Indicator Name`,
            `Country Name`))

#### Create long-format iv:
iv_long <- iv %>%
  pivot_longer(cols = -`Country Code`,
               names_to = "year_lagged",
               values_to = "sch_enroll") %>%
  mutate(year_lagged = parse_number(year_lagged)) %>% #numeric year for
merging
  rename(country_code = `Country Code`) %>%
  filter(!is.na(sch_enroll))

iv_long %>% glimpse()

#### Create lagged year variable for 'table':
table$year_lagged <- table$year - 20

#### Merge 'iv' with 'table' by year_lagged and country code:
table_iv <- table %>%
  left_join(iv_long, by=c("year_lagged", "country_code"))

table_iv %>% glimpse()

#### Remove NAs:
table_iv <- na.omit(table_iv)

save(table_iv, file = "Final Dataset_Mar 2023.RData")

### **ANALYSIS:**

##### DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS:
#'
library(stargazer)
#' Hlavac, Marek (2018). stargazer: Well-Formatted Regression and Summary
Statistics      Tables.R      package      version      5.2.2.
https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=stargazer

table_iv_sub <- subset(table_iv, select = c(country_code, year,
year_lagged, fem_sig, sch_enroll, war_par, dem, quo, fem_com, hum_rig ))

#### Loading the following variables in the dataset: IV, DV, 5 control
variavles, variables necessary for merging the original datasets:
table_iv_sub = subset(table_iv, select = c(country_code, year, year_lagged,
fem_sig, sch_enroll, war_par, dem, quo, fem_com, hum_rig ))

```

```
summary(table_iv_sub)
```

```
#### Result:
```

```
#### country_code      year      year_lagged      fem_sig
#### Length:242      Min.      :1991      Min.      :1971      Min.      :0.0000
#### Class :character  1st Qu.:2000      1st Qu.:1980      1st Qu.:0.0000
#### Mode  :character  Median :2004      Median :1984      Median :0.0000
####                               Mean  :2004      Mean  :1984      Mean  :0.2273
####                               3rd Qu.:2008      3rd Qu.:1988      3rd Qu.:0.0000
####                               Max.  :2011      Max.  :1991      Max.  :1.0000

#### sch_enroll      war_par      dem      quo
#### Min.      : 10.30      Min.      : 2.000      Min.      :0.0000      Min.      :0.00000
#### 1st Qu.: 44.36      1st Qu.: 2.000      1st Qu.:0.0000      1st Qu.:0.00000
#### Median : 61.33      Median : 3.000      Median :1.0000      Median :0.00000
#### Mean   : 65.78      Mean   : 4.632      Mean   :0.6364      Mean   :0.07851
#### 3rd Qu.: 92.94      3rd Qu.: 5.000      3rd Qu.:1.0000      3rd Qu.:0.00000
#### Max.   :124.44      Max.   :23.000      Max.   :2.0000      Max.   :1.00000

#### fem_com      hum_rig
#### Min.      :0.000      Min.      : 0.000
#### 1st Qu.:0.000      1st Qu.: 6.000
#### Median :2.000      Median : 8.000
#### Mean   :1.438      Mean   : 8.231
#### 3rd Qu.:2.750      3rd Qu.:11.000
#### Max.   :3.000      Max.   :14.000
```

```
#### Adding standard deviation to descriptive statistics. Bellow follows
standard deviation for all variables:
```

```
#### 'sch_enroll
sch_enroll.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$sch_enroll)
sch_enroll.sd
sch_enroll.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$sch_enroll,na.rm=T)
sch_enroll.sd
#### 31.70804
```

```
#### 'fem_sig
fem_sig.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$fem_sig)
fem_sig.sd
fem_sig.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$fem_sig,na.rm=T)
fem_sig.sd
#### 0.4199387
```

```
#### 'war_par
war_par.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$war_par)
war_par.sd
war_par.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$war_par,na.rm=T)
war_par.sd
#### 4.283651
```

```
#### 'dem
```

```

dem.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$dem)
dem.sd
dem.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$dem,na.rm=T)
dem.sd
#### 0.5903793

####'quo
quo.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$quo)
quo.sd
quo.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$quo,na.rm=T)
quo.sd
#### 0.2695337

####'fem_com
fem_com.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$fem_com)
fem_com.sd
fem_com.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$fem_com,na.rm=T)
fem_com.sd
#### 1.200916

####'hum_rig
hum_rig.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$hum_rig)
hum_rig.sd
hum_rig.sd <- sd(table_iv_sub$hum_rig,na.rm=T)
hum_rig.sd
#### 3.006936

#### HISTOGRAM OF DV AND IV:

#### Dependet variable:
hist(table_iv_sub$fem_sig,main="Female signatories",xlab="Female
signatories", col="lightblue", border="lightblue")

#### Independet variable:
hist(table_iv_sub$sch_enroll,main="School enrolment",xlab="School
enrolment", col="lightblue", border="white")

### OLS REGRESSION

#### Bivariate OLS Regression:
ols <- lm(fem_sig ~ sch_enroll, data = table_iv_sub)
summary(ols)

#### Multivariate OLS Regression:
ols_2 <- lm(fem_sig ~ sch_enroll + war_par + dem + quo + fem_com + hum_rig,
data = table_iv_sub)
summary(ols_2)

#### The package stargazer is used below to show the results in a neater
table:
library(stargazer)
stargazer(ols, type = 'text') #one model
stargazer(ols, ols_2, type = 'text') #shows the results side-by-side

```

```
#### Making analysis into table:
#### Change the DV's name
"dep.var.labels = Female inclusion in peace-building"

#### Table including model 1 (bivariate), and model 2 (multivariate:
model1 <- lm(fem_sig ~ sch_enroll, data = table_iv_sub) #bivariate
model2 <- lm(fem_sig ~ sch_enroll + war_par + dem + quo + fem_com +
hum_rig, data = table_iv_sub) #multivariate

#### Table as html-file:
stargazer(model1,      model2,      type      =      "text",      out      =
"table1version_april2023.html",
          font.size="small", no.space=T, notes= "SE in parantheses",
dep.var.labels = "Female signatories", covariate.labels = c("School
Enrolment", "Warring Parties", "Democracy", "Gender Quotas", "Female
Combatants", "Political Rights"))
```

Appendix B. Transcription

Observed themes

Childhood, marked as orange

Setting, marked as red

Network, marked as light pink

Destiny, marked as brown

Geography, marked as light blue

Personal interests and traits, marked as pink

Support from home, marked as purple

Education/School, marked as green

Relationships, marked as yellow

Benefitis, marked as blue

Labov's framework

Abstract [A]

Orientation [O]

Complicating action [CA]

Evaluation [E]

Resolution [R]

1. *Hennes excellens Agda Rössel : från banvaktstugan till FN-skrapan* by Elin Jäderström (in Swedish)

Page	Rough Transcription extracted from main source	Retranscription
16-17	“Familjen Jäderström bodde vid Kilvo station i ett par år innan de flyttade vidare till nästa stuga, banvaktstuga 53 mellan byarna Nattavaara och Koskivaara några kilometer bort. Agda var för ung för att gå i skolan, men hennes tre äldre bröder åkte tåget fem kilometer till Nattavaras folkskola varje dag.” [CA]	Agda had older brothers whom she saw going to school.
19	“När Agda började skolan på hösten 1917 kunde hon redan läsa. Hon hade lärt sig läsa i femårsåldern, i samband med att den tre år äldre brodern John började skolan. De första åren i folkskolan gick hon i en klass enbart för flickor. När lagen ändrades till att skolklasserna skulle vara blandade välkomnade Agda den nya ordningen. Hon gick också från att ha en kvinnlig mycket religiös lärarinna till en manlig med friare tyglar, även om morgonbönen förstås kvarstod.” [CA]	When Agda started primary school, she could already read as she learned it together with her older brother when he started school. First she went to a school for only girls until the law changed.
19	“Barnen i Agdas skola kom alla från arbetarklass och lägre medelklass. Överklassen var mycket liten i trakten och bara ett fåtal elever i samhället hade föräldrar med ”finare” yrken som läkare, domare och apotekare. Medan barnen var i skolan arbetade fäderna hårt på sina arbeten och mödrarna lika hårt hemma.” [A]	Agda came from a working class family and went to school with children from similar backgrounds.
19	””Hela undervisningen blev skojigare. Att tävla med pojkar också var väldigt bra för mig. Jag hade ju tre äldre bröder och var van att ha pojkar omkring mig”, säger Agda i samtalet från 1995.” [CA]	Agda was used to competing against boys as she has older brothers.
21	“Vid köksbordet hemma hos Jäderströms gick de politiska diskussionernas vågor höga, och den unga Agda lyssnade så ofta hon hade tillfälle. Hon har i flera intervjuer som vuxen berättat om när pappan uppmanade henne att själv läsa ledarsidan om hon ville förstå samtalet. Detta trots att hon bara var sju år.” [A]	Agda's dad encouraged her to read newspapers when she was very young.

22	“Trots ett stort lidande i världen var Agda Rössels uppväxt också en spännande tid av politisk omvälvning. När hon var elva år, 1921, fick kvinnorna i Sverige rösträtt och Sverige blev en verklig demokrati.” [O]	Agda grew up in an interesting political time in Sweden, e.g., when women obtained the right to vote.
23	“Tidigt under skolgången i Gällivare kom Agda i kontakt med vad som skulle komma att skänka henne glädje resten av livet, nämligen läsning och böcker.” [CA]	Agda was both interested in, and good at reading from an early age.
24	“Gällivareborna fick egentligen inte börja låna på biblioteket förrän de var fjorton år, men när Agda var tolv och slutade folkskolan hade hon redan läst alla böcker i det lilla biblioteket. Agda var den yngsta och flitigaste boklånen i hela bygden.” [CA]	Agda has read all the books in her village at the age of twelve.
24-25	“Det var ingen självklarhet för en flicka med Agdas bakgrund att alls gå i realskola, som var den tidens ”mellanskola”, och det fanns heller ingen tanke på att hon skulle göra det. Men så hände något som förändrade allt. Sommaren efter att hon gått ut folkskolan skulle hennes lärare Svante Engelmark resa till tyska Rügen, som var ett semesterparadis vid den här tiden. Dagen för resan gick Engelmark ner till Gällivare station för att ta kontinentaltåget som gick klockan 7 via Malmö. Emil Jäderström hade börjat sitt arbetspass vid stationen en timme tidigare och innan läraren skulle stiga på tåget sökte han upp Agdas far. Han ville tala om dottern och sa bestämt: ”Det vore en förbrytelse att inte låta den flickan studera. Lägg på minnet vad jag säger nu.” Sedan vände han sig om, steg ombord på tåget och åkte ner mot Tyskland.” [O]	By something that seemed like a coincidence, Agda got the possibility to continue going to school , something that wasn’t obvious for girls at that point in time.
27	“Bröderna var mycket noga med att ingen skugga skulle falla på Agda och hennes yngre syster. Familjen Jäderström var en stolt familj och disciplinen var vad Agda kallar ”precis”. Inte direkt hårdhänt, hon fick aldrig stryk hemma, men föräldrarna var mycket strikta.” [CA]	Agda’s brothers supported her.
29	“Jäderströms hem i Gällivare var också, trots att det var så ont om utrymme, en samlingsplats för vänner och bekanta. Både Emil och Nina var gästvänligt lagda och ville gärna att både ungdomar och vuxna skulle träffas hemma hos dem.” [CA]	Agda’s parents were social and has an open home for guests .
35	“Efter att hon tillfrisknat var tanken att hon skulle gå tillbaka till den inslagna banan inom sjukvården, men den drömmen fick ett abrupt slut. På grund av tuberkulosens stora utbredning och förödande konsekvenser krävdes fem års karantän efter sjukdomen för att man ens skulle bli antagen till sjuksköterskeutbildningen.” [R]	Agda wanted to become a nurse but wasn’t allowed to due to her health.
38	“Jag förstår mig att Agda såg en chans och tog den. Hon hade länge längtat ut, efter en annan framtid, och kanske fanns den i huvudstaden. I Norrbotten var de flesta möjligheter stängda, men i Stockholm fanns det fler chanser till kontakter.” [E]	Agda moved from a small village to Sweden’s capital, Stockholm.

39	“På kvällarna mellan 19.30 och 21.00 läste hon kvällskurser tre gånger i veckan, socialpolitik och kommunalpolitik på Stadsbiblioteket och engelska på Handelshögskolan. Stadsbiblioteket blev hennes andra hem.” [A]	Agda continued studying in Stockholm, and spent a lot of time at the library.
43-44	“Det var på studentkåren 1939 hon träffade den man som sedan skulle bli far till hennes två barn. Den två år yngre James Rössel kom från en medelklassfamilj på Östermalm och studerade statskunskap och juridik på Stockholms universitet. Han var mycket beläst och engagerad inom både politik och kultur. Liksom Agda läste han konstant och fullkomligt slukade all kunskap han kom åt.” [E]	Agda met her future partner who came from the middle class and studied political science and law at the University in Stockholm. He as like Agda very interested in reading and learning .
48	“Även under åren efter hennes examen 1939 stod vad man på den här tiden kallade kvinnofrågor i centrum. Det arbete hon påbörjat vid SARA fortsatte när hon, i oktober 1941, handplockades till uppdraget som ombudsman för fackförbundet Kvinnliga Telefonisttjänstemannaföreningen.” [O]	The time in which Agda began her career was imposed by feminism and women’s movements.
49	“Inom kvinnorörelsen var de vad som närmast kan beskrivas som en elit. För den yngre Agda Jäderström måste det ha varit en mycket stor upplevelse att möta dem, och dessutom få arbeta tillsammans med dem mot samma mål. Dessa två kvinnor hade varit hennes stora förebilder i många år.” [O]	Agda was part of the feminist movement in Sweden and worked closely to people who were her role models .
50	“Den vänskapliga jargongen var början på en lång relation mellan de två kvinnorna. Alva Myrdal och Agda Jäderström blev goda vänner och skulle komma att träffas både privat och professionellt under många år framåt.” [E]	Agda became close friends with other women who had well established positions in the feminist movements.
50	“Några år senare blev Agda också ordförande för Yrkeskvinnorna efter Karin Kock 1948, men innan dess pockade flyktingfrågan åter på uppmärksamhet.” [O]	Agda got favourable positions within the women’s movements .
62	“Agda var även vice ordförande för den svenska Unicef-kommittén och International Federation of Business and Professional Women 1954-1956.” [O]	Agda got favourable positions within the women’s movements .
64	“Runt 1950-talets mitt engagerades Agda Rössel även i arbetet att föra flyktingarna i de europeiska flyktinglägren till Sverige.” [R]	Agda was interested in , and worked for migration.
71	“Agda har alltid tyckt mycket om utrikesministern, trots att han av många uppfattas som både fyrkantig och kylig. Hon slår sig ner i den mjuka rokokofåtöljen på andra sidan skrivbordet. Undén förspiller ingen tid utan går rakt på sak. ’Fru Rössel, jag vill fråga er om ni vill bli Sveriges ambassadör vid FN i New York?’ säger han.” [R]	Agda’s early career built her a network that later became important.
77	“För att förstå detta måste man sätta sig in i kulturen på Utrikesdepartementet vid tiden, och vem den klassiska diplomaten varit historiskt. Det handlade om tre starka faktorer	Although having an education, Agda’s education was seen as ‘wrong’ for the work in

	– utbildning, klass och kön.” [E]	diplomacy. Likewise her background was considered ‘wrong’.
78	“Agda Rössel och Alva Myrdal var ju goda vänner och brukade under andra delen av 1950-talet ofta närvara vid konferenser och FN-möten runt om i Europa tillsammans. På kvällarna brukade de sitta på varandras hotellrum och prata. Under en resa 1956 berättade Alva Myrdal att hon hade en hemlighet av mycket glädjande natur. Hon ville att Agda skulle skåla tillsammans med henne, men hon fick inte fråga vad de firade. Först efter två månader kunde Alva Myrdal berätta den glädjande nyheten att hon blivit utsedd till Sveriges första kvinnliga ambassadör.” [CA]	Other like-minded people became part of Agda’s network and friends.
82	”Jag älskar Erlander och han har betytt allt för mig. Men om det var något han inte orkade, så var det att vara i det absolut främsta ledet inom jämställdhet. Han var inte hundra procentigt tänd på detta. När det gäller Agda hade hon inte kommit fram på det sättet om inte Undén bestämt sig för att han ville satsa på några kvinnor. Det ska Erlander vara tacksam för.” [E]	Sweden’s former prime minister wanted to invest in women, which some argue is how Agda got her position in the UN.
82	“Själv har Agda Rössel vid flera tillfällen spekulerat om vad det var som gjorde att Undén valde just henne. Det har antytts att den amerikanska presidenttänkan Eleanor Roosevelt, en politisk gigant för sin tid, spelade en viss roll i sammanhanget. Eleanor Roosevelt hade år 1905 gift sig med Franklin Delano Roosevelt, en avlägsen släkting och USA:s trettioandra president från år 1933 till sin död 1945. När president Roosevelt blivit förlamad 1921 deltog hustrun Eleanor ofta i möten i hans ställe och tog en allt mer aktiv roll inom politiken.” [O]	Eleanor Roosevelt started participating in politics after her husband became sick . Eleanor and Agda got along well which some argue led to Agda’s blooming international career.
90	“Det var inte Agdas Rössels första besök i New York, men utan tvekan en vistelse som skilde sig från de tidigare, då hon tillfälligt besökt staden som delegat i olika FN-delegationer. Viktiga uppdrag, men inte alls i dignitet med en ambassadörspost.” [R]	Before becoming an ambassador in the UN, Agda had other related positions that became beneficial in her future. She worked herself up.
94	“FN var fortfarande en ung organisation, med bara tretton år på nacken. Organisationen hade fötts i samband med andra världskrigets slut 1945 och ambitionen var att säkra världsfreden.” [O]	At the time when Agda’s international career was developing , the UN was still a young organisation.
101	“Det var det här som var semester för Agda Rössel – bygga broar, skapa kontakter, byta information och utstråla vänlighet. Under generalförsamlingens pågående säsong var det sena kvällar på kontoret och tidiga morgnar tillbaka. Hem klockan 3 på natten och upp igen klockan 7.” [E]	Agda was by nature a very social person , also while being on vacation. She liked to connect with people and was perceived as friendly .
101	“Hon hade i och med sitt arbete vid FN i Geneve och möten med Eleanor Roosevelt under tidigt 1950-tal goda kontakter i USA. Dessa bekantskaper kom väl till pass i hennes nya roll i	Through earlier positions , Agda had a good relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt which was

	FN-skrapan.” [R]	beneficial for her new role.
118	“En och annan manlig kollega blev säkert stött av hennes svar på tal, men i stort var hon ändå mycket populär bland de internationella ambassadörskollegorna.” [E]	Agda was popular among her international colleagues .
126	“Robert Rössel känner väl till konkurrensen dem emellan och stämningen Agda mötte på Utrikesdepartementet. Hans bild av UD är att det vid tiden var mycket formalistiskt och hierarkiskt, efter diplomatutbildning fanns en karriärstege att följa och en person som kom utifrån ogillades starkt.” [CA]	There was a very hierarchical structure at the Swedish MFA where a clear career path should be followed. If it wasn’t (like in Agda’s case), it was not popular.
129	“Chefen på plats i lägret kände många inom partisanernas toppskikt, vilket också visade sig vara gynnsamt för hennes kontaktnät som ambassadör i landet. De som egentligen fattades i bekantskapskretsen var industrifolk och lokala politiker, vilka hon snabbt lärde känna genom sin goda förmåga att knyta sociala kontakter.” [A]	Agda was very good at building relationships .
133	”Då bjöd Agda in hela gänget gäster att titta på när jag kokade kräftorna. Sådant gjorde hon ofta. Man kunde vara ganska spontan.” [A]	Agda was very guest friendly , and invited politicians from the very elite to do ‘basic’ things.
180	“Det faktum att hon hade lättare för män kan även haft att göra med hennes uppväxt tillsammans med fyra bröder. Oavsett anledning var Agda, på grund av detta, inte alltid populär hos de många fruarna i den diplomatiska världen.” [R]	Agda got along well with men, something that is believed to depend on that she grew up with four brothers .
181	“Han börjar entusiastiskt att berätta om en händelse som ägde rum under en av Agdas bjudningar på residenset i Prag. Kvällen förflöt i vanlig ordning, och när flera gäster droppat av runt 23-tiden var det bara några svenska studenter kvar. De unga studenterna tänkte att de nog också borde gå och lämna värdinnan till sitt. Då sa hon oväntat: ‘Låt oss åka ner på stan.’ Sällskapet skulle åka till en nattklubb.” [A]	Agda was very spontaneous and guest friendly .

2. *Madame President: The Extraordinary Journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf* by Helene Cooper

Page	Rough Transcription extracted from main source	Retranscription
1	“One little girl, delivered in the back bedroom of her family’s house on Benson Street in Monrovia on October 29, 1938, was, her relatives believed, destined for great things. After all, the Old Man, one of the many prophets who wandered through Monrovia spreading their wisdom, predicted it when he showed up at Carney and Martha Johnson’s half-concrete house days after the birth of baby Ellen—nicknamed Red Pumpkin because she was “red like one pumpkin”—to have a look at the baby.	Ellen was supported by her family from a very young age . Her parents believed in her from the start.

	“This child will be great,” he said, after peering into the crib. “This child is going to lead.” [CA]	
2	“Armed with that prophecy, which her family repeated to her throughout her childhood, Ellen set out to create what would become an extraordinary life. Because before she even uttered her first word, certain things had already been put in place that determined she would be no ordinary Liberian woman.” [CA]	Ellen’s parents believed in her and supported her. They had big aspirations for her.
5	“Martha took the Dunbar name, went to the best schools in Liberia, then headed abroad for a year to acquire even more refinement. She came back and was in the yard of the Dunbar house when Ellen’s father, now Carney Johnson, spotted her.” [A]	Ellen’s mother went to the best schools in Liberia and studied abroad.
5-6	“Martha and Carney’s four children—first Charles, then Jennie, Ellen, and Carney—would grow up with the gift of camouflage in a fractured country. Among the Congo people they could easily fit in, yet their Gola roots also gave them an entrée, should they ever want to use it, into native Liberian culture. Ellen, the third child, in particular had the ability to use the gift with which she was born. She looked Congo, and like most Congo people, she spoke two languages: English and Liberian English. She certainly lived Congo: she went to school with the Congo kids and lived in a real cement house on Benson Street with a big yard surrounded by coconut trees and filled with fruit and flower bushes. Her older sister even went to school in England, a prized status that was the height of Congoness. By local standards, the family was upper middle class, thanks to Martha’s light skin, but especially to Carney’s profession as a lawyer.” [E]	Ellen’s family did fit in well in society and belonged to the upper middle class. Ellen went to school with children from a similar background and her sister studied in England. Their status depended on the mother’s German background and the father’s profession as a lawyer.
6	“Ellen was firmly in the ruling Congo class, except when she didn’t want to be. She attended the College of West Africa, an elite high school.” [CA]	Ellen went to an elite high school in Liberia.
7-8	At sixteen Ellen was nearing the end of high school, hoping that she would follow her sister and go abroad to college. Most of her friends were going to America or Europe to acquire finishing, including her best friend, Clavenda Bright. But Carney’s stroke destroyed those hopes. [E]	Ellen’s friends went to America to study and she was hoping to do the same but her dad got a stroke and could not finance Ellen’s education abroad.
9	“Because Doc had his Tuskegee degree and Ellen had graduated from high school—and both came from families that were acceptable to the upper Congo society—they were considered upper class in a country where people were either poor or rich, with nothing in between.” [CA]	Ellen and her husband were considered upper class due to their families’ background, and because of their education.
10	“When her husband applied for a scholarship to pursue a master’s degree in agriculture at the University of Wisconsin, Ellen drove to the Liberian Department of Education and made her own application for a scholarship, to study business at	When Ellen’s husband applied for a scholarship to study abroad, Ellen did the same. Due to their class, and network, they could

	nearby Madison Business College.” [CA]	easily receive a scholarship.
11	“Ellen arrived in Madison, Wisconsin, in the fall of 1962: driven, impatient, and fully aware that this was her main chance.” [O]	Ellen moved to America to study.
13	“In the summer of 1964 Ellen received her associate’s degree in accounting.” [O]	Ellen received her degree.
18	“Women carry so much internal baggage. First democratically elected woman president, Nobel Peace Prize winner, global female icon, in the middle of battling an Ebola epidemic ravaging her country, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf had fixated, again, on her failure to baptize one of her sons half a century ago. “He has no godparents, Adamah. Not one.” [E]	Ellen had high expectations of herself, and was not happy with herself as a mother, although having accomplished a lot and done her best.
24	“Papanek said he would arrange a fellowship for Ellen at Harvard, where she could study economics more formally. By also enrolling for one summer at the Economics Institute in Boulder, Colorado, she could skip the bachelor’s degree and go straight to a master’s degree in public administration from Harvard.” [CA]	Due to her class and network, Ellen got the opportunity to study at prestigious schools abroad, in America.
26	“It was 1971. She had her master’s degree in public administration, and from Harvard, no less. She was ready to go home.” [CA]	Ellen obtained a good education.
29	“She would be deputy minister of finance in charge of fiscal and banking policy. Ellen’s social consciousness, awakened in America, would make this new job an uncomfortable one. But Tolbert had promised progressive policies. She would help the president, she decided, to work for change from within.” [CA]	After her education abroad, Ellen was offered good jobs.
29	“At the Ministry of Finance, Ellen had an increasingly familiar relationship with the most powerful men running Liberia. Besides Stephen Tolbert, she was now on a first-name basis with Rochefort Weeks, the minister of foreign affairs, and later his successor, Cecil Dennis.” [E]	Based on her work, Ellen created a solid network of important people.
34	“So when Ellen walked into World Bank headquarters at 1818 H Street as their newest loan officer to Barbados, she suspected there were probably people there who would look at her as a token.” [A]	Ellen had a career abroad.
60	“In 1982, after only a year at the World Bank, she accepted a job with Citibank, which appointed her the first African woman to hold the title of vice president. She was sent to Nairobi and put in charge of scouting investment opportunities across Africa.” [E]	After her international work experiences, Ellen got good jobs when she returned back to Africa.
87	“Little girls do not come out of the womb vowing to become activists for female power. They don’t spend their childhood thinking about how they will repair the indignities, large and	Based on her experiences, Ellen was taking part in the women’s movement, supporting women’s

	small, that bleed women daily. It's a series of things that multiply and turn ordinary women into movements of female determination. You're living your life, sweeping floors at Rennebohm Drug Store in Madison, Wisconsin, when your husband storms in to yell at you in front of your white boss lady. You're huddling with your sons inside your house at night, wondering what catastrophe awaits you, while that same husband sits in his parked car outside for hours. You're stunned by the violent shock of a hand slapping your face, delivered by the man who promised to love, honor, and cherish you till death do you part." [O]	rights.
87	"I wanted to be a schoolteacher, like my mother," Ellen said, looking back thirty years later. [A]	As a child, Ellen wanted to become a teacher.
119	"She had developed a friendship with Under-Secretary-General Kofi Annan, who would soon become secretary-general, and even had him over for dinner." [CA]	Based on her international work experience, Ellen developed a beneficial network.
141	"Meanwhile, at the Governance Reform Commission, Ellen began holding public forums where ordinary people showed up and registered their complaints. She collected suggestions about how they would like to be treated by their government, and she and her commission made suggestions, including one about how too much of the government's anemic stash of money was being spent on security services for Gyude Bryant. But her recommendations went nowhere. So she began making plans for a time when people would pay attention to her critiques." [E]	Ellen was very engaged in how to make society better and she favoured democracy.
153-154	"Ellen had been dubbed the 'Iron Lady' already, a reference that most people believed stemmed from her having survived imprisonment, multiple brushes with death, and the vagaries of working with and against Liberia's various strongmen. But in the two months between the beginning of campaign season in August and Election Day in October, the aides around her came to realize that the nickname actually referred to her constitution. Her physical constitution. The Iron Lady never got tired. She decided early on that she would visit each of Liberia's fifteen counties." [R]	Ellen was perceived as strong and got status in society.
175	"They stood with me; they defended me; they prayed for me," she said. "The same can be said for the women throughout Africa. I want to here and now gratefully acknowledge the powerful voice of women of all walks of life whose votes significantly contributed to my victory." [CA]	Ellen was engaged in the women's movement.
200	"Madame has never been an emotional person—her reserve, in fact, has often led people to call her cold." [A]	Ellen's personality was perceived as 'strong'.
229	"To understand just how miraculous it was for a Liberian president to win the Nobel Peace Prize, of all things, one must simply look back at the panoply of Liberian presidents since the	Ellen truly contributed to her country's development.

prize was first awarded, in 1901.” [R]

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| 233 | Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, a Liberian women’s activist, and Tawakkol Karman, a Yemeni journalist and human rights activist, were being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize “for their non-violent struggle for the safety of women and for women’s rights to full participation in peace-building work.” [R] | Ellen truly contributed to her country’s development. |
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Appendix C. Code sheet

Hennes excellens Agda Rössel : från banvaktstugan till FN-skrapan by Elin Jäderström (in Swedish)

<i>Retranscribed data</i>	<i>Themes</i>	<i>Codes</i>
Agda had older brothers whom she saw going to school.	Childhood; Education/School	Siblings; Roles models
When Agda started primary school, she could already read as she learned it together with her older brother when he started school. First she went to a school for only girls until the law changed.	Education/School; Childhood	Skills; Siblings; Role models
Agda came from a working class family and went to school with children from similar backgrounds.	Childhood; Education/School	Background; Inclusion
Agda was used to competing against boys as she has older brothers.	Childhood	Siblings; Personality
Agda's dad encouraged her to read newspapers when she was very young.	Support from home	Authorisation
Agda grew up in an interesting political time in Sweden, e.g., when women obtained the right to vote.	Setting	Environmental impact
Agda was both interested in, and good at reading from an early age.	Personal interests and traits	Personality; Authorisation
Agda has read all the books in her village at the age of twelve.	Personal interests and traits	Personality; Authorisation
By something that seemed like a coincidence, Agda got the possibility to continue going to school, something that wasn't obvious for girls at that point in time.	Education/School	Authorisation ; Education
Agda's brothers supported her.	Support from home	Siblings; Authorisation
Agda's parents were social and	Childhood	Personality; Authorisation

had an open home for guests.		
Agda wanted to become a nurse but wasn't allowed to due to her health.	Destiny	Environmental impact
Agda moved from a small village to Sweden's capital, Stockholm.	Geography	Opportunity
Agda continued studying in Stockholm, and spent a lot of time at the library.	Education/School	Education
Agda met her future partner who came from the middle class and studied political science and law at the University in Stockholm. He as like Agda very interested in reading and learning.	Relationships; Benefits; Personal interests and traits	Authorisation; Personality
The time in which Agda began her career was imposed by feminism and women's movements.	Setting	Environmental impact
Agda was part of the feminist movement in Sweden and worked closely to people who were her role models.	Setting; Benefits	Environmental impact; Authorisation
Agda became close friends with other women who had well established positions in the feminist movements.	Network; Destiny; Benefits	Inclusion; Environmental impact; Authorisation
Agda got favourable positions within the women's movements.	Relationships; Benefits; Setting	Inclusion; Authorisation; Environmental impact
Agda was interested in, and worked for migration.	Personal interest and traits	Personality
Agda's early career built her a network that later became important.	Network	Inclusion; Authorisation
Although having an education, Agda's education was seen as 'wrong' for the work in diplomacy. Likewise her background was considered	Education/School; Childhood (<i>did not seem to have a meaning in Agda's case</i>)	-

'wrong'.		
Other like-minded people became part of Agda's network and friends.	Relationships; Network	Inclusion; Authorisation
Sweden's former prime minister wanted to invest in women, which some argue is how Agda got her position in the UN.	Network; Destiny	Inclusion; Authorisation; Environmental impact
Eleanor Roosevelt started participating in politics after her husband became sick. Eleanor and Agda got along well which some argue led to Agda's blooming international career.	Destiny; Network	Environmental impact; Inclusion; Authorisation
Before becoming an ambassador in the UN, Agda had other related positions that became beneficial in her future. She worked herself up.	Network	Authorisation
At the time when Agda's international career was developing, the UN was still a young organisation.	Setting; Destiny	Environmental impact
Agda was by nature a very social person, also while being on vacation. She liked to connect with people and was perceived as friendly.	Personal interest and traits; Network	Personality; Authorisation
Through earlier positions, Agda had a good relationship with Eleanor Roosevelt which was beneficial for her new role.	Relationships; Network	Authorisation
Agda was popular among her international colleagues.	Relationships; Network	Authorisation
Agda was very good at building relationships.	Network	Authorisation; Inclusion
Agda was very guest friendly, and invited politicians from the very elite to do 'basic' things.	Personal interest and traits; Network	Personality; Authorisation; Inclusion

Agda got along well with men, something that is believed to depend on that she grew up with four brothers.	Childhood	Siblings; Authorisation
Agda was very spontaneous and guest friendly.	Personal interest and traits	Personality

Madame President: The Extraordinary Journey of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf by Helene Cooper

<i>Retranscribed data</i>	<i>Themes</i>	<i>Codes</i>
Ellen was supported by her family from a very young age. Her parents believed in her from the start.	Support from home; Childhood	Authorisation
Ellen's parents believed in her and supported her. They had big aspirations for her.	Support from home; Childhood	Authorisation
Ellen's mother went to the best schools in Liberia and studied abroad.	Benefits; Geography	Authorisation; Environmental impact; Country
Ellen's family did fit in well in society and belonged to the upper middle class. Ellen went to school with children from a similar background and her sister studied in England. Their status depended on the mother's German background and the father's profession as a lawyer.	Childhood; Education/School; Geography; Benefits	Authorisation; Education; Country; Environmental impact
Ellen went to an elite high school in Liberia.	Education/School	Education; Environmental impact
Ellen's friends went to America to study and she was hoping to do the same but her dad got a stroke and could not finance Ellen's education abroad.	Destiny	Environmental impact
Ellen and her husband were considered upper class due to their families' background, and because of their education.	Benefits	Authorisation; Environmental impact

When Ellen's husband applied for a scholarship to study abroad, Ellen did the same. Due to their class, and network, they could easily receive a scholarship.	Geography; Personal interests and traits; Network; Benefits	Country; Personality; Authorisation
Ellen moved to America to study.	Personal interests and traits	Personality
Ellen received her degree.	Personal interests and traits; Education/School	Personality; Education
Ellen had high expectations of herself, and was not happy with herself as a mother, although having accomplished a lot and done her best.	Personal interests and traits	Personality
Due to her class and network, Ellen got the opportunity to study at prestigious schools abroad, in America.	Benefits; Education/School; Geography	Authorisation; Environmental impact; Education; Country
Ellen obtained a good education.	Education/School	Education
After her education abroad, Ellen was offered good jobs.	Education/Schooling; Geography	Education; Country
Based on her work, Ellen created a solid network of important people.	Network	Authorisation; Inclusion
Ellen had a career abroad.	Geography	Country
After her international work experiences, Ellen got good jobs when she returned back to Africa.	Geography	Country; Authorisation
Based on her experiences, Ellen was taking part in the women's movement, supporting women's rights.	Personal interests and traits; Destiny; Setting	Personality; Environmental impact
As a child, Ellen wanted to become a teacher.	Personal interests and traits (<i>not of relevance for the analysis</i>)	-
Based on her international work experience, Ellen developed a beneficial network.	Geography; Network	Country; Inclusion; Authorisation

Ellen was very engaged in how to make society better and she favoured democracy.	Personal interests and traits	Personality
Ellen was perceived as strong and got status in society.	Personal interests and traits	Personality; Authorisation
Ellen was engaged in the women's movement.	Personal interests and traits	Personality; Environmental impact
Ellen's personality was perceived as 'strong'.	Personal interests and traits	Personality; Authorisation

Appendix D. Narratives of women in diplomacy suggested for future research

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