



Bachelor Thesis

Women's role in Peace Processes

A comparative study of women's participation in the peace processes in Africa and Western Asia.



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Abstract

With the implementation of UNSC Resolution 1325 the role women play for peace and security was affirmed. Since the implementation of the resolution, almost two decades ago, more than 400 peace agreements has been signed. Since then one can assume much has happened regarding women and their role in the peace process. It can thus be valuable to explore if the implementation of the resolution has created a larger acknowledgement of women in the peace agreements and to see if women are limited to and by the roles they are assigned to in the peace agreements in their peace work. The focus of this study is a comparative case study that examines five cases where women's role in peacebuilding were mentioned more extensively. This will be done in two sections. First, the roles women are assigned in peace agreements and second, what the women actually work with. This will create a basis for the thesis to investigate the presumed supposition that women are victims of conflict rather than agents of change and also look into if women are engaged in work that follow societal roles or if they act outside of these gender norms. The findings of the study showed that women engage in all types of peacebuilding work and even though women suffer and are victims of war they are also agents of change and when they are limited by the gender roles that exist, they use what agency they have within the frame of their roles as women to implement change.

Keywords: women, peace agreements, peacebuilding, agents of change, gender roles.

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List of Abbreviations

CAR – Central African Republic
CFR – Council on Foreign Relations
DDR – Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration
IDP – Internally Displaced Person
FGM – Female Genital Mutilation
GCC – Gulf Cooperation Council
GPC – General People’s Congress
JEM – Justice and Equality Movement
LWPP – Libyan Women’s Platform for Peace
NGO – Non-Governmental Organization
NML – National Movement in Libya
MDC – Movement for Democratic Change
PDRY – People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen
SSR – Security Sector Reform
SWDC – Somali Women Development Center
UN – United Nations
UNIFEM – United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNDP – United Nations Development Programme
UNSC – United Nations Security Council
UNSMIL – United Nations Support Mission in Libya
WAG – Women’s Action Group Zimbabwe
WCoZ – Women’s Coalition of Zimbabwe
YAR – Yemen Arab Republic
YWPPS – Yemini Women Pact for Peace and Security
ZANU-PF – Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front

1. Introduction and Research Problem

In the year 2000, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) implemented a new resolution called UNSC Resolution 1325 concerning women, peace and security. The resolution consists of four ground pillars which are prevention, participation, protection and peacebuilding and recovery. This resolution followed after the recognition that women are to a large extent often excluded from the peace process in the aftermath of a conflict. The resolution was created to establish the important role women play in the prevention and resolution of peace, both in negotiating for and building peace (UN Women, 2016). The adoption of the new resolution was the first of the kind concerning women and their role in the achievement of peace and peace building. It aimed at promoting women's participation in the peace building process as equals to men as well as their involvement in the maintenance and promotion of peace (Tryggestad, 2009). The adoption of Resolution 1325 was unique in the sense that the UNSC for the first time put all their attention towards women in armed conflict and identified women as agents in negotiating and maintaining peace instead of only victims (Tryggestad, 2009). The resolution showed the recognition of women's role in peacebuilding and the impact armed conflicts have on women. One important part established by the adoption of the resolution were that it showed that the exclusion of women from the peace process was a threat to the peace itself (Bell & O'Rourke, 2010).

However, a survey conducted in the year 2015 showed that Resolution 1325 has had little impact on women's role in the peace process where less than half of the peace agreements signed made any references towards women (UN Women, 2016). A quantitative study that looked at a possible gender perspective adopted in the peace agreements signed between the year of 1990-2010 and evaluated if the United Nation (UN) Resolution 1325 have had an impact on women and their role in peacebuilding. It showed that references towards women had increased during the later years after the adoption of Resolution 1325. The study also showed that while the references concerning women do increase, the issues raised in Resolution 1325 concerning women's role in peace and security is rarely addressed in peace agreements and the Resolution 1325 thus have had an debatable impact on women's increasing role in peacebuilding (Bell & O'Rourke, 2010).

The debate regarding women's role in the peacebuilding process is concerning if women have a positive impact on peace negotiations (UN Women, 2016), why are they not included? Instead of women being present during peace negotiations and being able to influence their own roles in peace building, they are assigned to roles by the people who are taking part in the negotiating process. Even though women, in some cases, are assigned to roles in the peace agreements, there is little understanding on what women do engage in, in peacebuilding in contrast to the roles they are assigned to in the peace agreements. The problem is that even though women are approximately half of the population in a country, the roles they are assigned to in peacebuilding by the peace agreements are limited. Since women are limited in this aspect the research will focus on whether women are limited, by their assigned roles, in the peace work they engage in. This will further be compared to if they work outside of these roles they are assigned to and if women are being limited in the peacebuilding process based on their gender.

1.1 Objective

The objective of this research is to explore the roles women are assigned in peace agreements and the peacebuilding process and to compare these tasks to the work the women actually engage in when working with peacebuilding to see if women follow the normative roles expected for them in their society. The reason for a comparative case study is to compare women and their roles in multiple conflicts to see if there are any characteristics that can be identified concerning women in peacebuilding. The focus of the study will be peace agreements that were signed between the years of 2000 to 2016 to see the impact of resolution 1325. The research will further explore if women are victims of war or if they are agents of change in peacebuilding processes to where the study will focus on cases post the year 2000, to see if the implementation of the resolution 1325 has had an impact on how women are perceived in peace agreements and if this follows the line with what was agreed to in the resolution and if these peace agreements reflect on the work women engage in.

1.2 Research Questions

- What areas of peacebuilding work are assigned to women in the peace agreements?
- What do women actually work with in peacebuilding?
- Do the work women are assigned to, and the work they engage in follow societal gender roles?

1.3 Methodology

The study will be a qualitative desk study with a comparative methodology. The research will use an abductive approach to give one possible answer to the research questions through the lens of the chosen theoretical framework. The thesis will conduct a multiple case study research with five cases, to compare the roles women are assigned to in peace agreements to the roles they take on in the peace process. The research will be divided into two parts. The first part will focus on each selected case study's conflict situation and the roles assigned to women in the peace agreement that ended the conflict. The second part will focus on what women work with in the peacebuilding process in each case study and see if women follow the roles they are assigned to or if they work outside of these roles in peacebuilding process. The two aspects will help to structure the thesis and the data collected. The two parts of the research will also help in the analysis chapter when applying the framework to understand women's assigned roles compared to the roles they chose for themselves.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The chosen theoretical framework combines for this study is a feminist theory combined with the concept of agency. The concept of agency will be used to understand women as agents of change compared to the role of victimhood that is often linked to women in armed conflicts. The feminist theory will help to understand the gender roles that are present in a society and if women are considered different from men and what this would indicate for women if they are not considered in the same way as men in the peace agreements and peace negotiations.

1.5 Research structure

The first chapter in this thesis consist of the research problem, research objective, research questions and a brief overview of the thesis. In the second chapter of this research the chosen methodology will be explained further and in more detail. The third chapter presents a review of the existing literature on the concept of agency as well as the theoretical framework. The fourth chapter consists of the findings comparing women in peace agreements and women's work in peacebuilding in the five selected case studies. In the fifth chapter the analysis of the findings and the answers to the research questions will be presented. In the sixth and last chapter, a conclusion of the research will be presented.

2. Methodology

Given the research aim with this thesis, this chapter will discuss the chosen methodology for this research, what type of sources that are used and the delimitations made for this thesis and also the limitations the research will face.

This research will use a qualitative comparative method and an abductive approach. According to Danermark et al (2001), an abductive approach can help to see if the rule that is already established is true or if new interpretations concerning the issue can be researched with the new observations. The abductive approach is thus used to help explain a phenomenon by looking at it through different theoretical lenses. In this case, the abductive approach is used as a way to answer the research questions, as the answers can be different depending on the choice of theory. Based on the knowledge that the abductive approach presents one possible answer to an issue with several answers depending on choices made by the researcher it does not give one conclusive answer but instead helps to create a new insight and a new possible way to explain the phenomenon discussed in this research.

The research will be carried out using a qualitative methodology that will examine multiple cases to understand women's role in peacebuilding. Bryman (2012) outlines qualitative research as research that focus on words rather than numbers, something that quantitative research does. In qualitative research he underlines that we want to see and understand and interpret how the participants in the study understand the social world. There are many methods that are linked to the qualitative method. For example, interviews, observations, focus groups, discourse analysis and the method this research will focus on, a qualitative collection and analysis of texts and documents which will be explained further later in this chapter.

This methodology facilitates answering the question if women follow normative gender roles assigned to women in the peacebuilding work they engage in or if they are engaged in multiple areas that do not fall within those predetermined gender roles. The two parts of this research will be compared in the analysis section to help understand the roles which women play in peacebuilding and if they are limited by the tasks assigned to them in peace agreements or if they take part in more and different activities to build peace. By dividing the research into two sections, this will help structure the data collected and answer the research

questions and whether women are treated as victims of war, or agents of change. The two parts in this research will help to examine the roles women are assigned to compared to what they actually do in peace building. In order to find out the roles assigned to women, the research looks into peace agreements to then be able to compare these and answer the question if women do more than they are assigned to in the peace agreements.

The research will be conducted through a text analysis method to see how and where women's role is outlined in peace agreements. Further, a comparative case study will be conducted where all cases will be compared in the analysis to answer the research questions and to see what role women are assigned to in the peace agreements and more importantly, what role and what type of work that the women have when working with peace building.

2.1 Text Analysis

When conducting text analysis there are several approaches where one can analyse the content, the argumentation or the concepts. However, one of the most important aspects to text analysis, and that will be central in this study, is how we interpret the text written which is one of the most commonly used methods when writing a social science study. When interpreting a text, one need to consider several different objectives, for example who was the text written by, for what purpose, in what context, is there one person writing the text or is there an organisation who are responsible for the publication of the text. Depending on who are the recipient of the text, a researcher may interpret the text different than for the purpose the text was written. By putting the text into a context one can understand for what purpose the text were produced and thus understand why it highlights some specific points. A good text analysis is when it helps to underline a social science problem (Bergström & Boréus, 2012).

When conducting a text analysis, one need an approach on how to answer the research questions and it is in this part the different approaches on how to read a text comes in (Bergström & Boréus, 2012). Bryman (2012) examines three different ways to interpret different kinds of texts, qualitative content analysis, semiotics and hermeneutics. In this research the chosen approach is hermeneutics which means that one interprets the text written in order to understand in what meaning the text was written. By doing a qualitative text analysis, it is hermeneutic when it is considerate towards in what context the text was written.

Further, as explained by Bernard and Ryan (1998) the method of text analysis will be used to understand the topic and what the context of the text is. In the first part of the research, the text analysis will help to analyse the peace agreements, in the second part it will be used to analyse the articles by other researchers concerning the cases in this research. The text analysis will help to identify different themes on the topic and in this case, which are the patterns in the peace agreements concerning how women are mentioned and how their roles in peace building is addressed.

2.2 Case Studies

The second method used in this research will be a multiple case study that examines several cases and will try to compare them by looking at women's different roles in all of these cases (George and Bennett, 2005). Case studies have the advantage that the method can help to create new hypotheses and variables in a research field. George and Bennett identify a case study as "a well-defined aspect of a historical episode that the investigator selects for analysis" (2005, pp. 18). The researcher thus chooses what event to investigate and what theories to use which will present a possible answer and hypothesis to the research questions.

Using a multiple case study approach will help to gain a more in depth knowledge of the research problem and help to answer the research questions of how women are incorporated in peace agreements and what they actually work with (Yin, 2014). This can be done since a case study can help to understand the decisions that were taken, how they were implemented and with what result (Schramm, 1971 in Yin, 2014, pp. 15). When conducting multiple cases in a study this can work as a way to draw out characteristics from all the cases to find an answer to the research questions. One of the advantages of using a comparative case study is that the evidences collected to draw conclusions are more compelling and creates more vigorous findings to analyse.

2.3 Sources

In the collection of data, both primary and secondary sources will be used. In the first part, primary sources – the actual peace agreements – from the webpage UN Peacemakers will be drawn upon to examine what roles women are assigned to in the peace agreements. In the second part of the research, secondary sources will be used to examine what women actually work with and their informal role in peacebuilding and is thus reliant on what others have

done previously in the field. To find what work women do engage in, information from local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGO) will be used as well. Important to acknowledge when using secondary sources is also the aspect of understanding why some of the research was conducted and who benefit from it and thus what the author focuses on. Additionally, research on women in peacebuilding (Schirch & Sewak, 2005), women as victims (Agbalajobi, 2009) and women's recognition in peacebuilding (Jordan, 2003) will help to understand the context, issues and circumstances of women's role in peacebuilding in general.

2.4 Delimitations and Limitations concerning the case study section and existing sources

To select the cases for this study, the site UN Peacemakers was used as a source for peace agreements. On the site, there were 133 results under the search key "women and gender issues". To narrow down the research, there were certain delimitations made, for example, the cases investigated were taken from a time space of sixteen years, from 2000-2016, this selection was based on the fact that the UN Resolution 1325 was adopted in the year 2000. By starting the research in the year 2000, it can focus on the cases that have happened after the resolution was put into effect, meaning cases where its content should have affected the role women play in the peace agreements and processes.

The selection of the cases was done in two steps, first, the peace agreements from 2000 to 2016 were examined and from this based on who mentioned women and their roles rather than not mentioning women at all or only as victims of war or abuse, six cases were selected, Libya, Somalia, Yemen, Zimbabwe, Sudan and Central African Republic (CAR). In the second part of the selection, the availability of previous research on these cases was considered and due to lack of the latter, the CAR was excluded. When delimiting the research by the mentioned conditions, all the cases turned out to be countries located in Africa and Western Asia. This may limit the research since the finding cannot be representative of countries in other parts of the world since the conditions for women's participation may be different in for example Latin America.

Since the research is a qualitative desk study, it is, to a large extent, based on secondary sources, which will be discussed in the next section. This means that the research is limited to research that has been done previously by others. Since the method is a case study, the research this thesis will rely on is conducted by multiple scholars who all have different angles and approaches which will result in slightly different results in the findings concerning the different cases. Further, research on the topic is in some cases completed in another language than Swedish or English and thus not available for me as a researcher with limited knowledge in other languages. Finally, using the UN as the only source for one part of the thesis, this will limit the research to their perspective.

3. Analytical Framework

In this section the two chosen theoretical approaches will be presented and how these will help to develop and construct the analysis and answer the research questions. The main theory used for this research is a feminist theory which will be conducted through using the concept of agency.

Previous research underlines two important approaches for the topic of women in peacebuilding. The first one, is the need to understand women as agents of change rather than only victims in the peace process, one idea that is discussed by Laura Shepherd (2016). The second one, is the way women are included in peacebuilding compared to men. The use of a feminist theory concerning women's role in a society and why they do not have the same formal role as men in the peace process will be used to highlight the differences between the genders and why women are excluded or not equal participants in the peace processes. The feminist theory is based on the work of multiple scholars such as Judith Butler (1998), Karin Hjalmskog (1999) and Pateman & Grosz (2013).

3.1 Women in peacebuilding and the concept of agency

The subject of women in peacebuilding has received much attention in research. For example, Agbalajobi (2009) has done research that focuses on women's roles in peacebuilding in Africa in which she is doing a case study of Burundi. The author outlines the common understanding that women are often seen as victims in conflict-areas. Agbalajobi, however wants to outline the other roles women can play in conflicts they may also be part of, for example as soldiers, supporters, informants and so on, where women rather should be perceived as agents in conflict and peace making than as victims. Discussing these issues further are Schirch and Sewak (2005) who argue that since women so far, have had little participation in peace negotiations and peacebuilding, women's interests have been ignored often based on the perception that women's role is that of the victim. The authors also discuss the sociological theory about sex and gender that we are not born into men and women but masculinity and femininity is socially constructed and taught during childhood and throughout life, a theory that will be developed in the section below and used in this research. Schirch and Sewak also underline the need to adapt to an intersectional perspective where more than just being a woman or a man determines on how you are going to act. They argue that the importance of women in peacebuilding should not consist of women being seen

as more naturally peaceful and thus being abler to create a sustainable peace, instead women need to be part of the peacebuilding for the simple reason that they are approximately half of the population. Furthermore, they consider the different activities women do in peacebuilding. These include; waging conflict non-violently, building capacity, reducing direct violence and transforming relationships. The authors outline that women especially engage in four kinds of peacebuilding, for example they work as advocates and activists for peace, they pursue democracy and human rights, they are peacekeepers, relief aid workers and work as mediators, counsellors and policymakers and in education. Furthermore, the authors discuss the importance of moving beyond the idea of women as victims since this creates hardship for the women to engage in the peace-process as workers and having influence in the negotiation processes, an idea that will influence this research further in this chapter.

Jordan (2003) examines the phenomenon that women who are present in peacebuilding seldom get the same recognition as the men who are present. She says that women are to a large extent present, however, they are not as visible. Jordan argue that the women who work in peacebuilding often use their knowledge and power to help other women and increase their influence. This is further explored by Manchanda (2005) who discuss that since women are the subordinate gender and thus disempowered and is not recognized in the same way as men. Manchanda cites the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM, 2004), who says that women are recognized as important in peacebuilding but in the area of reconstruction they are not seen as legitimate, often based on the previous discussed idea that women are seen victims.

Pankhurst (2003) highlights the issue that in recent years' women have been included more in the process to achieve peace, unfortunately this have not lead to a better life for women in the aftermath of a conflict. She discusses the widespread assumption of women being advocates for peace and peaceful by nature. She underlines that the assumption of the roles of women and men, where the two are opposite to each other. Based on this, the author concludes that work performed by women is often seen as feminine and empowerment of women in working life is enhancing and extending the pre-existing female work. This in turn makes women who have grown up and live in these societies take on these type of works and keep on performing these types of work. This will lead to, according to Pankhurst, that the effectiveness of the peace process is limited. The authors, mentioned above, all focus on women being perceived

as victims after a conflict where they are the ones who suffer from sexual abuse, rape and being displaced due to the conflict. However, they also conclude that this opinion of women in the aftermath of a conflict is highly controversial since women often partake in the conflict in various ways, bringing the conflict forward or working towards peace. This however, they seldom get recognition for and are therefore often stuck in the perception of them as victims.

To understand the issue further it can be considered through the concept of agency. A commonly used definition is that agency is the capacity humans have to shape the circumstances for their own life and how the actions people think of as free, untainted by others, often are a result of the structures in the society one live in (Hitlin & Elder, 2007). One example of this is that women are seen as victims of war rather than agents of change. This is based on the general assumption that war is gendered and often ascribed as a masculinized story. The discourse of agency is depreciated from what it means to be a woman (Shepherd, 2016). To understand the concept of agency, it is important to discuss power and how power is linked to the masculine, therefore, women can only be subsidiary partners of power to the men. Women can get access to the spheres in which power is exercised, however, this is in the male sphere and women cannot get equal access to the power (Davies, 1991).

Laura Shepherd (2016) discusses women as agents of change rather than victims of violence. She argues that previously many scholars argue that men are the perpetrators while women are the victims of violence in conflicts. However, Shepard means that the masculinized story of war does not describe the complexity of men's and women's role in war. Further, she means that by only letting women be represented as victims of violence undermines their agency and thus the development of peacebuilding activities, in which women can participate and all their experiences of conflict is addressed is undermined. Another scholar who have used the concept of women as agents in conflict is Rita Manchanda (2005). She, as Shepherd want to change the way women are perpetuated in conflicts, where women are solely seen as victims, which she means is not the truth. Women in conflicts often take part as decision makers, negotiators, peace activists and participating in the military struggle. The struggle she means is to start identifying women as agents instead of victims and strengthen their roles as agents for social transformation.

The concept of agency will be incorporated throughout this research. In the findings chapter, the concept of agency will help to analyse the findings and examine if women are seen as victims or agents. This will be done by researching how women are mentioned in peace agreements, as participants or as victims and in what areas they are included and in which areas they are not. The thesis will first evaluate if women have agency or are perceived as victims in the peace agreements and in the second part see if women have agency in the work that they actually perform and engage in, in peacebuilding. This will help to conclude and answer the research question if women are victims of war or if they have the agency to change and impact the peace process.

Women as agents for change will be used in both sections of this research to understand if women are seen as victims in the peace agreements or if they are seen as agents who can be part of and create change in the peace process. Further, the feminist theory will be added to understand the gender roles that limit or make it possible for women to participate in the peace building process. The feminist theory will be complemented by the concept of women as agents for change to understand if women are limited by their gender roles or if their roles as females makes it possible for them to be agents of change or if their gender roles make them being understood as victims.

3.2 Feminist theory

There are multiple feminist theories. One of the common grounds for all feminist theories are to highlight the gender roles. Gender roles are the basic way of how society is symbolically divided. Gender can be explained as how the society reproduce the individuals raised to be masculine or feminine. In different countries, what is feminine and what is masculine can be different from one another and thus one explanation is not universal for all societies. However, the understanding that femininity is constructed from masculinity, to where the two are opposites, the woman is what the man is not, is a basic understanding for how the gender roles are constructed. For example, if the man is active, the woman is passive, if the man is rational the woman is emotional (Hjälmeskog, 1999). Feminist theory is to identify these roles and question these by the consequences they may arise.

Pateman & Grosz's (2013) understanding of the feminist theory, namely of the patriarchal society will help to analyse the findings in this research. The authors argue that in the existing society, only people with male attributes can engage in masculine activities. A woman, who does not have the male attributes can thus not engage in the same activities and never as an equal. This since the patriarchal society does not have the place for women in the normative role of women. Powell (1885) cites Sir Henry Maine's work from 1861, where he argues that the eldest male in the family were the supreme power over the rest of the family.

Judith Butler (1988) consider the difference between sex and gender and the psychological explanation to women's social existence. The psychological reasoning to women's subordination to men can be explained through the so-called gender schema. Gender schema is the way people address the incoming information and select how we react and act on certain information. Through this selective intake of information the individual can impose the current structures of the society. All this is learned from childhood, where the society teach girls and boys the gender roles that are associated with their sex. For example, boys are taught to be strong and powerful while girls are taught to be nurturing and caring. This results in that there is an internalized motivation to why women and men behave in different ways and how they regulate their behaviour to adapt to their gender schemas and the gender roles that are existent in the structure of a society (Bem, 1981). By understanding the psychological explanation to how gender is taught, Judith Butler (1988) argues that gender is something we do rather than who we are, meaning that by accepting and acting in a gender appropriate way, we become women and men. Butler argues that with the help of feminist theory we can begin to understand the structural ways that culture and politics are constructed and reproduced.

Feminist theories have been used in many different types of research, from how children are taught gender in pre-school, (Bronwyn, 2003) to El-Bushras (2007) research on women's peace activism and if women and men actually follow their assigned gender roles in peacebuilding. El-Bushra means that the roles women take in peacebuilding does not simply follow one structure where women only work in professions that are stereotypical for their gender roles. Women and women's organization, El-Bushra means, engage in all types of work in the societies and understanding the feminist theory on war as gendered can help to understand the norms in which war and conflict are seen as masculine when it in reality engage and affects all people in the society.

To be able to explore women's role in peacebuilding and in which areas they are included a feminist theory is applied. The gender roles present in the societies in the cases examined help in the analysis to outline the underlying reasons for why women are not represented in peace process at the same level as men. By applying the feminist theory on gender roles and the assumption that conflict and violence are masculine attributes this will seek to explain the findings of why women are excluded from formal peace processes but take large part in the peace building work since the peaceful work is considered to be a role that fall under the female gender. By trying to understand women's gender roles, this will help to understand what women can actually do and to what extent they are recognised. When evaluating these structures and making them visible this can help to empower women and their roles in peacebuilding. When seeing femininity as the opposite to masculinity where women are what men are not, this can work as an explanatory factor to why women are excluded from certain parts within the peacebuilding area.

The concept of agency and the feminist theory of gender roles will be used in this research as complimentary to each other, since the research will follow two aspects to study women and the role they have in the peacebuilding process and if the roles follows normative roles that exist in the society. These two aspects will help to understand if women are only participating in the areas by which they are placed in for the peace agreement or if women are participating in more areas and if these are limited to areas that are normative to women's roles in society. These two aspects will in the analysis chapter be compared and discussed through a feminist theory and the concept of agency to understand if women are seen as agents in the peace agreements, if they act as agents in the peacebuilding process, with the work they take upon themselves and if they are trapped in gender roles that limit them in their work.

4. Findings

In this chapter, the research will examine the peace agreements from 2000-2016 to see the different characteristics that are present in the agreements regarding women and their role. After the research will focus on the five selected cases and provide a brief background on the conflict in the country, following this the peace agreement that has been signed in the country will be examined to see what areas women are placed within. Each case will then conclude in the peace building work that women actually engage in, in their communities.

4.1 Peace Agreements

According to a recent study of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR, 2017), women are rarely included in peace negotiations. In the peace negotiations from 1990-2017 women represented 2% of the mediators, 5% of the witnesses and signatories and 8% of the negotiators. Of the 1.187 peace agreements during the same time, 19% mentioned and made references to women, 5% made references to gender based violence. Experts on the area of creating lasting peace stress the need to include women in the peace negotiations since women's needs are different to those of the men and they are often more vulnerable which is overlooked or forgotten in the negotiation process. This in turn leads to the peace agreements being less effective and less likely to be sustainable since the humanitarian responses are limited (CFR, 2017: IPI, 2013: Kumalo, 2015: UN Women, 2012).

408 peace agreements are available at the UN Peacemaker website for the time period from the year 2000 to 2016. Of these, ninety of the peace agreements are picked up by the key search word 'Women and Gender issues' from the year 2000-2016. This showed that there are several peace agreements that discuss the role of women. However, the way they address women and their part in the peace process are very varying and can be divided into two categories based on to what extent they are mentioned in peace agreements. The first category is the one that does not mention women's roles in the society in any elaborate way. These peace agreements only make a reference to women as wives or victims of war. In the second category women are mentioned in a more elaborate way where the inclusion of women or the need for women to have more equality are mentioned, their roles in the society and how women shall be included to create a sustainable peace. From the second category,

five cases, all addressing women in different ways that is more elaborate than just concerning victimhood or equality has been chosen as case studies for this research.

In the peace agreements which were examined, 67 of the agreements falls under category one, where women are not mentioned in any elaborate way or are only considered as victims of some sort. 23 of the peace agreements mention women's equality or reference the need to be considerate of the UN resolution 1325 and the fair representation of women, some to a higher extent than others. Only six peace agreements - Libya, CAR, Somalia, Yemen, Zimbabwe and Sudan - elaborate somewhat on women and their roles. Due to lack of material on CAR this case was, as already mentioned in the methodology chapter (2.3) excluded. The remaining five cases were thus selected to be compared in this research based on the peace agreements that were signed in these countries include women in a more elaborate way. The following part will discuss how women are mentioned in the peace agreements that are signed for each country and then following, how and what women actually work with in the informal setting to see if women are limited to the aspects that they are assigned to or if they work in other areas as well.

4.2 Libya

4.2.1 Background and Peace Agreement in Libya

In January 2011, Libya followed Tunisia into the Arab Spring. In Libya the protesters in the country called for the end of the ruling of Muammar al Qadhafi after he had the power of the country for 42 years. The protests grew quickly and in February the same year, there were thousands of participants in the protests and what had started out as a peaceful demonstration now turned to violence. In the following weeks the opposition of Qadhafi staged armed conflicts in the major cities Benghazi, Misratah and the Nafusa Mountains. Since the conflict had escalated at such a fast pace with the increase of aggression in the country the threat towards civilians became a pressing issue, something that caused for the United Nation Security Council (UNSC) to adopt a new resolution to protect civilians in the face of conflict. This resulted in countries such as France, the United Kingdom and the United States beginning a military strike towards the country and its government which continued for eight months, with NATO as the leader for the operations, until Qadhafi were captured and killed in October of the same year (McQuinn, 2013).

In the Libyan Political Agreement ‘Libyan Political Agreement’ that was signed in 2015, it quite clearly states that women need to be part of the peace building process which is in the political sphere. This is done by pointing out women’s role and where they need to be present in the political sphere. For example, they write that there need to be a “fair representation of women when choosing the members of the government of the national accord” (PA1, 2015, p. 3) as well as “Underscoring the important role of Libyan women in conflict prevention and resolution as well as in peace building, and the importance of their equal contribution to all efforts that aim to resolve the Libyan crisis; also, the need to increase their decision-making role in relation to those efforts and participation in the political process” (PA1, 2015, p. 6). The agreement stresses the importance of women and their roles as equals in peace building. It also emphasizes how the equal participation and how the increase of women’s participation are not mentioned in the agreement and thus any consideration towards how these goals will be achieved are not considered in the peace agreements.

4.2.2 Women’s Peace Work in Libya

In Libya, women have been excluded from the formal work in the peace process and especially the mediation and reconciliation part. The organizations that work with mediation in the area state that the inclusion of women is difficult as the male elders who are the ones who usually take part in the mediations would not allow for women to participate. In some cases, there have been separate meetings for women and men, where the group of women share their strategies with the men and thus influencing the mediation (Larsson & Mannergren, 2014).

One of these meetings where women met to discuss peace took place in November in 2017. Women from the major cities in Libya came to participate in a workshop set up by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Support Mission in Libya (UNSMIL) and during these days the women discussed the issue of how to create a sustainable peace in the region. The women participating found that even though they were of different tribes and with different political belongings their goals were similar and decided to work together by influencing their societies and start the reconciliation process between their different tribes (UNDP, 2017).

One organization in Libya that works for and with women is known as the National Movement for Libya (NML). They have over 80 female leaders from several different tribes and of different ethnical groups. The organization organized a so-called tent movement, where they have camps in the areas where the conflict is played out for women who have lost their husbands or sons to engage and meet other women in the same position. The aim with this is for women from different tribes to meet and form bonds so that they can help with the mediation and spread the message of reconciliation in the different tribes. The women working in the organization are also active in negotiating cease-fire with the military leaders so that the wounded can get humanitarian help and the aid they need in the midst of the battles, this is however not without risk as the women who have these roles often become targets and are being killed because of their engagement (Athie, 2017).

Another NGO in Libya concerning women and peace is the Libyan Women's Platform for Peace (LWPP) and was created in the year 2011. The women who are active in the NGO comes from several different cities and work for women's rights in the post Qadhafi Libya. The work they engage in is centred around women's rights, leadership by the youth in the country as well as advancement and security regarding women's empowerment in the political and economic sphere (LWPP, 2016).

One of the major problem that women who are participating in peace processes are facing is that women who advocate for gender equality are targeted for slander, abuse and threats. Even women who work in politics and who advocate for equality are targeted where they experience violent attacks and are even in some cases assassinated. These crimes are rarely seen as having a political agenda and thus women's roles in the formal sphere is threatened based on conservative and patriarchal cultural practices. Further, women are seen as the individuals who hold the family's honour, this limits women in how they can act since they do not act on as an individual but on behalf of the whole family (Larsson & Mannergren, 2014).

Even though women in Libya experience hardship for their role in society, they have since the revolution been able to engage in the political sphere, especially as informal actors. Women were a powerful force in the overthrowing of the dictator Qadhafi, they were also active in the revolution in which aftermath, they have pressed for the rights to engage in the mediation processes, even if only to a smaller extent (Larsson & Mannergren, 2014).

4.3 Somalia

4.3.1 Background and Peace Agreement in Somalia

The conflict in Somalia has been present in the country for the last decades, starting with a civil war in the 1980's. In the following years, the Somali state collapsed due to both internal factors, where the centralized state was contradicted with the fractious kinship system, and external factors such as colonialism and the impact of the cold war affected the development of the conflict. In the early 1990's Somalia experienced a war between the clans in the society where more than 25.000 people were killed and 1.5 million fled the country. Afterwards, between the years of 1992 to 1996, the country experienced two civil wars. After the change of the millennia, many efforts were made to reconcile in the country with both mediation and peace processes. However, these failed and in years from 2006 to 2008, the situation became catastrophic for the people in Somalia where the humanitarian situation was the worst since the 1990s (Bradbury & Healy, 2010).

The peace agreement that was established in Somalia, called the 'Protocol Establishing the Somali National Constituent Assembly' and signed in 2012 is one of the agreements in this research that mention women's role more extensively. This is done in multiple ways, for example is it staked out clearly in the peace agreement that they will use a quotas system to implement women in multiple roles. For example, in the National Constituent Assembly, women must fill thirty percent of the 825 delegates. To be able to implement this quotas system, the peace agreement state that they must reject; "Any submitted nomination list (by each of the 4.5 clans) that does not include at least 30% women" (PA2, 2012, p. 33). The peace agreement in Somalia clearly outlines women and their inclusiveness in the political sphere in the aftermath of the conflict. This is done with clear guidelines that need to be followed for the assembly and the parliament to achieve a gender inclusive society. Further, this shows that the implementation of women in the society is considered and actively implemented.

4.3.2 Women's Peace Work in Somalia

In Somalia, the advocates for peace have traditionally been male and often amongst the elders. This since they have the means to have dialogues and mediate for peace and in the formal peace talks, women, however, are often excluded all together from these processes due to patriarchal structures (UN Women, n.d.). Despite this, women are often effective in

influencing the elders in how to engage in the peace processes. A reason for this is due to women's affiliation to multiple clans, for example, through their fathers, siblings and so on, resulting in a view where women are not trusted as advocates for their clan in formal peace talks. However, when it comes to peace building, women are often included because of their affiliation with other clans where they can help to build relationships with these clans (Jama, 2010).

In some of the clans in Somalia, women have more power than in others, especially if they are related to an elder, have wealth or come from a respected family. These women can often influence and pressure the men and especially the elders in the clan to take part in peace building. Unfortunately, women do not get to participate in the formal negotiations for peace that they have lobbied for. There are many examples of what women in Somalia engage in peace building, for example they work with; Human Rights, Disarmament, Peace and Security and political advocacy (Jama, 2010).

In a field study done by Joyce Gichuru in 2014 in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia, the researcher asked the women who participated in the study several questions considering their role in peacebuilding. For example, questions such as; if they had any training and how they engaged, with the help of organizations or if there was a culture of peacebuilding in the societies they lived in, were asked. Gichuru found that the women in Somalia had several roles in peacebuilding where the main focus were found at the community level. These roles were amongst other, dismantling illegal checkpoints that were controlled by different armed militia groups and creating groups that consisted of women and youths that worked for peace and security in their communities. One major role that the women had were to bring the opposing parties together to start the reconciliation process, both on a local and a national level.

Gichuru's (2014, p. 37) research further consisted of a quantitative study where the women answered how included they were in different areas, on a scale used by the researcher. Two of these being participation in conflict resolution and prevention and participation in post conflict peacebuilding. Both of these scored very low, where women felt like they played little to no part in these areas and then specifically in the Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR), Security Sector Reform (SSR) and post conflict elections and governance areas. One reason for this is that women are not regarded as combatants and are

thus neither part of armed groups. Instead women in Somalia have focused on advocating to end harmful cultural practices, these being female genital mutilation (FGM), child marriage, affirmative action and the use of effective conflict resolution mechanisms.

The NGO Somali Women Development Center (SWDC) that works for women in Somalia can be found in many areas. Amongst these, one can find peace building and reconciliation where they work with female volunteers. One of their projects between the year of 2011 and 2012 went through a first phase where women from five different districts were engaged in strengthening the peace and security between the neighbourhoods in their districts. Over 500 women in the five different districts did work with both arrange activities and reporting incidents to the police as to restore basic rule of law (SWDC, 2016).

4.4 Yemen

4.4.1 Background and Peace Agreement in Yemen

Following the new constitution in 1990 the country was struck with political instability. The new constitution came after the unification of the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY). Formally, the country was to be ruled using a multiparty political system where all citizens of Yemen were guaranteed the right to vote and candidate, it also promised equality before the law for all the people. In reality however, the country has been ruled by Ali Abdullah al-Saleh who is the head of the ruling General People's Congress (GPC), Al-Saleh were also the president of the country for twelve years prior to the unification in the 1990. Even though there are several opposing parties, there have not been any challenges towards the ruling party and Al-Saleh towards gaining power. Following this, the North of the country have experienced a conflict that started in 2004 between the regime and the Houthi movement. The conflict between the two parties are concerning the marginalization of the compromised outcome for the southern governorates following the unification (Durac, 2012).

In Yemen, the 'Agreement on the Implementation Mechanism for the Transition Process in Yemen in Accordance with the Initiative of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)' were signed in 2011. The peace agreement mainly mentions women within the politics of the country, for example saying "...due consideration shall be given to the representation of women" (PA3, 2011, p. 3) and "Women shall be appropriately represented in all of the institutions referred to in this Mechanism" (PA3, 2011, p. 8). It outlines that women need to

be represented, however, it does not outline how this will be achieved or to what extent women need to be represented. The peace agreement does however state that “The adoption of legal and other means to strengthen the protection and rights of vulnerable groups, including children, as well as the advancement of women” (PA3, 2011, p. 7). This means that there are some considerations on where to start to advance women’s role though it is not clear how these legal means will be structured or carried out. Women are thus considered in the peace agreements, however, how the roles that are assigned to them will be filled is not in any way elaborated upon.

4.4.2 Women’s Peace Work in Yemen

When the Arabic spring came to Yemen in 2011, the Yemini women were at the front of the revolution, where they engaged in a non-violent protest and demanding a better future for themselves. When the conflict became violent, some women became combatants or smuggled arms. However, most women decided to serve the combatants by delivering food and water to them, caring for the wounded and guarded checkpoints. Later women have helped to engage in humanitarian relief, mapping internally displaced persons (IDPs), providing aid to by smuggling medicine and food. They have also demonstrated for the detained civilians and kidnapped persons to be released, negotiated for release of detainees who have been kept on all sides. Further, women have worked to reintegrate child soldiers back into society (Anderlini, Jarhum, Allam & Cowick, 2017, Saferworld, n.d.).

Due to the cultural roles in Yemen, women are seen as passive beings who does not have the expertise or capacity to engage in the peace process. In the formal peace talks in 2016, only a few women from Yemen were allowed to participate. The women who were participating were regulated to only partake in the unofficial discussions and these had limited impact and relevance to the main negotiations that were held. Even though the national peace reconciliation process has not included women in a meaningful way, when it comes to the work regarding the peace building and mediation on a local level, women are very much engaged and have big impact in the society. For example, women are consulted and provide representation in tribal mediation in front of both men and community leaders (Oxfam, 2017).

UN Women, who work in Yemen for women's participation in humanitarian aspects and empowerment in the political sphere did in 2015 gather women from Yemen in Cyprus back to discuss their vision for their country (UN Women, 2017). This gathering also resulted in the creation of the Yemeni Women Pact for Peace and Security (YWPPS). Their goal is to increase the number of women who participate in the formal peacebuilding process. Unfortunately, women are still excluded from and ignored from the formal peace work and rarely get any meaningful right to participate in the peace process (Anderlini, Jarhum, Allam & Cowick, 2017).

In Yemen, both during the conflict and after, women have helped to organize humanitarian aid, mapping of the IDPs and the households that were affected by the war. Further the women have also helped to organize the relief assistance to the vulnerable places. The efforts of assistance made by women have not been easy, this since there have been resistance towards their help where they have faced threats and restrictions by certain groups who want to limit the participation of women in the public sphere (Heinze & Baabbad, 2017).

Even though women are limited in the areas of which they can engage in, the women participating in the study by Heinze & Baabbad (2017) did point out that they do engage in several activities in order to have a positive impact on their communities. For example, women do help and work with promoting school and the enrolment rate amongst the youths, they also work to achieve better security from the threats that are present in the community.

4.5 Zimbabwe

4.5.1 Background and Peace Agreement in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe gained their independence in 1980. Since then, the country has experienced a protracted social conflict. A protracted social conflict is when a country suffers from a prolonged violent conflict where the need for security, recognition, acceptance and fair access to political institutions and economical participation is ignored (Ramsbotham, 2005). After Zimbabwe gained independence the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) government were to transform the country into a democracy. Unfortunately, the agreement reached at the Lancaster House for their independence placed constraints that made it hard for the ZANU-PF to reform the country in any meaningful way. As a result, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) were created in 1999 as a way to push for

constitutional revision. However, due to the fact that the commission that drafted the new constitution mainly were represented by people who were loyal to the ZANU-PF the MDC were not successful (Sims, 2015).

In the peace agreement in Zimbabwe, the ‘Agreement between the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) Formations’ signed in 2008, the challenges that Zimbabwe women are facing are mentioned in several different ways. One way that women and their rights are mentioned is concerning how women will gain and be recognized as equal citizens by having access to and control over land. To further evolve this and ensure women’s rights and their equal citizenship it is written that they “...need to ensure that the new Constitution deepens our democratic values and principles and the protection of the equality of all citizens, particularly the enhancement of full citizenship and equality of women” (PA4, 2008, p. 9). Here, one can see that women’s role as equals is considered in the Zimbabwean peace agreement, further, the peace agreement also mention the need for women in the political sphere where they outline “Acknowledging the need for gender parity, particularly the need to appoint women to strategic Cabinet posts” (PA4, 2008, p. 20). The peace agreement does not give clear examples on how the inclusion of women will be conducted or how many women will be appointed to the strategic posts creates the possibility for women to only get a small representation.

4.5.2 Women’s Peace Work in Zimbabwe

At the International Conference on Women’s political and Economic Empowerment and Peacebuilding that was held in April 2011, prior to the signing of the peace agreement. At the conference the women of Zimbabwe adopted a resolution that demanded for a minimum of 30% representation within the executive, legislative and judicial branches of the government (UN Women, 2014).

In both the rural areas as well as on a national level, women have several entry points to where and how they can participate in peacebuilding in Zimbabwe. For example, the women in rural areas engage in village-committees, women’s clubs and churches that work as a place for more traditional peace resolution. The church was chosen as a place for women to engage in peacebuilding and particularly in mediation since women were considered to get more respect and legitimacy through the church and thus enhance women’s role in peacebuilding.

Women in Zimbabwe are often engaged in activities that work towards community healing and reconciliation, however, this is rarely referred to as peacebuilding in the country (UN Women, 2014).

In the rural areas, women are an important part for the peace building. They engage in various parts in the community and then especially at the grassroots level where they for example provide for the basic needs for those living in the community. These needs being child care, psychological help, advocating and lobbying for human rights and the issue of gender inequality. However, these efforts are rarely recognized as important parts in the peace building process and thus, gets no formal recognition as peace work (Rukuni, Shanyisa, Madhuku & Maxwell, 2016).

One NGO called Women's Action Group Zimbabwe (WAG) work for women and their rights and have different projects to enhance women's status in the society. One focal point of their projects is the prevention of violence and sexual abuse towards women. Another project that have been completed is concerning a peace building project. In this project women from several different communities are taught mediation and other skills as to help solve conflicts. However, the peacebuilding project is not one in itself but is instead incorporated in all their work towards women's rights and building a more sustainable society. The work continued by incorporating peacebuilding skills in all their activities which has led to women being more confident in their roles as peacebuilders (WAG, n.d.).

Another issue for women in Zimbabwe is the maternal mortality rate. This has led to a project for women to engage in, which is a midwife project to create a safer space for women to have children. In 2009, the maternal mortality rate were 980 deaths per 100.000 births. To lower these numbers, the elderly women are training each other in midwifery skills. Further, the women who are active in this project wanted to make a difference and help to end the violence against women, and therefore women from several provinces gathered for the 16 Days of Activism to End Violence against Women (UN Women, 2014).

In Zimbabwe, an organization called The Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ) include 60 organizations and have eight offices around the country. The WCoZ works for women and helping women to lobby and advocate for activities concerning women's participation in in the constitution-making process. Zimbabwean women have lived in a country that does not in

the constitution secure their human rights as citizens to a full extent. This is evident in section 23 of the current constitution that opens up for the possibility of women being discriminated due to cultural practices. This in turn lead to the women of Zimbabwe coming to the realization that they need to participate in the re-making of the constitution which in turn has led to that during the past years, the women of Zimbabwe have been an active part of this process (Mushonga, 2011).

4.6 Sudan

4.6.1 Background and Peace Agreement in Sudan

The root cause of the conflict in Sudan is based on the access and control to resources, the resource in this conflict is land. The issue of control over land in Sudan can be dated back to the 1920's and the colonial time with the tribes and their homeland to where the tribes have a strong relationship with the land which they consider to be their homeland. The conflict concerning the land was further kindled in the 1970's when the issue was politicised when the 'Lands Act' was established where the tribes were denied ownership of their homeland and the government had the right to use force to safeguard the land from the tribes. In the years after the different acts were adopted, they have cut the rural communities from their land. The people who instead moved to the land had the backing of the state where access to that land were their rights as Sudanese citizens, sparking the conflict between these "newcomers" and the tribes (Ayoub, 2006).

During the period of 2000-2016, twelve agreements that were signed in Sudan. In three of these, women are only mentioned as victims. In another three, women are not mentioned at all, and in six women are mentioned in the sense of achieving gender equality. One example of this is the 'Comprehensive Peace Agreement between the Government of Sudan and the SPLM/SPLA' from 2005, the peace agreement states that there is a need for "Gender equality of the people of Sudan" as well as "Equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all civil and political rights set forth in the international Covenant on civil and Political Rights..." (PA5, 2005, Section 1.6.2.15). In the agreement the equality between men and women is in focus rather than women's role in the formal setting. No mention of how women shall be implemented or how equality will be achieved are made or outlined in any part of the agreement. In the 2013 'Ceasefire agreement between the Government of Sudan and the Justice and Equality Movement-Sudan (JEM)' (PA6, 2013, Section 22) women are

mentioned as to having an active role in a sub sector concerning the ceasefire. For example, where they are to be included in the work concerning reporting and investigating violations that is related to the ceasefire agreement. This shows that women's role in Sudan goes beyond equality and even politics, however, how this shall be implemented is only vaguely considered and no mentioning of how to implement women in these areas, more than simply implementing them, are made.

4.6.2 Women's Peace Work in Sudan

Historically, women in Sudan have had a big impact on conflict resolution and have also had a significant role in peace building, especially concerning healing, reconciliation and building bridges between divisions created by the conflict (Freitas, 2016). Women were in the 1990's involved in peace building at the grassroots level where they were part of the "People to People" initiative which was an initiative to heal the internal conflicts that were present in the country at the time. In 1994, over seven hundred women attended a women's conference for civic groups. It was also one of the first times that the military institution had to recognize the women as a part of the civil society and thus attempted to co-ordinate their operations with the civilian group created (Itto, 2006 & Faria, 2011).

Since the 1990s, many of the peacebuilding initiatives worked on by women have focused on grassroots levels of the conflict, by using their mediation skills and establishing indigenous peace processes women have worked towards a more peaceful society. The forums that the women created have been used to working towards ending inter-ethnic conflicts. However, the focus has also been on a national level where many women in Sudan were engaged in groups, NGOs and different networks. This as a way to spread a message where they advocated for peace and wanted to draw attention towards the conflict in their country, which then often was referred to as 'the forgotten war' (Itto, 2006).

Women in Sudan have contributed to peacebuilding in several ways, some of the practices used are songs, dances, peace missions and marriage. In some areas women used the threat of their nakedness to force impact since women's nakedness is regarded as a curse in Sudan. For example, were this used as a way for women to force their sons to give up their arms and protest against the conflict. Further, the women wanted to bring in women from other communities than their own to try to build relationships and create peace and they have been especially useful in the inter-ethnic reconciliation processes (Itto, 2006 & Ogunasnya, 2007).

The Sudanese women realised that the conflict in their country was without end. This resulted in women organising themselves into groups to advocate for peace on an international level. In these groups they brought attention to what the consequences are of civil war and attempted to be incorporated in the peacebuilding (Ogunasnya, 2007).

There are several organisations working for women's rights in Sudan. For example, in the north of Sudan, a group called Women Empowerment for Peace and Development Network have worked for women's democratic rights and encourage women to take a bigger part in decision making. Further, they work with analysing the laws that discriminated women to create a change in the legislation. Another group called Nuba Women work on issues concerning women's rights and advocate for peace. The Nuba women organization are also carrying out their work through the church and their network. Additionally, they also engage in mobilizing the community as to increase women's role in politics and have economic empowerment (ElSawi, 2011).

5. Analysis

This chapter discusses and analyses the findings with the help of the analytical framework. First the peace agreements and the peacebuilding process will be examined through a feminist perspective. Following this the chapter will focus on women as victims or agents of change in peace agreements and in peace building. The chapter will conclude with an analysis of how women use their gender role to affect the peace process in the direction they want.

When the 1325 resolution was adopted, this was done to incorporate women and have them participate in the peace negotiations to a larger extent than they were at that time. However, the findings show that since the adoption of Resolution 1325, the peace agreements that has been signed have been limited in their effectiveness to promote women's participation in the peace negotiations. Peace agreements that were signed before the year 2000, for example in Central America have references to women and their roles in peacebuilding. For example, the 'Agreement on the resettlement of Population Groups uprooted by the Armed Conflict' signed in Guatemala in 1994 mention the need of women participating in the development projects after the conflict as well as their right to ownership of land and housing (PA7). In Mexico during the years 1995 and 1996, six different peace agreements were signed. All of which made references to women and their role in the peace building process and their right to be equal to men in the political and economic sphere (PA8: PA9: PA10: PA11: PA12 & PA13). Overall, the peace agreements signed in Central America before the implementation of 1325 show that women were considered and their role in the society and in the peace building were quite elaborate.

The findings of this thesis stand in contrast to the peace agreements signed after the 1325 resolution was put in place. One might conclude that women are mentioned more in the agreements from central America than the ones from Africa due to cultural practices and the different gender roles women possess in the different cultures, but that is rather up to speculation. However, it does show that the 1325 resolution has not had the impact it was set out to have on peace agreements and peace negotiations. If the 1325 resolution had been successful it would have evolved from the peace agreements that were in place in other areas of the world. Instead, from the peace agreements signed over twenty years ago until 2016, we do not see any significant increase of women participating or their role being mentioned or

their rights being discussed as could be expected by the implementation of the 1325, 1820 and the 1888 resolutions that affirm the importance of the consideration of women.

5.1 Peace agreements and Peacebuilding from a feminist perspective

In the peace agreements, both in general and in the five cases examined in this research, women and their role in the peacebuilding process are not very elaborated upon. In the peace agreements for Yemen, Somalia and Libya, the focus on women's role in peacebuilding is on the political sphere and their participation within the politics as a solution for women to take part and be represented in the peacebuilding process. In Sudan and Zimbabwe, the focus of the peace agreements is instead concentrating on achieving gender equality and how to improve women's livelihood as citizens.

Women's actual work in peacebuilding, however, stands in stark contrast to the lack of attention paid to women in the peace agreements. Within the field of peacebuilding, women engage in several different types of work. One of the most typical work they engage in is the reconciliation process where the women often mediate for the different communities and the different tribes and open for the possibility of ending the conflict between the different actors. However, women do not only engage in reconciliation and mediation but as the findings show, they are also engaged in work concerning human rights, aid, psychological help, security, disarmament, political advocacy and mapping of IDPs. The feminist theory says that women are seen as peaceful and thus not participating in work that focuses more on the warfare but instead working towards reconciliation and healing the communities. Considering gender roles, women would be foreseen to work within typical female work, in these cases it would be considered to be aid, human rights and reconciliation, however, this research shows the contrary. Women are not only engaging in the typical female activities but also engage in security and disarmament and mapping of IDPs, which can be considered as typical male work in the sense as it does not focus on reconciliation and healing the society. This is seen in the cases of both Somalia and Yemen where women actively engage in all of these activities in the peacebuilding process.

5.2 Women as Victims of war or agents of change?

In the peace agreements, women are in most cases considered to be victims of war and of sexual abuse. Looking into the cases used for this research, two of the five peace agreements mention women in the sense that the society needs to focus on improving women's roles in the communities. When discussing women and their empowerment, women are again considered victims since they are not equal to the men in the society and can thus not work for change until they have a greater impact in society. In the other three peace agreements, women are assigned to roles in the political sphere in the country to improve the livelihood in the country. In these peace agreements, women are rather considered as having the possibility to create change in the society by taking part in the politics. However, their roles are still in a minority to the men and thus limited. The peace agreements focus on improving women's role in the political sphere and therefore also showing the result of women being considered as victims but with the possibility to be agents of change.

In the peacebuilding process, the findings show that women are not limited to the spheres of work that they are assigned to in the peace agreements, instead, they work in several different areas of work. In the mediation and reconciliation process, women are active as agents of change, they use their role as women to try and mediate between the different actors. This shows that, to some extent, women do accept their roles based on gender and stay within the limitations for that role. By working in several different spheres concerning peacebuilding work that is both related to what is considered female work, but also in the areas that are considered male spheres. For example, they are taking part in work that is both dangerous and where women are targets for abuse show that women in these cases does not back down for the threat of violence. Based on this, women cannot be seen as helpless and only living as victims. Instead, we can see evidence of women working as agents in peacebuilding where they influence several, if not all parts of the peacebuilding process in the countries they live in. Most commonly women in the five cases all engage in the mediation and reconciliation processes, for example through the more direct way of influencing the male leaders or the elders as in Libya and Somalia. In Yemen and Sudan women have a more direct impact on the reconciliation and mediation process where they participate with the men and elders and by speaking with women from other tribes. In Zimbabwe, women also have a more direct role concerning reconciliation, however, by using the church as a channel to affect the leaders in the community they get more respect and legitimacy than before. In Somalia and Yemen

there are evidence that women engage and are successful in working with disarmament and security. In Sudan, women use threats towards the men to influence them to put down their arms and thus engage to the extent possible for them in their roles as women in the issue of disarmament. So even in the cases where women are limited by their gender roles, they do what they can to affect the peacebuilding with the means that they have access to. While at the same time staying within their spheres as women, making them agents of change while to most part appearing to remain within the assigned normative roles.

The aim with this research what to see the role women are assigned to in peace agreements and then compare that to the types of work they do in peacebuilding. This to see if the work women engage in is following normative roles or if they work within areas that are considered to be masculine. When conducting the research, the findings showed that women do work in several different areas that is not considered to be stereotypical female work. What was found beyond the type of work women engage in was that, in some of the cases, where women are more limited by their gender roles, in what type of work they are allowed to engage in. The findings showed that women use their roles as women to affect the men in their communities and tribes to work for peace. This was done, for example, by having the possibility to mediate with other tribes because of the bond women have with other women in different tribes. Another example is the women of Sudan who use their nakedness to threat the men in the community to put down their arms, this since the women's nakedness is seen as a curse. These examples shows that even if women are limited in the type of work they can engage in they use their roles as women to take part in the peace building process.

Women are often assigned roles as victims, this is based on the sexual abuse they are targets of, amongst other things. They are also victims of war as civilians since they in many cases do not partake in the conflicts as agents. Further, women's gender roles place them as subordinate to men where they are considered to have limited or no impact on conflict or reconciliation since this is something that has to be dealt with by the men. Due to these factors, women are often placed in a box where they are perceived as only victims, rather than as victims and as agents. Women do suffer from sexual abuse and are victims of war, however, this is only one part of the roles women have in conflict and in the peace work afterwards. The women in the five cases in this research all participate in peacebuilding processes as agents where they work to achieve peace in their communities in various ways.

Not only as agents in their work but also in the different ways they can persuade the men and the ones that are the decision makers in their society to advocate for peace.

To divide women in to the two groups of victims or as agents can be a bit more complex than first believed. Women are victims of war, but they are also agents of change, and in these cases, women use their agency to end the conflicts and work towards reconciliation. If women were agents of war instead of victims of war they may not use their agency to work for peace but rather for war. Thus, by considering women as victims of war that use their experience as victims to create change and be agents for change and peace this creates an understanding of women as not only being victims or only agents, but instead both. Women acts as agents to the extent possible for them in the society they live in. In the instances where women are limited by their gender roles they use what means they have to implement change and using what agency they have to affect the conflict and the one's leading the conflict and when they have more possibilities they use them and show that once again, they have agency.

6. Conclusion

The objective of this research was to compare the roles assigned to women in peace agreements to the work they actually do in peacebuilding. This was done by using the concept of agency to investigate if women are victims of war or if they actually are agents of change. Given the previous research on the topic of women as victims of war or as agents of change the issue has been thoroughly researched and through the research one can conclude that women often are agents of change while they at the same time are victims. Instead of understanding women as only victims or agents, one sees that they actually are both. However, the comparison to what roles women are assigned to in the peace agreements and what they actually engage in when it comes to peacebuilding work is an approach that has not been researched to any large extent.

This research showed that even though many scholars and the United Nations with the adoption of resolution 1325 have highlighted the importance of incorporating women in peace agreements and their importance in peacebuilding, this is far from the reality. This however, does not implicate that women, even though they are often treated as it, must or even should, be considered to be victims. As was highlighted from the case studies chosen, women are sometimes mentioned in the peace agreements and their roles in the society are mentioned. However, women do engage in more activities than the ones that are mentioned in the peace agreements and the work they engage in not only follow the normative gender roles of women. Instead, women are present and engaged in many, if not all types of peacebuilding. The findings also show that women often have a leverage in their roles as women when it comes to reconciliation and mediation. This is because they have the ability to speak with women in other tribes due to family bonds that exist cross tribes due to marriage. This type of bond is not something which exists for the men since they live out their whole lives in the tribe where they are born. In the cases where women are limited by the gender roles in their society to participate in peacebuilding they use these gender roles as a way to affect the men, for example, as mentioned before, in Sudan the women use the threat of their naked body to persuade the men to stop fighting since the nakedness of a woman's body is seen as a curse.

The findings further showed that even though the implementation of the UN resolution 1325 occurred almost two decades ago, it has not increased the participation of women in peace

negotiations or increased the consideration to women as more than victims in the peace agreements. Instead, peace agreements in the Central America that were signed before the resolution were adopted were more inclined to mention women and their roles than the peace agreements signed only a few years ago in Africa.

This research thus indicates that women are not limited by the roles they are assigned to in peacebuilding and also that they are following normative gender roles concerning the work they engage in. The study shows that women, even though not presented as it in the peace agreements are agents of change and should thus have a larger official role in the peace agreements since previous research also has shown that by incorporating women, the peace is due to last longer. This research has contributed to an understanding concerning which areas women participate in, in the peacebuilding process and why women's role thus can and should be implemented in the peace agreements. This since their role as agents for change in the aftermath of conflict has shown to have quite the impact on the peace process. By understanding that women do not follow the roles they are assigned to one can see the opportunities women possess to make a difference in the society and how important it is to support the women in their peacebuilding process. This since they are active in changing the society after a conflict. By also understanding that women neither are only victims but rather victims as well agents, it is important to incorporate their agency in the peace agreements since it will enable women to work with peacebuilding further and implement an even further change. By instead implementing a policy that demand a minimum of women participating in the peace process, or having women's groups discussing women's role and how they actively can engage in the peace reconciliation process and the peacebuilding, women's agency in the aftermath of conflict can be used to a larger extent.

Further research on the topic should include research concerning the question why women were mentioned more in peace agreements in Central America before the year 2000 and before the 1325 resolution than post 1325 in Africa and Western Asia. Research should also be done with the perspective of understanding women's roles and how they are perceived compared to how they act. An analysis of the peace agreements compared to what women work with in other countries than the ones in Africa and western Asia may show a different picture than this study and may show a different result than with these cases. By comparing the effectiveness of the UN resolution 1325 in other areas of the world one can understand what needs to be changed for the resolution to become more effective. Since this research has

concluded that the resolution is not effective in these countries some type of change needs to be implemented and further research on how to change the resolution or the implementation of a new one may change women's role in peace agreements.

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