

“Reframing” the postwar moment:
the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on
gender relations in post-conflict
states – the case of Sierra Leone

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Abbreviation List

APC	All People's Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CT	<i>Concord Times</i>
DAW	Division for the Advancement of Women
DDR	Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration
DEVAW	Declaration on the Elimination of all forms of Violence Against Women
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting
FSU	Family Support Unit
GA	General Assembly (United Nations)
GBV	Gender-Based Violence
GNI	Gross National Incomes ¹
GII	Gender Inequality Index
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
INSTRAW	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus Infection / Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
HRW	Human Right Watch
IO	International Organisation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organisation
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
IRC	International Rescue Committee
LAWCLA	Lawyers Centre for Legal Assistance
LE	Leones (currency of Sierra Leone)
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender
MARWOPNET	Mano River Women's Peace Network
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MP	Member of Parliament
NAP	National Action Plan
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
NDI	National Democratic Institute
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation

¹ World Bank (2014) includes many small states or territories in the rankings, like Hong Kong or Palestine. It differs from the UNHDR rankings in that way.

NPFL	National Patriotic Front of Liberia
NPRC	National Provisional Ruling Council
OPARD-SL	Organisation for Peace Reconciliation and Development – Sierra Leone
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues Advancement of Women
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategies and Policies
ROCARE	Réseau Ouest et Centre Africain de Recherche en Education
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SiLNAP	Sierra Leone National Action Plan
SLA	Sierra Leone Army
SLAUW	Sierra Leone Association of University Women
SLPP	Sierra Leone’s People Party
SLWMP	Sierra Leone Women's Movement for Peace
SSR	Security Sector Reform
ST	<i>Standard Times</i>
HDI	Human Development Index
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UIC	University of Illinois – Chicago
UMP	Union pour un Mouvement Populaire
(UN) WARO	(United Nations) West Africa Regional Office
UN	United Nations
UNAMSIL	United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNHDR	United Nations Human Development Report
UNGEI	United Nations Girls’ Education Initiative
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNIOSIL	United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
US	United States
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
WAND	Women's Association for National Development
WAYL	West African Youth League
WIPNET	Women in Peace Building
WOMEN	Women for a Morally Engaged Nation
WPA	Women Protection Advisors
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

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Abstract

Title: ““Reframing” the postwar moment: the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on gender relations in post-conflict states – the case of Sierra Leone”

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This thesis analyses the impact of UNSCR 1325 on post-conflict states using Sierra Leone as a case study. It employs the concept of the “postwar moment” defined as a period of fluidity with the potential to be a time of change, particularly in gender relations. This period has historically been negative for women. UNSCR 1325, which implicitly recalls this negative moment, has been prominent in international discourse on post-conflict reconstruction since its creation in 2000. It is credited with improving the position of women in conflict and in peace processes, and by implication, in post-conflict reconstruction, in this way ameliorating the impact of the postwar moment on women. The study uses a word-counting analysis of two Sierra Leonean newspapers covering 2002-2008 and of national policies documents from 2004-2012 to examine elite discourse on gender. The analysis uses frames drawn from a word-counting analysis of 1325 and related texts. The thesis finds that 1325 has had virtually no impact on elite discourse, and that this lack of impact is in some respects a result of weaknesses in the construction of UNSCR 1325 itself, in particular its failure to address the gendered nature of state reconstruction.

Introduction

The 2000 adoption of the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 highlighted the international acceptance of the relative absence of women in peace processes, and the gendered nature of conflict and post-conflict reconstruction. War is perceived to be gendered because it is assumed that men are actors in the war as soldiers or political leaders in all decision-making tasks, whereas women are assumed to take on roles related to peace-making, because of women's "gentle" nature. By locating women on the frontline of peace negotiations, women are potentially being given a voice in the processes of peace building and post-conflict reconstruction. This recognition was given by the Security Council because of a growing awareness that gender-based violence, particularly sexual violence, was used in conflict as a weapon of war, and that it led to the further victimisation of women in post-conflict reconstruction processes. UNSCR 1325 (2000) was promoted as a framework to prevent sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) in conflict and as a tool for the inclusion of women in peace negotiations and in post-conflict reconstruction processes (Anderlini 2008). The adoption of the resolution was praised by governments and by practitioners from non-governmental and international organisations, and also by many feminist scholars (Anderlini 2008, Pankhurst 2008).

In spite of an optimistic beginning, UNSCR 1325 (2000) has been increasingly criticised as a policy tool that is not capable of achieving the goals claimed for it. Concerns have been raised around issues of implementation (Barrow 2009, Black 2009, Bell & O'Rourke 2010) and the way women were presented in the content of the text (Shepherd 2008a, Puechguirbal 2010a). Consequently, although UNSCR 1325 (2000) has raised awareness about the position of women in conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction, the position of women in these contexts does not appear to have improved. The UN Resolution has also

raised awareness of gender-based violence in conflict, particularly the use of sexual violence against women as a tactic of war (Leatherman 2011). Post-2000 conflicts, however, have not stopped deploying gender-based violence as tactics of war and little has been done to prevent sexual violence in conflict or to condemn perpetrators. More generally, women have not been part of peace processes, even though it was recommended in the UN Resolution. Post-conflict reconstruction processes have also neglected the inclusion aspect of the Resolution and little has been done for gender equality in post-conflict reconstruction overall. One example of the failures of gender equality is the way in which several post-2000 Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programmes neglected women's roles in war (Basini 2013 for the case of Liberia, Leatherman 2011), which resulted in privileging males-only DDR projects (Kilroy 2011b for the case of Sierra Leone). As a result of the strong criticisms towards UNSCR 1325 (2000), six subsequent UN resolutions were produced as a response to the lack of effectiveness of the original Resolution.

It could be argued that the time-scale is still too short to be able to see a measurable impact in terms of changed behaviours or positive outcomes for women. The content of UNSCR 1325 (2000) considers the place and status of women in conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction. This means that to be effective it needs to re-order post-war gender relations as part of the reconstruction of the state. For these reasons, this thesis asks whether the UN Resolution can have a positive impact on the national discourse in a post-conflict state on issues of reconstruction and gender relations. The thesis analyses the way in which UNSCR 1325 (2000) impacts on the discourse on the position of women in a state going through a process of post-conflict reconstruction. This is necessary as UNSCR 1325 (2000) should be expected to impact the rights of women in a post-conflict reconstruction state in ways that it benefits women. Additionally, this is of importance as few studies assess the impact of the UN Resolution (Barrow 2009, Black 2009, Bell & O'Rourke 2010, Akter 2013) even though it is a major text that supports the inclusion of women in post-conflict reconstruction (Shepherd 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Anderlini 2008,

Pankhurst 2008, Puechguirbal 2010b). The UN Resolution has been part of a wider and growing international discourse on women and women's rights in the context of "security" (McKay 2004, Shepherd 2008a, Cohn 2013). Women and women's rights abuses have often been put forward as a reason for military interventions (freedom of women, like in Afghanistan) or have been considered an extension of "democracy" as in the cases of Liberia or Sierra Leone where an increase of women's rights would signify a better peace and a better movement towards democratisation.

In addition to the question of the short time period in which to consider measurable impact, it needs to be remembered that fewer than ten conflicts – Iraq (2003-2011), Afghanistan (2001-*on-going*), Liberia (1989-2003), Nepal (1996-2006), and Sierra Leone (1991-2002) – have been placed under the patronage of UNSCR 1325 and that even fewer conflicts have been completely resolved. Only three states, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Nepal have had stable peace processes and have also adopted National Action Plans on the Implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820, indicating a certain knowledge and recognition of the UN Resolution. This thesis chose to examine Sierra Leone, as it is the most stable state, which allows for a long-term study of the post-conflict reconstruction process. Sierra Leone was also chosen because documents were available in the English language.

This study uses the idea of the "postwar moment"², coined by Cockburn and Zarkov (2002), to conceptualise that period after conflict when the state is being reconstructed and is therefore, theoretically, open to change. These changes could include the renegotiation of the state's gender relations. The postwar moment is defined as a time of fluidity at the end of war within which the (re)negotiations of gender arrangements of the state can take place. The postwar moment can also, given the nature of war, result in a "backlash" against ideas of gender equality and women's rights in a post-conflict state

² The term "postwar moment" is deliberately spelled differently from "post-war" period to allow a distinction between the concept and the term indicating the time-period.

(Meintjes & Turshen 2001, Cockburn & Zarkov 2002, Moran 2010). This type of “backlash” has been related to the idea that states want to “return to normal” in post-war (Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998, Düchen & Bandhauer-Schöffmann 2000, Meintjes et al. 2001). This is problematic because it not only assumes that gender relations prior to the war were “normal” but it also ignores the fact that in post-conflict reconstruction there is a tendency to reimagine a non-existing past, the traditional gender relations of which are idealised. These imagined claims of the past often lead to post-conflict re-arrangements of gender relations that can diminish the role of women during war and adversely affect women’s status acquired during the war (Meintjes et al. 2001).

Given the lack of literature on post-conflict states, this thesis uses the case of World War II and in particular, the changes in gender discourse in the postwar moment to provide an exemplar of this process (Higonet & Higonet 1987, Meyer 1992, Düchen 1994, 1995, Meyerowitz 1994, Hegarty 1998). The case of WWII allows a better understanding of the dynamics in gender relations and of women's rights in a post-war period, which will in turn unlock the understanding of post-UN Resolution 1325 (2000) in post-conflict reconstruction states. The case of WWII and the outcome of the post-war reconstruction in the 1940s is an example of how post-war gender dynamics disadvantaged women. It is also an example of the typical gendered outcome of a postwar moment that UNSCR 1325 (2000) has intended to modify. WWII and its aftermath illustrate the way the state reclaims the past and re-arrangement of gender relations. The thesis focuses on the outcomes of this process in France and in the United States and uses the works of Simone de Beauvoir (1949) and Betty Friedan (1963) respectively. The work of the two authors is an example of contemporary writings on the postwar moment and its impact on gender relations. WWII and its aftermath created a particular set of circumstances that are still observed in post-conflict reconstruction states in current scholarship (Meintjes et al. 2001, Pillay 2006). Recent scholarship on the issue of gender relations in post-conflict reconstruction tends to focus on specific aspects of post-war gender re-structuring like education (Maclure &

Denov 2009, McCrummen 2008), employment (McFerson 2011) or health (Ogunsanya, Kemi 2007). WWII, provides a case that can be used to analyse gender relations in a post-war context in which it can clearly be shown the re-structuration of a state in the image of a reimagined past. The analysis of post-WWII France and the United States will show how the post-conflict reconstruction process can damage gender relations in a state – demonstrating the issues that UNSCR 1325 (2000) must address.

Criticisms of the UN Resolution exist (Shepherd 2008a, Puechguirbal 2010b) but are limited. Also, the study of impact of the resolution on the international discourse has tended to be related to the number of states that adopted the Resolution (Black 2009, Bell & O'Rourke 2010) or to the way states have created National Action Plans for the inclusion of UNSCRs 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) (Tryggestad 2009, Gumru & Fritz 2009). There is also very little literature on gender relations in post-war states after the introduction of UNSCR 1325 (2000). This thesis adds to this literature by providing a deconstruction of the text of the UN Resolution that assists in explaining women are portrayed as they are in the text of the Resolution, and why the impact of the Resolution has been weak. The content analysis of the UN Resolution on its own is informative, but contextualising it within the international “gender” texts gives depth to the understanding of the place of the Resolution in the development of the international discourse on gender created by the international “gender” texts, which has taken a “security” turn from the late 1990s associated international events. The UN Resolution is not a standalone text; it belongs to a larger international discourse on women. Analysing the Resolution with the other international “gender” texts – the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW, 1993), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) and the six subsequent resolutions that followed UNSCR 1325 (2000) – is essential to uncover this international discourse on “women and security”. The analysis will also indicate the likely positive and

negative impacts of UNSCR 1325 (2000) at the level of discourse in a post conflict state.

These predicted impacts of UNSCR 1325 (2000) will be compared to a content analysis performed on newspapers articles from the case study country. The decision to assess the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on the newspapers discourse was taken as it is believed any change in the discourse amongst political elites will be reflected in this material as will the discourse amongst other social groups in Sierra Leone whose actions are reported by the newspapers, or who contribute to their content. Analysing policy outcomes would not accurately reflect the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on the reality of gender relations, as Sierra Leone is likely to have undertaken cosmetic policy reforms to increase its international standing and please potential donors. Also Sierra Leone does not publish any records of national assembly debates that could have been a source of debate and discussion on gender relations and on UNSCR 1325 (2000) and its implementation. Therefore the decision to use the newspapers took into account the fact that no other sources or documents were available for analysis and the newspapers chosen were the only ones available for the post conflict period. The content of these newspapers, the *Concord Times* and the *Standard Times* between the years 2002-2008 are analysed in order to understand the discourse on gender relations and the re-imagined past of the pre-war gender relations in the post-conflict reconstruction process. The analysis of the discourse contained in the newspapers articles finds evidence of the predicated impacts, emerging from the content analysis of the UN Resolution, on the national level discourse on gender and the processes of post conflict reconstruction. The thesis will use this result to infer the influence (or lack thereof) of the UNSCR 1325 (2000) on the Sierra Leone post-conflict reconstruction discourse.

Thesis Outline

Chapter One analyses the debate in the literature on strengths and weaknesses Resolution 1325 (2000). There are no concerns in the literature on whether or not the UN has the capacity to have a positive impact, even at the level of discourse. The literature, however, does discuss the discourse on women within the Resolution. It concludes that the discourse of the UN Resolution holds an essentialist view of women; meaning that it supposes women would undertake “natural” role of peacemakers while it also presupposes that women are “naturally” weak and victims because of their “fragile” nature. The chapter concludes by providing an analysis of the key strengths identified in the literature. It also provides a discussion of how this analysis of UNSCR 1325 (2000) can be depended upon to produce a more detailed understanding of its likely impact. The chapter will focus only on the UN Resolution.

Chapter Two discusses the discourse of post-conflict reconstruction in recent literature, which will form the theoretical framework of the thesis. The discourse of post-conflict reconstruction identifies an international agenda on “Women, Peace and Security”. This discourse is also contained within the international “gender” texts that will be analysed in *Chapter Four*. The particular literature on women in post-conflict reconstruction identifies the experiences of women in post-war. This is a result of a concern with new forms of conflicts that emerged in the international community after the end of the Cold War. The theoretical framework identifies two experiences: one is a return to previous gender relations, without considering the impact of war on women and which tends to reinforce negative politics for women in the post-war; the second one has been identified by Cockburn and Zarkov (2002) as the postwar moment, which signifies a time of fluidity in which gender relations can be re-negotiated and re-arranged in order to benefit both genders equally. The UN Resolution 1325 (2000) was adopted in order to “answer” these two identified problems of the post-war state and the subsequent post-war gender relations. It also discusses the choice of feminist epistemology as being the only suitable

International Relations theory to understand the concept of “women” and “gender”. The method of analysis is a word-counting content analysis of a dataset from Sierra Leone, the chosen case study. This choice of case study is discussed in this *Chapter* and it is established that, in spite of other possibilities, Sierra Leone was the best subject for study given the circumstances. The data subjected to content analysis comprises of newspapers articles for the period 2002-2008, which reflects the discourse of government’s politics and the rising middle class in post-war Sierra Leone.

Chapter Three is a case study of the impact of WWII on gender relations, and the way gender relations operate in the process of post-conflict reconstruction. This starts with the formation of the conditions of women pre-WWII. This allows establishing a comparison to the post-war situation of women through examination of the reimagined past of post-war France and United States by Simone De Beauvoir (1949) and Betty Friedan (1963), with a focus on the post-conflict reconstruction of gender relations present in their work. Based on the post-WWII reconstruction experiences of France and United States, this *Chapter* will set up the mechanisms of the states which render women’s roles during the war close to non-existent and how the states re-enforced a gendered state through politics that worked against women and sent them “back home”.

Chapter Four analyses the contents of UNSCR 1325 (2000) and contextualises the results with an analysis of the other international “gender” texts: the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations Against Women (CEDAW, 1979), the Declaration of the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW, 1993), the Beijing Declaration and the six resolutions subsequent to UNSCR 1325 (2000) which are focusing on “Women, Peace and Security”. The *Chapter* demonstrates how UNSCR 1325 is a pivotal text for the agenda on women in conflicts and post-conflict reconstruction processes. This analysis will draw on predicted positive and negative impacts that UNSCR 1325 (2000) should have on a post-conflict reconstruction state.

Chapter Five has two key purposes: the first purpose establishes a base line of Sierra Leone gender relations to contextualise how gender relations of the state existed pre-war. The second discusses post-war Sierra Leone, focusing particularly on the status of women. Conclusions of the chapter draw out the similarities between the experience of Sierra Leonean women and the gendered aspects of reconstruction after WWII.

Chapter Six examines newspaper discourse centred on the idea of the public space and the roles of women within it. It starts with how the international discourse is part of the newspapers and how this affects the perception of gender relations in post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone. The analysis includes women's public roles in politics and in employment and show how women in these roles do not follow "recommendations" issued by the international "gender" texts and how Sierra Leonean politics have started to re-instate gender relations similar to those that existed pre-war.

Chapter Seven examines the discourse of sexual gender relations present in the Sierra Leonean newspapers. This analysis is made possible by the establishment in *Chapters Two* and *Three* that states regulate women in the public space and even more so in the private sphere. The analysis reveals that sexual relations discourse either poses women as victims (of sexual violence) or portray them as voluntarily promiscuous for reasons of greed. The former part matches the international discourse on women; the latter part indicates the gendered nature of the state, which relies almost exclusively on customary practices to regulate the sexual policies of the state.

Chapter 1 – UNSCR 1325 (2000)

UNSCR 1325 was passed in 2000 with the hope that the UN Resolution would address the absence of women from peace processes and ameliorate the negative impact of post-conflict reconstruction on women. The Resolution (2000) was widely welcomed and became an integral part of international discourse. This chapter examines how UNSCR 1325 (2000) was designed to act on gender relations in conflict and post-conflict conditions and, therefore, how the Resolution itself aims to influence post-conflict reconstruction processes. Given that just a year after the Resolution was passed, the international order underwent a significant change, as a consequence of 9/11, the chapter will discuss the changing context in which UNSCR 1325 (2000) was implemented. It will then discuss the genesis of the Resolution, its international significance, and its resonance in the context of post-2000 world politics. The third part of the chapter will examine assessments of UNSCR 1325 (2000), the positive outcomes that have been anticipated or observed, and will also discuss critiques of the Resolution. The aim of the chapter is to assess the expected impacts of Resolution 1325 (2000) on post-conflict reconstruction processes.

The changing international system

UNSCR 1325 was passed in 2000, just before a significant shift in the international system occurred following 9/11. As a result, although the Resolution was itself a product of the conflicts of the late 1990s, it was implemented under the changed circumstances of the new century. Consequently, the purpose for which the Resolution was drafted was overshadowed by 9/11 and by the subsequent changes in the international system. The content of UNSCR 1325 (2000) reflected the concerns of the post-Cold war but its practical application took place as part of a new securitisation agenda, which included the securitisation of women's issues (Carey 2001). As a result, the values expressed in the text were to some extent lost in this shift.

After 9/11, in 2001, the tenor of international politics (Booth & Dunne 2002, Hunt & Rygiel 2008) shifted from a focus on democratisation as a means of ensuring peace and economic growth – a legacy emerging at the end of Cold War era – to an increased securitisation of international structures (Charrett 2009, Van der Pijl 2013). Although security has always been a central concern for states and is inherent to their nature, the traumatic events of 9/11 resulted in a shift taking place in international security discourse (Parashar 2010: 168). This shift was unambiguously expressed in the on-going “War on Terror” and it has been argued that, in this process, the emerging discourse reinforced ‘gender hierarchies and power in international relations’ by reemphasising “hard” security concerns (Sylvester & Parashar 2009: 190). As a result of this shift, the idea of maintaining global security became a justification for international intervention in wars or for intervention in the early stages of post-conflict reconstruction. It has been argued that ‘the post 9/11 “stabilisation” agenda retained many of the features of the peace-building agenda of the early 1990s, with a similar call for holistic, joined-up approaches to avoid state failure and state collapse’ (Tschirgi 2004: 17). In the stabilisation discourse, external intervention to support states was seen as necessary for preventing state failure – especially as such state failure would create a ‘breeding ground for terrorism’ (Abrahamsen 2004: 679) – and as essential for preventing further conflict by providing the conditions in which positive post-conflict reconstruction could take place (Shepherd 2006: 128).

This approach differed from the international discourse on democratisation that emerged after the fall of the Iron Curtain in 1989 and the breakdown of the USSR in 1990, which was to lead to a fundamental change in the international order (Carpenter 2010). One result was that as the Cold War ended, and ‘in the aftermath of the 1989 revolutions, a whole new discourse of human rights and humanitarianism emerged only to be squeezed out a few years later by the discourse of the War on Terror’ (Kaldor 2012). The western ideology, which supported liberal policies and the capitalistic free market that “won” the Cold War (Ikenberry 1996), reinforced the dominant hegemonic international

ideology, and ensured a push for democratisation in previously “undemocratic states” (Brigevich 2008, Rosato 2003, Pose & Chull Shin 2001). Liberal democracy became the only feasible political system and “Democratic Peace Theory” (Rosato 2003), which contends that democracies do not go to war with other democracies, was used to underpin the idea that the spread of democracy would also lead to a reduction in conflict (Ripsman 2007, Jentleson 2010 [2000]: 604). The argument here was that ‘democracy contributes to preserving peace and security, securing justice and human rights, and promoting economic and social development’ (Boutros Boutros Ghali 1996: 6, paragraph 16; Merry 2006, Reilly 2007, Smyth 2007). In this case, democratisation meant adopting the Western model of liberal democracy with a capitalistic economy, free markets, a fair judicial system and multi-party elections (Boutros Boutros Ghali 1996: 7, paragraph 17).

During the 1990s and prior to 9/11, the term “new wars” came to be used to define a new type of organised violence (Kaldor 2006: 1), reflecting the changes that occurred in the international system after the Cold War (Chaliand 2008). The conflicts of the post-Cold War period – the Balkans (1991-1995), Rwanda (1994) or Kosovo (1998-1999) – forced the international community to redefine the nature of both conflict and of intervention. Kaldor (2006: 2) describes these conflicts as a blurring of war with a form of ‘violence between states or organised political groups for political motives’, organised crime (violence by private groups for financial expansion), and ‘large-scale violation of human-rights’. These new wars are described as taking place in the context of disintegrated states and are fought by networks of state and non-state actors, with most of the violence being directed against civilians. This is in contrast to the definition of “old” wars, described as states fighting states with uniformed soldiers and considered to be the dominant form of war up to the middle of the twentieth century (Kaldor 2005).

With the advent of new wars, new forms of intervention arose. During the Cold-War interventions in conflicts were conditioned by superpower rivalry and

‘development assistance was politicised during the Cold War in line with a dominant security strategy that demanded the establishment and maintenance of pro-Western political alliances among Third World countries’ (Duffield 2001: 35). During the 1990s and in the years leading up to 9/11, a change occurred, where there was a focus on the humanitarian aspects of international intervention and where the main concern of the international community regarding conflict was that of humanitarian intervention: developing new institutional arrangements that allowed aid agencies to work in situations of on-going conflict and to support civilians in war zones (Duffield 2001: 11).

These changes were reflected in the new interventions whether in response to conflicts – e.g. in the Balkans in 1991-1995 – or in response to famine – e.g. in Somalia in 1993. There was a greater focus on a holistic approach, underpinned by the idea that states needed to be rebuilt where possible and that humanitarian crises provided a sufficient reason for intervention (Duffield 2001: 12). Intervention priorities shifted post-9/11, with an increased focus on security issues or at least on the security of Western states. The extensive use of violence internationally, as noted by Kaldor (2012), led to a response by Western states that was ‘not the same as war-fighting. It [wa]s defensive, aimed at [the] protection’ of the West rather than being a humanitarian intervention to improve conditions in the state in which the violence was occurring. The “War on Terror” is an example of such pre-emptive measures aimed at “protecting” states potentially targeted by terrorist groups.

For Gray (2006: 94), the newfound concern for democracy from 1990 onwards, together with ‘the slow but inexorable effect of the revolution in women’s rights’, influenced security discourses. Women have been part of the “democratisation agenda”, particularly with the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), and ‘have contributed to the emergence of a regional consensus [in the case of Africa] on policy goals, such as ensuring at least 30% representation of women at all levels of power and decision-making’ (Kandawasvika-Nhundu 2004: 110). This consensus on gender and

representation included the idea that some form of quotas would provide the best way of achieving gender equality (Krook 2009). A democratisation “package”, frequently involving measures to ensure greater equality in political representation, was included in post-conflict negotiations by actors and agencies. With military help and financial aid, post-conflict reconstruction frequently entailed democratisation and a programme of good governance (Korhonen 2001, Mendelson Forman 2002, Elges 2004, Harme 2004, Blair 2007, Del Castillo 2008) along with the setting up of institutions of economic governance (Junne & Verkoren 2005, Stewart 2005). In addition, Security Sector Reform (SSR) – which refers to the reassessment and adjustment of the security sector of the state necessary for stability and thus, for peace and democracy – has also become a major concern (Cooper & Pugh 2002, Feil 2002). In this case, the security sector refers to ‘the organisations and entities that have the authority, capacity and/or orders to use force or the threat of force to protect the state and civilians and it also includes the civil structures responsible for managing such organisations’ (Anderlini & Conaway 2007). As the armed forces of the state (military, police, and secret services) tend to gain power during a conflict and sometimes during post-conflict reconstruction, the reform of the security sector has become a priority for many scholars. Such scholars believe Security Sector Reform to be a major step in successful post-conflict reconstruction (Muggah 2009), since such reform will result in power being placed in the hands of the political leaders of states, thus enhancing the potential for on-going stability (Steenkamp 2009).

In the context of increased securitisation, it has been argued that focusing on women risks privileging women over men and could produce undesirable results in further exclusion from public representation (Baines 2005). However, ‘given women’s low status worldwide, the inequality of and the profound influences of patriarchy on women’s ability to attain equality, the risk of privileging girls’ and women’s human security over boys’ and men’s seems remote and, even, implausible’ (McKay 2004: 154). Therefore, it is argued that it is necessary to pay particular attention to the category of “women” as their

'human security needs [...] are subject to pervasive lawlessness, social dislocation and, often, intense violence' (McKay 2004: 154).

Following the conflicts of the late 1990s, the concept of a "Responsibility to Protect" emerged in the early 2000s as a means of justifying military intervention. A gendered aspect of this discourse is that women can easily be described as a vulnerable population in need of protection via military intervention (Carpenter 2006), as was the case in Western discourse on the invasion and partial occupation of Afghanistan. In spite of 'opponents of intervention, mainly non-Western states' scepticism of 'the grounds for privileging a moral justification for interventionist practices' and their concern 'that this shift could undermine their rights of sovereignty' the level of intervention has grown (Chandler 2004: 60). The growing use of the idea of the "Responsibility to Protect" was on the one hand linked to humanitarian assistance and intervention in Darfur in 2003 but, but was used more controversially to justify western military action in Afghanistan (2001) and Iraq (2003), reflecting 'a more coercive, Western-dominated, international order' (Chandler 2004: 60). In Afghanistan there was a strong backlash against women's rights both during the period of Taliban rule and in the post conflict reconstruction period in those areas under US influence (Cortright & Wall 2012: 9). In this regard, the rhetoric of protecting women was used as part of the justification for invading Afghanistan (Denike 2008) as the US-led intervention in Afghanistan 'was justified in part as a liberation of women from the strictures of the Taliban' (Charlesworth 2005). This is also confirmed by the publishing of a report named *The Taliban's War against Women*³ in November 2001 by the American Department of State (Charlesworth 2005: 12).

In the period before 9/11, women and peace negotiations were linked and the category of "women" was seen as an alternative to the political groupings that would be expected to be involved in peace processes. The "traditional" parties

³ This report can be accessed at the US Department of State's website through the link <http://www.state.gov/j/drl/rls/6185.htm> (accessed 29/10/14).

in peace processes were to be challenged with “women” as a group. It was argued that this was partly because women were ‘often at the centre of nongovernmental organisations (NGOs), popular protests, electoral referendums, and other citizen-empowering movements whose influence has grown with the global spread of democracy’ (Hunt & Posa 2001: 38). Alternatively emphasis has been placed on that ideas about post-conflict reconstruction changed when a greater focus on human rights was possible at the end of the post-Cold War era discernible when the first post-conflict interventions of the early 1990s included ‘a civilian component, with a mandate to implement peace accords between intra-State stakeholders’ (Puechguirbal 2010a: 161; Puechguirbal 2010b). This formed part of the context from which the campaign to recognise the position of women in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction processes emerged.

Genesis and international significance of Resolution 1325 (2000)

Within this context, UNSCR 1325 (2000) had its genesis in the use of gender-based violence as a weapon of war, especially during the Balkan conflicts, which had a particular impact on Western states, the populations of which were shocked by this level and type of violence in what was recognised as a part of Europe (Hunt & Posa 2001, Anderlini 2008). The conflict in the Balkans (1991-1995, 1999) resulted from disintegration of the “Yugoslavian” state after the fall of the Soviet Union. Croatia fought for four years against Serbia (1991-1995), the Bosnian War took place between 1992 and 1995, and later, in 1999, Kosovo broke from Serbia. In these conflicts, the international community was shocked by the widespread use of ethnic cleansing as a tool of war and, as part of this, by the systematic use of rape as weapon of war. It is estimated that close to 60,000 women were raped in five years of conflict (1991-1995), with the events surrounding the siege of Srebrenica, a town in Bosnia-Herzegovina close to the Serbian border, being particularly infamous as large numbers of women were raped and murdered because they were Muslim and Bosnian (Women Under Siege 2013).

These events took place at the same time as a number of international initiatives led by the UN aimed at improving the status and welfare of women. In 1993, the Declaration for the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW, 1993) was passed, filling a gap on the issue of gender-based violence that had not been dealt with in the provisions of Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979). This was followed by the major United Nations Women's conference in Beijing in 1995 that produced the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which was to become the focal point of international discourse on gender equality (Gierycz 2001). The events of the Balkan wars reinforced a pre-existing debate highlighting the fact that women faced specific forms of violence in war not adequately recognised in existing provisions and that the absence of women from peace processes not only made it less likely that a lasting peace would be achieved but also undermined the welfare of women in processes of post-conflict reconstruction. Activist women brought pressure to bear on the UN structures and, in a relatively short space of time, the UN Security Council passed Resolution 1325 in 2000 (Anderlini 2008).

Two factors would influence the way in which the Resolution would be used. One is related to the international changes in politics of securitisation and the other to a growing trend towards policy convergence amongst Western states in the context of the enhanced role of many international institutions. Along with the changes in the securitisation of states, the idea that "women" were vulnerable was strengthened and equated with the way in which the westernised world saw itself vulnerable in the face of terrorism (Blanchard 2003). Furthermore, policies on gender equality, specifically the formal gender equality embedded in liberal democracy, became one of the ways of distinguishing between western states and "others" (Hansen 2000).

In the context of policy convergence, the significance of Resolution 1325 (2000) has been enhanced by its system of reporting and monitoring it is the only

Security Council Resolution that has ‘an annual anniversary, when there are multiple panel discussions, Security Council meetings, and other events organised to try to advance the women, peace, and security agenda (Cohn 2003-2004: 5). States are committed to submit a National Action Plan (NAP) for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) (Gumru & Fritz 2009). Consequently, states that were not in conflict have adopted National Action Plans for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000), the stated purpose of which is to focus on participation, prevention and protection that would in turn ensure the full integration and recognition of women in peace and security activities (Akter 2013: 10). National Action Plans are intended to be a practical set of measures specifically designed for each state. However, the level of quality of the set of measures and of implementation is the responsibility of the state itself. This process has resulted in UNSCR 1325 (2000) becoming, superficially at least, part of policy discourse nationally and internationally. In addition, this process allows the perceived shortcomings in the text to be debated, and this in turn has led to the passing of a number of subsequent resolutions (UNSCRs 1820 in 2000, 1888 and 1889 in 2009, 1960 in 2010, and 2122 in 2013) to address these issues. However, in spite of the proliferation of resolutions in this area, UNSCR 1325 remains the key document. It has also become the short hand term for this international discourse and for the group of resolutions on this topic.

UNSCR 1325 (2000), and its implementation, is also linked to the changes occurring at the level of international politics in terms of the generalisation of the securitisation of women’s rights in both international and national spaces, which brought into focus the role of women in conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction processes. This new relationship of women and security is linked to the concept of “human security” (Duffield 2005, Stewart 2004), which includes the idea of an international component in the maintenance of “national security” but particularly addresses the belief that ‘men and women experience the erosion of security differently’ (McKay 2004: 153). Resolution 1325 (2000) was heralded by the UN as a way of addressing ‘the impact of war

on women and women's contributions to conflict Resolution and sustainable peace, arguing that it placed women at the centre of the preoccupations of the international community' (UNFPA, 'UN Security Council Resolution 1325'). Given the proclaimed potential importance of this Resolution, although only three pages in length, the document has been subject to widely different interpretations. Amongst both academics and practitioners, there has been strong disagreement as to the actual meaning of the text as well as about its potential actual impact.

Positive perspectives on 1325 (2000)

Resolution 1325 (2000) became a landmark for those in the international community working on the rights of women in times of conflict. The President of the Security Council, Anwarul Karim Chowdhury (Bangladesh), launched the Resolution on International Women's Day 2000 on behalf of the Security Council. In his press release, he emphasised that the members of the Security Council 'recognise that peace is inextricably linked with equality between women and men' and that 'the equal access and full participation of women in power structures and their full involvement in all efforts for the prevention and Resolution of conflicts are essential for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security' (UN Press Release 2000). The UN Security Council also recognised that women and girls were particularly affected by the consequences of armed conflict and therefore in order to improve the position of women, the council advocated that women be

empowered politically and economically, and represented adequately at all levels of decision-making, both at the pre-conflict stage and during hostilities, as well as at the point of peacekeeping, peace-building, reconciliation and reconstruction (UN Press Release 2000).

The UN Security Council also noted that the role of women is crucial in preserving social order during times of armed conflict and the collapse of communities and that, as peace educators both in their families and in their

societies, women play an important role in fostering a culture of peace in strife-torn communities and societies (UN Press Release 2000).

Practitioners and some scholars agree that the Resolution is for the most part a positive document, in that it has the potential to have a positive impact (Bhagwan Rolls 2006, Boehme 2011). It is also positive, in that it is essential for the recognition of women as full-time citizens and actors of change (Puechguirbal 2010b). It is claimed that since the Resolution was passed 'non-traditional security threats such as sexual violence in armed conflict' are increasingly 'recognised as highly relevant to international security and rule of law' (Dharmapuri 2012: 245).

The Resolution recognises that 'gender is still not fully integrated into the reconstruction process' and that 'gender inequality and women's exclusion hinders progress by denying one half of the population equal opportunities' (International Alert 2005: 5). It is argued that 'UNSCR 1325 presents the rights of women and gender equality, non-traditional security concerns, as not only relevant but central to the work of the Security Council, arguably the key international security organisation on the world stage' (Hudson 2009: 58). From this extremely positive perspective, UNSCR 1325 (2000) is seen as finally offering a voice to women in conflict and post-conflict situations. It has been claimed that the Resolution also guarantees that 'women are at the table during negotiations' and also ensures that 'a gender perspective informs all approaches to international peace and security' (Hoogensen & Vigeland Rottem 2004: 167). In this way, UNSCR 1325 (2000) is described as 'a milestone achievement in the struggle for greater gender equality', being the first time the UN 'recognised women as constructive agents and acknowledged their right to participate as decision-makers at all levels of peace building, peacekeeping, peace-making and conflict Resolution' (Akter 2013: 5). Historically, there has been a strong perspective in feminist writing and activism that has seen women as agents of peace (UN Women 2012a). It is within this narrative that women are described in the Resolution as being vital to peace building and therefore it

is necessary for them to be seated at the negotiating table. In this way, the Resolution 'represents a political breakthrough as it emphasises the importance of women at peace negotiation and their inclusion in debates about public and private as well as international security' (Popovic 2010). This is a recognition that in the past women have been under-utilised and under-valued during the final steps of conflict resolutions and peace agreements (Hill et al. 2003).

Positive perspectives on UNSCR 1325 also identify a link between the origin of the Resolution and its potential to have a beneficial impact. It is argued that it was 'through the efforts of women's organisations that the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on women in conflict', which in turn helped women (Chitiga 2008: 2). It is argued that 'Resolution 1325 emerged from the leadership of supportive governments, the advocacy of a coalition of NGOs and technical assistance from the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and other gender advocates in the UN system' (Rehn & Sirleaf Johnson 2002: 3). It is also argued that the Resolution includes 'all actors involved in negotiating and implementing peace agreements [so they can be called] upon to ensure protection of women's rights, and the full involvement of women in all aspects of promoting and maintaining peace and security with a strengthened role in decision-making' (UNICEF 2005: 4). From this perspective therefore, the effects of 1325 (2000) have been particularly important because the Resolution has had an impact on all levels of the international structure (Pratt & Ritcher-Devroe 2011).

The role of women in the implementation of the Resolution has been emphasised by the Global Network for Women Peacebuilders (GNWP), who claims that 'since the UN Security Council unanimously adopted Resolution 1325, civil society women's groups have been most visible at the operational level, in terms of its implementation' (GNWP 2010). However, the GNWP's claim that women 'have focused mainly at the levels of policy advocacy, sensitisation/awareness raising and community mobilisation, to lobby and advocate for its full implementation' (GNWP 2010) does not seem to support a

central role for women in peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction. Grassroots movements, however, have used the Resolution as a tool to argue for the presence of women at the negotiating table. It is argued that 'women from Sierra Leone, Guatemala, Somalia, Tanzania, and international nongovernmental organisations (INGOs) called on the United Nations Security Council' to address 'the undervalued, underutilised leadership women demonstrate in conflict prevention, peace building, and rebuilding war-torn societies' (Hill et al. 2003: 1255). Barrow (2009: 60) interviewed NGO members to evaluate the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000), particularly in terms of power during peace negotiations, finding that 'for those respondents working in INGOs, the negative attitude towards the Resolution was perceived to reflect local civil society's negativity towards the UN as a whole, rather than demonstrative of UNSCR 1325's perceived sense of externality in local contexts'. In Liberia 'the women's movement had been quite strong and pushed from the outside so the response to 1325 was more positive' than 'Haiti, where civil society is more negative towards the presence of the UN' and were a negative response to the resolution is 'a reflection of the local response to the UN in general' (Barrow 2009: 60).

Writing shortly after the Resolution was passed, Rehn and Sirleaf Johnson (2002: 3) called it 'a watershed political framework' for women and for the role of women in situations from negotiations to refugee camps to peacekeeping operations and in the more general aspects of the post-war reconstruction of societies. They describe the Resolution as making 'the pursuit of gender equality relevant to every single Council action, ranging from mine clearance to elections to security sector reform' (Rehn & Sirleaf Johnson 2002: 3). In addition, it has been claimed that the Resolution gives an extra layer of protection as it 'spells out what needs to be done to improve protection of women in conflict zones, as well as ensure their participation in peace-building' (Terry & Hoare 2007: xviii). For some scholars, the Resolution has an international resonance and could act as the basis for international legislation (Hill et al. 2003, Cornwall et al. 2007). Barrow (2009: 55) argues that the Resolution provides 'an international

language' that has 'made it possible to get legislation' and that in 'creating awareness and discussion' it has been 'very, very helpful'. For Anderlini (2008: 192), the text can have repercussions on the regional level as 'the bureaucrats who run these systems are obliged to address the situation of women in war – their empowerment and their protection'.

Critiques of UNSCR 1325 (2000)

In spite of these positive views of Resolution 1325 (2000), much of the existing academic literature, while not denying the necessity of the existence of the Resolution, is critical of its content and of the Resolution's potential to have a positive impact (Basu 2009). Two negative aspects of the UN Resolution stand out in light of the literature, one concerns the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (2000) and the other the Resolution's discourse on the representation of women.

Implementation

Criticism tends to move beyond seeing the Resolution as a landmark or milestone and instead views it more as a cosmetic project so that 'rather than being a treat, Resolution 1325 is portrayed as yet another "trick" played by the members of the Security Council in an effort to appease women activists' (Tryggestad 2009: 541). Even Rehn and Sirleaf Johnson (2002), while positive about the Resolution, recognise some shortcomings that could affect its potential. They recognise that '*despite* their peacebuilding efforts, women are rarely present at the peace table' and that it 'takes fierce determination and intense lobbying for them to be included as participants in transitional governments (Rehn & Sirleaf Johnson 2002: 76). So while Resolution 1325 'may appear to be an aberration', in reality 'it has been used as a means of co-opting gender dynamics in order to preserve the existing gender status quo' and 'relations of inequality and the imbalance of power between women and men within the UN system remain uncontested, despite the existence of Resolution 1325' (Puechguirbal 2010b: 184).

It is argued that in the context of an increasing “securitisation” of the state and its citizens, the agenda of peace and security (a combination of post-Cold War and post-9/11 policies) saw an increased need to place women under protection (Maina 2011: 8) and that in this context, Resolution 1325 (2000) contains cosmetic measures to hide that it is a tool which provides a ‘normative framework’ justifying military intervention by authorising the use of force to save women (Heathcote 2011: 12). This view is consistent with the assessment that Resolution 1325 (2000) fails to challenge either ‘the war system’ (Cohn 2008: 16) or ‘the legal/political structures that endorse force as a legal tool and the military as a solution to violence’ (Heathcote 2011: 10). Neutwirth (2002: 254) argues the situation is more complex and that UNSCR 1325 (2000) is ‘instrumental in efforts to make the stated commitment to women’s rights more than a rhetorical device to justify military action’. However in a study of Afghanistan, Olsson et al. (2009:32) demonstrate that ‘Resolution 1325 was not a priority and [that] the understanding of its content and usability was low’. Central to the debate on UNSCR 1325 (2000) is that the Resolution is the ‘articulation of what is represented as a growing concern within the UN system about global gender mainstreaming and gender security’ (McLeod 2011: 598). This means that while on the one hand the UN system could be seen as attempting to resolve the shortcomings noted by Rehn and Sirleaf Johnson (2002) relating to the presence of women in the international order, these efforts are, on the other hand, weakened by the fact that the focus on security does not favour women’s rights. As observed by Shepherd (2006), to the extent that it limits any other possibilities for analysis, UNSCR 1325 (2000) restricts women’s rights to being just a security concept.

Although the Resolution is legally binding on states that have signed the UN charter, it is not a treaty and ‘consequently there are no mechanisms for ratification, compliance or verification’ therefore ‘the Resolution lacks the muscle that can compel states to comply with its provisions’ (Shepherd 2008b: 383). It is this weakness that prevents ‘the translation of the Resolution from

policy document to effective advocacy tool and action plan' (Shepherd, 2008b: 383). In addition to this in common with 'other Security Council Resolutions, UNSCR 1325 is a framework that is explicitly designed to operate within the mechanisms of the UN system, and this is reflected in the language and strategies that it draws on' weakening its effectiveness outside these boundaries (Barnes & Olonisakin 2011: 7). Consequently, it is argued that the implementation of 1325 (2000) can at best be described as 'erratic' (Willet 2010: 142-3)

Resolution 1325's (2000) lack of power, it is argued, is embedded in the text. From a positive perspective, it has been argued that the text of the Resolution, despite lacking real measures for the implementation of large-scale participation, has been a first step towards a gender-inclined agenda (Cohn et al. 2004, Anderlini & El-Bushra 2007, Binder et al. 2008). However, and in opposition to this positive view, a study of the inclusion of UNSCR 1325 (2000) in country-specific resolutions showed that, by 2009, the Security Council's commitment to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 was questionable and that 'the absence of systematic implementation and monitoring mechanisms makes evaluation difficult to gauge' (Black 2009: 2). Black's study of UN Resolutions shows that 'the frequency of direct references to [UNSCR] 1325 has risen since its adoption in 2000' meaning that 'of 315 resolutions, forty-eight [15%], have included a direct reference to [UNSCR] 1325' (Black 2009: 13). Black (2009) finds that 'prior to the adoption of [UNSCR] 1325, references to women in conflict were sporadic and inconsistent, and tended to refer to women primarily as victims rather than to the need for gender perspectives or to the inclusion of women as active agents of peacebuilding' (2009: 20). Black's conclusion is that although efforts have been made to include references to UNSCR 1325 (2000) in recent resolutions, these efforts are more likely to be due to the intervention of grassroots groups or international NGOs, who put pressure on UN agencies, and

UN Women⁴ (Hoewer 2013). However, ‘this does not necessarily indicate that the Security Council itself has internalised the importance of gender considerations for operational behaviour’ (Black 2009: 20).

Bell and O’Rourke (2010) have also studied the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on peace processes, finding that only 16% of peace agreements ‘contain specific references to women’ (2010: 942). They do, however, note an increase in references to women in peace agreements post-Resolution 1325, ‘with the rise being more marked among agreements in which the UN had a third party role’ (Bell & O’Rourke 2010: 942). They consider this a disappointing result, as ‘symbolically, the Resolution marked the recognition of the impact of war on women and provided formal high-level acknowledgement that the exclusion of women from conflict Resolution is a threat to peace’ (Bell & O’Rourke 2010: 943). This is a significant failure as, ‘addressing the status of women in peace agreement texts is significant not just for the inclusion of women in peace-building strategies’ but also for the way in which they are included in the structure of political order that follows the peace process as ‘peace agreements have a distinctive quasi-constitutional quality, and sometimes even constitute or contain constitutions’ (Bell & O’Rourke 2010: 948). The work of Olonisakin et al. (2011) details and compares eight case studies of post-conflict processes falling under Resolution 1325 (2000). The conclusion is that ‘collectively, these cases present a picture of the degree to which UNSCR 1325 has made a difference across different national and regional contexts’ (Barnes & Olonisakin 2011: 13) but it does not the real impact of UNSCR 1325.

On the basis of this analysis UNSCR 1325 (2000) seems to be a text of promise rather than a text that offers practical use for actors in the international community and civil society. This lack of power hinders the roles that UNSCR 1325 (2000) could play.

⁴ A merging in 2010 of several “gender” UN agencies: Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues Advancement of Women (OSAGI), and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM).

Representations of women

Warnings of the potential negative impact of the Resolution can be found even in the literature that welcomed the Resolution. This potential negative impact ascribed to the Resolution shows a westernised conception of women and adds to its lack of real power in terms of application. Only a small number of authors also acknowledge the impact that changes in the international order had on how women are represented in the UNSCR Resolution. The changes provoked by post-Cold War democratisation goals and the later international security goals of post-9/11 impacted on the discourse on women's rights and women's lives in important ways and this is reflected in the text of UNSCR 1325 (2000) as well as in the relationship between the content of the text and its implementation (Shepherd 2008a, Puechguirbal 2010b). This is to some extent demonstrated by the low presence of the Resolution in peace agreements, as identified by Black (2009) and Bell & O'Rourke (2010). While these authors all recognise the necessity of having a text such as UNSCR 1325 (2000), they also agree that the intrinsic representation of women in the document undermines the positive implementation of the Resolution during peace processes and post-conflict reconstruction. Bell and O'Rourke (2010: 942) question 'whether advancements made at the level of policy are sufficient to outweigh the risks of reinforcing stereotypes of women that marginalise them politically'. It can be seen that UNSCR 1325 (2000) addresses the so-called "postwar moment" (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002), recognising as it does, the very negative effects conflict has on women and the way that women are likely to be treated in post-conflict reconstruction (more on this in *Chapter 2*). However, it is possible that the Resolution is constructed on misrepresentations of women, which would limit the effect it could have.

That UNSCR 1325 (2000) uses the term "women" instead of "women and men" has been highlighted as an issue because the international discourse on gender equality clearly addresses the reordering of relations between men and women.

This is related to the focus on gender mainstreaming, whereby a rhetorical commitment to gender mainstreaming often disguises the reality that due to a lack of political will, organisational accountability, and competing or contradictory discourses, rather than being mainstreamed gender issues become lost along the way and what results is tokenistic gestures that contradict the essence of what mainstreaming seeks to achieve (Barnes 2006: 1).

For example, UN Women pledged to 'support women's engagement in all aspects of peace-building, towards more inclusive, egalitarian societies that can end gender discrimination and resolve conflicts without violence' (UN Women 2011-2013). For Booth (1997: 101), this sort of agenda can address security 'without thinking about gender' and "simply" deal with 'surface reflections without examining deep down below the surface'. In this regard, the text neglects the fact that 'once they have left the peace process, women would experience difficulties in returning to the different stages of the reconstruction of their own society because all responsibilities would have already been shared among the male stakeholders' (Puechguirbal 2010a: 171). With Resolution 1325 (2000), the international discourse has acknowledged that women are present and active in war and peace. However, the discourse of UNSCR 1325 (2000) assumes that "men do war" and "women do peace". This discourse is essentialist, understanding women and men as defined only by their biological construction (Shepherd 2008a: 8). The international discourse links the "gentle" nature of women to "peace". With this essentialist assumption arises the conception that war is the realm of men; indeed, that war is gendered. Feminist analysts of the armed forces describe archetypical patriarchal institutions: the military is a male preserve, run by men and for men according to masculine ideas of male binding, male privilege, and militarist values derived from definitions of masculinity (Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998: 5). On this basis, women lack 'visibility and legitimacy' because 'men [are] the main stakeholders in peace building processes' (Puechguirbal 2010b: 168). Consequently, the view that 'men who fight in just wars are heroes who fulfil their expected gender

roles' (Sjoberg 2006: 896) has always been the central idea behind male-dominated military forces.

Feminist literature is also guilty of constructing women as "natural agents of peace" (Black 2009), with the literature on gender and security containing the construction 'that women's social and biological roles as nurturers have generally made them adept at building relationships that bridge ethnic, religious and cultural divide' (Guhathakurta 2008: 189). This reinforces the portrayal of women as having "special needs" in post-conflict transition, needs that are not specified nor defined in either the Resolution or the literature (Bouta and Frerks 2002). Thus, these "needs" are in reality linked to the "nature" of women as "weak", "vulnerable" or "victims", supported by a discourse on women as "civilians" during war and post-conflict periods (Carpenter 2005, 2006). Lentin (1997: 12) contends that constructing "women as victims" results in the portrayal of women as 'homogenously powerless and as implicit victims, [which] does not allow ... to theorise women as the benefactors of oppression, or the perpetrators of catastrophes'. As a result, this representation of the "one woman" persists in international discourse while implying that this woman is vulnerable and in need of protection.

Incorporating an essentialist view of women's biological role with the vulnerability of women, women in the text become "womenandchildren" (Enloe 1990: 29). Enloe (1990: 29) argues that "'womenandchildren" rolls so easily off network⁵ tongues because in networks' minds women are family members rather than independent actors, presumed to be childlike in their innocence about the realpolitik of international affairs'. For Shepherd (2008a: 41), 'continually running together the two collective nouns "women and children" serves to associate women with children [...] given that children are not fully mature and are also seen to be in need of care and protection, this association is inevitably problematic'. Thus, women cannot be full "adults" but belong to

⁵ Television networks

the “victims” in need of protection, alongside with the disabled and the elderly. This association of “womenandchildren” also postulates that women are not equal to men, who engage in war and post-conflict transitions. This association considers women to be second-class citizens or even minors. Shepherd (2008a: 39-40) argues that the “infantilisation” of women leads to a backlash against women because of the portrayal of women as vulnerable, particularly to sexual violence. Additionally, the use of “womenandchildren” as a proxy does not simultaneously neglect men and protect women. Instead, the evidence demonstrates that ‘it stereotypes women as helpless and perpetuates the gender-subordinating effects of war-fighting’ (Sjoberg 2006: 891).

International discourse also assumes a collectivism of women acting in groups. This insistence in the discourse on women mobilising together for peace reinforces the idea that women are naturally peaceful. The scholarship on post-conflict reconstruction also tends to assume that women are a unified group. For example, Ramsbotham et al. (2005: 269) claim that the way in which women’s voices have emerged in peace-making in recent years has still to be fully chronicled, but because of their relative exclusion from the formal political structures of war-torn societies, grassroots organisations provide an outlet for women in peace-making roles, who are trying to respond to the various needs of their beleaguered communities.

Similarly, Sorensen (1998: vi) argues that women are essential for positive post-conflict reconstruction because women’s groups have the ability ‘to challenge the authorities and other members of society with demands for peace, non-discrimination, accountability, recognition of human rights, etc.’. This is in spite of the fact that ‘while some movements considered women’s issues to distract from the main goal of their struggle, many movements regarded women’s liberation as an integral dimension of their overall struggle for justice’ (Sorensen 1998: v).

Linked to this is the idea that the genesis of Resolution 1325 (2000) originates at grassroots level, particularly from the activism of women's groups located in developing countries (Carrey 2001, El-Bushra 2007, Anderlini 2008, Black 2009), and that despite criticisms of the text, the 'spirit and demand for UNSCR 1325 came from non-Western societies and women who were resisting war' and it was not 'driven by a Western country' (Anderlini 2008: 198). If this had been the case and if Resolution 1325 (2000) had been the result of grassroots organisations lobbying high international bodies in order to challenge the traditional politics of exclusion of women during and post-conflict, it would be expected that the text would offer a better understanding of the conceptualisation of women in the context of security, that it would not reflect a "one woman" argument and that a westernised discourse would not be embedded in the Resolution. However, as Resolution 1325 (2000) was constructed by the UN Security Council it reflects, instead, a certain view of the world dominated by a westernised discourse. Therefore, the literature simultaneously gives a role to non-western grassroots women's groups in the genesis of the text but also accepts that the text of the Resolution reflects a westernised representation of women (Anderlini 2008: 198-199, De Alwis et al. 2013: 169-193).

The westernised conceptualisation of women in the text is reflected in the statement that gender perspectives must be taken into account in 'measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary' (UNSCR 1325 2000: paragraph 21). This is reinforced in Eisenstein's (2004) view of UNSCR 1325 as containing remarks on the need for state to adopt gender perspectives on the "special needs" of women and girls. Eisenstein (2004: 160) argues that in practice this means, for example, that because 'the Bush administration women do not speak on behalf of these international women's groups but rather as women of the West', the westernised discourse on gender becomes the norm, thus reinforcing the

limitations of Resolution 1325 (2000) and attenuating the social experiences of women.

In spite of the fact that the democratisation process “post-Beijing” conference (1995) has included a strong discourse on the need for gender equality in political representation that is reflected in UNSCR 1325 (2000), the literature does not believe that the Resolution has substantially improved the position of women in post-conflict reconstruction (Puechguirbal 2010b). Post-conflict reconstruction is a period during which institutions feel the latent pressure of women’s groups pushing for changes at state-level (Tripp et al 2009: 195-216; Steady 2006). Post-conflict reconstruction also creates a ‘failure to recognise gender issues [that] may introduce new social tensions and contribute to the differentiating struggles over identity, status and power that are so distinctive for societies which have recently achieved peace’ (Sorensen 1998: ix). In this context, Cockburn and Zarkov (2002: 17) believe that it has taken a long time for the international community to identify the role of women in conflicts and that it has taken even longer for the same community to locate women in post-conflict reconstruction processes. This is due in no small part to the fact that during conflict the presence of men as soldiers is already recognised and, consequently, that men also dominate in post-conflict reconstruction roles, be they military roles through peacekeeping forces or political roles as leaders of political parties in the first post-war elections. It has been argued that post-conflict reconstruction assumes that women have a place in the state (UN Women 2011-2013, Meintjes et al. 2001, Puechguirbal 2010a, 2010b); however, historically, the place of women in the state has always been minimal (Connell 1987, Scott 1998) particularly in the state of war (Goldstein 2001). It could therefore be argued that the capacity of UNSCR 1325 (2000) to influence the gendered nature of post-conflict reconstruction is weakened by its lack of specificity in terms of the changes that need to occur from a women’s perspective during the process of post-conflict reconstruction.

Conclusion

With the creation of UNSCR 1325 (2000), it appeared that the international community was addressing the gender issues brought to light by the “new wars” and was also addressing the fact that women had been absent from many conflicts Resolution processes. From a positive perspective, Resolution 1325 (2000) created a general awareness of the presence of women in conflict and in post-conflict reconstruction and it raised the issue of the failure of states and of the international community to protect women and to ensure their security in times of war and in post-war reconstruction. A key weakness of the text, however, resides in its lack of an implementation framework. Although possessing detailed review and reporting mechanisms, the Resolution is not enforceable even within the UN system. The text is also considered to have some shortcomings in its construction, as it defines women as “weak” and “vulnerable” (Carpenter 2006, 2008) and reinforces the idea of traditional roles for women (Shepherd 2008a). Portraying women in their traditional roles could hinder improvements in women’s rights and affect the possibility of future gender equality in post-conflict societies. However, this perspective is not incompatible with the western-oriented gender-equality agenda that is intrinsic to the UN system; gender equality in political representation as a key part of liberal democracy can be implemented in the context of gender difference. In addition, being written in response to the conditions of the 1990s and in a context that did not anticipate the securitisation politics that came to dominate the international community post-9/11 further weakened the Resolution. Resolution 1325 (2000) is considered to be a text with discursive value but one with weaknesses that have limited its impact. The discursive value of the Resolution is to be discussed later on in the thesis, because – as part of an answer to some post-conflict mechanisms that affect women – the text also sets up to be a reference in post-conflict reconstruction frameworks utilised by international organisations. In order to uncover the discursive value of the UN Resolution, the following chapter will discuss the strategies of analysis chosen in the thesis and the material selected for applying these chosen strategies.

Chapter 2 – Theoretical framework & Methods

of Analysis

Changes that occurred in the international order from the end of the Cold War resulted in changes to the conception of post-conflict reconstruction. 9/11 also brought a change in the direction in the conception of post-conflict reconstruction, reinforcing the perceived need for democratisation with an increased focus on securitisation of the state. In this context, the adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000) was intended to bring a solution to the invisibility of women in conflict and post-conflict situations. This is why it is necessary to investigate how UNSCR 1325 (2000) can impact on post-conflict reconstruction processes in order to render women “visible”. Starting with the theoretical framework of the thesis, which focuses on how post-conflict reconstruction processes operate, this chapter will posit the research question. The choice of a feminist perspective allows the research to focus on the power relations between international order and the discourse on women. The chapter will then discuss the choice of case study and the choice of data and will conclude with a discussion of the data itself. Having previously established that UNSCR 1325 (2000) is an important tool for post-conflict reconstruction, this chapter will set up the method of analysis that will be used to measure the impact of the Resolution in a post-conflict reconstruction state.

Theoretical framework

Before establishing how UNSCR 1325 (2000) can help and impact on post-conflict reconstruction, there is a need to establish what happens to women in post-war. In the previous chapter, it was argued that in spite of the Resolution’s limitations, UNSCR 1325 (2000) offers the opportunity for women to become “visible” in war and peace. If the Resolution offers this opportunity, it is because, generally speaking, post-war development is a “negative” time for women. It is a time when there is a backlash against women and the idea of

gender equality (Elsthain 1998, Goldstein 2001, Shepherd 2006, 2008a; Puechguirbal 2007, 2010a; Cohn 2013). Not only is it “negative”, it is also a time of increased sexual violence against women due to the legacy of the violence experienced during the war and due also to negligence in the inclusion of women in post-conflict reconstruction (Meintjes et al. 2001, Shepherd 2008a, 2008b). The following section examines how post-conflict reconstruction operates negatively for women.

“Backlash” against women in post-conflict reconstruction

Much of the mainstream scholarship – for example the work on post-conflict reconstruction by Cogen and De Brabandere (2007), Muggah (2009), Goodhand and Hulme (1999), and Galtung (1996) – ignores the roles of women in war and in post-war reconstruction. This gender-blind literature subsumes women into the population as a whole. For these authors, women are automatically included in the study of post-conflict societies, meaning that they perceive no need to treat the experience of women separately. For example, Feil (2002: 99) refers to the ‘populace’ and includes as part of this ‘the most vulnerable groups, such as women and children’. The term “populace” comes from French, and can be translated as “masses”, carrying with it the negative undertone that implies “lower classes”. The question of the gender-blindness of mainstream literature has been discussed by Reimann (1999, 2002) and Sorensen (1998). They argue that this blindness hinders assessment of the degree to which ‘women have managed to gain a position within the system whence they can make a fruitful contribution’ (Sorensen 1998: 17). If the mainstream literature presses for making women ‘universalisable’ (Reimann 2002: 25), or if the literature is ‘gender-neutralised’ (Reimann 2002: 25), it renders women’s needs invisible and closer to materiality than subjectivity (Reimann 2002: 25).

In addition, the fact that the literature ignores the “presence” of women is part of a process of “silencing” women in history. For Perrot (1998), ‘History [is] this narrative which for so long “forgot” women, who were actively relegated to the

obscurity of procreation, ineffable, as if they were outside time, or at least [they were] outside events' (Perrot 1998: i)⁶. In this way, roles undertaken by women during conflicts are often obscured by the post-war discourse on women, which diminishes the value of women's contribution during conflict (Meintjes et al. 2001: 13; Thalmann 1995) and reinforces stereotyped gender roles post-conflict. During conflict, women are given (or take on) roles different to their (usual) gendered roles that tend to bring them into the public sphere. During a conflict, 'women take some painful steps forward: they begin to transform traditional gender roles as they assume men's former tasks; they gain access to public spaces previously denied [to] them' (Turshen 2001: 80). These roles, however, are reversed by 'reconstruction plans [that] are usually blind to gender issues, men [do not] see the need for gender transformation and women are excluded from planning' (Meintjes et al. 2001: 14). Roles that women take on during war, including that of the soldier, are diminished by the post-war discourse emerging from the state. Whatever the reality of the roles they played,

women are not seen as being associated with fighting, they are not considered as legitimate actors of peace processes; they have no place in the public sphere where all important decisions about priorities of the post-conflict society will be taken by some powerful men who are also representing women and other men (Puechguirbal 2010a: 169-170).

Therefore, whether they were combatants or not, recognition of women's roles during war is down played to serve the new state's formation. The formation or reconstruction of a state, defined as its governance structure and stable institutions, is a nationalistic project responsible for creating the conditions that make possible the backlash against gender equality and enhanced public roles for women (Jacobson 2013: 25, Meintjes et al. 2001: 9). In recent years, after the adopted UN Resolutions on the roles of women in conflict and in post-conflict, some patterns have changed in favour of women's political participation in the post-war state.

⁶ Translated from French

Puechguirbal (2010a: 170) contends that women who gained some public existence during the conflict 'may not want to lose new opportunities of societal changes'. However, the positions acquired during a conflict by women are more likely to be taken away during peace negotiations (Meintjes et al. 2001). The presence of women in peace negotiations it is argued may prevent a structural backlash in post-conflict reconstruction (Puechguirbal 2007). Starting before the final end of a war, peace negotiations are part of the way of addressing the state's failures (Ramsbotham et al. 2005). Taking the Dayton Peace Agreements (1995) as an example, Cockburn and Zarkov (2002: 16) explain that one of many failures of these peace negotiations happened when it 'did not address the problems inherent in pre-war and wartime gender relations'. Women were absent from the Dayton Agreements in 1995 that ended the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been described as:

[...] a dialogue of men, often with purely militaristic overtones. No women were present around the negotiation table, and there was only one woman represented among the signatories (Kvinna till Kvinna 2000: 20 *as in* Cockburn & Zarkov 2002: 55).

If a peace negotiation fails to address pre-war gender settings, the structural backlash affecting women will be in terms of the sexual violence that was a feature of the conflict, and which will continue to affect the post-war society even after the conflict ceases. This creates conditions for a "negative" post-conflict reconstruction for women (Pankhurst 2008). Jacobson (2013: 238) explains that post-conflict violence is heightened by neglecting consideration of the post-war trauma of soldiers because, for most veterans, there is no "happy return" to "normal" life afterwards. In this regard, the demobilising programmes tend to fail the male soldiers engaged in such programs as no psychological support is available to help them deal with this trauma (Kilroy 2011). These programs also fail women by ignoring their roles during war (Basini 2013). Post-war, it is difficult 'to acknowledge the power shift in gender roles since they are so busy surviving and taking care of extended families and, at the same time, fighting against patterns of violence' (Puechguirbal 2010a: 170).

Additionally, 'where militarisation [or war] has been seen as the source of women's problems, the "return to peace" sometimes includes a "re-traditionalisation" or reassertion of pre-war patriarchy' (Moran 2010: 266). It results in the maintenance of traditional roles as a conservative backlash operates (Meintjes et al. 2001: 13). For example, institutions like religious, educational, or political organisations do not change in post-conflict settings nor do the social rules because the patriarchal structure that was part of in the pre-war state is (re)established by a conservative part of the society (Moran 2010: 265-266, Meintjes et al. 2001: 130). In this case, the process of post-conflict reconstruction that followed the Dayton Agreement also failed 'to recognise gender issues', which is a serious shortcoming given the 'struggles over identity, status and power' that characterise 'societies which have recently achieved peace' (Sorensen 1998: ix).

Consequently in this post-war period, Cohn (2013: 3-30) explains, gendered roles are divided by a gendered discourse, which insists on seeing war as a man's work and peace as a woman's task. As a result of this, 'the momentary space in which women take on non-traditional roles and typically assume much greater responsibilities – within the household and public arenas – does not necessarily advance gender equality' (Rehn and Sirleaf Johnson⁷ 2002: 2). As the state is reconstructed, institutions are gendered and have 'an "anti-women" discourse with associated restrictions on the life-choices of women regarding social, economic, and political activity' (Pankhurst 2008: 3).

Without definite action being taken, post-conflict reconstruction is 'a political and social backlash against women' in which there is also 'widespread sexual violence' both during the conflict and in its aftermath (Pankhurst 2010: 149). This is because of 'the prevalence of male sexualised violence against women and children, in both war and peace' (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002: 10) and this

⁷ Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson is now in her second mandate as President of Liberia.

explains why in war and in post-war reconstruction gender-based violence – especially towards women – is at a high level. In this regard, Cockburn and Zarkov (2002: 11) warn that

a failure to understand the politics of masculinity and femininity in causing and sustaining violence, and in working to redress violence, has till now rendered such operations less effective they might have been.

Cockburn and Zarkov (2002) argue that there will be a replication of gendered violence in the post-war society if the problems that pre-existed in society, in addition to the ones that were created during the war, are not addressed in a systematic fashion. It is also advocated that the inclusion of women's groups in the peace processes can help deal with the factors that lead to domestic violence (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002: 27). As 'once they have left the peace process, women [...] experience difficulties in returning to the different stages of the reconstruction of their own society because all responsibilities [...] have already been shared among the male stakeholders' (Puechguirbal 2010a: 171).

Therefore, mainstream post-conflict reconstruction scholarship largely assumes that women and women's groups are dealing with women's issues. It assumes, for example, that domestic violence is a woman's issue. Feminist scholarship, on the other hand, points to ways post-conflict reconstruction "treats" women by highlighting the negative conditions experienced by women in war and in post-war societies. In other words, a post-conflict state does not tend to offer opportunities for changing gendered roles (Meintjes et al. 2001: 4). More importantly, it seems that post-conflict mechanisms re-institutionalise gender relations to the way they were pre-war, or at least they aim at an idealised version of the gender relations of the pre-war state (Meintjes et al. 2001, Pankhurst 2008, Shepherd 2008a). The experience of post-war reconstruction as reflected in the literature is a negative time for women's rights and standing.

The postwar moment

In spite of this negative experience for women, conflict can also be argued to be transformative. Conflicts transform a state, its rules and norms, its politics and its gender relations (Meintjes et al 2001, Puechguirbal 2007). Pillay argues that conflict can provide 'a possibility and an opportunity for many stagnant social structures to change, and has provided the most radical means for transforming gender roles' (Pillay 2006: 1). Therefore, the transformative aspect of conflict can act as catalysis to improve women's rights. However, the common experience is that women's rights are not dealt with. In fact, the opposite occurs: the rights of women are not prioritised over the needs of the state in reconstruction, or as feminist literature (Meintjes et al. 2001, Shepherd 2008a, Pankhurst 2008) suggests, women are consciously forgotten by the structure of the state and even by the international community that deals with the post-conflict reconstruction, which explains the negative backlash.

On the other hand, the possibility for transforming post-war experience into a positive moment exists. Reflecting on the experience of post-war reconstruction in the Balkans, Cockburn and Zarkov (2002) used the term "the postwar moment" to describe the time when the institutions of a new or reconstructed state are still fluid and, therefore, when the possibility of restructuring gender relations can occur. Moran (2010: 265) specifies that the postwar moment 'represents a brief window of time in which wartimes gains can be consolidated'. The postwar moment is 'framed as a valuable but limited window of opportunity, which will close quickly if not exploited to the maximum' (Moran 2010: 267). Therefore, the postwar moment can be defined as the moment that offers women – as groups (activist movements) and as individuals – a possibility for change, departing from the pre-war norms and settings, to set up new societal norms, and allowing them (better) access to the public sphere.

The postwar moment is moreover a pivotal point of change in state's post - conflict reconstruction for gender relations. In this regard, Cockburn and Zarkov

(2002) apply the term “postwar moment” to the moment of the cessation of the conflict and when reconstruction begins; therefore, it is the point at which policy regimes can change and policy reform in many areas at the same time including ‘demobilisation, the reconstruction of the economy, the shift from emergency services to social rehabilitation, the reconception [sic] of the state, political structures and law in a new constitution’ (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002: 10). Similarly, Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004: 71) posit that ‘post-conflict reconstruction [as] opportunities [can] establish new norms and rules, engage new leaders, and build new institutions’. Therefore, the postwar moment happens when an event completely changes a state and can therefore be seen as an opportunity to improve conditions for women (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002). Consequently, the postwar moment can change the reproduction of pre-war gender relations and it can in this way reshape the ‘relationship between men and women, the feminine and the masculine’ (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002: 11). Cockburn & Zarkov (2002) also assert that international, national, and local organisations, working together could then generate a more positive and less masculine identified postwar moment. Consequently, ‘the postwar moment [can] be used as an opportunity to turn a society towards gender equality, the diminution of “difference” and the valorisation of women and the feminine’ (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002: 11).

Subsequently, the postwar moment is a brief period that can play in favour of the rights and lives of women, if acknowledged. UNSCR 1325 (2000) implicitly addresses the postwar moment by acknowledging the fact that there is possibility for change while there are mechanisms preventing positive changes for women’s rights. However, this potential window of opportunity is brief and the institutions of the state are quickly re-established because of the continuum of violence existing in the state (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002).

Research question

As UNSCR 1325 (2000) implicitly recognises the opportunity for change that could arise post conflict, it means that UNSCR 1325 (2000) is not only a recommendation for organisation of the state's post-conflict reconstruction, but that it carries in its text the recognition that women can become "visible" and active – not only as "agents of peace" but also as full citizens in post-conflict reconstruction. The Resolution articulates the postwar moment's potential positive outcome by including women in public representation during peace negotiations and the steps of post-conflict reconstruction processes. The thesis argues consequently that the Resolution may have an impact on post-conflict reconstruction, particularly in re-shaping gender relations as it promotes greater gender equality and women's rights, often neglected in conflict and in post-conflict processes.

Measuring the impact of the Resolution is problematic as UNSCR 1325 (2000) has no specific implementation measures that can be that can be evaluated. This means that the Resolution has no definite criteria that can be used to measure success. Therefore, the impact of the Resolution needs to be assessed indirectly and this can be done in two ways.

First, there is a need to draw out indicators of the postwar moment within post-conflict reconstruction. In the post-Cold War scholarly work on conflict resolution and reconstruction, there is only a limited and narrow picture of these indicators. For this reason, and because the thesis is using a feminist perspective to uncover gender regimes (Connell 1987), an historical analysis of post-World War II will be performed. The post-WWII analysis is still a relevant reference point and two feminist authors from this period are still referenced by feminist scholarship as essential authors – Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan (1963) – who contributed to the foundation of the Second Wave of Feminism and have both focused on the post-WWII in detail. WWII was a "total war" which changed radically the international order to its core and led to

upheavals in beliefs and attitudes of states and persons afterwards. WWII was perceived to be more barbaric to prior wars including the First World War, because of the nature of the Nazi state that targeted civilians, was excessively brutal (even by the accepted standards of war) and engaged in genocide. At the end of war the victors, as well as the losers, focused on the reconstruction of their heavily destroyed territories. The ideological victory of democracy over fascism, with the victorious side pushing for a universal idea of democracy against totalitarianism (Scott 2001). The “total war” changed radically the international order to its core: the genocide of six million Jews, the systematic elimination of the “Other” (homosexuals, gypsies, etc.) and the annihilation of two cities with nuclear weapons broke the intellectual thought and political philosophy (Bourdieu & Passeron 1967). The “never-again” attitude was essential in the reconstruction of Europe and it reflected the need to never experience human genocides and nuclear annihilation again. Information on the post-conflict reconstruction of Europe and the USA is also available to allow the gender indicators of the postwar moment to be measured.

Second, since UNSCR 1325 (2000) has no implementation devices, there is a need to look what is within the UN Resolution’s text. Indeed, within the text, there is information to how the Resolution intends to transform the negative postwar moment into a positive one. In order to draw out the “real” content of the Resolution, Chapter 4 will provide a content analysis of its text. This will be done as part of a textual analysis of the key international “gender” texts prior to UNSCR 1325 (2000) that are recalled in the preamble of the Resolution and also to the related UN Resolutions that followed. This will place the content of UNSCR 1325 in the context of a developing discourse on gender and conflict.

Strategy of analysis

The section examines how the thesis intends to investigate the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on gender relations in the post-conflict state.

Feminist perspective

The thesis uses feminist theory as a methodology because it is the most appropriate one to uncover the gender relations that are 'often silent and hidden operations' but 'are nonetheless present and defining forces in the organisation of most societies' (Wallach Scott 1999: 27) that including that of post-conflict reconstruction settings (Shepherd 2008a). Feminist theory reveals the patriarchal hierarchies of the state (Tickner 2005: 4), comprising the useful division between the private and public sphere (Grant 1991). The private sphere is the site of the family and the household, 'where women are primarily located' and the 'public sphere is identical to the political sphere' (Yuval-Davis 1997: 78). This framework and a feminist epistemology help researchers understand patriarchy as an element of power in gender relations (De Beauvoir 2011 [1949]: 64-88; Wallach Scott 1999: 33-35; Butler 2008 [1990]: 47-48). In particular, it defines patriarchy as the subordination of women in law and in the structures of the state (Kaplan 1992). De Beauvoir also adds that because male legislators fear women they 'organise her oppression' (De Beauvoir 2001 [1949]: 91). Patriarchy exists in both public and private spheres, and

'it is possible to distinguish two main forms of gender regime – a domestic gender regime and a public gender regime, where in the domestic or private form women are typically subordinated by exclusion from the public domain and confined to the household' (Walby 2000: 528).

In the public form of patriarchy, 'women are not excluded from the public arena although they are subordinated there' (Walby 2000: 529). Therefore, in the patriarchal state, 'political structures and political ideas – structures and ideas that create and enforce relationships of power – shape and set the boundaries of public discourse and of all aspects of life' (Wallach Scott 1983: 154). Patriarchy is then reinforced by the state, which is 'institutionalised hegemonic masculinity' and which

expends great energy in controlling patriarchal structures and power relationships by the process of bureaucratisation, which allows control on the social relations (structure of power) and

the division of labour (structure of economics and family)
(Connell 1987: 128).

A fundamental part of the patriarchal state is that 'the structure of social relations that centres on the reproductive arena and the set of practices (governed by this structure) that brings reproductive distinctions between bodies into social processes' (Connell 1999: 9). It is this factor that makes women's sexuality and their role as mothers so important to social structures and to public policy (Millett 1969). Consequently, an individual identity is linked to dichotomies based on private and public spheres, which in turn is linked to the quest of women for citizenship. Furthermore, these dichotomies also reveal the tensions inherent in patriarchy and the problems associated with legislating for improved gender equality or increases in the political representation of women.

Discourse analysis

This thesis proposes to use for method a combination of word frequencies, detailed later, drawn from critical discourse analysis (CDA), which can show

the complex, subtle, and sometimes, not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic powers relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities (Lazar 2007: 142).

CDA is however problematic as it tends to focus too much on an analysis of power relations from a hegemonic perspective (Wodak 1997), which is why the thesis is drawing from CDA to help organising the data. Taking this approach of critical analysis, the research replaces the power relations related to hegemonic power with power based on gender relations, which contain unequal power relations between the two sexes. For example, in the analysis of the newspapers from Sierra Leone, the term "womenfolk" is used three times in the whole 1454 articles kept for the analysis. Simply "womenfolk" is just a denomination of the category of women. However, in spite of a lack of

discussion among academia⁸, the term certainly carries on a patronising sense of the category of women, if not completely archaic and derogatory way of categorising women. Therefore, drawing on critical practice of discursive analysis, the researcher can investigate the production of tensions between women as a group and men as a group that create gender relations (van Dijk 2004 [2011]: 358-359). Two aspects of this method are its capacity to analyse: the way stories are told about the categories of “men” and “women” and the role of the language used to tell these stories (Chafe 1977). The language used to tell the stories about “men” and “women” is an important opportunity for discursive analysis. It allows for the research to ‘investigate the ways in which “women” as subjects and objects act, speak, write and represent themselves, [and also how they] are represented, written about spoken about and acted on’ (Shepherd 2008a: 4). It is this aspect of discourse that is of interest to this thesis. It is also important to recognise the social, political, and economic roles assumed by women and men in societies that are independent of the meaning given to those roles in social discourse.

Discourse and representation

Stuart Hall (2009 [1987]: 15) states that representation creates a production of meaning with the help of language and culture. For Hall (2009 [1987]), the discourse on representation can only work if representation and the production of meaning are shared through a common understanding of the concept through common language and/or common culture. In the case of the representation of gender relations, women are represented through the lens of patriarchy, resulting in unequal power relations that place men above women. It is the discourse that is conveyed by the dominant group that is primarily responsible for the representation of women. One way to observe patriarchy in action is the study of discourse. Whether discourse is embodied in a text or speech, or a movie, or a piece of art, it ‘can provide us with valuable clues to the

⁸ There are no peer-reviewed articles discussing the use of the term “womenfolk” (using google scholar).

readings that a particular culture or subculture is likely to produce from it' (Fiske 1987: 108). Wodak (1997: 4) defines discourse as 'the totality of signs that carry meaning: the mind is seen as the product of the signs encountered, including non-verbal signs'. Wallach Scott (1999) argues that the study of any medium, including cultural practices, can reveal specific historical and contextual meanings. Following on from this, discourse analysis can be defined as the study of 'a domain that has for object of study the linguistic entity (text) in relation to the parameters contextualising the interpretation' (Sarfati 2007 [1997]: 8). Consequently, 'discourse is the object of knowledge in discourse analysis defining the corpus of the texts [and] linking the historical (social and ideological) conditions of their production' (Sarfati 2007 [1997]: 16⁹). Texts are the empirical objects and the discourse within the text relays the conditions of production emanating from the empirical object (Sarfati 2007 [1997]: 8). Representation can be used 'as an *instance*' and 'as a *practice*' (Shepherd 2008a: 24, *emphasis in the text*), meaning that representation is not just a simple picture but also what is behind the picture, and the choices made in order for it to be taken in this way is part of the construction of the representation or, more specifically, part of the discourse of representation.

Discourse analysis is consequently a useful tool for uncovering hidden meanings behind the chosen written words and 'begins with the assumption that all objects and actions are meaningful and that their meaning is a product of historically specific systems of rules' (Howarth 2000: 8). Therefore, 'social practices construct and contest the discourses that constitute social reality' (Howarth 2000: 8). In this thesis, the social practices are not found through contestation but rather through the construction of social reality. The social practices are hidden in the texts or in the discourse. In this thesis, the "text" is understood under the category of written materials in which meaning is produced and in which social practices are present. It constitutes the social world in which we live in. In this thesis, by using feminism as an epistemological

⁹ Translated from French

driver, discourse analysis is used to uncover the social practices linked with patriarchal hierarchies and gender inequalities in the context of post-conflict reconstruction. Gill (1995: 167) argues that because discourse is constructive and a social practice, it is a tool that utilises language and words analysis to demonstrate the power relations that are contained within a text.

For the purposes of the form of discourse analysis carried out in this thesis, the term “indicator” is used to uncover post-conflict reconstruction mechanisms in the context of post-WWII. The term “marker” is used in the context of the findings from the content analysis performed on UNSCR 1325 (2000). The indicators are based on factual data from WWII to reveal the postwar moment and symbolise the struggles or power relations existing within a discourse. The indicators of the postwar moment will be identified in *Chapter 3*. The indicators signify reassertion of “male” values in society, following “male” roles of the war and aggravated gender difference in the post-conflict reconstruction. Similarly, the markers are actually signifiers of the discourse and of representation. It can be a word or a section of a sentence. It can be, in the context of this work, an ensemble of signifiers that have been identified in an historical context. As the discourse is constructed, it will be part of the larger discursive representation of entity(ies) or agency(ies). As UNSCR 1325 (2000) is part of the discourse on women in the context of security, *Chapter 4* will highlight the markers of this discourse.

The thesis proposes that in order to see the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) on post-conflict reconstruction it is first necessary to find indicators from the WWII postwar moment, which must be followed by identification of the markers of discourse within UNSCR 1325 (2000). As the UN Resolution is aimed at addressing the postwar moment, changes in the indicators of the postwar moment of post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone should be in relation and in parallel with the markers of discourse of UNSCR 1325 (2000).

Content analysis

This thesis will use a word-counting content analysis of newspapers from Sierra Leone. Content analysis, in the case of this work, combines word-counting and discourse analysis, through which the discourse of the representation of women present in the collected data is made clear. Content analysis is an empirical approach that is a 'controlled analysis of texts within their context of communication' that follows 'content analytical rules and step by step models, without rash quantification' (Mayring 2000: paragraph 5) that, in the case of this thesis, is 'inferential in intent' (Krippendorff 2004 [1980]: xvii). Texts, including newspaper articles, are a part of discourse and newspaper analyses of this type have a long history (Krippendorff (2004 [1980]: 5-8). To facilitate the content analysis, a word-counting technique is used to "sort" the data (Stubbs 1998). Additional historical and political contextualisation is necessary for content analysis so there is meaning given (Lewis-Black 1996: 6-7). Contextualisation here refers to the elements of discourse that are outside the discourse yet localises the discourse. Sarfati calls it the 'determining external discursive markers (Martin 2008: 47). It indicates where the discourse is, in time (historical markers), or in space (geographical context). It also specifies the power relations in play in a discourse (Wodak 1997: 149) such as patriarchy, hegemony or other forms of dominance in the 'social reality' (Martin 2008: 45). In the case of this thesis, the contextualisation resides in the choice of the case study, Sierra Leone, and in post-conflict reconstruction, understanding the historical context of colonisation while considering the way gender relations have been constructed in this "social reality".

The thesis uses TextSTAT¹⁰, an open source software, to sort the data. The programme counts all words contained in a text or corpus¹¹ while having the quality of distinction between words with small capital letters and big capital

¹⁰ TextSTAT is a simple programme for the analysis of texts. It reads ASCII/ANSI texts (in different encodings) and HTML files (directly from the internet) and it produces word frequency lists and concordances from these files (see *Hüning 2013*).

¹¹ A corpus can contain many different texts, saved under one meta file, using for example keywords as selective tool for the name of the corpus.

letters, necessary in order not to create false frequencies.¹² It also allows the researcher to search for quasi-sentences by associating words that are together in the same sentence (close or not) – for example, “maternal”, and “mortality” – so the context of the word becomes apparent.

Frequencies are good indicators of what is present; it also permits the research to understand why some words are present in large quantities in the text(s) or why some are missing or in limited numbers especially if they are expected to be seen. As in power relations, if something is present, something is absent. In this case, the “something” missing or “something” present can both be significant for discourse analysis. The absence or missing data is evocative and significant. Indeed Tannen (1999 [1991]: 23) argues that in conversation analysis silences or absences reveal conveyed unstated meaning. Tyler (1971: 465) states that ‘meaning is to be found, above all, in the resonating silence of the unsaid’. Bird Rose (2001: 109) argues that silence can sometimes run ‘the risk of being interpreted as an absence rather than a withholding’. This means that in the newspapers, there is either a withholding of knowledge that points to even stronger unequal power relations between men and women, or it is just “missing” data. In this case, the latter can indicate how little regard the elite has for women’s rights. Moreover, ‘repetition is a resource by which conversationalists together create a discourse, a relationship, and a world’ Tannen (2007: 574). Tannen adds that repetition can serve the function of production (of meaning), comprehension, connection, interaction and involvement, and uses spoken dialogue, which relies on repetitions to support points and arguments (Tannen 1999 [1991]). However, the interactions and production of meaning can also be applied on written texts. The word-counting gives life to the functions described by Tannen (1999 [1991], 2007) and Bird Rose (2001). For discourse analysis, however, it needs to be enabled by a

¹² For example, when counting “women” in the data, I systematically excluded “Women” that were part of acronyms such as CEDAW (Convention for the Elimination of all forms of Discriminations against Women).

contextualised analysis of the text(s) that can show the power of words and their production of meaning in these contexts.

Case study selection

The selection of Sierra Leone as the case study for this research was influenced by the fact that Sierra Leone represents all the post-Cold War era “humanitarian” interventions with a post-9/11 turn towards securitisation. Indeed, the first UN intervention happened in 2000, following the Lomé peace agreements of 1999 and peace was declared in January 2002, five months after 9/11. The war caused the death of approximately 50,000 persons (out of an estimated population of 4 million in 1991) and an estimated 250,000 women and girls were sexually assaulted during the ten years of conflict (Global Security.org no date, UNDP 2006: 4, UNHCR 1991: 161). Given the level of development of the state, the post-conflict reconstruction processes included aid for poverty-reduction as well as aid for democratisation meaning that external actors were engaged in the process of post conflict reconstruction (Craig & Porter 2003). Similar to the situation in post-WWII Europe, pre-war political elites came into power in post-war Sierra Leone and the pre-war political structures were re-constituted. In addition, the end of conflict became important as it happened at the beginning of the working mandate of UNSCR 1325 (2000).

Several other Western African states were considered as part of the case study selection process. The states of Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Namibia, Angola were excluded because the end of conflict in those states was a number of years before 2000 and the reconstruction process could not have fallen under the mandate of UNSCR 1325 (2000). Cote d’Ivoire was excluded because the political situation was still volatile in 2008. This decision to exclude Cote d’Ivoire proved to be justified as in 2010-2011 the state experienced political violence during the elections, which led to the deaths of an estimated 3000 persons (HRW 2013). The question of comparing Liberia and Sierra Leone arose. Sierra

Leone and Liberia were chosen as they share many parallels: both conflicts in these states started in 1992 and 1991 respectively and finishing in 2003 and 2002. Both countries are among the poorest in the world, according to the United Nations Human Development Report (UNHDR). Additionally, during the transitional period from conflict to peace, Liberia appeared to adopt a stronger gender empowerment measures than Sierra Leone. Liberian women seemed to have a better access to education than those in Sierra Leone throughout the 2000s. Political decision-making has been more available to women in Liberia since the elections of 2005 that saw Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson elected as president. Additionally, the two countries share a common border and both states had a UN intervention to resolve the conflicts. However, after the research began, it was necessary to focus only on Sierra Leone, due to consideration of safety, as it was not possible to do fieldwork in Liberia in 2011. Indeed, Liberia was impacted on by the on-going bouts of violence in Cote d'Ivoire with which it shares a border. The Irish and French Embassies did not deem Liberia a safe destination at the time. Therefore Sierra Leone was chosen as a safe place to travel and conduct research.

Zuckerman 2004, Tripp et al. 2009). From the perspective of empirical depth, considering the necessity to explore a state's actions regarding women in post-conflict reconstruction over time, and in order to see whether UNSCR 1325 (2000) has impacted on a state's post-conflict reconstruction, a single case study is appropriate; and Sierra Leone is a good choice of country for such a study.

Choice of Data

Two problems arise in examining gender relations in post-war Sierra Leone: one is the short period of time since the end of the conflict; the other is a lack of primary data. In addition to data on gender relations in post-war Sierra Leone it is also necessary to have information on gender relations in pre-war Sierra Leone to act as a baseline for assessing the degree of change. In the case of Sierra Leone, none of the pre-war data such as parliamentary debates and government documents from the state survived the civil conflict. Even in post-war Sierra Leone, there is limited information on government websites and the time-scale since the war ended has not provided the opportunity for the impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000) to be assessed in terms of changes in women's status and welfare. It was therefore decided to examine the elite discourse for evidence that UNSCR 1325 (2000) had exerted an influence. The study of newspapers also allows for understanding "the state", as

'newspapers contribute to the raw material necessary for a "thick" description [...] Obviously, perceiving them as having a privileged relation to the truth of social life is naive; they have much to offer us, however, when seen as a major discursive form through which daily life is narrativised and collectivities imagined' (Gupta 1995: 385).

Whereas in the past newspapers were the official voice of the Sierra Leonean political parties, it is less obvious now with a more open press, able to criticise the politics of the state since the end of the war (International Crisis Group 2007)¹³. As in most African states, literacy and education levels in Sierra Leone

¹³ Olusegun Ogundeji, email exchange, January 2011

are reflective of a rampant elitism and, as journalists are part of the general discourse of the state, it is only logical that the content of the newspapers is also mainstreaming ideas of the state. Indeed,

‘African newspapers do not simply “reflect” on-going social life. Rather, they are one way in which that life is constructed, given meaning, contested, and changed. The imagining of collectivities, whether these are based on gender, ethnicity or common membership in the nation, is never “finished”; it is rather a constant state of negotiation and struggle’ (Moran 2000: 115).

Prior studies demonstrate this point (Babatunde 1975, Bourgault 1995, International Crisis Group 2007).

Newspapers and elites of Sierra Leone

Elites in Sierra Leone

The content of newspapers articles from Sierra Leone was chosen as a corpus that would carry in it the discourse within Sierra Leone society. Radio and television would also provide suitable data for this study but it was not feasible to collect the necessary data for the time period required. In Sierra Leone, approximately only 26.8% of women and 50% of the men above fifteen can read (UNHDR 2009). To put this in perspective, around 9.5% of the female population and 20.4% of the population as a whole reach secondary education (UNHDR 2013: 158, 2006-2010 data, BBC World Service Trust and Search for Common Ground 2007). Therefore, newspapers can be considered to be a reflection of elite discourse as the literacy levels accentuate the division of the political and economic elites of the state, separating those who are educated and likely to read the newspapers from others. The elites of Sierra Leone are a product of the history of the state, detailed in Chapter 5. However, due to the way the state used the capital Freetown to assert power of the rest of the territories, the people living in the capital constitute most the political, economic and influential elite. The members of the political power are also often the leader of the economic strive of the country. The local elite of Sierra Leone resides in the

form of the chiefdoms members which are put in charge by the capital to control over and more closely of the territories (Clapham 1976). The rising middle-class constitutes also the economic power, often concentrated in Freetown (Sylla 2014 for an analysis of the rise of middle classes in Sub-Saharan African states). There are therefore interactions between the political elites (local and national) and the economic actors that include the rising middle-class. The journalists are also part of the state's elite, reporting the state's affairs and the economic actors. It is an upper-tiered conversation between the political, economic and media elites, which automatically exclude the rest of the population because of the lack of economic means – the price of the newspapers is approximately LE 1000¹⁴, in a country where 52.9% of the population live under the poverty line (66.4% in 2003, World Bank 2014) – and the lack of literate population. The upper-tiered conversation can be seen too by meeting and interviewing the gender activist leaders for this thesis. There are about a total of 30 persons in charge in Sierra Leone, at the national level, of the progress on gender rights. These 30 persons are all involved in conversing with the media, the political leaders and sometimes with the economic leaders too to re-arrange the gender relations since 2002. They have been all in charge of the drafting of the CEDAW country reports since 2002, and have been interacting with the external donors too. Therefore an elite for “gender rights” exists too.

This said, the rest of the population, excluded from the conversation carried on the newspapers, can have access to the newspapers' content, because the content is often read during television and radio programmes. The exclusion of the population can be seen as well when the newspapers' journalists use derogatory or patronising terms to qualify the population, which has no access to the wealth, experienced by the upper class of the Sierra Leonean society.

¹⁴ 0.17 Euros or 0.23 US dollars

Newspapers

Since the end of the war in 2002, Sierra Leonean newspapers have embraced a tabloid version of the news¹⁵, sensationalising and lacking in investigative powers. Whereas in western newspapers it is likely that the “everyday” man (or woman) has a voice, Sierra Leonean newspapers come from governing elites of the state addressing government politics and the rising middle-class. Newspapers would reflect on political scandal, belittling other newspapers and journalists. In the Sierra Leonean press, the “everyday” man or woman is often represented as a simple person, uneducated in comparison of the political elites. The style of newspapers is to sensationalise news but when it comes to revealing the “human” content in the newspapers, the elitism of the state is uncovered. The newspapers bicker among themselves, and tend to denigrate political parties with gossip and slander. ‘The vibrancy and diversity of Sierra Leone’s media are not matched by its credibility. In fact, the media is seriously limited in both scope and quality. The dozens of newspapers are often more vocal than reasoned’ (International Crisis Group 2007). The report also speaks of the public perception of general unprofessionalism of journalists, stating that ‘while the quality of reporting and analysis can be judged negatively, however, the press is taken seriously by the ruling elite, as indicated by persistent attacks on editors and reporters by the government and powerful individuals’ (International Crisis Group 2007). Accessing pre-war newspapers is not simple; therefore it is difficult to assess a comparative change in post-war reporting. The ten years of civil war suspended all regular press and probably the ways newspapers worked beforehand.

Because of the high levels of illiteracy, the Sierra Leonean newspaper readership is not large, but newspapers articles are read on radio and on television programmes (BBC World Service Trust and Search for Common

¹⁵ This is mostly an observation coming from having read the newspapers and having been in contact with the content of the two analysed newspapers. There is little to no scholarship that details the tabloid nature of the Sierra Leonean newspapers. The existing scholarship on African media is often on South Africa (Ogenga 2011: 42-46).

Ground 2007).¹⁶ Due to the various political affiliations of the different newspapers, newspapers tend to be less trusted than the radio. Most newspapers are available in Freetown and in the Western Province (Freetown area) while they are less easy to obtain in the rest of the country. As of 2011 the main newspapers were *Awareness Times*, *Awoko*, *The New Storm*, *For Di People*, *The Torchlight*, the *Concord Times*, and the *Standard Times*. The content analysis focuses on the last two newspapers, the *Concord Times* and the *Standard Times*, which were the only newspapers from Sierra Leone available for data collection in the University of Illinois-Chicago (UIC) for the post-conflict reconstruction era. There are websites for the *Concord Times*, *the Awareness Times* and *Awoko* available online, but there are no accessible archives nor are there ways to see if content of the newspapers is the same online as the one in print. News articles from the *Concord Times* are carried out by the database Lexis Nexis since 2010 up to present. There are differences between the two newspapers as it appears that the online content is aimed at attracting the diaspora population¹⁷ that fled during the civil war, rather than focusing its content on the local population, which has little access to the electronic content. Therefore, it was chosen to focus on the content published in the country.

According to Israel Olusegun Ogundeji¹⁸, editor at the *Concord Times*, the average daily circulation for the newspaper is around 3000 copies. 'However, this figure increases intermittently based on events particularly when elections are drawing nearer or when issues of grave national concerns arise'.¹⁹ The political line is not as defined as it is for the *Standard Times*, which openly supports the All People Congress Party. The *Concord Times* is critical of all the main political parties but it is most critical of the two main parties the All People Congress Party (APC) and Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP). The *Concord*

¹⁶ This was observed during the fieldtrip.

¹⁷ The Sierra Leone Diaspora Network estimates that around 100 000 persons which fled the country during the civil war are now located in the United Kingdom, which is about 4.5% of the 1991 population (2.2 million, UNHDR 1991).

¹⁸ Email exchange, January 2011

¹⁹ Olusegun Ogundeji, email exchange, January 2011

Times, which celebrated its twentieth anniversary in August 2011, is published Monday to Friday, with an occasional Saturday edition. The newspaper is between twelve and twenty-four pages long depending on the number of pages allotted for advertisements. Two to three pages are reserved for local news. Four to seven pages are allocated to all other content (sport, international news, etc.). An edition of the *Concord Times* carries many advertisements of local businesses and international organisations calling for funded projects, which reduces the news content significantly.

The *Standard Times* publishes more copies than the *Concord Times* with an average of 3,500 copies every day. The *Standard Times* newspaper sides with the ruling All People's Congress Party (APC). 'It is a newspaper that tends to focus more on corrupt practises by government officials or private individuals'.²⁰ The newspaper operates the same way as the *Concord Times* in terms of its content. The international and sport pieces issues are mostly from the BBC, although they are not always properly cited. Such articles can, however, be recognised from the different style of English language used. Articles are sometimes divided and placed on different pages in the newspaper. It is not unusual to find a long piece, of up to 2000 words, cut into four or five pieces and located in different sections of the newspaper. Little international content is included, even concerning neighbouring countries (Liberia, Guinea, and Cote d'Ivoire).

Analysing the data

This study includes a content analysis of the newspapers. The main analysis was performed on data collected in UIC in September 2010. The findings of this analysis will be found in *Chapters 6* and *7*. A content analysis was conducted on the international "gender" texts and can be found in *Chapter 4*.

²⁰ Olusegun Ogundeji, email exchange, January 2011

Newspapers analysis

In the content analysis of the newspapers articles, the data presented relates to the number of times an expression or theme was expressed in one article; it is not the number of articles in which these themes are repeated, which explains the high numbers found at times. It can happen that an expression or theme is repeated many times through the articles. For example in “Looking At Sa. Lone²¹ [sic]”²², the word “corruption” is counted five times; this has been accounted for. One can notice the low numbers for the *Standard Times*, four times less than *Concord Times* (Table 2). Also, few articles are dated prior to 2004, and after 2008 they are included in the 2003 and 2008 dataset. Articles written in 2010 and after were, on the other hand, collected online when available.²³ The data is expressed in raw numbers.

For content analysis of the newspapers, approximately 1700 articles were collected. They date between 2002 and 2008. Several articles published before the end of war were available on the Access News World²⁴ database, which was used for the analysis. Although these are referred to in later chapters that discuss the analyses they were not included in the dataset. Few post-2008 articles are also present but were excluded from the data set, and are similarly referred to in discussions of the analysis. The range of *Standard Times* news articles available was significantly lower in number than the *Concord Times* and the available time period in the database was shorter, covering between 2003 and 2006. It has to be specified that the following tables reflect the number of articles collected, not the number of newspapers.

The collection was done using keywords: “gender”, “women”, “girls”, “sexual” + “violence”, “rape”, “FGM/C”, “post-Conflict” and “post-war” “reconstruction”.

²¹ Salone stands for Sierra Leone.

²² *Standard Times* 7 May 2003, Victor A. Massaquoi

²³ The *Concord Times* have both websites but lack of archives. Also it appears that these websites' articles are different from the ones collected. It seems that these articles are for an audience composed of the diaspora. Also, both websites are not updated regularly.

²⁴ Reference and link in the bibliography

Names of the main international “gender” texts, “CEDAW”, “DEVAW”, “Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action”, and “UN Resolution 1325” were keys searched. The articles identified by the keywords search represent 19.25% for the *Concord Times* and 13.5% for the *Standard Times* of all the available article in the database. Once sorted and checked for repeated articles²⁵, the total number of articles for the *Concord Times* was 15.60% of all available articles and 12.55% of the *Standard Times* overall available data. This left 1181 articles from the *Concord Times* and 273 articles from the *Standard Times* for analysis (Table 1). In the analyses in *Chapters 6* and *7*, the tables concerning the *Concord Times* and *Standard Times* results are left in the raw count due to very low word counts.

Table 1: Collected and kept articles (total and percentage) in comparison with total of available news articles on the database Access News World

	<i>Concord Times</i> articles (% of total articles)	<i>Standard Times</i> articles (% of total articles)	Total (% of articles)
Total Articles 2000-2008	7561	2177	9738
Total articles collected	1454 (19.25%)	294 (13.5%)	1748 (17.95%)
Total articles kept for analysis	1181 (15.60%)	273 (12.55%)	1454 (14.93%)

Source: Access News World

Table 2 counted the percentage of articles related to women’s rights and gender relations in the overall available newspapers. It shows that, at best, overall less than 20 per cent of the content relates to women’s rights and gender relations.

²⁵ The articles initially identified in the key word search were further refined the chosen and repeated articles or those with a keyword (such as “Beijing”) that did not have a “gender” content were removed.

Table 2: Percentage of content concerning women's right and gender relations per articles collected and per year

		<i>Concord Times</i>	<i>Standard Times</i>
2003-2004	% Women's rights	17.70%	21.80%
	% Gender relations	10.40%	7.40%
2005	% Women's rights	15.90%	28.20%
	% Gender relations	3%	3.10%
2006	% Women's rights	19%	32.70%
	% Gender relations	4.30%	8.10%
2007	% Women's rights	25.60%	n/a
	% Gender relations	8.30%	n/a
2008	% Women's rights	21.50%	n/a
	% Gender relations	5.30%	n/a

Using the software TextSTAT, contextualisation and content were controlled, by viewing the word in its sentence. Data on the word "gender", for example, was cleaned of all references to the ministerial position in *the* Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs, because it was just referenced as the deputy attending some public events, unrelated to gender relations or women's rights.

What is also interesting is to look at the gender composition of the press pool of both newspapers (Table 3). The articles collected were arranged by title, name of the journalist and date of edition. It allowed seeing, when available, who wrote what. The distinction between "regular" and "occasional" was made arbitrarily by counting +5/-5 publications.

Table 3: Female editors in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i>	<i>Standard Times</i>
Total women journalists	15	2
Women as Regular (more than 5 articles)	5	0
Women as Occasional writers	10	2
Total journalists regulars and occasional (men and women)	172	43

Source: Personal dataset

A journalist from the *Concord Times* claimed the newspaper was willing to 'engage female reporters in handling gender issues' and that 'it is part of the newspaper's policy to consider issues that would enhance gender equality in

the country'²⁶. However, weakness of the definition of gender equality is made clear by the following statement:

It has always been the culture at CT [*Concord Times*] to have female reporters, which is not always the case in other newspaper outlets for reasons best known to them. Our female reporters are groomed to specialise in areas that are best handled by women e.g. *gender equality, in the market, kiddies corner [sic]* (emphasis added).²⁷

Female journalists, it appears, are more likely to write on female issues that include motherhood and shopping. However, in spite of this view, three of the journalists (two women, one man) in the *Concord Times* have brought contentious issues forward such as Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) and demands for gender quotas in parliament.

Content analysis of UNSCR 1325 (2000)

Chapter 4 is dedicated to analysing the content of UNSCR 1325. Using a word-counting analysis, it contextualises the content of UNSCR 1325 (2000) within the international discourse on women and security. It is a text that is part of an international gender agenda, preceded by three major international “gender” texts (CEDAW in 1979, DEVAW in 1993 and the Beijing Declaration in 1995) and succeeded by six UNSCR resolutions (UNSCRS 1820 in 2008, 1888 and 1889 in 2009, 1960 in 2010, 2106 and 2122 in 2013). Table 4 shows that UN Resolution 1325 (2000) is the smallest of the international “gender” texts.

Table 4: Total word count for international texts pre and post UNSCR 1325 (2000)

CEDAW (1979)	DEVAW (1993)	BEIJING DECL. (1995)	UNSCR 1325 (2000)	UNSCR 1820 (2008)	UNSCR 1888 (2009)	UNSCR 1889 (2009)	UNSCR 1960 (2010)	UNSCR 2106 (2013)	UNSCR 2122 (2013)
5798	1903	1632	1369	1891	3182	2121	2312	2461	2595

The content analysis is necessary as it allows uncovering certain markers in the discourse of the UN Resolution and allows defining positive and negative

²⁶ Email exchange, January 2012

²⁷ Email exchange, January 2012

impacts expected from the UN Resolution. Previously tested, the word-counted analysis allows unveiling of gendered discourse (Conway & McInerney 2012) or nationalistic discourse (Connolly & Sicard 2012).

Chapter 4 contains word-counted analysis put in the form of indexes. Indeed, the texts analysed in *Chapter 4* have a different word count in total and so, to be comparable, indexes are one solution. Thus the original word counts were put in percentage form. The percentage was then indexed to a multiplier; in this case, 100.

The formula is where $n = 1$ count of term in text and $N =$ total word count of text:

$$(n/N) * 100 = \%$$
$$\% \times 100 = \text{index}$$

There may be discrepancies between raw count tables and index tables as several words were “cleaned” up. For example, the word “international”, which occurs nine times in UNSCR 1325 (2000), can be divided into several categories: levels of interactions within the international and national structure to which the text addresses its content (four times); the expression “international peace and security” which relates to the discourse of the international organisations when it comes to include or exclude gender (two times); or as part of an acronym like ‘*International Criminal Court*’ (UNSCR 1325 2000: articles 9, *emphasis added*) (three times) which adds to the nine times the word “international” is counted in the UN Resolution. Contextualisation of the words has helped for the overall “cleaning” and therefore choices of words for the analysis. All tables for the international texts with raw count are available in the appendices.

Additional Documents

Additional sources were also used to analyse the state’s politics on gender – governmental websites, ministerial and presidential speeches, and policy documents when available. These documents consist of the Sierra Leone

National Gender Strategic Plan (2009), the Sierra Leone National Strategic Plans for Gender on the Full Implementations of UN Resolutions 1325 and 1820 (2010) and the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (TRC, 2005). Some legislative Acts were also added as they concern the rights of women in Sierra Leone: The Gender Acts of 2007 (Devolution of Estate Act²⁸, Registration of Customary Marriage Act²⁹ and Domestic Violence Act³⁰) and the Sexual Violence Act of 2012. Those documents provide background information on the current state of Sierra Leone while also introducing gender relations in pre-war settings. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (2005) is particularly useful because it contains the history of Sierra Leone and its relations with gender and the rights of women pre- and post-war.

Fieldwork

Fieldwork was considered necessary to contextualise findings from the dataset. The fieldwork consisted of a month in the capital of Sierra Leone and four days in the regional capital of Makeni. Interviews of civil society members and political representatives including the then-Deputy Minister for *Social Welfare, Gender and Children's Affairs*, Rosaline Sankoh, in Sierra Leone were conducted. The interviews helped to contextualise the results found in the content analysis. It also allowed for confirmation of the levels of peace observed by many since 2002. The trip coincided with Sierra Leone's 50th anniversary of independence. This made it more difficult to obtain interviews as numerous such requests were being made from external sources. Nevertheless, twenty interviews were conducted. A number of documents, including legal documents that were not available online at the time were also collected.³¹

²⁸ The text legislates for women to gain rights of inheriting land and property

²⁹ This text was built in an attempt to counter early marriages, and to prevent with that, early pregnancies.

³⁰ This text legislates particularly in marital rape.

³¹ Some others documents mentioned by the secondary literature like the 'National Policy on Gender Mainstreaming' (2000a) and the 'National Policy on the Advancement of Women' (2000b) could be found online.

Conclusion

Post-conflict reconstruction has been discussed in the scholarship in length, but little has been done to examine what the mechanisms of the post-war entitled to. Observations on a negative postwar moment have been made, but the possibility of a positive postwar moment, identified as a fluid moment by which better women's rights can be put in place to favour gender equality (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002), exists. This leads to the research question which asks if UNSCR 1325 can address the usual negativity for women of the post-conflict reconstruction process and how can the resolution impact the state in ways that will favour women's rights and gender equality.

The further chapters apply this methodology discussed here in this chapter. The next chapter examines the case of the process of post-conflict reconstruction that followed World War II. It draws out from this well documented case study the key gender elements of that process that can be applied to the idea of the postwar moment contained in the UN Resolution 1325 (2000). This is followed by an analysis of the discourse embedded in UNSCR 1325 in order to ascertain the potential impact of the UN Resolution on post-conflict states. The content analysis of the Sierra Leonean newspapers is analysed for evidence of whether or not the discourse of UNSCR 1325 (2000) has had an influence on elite discourse in Sierra Leone.

Chapter 3 – Gender and the “postwar moment”

The recent literature on post-conflict reconstruction acknowledges that something negative happens to women in post-war reconstruction. The same literature has not defined the mechanisms of this “negative” movement in detail. By looking at the examples of post-World War II in France and in the United States, including as it has been depicted by Simone De Beauvoir (2011 [1949]) and Betty Friedan (2001 [1963]), and by combining this analysis with recent literature on post-conflict reconstruction, it is possible to draw out indicators of the postwar moment. The Second World War constitutes a good example because of the large number of states involved in this total war, and the fact that it is recognised that gender roles were disrupted by the war and then re-arranged in the post-war period in all states. It, therefore, gives a unique perspective on how the postwar moment operates. The chapter begins with a brief discussion on the impact of war on gender relations as seen through the eyes of Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan. It considers the consequences of World War I for gender relations in the inter-war period to contextualise the status of women at the time of the outbreak of war. The chapter will conclude with a set of characteristics of the postwar moment that will assist the analysis of the Sierra Leone case study.

Gender relations and the impact of the war

To analyse the gendered impact of the postwar moment, the Second World War (1939-1945) is a useful point of reference. Two writers of the post-war period, Simone de Beauvoir (2011 [1949]) and Betty Friedan (2001 [1963]), implicitly deal with the conditions of women’s lives in the postwar moment and also

provide a link between the post war moment and “Second Wave” Feminism³² that emerged in the 1960s. They do not explicitly propose their work as an analysis of women’s situation after WWII; however, their work reflects that postwar moment. The work of both authors became iconic, and for the purpose of this thesis, it is illuminating that they developed the idea or conceptualisation of the status of women at a precise moment in history in two specific countries.

These texts still have an impact on feminist authors (Vintges 1999), and they have also had an impact on the conceptualisation of gender relations that led to the development of feminist theory and the importance of considering “woman” in the public sphere while pointing to the “role” in the private sphere attributed to women by the state. De Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* (2011 [1949]) is a result of both a reflection on women’s roles during the war and the place of woman in general in society during reconstruction; Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* was also influenced by WWII as illustrated by her claim that

‘there was, before the feminine mystique took hold in America, a war which followed a depression and ended with the explosion of an atom bomb. After the loneliness of the war and the unspeakableness of the bomb, [and] against the frightening uncertainty, the cold immensity of the changing world, women as well as men, sought the comforting reality of home and children’ (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 268-9).

De Beauvoir’s work (2011 [1949]), closer to the end of WWII, brought an understanding of damages the war had done to social arrangements, particularly those of gender relations For De Beauvoir,

‘the war and the early 1940s were a tipping point for Simone de Beauvoir: it was the end of the research of individual freedom and the beginning of a new more conscious research; ... to look for her place [in the world]’ (Reid 2008: 12).³³

³² The First Wave (1850-1930) related to suffrage rights for women. The Second Wave (1950-present?) pushed on a stronger equalitarian and post-colonialist agenda, once the vote for women was acquired. There is a debate on whether the Second Wave is finished and whether a Third Wave, based on media representation and which includes a movement called post-feminism, is said to exist (1980-present?). The main argument for feminist is that if post-feminism did exist, it would mean that gender equality is achieved everywhere. It is not the case.

³³ Translation from French

This culminated in *The Second Sex*, which clarifies the subordination and the “otherness” of women in this period. Although the work of De Beauvoir and Friedan focused on the impact of WWII and the post-war reconstruction of the states, it also acknowledges the significance of pre-war gender relations that had been formed in the interwar period.

The interwar period 1919-1940

The interwar period was defined by the “Great Depression” and growing conservatism, experienced at its most extreme in the rise of fascism (Ambrose 1993 [1971]). This international economic crisis, which had been created by the failure to address appropriate post-conflict reconstruction measures after the First World War, was triggered by an economic failure of American banks in 1929. The effect of the economic crisis was felt across borders and for France, which had not fully recovered from WWI, it also meant keeping a focusing on its own economy and internal affairs. This meant that political events enhanced by the economic crisis, such the 1933 elections in Germany which led to Hitler being elected and the rearmament of Germany did not produce a response from France or the other WWI victors (Higonet et al. 1987).

In this period, women faced an increasingly hostile international environment as many of the gains they had made in the early 20th century were eroded in the conservative climate of the 1930s that reemphasised the importance of family and women’s domestic role (Kershaw & Kimyongür 2007). In the early decades of the 20th century, women had gained more rights and larger access to public roles. De Beauvoir, who itemised a list of gains women made prior to WWII (2011 [1949]: 128-159), argued that in spite of ‘the 1914–18 labour crisis and the world war’ women of ‘the lower middle class and the middle class were determined’ to continue to increase their participation in the workforce including ‘women invading the liberal professions’ (2011 [1949]: 137). In France, at the turn to the 20th century, women were a growing part of the economy

(McMillan 2000), and it is estimated that by 1906, 36% of women were part of the work force and that '20% of married women worked – one of the highest proportions of Western Europe' (Perrot 1987: 52). The feminisation of the work force in France meant that the associated fight for working rights and the growth of trade unions (McMillan 2000) included the need to support women's rights (Perrot 1987: 51-53). French women also engaged in pre-WWI rallies for political rights. However, this ended in 1914 with the beginning of the First World War signalling 'a serious setback' to the campaign for women's rights (McMillan 2000: 216). After the First World War, French women's attempts to gain the right to vote did not seem a serious possibility until the rise of the *Front Populaire*³⁴, a coalition of leftist parties of France, that reinvigorated women's quest for suffrage (Reynolds 1996, Thébaud 2013 [1986]). The *Front Populaire's* programme promised to adopt women's suffrage and to improve gender equality, particularly in the work place (Reynolds 1996). After the elections of 1936, a coalition government formed by the SFIO (Worker's Party) the Communist Party and the Radical-Left Party, led by Leon Blum, raised the issue of women's suffrage in the Assembly. The proposed legislation was defeated by the abstention vote of President Blum's government (Bard 2007: 3), indicating the negative climate for gender equality that existed in this period.

In the United States, after the First World War, women continued to make gains extending women's suffrage rights which had existed only in some federal states to applying in all, by using the nineteenth Amendment of the American constitution (US Constitution 1791: Amendment 19³⁵). After these positive advances for women the Depression years that followed the 1929 economic crisis were associated with the re-emergence of 'an idealisation of the woman at home, in charge of maintaining a haven in a heartless world' (Hegarty 1998: 116). The Depression years also brought about a significant movement of

³⁴ The Front Populaire of 1936 was a two-year union between WW1 and WWII that was led by President Blum. It was the first leftist coalition during the Third Republic (1870-1940).

³⁵ The amendment specifies that 'the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex' (US Constitution 1791: Amendment 19)

population due to a large-scale drought in mid-West states³⁶, as illustrated by Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939). Hegarty's 'heartless world' is a reference to the drastic changes that occurred simultaneously in American cities affected by the economic crash and in American rural areas affected by the drought. The changes forced around 500 000 people to relocate to cities (Gregory 1991), which consequently affected the cities already touched by the crisis. While the drought was thought to have only affected farmers, Gregory (1991) finds that in reality many people that moved to California, for example, were teachers and lawyers. In other words, it was also a white-collar migration. This also meant rearrangements in social relations, particularly gender relations (Hapke 1997). As a result of large-scale migration and increasing poverty, the government designed the so-called New Deal policies (1933-36). These policies were designed to have an impact on women, particularly to encourage women to give up paid employment. There was, for example, mothers' pension (Skocpol et al. 1993)³⁷, which encouraged single or widowed women to stay at home if they had children (Murray 2002-2003: 96). Policies of the New Deal reemphasised the idea of "'worthy" female citizens' defined as women who stayed home to look after their children (Murray 2002-2003: 96). These policies were pursued right up to 1942 when the United States made a late entry into WWII.

For Friedan, the interwar period was a time when 'feminism was dead' (2001 [1963]: 163) in America, progressive reform for women ended when women acquired the right to vote in 1920 (US Constitution 1791: Amendment 19; Friedan 2001 [1963]: 159-165). Feminism became 'a dirty word' (2001 [1963]: 163) and feminist women were considered 'freaks' (Friedan 2001[1963]: 163). Therefore, for Friedan, in this interwar period, 'women once again are living with their feet bound in the old image of glorified femininity. And it is the same

³⁶ The Dust Bowl is a reference to the states located in the Great Plains of continental United States, which were affected by a ten-year drought. The drought was caused by dust storms and severe drought combined.

³⁷ Mothers' pensions started around the 1910s but most the federal laws were changed between 1919 and 1922 broadening the classification of the children and women in need of the support and re-qualifying "pensions" to "aid" (US Department of Labour 1924).

old image, despite its shiny new clothes, that trapped women for centuries and made the feminists rebel' (Friedan 2001[1963]: 164-165). This meant that in the United States, obtaining the right to vote signified a slowdown of feminist activities. It also meant that the gendered impact of policies passed after the 1929 economic crash were not disputed or discussed. Friedan's observation of the "death" of interwar feminism is reflected in the New Deal policies, which forced women to retreat to their homes.

In France, World War II led to a 'disruption of traditional gender roles' (Düchen & Bandhauer-Schöffmann 2000: 3) as women joined military forces, Resistance forces, took up various forms of employment, or became political activists engaging with the ideologies of the conflict. These changes also meant a re-arrangement of domestic policy in France. In France, as an occupied state, the Vichy government³⁸ (1939-1944) introduced specific policies to regulate gender relations and restrict the public role of women, defining women solely through their role as mothers and wives (Thalman 1995). This ethos was expressed in the change to the French national maxim from "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" to "Work, Nation, Family"³⁹. The government of Occupation used guilt and culpability to dissuade women from stepping outside their traditional roles, stating that women engaging in Resistance were "abandoning" children and family (Thalman 1995). Such women were portrayed as bad mothers. As part of this, the Vichy government claimed it was creating a protective environment for women. This was in contrast to the war and Resistance groups, which, it was claimed, endangered families and upset family life as they took women away from their children. As an illustration of how important the "family" agenda was to the government of Vichy, it proposed a constitutional amendment in 1944 that would give women the right to vote and give a double vote to heads of family with more than three children in their households. This would have

³⁸ Name of the political government in Occupied France from 1940 to 1944. It was led by Maréchal Petain. The Vichy Government was called as such as the city of Vichy was the new capital city of the free-state of France, since the "real" capital city of Paris was occupied by the German troops.

³⁹ "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité" to « Travail, Patrie, Famille »

meant that both men and women born from a French father aged over twenty-one could vote, and ‘the father or eventually the mother, head of the household of three or more children, [could] have the right to a double vote’ (‘Projet de constitution du 30 Janvier 1944’: 2002, article 21). It was not proposed, however, to change the restrictions on women standing for election, that confined them to the municipal or departmental levels only, or the age restriction which meant that women candidates had to be over twenty-five years of age compared to twenty-one for men.

Despite the Vichy Government’s propaganda, some women were active participants in the Resistance (King 1973). Mostly young women (18-24 years old and sometimes younger⁴⁰) joined the French Resistance (Thalmann 1995). They were politically engaged, joining the Resistance branches as messengers and spies in the army, repatriated either in Northern Africa or England, or in the small groups of Resistance on French territory. Older women participated by hiding Jews in their houses or hosting them temporarily so they could, until 1942, pass on to the non-occupied zone and, in the later years of the war, on to Northern Africa. All the roles that women took in the French Resistance were political in nature. They positioned themselves against the ideologies of Fascism and Nazism and took on the task of protecting people at risk of extermination from the occupying forces (Schwartz 1987). Women took on these roles despite their marginalisation in the state of France under a political regime that supported the ideology of the occupying forces. In this way, the women who decided to fight against this regime were politically and ideologically involved (Thalmann 1995). In most cases, the Socialist and Communist parties supported their political involvement. They also received support through membership of trade unions, primarily the transport union,⁴¹ and printing and publishing unions (Düchen 1995). Most French civilians did not actually engage actively in Resistance although many suffered from the effects of the occupation (King

⁴⁰ The legal age at that time was of twenty-one years of age in France.

⁴¹ The Société Nationale des Chemins de fer Français (SNCF) members played a role in disrupting transports of troops and weapons by bombing the railways.

1973). However, the fact that women did take on work in the Resistance, engaged in political activities, and that for many the war meant becoming the head of household, disturbed the traditional gender roles previously reserved for women (Thalman 1995).

The way in which the US government dealt with the pressure of war on gender relations was different to that of France, as the United States was a combatant but not an occupied country. The government actively mediated between entrenched views on women's social roles and the pressures of the war economy that required increasing numbers of women workers and maximum production. The war effort was symbolised for the American women by "Rosie the Riveter", who was a factory worker in an avionics plant that became a poster-child for the war effort, inviting other women to join the industry of war to fight on the "home front"⁴² (Sheketoff 2009). After the attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, the United States decided to enter the war, which required men to enlist due to the wide scope of the conflict, while women also enlisted in a range of support roles (Ambrose 1993 [1971]). It is estimated that over nine million soldiers and nurses enlisted between 1938 and 1946 (Hull 2006), and the scale of enlistment meant that many jobs became available. As a result, women were pulled into traditionally masculine jobs at shipyards and factories. Murray (2002-2003) explains that with 'the arrival of temporary women workers, the workplace was feminised and incorporated into an all-encompassing "home front" (Murray 2002-2003: 110). The 'wartime rhetoric of the "home front"' used by the American government did not characterise 'women as independent economic participants' instead it 'extolled the traditional ideal of the woman supporting a working wage-earner by creating a pleasing and productive domestic space – only this time, the domestic space was a factory, not the home' (Murray 2002-2003: 110).

⁴² The poster was inspired by the story of Elinor Otto, a San Diego woman, still alive at 93 and worked for Boeing as it is claimed by the article in *LA Times* (LA Times 2013).

To a much greater degree than before, women engaged at the “home front” had the double workload of mother in the home, taking care of children and family, and also working outside the home to sustain the family and children. This was described as their patriotic duty, a duty, which was temporarily moved from the home to the work place (Fernandez et al. 2004). These roles, even at the time, were atypical and government war propaganda used this representation of women to justify the way in which the war economy shifted gender relations and disrupted relationships within the home.

The postwar moment of World War II

Gender relations during the Second World War and in the period of post war reconstruction have been well documented. Here the discussion will focus particularly on the experience of the French and American postwar moment and in this regard will use the work of Simone De Beauvoir (2011 [1949]) and Betty Friedan (2001 [1963]) as contemporary writers reflecting on the gendered impact of the postwar moment. Although their texts were not strictly about post-conflict reconstruction, they both reveal the impact of the postwar moment in French and American societies, and their work assists in the identification of the indicators of the postwar moment. De Beauvoir (2011 [1949]) notes that WWII shifted the international order enough so that

[t]he recent session of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women demanded that equal rights for both sexes be recognized in all nations, and several motions were passed to make this legal status a concrete reality. It would seem, then, that the match is won. The future can only bring greater and greater assimilation of women in a hitherto masculine society (2011 [1949]: 150).

This demonstrates that De Beauvoir’s work is a product of the changes that the war brought on, particularly in terms of gender and power relations. The analysis in *the Second Sex* is a reflection of this change and the critical assessment of its potential impact. Friedan, on the other hand, made a more direct analysis of the effects that the war and the post-war emphasis on

femininity and women “in the home” had on American middle-class women. She calls it the “mystique” or a malaise. These two terms express, in her work, the symptoms of the impacts of the postwar moment in the United States that Friedan is analysing. This is of importance, as French and American women suffered similar, if slightly different forms of negative effects of the war and by looking at these two examples, it allows the commonalities of their experiences to be determined. Before this discussion however, it is necessary to establish a baseline of pre-war gender relations to which both wartime and post-war gender relations can be compared.

Post-war reconstruction

The end of the war in Europe in 1945 left an estimated seventy million dead⁴³ and began a process of ‘the transformation of nations – the planning of new democracies, the work of reconstruction, the settling of Europe into two mutually hostile political camps’ (Düchen & Bandhauer-Schöffmann 2000: 1). The Allies troops in Europe became occupation troops, separating Germany and the European continent into two ideologically opposed groups, which matched territorial disagreements between the two sides (Mearsheimer 1990, Leffler 1992).

For the individual states the “return-to-normal” had two main aspects: a return to normal political structures and a return what were perceived to be pre-war family values and social norms and after ‘the upheavals of war, the family was seen as a bastion against political extremes and the repository of moral and social good’ (Ostner 1993: 97). As a result of this readjustment, it has been argued that

‘the intensity with which pre-war gender norms were re-established negated the potential impact of women’s wartime experience as workers, members of liberation movements and as heads of households’ (Connolly 2003: 66).

⁴³ Numbers vary between 60 and 85 million deaths, due to the lack of census for the Russian soldiers who died between 1941 and 1945.

This was due to political choices in the reconstruction processes, as it is illustrated by the cases of United States and France.

The United States emerged from the war as the dominant power and pushed for the speedy reconstruction of Europe, in order to contain the spread of Communism, implementing the Marshall Plan by 1949 (Ambrose 1993 [1971]). France post-war, on the other hand, after the shame of the German Occupation and the Vichy Government, thought to reconstruct its pre-war republic (the Fourth), attempting to erase the five years of war. The political turmoil of post-war France continued on to 1946 and it took two failed legislative elections to produce a settled outcome. The return to peace operated quicker in the United States, as the territorial integrity of the states remained untouched. In France, where food rations tickets were still used up to the early 1950s, it took longer. Post-war America experienced a general increase in a 'social and political conservatism', which was a trend prior to WWII and which continued after 1945 (Weigand 1992: 70); this included strong re-instatement of the pre-war traditional gender roles settings (Murray 2002-2003: 124).

Women in politics

Women, in post-war France and the United States, were not a priority in the politics of reconstruction. If some positive changes occurred, such as the women's vote in France in 1944, the number of women in the post-World War engaged in politics in general receded. Table 5 shows the poor political representation of women in Europe (Hubac 2005) and in the United States (Manning & Shogan 2012), with the exception of Finland and Netherlands both of which has previously favoured the presence of women in public space (Friendvall et al. 1996: 55). European states experienced post-war elections that saw progressive social democratic parties elected. In France, a coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists and Communists were elected at the 1946 elections. In the next election, an alliance of Centre Rights parties was elected. The 1958 saw a stronger right being elected with at its helm, Charles De Gaulle.

It was not until 1981 that France was dominated by the Socialist Party again. In The United Kingdom, a similar pattern was observed: Clement Attlee, with the Labour Party was a large winner of Winston's Churchill Conservatives in the 1945 General Elections. In 1951, Churchill's party regain the power in the state. European states like France and the UK experienced a shift in power from the end of the war, which was more with social democratic parties winning the first round elections, to a more conservative turn in the second round of elections post-war. Inversely, post-war America was experiencing a general increase in a 'social and political conservatism', which was seen prior to WWII and which continued after 1945 (Weigand 1992: 70); this included strong re-instatement of the pre-war traditional gender roles settings (Murray 2002-2003: 124).

Table 5: Post-war elections and percentage of women in parliaments in selected countries

	Belgium	Italy	France	Netherlands	UK	USA
Year of decisions for right to vote	1919 ⁴⁴ / 1948 ⁴⁵	1945	1944	1919	1928	1920
Year of decision for right to stand for elections	1919 ⁴⁶ / 1948 ⁴⁷	1945	1944	1917	1928	1788 ⁴⁸
Post-war	1.5% (1946)	3.8%(1946)	5.6% (1945) 7% (1946)	4.0% (1946)	3.8% (1945)	2.5% (1946)
1950s	4.2 % (1954)	5.6% (1953)	1.5% (1958)	9.0% (1956)	3.8% (1955)	3.9% (1956)
1960s	3.3 % (1965)	4.6% (1963)	2.1 % (1968)	8.0% (1967)	4.1% (1966)	2.5% (1966)

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (1995: 29)

⁴⁴ Mothers or windows of servicemen during WW1

⁴⁵ Right to all women to vote/stand for all elections

⁴⁶ Mothers or windows of servicemen during WW1

⁴⁷ Right to all women to vote/stand for all elections

⁴⁸ Provision in Constitution of 1776

The percentage of women in parliament is low in the first post war elections (Table 5). In France, the number of women in Parliament post-war were higher (7% for the 1946 elections) than the United States (2.5%) or the Netherlands (4%) as the elected government was following the enthusiasm of the ideological victory over the fascist regimes, supported by the Left and extreme Left political parties (Bernard et al. 2011). Also in the immediate aftermath of WWII, 'women were completely absent from the [US] Senate (Inter-Parliamentary Union 1995: 33). However, by 1955, the percentage of women in the French Assembly dropped to 1.5%), while the United States rose slightly to 3.9. Ten years after the end of World War II, the Netherlands had the highest percentage of women in parliament in this group at to 9%, but this was to fall to 8% in the 1960s. Across Europe and in the United States, the percentage of parliamentarians remained at a low level for twenty years after the war.

The French post-war rise of female seats is due to the changes in the constitution that gave the right to vote for women in 1944. Given as a favour for good services during the war by General De Gaulle on 21 April 1944, women' suffrage has been dubbed a 'privilege'⁴⁹ (Fayolle 2005: 6). Immediately after this victory, concerns towards women's capability to vote right were voiced (Rochefort 1994, Denoyelle 1998, Tumblety 2003, Fayolle 2005). De Beauvoir mocked such concerns:

'Political discussions would bring about disagreement between spouses... Women are different from men. They do not serve in the military. Will prostitutes vote? ... voting is a duty and not a right; women are not worthy of it. They are less intelligent and educated than men. If women voted, men would become effeminate. Women lacked political education. They would vote according to their husbands' wishes... (2011 [1949]: 144-145).

She accurately captured the negative arguments that were raised in response to the proposal to give women the vote. It was feared that women's votes would go to the

⁴⁹ 'My desire would be that the consultative Assembly would state that the woman of France can vote and be elected so we can show her our solidarity and our will to not treat as minor and inferior' (Gueraiche 1995: 4, extract from *Journal Officiel des débats de l'Assemblée Consultative Provisoire*, 21 January 1944: 3).

Communist party, causing imbalance in political participation in the post-war state. Indeed, women were more than 60% of the voters in the 1945 elections, because of the gender imbalance caused by the war (Fayolle 2005 2), and were the unknown variable in the first post-war elections. Political groups expressed the view that women were uneducated in politics and history, had no interests in politics, and needed a full education on the civic duties they were granted in 1944 (Fayolle 2005: 2). Due to the number of potential new voters, women became a focus for fierce competition between the Communist Party and the Catholic coalitions supporting Christian Democrats and right-wing parties. None of the parties was inclined to encourage women's candidatures; they just wanted the women's votes. In the 1945-46 legislative elections, around thirty women were elected⁵⁰. However from 1951, under the Fourth Republic, the number of women 'candidates did not drop but the number of women elected slowly recedes' (Hubac 2005: 111). This noticeable change in women elected and in political life coincides with the rise of right-wing parties, identifying with De Gaulle's political ideas and the rise of the Christian-Democrats.

As part of the political response in the United States to the fear of the communist expansion, the American government encourage women to see their patriotic duty engaging in politics by voting (Meyerowitz 1993: 1469) put only in this supportive role and not as an elected representative. The public representation of this patriot role was a family woman, undertaking charities events, cooking and baking for democracy (Faludi 1991), with the goal 'to inspire in her home a vision of the meaning of life and freedom' that embodied the American ideal in opposition to communist values (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 113, citing a spokesman at the commencement address at Smith College in 1955).

⁵⁰ There were three different legislative elections. The first two were cancelled after disagreements on drafting of the new constitution. It has to be noted that France only had a chief of state up to 1947 from the Provisional Government. In 1947, Vincent Auriol, candidate of the Workers' Party was elected first president of the Fourth Republic.

Therefore, even if, in the French case, the political parties that won popular support in the immediate post-war elections tended to be Left or Left of Centre (Messina 2001), by the early 1950s, these governments had been replaced by ones that were centre-right or right. In social and gender terms the 1950s were a conservative decade. This meant that the politics in the post-war period excluded women from any political job (Baker 2002) until 1981 when the change of government switched back the Socialist party for the first time since 1947. However, women's roles in the vote were of importance for the political parties as to gain seats at the parliament. These politics of the women's vote also reflected how the state of France was (re)constructing its own history post-WWII using the past (pre-WWI and the interwar) as a socialist and democratic state, which had temporarily to give up its freedom during the war. As a result the "ideology of the Resistance" lost ground to pre-war and, frequently, conservative political forces (Düchen 1994, Tumblety 2003). The shame of the Occupation and the Vichy Government forced the post-war governments to re-think the roles of French citizens and that included women's roles into achieving a new legitimacy. In the American case, women were encouraged to exert their patriotic duty to vote but it was mostly to avert the communist threat, which meant that the glorification of 'the role of housework and the position of homemaker, anti-communists showed women that they could participate in politics without abandoning their traditional roles' (Brennan 2008: 9). It also meant that women did not become more present in US politics until the mid-1970s (Manning & Shogan 2012).

Women and employment

Along with the new political arrangements, states became more involved in management of the economy, industrial development, and provision of social services. Both states maintained and further developed their pre-war politics of financial incentives in order to encourage women to return to the "safety" of their home (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 269, 502; Oslon 1973; Meyer 1992; Murray 2002-2003). The politics of pre-war employment was based on privileging men over women and this

continued. As Europe and the United States started the process of economic reconstruction, and economic growth picked up, states were faced with major labour shortages. This shortage led some countries to increase inward migration to fill gaps while in some other countries it led to an increase in part-time work for women – but it did not change the dominant gender ideology and attitudes to women working in the 1950s (Bremmer & Reichard c1982, Eisenmann 2002).

De Beauvoir noted that until 1945 American women were more emancipated than other states (2001 [1949]: 146). However, after the Second World War, incentives to remain at home and to prevent women from working in the form the GI Bill in the United States. A mean to support a quick reintegration of soldiers, the Bill was originally called the Servicemen’s Readjustment Act of 1944 (Olson 1973). It was a symbol of financial support for the troops and a “thank-you” for their service (Murray 2002-2003: 114-115). The bill was originally an unemployment insurance; however, it was used for loans for third level education degrees, housing or business projects. As a result, the total enrolment in third level education jumped up to 50% from the pre-war levels ‘with veterans accounting for about 70% of all male enrolment in the years after V-J Day⁵¹’ (Bound & Turner 2002: 785). This meant that ‘2,232,000 veterans attended college’ (Oslo 1973: 596) and that the education and skills gap between men and women expanded in the early 1960s.

The war era had seen a surge in female employment as women moved in to war factories and in to services (secretaries). However, the number of women working did not diminished in the second half of the 1940s. It slumped immediately after the war because war factories closed and because men returning from war took over the jobs that were occupied in their absence by women (Acemoglu & Lyle 2004: 500, 520; Hegarty 1998: 112). But in total, ‘the decade of the 1940s saw the largest proportional rise in female labour force participation during the twentieth century’ (Acemoglu &

⁵¹ Victory over Japan, 2 September 1945.

Lyle 2004: 499). This is explained by the post-war economic surge (Goldin 1990), which meant that women were still needed. However with the GI Bill (1944) funding third level education (Murray 2002-2003: 119) for men, it created a gap in skills between men and women, that was reinforced by the fact that the women who served in the Women Army's Corps during the war could not apply for the GI Bill. Also women who had a family had to stay at home, which meant they were unlikely to undertake college education (Murray 2002-2003: 119).

The rise of female manual workers post-war dismisses a little the post-war myth of that women were working less after the war compared to before the start of WWII. Goldin (1990: 7) claims that 'before 1940, more than 80% of all married women had exited the labour force at marriage and never returned'. This popular belief can be interpreted in two ways. First, in available data the representation of women working (or not) is often limited to women working full time, and does not include a division white/non-white female workers, which misrepresent the diversity of women's social and economic categories. What this data does not reveal is the percentage of middle-class women who stopped working, whereas women from the lower classes were likely to have to take on a job to survive (Mittelstadt 2005). In the case of the United States, the ethnic divide also revealed that women from Latino or Afro-American background were likely to have to take up work in the service industry while being underpaid and discriminated against (Frazier 2010). The second interpretation for this persistent representation of women becoming full-time housewives⁵² is related by Friedan (2001 [1963]) who has described how the media portrayed the woman at home as fulfilled by this "job". Instead of representing the reality of working American women, this created a discourse on women as mothers and wives. Indeed unmarried women and single mother are absent from the statistics and this, in spite of the prolongation of welfare policies for single mothers post-war, and with the Mother's Pensions and with the Aid to Dependent Children program as part of the New Deal policies of the 1930s

⁵² The computer-automated spell-checker insists on replacing "housewife" into "homemaker".

(Mittelstadt 2005: 2-3, Hartmann 1994), which put single mothers on the map. Also, Friedan (2001 [1963]) seems to only include middle and upper class American women in *the feminine mystique* while excluding “Others” (non-white, working classes women). This, in turn, has also contributed to the discourse on women increasingly being confined to the roles of housewives.

In the case of France, employment for women was not the priority. De Beauvoir (2011 [1949]: 158) argues ‘for most workers today, work is a thankless task’ and ‘for woman the chore is not offset’ by substantial benefits in terms of economic autonomy ‘that many women workers and employees see no more than an obligation in the right to work from which marriage would deliver them’. Similarly to the United States, post-war female employment rose by 1.5% (Afsa Essafi & Buffeteau 2006: 91). There is a noticeable slump in women’s employment of ten years between 1950 and 1965, with a drop in the employment rate by over 10%. This can be explained because of the state’s sponsoring of “housewifery”, examined below or because much of work available was manual labour or building trades for reconstruction of France, which women were unlikely to access. By late 1960s, France was rebuilt and the economic boom of the “Trent Glorieuses”⁵³ meant that more services work was available for women. However, unlike the United States, there is a lack of data prior to 1960 in France for women’s role in the workforce, which makes a detailed comparison impossible.

The politics of “housewifery” are linked to the incentives that states developed in order to promote women’s “jobs” at stay-at home women. They are often dubbed “welfare” or “social” policies. In the case of France, the politics of welfare have had employers and ‘pro-natalists and state and church elites who wanted to support reproduction’ (Orloff 2002: 20) to compromise so women could be both employed and reproduce. It took up to the late 1960s to however reach this compromise, when the ‘patriarchal family laws were overturned in the 1960s and 1970s’ which meant that

⁵³ The Thirty Glorious Years. This refers to the 1945-1975 economic boom that France experienced post-war. It ended with the second petrol crisis of 1975.

'the French system has offered more generous support for two-earner families and children's welfare than the British' for example (Orloff 2002: 38). The American "welfare" took a more "market-orientated" welfare system post-war (Sternsher c1982: 381). This results into the fact that American welfare politics are minimal to the extent that maternal leave does not exist and consists of unpaid leave of a total of twelve weeks (Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993). In comparison, France now has 16 weeks (paid) maternity leave⁵⁴, a policy that started in 1909, with eight weeks unpaid leave. Full maternity leave, for all private and public sector employees, was achieved in 1970. In addition, the *Securité Sociale*, a universal health care system, was adopted in 1945. It however pre-existed in different labour categories since the French Revolution, but was adopted for all professions since. In opposite fashion, the United States, albeit the attempts of the New Deal Era to create a universal health care system (Bremmer & Reichard c1982: xi), has no free and universal medical care.

The politics of post-war employment were based on gender re-arrangements, in which states with states favoured a situation where women focused on their "natural" role of mother while men worked as expected.⁵⁵ The new social welfare systems that were developed in the post-war years in the United States were also imbued with this gender ideology. For women, this expansion of social welfare provisions reflected the re-emerged gender regimes, and the post-war European welfare states were based on the shared assumption that women provided care, generally in the private sphere of the home and were financially dependent of men (Kofman & Sales 1996: 36).

Women as wives and mothers – the return to "normality"?

Women roles as wives and mothers were a key aspect of the return to normality and therefore once the war was over, women were expected to return to their former roles in the home (Murray 2002-2003: 103). The role of mother was seen as essential

⁵⁴ 100% of salary paid

⁵⁵ It is often expected that women must embrace their "natural" roles of mother, or "incubators" as De Beauvoir sragues (2011 [1949]: 551-552).

to rebuild the home – and by extension the state. The American crude birth rate had grown from early 1920s until 1942. It was only after the effect of men gone to war that ‘changes in the age and sex composition of the population in the continental United States’ (US Public Health Service 1945: x⁵⁶). For Friedan, ‘the girls who would normally go to college but leave or forgo it to marry [...] are products of the mystique’ (2001 [1963]: 270) that was created around femininity and motherhood after the war. Friedan argues that there was in post-war America, a 165% increase of early pregnancies between 1940 and 1957 (2001 [1963]: 270) and that the post-war birth rate encouraged the view that it was women’s patriotic duty to give new babies to the post-war state (Michel 1987: 154-159). In the United States, Friedan (2001 [1963]: 59) recalls that by the late 1950s, the United States had a bigger birth rate than India and women were married at the early age of seventeen to twenty instead of twenty to twenty-five as it had been before the war. In the climate, women ‘devote their lives from earliest girlhood to finding a husband and bearing children (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 58-60) and media discourse supported the idea of women married and at home (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 109). Miller (2005: 3) discusses the fact that ‘what is made immediately clear’ by Friedan ‘is that the American economy was heavily invested in notions of sexual satisfaction, romance and the cult of mothering’. The media’s obsession with women satisfying their husbands is clearly included in Friedan’s work and included the quest for beauty, which was part of being the perfect wife (Moskowitz 1996).

Contrary to the American case, the French birth rates dropped after the economic crash of 1930 and it kept dropping with a 15% decrease in the number of births between 1939 and 1941 at the start of the war and at the beginning of the Occupation (Mauco 1945). However, from 1942 onwards, it rose and topped its pre-war levels. This can be explained by a change in the population’s wellbeing and a need to retreat into the family. Blayo et al. (2005: 273) advance that the number of

⁵⁶ Correct page number

children per mother in 1946 was at the level of 1900, which was three per women (in 1935 it was two, the lowest ever record since 1914). Between 1945 and 1950, there was also a significant rise of fecundity in France (Blayo et al. 2005). After 1951 and a normalisation of the post-conflict reconstruction, the birth rate steadily slows down.

For Friedan, women were given a choice 'love, home, children, or other goals and purposes in life' (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 270) but could not have it all. This idea of the new family was brought about by the fact that the war brought back young men who had aged faster with the experience of war (Friedan (2001 [1963])), 'with a craving for Mom and apple pie in the form of a wife and lots of children' (Bowlby 1987: 62). Rather than date, young men wanted to settle down in married life. Post-war stress encouraged this change of attitude among soldiers. The returned soldier 'could marry on the GI Bill, and give his own babies the tender mother love he was no longer baby enough to seek for himself' while looking for the comfort of the home (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 269).

Both countries depict a woman who was ideally domesticated and subjugated, and followed the ideas of husbands, parents or priests (De Beauvoir 2001 [1949], Friedan 2001 [1963], Denoyelle 1998). Women were placed as objects of protection. The idea of "women" is also opposed to fascism and barbarism, because women are depicted as sensible and with affectionate tendencies, in face of dictatorial regimes (Denoyelle 1998: 93). Therefore, in the postwar moment, women are more feminised than they were before the war, while at the same time they were reduced to an "incubator" saving the nation and the state. The image of nation-rebuilder was already used in France by the government of Vichy in the 1940s. The change offered by the constitution of Petain in 1944 did highlight a focus on the family unit and the role of women as mothers. However, post-war France saw a shift in the role of women in terms of nation rebuilding.

What she brings to the household today and she will bring tomorrow to the Nation is characterised by the idea of motherhood that will

direct women towards issues surrounding education, physical and moral health of the children, humanisation of work, the respect of the weak and in more general sense, the concrete translation of the beautiful humanitarian beliefs of men (Denoyelle 1998: 94, citing an article from *La Documentation Catholique* 1944: 5).

In spite of the liberating experiences of women brought about the war, the public and private spaces became completely dominated by men after the French Liberation in 1944 (Denoyelle 1998: 86). French women were constrained to the private sphere with limited opportunities for socialisation as such opportunities are controlled by three men: her father, her husband or her priest by whom women were introduced to politics and civic duties (Denoyelle 1998). As an example – marriage was said to be the cause for control over a woman’s vote by her husband (Denoyelle 1998: 87-88⁵⁷). Additionally, in post-war France, interlinking political duty and religious duty is a way of imposing Church control on rural France, despite France being secular since 1798. Priests and archbishops encouraged meetings of a political nature to “educate” women, who were more likely to be inclined to be part of religious congregations than their husbands were. However, religion, particularly Catholicism was still entrenched in the politics of the state. Therefore, a conventional life, marriage, and children were the main roles given to women in post-WWII France. De Beauvoir argues that ‘factories, offices and universities are open to women but marriage is still considered a more honourable career, exempting her from any participation in collective life’ (De Beauvoir 2011 [1949]: 157). Meyerowitz (1993) has displayed the struggle of women as happy married domestic goddesses in American media discourse, using the discourse of men as breadwinners and women as protector of the house, marriage was presented as an affair of equality between men and women in post-war America. In addition to this idea of bliss in marriage, sex came linked to domestication. The only “good” sex is the one between two married persons (a man and a woman). Meyerowitz (1993: 1472) states that ‘articles presented "normal" sex through voyeuristic discussion of sexual problems, such as pregnancy before marriage and

⁵⁷ Denoyelle (1998) also details some examples into women’s subjugated choices.

frigidity after'. If it was ever mentioned in the media, sex with another person of the same gender was considered perverse and deviant (Levey 2001). Therefore, heterosexuality became the norm and deviance from it was deemed a symptom of mental problems (Minton 2001).

Underlying in the normalisation of sex and sexual relations is the level of sexual violence of the post-war period, which was never identified in De Beauvoir and Friedan's work. De Beauvoir (2011 [1949]: 186, 342, 346, 370, 376, 395, 406, 424, 472) does mention rape several times but only in the contexts of a woman or girl losing her virginity. Friedan's missing references of sexual violence reflects her lack of awareness of the real post-war America, with sex-starved soldiers returning from the war (Gubar 1987: 257). In occupied territories, the same sex-starved soldiers were also a threat to women, helped by the 'elaborate images such men construct as a compensation for and retaliation against the sex they are presumably fighting to preserve' (Gubar 1987: 257, referring to Boyle 1992 [c1940s]). However, sexual violence is absent from most of the post-WWII literature. Perrot (1998: 370-375) recognises that sexual violence against women (and men) was often quietened by the rewriting of historical periods, and because history recalls women as "submissive bodies" (Perrot 1998: 372). In addition, the residual violence of the war was perpetuated within the household post-war, where, as seen above, it is difficult to intervene, because of the "sanctity" of the family. More importantly, the residual violence against women in post-conflict reconstruction has another submissive impact on women, denying them protection by denying the existence of violence against women in war and post-war.

Subsequently, post-war era in the United States negated all hopes of the possibilities of changes for the rights of women in 1945-46.

In the fifteen years after World War II, this mystique of feminine fulfilment became the cherished and self-perpetuating core of the contemporary American culture. Millions of women lived their lives in the image of those pretty pictures of the American suburban housewife, kissing their husband goodbye in front of the picture

window, depositing their station wagons full of children at school and smiling as they ran the new electric waxer over their spotless kitchen floor (Friedan 2001 [1963]: 61).

Women have therefore been an essential part of the reimagined post-WWII discourse, in France and in the United States. Their roles, or lack thereof, in reconstructing both states have created a case of generalised postwar moment.

The indicators of the postwar moment

By looking at the examples from post-World War II in France and in the United States, indicators of the postwar moment can be drawn. These indicators are hypotheses of the postwar moment. This section details how the case of post-WWII can help to draw hypotheses or indicators that will be used to unlock the content analysis of UNSCR 1325 (2000) in *Chapter 4* and to uncover the postwar moment of Sierra Leone in *Chapters 6 and 7*. These hypotheses of the postwar moment observed in the case of France and the United States in the post-WWII are the factors in the way states engage with gender relations after a conflict. Indeed, in spite of women taking up public roles during the conflict, post-conflict reconstruction engenders a series of reforms that tends to relocate women to the private sphere. The potential strive from which women were counting on post-war reconstruction to progress of their recognition of their roles during the war and the progress on their rights – as to reach equal rights to men – were squashed.

In more general terms, it seems that the state in war tends to focus on the physical reconstruction of the state. By the time all actors realise what happened to women and their rights, it is often too late to change the mechanisms of the postwar moment reinforcing traditional gender roles and traditional women's roles (mother, wife, etc.). In addition, recent literature (post-1990s) on post-conflict reconstruction (Meintjes et al. 2001, Shepherd 2008a, 2008b; Puechguirbal 2007, 2010a; Cohn 2013) identifies the role of the state in how gender relations are absorbed by the post-war politics and

policies. To add to the current analysis of the post-1990s conflicts, the cases of post-WWII in France and in the United States show in more detail how post-war reconstruction has, overall, been negative for women, particularly politically in terms of gain for their rights.

Therefore, the primary postwar moment indicator is a reassertion of strong gender difference, linked via the importance of the traditional family and the need to rebuild both the numbers and the social fabric of the state. One of the reasons that this might happen is the dominance of “male” values in war despite the many roles that women played during the war. That is because women are only playing those roles as auxiliaries to male dominated structures. This means that in peace and in the postwar moment, “male” ideas and “male” interests dominate. The exaggerated maleness of war is carried over into peace and a discourse of an “ideal type” woman is constructed for returning soldiers. In addition, the “ideal type” woman is necessary to meet the needs of the reconstructing state. This means that women’s needs and gender equality is subordinated to the perceived needs of men and of the “male” state. This is an ideology of gender difference.

A second indicator links women to domesticity (Allport 2009). It was also seen in the United States during the Great Depression era, when domesticity was seen as providing refuge from a harsh world. This ideal was present in France during the war when it was occupied and the state could not protect its people; then family was deemed the safest space, albeit the family being located in the private sphere and, therefore, the family is out of reach of the legalisation. Women and children are caught in the privacy of the family and are only “protected” by the head of the household. In short, whatever happens within the family stays in the family. This attitude reinforced the “ideology of domesticity” after World War II (Friedan 2010 [1963], Eisenmann 2002, Brennan 2008), which signifies that a traditional family was

organised around one father, working and head of the household⁵⁸, one mother (ideally stay at home), and several children. This meant that women in the post-World War II, whether on the winning or losing side, became the means of re-assuring the population through use of the traditional image of the family. Women were a pawn in the political reconstruction of the state that focused on the ideology of domesticity as the centre of policies – the best place for women was being stay-at-home mothers. This status-quo built on the “ideology of domesticity” with the ideal wife and mother and not engaging in paid employment was maintained throughout the 1950s despite of severe shortages of all classes of workers (Mittelstadt 2005). Therefore, the second indicator relates to reinstatement of the traditional family, based on the subjugation of women within the family. In other contexts, it would be whatever was considered the traditional male dominated form of social structure, either the father or father figure of the family structure or the gentle but firm ruler of the family/state.

A third indicator relates to the negation of the roles of women during conflicts. Women during wars often play roles vital to the survival of the political state. However, post-war politics often negate, hide and rewrite these roles in favour of both men and a re-imagined past. Political gains made during war are often immediately dismissed in post-war, as it happened in France where women’s roles in the Resistance’s were diminished after the war. Many women participating in the Resistance networks saw their roles almost negated by the same men who were colleagues during the Resistance. Similarly, whereas the right to vote became a critical issue for the Assemblée Constituante of 1944, it became a “gift” to French women from Charles de Gaulle when it was adopted post-war. This post-war negation of women’s roles during the conflict results in lesser consideration for women’s roles. More specifically, the consideration of women’s roles is lesser in public settings. The identification of women’s roles in the family is central to the post-war politics, which are set in the private space of the state.

⁵⁸ In France, women were allowed to open a bank account in their name in 1965 and were allowed to join the workforce without the permission of their husband.

This lack of consideration of roles during war is particularly strong with the engagement of women economically. This is a fourth indicator, which links the postwar moment to mechanisms of the state in post-war settings. It has been seen that, in this chapter, women engaged in economic roles primarily to help their families, even though history has rewritten the economic engagement of women in US war factories as the “home front” to win the war. Their economic engagement was primarily for survival as the main breadwinner was gone. However, the post-war politics of the state often re-directed women into their homes in favour of men’s gains in economic roles. This is observed by the role of the GI Bill in post-war America. This indicator ties in with the indicators of the ideal women and the politics of domesticity engaged in by both post-war Europe and USA.

A further indicator has been discussed but is not present in clear terms in the texts of Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan but exists nonetheless in others’ work relates to sexual violence in post-WWII (Koch & Liebman 1995, Grossman 1995 for Germany in the immediate after-war; Salles 2000 for France and the Liberation’s purge, Burds 2009 for Germany and USSR; Roberts 2013 for France and American soldiers). Recent post-conflict literature identifies sexual violence as being an essential component of conflict politic, which leads to post-war residual effects (Leatherman 2011, Cohn 2013). The emphasis of recent literature, positing that violence against women has always been present in conflict and absent in the reports of wars, pushes to conclude that the on-going violence against women must be part of the postwar moment indicators.

Conclusion

Post-war state politics have helped men take over the economic roles undertaken by women during the few years in which the United States was at war. The GI Bill in the United States is certainly an example of these incentives. In the French case, the policies of the post-war state were more insidious, promoting women’s role as

saviours of the nation who delivered babies while being looked after by *Securité Sociale*. The overall politics of the post-war generated the idea that women were naturally inclined to be at home with children while their husbands provided for their families. In this idealised vision, the perfect woman is a domestic goddess. This however did not apply to all families or single mothers. These policies enabled larger economic, social, educational, and racial divisions in the United States and also in France to a lesser extent. The post-war experience of women in France and the United States show that there was a postwar moment in both states and that it was operated by the states to control gender roles.

The chapter based on the analysis of post-war France and United States draws on hypotheses of the postwar moment as well as the work of Simone de Beauvoir and Betty Friedan can help to draw hypotheses for the postwar moment. These hypotheses are the interpretation of post-WWII states' behaviours towards gender rights and gender equality. The first and most important indicator is the reassertion of strong gender difference, male dominated, and the importance of the traditional family. With the traditional family comes the idea of domesticity for women, which again dominated by the man of the family. This led to a reimagined past of the war narratives in which women's roles were designed and negated, rendered often invisible by the rewriting of history. This meant that women's roles, economic or political disappeared from the narrative of the war. Women's economic roles, by being so out the norm, were given quickly back to men. Finally, one element is missing from the post-WWII analysis of the literature: sexual violence in and post-conflict. This missing element from the literature does not mean sexual violence was not existed; it was simply not reported, due the fact that men were more likely to (re)write the narratives of the war. There is an indication that sexual violence was present, by reading between the lines of De Beauvoir's text, who mention many times over the violence of the act of losing woman's virginity.

As UNSCR 1325 (2000) was designed to counter the negative effects of post-conflict reconstruction on women, and with the established indicators of the postwar moment, it is now possible to examine gender relations in the case of Sierra Leone in the context of post-conflict. The evidence from the data emerging from Sierra Leone will possibly match these hypotheses, and establish whether women's rights and access to power have progressed, regressed or indeed might be ambivalent.

However, before looking at the dataset collected from available newspapers, a content analysis of UNSCR 1325 (2000) is also necessary as it also enables a focus on the data. The results emerging from UNSCR 1325 (2000) will also measure the possible impact the Resolution could have on the process of post-conflict reconstruction in Sierra Leone. This will be performed in *Chapter 4*. These results will then be applied to documents from the case study, Sierra Leone. The documentary material will also be examined for views on gender which are outside the framework provided by UN Resolution 1325 (2000) and may be the evidence of "local" perspectives on gender that are in variance with international norms and represent the continuation, or enhancement, of gender inequality that existed prior to conflict.

Chapter 4 – Developing the international discourse

on gender, conflict and post-conflict

reconstruction

The international “gender” texts discussed in this thesis comprises a corpus of ten texts that have been adopted by the United Nations since 1979 as frameworks for the development of gender rights. The corpus is composed of three United Nations General Assembly Declarations or Conventions and seven UN Security Council Resolutions. The texts that are subjected to a word-counting analysis in this chapter cover the period between 1979 and 2013. The early texts are included as these texts are recalled in the wording and introduction of UN resolution 1325 (2000) and this implies that the content of these documents is still relevant for the implementation of the Resolution. The later documents, the UN Security Council resolutions that followed that followed UNSCR 1325 (2000) are included to show the trends in the discourse on gender and security which is necessary for assessing the on-going impact of the Resolution. To date, these international texts are the only international references on gender. The discourse within the international texts has shifted towards an increased concern for women and need for security. The chapter intends to deconstruct the content of the UN Resolution and the other international “gender” texts. The chapter aims to articulate how the discourse within the texts can generate key terms of analysis to determine possible impacts on the discourse of the case study’s data. These key terms are actually present in the “recalled” international texts, starting with the oldest text, CEDAW (1979).

The international “gender” texts

Beginning with the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1979), followed by the Declaration on the Elimination of

Violence against Women (DEVAW, 1993), and the Beijing Declaration (1995), these texts are part of a post-Second Wave Feminism international agenda for the recognition and protection of women and their rights. Each of the international “gender” texts reflects a certain time in the development of international relations and the international sphere. They must be examined in the context of their time in order to understand development of the international discourse on gender and its increased focus on security. By recalling these texts UNSCR 1325 places itself and therefore the following resolutions in the context of the international discourse on gender and security dating from CEDAW (1979). The international discourse on gender and security, in which UNSCR 1325 is a pivotal text, is carried in the international “gender” texts dated after 2000. It is possible to see the evolution of the discourse in this period, and to detail the content of that discourse which will delineate the possible impacts of UNSCR 1325.

Not all the texts referred to in the preamble of the Resolution are analysed, as some are not part of the international discourse on women. In this regard, UNSCR 1325 (2000) refers to several preceding resolutions: UNSCRs 1261 (1999), 1265 (1999), 1296 (2000) and 1314 (2000). These resolutions deal with the call to stop the enrolment of child-soldiers (UNSCR 1261, 1999); highlight the hardship faced by women refugees and by women during conflicts (UNSCR 1265, 1999); appeals to the protection of civilians during conflicts (UNSCR 1296, 2000); and relates to war-affected children in West Africa (UNSCR 1314, 2000). Although UNSCR 1265 (1999) deals with the particular hardship faced by women during time of conflict, this resolution does not call for the specific protection of women. UNSCR 1325 (2000) also refers in its preamble to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled “Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century” (2000) which was commissioned by the General Assembly. It was presented to members of the UN General Assembly and is part of the Beijing Declaration Five Year Review and Evaluation meeting (UN Women 2000) held in June 2000 in the

General Assembly (Special Report 2000: Chapter 1, paragraph 2). Given the vague status of this document, it is not included in the analysis. Likewise, the Platform for Action, which is the second part of the Beijing Declaration, is also excluded. CEDAW (1979) and DEVAW (1993) are referred to by the Beijing Declaration (1995), and DEVAW (1993) refers to CEDAW (1979), and these texts are referred to in UNSCR 1325 (2000).

UNSCR 1325 (2000)

UNSCR 1325 (2000) is a pivotal text in that it is the first Security Council resolution that focuses on gender and marks a key change in that, from 2000, the most significant international gender texts would come from the Security Council. This series of resolutions reflect the increased security concerns of the international system including the securitisation of the discourse on international development (Shepherd 2006, Anderlini 2008, Cohn 2013). The campaign around the Resolution was a result of severe violations of women's rights that occurred during conflicts in the post-Cold War era, particularly during the conflicts in the Balkans (1991-1995, 1999). It was also a response to the recognition of the absence of women in peace processes. UNSCR 1325 (2000) recognises 'the important role of women in the prevention and Resolution of conflicts' and also notes women's 'equal participation and full involvement in the maintenance and promotion of peace' (UNSCR 1325 2000: paragraph 3) is essential for the maintenance of peace. The Resolution calls for all parties to seek to increase women's role in 'decision-making with regards to conflict prevention and Resolution' (UNSCR 1325 2000: paragraph 3). UNSCR 1325 (2000) in its content reshaped the pre-existing discourse on universal rights in addition to the idea of "gender mainstreaming" and, according to the literature prior to UNSCR 1325, there was no international framework for mainstreaming gender in the security realm' (Cohn 2003-2004: 2). However, UNSCR 1325 (2000) is an international text used as an international frame for discourse, which shapes activists and academics' work alike.

CEDAW (1979)

The Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 1979) is the first international text that reflects the changes of the 1960s and the 1970s and the impact of Second Wave Feminism. CEDAW (1979) deals with rights of women and is primarily concerned with promoting the equality of men and women and ending discrimination against women. Its first article reflects this stating that

any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field (CEDAW 1979: article 1).

CEDAW (1979), also, in the minor way, deals with the issues of gender and conflict by reflecting the international context of the Cold War, which is embedded in an acknowledgement that conflict plays a role in hindering women's rights (CEDAW 1979: introductory section). Considering the time in which the Convention was written, it was also contextualised by the idea of the impact of post-colonialism, and the need for political and economic development of former colonies tempered by the ideological divisions of the Cold War (CEDAW 1979: introductory section). The Convention recognised that conflicts, originating in 'colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation and domination and interference in the internal affairs of States' (CEDAW 1979: introduction, paragraph 10), are a source of discrimination alongside 'racism [and] racial discrimination' (CEDAW 1979: introduction, paragraph 10). Therefore, CEDAW (1979: introduction, paragraph 12) notes, 'the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields'. The text in this way links women's equality to modernisation; and the equal participation of women is linked to global welfare and the maintenance of peace.

As a text of its time, CEDAW (1979) was a product of the General Assembly. It built on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) which, not being specifically concerned with women's rights, was incapable of addressing the issue of gender equality. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) embodied the belief that the ultimate achievement of all human rights would be peace and stability (Stern & Straus 2014) and CEDAW was conceived within this broad framework. It was adopted 'by the General Assembly in 1979 by 130 votes to none, with 10 abstentions' (GA Resolution 34/180 1979: 193). A few "strong" states, including the United States did not ratify the Convention and this strong endorsement was weakened by the 166 reservations made by 76 states during ratification ('Declarations, Reservations, and Objections to CEDAW' CEDAW 1979; Riddle 2002). For the states, which ratified the Convention, mechanisms to monitor the implementation of the text were created. Every five years a state must produce a country report in which women's rights are detailed, and these country reports often reflect civil society opinions of the state's record on the implementation of CEDAW (1979). CEDAW also has a committee to which complaints can be made and which passes judgements on states although it lacks any enforcement or sanctioning capacities. This is not strong but it does provide a process by which states' actions can be held to account in a public forum.

DEVAW (1993)

Fourteen years after CEDAW (1979), in 1993, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women (DEVAW, 1993) was adopted by the UN General Assembly. Although produced after the end of the Cold War, the impetus for the document had come from international women's activism that had perceived a gap in CEDAW in dealing with this sensitive subject (Bazilli 2000, Ulrich 2000, Shepherd 2006). The Declaration recognised 'a range of gender-specific human rights violations, including violence against women' and it charged States 'with the duty to protect and promote the rights of women as human rights' (Bazilli 2000: 65). DEVAW (1993) is the first major international text on the topic of violence against women (Shepherd 2006). The

text also makes a link between women's experience of gender-based violence, the focus of DEVAW, and the 'discrimination against women by men' that was the focus of CEDAW. It argued that 'violence against women is one of the crucial mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men' (DEVAW 1993: introduction, paragraph 6). DEVAW defined gender-based violence (GBV) broadly as 'physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women' it also included 'threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life' (DEVAW 1993: article 1, paragraph 14). DEVAW can be seen as completing and complementing CEDAW. However, it did not deal with sexual violence explicitly. Rather, this form of violence was subsumed within the broader definition. As DEVAW only has the status of a "Declaration", it lacked any review or enforcement mechanisms or any legal weight at the international level (Ulrich 2000). The Declaration is, however, celebrated as it brings to the forefront of international discourse a definition of gender-based violence and was the first step in making gender-based violence an international issue (Ulrich 2000).

Beijing Declaration (1995)

DEVAW (1993) was closely followed by the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), which were products of the Fourth UN *World Conference on Women*, held in Beijing. This series of international conferences, Mexico in 1975, Copenhagen in 1980, and Nairobi in 1985, were major events in the development of the international discourse on women's status and rights. The text of the Declaration and the programme for the Beijing conference took four years to prepare, with committees in each participating state working on the pre-conference preparations (UN Women no date, 'Follow up to Beijing'). The planning for Beijing took place in the aftermath of the end of the Cold War when there was an optimistic attitude towards international co-operation, when liberal politics dominated, and a new wave of democratisation had begun (Hobsbawm 2004). In this positive climate it was planned as the largest UN women's conference till then, and included a forum where NGOs, members of civil

society and state representatives were to meet and share their experiences (Akhavan-Majid & Ramaprasad 2000). The conference was attended by 189 government delegations, over 5000 members from 2100 NGOs, 5000 media representatives and over 30,000 independent individuals (UN Department of Public Information 1997).

The conference produced the Beijing Declaration and subsequent Platform for Action⁵⁹, which was a wide-ranging programme on actions for achieving gender equality. The key contribution of both texts to the development of 1325 is the central place they contained the idea of ‘gender mainstreaming’ as a strategy for achieving gender equality (Whitworth 2005: 122). In terms of practice, ‘gender mainstreaming is intended as a way of improving the effectiveness of mainstream policies by making visible the gendered nature of assumptions, processes and outcomes’ (Walby 2003-4: 2). Adoption of the idea of “gender mainstreaming” from 1995 onwards coincided with the idea that democracy would automatically follow from the implementation of good governance, fair elections, and improved education (IDEA 2008). In this rubric, it was believed that gender equality would emerge from the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the context of democracies. This ideas contained in the Beijing Declaration are a product of its time and the inscribing of gender equality as part of democracy.

The Beijing Declaration (1995) pinpoints conflicts as a source of gender-based violence. Women are targeted directly or indirectly during conflicts, and this ‘constitutes not just individual suffering but an abuse of human rights which should form a central concern for the international community’ (Jacobson 1999: 176). However, the Beijing Declaration did not develop solutions to prevent gender-based violence in conflict periods. Furthermore, there is an on-going conversation around the Declaration in

⁵⁹ The two documents are often together in the discourse on gender and security, however, the second document, Platform for Action, is less used or referenced. The Platform for Action is a long document that is mostly referenced by civil society actors in the quest for practical answers to implement better gender policies. In the thesis, only the Beijing Declaration (1995) is analysed.

which the idea of “Western”, “new states” and “Post-Colonisation” are linked to ‘the concepts of sex, gender, and sexuality’ (Jauloha 2009:6). In this way the Beijing Declaration (1995) broadens parts of CEDAW (1979) and DEVAW (1993, while at the same time confirming the text in terms of locating women’s rights in a discourse of democratisation, and linked it to the discourse on ‘dignity’ and ‘respect’ that emerged from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948).

The post-UNSCR 1325 (2000) resolutions

After UNSCR 1325 (2000), six Resolutions concerning women and children in conflict were adopted by the UN Security Council. The first of them, however, took eight years and much sustained criticism of the limits of 1325 to materialise. UNSCR 1820 (2008) followed UNSCR 1325 in developing the discourse on gender and security (Shepherd 2006, Puechguirbal 2010). It condemns the use sexual violence as a weapon of war by states and militaries and denounces the special targeting of ‘women and girls [...] in situations of armed conflict’ (UNSCR 1820 2008: paragraph 5). The Resolution 1820 (2008) further speaks to the idea that gender-based violence during conflict shapes gender relations in the post conflict state as it denounces the ‘persistent obstacles and challenges, a result of violence, intimidation and discrimination’, eroding ‘women’s capacity and legitimacy to participate in post-conflict public life’ (UNSCR 1820 2008: paragraph 10).

Three further Resolutions were adopted in 2009/10 to complement UNSCR 1325 (2000): UNSCR 1888 (2009) emphasises specifically the need to curb sexual violence against girls during conflicts, repeating the main theme of UNSCR 1820 (2008); UNSCR 1889 (2009) confirms the importance of the inclusion of women in post-conflict reconstruction, enhancing UNSCR 1325 (2000); and finally, UNSCR 1960 (2010) again reaffirms the need to address sexual violence during conflict. The Resolution 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009) and 1960 (2010) reassert the content of previous Resolutions 1325 (2000) and 1820 (2008) and do not contain any additional content that either

advanced the discourse or provided implementation or enforcement mechanisms. UNSCR 1888 (2009: article 21) specifically calls on a zero-tolerance policy towards sexual abuses perpetrated by peacekeeping troops. This point is reiterated in subsequent resolutions and follows reports of sexual abuses by peacekeeping forces in Sierra Leone and in Liberia (Higate & Henry 2004).

Two further resolutions were adopted in 2013, which, although they are outside the case study timeframe, are included to show the on-going discursive impact of the UNSCR 1325 process. UNSCR 2106 (2013) came from a G8 Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict (2013) and recalled that that the 'Ministers reiterated that promoting and protecting women's and children's full human rights and fundamental freedoms is critical in the fight to end all forms of sexual violence committed in conflict' (G8 Declaration 2013: paragraph 1). Resolution 2106 (2013) departs primarily from condemning sexual violence in conflict to affirm 'that women's political, social and economic empowerment, gender equality ... [is] central to long-term efforts to prevent sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations' (UNSCR 2106 2013: paragraph 5). It adds that '*the enlistment of men and boys in the efforts to combat all forms of violence against women ... [can also] prevent sexual violence in armed conflict and post-conflict situations*' (UNSCR 2106 2013: paragraph 5, *emphasis added*). While including men and boys in the process of prevention, the text still specifies sexual violence as being only against women. Resolution 2106 (2013) advocates 'further deployment of Women Protection Advisors (WPA) in accordance with Resolution 1888 to facilitate the implementation of Security Council Resolutions on women and peace and security' (UNSCR 2106 2013: article 7), a reaction to criticism of the lack of implementation of these UNSCR Resolutions. Resolution 2122 (2013) reaffirms 'that women's and girls' empowerment and gender equality are critical to efforts to maintain international peace and security, and that it is necessary to promote 'women's empowerment, participation, and human rights' and 'to build

In this section, a word-counting analysis of each text is performed in order to contextualise UNSCR 1325 (2000) in the development of the international discourse on women. This is done under the following headings: “Democracy, equality and social policy”, “Security and the protection of women”, “Violence and sexual violence”, and “International focus of the international texts”. These headings emerged from a combination of the significant words in the documents with UNSCR 1325 (2000) as the central and primary text. Account was also taken of the existing commentaries on the Resolution of *Chapter 1* and the analyses of gender and post-conflict reconstruction of *Chapter 2*.

Democracy, equality and social policy

First, the international context in which UNSCR 1325 (2000) was created, included the idea that development would come with democratisation and, simultaneously, that peace would lead to democratisation. Moving from the Cold War era that favoured national interest to the development of international humanitarian climate during the 1990s, the international “gender” texts reflect the changes of idea of international humanitarian intervention. The Cold War interventions were limited to natural catastrophes such as Ethiopia famine in 1983-1985. With the change of the political order post-Cold War, humanitarian interventions shifted towards conflict-driven catastrophe, such as Somalia (1993) (Gordon 1993, Clarke & Herbst 1996). During the 1990s, the international agenda also concentrated on the need to include women in different levels of governance in the state and was part of a wider agenda that linked democratic values and peace.

Figure 2 shows a clear change in the use of the terms “democracy”, “freedom” and “justice” with the creation of UNSCR 1325 (2000). Although only the Beijing Declaration (1995) uses the term “democracy”, the texts prior to 2000 use the term “freedom”, while after 2000, the texts use “justice” more frequently. “Freedom”, on the other hand, operates in the opposite direction, with higher index values prior to

UNSCR 1325 (2000) and a complete absence of the word in UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions. Finally, “democracy” is barely present in any of the texts, which is not surprising as they are all adopted either by the UN General Assembly or the Security Council meaning that a consensus must be reached. The word “democracy” does not always reflect the ideal form of a state’s structure and organisation of all member states.

Figure 2: Democracy and related terms of international texts

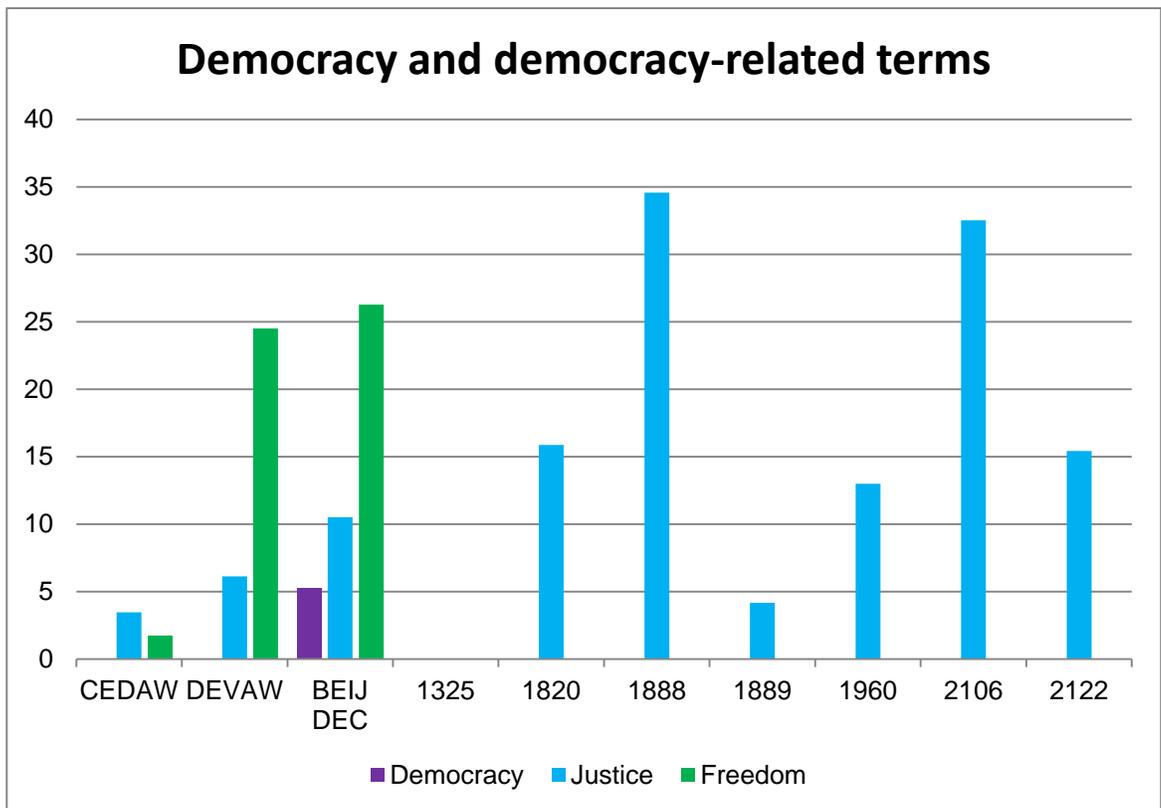


Table in appendices

The words “dignity” and “respect” are also examined (Figure 3) as they represent the values present in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). These values are linked to the democratic, or at least, liberal values that followed World War II.

Figure 3: Human Rights-related terms in international texts

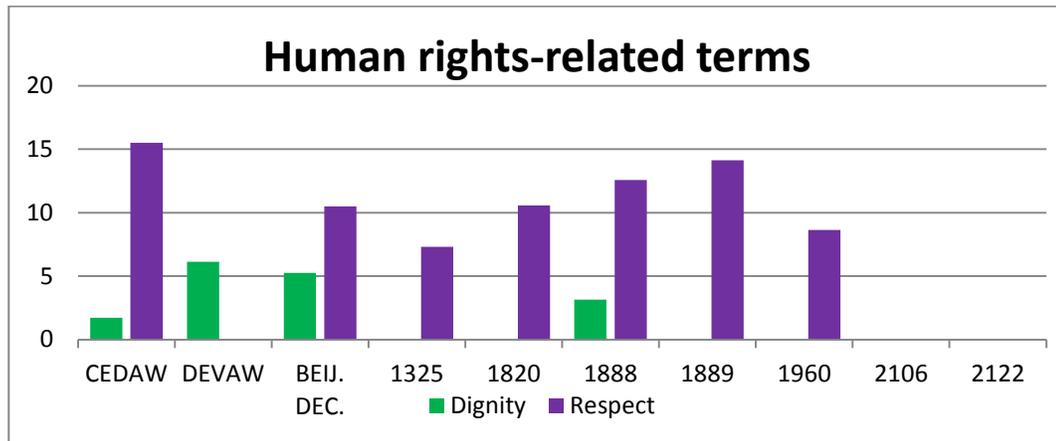


Table in appendices

The term “dignity”, present until the Beijing Declaration, disappears with the UN Resolution with the exception of UNSCR 1888. This resolution requires states to adapt their judiciary system in order to ensure ‘survivors [of sexual violence] have access to justice, are treated with dignity throughout the justice process and are protected and receive redress for their suffering’ (2009: article 6). Except for this, “dignity” – used in the context of “dignity to all human beings” – is absent from all UN resolutions. And, the term “respect” is missing from the last two UN Resolutions.

Focusing on terms associated with “democracy”, it is necessary to look at the term “rights” (Table 6). It is noticed that “rights” tend to be used in the international texts very broadly, without a particular definition. It is often understood as a synonym for “rights” defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). In all the texts, the word “right” has shifted from “equal rights” between men and women to “women’s rights”. In these cases, “women’s rights” seem to become “human rights”. UNSCR 1325 (2000), for example, pleads for ‘the protection, special needs and *human rights of women and children* in conflict situations (paragraph 6, *emphasis added*).

Table 6: Details of "rights" in international texts

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Citizenships rights (n)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Citizenship rights (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.039
Citizenship rights (index)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.854
Civil rights(n)	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights (%)	0.034	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civil rights (index)	3.449	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Equal rights of men and women(n)	17	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Equal rights of men and women (%)	0.293	0	0.158	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Equal rights of men and women (index)	29.32	0	15.765	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Human rights(n)	12	15	3	2	1	4	0	1	2	5
Human rights (%)	0.207	0.919	0.158	0.146	0.053	0.126	0	0.043	0.081	0.193
Human rights (index)	20.697	91.912	15.765	14.609	5.288	12.571	0	4.325	8.127	19.268
International humanitarian and human rights law (or treaties) (n)	3	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	1	0
International humanitarian and H. R. law (or treaties) (%)	0.052	0.123	0.053	0.073	0.053	0	0	0	0.041	0
International humanitarian and H. R. law (or treaties) (index)	5.174	12.255	5.255	7.305	5.288	0	0	0	4.063	0
Land and property right(n)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Land and property right (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.047	0	0	0
Land and property right (index)	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.715	0	0	0
Legal rights(n)	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Legal rights (%)	0.138	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Legal rights (index)	13.798	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Personal/individual rights(n)	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Personal/individual rights (%)	0.017	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.039
Personal/individual rights (index)	1.725	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3.854
Political rights(n)	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political rights (%)	0.052	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Political rights (index)	5.174	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
References to others international texts on Rights"(n)	3	13	2	2	1	2	1	0	1	0
References to others international texts on Rights" (%)	0.052	0.797	0.105	0.146	0.053	0.063	0.047	0	0.041	0
References to others international texts on Rights" (index)	5.174	79.657	10.51	14.609	5.288	6.285	4.715	0	4.063	0
Rights and (fundamental) freedom(n)		2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rights and (fundamental) freedom (%)	0	0.123	0.158	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rights and (fundamental) freedom (index)	0	12.255	15.765	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rights and needs (n)	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rights and needs (%)	0	0	0	0.146	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rights and needs (index)	0	0	0	14.609	0	0	0	0	0	0
Rights of the victims(n)	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Rights of the victims (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0.031	0	0.043	0	0
Rights of the victims (index)	0	0	0	0	0	3.143	0	4.325	0	0
Sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights(n)	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
Sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights (%)	0.034	0	0	0	0	0	0.047	0	0	0
Sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights (index)	3.449	0	0	0	0	0	4.715	0	0	0

The focus on “rights” has decreased in UN resolutions overtime (Figure 4). Associated with the decrease of indexes for “protection” of rights for women, there is clear indication of a changed focus in the new discourse on gender and security, as it seems to be moving from the narrative from sole “protection” interventions to something new.

Figure 4: Total "rights" in international texts

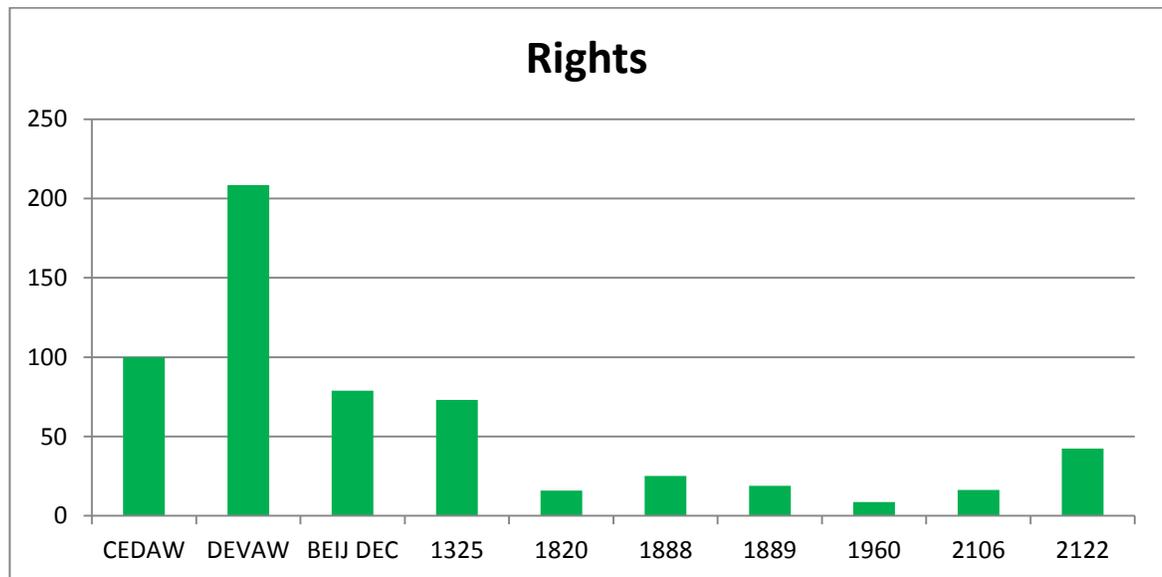


Table in appendices

The question of “ending discrimination” is part of the narrative around the issue of “equality”, and in which it, “discrimination” is a main issue. This can be seen in Figure 7 that “ending discrimination” is completely disappearing with the UN resolutions. With the exception of UNSCR 2106, which asks states to ensure ‘timely assistance to survivors of sexual violence, urges United Nations entities and donors to provide *non-discriminatory* and comprehensive health services, including sexual and reproductive health’ (2013: article 19, *emphasis added*), it is not found in the resolutions. CEDAW was the only international “gender” text to focus on “ending discrimination” as part of the goal to achieve “equality” between men and women. CEDAW aims ‘to establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through

competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination’ (1979: article 2(c)).

The idea of “ending discrimination” also ties in with the idea of “protecting” persons in vulnerable positions. However, a difference in the understanding of “protection” has to be made here. In the international “gender” texts, “protection” has two meanings. The first one, examined here, concerns the “protection” of women’s rights. The second meaning, which relates to the (physical) protection of women, will be examined in the following section on the security context. In the case of “right-protection”, it is linked to women’s rights and is significantly more present pre-1325 (2000), with CEDAW’s index close to 12.073 and UNSCR 1325’s index of 21.914 (Figure 5), which is the highest among the international “gender” texts. Post-1325 (2000), only UNSCR 2122 has a significant count for “protection of rights” with an index of 15.414. This seems to indicate that the “right-protection” for women was left for the physical-protection of women.

Figure 5: Rights related to protection of women in international texts

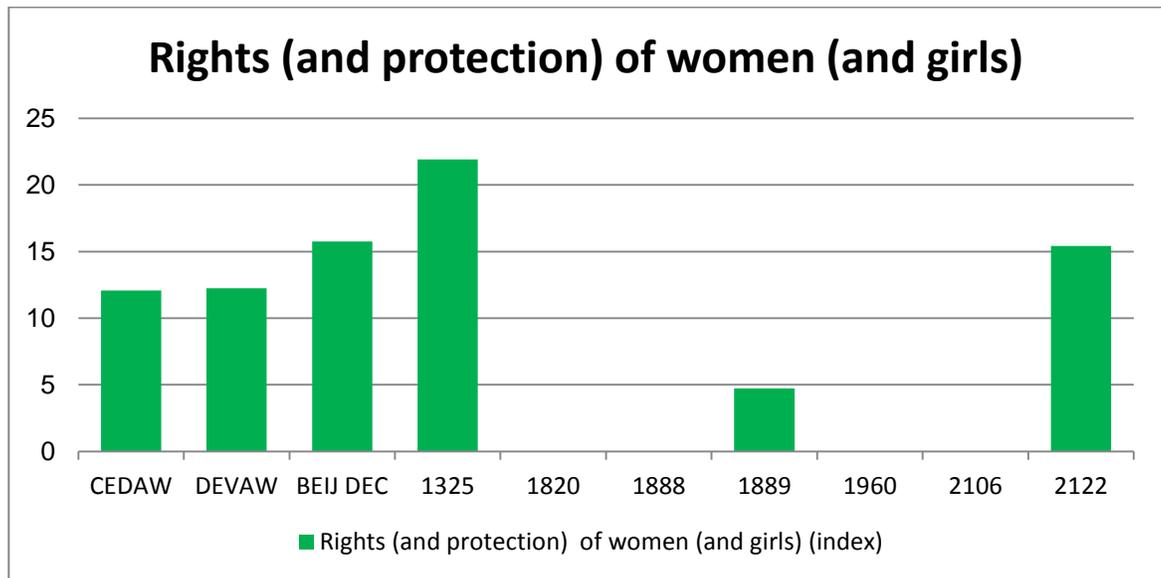


Table in appendices

It is clear that the link between women and their specific rights (political, civil or civic, citizenry) has not completely disappeared since CEDAW (1979); it has just shifted with the changes of the international order. Even the Beijing Declaration does not specify what the rights of women are. DEVAW (1993: article 3) states that 'women are entitled to the equal enjoyment and protection of all human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field' including 'the right to liberty and security of person' and 'the right to equal protection under the law'. The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995: 95, article 231) declares that the state must 'give full, equal and sustained attention to the human rights of women in the exercise of their respective mandates to promote universal respect for and protection of all human rights – civil, cultural, economic, political and social rights, including the right to development'. Therefore, these three texts see the state as being responsible for women's rights. It also posits that the state, while responsible, can endanger women and therefore the international "gender" texts call for an increased protection of their rights. This is reflected in UNSCR 1325, which concludes that there is a need 'to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts (UNSCR 1325 2000: paragraph 6).

Another aspect of "democracy" is through the concept of "participation" and "inclusion" (Figure 6). These are the two principles under which a democracy functions, particularly with "participation" of citizens in the law-making decision process or to the politics of the state through "representation". In the case of women, the "representation" can only be assured if women are included in the political system (Mansbridge 2003, Krook 2006). UNSCR 1325 includes "representation" of women in political system in its content. This is of importance as it has been a part of feminist scholarship as an essential element for the equality between men and women, particularly in the context of post-conflict reconstruction (Meintjes et al. 2001, Anderlini 2008). However, it is the only time and the only text calling for better representation of women at all levels of decision making (UNSCR 1325 2000: article 10). The other UN texts do mention and call for the

“participation” of women, which is a lesser degree of integration of women in political systems of post-conflict reconstruction states.

Figure 6: "Participation" and "representation" of women in international texts

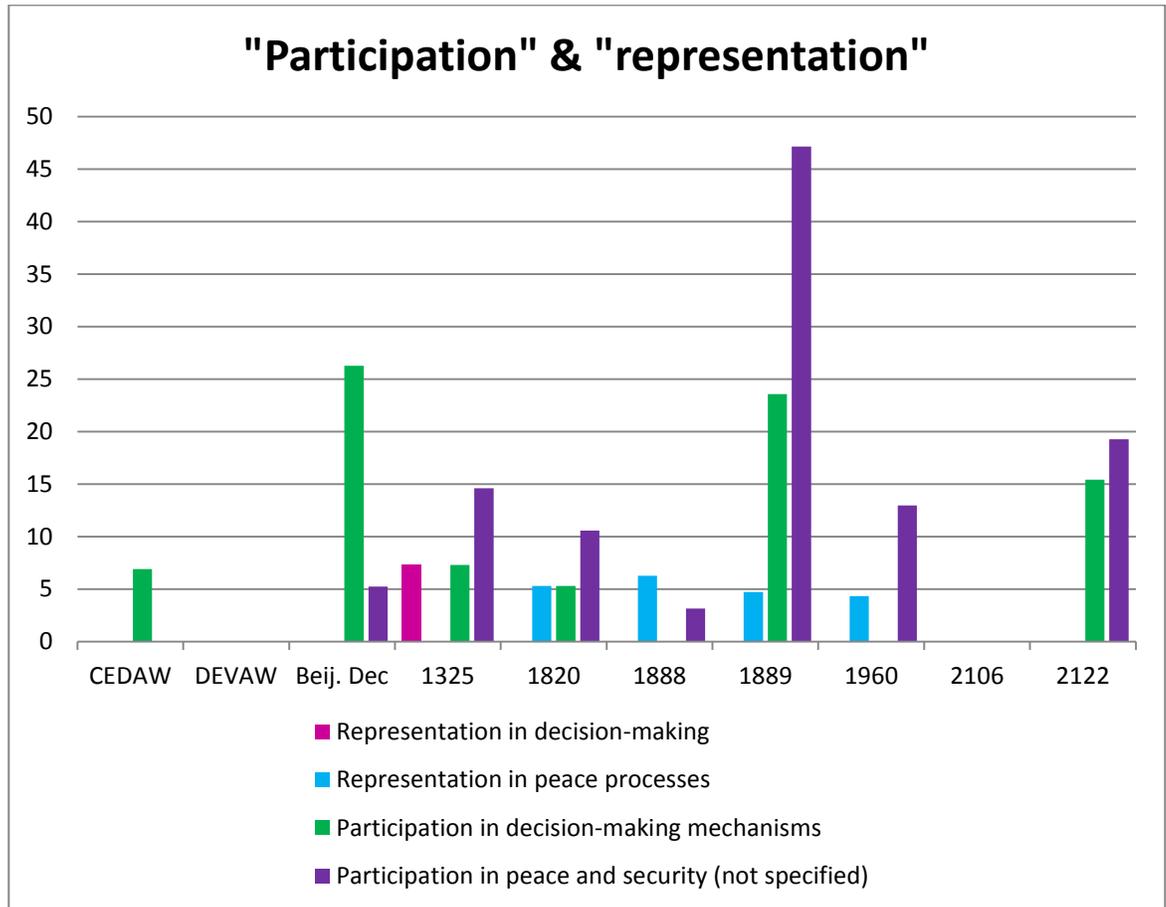


Table in appendices

The international “gender” texts do distinguish between participation in decision-making mechanisms and “participation in peace and security” which are unclear and not non-specified terms in the international texts (Figure 6). One guess as to what “participation in peace and security” refers to would be any other kind of participation that can exist, like participation in security forces, maintain of the peace, etc. Unfortunately, it is only a guess. It can be concluded that, first, women’s political representation, which only exists in UNSCR 1325, is not a priority in comparison to “participation”. It also indicates that unspecified roles in “participation in peace and security” are masking the demands of

participation at the political level. The unspecified roles also show that the texts are not willing to engage more on the political participation and representation.

There is a clear shift in emphasis for democracy and democratic-related post-1325 (2000), with “freedom” changing to “justice”. This reflects the observed changes of the international environment, which, after the Cold War, focused more on democratisation processes whereas after 9/11, there was a clear shift towards securitisation of the states. One of the striking aspects of the democracy-related terms is that once neo-liberal politics “won” after Cold War, the international “gender” texts suppose the democracy-related terms rather than make them explicit. It explains why “democracy” is present in the early texts but is absent from the most recent resolutions. UNSCR 1325 (2000) noticeably departs from these politics of democratisation, mostly not because of the international contextualisation of post-Cold War but because of which members comprise the UN Security Council. With China and Russia as two of five member-states, democracy or democratic values presumably need to be toned down to satisfy their non-democratic credentials in order to guarantee the activation of the text. This explains why all the new generation of UN Resolutions contain very few mentions of democracy embedded in them. The other significant change and linked to the observation of change due to the international environment, is the way “rights” are slowly becoming absent from the UN Resolutions overtime. This significant change also feeds in the way women’s roles in post-conflict reconstruction are thought, as the “representation” of women also disappears almost completely overtime.

In addition to democratic values referred to in relation to the state, there are some terms associated with good governance or at least a well-functioning developed or developing state that recur. The terms associated to good governance, and ultimately to “democracy” are “equality” of citizens⁶⁰ and the “end of discrimination” in front of the

⁶⁰ This is an ultimate goal that is often seen in democracies as being achieved, but rarely is (REF)

law, and social policy terms like “education”, and “health” care. This section will look at these social policy terms (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Equality & Social Policy terms in international texts

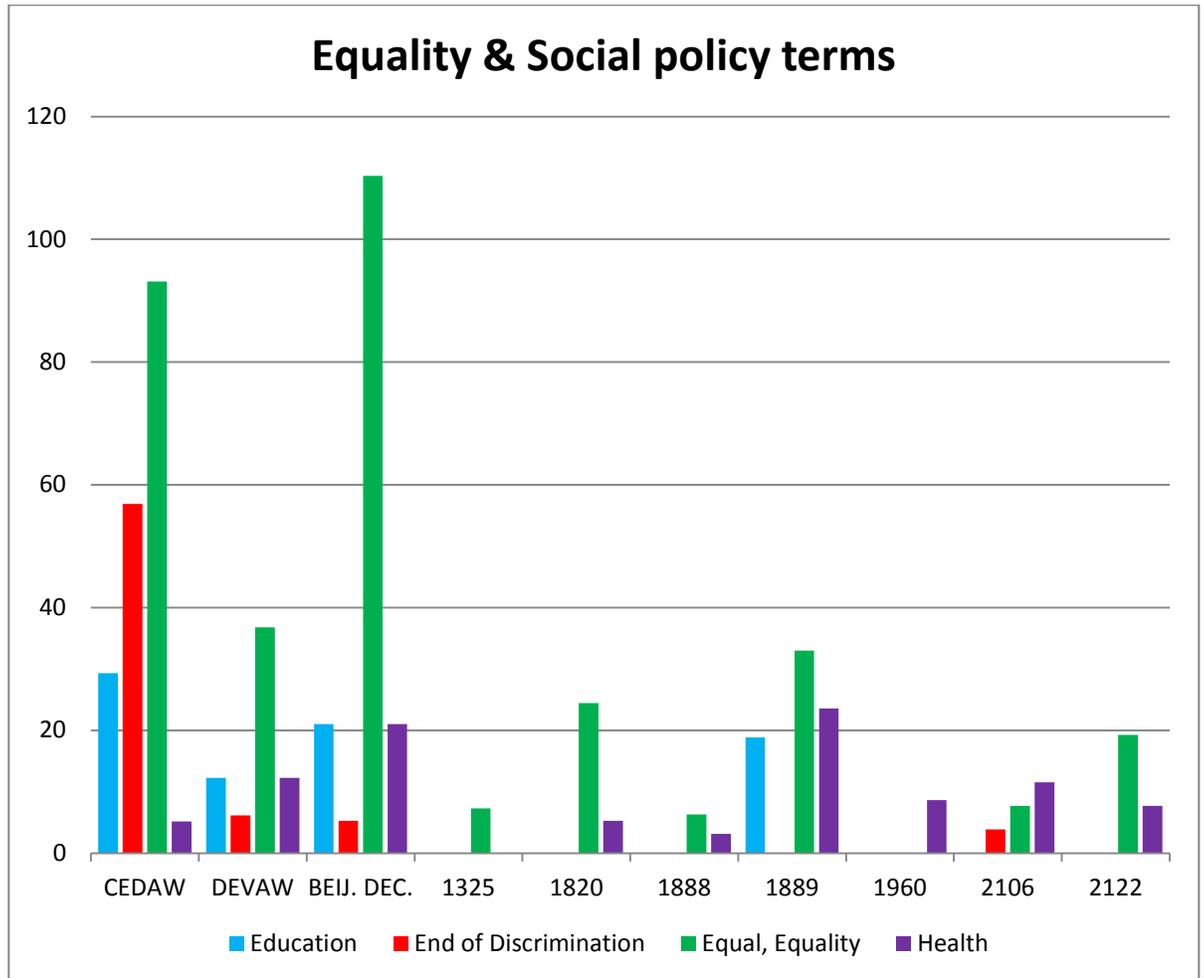


Table in appendices

“Equality” is linked to the idea of gender equality that is equality before the law, enshrining the equal treatment of equals into public policy. “Equality” in the sense of equality of political representation was incorporated strongly into the idea of democracy post-1990, and particularly post-1995 when the use of political gender quotas started to spread. It is noticeable that the values for “equality” decrease in the texts post-UNSCR 1325 (2000) (Figure 7). All indexes pre-UNSCR 1325 add to a total of 338.262. All UN

resolutions indexes on “equality” add to a total of 98.009, which is 40% less over the last 14 years.

“Education”, missing after UNSCR 1325 (2000), comes back in Resolution 1889 (2009) to lower levels than before 2000 with an index of 18.859. The Resolution is concerned with ‘the rise of extremist or fanatical views on women, and socio-economic factors including the lack of access to education’ (UNSCR 1889 2009: paragraph 8). This commentary from UNSCR 1889 (2009) reflects an increased focus in the discourse on women and security on restrictions imposed on women by some Islamic groups, particularly in the context of Afghanistan since 2001 (Moghadam 2002). The UN Resolution also states it is necessary ‘to address those needs and priorities, which cover inter alia support for greater physical security and better socio-economic conditions, through education [...]’ (UNSCR 1889 2009: article 10). The Resolution also ‘urges Member States, United Nations bodies and civil society, including non-governmental organisations, to take all feasible measures to ensure women and girls’ equal access to education in post-conflict situations, given the vital role of education in the promotion of women’s participation in post-conflict decision-making’ (UNSCR 1889 2009: article 11). This reflects the centrality of education to the MDGs that locate the empowerment of girls within education to create an “end to discrimination” and achieve better “equality” between men and women, as per CEDAW (1979).

The concern for the policy issue “health” is a steady value through time in the texts particularly it is associated with HIV/AIDS. Growing concern for “health” coincides with growing concern for the HIV/AIDS pandemic even though the specific health policies suggested for states are directly related to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which did not exist at the time of CEDAW (1979)⁶¹. On the other hand, health is also targeted by international organisations as part of one of the MDGs because maternal mortality is a major threat to

⁶¹ The disease existed prior to 1979 but was identified in 1981. The intensity and the scale of the disease started to be fully understood by the international authorities in mid 1990s.

women's lives. Indeed, the MDG campaign estimates that '287,000 maternal deaths occurred in 2010 worldwide' which is 'a decline of 47% from 1990' (MDG 2013b: 'Goal 5'). The other aspect of relating women to "health" is associated with reproductive health, which, in turn, is associated with the HIV/AIDS pandemic (MDG 2013b: 'Goal 5'). Indeed, it is because 'the majority of HIV infections are sexually transmitted or associated with pregnancy, childbirth and breastfeeding' due to 'poor sexual and reproductive health', which 'are driven by common root causes, including poverty, gender inequality and social marginalization of key populations' (UNFPA, 'Linking HIV with Sexual and Reproductive Health'). As concerns for the spread of the HIV/AIDS have been part of the mid-1990s discourse on international development, and pointing out HIV/AIDS as one of the responsible for slow development, the UN has included this discourse in the international "gender" texts. This explains why the word "health" is steadily present in the international texts.

There is however no mentions to women's economic roles in the UN Resolutions. The only international "gender" text mentioning "employment" at length is CEDAW (1979), with article 11 specifying that 'States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights' (CEDAW 1979: article 11). "Employment" in CEDAW is mentioned 11 times and the Beijing Declaration (1995) mentions it once. In CEDAW, "employment" is about "employment equality", where women should have 'the right to work as an inalienable right', 'the right to the same employment opportunities', and 'the right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value' (CEDAW 1979: article 11 a, b and d). This point is significant as post-conflict reconstruction has an economic aspect. However, as observed in the case of the Second World War, women's economic roles are not a priority for states as no other international "gender" texts mention "employment" after the Beijing Declaration (1995).

One conclusion can also be made of how little if none of these values (“education“, “health“) are in UNSCR 1325 (2000) but somehow continue in lesser numbers in subsequent Resolutions. It would appear that the Millennium Development Goals have been embedded in most the international texts since their creation and it would explain why these terms are still present. The other conclusion that can be reached is how little concerns exist within the international discourse for women undertaking economic roles.

Security and the protection of women

A concern emerging from the international texts after UNSCR 1325 (2000) is the “security” and “protection” of women (Figure 8). The rise of “protection” of persons over “protection of women’s rights” is noticeable after UNSCR 1325. All Resolutions have indexes close to 20 (Figure 8), with UNSCR 2122 (index = 26.975) and UNSCR 1960 (index = 25.952) being the highest. UNSCR 1325, with an index of 21.914, sits in the upper indexes’ range. Noticeably, only DEVAW (1993) has a positive index of 12.255. Given that the text is concerned about violence against women it would be surprising if the DEVAW did not mention the need to protect women.

Figure 8: "Protection of women" in international texts

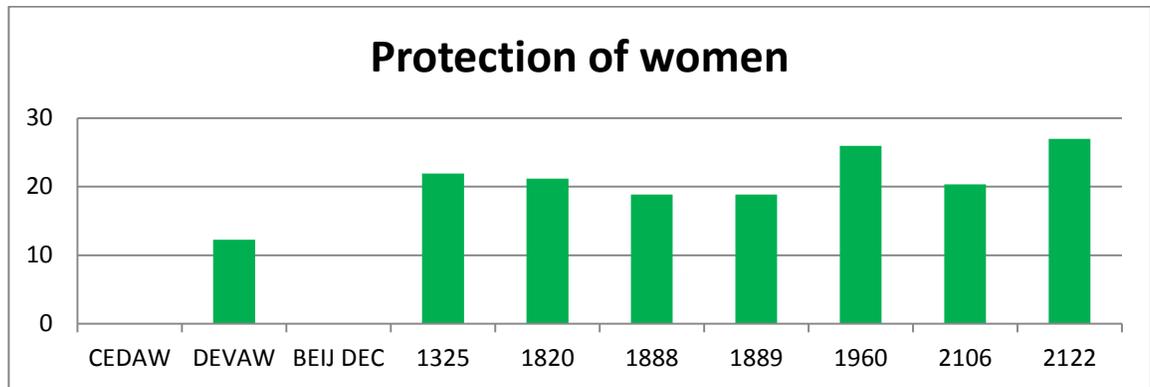


Table in appendices

UNSCR 1325 concludes that there is a need ‘to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts (UNSCR 1325 2000: paragraph 6) with ‘effective institutional

arrangements to guarantee [women and girls’] protection (UNSCR 1325 2000: paragraph 10). This guarantee of “security”⁶² is shown in Figure 9. With an index of 7.305, UNSCR 1325 (2000) places itself within a change of attitude that operated in the late 1990s international context, where conflict Resolutions of the post-Cold War needed to be assertive and the “security” of women was essential. UNSCR 1820 (2008) retains the need to securitise women’s rights with an index of 26.441. Neither UNSCR 1888 (2009) nor UNSCR 1960 (2010) mentions the need for “security”. The last two Resolutions mention “security” but UNSCR 2122 (2013) has the highest index with 26.975. Interestingly, whereas “peace”⁶³ was a predominant feature of the international discourse after the Cold War as the Cold War was under the constant threat of nuclear war. Post-Cold War, “peace” indexes are on the rise as “peace” becomes the moral aim for securitisation agenda.

Figure 9: "Security" and security related terms in international texts

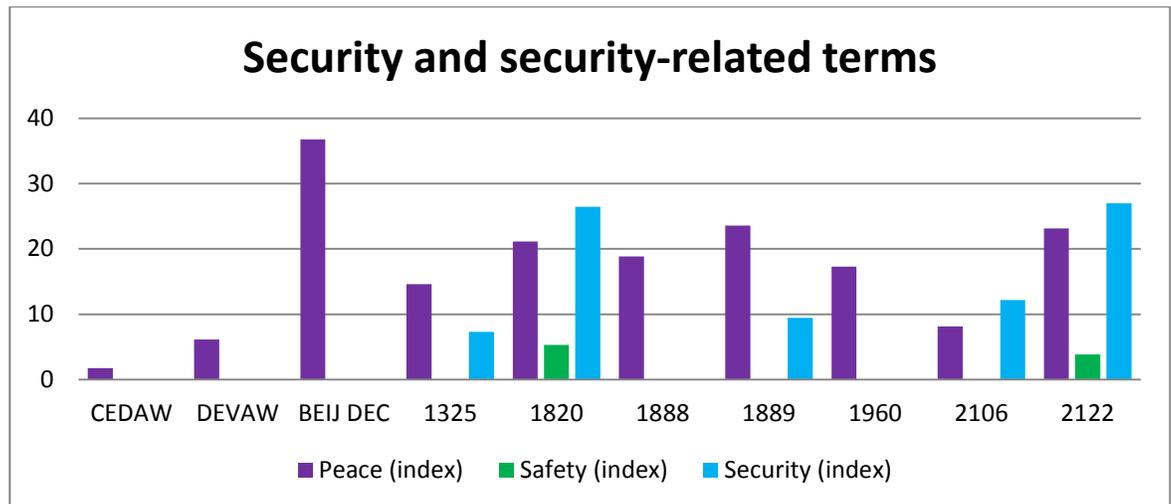


Table in appendices

There is a difference between “safety” and “security”. “Safety” can be defined as ‘the condition of being protected from or unlikely to cause danger, risk, or injury’ (Oxford Dictionary 2014). It means that women should be “safe” and protected. However, in the

⁶² Excluding “Security Sector Reform”, “international peace and security”, and “security forces”.

⁶³ Excluding “international peace and security” and “women, peace and security”

international texts, “safety” is never an issue. It barely exists in the texts with the exception of UNSCR 1820 (2008), which mentions the need for ‘evacuation of women and children under imminent threat of sexual violence to safety’ (UNSCR 1820 2008: article 3) without more specification of the meaning of “safety”. The rise of the word “security” in UNSCR 1820 (2008) reflects that change. The word “peace” is constantly present, matching the need for durable peace in order to satisfy the democratic agenda that has been part of the international structure since the end of the Cold War. The absence of “safety” indicates, however, how little interest there is for the real “protection” of women. It is as if “security” is more related to the state’s security than to the safety of its citizens.

In the international texts, the terms “peacekeeping” and “humanitarian” intervention are used (Figure 10). Concluding that the terms are used interchangeably might farfetched. However, one can notice that, post-UNSCR 1325, external interventions for “humanitarian” or “peacekeeping” reasons have been more advocated. “Conflict Resolution”, on the other hand, has little presence in the texts. With the UN resolutions being a product of the Security Council, it is not surprising to see references to humanitarian or peacekeeping missions within the content of all resolutions. “Conflict resolution” has been since the Beijing Declaration present for reappearing in the latest UN Resolution 2122. It is due that post-Cold War, the main agenda of the UN is to resolve international and national conflicts in order to achieve peace and democracy. “Conflict resolution” is actually now mentioned in three UNSCRs, including in UNSCR 1325 (2000), which also indicates a change undertook by the United Nations since 9/11.

Figure 10: International intervention-related words

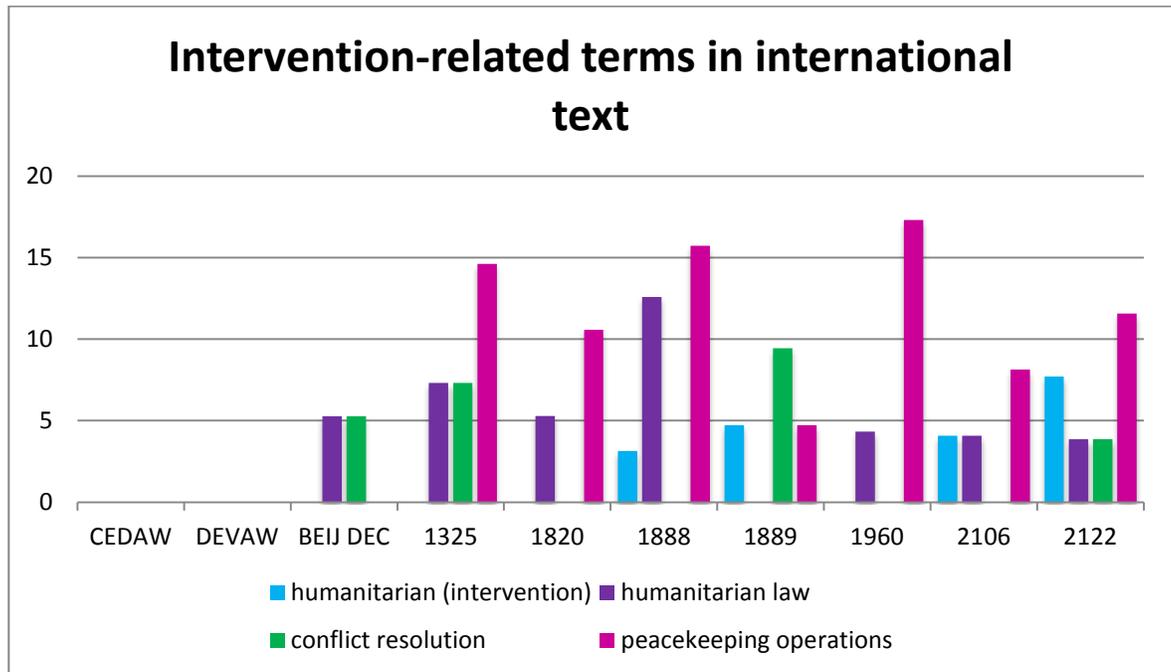


Table in appendices

With a change in the international discourse agenda that moved from nuclear threats to a retreat of the nuclear threat to global terrorism (post 9/11), the agenda of women’s protection also changed. It matched a change in the international intervention discourse. The increased need for securitisation of the states led to further interventions to state that threatened the “safety” of the state. Included in that discourse of securitisation” are women. However, whereas the security of women is guaranteed in the international “gender” texts, their safety is not.

Violence and sexual violence

After 1325 (2000), the focus is mostly on “armed conflicts” and the role of military and police as perpetrators of violence towards women. Table 7 shows that prior to UNSCR 1325 all violent acts were dealt with some details. In addition, after 1325 (2000), it becomes more complex due to the nature of the texts that are UN Security Council Resolutions. Words like “abuses”, “victimisation”, “deprivation”, “coercion”, or

“trafficking”, all reflect the forms that violence (when not sexual) takes against women. None of the words provided in the table directly relate to men.

Table 7: Acts of violence (excluding sexual)

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ. DEC.	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
(Re) victimisation (n)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
(Re) victimisation (%)	0	0.061	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.041	0.039
(Re) victimisation (index)	0	6.127	0	0	0	0	0	0	4.063	3.854
Abuse (excl. sexual) (n)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	1
Abuse (excl. sexual) (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.130	0.041	0.039
Abuse (excl. sexual) (index)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.976	4.063	3.854
Armed conflict (n)	0	1	0	1	1	27	6	27	27	18
Armed conflict (%)	0	0.061	0	0.073	0.053	0.849	0.283	1.168	1.097	0.694
Armed conflict (index)	0	6.127	0	7.305	5.288	84.852	28.289	116.782	109.711	69.364
Exploitation (excl. Sexual) (n)	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exploitation (excl. Sexual) (%)	0.017	0.061	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exploitation (excl. Sexual) (index)	1.725	6.127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Forced displacement(n)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Forced displacement (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.116
Forced displacement(index)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11.561
Genocide (n)	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1
Genocide (%)	0	0	0	0.073	0.053	0	0	0.043	0.041	0.039
Genocide (index)	0	0	0	7.305	5.288	0	0	4.325	4.063	3.854
Military + police ⁶⁴ (n)	0	0	0	2	1	13	0	7	3	2
Military + police (%)	0	0	0	0.146	0.053	0.409	0	0.303	0.122	0.077
Military + police(index)	0	0	0	14.609	5.288	40.855	0	30.277	12.190	7.707
Punishment(n)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Punishment (%)	0	0.061	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Punishment(index)	0	6.127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Targeted ⁶⁵ (n)	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	3	1
Targeted (%)	0	0	0	0.073	0.053	0.031	0	0.043	0.122	0.039
Targeted(index)	0	0	0	7.305	5.288	3.143	0	4.325	12.190	3.854
Trafficking(n)	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trafficking (%)	0	0.061	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trafficking (index)	0	6.127	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
UN abuses ⁶⁶ (n)	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0
UN abuses (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0.094	0	0	0	0
UN abuses(index)	0	0	0	0	0	9.428	0	0	0	0

⁶⁴ As perpetrators of violence (only)⁶⁵ In context of acts of violence⁶⁶ References to acts violence perpetrated by UN peacekeeping forces

As a standalone text, CEDAW (1979) is noticeably absent from this denunciation of “violence” against women. The text reflects the impact of the Second Wave Feminism and the changes in social values that were associated with it. Intra-state conflicts, however, have thrived after the end of the Cold War (Petter Gleditsch et al. 2012). CEDAW (1979) thus reflects efforts in international peace rather than the “localised” and post-colonial conflicts of the Cold War in spite of the “localised” conflicts having a more strategic value for the two super powers. Similarly, the “violence” terms are minimal or wholly absent from the Beijing Declaration (1995) as it was probably deemed to have been dealt with DEVAW in 1993.

In the context of international texts, the type of “violence” that the texts focus on has changed overtime, with an initial emphasis on non-sexual violence, which was then replaced by an emphasis on sexual violence. Figure 11 is a graphic representation of the changes and evolution of the term “violence”, “sexual violence” and “rape” from CEDAW (1979) to the most recent Resolution 2122 (2013). The terms were defined and the indexes were calculated as follows:

- ➔ “violence” = (general violence + armed conflict) - (sexual violence + rape)⁶⁷
- ➔ “sexual violence” = “sexual violence” + sexual abuse + sexual harassment⁶⁸
- ➔ “gender-based violence = term only

There is a clear change of discourse, moving from “violence” in general toward “sexual violence” after UNSCR 1325 (2000).

⁶⁷Table 49 in appendices

⁶⁸Table 50 in appendices

Figure 11: Evolution of “violence” and “sexual violence” in the international texts

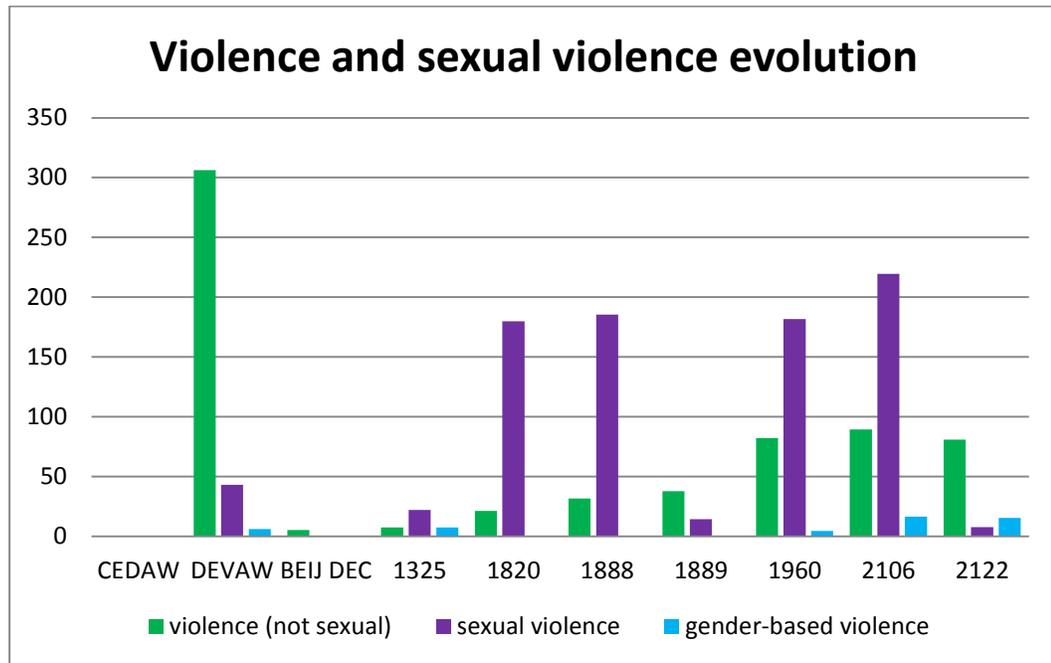


Table in appendices

After 1325 (2000), and particularly post UNSCR 1820 (2008) which dealt with how sexual and gender-based violence should be addressed during conflicts and peacekeeping, the shift from “violence” to “sexual violence” is quite clear (Table 11). Whereas before 2000 violence against women was mostly discussed as forms of intimidation and harassment (Table 7), the prejudices to which women were subjected during conflicts made violence more “visible”, and this is referred to in the texts after UNSCR 1325 (2000).

With the increased focus on sexual violence, it is necessary to examine the content of the texts that related to “sexual violence”. Internationally the consideration of “rape” as the only form of sexual violence has changed. Human Rights Law differentiates between two acts of sexual violence, rape and one that encompasses more than just rape (Amnesty International 2011). Rape is defined as ‘a particular kind of sexual violence, where the definition is confined to the act of penetration of

the body' while other types of violence come under the umbrella term that is sexual violence (Amnesty International 2011: note 14). Sexual violence and rape are most frequently discussed as perpetrated by males against females however sexual violence can be perpetrated by both male and female soldiers, and against both men and women (Brownmiller 1975, Amnesty International 2011, Leatherman 2011). Table 8 shows the breakdown of the forms of sexual violence discussed in the international texts. Unlike Table 72 which details all forms of possible violence that are exerted against women in conflicts, the table also shows that sexual violence is not subject to this detailed differentiation. Sexual violence can present in multiple forms, from sexual harassment to mutilations, forced incest, naked parades of women, rapes, forced pregnancies or forced abortions (Leatherman 2011). However the shame of sexual violence is so prevalent in post-conflict societies that the details of the acts of sexual violence are rarely addressed in the literature (Coulter 2009, Leatherman 2011). Rape is therefore the only form of sexual violence that is specified in the international texts.

Table 8: Breakdown of violence and sexual violence in the international "gender" texts

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Violence (not sexual)	0	50	1	1	4	10	8	19	22	21
Violence (not sexual)	0	3.064	0.053	0.073	0.212	0.314	0.377	0.822	0.894	0.809
Violence (not sexual)	0	306.373	5.255	7.305	21.153	31.427	37.718	82.180	89.395	80.925
Sexual violence	0	7	0	3	34	59	3	42	54	2
Sexual violence	0	0.429	0	0.219	1.798	1.854	0.141	1.817	2.194	0.077
Sexual violence	0	42.892	0	21.914	179.799	185.418	14.144	181.661	219.423	7.707
Rape	0	2	0	1	3	5	2	8	4	2
Rape	0	0.123	0	0.073	0.159	0.157	0.094	0.346	0.163	0.077
Rape	0	12.255	0	7.305	15.865	15.713	9.430	34.602	16.254	7.707
Sexual violence + rape	0	9	0	4	37	64	5	50	58	4
Sexual violence + rape	0	0.551	0	0.292	1.957	2.011	0.236	2.163	2.357	0.154
Sexual violence + rape	0	55.147	0	29.218	195.664	201.131	23.574	216.263	235.677	15.414
Gender-based violence	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	4	4
Gender-based violence	0	0.061	0	0.073	0	0	0	0.043	0.163	0.154
Gender-based violence	0	6.127	0	7.305	0	0	0	4.325	16.254	15.414

However, one cannot help but notice, however, that “rape” is a constant concern for the Resolutions, particularly for UNSCRs 1888 (2009) and 1960 (2010), which have respectively indexes of 15.713 and 34.602. Therefore, despite a departure from rape as the only form of sexual violence, there is still emphasis on “rape” post-1325 (2000). Indeed, out of all forms of sexual violence, rape is the most tangible and visible one for both scholars and activists (Buss 2007, 2009). Rape is a pervasive problem being present during peace, but exacerbated in conflicts. UNSCR 1820 (2008) is concerned with the violence perpetrated by the agents of states (including the police and military) during conflicts and particularly during peacekeeping operations. This resolution also further redefines UNSCR 1325 (2000) by narrowing down the violence against women to being almost exclusively sexual and occurring during conflicts.

Infantilisation of women

In *Chapter 1*, one of the critiques emerging of UNSCR 1325 (2000) was the “infantilisation” of women in the content of the texts (Shepherd 2008a). Infantilisation is considered to occur when women are consistently linked to either “children” or “girls” or associated with words such as “vulnerable”, while linking women to “men” is usually an indication of an equality discourse. Figure 12 shows that the “infantilisation” of women increases significantly with Resolution 1325 (2000).

Figure 12: “Infantilisation” of women in international texts

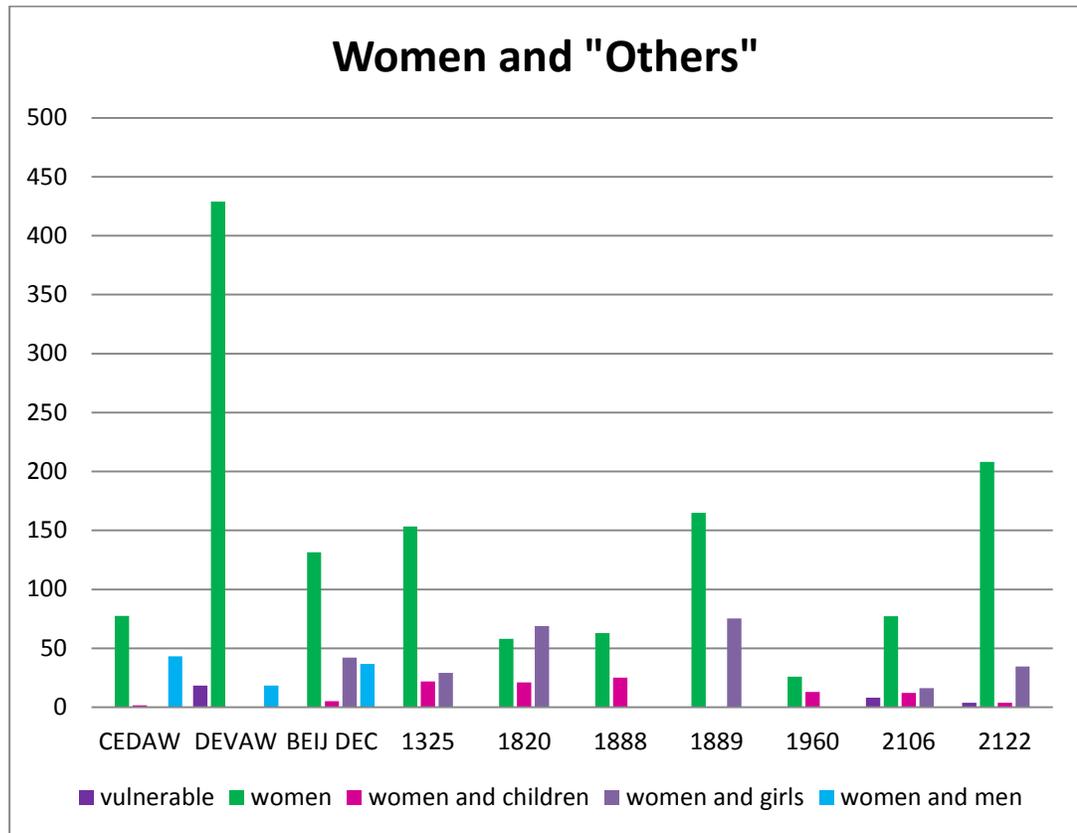


Table in appendices

“Women” = raw count women - (women and children + women and girls + women and men)

Although the Beijing Declaration (1995) had used the term “women and girls” which had been absent from the previous texts, this is ameliorated by its continued use of the term “women and men” and although DEVAW uses the term “vulnerable” in association with women this is in the context of its exclusive focus on violence and the term is used a very small number of times when compared to the texts use of the term “women”. In UNSCR 1325 although “women” is used significantly more than infantilising terms, the proportion of such terms has grown, while in UNSCR 1820 infantilising terms are more significant than the term “women”. It is only with UNSCR 2122 (2013) after persistent references by practitioners and academics to this aspect of the texts that the term “women” again becomes dominant. The term “women and men” is completely absent from all the Resolutions. This emphasises

from UNSCR 1325 (2000) onwards is on the security of women and the clear separation of the sexes into women as vulnerable civilians and men as member of militaries and the lack of priority that is given to gender equality.

International focus of the international texts

The criticisms of the international texts, particularly UNSCR 1325 (2000) in the academic literature are actually not concerned the “international” focus that is found embedded in (Black 2009, Puechguirbal 2010). Figure 13 shows the number of repetitions in terms of the level of political interactions referred to in the texts. “International” is counted to greater extent than “local”. However, “national” is the largest occurrence of all the interactions. To calculate Figure 13, mentions of “international” were counted and “UN actions” and “UN organisations” were added. This was done to show exactly the level of “international” interactions in the texts. Similarly, for “national”, in addition to the count for the term were added mentions of states, included the times where states were asked to act⁶⁹.

The term “community” is also present, albeit not in every international texts. It refers either to the “international community” in the UN resolutions (UNSCR 1888 2009: paragraph 13; UNSCR 1960 2010: paragraph 13) or to the civil society UNSCR 1820 2008: paragraph 5, article 3; UNSCR 2103 2013: articles 11, 21). CEDAW (1979) is more ambiguous asking “all communities” to act on gender equality policies (article 2); DEVAW (1993) refers to both local and international communities (paragraphs 7, 12; article 2); the Beijing Declaration is also ambiguous on the term “community” referring to “community-based” actions (articles 12, 20) or refers to the international community (article 21). This ambiguity in the terms led to the decision of not including it in the analysis, being aware that the term has two different meanings.

⁶⁹ See table in appendices for all the details.

Figure 13: Discourse interactions in the international texts

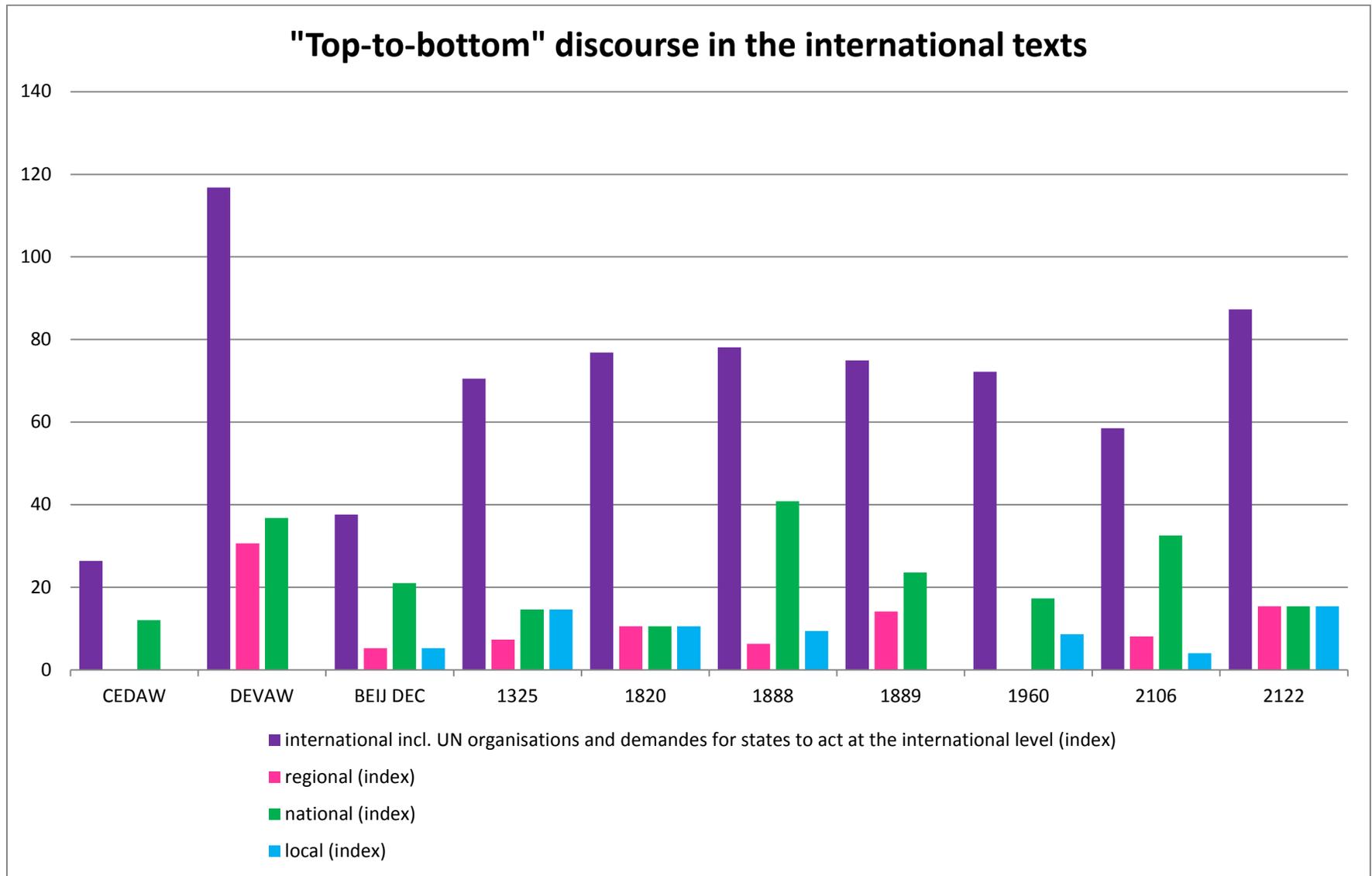


Table in appendices

In recent years, a focus on “regional” has been promoted by international organisations. The regional organisation of the African Union, the main goal of is to become an organisation similar to the European Union at least economically (African Union 2000), has been a reliable source of more localised power for the United Nations, particularly in light of recent conflicts in Darfur (since 2003) or in Mali since 2013 (Magliveras & Naldi 2002, Murithi 2008, Solomon 2013). The United Nations, in the case of the African continent, relies heavily on regional organisations, particularly for political stability. The word “regional” appears in all the international texts, with the exception of CEDAW (1979) and UNSCR 1960 (2011). However, it is not used here in the analysis, because it refers to the “regional” organisations rather than the level of interactions that the Beijing Declaration intends to have an impact on with its content. For example, in the Beijing Declaration (1995), “regional” appears 5 times and reflects ‘the capacity of national, subregional, regional and international institutions’ (article 36).

UNSCR 1325, shifting the discourse on “women and security”

During the timeframe covered by the texts, an explicit international agenda referred to as “international peace and security” emerged. As the resolutions have been criticised for their lack of effectiveness, the response has been to incorporate the term “women, peace and security” as a form of shorthand to sum up the idealised goals of the texts. The “women, peace and security” agenda is found in the last two resolutions (Figure 14). This is due to the creation of UN Women in 2011. The creation of UN Women in 2011 was a result of re-organisational in the United Nations and it gave legitimacy to the UN led framework on gender issues in conflict, conflict resolution and post conflict reconstruction.

Figure 14: Changes in international discourse

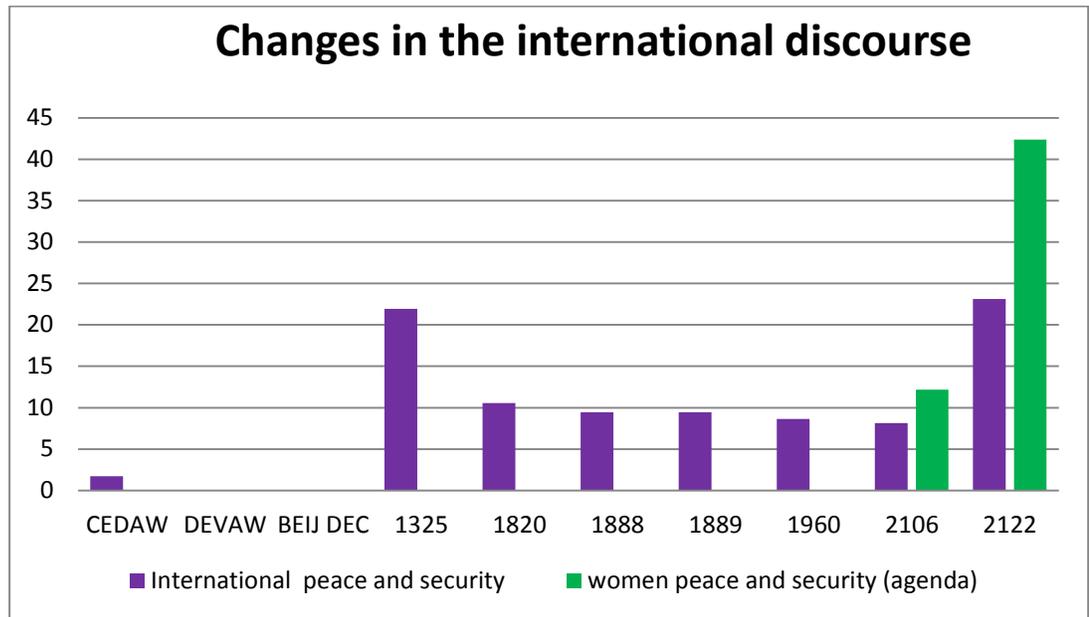


Table in appendices

However, another agenda was set in the UN Resolutions, visible in Figure 14, which was “International, Peace and Security”. This agenda, and the next one “Women, Peace and Security”, indicates a clear shift from the non-specific agenda texts that were CEDAW (1979), DEVAW (1993) or the Beijing Declaration (1995).

This shift in discourse is present in the UN Resolutions. Indicates the direction to which the international “gender” discourse has titled. Table 4 shows that in addition with the international agenda, other shifts have occurred with the UN Resolutions. The shift in terms is now discussed.

Table 9: Key terms averages indexes⁷⁰ pre and post UNSCR 1325

Pre UNSCR 1325 (pre 2000) ⁷¹	Average indexes	UNSCR 1325 and post-Resolutions (2000-onwards) ⁷²	Average indexes
Rights	129.063	Sexual violence	115.724
Violence (not sexual)	103.876	Violence (not sexual)	50.015
Equal, Equality ⁷³	106.718	Women and others	45.938
Social policy terms ⁷⁴	53.525	International	36.114
Women and “others” ⁷⁵	16.340	Rights	28.601
International	48.046	National	22.119
National	23.286	Protection of person	22.004
Peace	14.879	Peace	18.106
Sexual violence	14.297	Justice	16.501
Regional	11.964	Equal, Equality	14.001
Justice	6.695	Social policy terms	11.805
Protection of person	4.085	Local	8.963
External intervention ⁷⁶	1.752	Regional	8.836
Local	1.752	Security	6.049
Security	0	External intervention	5.745

The first clear shift in discourse is the decrease of the terms linked to social policy related terms and equality terms (table 5). As demonstrated earlier, the use of the terms “equality” and the social policy issues “education” and health” are reduced in significance, while “employment” and employment equality disappear after CEDAW (1979)⁷⁷.

⁷⁰ The average indexes are calculated by adding all indexes for each period (Pre and post 1325) and dividing it by the number of texts for each period (3 texts for pre-1325 or 7 texts for 1325). The same table for total indexes is in the appendices.

⁷¹ CEDAW (1979), DEVAW (1993), Beijing Declaration (1995)

⁷² UNSCRs 1325 (2000), 1820 (2008), 1888 (2009), 1889 (2009), 1960 (2010), 2106 (2013), and 2122 (2013)

⁷³ Equality + “women and men”

⁷⁴ Education, health, end of discrimination

⁷⁵ Women and children, women and girls

⁷⁶ Conflict resolution/prevention, Humanitarian (intervention), Peacekeeping operations

⁷⁷ “Employment” is present in the second part of the Beijing Declaration the document “Platform of Action” (Platform for Action 1995: ‘Global Framework’, articles 16, 17, 19, 21, 31).

Table 10: Difference in indexes pre and post UNSCR 1325

Key terms	Average indexes difference
Sexual violence	101.426
Women and others	29.598
Protection of person	17.919
Justice	9.806
Security	6.049
External intervention	3.994
Social policy terms	-41.72
Violence (not sexual)	-53.861
Equal, Equality	-92.717
Rights	-100.463

The second shift is the growing importance of the rule of the law after UNSCR 1325 (2000), which explains why “justice” has become a key concept in the Resolutions. Although absent from the UN Resolution 1325, which retains a strong focus on “rights”, in the subsequent resolutions, “rights” are more frequently used than the Human Rights terms of “dignity” and “respect”. In terms of “rights”, only CEDAW (1979) deals with legal and political rights, while the Beijing Declaration (1995), as well as CEDAW (1979), includes the equal rights of men and women, which becomes absent from UNSCR 1325 and subsequent resolutions. Post-2000, the texts focus more on human rights, international humanitarian and human rights law, which are in Table 9 gathered under the term “external” intervention. In the UNSCR 1325 discourse, the concept of rights is narrowed with to a focus on human rights. Overall, the “rights” of persons are significantly decreasing after UNSCR 1325. Previously, Table 6 confirms that shift in “rights”.

Weakening in the discourse is the concept of representation of women in peace and post-conflict reconstruction processes to a “simple” participation, sometimes with both terms disappearing from UN Resolution 2106. UNSCR 1325 includes one form of “representation” (in decision-making) and two forms of “participation” (in decision-making mechanisms and in peace & security). This decrease in “representation” – “participation” remains present in the subsequent resolutions – seems to indicate a decline in making women actors of the post-conflict states.

Another shift points out that the post-1325 discourse strengthens the idea of the need to “protect” women, even though this “protection” was present in DEVAW (1993) but absent from CEDAW (1979) and the Beijing Declaration (1995). Related to this is the increase of the term “security” which becomes a significant term in the discourse of the international texts, to the extent that the whole agenda promoted by the UN resolutions since 2000 have been “Women, Peace and *Security*”. Linked to the need for women’s protection and security is the shift of the forms of violence experienced by women, moving from various and different experiences of violence, in which sexual violence was only a component, to almost exclusively violence in the form of sexual violence post-UNSCR 1325. Although both Table 8 and Table 10 show that women still experience various forms of violence, the total index of 810.066 (Table 54 in appendices) for “sexual violence” demonstrates how the shift of “violence” has operated overtime. This has a significant impact on the way women have been represented in the conflict and post-conflict discourse of the UN resolution with “others” and “vulnerable”, which means, in return, that their “security” is in danger during conflicts and therefore need “protection”.

These findings show how the discourse since UNSCR 1325 has changed, impacted by international events (Cold War, Post-Cold War, post 9/11), and how it is expected to impact on the state in the process of reconstruction post-war gender relations. The shift of the international discourse on women and security is clear and indicates the potential impacts that UNSCR 1325 can have.

The potential impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000)

Reading the UN Resolution’s content lead the conclusion that the Resolution focuses on the protection of women during conflict and the political inclusion and participation of women during peace negotiations and post-conflict reconstruction processes. However, the UN Resolutions is positioned at a crossroads of events that

changed the structure of the international history (and order) making Resolution 1325 is a pivotal text. The international events of the end of the Cold War and 9/11 have changed the way states engage in international politics. This has also shaped international discourse on gender and security. The international texts have also shaped the way women are “treated” during conflicts and in post-conflict reconstruction contexts. This is why it is assumed, particularly when the UN intervenes⁷⁸, that within the intervention will be included a push for a policy towards “women and security”. In particular, UNSCR 1325 (2000) is expected to have an impact on the way in which the states, engaged in peace processes, would deal with the issue of “women and security”. Analysing the content of the Resolution and the other international “gender” texts, it is possible to conclude that there are four main areas in which the resolution is expected to have an impact.

First, it is expected that the UN resolution will affect how states deal with “equality” and “social policy”. Indeed, if there is a decline in these values in the most recent resolutions, it is likely due to international discourse on women and security being included in the neo-liberal policies that would otherwise push for these values. It is accepted with the “language” of the resolutions and therefore implied. However, “justice” is not expected to be as present in the case study analysis as it is present in the international texts, because the analysis of the case study stops in 2008. A lesser focus on representation in decision-making and in peace processes should also be present within the case study documents.

Second, a focus on “peace” and “security” should be present in the case study analysis. This is a result of changes in the international order due to global events that have affected the way international policies are constructed. This includes a potential impact on how the UN is perceived: a tool in peace processes and conflict

⁷⁸ NATO also intervenes and has a policy of implementing UNSCR 1325 (Wright 2013).

resolutions. This is based on the fact that all resolutions, in particular 1325 (2000), reflect on the fact that women are essential in peace processes.

Third, UNSCR 1325 is expected to have an impact on how “violence” is constructed in the analysis of the case study’s documents. UNSCR 1325 signifies a clear shift from “violence” that was general and not specifically sexual toward “sexual violence” almost exclusively. This reinforces the “infantilisation” of women, who in the international discourse is almost always associated with someone whether the “other” is child, girl, or man. Women, on their own, are particularly less present around UNSCR 1325 (2000). It is expected in the analysis of the case study that this will have an impact, particularly in the “victimisation” of women in cases of sexual violence.

Fourth, UNSCR 1325 is expected to have an impact in terms of how the state interacts with different interlocutors. A conversion from “international” to “national” is expected; however, a “national” to “local” (or “community”) dialogue is less likely to be present in the newspapers articles.

It must also be noted that economic roles for women is more likely to be absent in the analysis. UNSCR 1325 (2000) does not contain any references to the economic roles of women or of their contribution to post-conflict economic reconstruction. This is significant, as in *Chapter 3* it was observed that, in the context of WWII, women were part of the economic survival of the state and that in spite of some reports (Friedan 2001 [1963]) women were more likely to engage in post-war economic reconstruction. However, women’s gains in economic power during the war were not supported by the states in post-conflict reconstruction with states actually encouraging women to give up their jobs. The post-war international politics seem also to match with the will to “hide” women’s economic gains. Therefore, the analysis should not show an interest of the newspapers towards

economic roles of women. Also, overall, UNSCR 1325's impact would be expected in the form of the beginning of a change in the discourse on women and security.

Conclusion

It has been demonstrated in the literature that UNSCR 1325 (2000) lacks an enforcement language or goals, portrays women as victims and vulnerable beings (Shepherd 2006, Binder et al. 2008, Basu 2009, Black 2009, Bell & O'Rourke 2010). This chapter reveals UNSCR 1325 (2000) as a pivotal text that marks the beginning of a change in international discourse. This is significant as it is not just the content of the Resolution that is important but rather it is the discourse based on it that emerged after 2000 and is embedded in the subsequent resolutions. Although the text of the Resolution 1325 (2000) references the earlier gender texts, such as CEDAW (1979), it is not the same as restating the key points of their content.

The analysis of the content of the international "gender" texts confirms the literature's points of contention. It also highlights the legacy of the first international "gender" text (CEDAW, 1979), in terms of shaping the notion of "gender". This idea of "gender" has evolved in the international texts following the changes of international order and the need to redefine state's idea of security, particularly post 9/11, and which is one of the strongest change in the evolution of the content of the international "gender" texts. The analysis provides then keys analysis positions that should be found in Sierra Leone's newspapers, as, first, UNSCR 1325 has been a key text in reshaping gender relations in post-conflict reconstruction, and as, second, the term "gender" has become an essential component of the discourse on security of the state.

More importantly, the UN Resolution 1325 analysis shows that its main aim is to curb the hypothesised indicators of the postwar moment. This is of importance because the Resolution sets to help states in post-conflict reconstruction to

reconsider the changes occurring during and after a conflict to women, and women's rights. These changes, which are necessary to improve women's rights and gender equality, are, as demonstrated in the content analysis, comprised in the heart of the international "gender" discourse. This discourse, which is pushed by the international community during reconstruction, reshapes gender relations of a state, which can have negative aspects too. This will be verified in the case of Sierra Leone. Indeed, the points of analysis revealed in this chapter allows for comparative points of impact onto the data in *Chapters 6 and 7*. Before, *Chapter 5* will examine how the status of women in Sierra Leone has evolved through time.

Chapter 5 – The Status of Women in Sierra Leone

The civil war in Sierra Leone, which started in 1991 and ended in 2002, had two phases 1991-1996 and 1996-2002. The second was the most violent, making the country infamous for the use of abduction, rape and dismemberment as weapons of war (Keen 2005, Denov 2006, Coulter 2008 and 2009, Teale 2009). In total, the war caused the death of between 50,000 and 70,000 persons (UNDP 2006: 4), the displacement of two million people (UNHCR 2008) and an estimated 250,000 women and girls were subjected to sexual violence (MacKenzie 2009, TRC 2005, CH. 2) out of a population estimated to have numbered four million in 1991 (UNHCR 1991: 161). These figures mean that the war had a major impact across all sections of Sierra Leonean society. When the war broke out Sierra Leone was ranked last (160) in the Human Development Index (HDI) of 1991 with a HDI of 0.048 (UNHCR 1991: 16) in spite of possessing mineral wealth from diamonds (Keen 2005, Mitchell 2005). Given its colonial heritage, it was a deeply divided country with the main division existing between the capital Freetown, dominated by descendants of free slaves from whom the political elite was drawn, and the rest of the country (Bøås 2001, Riddell 2005). A United Nations force was sent to Freetown in 2000, after peace negotiations started in Lomé, capital of Togo, in late 1999. The deployment of this force prevented major destruction in the Sierra Leonean capital and led to two years (2000-2002) of peacebuilding and of Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programmes. This resulted in a strong UN and international presence in the country, with most UN agencies like UNICEF, UNPD, UNHCR, or international organisations like FOA and World Bank still present in 2011. The end of the war coincided with the passing of UNSCR 1325 (2000) and the development of an international discourse on women, conflict and sexual violence. Therefore, Sierra Leone's post-war reconstruction took place in parallel to the emergence of this discourse.

Prior to the war, it had a poor record on women's rights and status, even in the context of Sub Saharan Africa (Berger & White 1999, McFerson 2011). In 2013, eleven years after the end of the war and a process of post-conflict reconstruction, Sierra Leone ranked 139 out of 186 countries on the UN's Gender Inequality Index with a value of 0.643 significantly below the Sub-Saharan Africa average of 0.577 (UNHDR 2013: 156-9). Political representation for women is also low, with around 12.50% or 15 seats held by women. This level of participation places Sierra Leone in the lower ranks of women's presence in Parliament, even compared to Sub-Saharan Africa which has an average of 22.9% of women in Single House or Lower House Parliaments (IPU 2014a), ranking it 113 out of 149 states in the Inter-Parliamentary Union ranking, which measures the percentage of women in Parliaments (IPU 2014b). In sub-Saharan Africa, 'vulnerable employment accounts for some 70 per cent of employment growth – and is largely overrepresented by women' (MDG 2012: xx⁷⁹). In Sierra Leone, 'illiteracy combined with lack of skills put women at 36.7% of the labour force while men make up 63.3%... However, women predominate in the informal retail sector which requires neither skill nor literacy for entry' (ROCARE 2009: 7). In addition, up to 88% of women in Sierra Leone are subjected to Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting (FGM/C) (UNICEF 2013b: i). There are no policies from the state to discourage the practices that is said to be a personal choice for girls and women (CEDAW country reports 2007, 2011). To assess the extent to which the internal discourse discussed in the previous chapter influences the gendering of post-war reconstruction and to provide a context for the analysis of the gender content of the newspapers, this chapter will evaluate women's rights and statutes prior to the civil war and this is necessary to understand fully the real impact of international gendered discourse on post-war Sierra Leone.

⁷⁹ Correct page number

Map 2: United Nations map of Sierra Leone



Map No. 3902 Rev. 5 UNITED NATIONS
January 2004

Department for Peacekeeping Operations
Geographic Section

Pre War Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone became independent in 1961. Originally taken over by the Portuguese in 1462, it became a British colony in 1792. At the same time, it became a settlement for slaves freed from the American colonies⁸⁰ (Bøås 2001: 704-705 and later in 1896 a British Protectorate (Lugard 1922: 35). From the colonial period, a distinction was made between Freetown and the hinterland as the Sierra Leone Protectorate was

‘administrated separately from the Freetown colony, through a Protectorate Administration based in Bo using the familiar British colonial hierarchy stretching down from the Governor through Provincial and District Commissioners to the Paramount Chief’ (Clapham 1976: 8-9).

The British colonial authorities exploited the historical vantage point established in Freetown and ruled the rest of the territory through nearly a hundred and fifty Paramount Chiefdoms (Clapham 1976: 9). None of these chiefdoms was strong enough to threaten the colonial powers (Clapham 1976: 8), and the structure appears to be a creation of colonisation (Hoffer 1972: 154). Consequently, power was centralised in the capital of Freetown, which was the focal point for the colonial politics of the British presence in the country. In this way, an elitist system was created based on racial characteristics: the Creoles, ex-slaves in Freetown, speaking Krio (a creole-like language, mixing English, French and Portuguese) and the chiefdoms, where the indigenous people spoke their own languages (Temne, Mende, Sherbro, Loko or Kono) (Bøås 2001: 707). The relationship between Creoles and the rest of the population was strained as the Creoles were part of the elite system, returning from slavery and somewhat more “educated” than the rest of the population (Little 1948). According to Clapham (1976: 6), the Creoles ‘shared a common attachment to Western standards in religion, education and dress, and for the most part sought positions at first in trade, and later increasingly in the professions: teaching, the Church, the law, government service, and politics’.

⁸⁰ 1200 freed slaves from Nova Scotia.

After independence, which was achieved in 1961, the state kept the governmental structure that was enforced during the colonisation of the British Empire (Clapham 1976), including reasserting the control of rural areas through the power that it gave to the chiefs (Keen 2005). In 1973, a dictatorship was established under single party-rule, which was characterised, by political violence and a lack of rule of law in the measures it employed to control the opposition (Keen 2005). If the racial early divides of the power structures have been blurred by time, it is certain that the elitist nature of the state remains as a way to assert power in the state (Kandeh 1992). One of the factors that led to the war in 1991 was this divide between the Freetown-based elite and the rest of the country. The end of the war in 2002 saw the return of pre-war political parties to positions of power. The pre-war leadership held by the All People's Party returned to power in 2007 and remains so at present.

There is very little information on the pre-colonisation status of women in West Africa, and in Sierra Leone more specifically. The different roles filled by women in pre-colonisation Sub-Saharan Africa are often depicted in anthropological scholarship (Gable 1995; Clark 1999; Hamer & Hamer 1994), which demonstrates a different and more structured perspective compared to Little (1948) or Laing (1825) whose narratives took a more colonial approach to Sierra Leone. In this early scholarship, the status of women is often discussed in association with their relationship to male relatives rather than in terms of their standing in society in general (Sudarkasa 1986: 25). This can be explained by the fact that most authors, explorers, and missionaries were themselves men and did not see women as political agents (Beoku Betts 1976). Beoku Betts (1976) also claims that even where there were women anthropologists involved in the study of the territory and of its associated societies, the objects of study, women, were still more likely to be portrayed with negative bias in the early "colonialist" scholarship as it was "white" men and women, studying, reporting and constructing this image of African women.

These scholars 'never penetrated beyond the image of African society [as experienced] by women, so their preconception about the world and ways of African women still continued to remain negative' (Beoku Betts 1976: 24). However, this does not mean that women did not feature at all in anthropological reports. Agorsah (1990-1991) retraces the steps of women in Egypt, Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone. The reports may have been minimal for the most part but in some cases, women were identified as 'queen mothers, queen-sisters, princesses, female chiefs; and holders of other offices in most town and villages. There were the occasional female warriors' (Sudarkasa 1986: 25, talking about Islamised areas of West Africa).

Later accounts on the status of women and men show that it was directly linked to their genealogical history (Hoffer 1972: 158) and that woman's standing within society, like that of men, was tied to her ancestry. Some strong indicators suggest that women were active members of political life in many of the ethnic groups of the states, whether elected or not (Sudarkasa 1986). In the nineteenth century, in the Mende and Sherbro districts, there were at least two women chiefs (Alldridge 1901: 166, 181). A woman could become chief through marriage strategies (Agorsah 1990-1991) and marriage could also determine a husband's "ranking" (Hoffer 1972: 159). If a woman marries a man of less status 'he may reside in his wife's village in a quasi-client status in order to attach his children to the ruling lineage' (Hoffer 1972: 158). However, some anthropologists like Jackson (2004) and Coulter (2009) dismiss this purported importance of women in the pre-colonisation era. Coulter (2009: 36) states that 'in most of Africa, women were politically and economically subordinate' and that in the case of Sierra Leone, the society 'has traditionally been based on the sexual division of labour, where gender analyses based on sexual continuum have placed men and women at completely opposite ends in terms of roles, responsibilities and also opportunities'. Coulter (2009), therefore, argues against the findings in the works of Hoffer (1972), Beoku-Betts (1976), Keen (2005), and

Abdullah et al. (2010), who describe a Sierra Leonean society that, while not equal, offered the possibility for women to occupy important political roles.

The colonial period saw a surge in male education and in occupational training (Hamer & Hamer 1994), which impacted on the division of labour. 'Only men were allowed to trade in cash crops, with women permitted to market the surplus from subsistence production' (Pellow 1978: 201, note 14). As seen in many other colonised territories, the model of "education" for "civilisation" was copied from the colonising states. After decolonisation, Beoku-Betts (1976) notes, women were restricted to agricultural work due to the lack of skills development and the dearth of opportunities for learning. However, in the pre-colonial era, 'almost invariably, African women were also conspicuous in the economic life of their societies, being involved in farming, trade, or craft production' (Sudarkasa 1986: 5) and the situation has not changed since. Agorsah (1990-1991) confirms that most of the literature has looked at the economic roles of women, which are mostly agricultural, but have failed to engage with the issue of women's political participation. Since independence, 'women have become increasingly dependent on men for capital and necessary apprenticeship training to compete in the cash sector' (Pellow 1978: 201, note 14). Any chances for women to be able to open a business and learn the skills to do so required being dependent on the will of a man.

After the peaceful passage to independence in 1961, the new state slowly moved towards a single-party rule under the influence of Siaka Stevens and the APC party. The APC and SLPP have interchangeably enjoyed power since the state gained its independence (Table 11). In 1967, the constitution was changed to move to a presidential system. The post-colonisation era saw a growing divide between rural and urban Sierra Leone. The administration of the state of Sierra Leone depends on control of the rural areas, with chiefs as 'custodians of the land' (Jackson 2007: 100). The state, post-independence and encouraged by the growth of the diamond

industry, used the authority of the chiefs in diamondiferous areas to control production, exportation and the black market (Keen 2005: 12-13). The diamond economy, however, benefited only elite members of the state while the rural areas grew poorer (Keen 2005: 13). In the context of a political economy that favoured the capital Freetown and resulted in the continuing impoverishment of rural areas, the 1980s saw a growing concern with civil liberties in Sierra Leone as 'the exercise of political power was often intimately connected with violence or the threat of violence' (Keen 2005: 16). Fewer elections were held; when they were, it was in the shadow of coercion or intimidation. The press was muzzled and the judicial system favoured the rich while discriminating against the poor (Keen 2005: 16-19 on an example of political violence by the state). It was common to obtain condemnations under criminal libel in the absence of trials and the prison death rate spiked under Stevens' regime (1973-1985). Sierra Leone was a dictatorship under one-party rule from 1973 to 1991, with violence used to coerce and control the population. The elitist system of the state grew stronger during those years of dictatorship.

Table 11: Political powers in Sierra Leone since independence (1961)

Year (and type of election)	Political Party, ruling	Representation in Parliament
1962 (general elections)	Independent Prime Minister: Milton Margai	42.60%
1967 (general elections)	All People's Congress (APC) President: Siaka Stevens	44.90%
1967-1968	MILITARY COUPS	No parliament and no data
1973 ("general" elections)	APC President: Siaka Stevens	98.8% (84 out of 85 of the seats)
1977 (parliamentary)	APC President: Siaka Stevens	61.90%
1978 (Referendum)	APC President: Siaka Stevens	97.15% to one party-rule
1982 and 1986 (single-party elections)	APC President: Siaka Stevens	100%
1985 (Referendum)	APC President: Joseph Saidu Momoh	99.8% in favour of his role as president
	CIVIL WAR STARTS	
1991 (nomination of ruling party)	Chair of National Provisional Defence Council (political party): Valentine Strasser (1992-1996); Julius Maada Bio (1996)	No parliament
	TEMPORARY PEACE	
1996 (general elections)	Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) President: Ahmad Tejan Kabbah	35.80%
	MILITARY COUP – WAR RESUMES	
1997 (nomination of ruling party)	President (nominated): Ahmad Tejan Kabbah (SLPP) Chairman of the Armed Force Revolutionary Council (political party): Johnny Paul Koroma (1997-98);	No parliament
	END OF THE WAR	
2002-2007 (general elections)	SLPP President: Ahmad Tejan Kabbah	69.90%
2007-2012 (general elections)	APC President: Ernest Bai Koroma	40.70%
2012-present (general elections)	APC President: Ernest Bai Koroma	53.70%

Sources: *African Elections (2013)*

Seeds of the 1990s civil war were sown in the years following independence. Violence arose quickly post-independence in 1961 and was employed as a means of ruling rural areas. Most of the chiefs supported the ruling parties but torture of

political opponents was used to provoke fear and shame in front of villagers and relatives (Keen 2005: 18-19). The political violence was linked to the ethnisation of political support in the chiefdoms. Each political party, APC and SLPP, were linked to dominant ethnic groups in the districts: the North and Eastern districts were linked to APC, at majority Mende ethnicity and the southern and the capital districts were linked to SLPP, predominately Temne (Clapham 1976, Keen 2005). Political parties were “racially” divided and targeted women from opposition parties resulting in growing violence against women. As an example of the curtailing of the political power for women in the period following independence, Abdullah et al (2010: 38) describe the rise and fall of a movement founded by Constance Cummings-John, a member of the anti-colonial West African Youth League (WAYL) and a leader of the Women’s Movement, which declined in power after the 1967 elections, resulting in her exile to England. She argued that when women became “political”, they could do so mainly as cheerleaders or foot soldiers of the APC (Abdullah et al 2010: 38).

Although information is patch, women’s political roles may have been restricted from the 1970s onwards as the political climate became more repressive. It is estimated that in the 1970s ‘ten of eighty-one paramount chiefs in Sierra Leone were women’ (Agorsah 1990-1991: 83; Hoffer 1972: 151) and that in some districts (Eastern and Southern), there had at least been women elected as chiefs (Sudarkasa 1986, Day 2008). In the Northern district, traditionally Muslim, women’s access to political roles was even more restricted even before the end of colonisation (Keen 2005). Tracing the history of women’s political involvement was difficult, as the literature is vague in naming the districts or establishing accurate (and corroborated) accounts of female participation in chiefdoms. It may however have reduced prior to the independence as, from 1950, ‘there has been a national law requiring all candidates for paramount chief to demonstrate descent, in the male line only, from a recognised paramount chief’, which created an obstacle for women seeking to stand in chieftaincy “elections” (Hoffer 1982: 156).

During the post-independence era customary justice was also reinforced as a means of controlling the role of women in society. Chiefs are custodians of local justice and preside over minor judicial cases, such as 'land disputes, the recovery of debts, and "woman damage"' (Archibald and Richards 2002: 343; Riddell 2005: 117). "Woman damage" refers to cases of a man cheated on by his wife and seeking justice and financial gains from the wife's lover. Older men, in polygamous traditions, married younger women. Young men did not have the means to be married and hence seduced married women instead (Archibald & Richard 2002: 344). The judicial system has been based, since independence, on the British Common Law system, with the Constitution anchored in unwritten customary practices (International Crisis Group 2007: 11). The rights of women thus depended on customary practices in the chiefdoms and on the Constitution, which itself is anchored in these practices, reinforcing the chiefs' control over the territory.

The post-colonial state of Sierra Leone, therefore, continued to use the colonial politics and tactics to restrict women's access to political or public roles. The divide between elite and rest of the country resulted in stronger customary practices, all damaging women's access to public and economic roles.

Civil War (1991-2002)

In late 1991, a small military faction, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), toppled the presidency of Momoh (1985-1991). Zack-Williams and Riley (1993) argue that Momoh's plans to implement policies prescribed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) led to the coup of 1991. Indeed, IMF policies subjected the country to severe political and economic restructuring. Momoh, while implementing IMF economic policies, intended to keep the single-party rule in place in order to maintain political stability and control of the state as he blamed political pluralism for being a source of ethnic tension (Keen 2005). At the same time, a growing

discontent was emerging in the rural areas of Sierra Leone, which had been neglected by the political elite in Freetown (Keen 2005). As the country became increasingly indebted and failed to meet its repayments Momoh's government stopped paying civil servants, military personnel, and teachers (Keen 2005: 33-34). Tensions arose in the population. Given high rates of employment, these tensions were particularly high among the young. From the mid-1970s onwards the under twenty-five segment of the population felt they had been systematically ignored by the government. This made them an ideal recruitment target for the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) (Keen 2005, Kandeh 1999).

In 1992, most combats were located in rural areas, particularly in the Eastern districts. In addition, the military coup group, the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), decided had pushed the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) as a political representative body to legitimate their cause, suspending however the 1991 Constitution along with all political parties. Although fighting was on-going, by 1995 the NPRC, under pressure from the Freetown streets and particularly from university students (Kandeh 1998: 94), had promised a new constitution and fresh elections, while simultaneously trying to delay and avoid them. Members of the Women's Forum⁸¹ also took part in the demonstrations and 'confronted soldiers during prodemocracy demonstrations' (Kandeh 1998: 96). The following election period was a difficult one, complicated by bouts of violence and the issue of unregistered voters. The registration of voters was complicated by the numbers of displaced persons and refugees in Ghana, Liberia, and Guinea. Therefore, the NPRC attempted to rig the results in favour of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). The results saw the SLPP emerge victorious with twenty-nine seats in parliament. The APC, the ruling party from 1961 to 1990, won only five seats. In late 1996, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, leader of the SLPP, became president of Sierra Leone but was quickly

⁸¹ The Women's Forum is the national umbrella organisation for women in Sierra Leone, formed in 1994 (GNWP 2014).

ousted by a military coup in 1997 (Lancaster 2007). What followed was a more violent civil war, which continued until the UN intervention in 2000.

The war was devastating for Sierra Leonean women. Women and young girls were abducted from their villages to be trained as soldiers ‘spies, labourers, “bush-wives”, or sex slaves’ (Coulter 2008: 59) according to the needs of the soldiers (van Gog 2008). Media reported that gender-based violence was particularly strong in the second phase of the war and that the high level of female rapes led to the subjugation and diminution of women (Guardian 2011, Al-Jazeera 2013). This prompted the international community to address rapes in conflict through UNSCR 1820 (2008), which focuses on female rapes by men (Sivakumaran 2010) and led to a growing body of literature on the topic, and by civil society accounts. Military groups engaged in the conflict – the RUF and the Sierra Leone Army (SLA) – perpetrated forms of sexual and other random acts of violence against women between 1991 and 2002 (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, CH 3: 171-181). The acts of violence perpetrated range from the cutting of pregnant women’s wombs to “guess the gender of the baby” (Coulter 2008: 51-55) to mass rapes in village centres bringing shame on the family of the woman or girl (Keen 2005: 78-79). Abductions by militias were also common (Coulter 2008, 2009), with abductees taken as “bush-wives”. Once captured, the lives of these women depended on the will of their captor. Bush-wives were often young women or girls, between the ages of ten and twenty, abducted from their villages, usually during a raid by militias or even by the regular army. The term “wife” does not signify that an actual wedding took place; instead it means that the women captured became wife, cook, or mother (many women bore the children of their abductors) (Keen 2005: 45). Sexual assault was part of the submission methods to which women were subjected after the abduction.

Women are also depicted as agents of peace especially during the 1995-1996 temporary peace period in the form of a number of women's groups⁸² under the patronage of the Women's Forum.⁸³ 'This was a shift for women's engagement into politics' confirmed Jamesina King.⁸⁴ When war broke out, these groups that had initially emerged in the context of the Beijing Conference on Women⁸⁵ (Jusuf-Sheriff 2000) began to craft a new agenda. This led to the creation of the Sierra Leone Women's Movement for Peace (SLWMP)⁸⁶, which had a single objective of restoring peace in the state. The SLWMP organised 'a campaign of appeals to government and rebels, marches, prayer rallies and meetings with government and members of the international community to apply pressure for a negotiated settlement' (Jusuf-Sherriff 2000: 47). Pushing for democratisation, the SLWMP urged that elections be held while calling on future governments to 'address women's issues such as illiteracy, health care, women's entrepreneurship to reduce poverty, and reform of laws detrimental to women on divorce, property, marriage and inheritance' (Jusuf-Sherriff 2000: 48-49).

As pointed out by Jusuf-Sheriff (2000), the lack of political experience and the systematic exclusion of women from the political process since independence in 1961 became manifest in the limits of the Women's Forum and other women's groups (Steady 2006: 42-43). The Women's Forum did not include the RUF – seemingly illegitimised by their actions during the war (Steady 2006) – in the

⁸² It included the Sierra Leone Association of University Women (SLAUW), the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the Women's Association for National Development (WAND), and several smaller groups such as the Women's Wing of the Sierra Leone Labour Congress and the National Displaced Women's Organisation (Steady 2006).

⁸³ Following some conversations during fieldwork in Sierra Leone, it was established that these groups were all located in Freetown and that they numbered less than a thousand women as members.

⁸⁴ Jamesina King, Human Rights Commissioner of Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011

⁸⁵ Preparation for the Beijing Conference began two years before the conference was held, with preparations including national consultations between states and NGOs to ensure that the agenda of the Fourth Women Conference would be as focused and as useful as possible for all women's groups.

⁸⁶ It is also called the Women's Forum or Women for a Morally Engaged Nation (WOMEN).

ceasefire proposals with the result that the political momentum of the Women's Forum came to a halt with the 1997 coup. Tripp et al. (2009: 206) suggest their 'hard work in the peace process failed to earn them seats at the negotiating table at Abidjan', managing still to be present for the finalisation of the Lomé Peace Agreements in Togo. By 1999, the Women's Forum had coordinated their actions with a regional group called the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET), a group of women that supported peace in Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone and that aided peace efforts in the region (Ogunsanya 2007: 34; Chitiga 2007: 6; Diop 2005: 5). The three countries of the Mano River Basin have close historical and ethnic ties. The Mano River Union, comprising the West African States of Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone, was established in 1973 as a customs and economic union between the member states to promote regional economic integration. The Mano River Agreement of 1973 contains evidence that the three States intended to co-operate to revitalise and to consolidate this common market and take measures to prevent conflict in the region (Diop 2005: 4; Sawyer 2004). This regional women's group has not been able to establish itself as a political force to support women's rights in the region, possibly due to the fact that its origins were not explicitly political but was designed to help women refugees during the war. Attempts made during fieldwork to establish contact with women's groups that were members of MARWOPNET at the time of the peace process were unsuccessful. In the only contact made, with a member of MARWOPNET, the interviewee seemed to be reluctant to talk about the peace process negotiations and post-war political arrangements.⁸⁷

The level of sexual violence reported and experienced by women of Sierra Leone, coloured the work of women's groups in re-building the post-war state. This seems partly due to where the members of the women's groups came from. Most Sierra Leonean activists are part of the state's elite structure since 1996. Because they

⁸⁷ Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee. Interview , Freetown, April 2011

were located in the capital city, their work, albeit slightly hindered by external reports of sexual violence during the war, also overshadowed the role of other women's groups in rural areas, so far not mentioned by the literature or civil society accounts of the war. This conclusion was made retracing the involvement of women's groups and recouping the facts with interviewees during the fieldwork in 2011.

On 17 January 2002 the war was officially declared over. Before this, despite the persistence of sporadic fighting in the north of the country between 2000 and 2002, Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programs had begun and the return of refugees was organised. However, as suggested by Keen (2005), Anderlini and Conoway (2007), the Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programme for the most part ignored women soldiers while 'girls may have made up around a third of child soldiers, they were only around eight per cent [8%] of those going through DDR' (Aarvold 2002: 7). This was partially because the authorities and international organisations neglected the role of women as combatants (Kilroy 2009, 2011: 158, Basini 2013). Women who had been abducted also did not receive help and found reintegration into their communities difficult. Giving birth after being raped was so shameful in Sierra Leonean society that many women who had undergone these ordeals were barred from their villages and were forced to move to the more anonymous Freetown (Coulter 2009: 1-3). The "sensationalisation" of the condition of "bush wives" became a focus of academic literature and of the media, defining women as victims. Even in academic literature the roles of women as soldiers, perpetrators, spies, and head of household are absent from most of the writing on Sierra Leone (Cohen 2013).

Women in Post-war Sierra Leone

The end of the war signified a return to stability for the state. In the aftermath of the war, the women of Sierra Leone were faced with harsher conditions of life.

Sierra Leone's post-war policies certainly indicate a return to pre-war settings, in which traditional practices are used as markers of stability. Therefore, Sierra Leone's post-war experience has been extremely negative for the women of the country (IRIN news 2009b). This section examines the statuses and experiences of women of Sierra Leone post-war. The following section will look at how the pre-war politics have reinstated pre-war gender relations.

Post-war experiences

Following the arrival of UN troops to the country to stabilise the peace process, the first post war elections were held in 2002. Ahmed Tejan Kabbah, the president (1996-1997) of the SLPP, was re-elected for five years in 2002. This election also resulted in an increase in women's seats in the Parliament from 7.1% in 1996 to 14.5% in the 2002 elections (Abdullah et al. 2010). Women's groups in the country were considered to be part of a new gender equality agenda for the state.⁸⁸ The Sierra Leone group, 50/50, whose main objective was to achieve political equality through the help of quotas in the 2002 and 2007 elections, entered into 'frontal engagement... [that] resulted in an increase in women's political representation in the 2002 general election and in elective and political appointments' (Abdullah et al 2010: 39). In spite of this initial optimism, the number of women in politics has decreased with each election (Table 12) since 2007-2008. The low status of women in the state of Sierra Leone is linked to the low percentage in the representation of women in the political system. Since 2002, less than 6% of women are in ministerial roles, which is a reversal from the mid-conflicts elections of 1996. The available data for candidates decreasing by half between the elections of 2007 and 2012 is also an indicator of the poor representation of women in the political landscape. Following a reshuffle this year (2014), the current cabinet is 8.3% female.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ An example of this is depicted in "50-50 urges Women to stand up in Sierra Leone", *Awareness Times* 2007 (in appendices).

⁸⁹ 2 out 24 (State House 2014)

Table 12: Sierra Leonean women in politics between 1996 and 2012

Election year	Percentage of women candidates	Parliamentary seats	Percentage of seats	Ministerial roles
1996	n/a	5 seats	7.1%,	10.5% ⁹⁰
2002	n/a	18 seats	14.50%	5.9% ⁹¹
2007	11%	16 seats	13.22%	10.5% ⁹²
2012	6.50%	15 seats	12.40%	5.9% ⁹³

Note: Parliament has 112 seats, including 12 reserved for chiefdoms

Sources: IPU Website on Sierra Leone (2013); Sierra Leonean Government Website, National Democratic Institute Report (2007 elections)

Talks on the subject of gender quotas were initiated at the end of the war but agreement was never reached as the state did not take seriously the demand for quotas from the 50/50 group (CEDAW Country Reports 2007, 2010; Ibrahim 2010). In addition to the support for quotas by external agencies, efforts were made to train female candidates in order to develop the political skills that would allow them to compete on equal terms with men (Ogunsanya 2007: 38-39) but these programs were exclusively externally driven.

In post-war Sierra Leone poverty increased with the return of refugees (UNHCR 2004: 6). Currently Sierra Leone is ranked 177 out 186 countries in the Human Development Index (UNHDR 2013: 146-147). Sierra Leone is also currently ranking 162 out of 178 in Gross National Incomes⁹⁴ (GNI) (World Bank 2014). In the period covered by this thesis, Sierra Leone was among the ten poorest states of the world (Mustapha & Bangura 2010). As most of the enterprises in which women engage are “home-based”, they have been invisible to the state and to the compilers of statistical indices (Steady 2006: 60). It is, therefore, likely that this classification of Sierra Leone, bad as it is, means that the position of women is even worse than prior to war, this due to the fact that women tend to be excluded from

⁹⁰ 2 out 19 (Sierra Leone cabinet 1996)

⁹¹ 2 out 24 (Sierra Leone cabinet 2002)

⁹² 2 out 19 (Sierra Leone cabinet 2007)

⁹³ 2 out 24 (Sierra Leone cabinet 2013)

⁹⁴ World Bank (2014) includes many small states or territories in the rankings, like Hong Kong or Palestine. It differs from the UNHDR rankings in that way.

consideration in the national politics of development and therefore they tend also to be more greatly affected by poverty (Mayoux 1995, Nussbaum 2001, Goetz & Hassim 2003, Thorpe et al. 2013). As a result, women among the poor 'suffer doubly [...] first on account of gender inequality, second on account of poverty' (Moghadam 2005: 2).

Within the economic landscape of Sierra Leone, women feature most prominently in areas of informal trade (Cubbitt 2011). Prior to the war women had been to a greater extent absent from or invisible within the economic sphere (African Development Bank Group 2011: 9), but the dislocation of the war changed this (Maclure & Denov 2009). There is more evidence of women as sellers, traders, etc., in recent years than was previously the case. 'Women have taken over the street and are the most formidable sellers, and this since the war' stated Janet Tucker, former member of FAWE⁹⁵, UNICEF employee and one of the interviewee.⁹⁶ However, as is suggested by development reports on women's economic empowerment, women are more likely than men to be poor and are constrained by their lack of economic power and access to resources (ILO 2012). The war, and the post war economic circumstances made it necessary for women to engage in more than one economic activity in order to ensure the survival of the household (Maclure & Denov 2009). Women typically engaged in two or three "jobs" in order to provide food and shelter for their families.⁹⁷ In Makeni, north west of Freetown and fourth largest city of the state, it was observable the many men were sitting outside houses during the day, indicating that they were not engaged in either formal or informal activities while at the same time women had a visible economic

⁹⁵ Forum for African Women Educationalists. 'FAWE is a pan-African Non-Governmental Organisation working in 32 African countries to empower girls and women through gender-responsive education' (FAWE 2012).

⁹⁶ Janet Tucker, former member FAWE and UNICEF employee, Freetown, April 2011

⁹⁷ Conversations with Irish Department of Foreign Affairs and Suard Koroma (Caritas Makeni), Freetown and Makeni, April 2011

presence as street traders.⁹⁸ Janet Tucker believes that ‘the women of Sierra Leone are unwilling to let go of their means of income, as informal as these may be’.⁹⁹ She argues that ‘the war was an eye-opener for women’ as before that ‘they had a traditional role, they stayed inside their houses’ but ‘since the end of the war, women have learnt skills’ and ‘become economically viable’.¹⁰⁰ In Sierra Leone, the war forced women to become heads of their households as men were displaced, abducted, engaged as soldiers or killed. Women were responsible for the sustenance of the family and subsequently created a surge of activity in the informal market (Norville 2011: 5).

Little is known about the real employment situation in Sierra Leone. A CEDAW country report of 2007 states that ‘women have traditionally engaged in low-income activities such as petty trading. A labour force Survey conducted in 1988 and 1989 revealed that 69 per cent of petty traders were women, whereas 86 per cent and 67 per cent of men were service personnel and professional/technical workers respectively’ (CEDAW country report 2007: 15). The divide of gender in the agricultural labour force actually shows that ‘before the war women constituted the majority of the rural labour force. They made vital contributions to the economy [and] women provided more than 60 per cent of farm labour for food production’ (CEDAW country report 2007: 15).

There is also a division, which is to be expected, between women in economic occupations in urban and rural areas. The main occupation of women in rural areas is farming, followed closely by petty trading (Table 13). Occupations are more diverse in urban areas, which, in this case refer to the Western District encompassing Freetown. The largest single occupation here is petty trading which engages a quarter of all women. Farmers are more prominent in rural areas but

⁹⁸ Fieldtrip observation in Makeni, Sierra Leone (March-April 2011).

⁹⁹ Former member FAWE and UNICEF employee, Freetown, April 2011

¹⁰⁰ Janet Tucker, former member FAWE and UNICEF employee, Freetown, April 2011

petty trade – an activity that usually relates to selling crops or small items – is equal in both areas. Women working as civil servants are not well represented, with 1% for rural areas and under 4% for urban areas. Even in activities like teaching which are thought to be traditionally female (Dillabough 1999) only 7% are women. A total of 16% of women with sole activities is “housewifery” with a higher percentage in urban areas compared to rural.

Table 13: Main occupation of women 15-35, rural and urban (2009)

Type of Occupation	Rural (%)	Urban (%)
Farmer (not land owner)	41	8.5
Petty Trader	31	30.6
Student ¹⁰¹	11.9	25.1
Civil Servant	1	3.8
Miner	0.5	0.9
House wife	4.4	11.3
Teacher	2	5.1
Security Personnel	0.2	0.7
Health Worker	1.1	2.6
Fisher Woman	1.8	0.9
Business Woman	3.4	5.9
Other	1.8	4.5
Total	100	100

Source: CEDAW Country Report 2011: 37¹⁰²

If women do not own land, they lack collateral to access credit and, therefore, the chance to create or expand businesses. In rural areas, a key way in which women generate income is by selling crops at the closest market. However, under communal or familial models, women are not always able to benefit from this income as it is the property of the head of the household, which in most cases is male (Yngstrom 2002: 26-27). As a result, women cannot use this source of income as a basis for securing bank loans or of credit to invest in business ventures. Women therefore ‘tend to rely on traditional sources of credit such as rotating savings, which only provide small loans’ (Human Right Watch 2002: 22). The

¹⁰¹ As reported by the surveyed women. It concerns secondary schools and university.

¹⁰² Table based on Statistics Sierra Leone CEDAW Survey 2009 and is not referenced in the CEDAW country report 2011

limitations for women to gain formal employment force them to engage in activities of the informal economy thus excluding them from the real economic sector of the state (Musisi 2005: 136). Improved access to the formal economy can lead to a formative form of empowerment for women. It allows women to depart from the constraints of social networks and class relationships, which fix the place of women in the informal economy (Musisi 2005: 139).

Another limitation to women’s economic engagement is linked to a division between “educated/non-educated”. Women of Sierra Leone are the largest category of people without formal education. Progress in changing the problem is slow, as shown in Table 14, which indicates a growing literacy rate (over 14.7 points increase in 8 years). This has resulted ‘at the upper age levels of education [in] the dropout rate for girls [in rural areas] still remaining high. As a result, there are semi-illiterates who are unemployable in the formal sector’ (CEDAW country report 2007: 32).

Table 14: Female literacy rates, 15-24 (UNHDR 2013)

	2003	2013
Literacy rate, women aged 15-24	37.4 (2004)	52.1 (2011)

However, as pointed out by NGO reports¹⁰³ (‘Give us a chance’ 2010¹⁰⁴) or by international organisations like UNICEF (‘A Glimpse into the World of Teenage Pregnancy in Sierra Leone’ 2010¹⁰⁵), it is not the case. Both reports also expressed concern about the growing violence in schools that girls (and boys) are subjected to. Both of these reports state that girls are more likely to drop out of school due to early marriages and forced labour work. The reports also agree that girls are likely to be subjected to sexual abuses and harassment in schools by their teachers (‘Give us change’ 2010). Male teachers sometimes ask for sexual favours in

¹⁰³ The document was created with the support of Catholic Relief Services, Concern, Plan and Ibis – Education for development.

¹⁰⁴ Personal collection, not available online

¹⁰⁵ Personal collection, not available online

exchange of the rescinding of fees or for better grades. Then, bribes to police and justice officers also limit prosecutions in case of alleged sexual violence against girls in schools (World Bank 2013b).

Data on female school enrolment, especially over time, is quite difficult to find for Sierra Leone. This would show the possible increase of girls attending schools. UNHDR (2013: 173) estimates that in the case of Sierra Leone, gross national enrolment (female and male) is at 125% for primary level. It drops to 2.1% for tertiary level (no data for secondary) (UNHDR 2013: 173). In 2011, the expected years of schooling for a child was 7.2 but the mean years of schooling¹⁰⁶ was 2.9 (UNHDR 2011: 130). This data is not gender-specific. However, considering that girls' education is not the priority in the country, the number of expected years of schooling would have been significantly lower.

The overall limitation to women's access in the public life, similarly to the post-WWII reconstruction is linked to the fact that traditional practices have been kept post-war Sierra Leone. Customary practices are remaining unchallenged in the state. It results in the current low status of women in the society. One example of the weight of customary practices in the Sierra Leonean in the continuous practice of Female Genital Mutilation and/or Cutting (FGM/C), which is an institutionalised practice of gender-based violence and is a taboo practice in Sierra Leone and more generally in Western African states. This means that information on FGM/C is limited (UNICEF 2013b: 24) even though it estimated that 88% of Sierra Leone women have been through FGM/C (UNICEF 2013b: i). This is based on a survey done by UNICEF which transformed the question "having being subjected to FGM/C" to a more indirect question on whether women have had been part to a secret society initiation, as it was too sensitive to ask for the first question directly, pointing out to

¹⁰⁶ 'Mean years of schooling: Average number of years of education received by people aged 25 and older, converted from education attainment levels using official durations of each level' (UNHDR 2011: 130).

the silence around the practice. As a form of control over women, FGM/C is one of these traditional practices that the state promotes (UNICEF 2013b: 60). The practice often results. In Sierra Leone, type 2 FGM/C is being form: it is 'excision (removal) of the clitoral hood with or without removal of all or part of the clitoris' (US Department of State 2001) often performed without anaesthesia. This leads to higher maternal mortality, problems at birth, greater chances of infections and increases risk of infant mortality, even life-threatening conditions like obstetric fistula¹⁰⁷, often observed after rapes in Sub-Saharan Africa when the victim does not seek medical care. In addition, early marriages (with the bride sometimes as young as ten years old) are part of tradition practices and particularly predominant in the Muslim northern part of the country (Ferme 2013).

More gender-based violence does occur as the state has internalised practices of gender-based violence within its laws and customs. A high level of gender-based violence is a reality of post-war Sierra Leone. In the general scale, 'the post-conflict sexual violence continues on a massive scale' (Nordås 2011; NFPA 2012). It is difficult to obtain data on the extent of sexual violence in the case of post war Sierra Leone. This is due to the pre-war "culture of silence" (Ogunsanya 2007: 28) in cases of both rape and domestic violence is still widely accepted in Sierra Leone. After the war, in 2002, the International Rescue Committee – an international non-governmental organisation with strong presence in Sierra Leone – established the Rainbo¹⁰⁸ centres. 'They are safe havens where women who had been raped or subjected to any form of violence could report this violence and receive hospital care'.¹⁰⁹ Although abortion is illegal, a woman or girl who has been raped can receive an abortion in hospital if she has made a claim of rape to the police. An institution like Marie Stopes (a family-planning NGO) takes care of abortions in cases where women have not gone to the police or the Family Support Unit (FSU).

¹⁰⁷ Infection in vaginal and anal areas resulting in the formation of holes between the two areas.

¹⁰⁸ Correct spelling

¹⁰⁹ Ami Kandeh, IRC president, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

The organisation prefers to perform abortions safely within their buildings: ‘we prefer having it [abortions] here rather than in some black alley or a pretend doctor. We know [women] are safer that way’.¹¹⁰

The government of Sierra Leone created the Family Support Unit (FSU) in 1999, effective in 2001, to create public awareness about and help prevent gender-based violence in post-conflict Sierra Leone. The FSU is a special department within the police force specialising in sexual and domestic violence with ‘a mandate to address child abuse, sexual abuse, and domestic violence in a broader perspective’ (Manual training FSU 2008: 6). Its stated aim is to help women make claims against rapists and perpetrators of domestic violence by creating a reassuring environment staffed by people trained in and sensitive to issues of sexual and gender-based violence. The reality, however, falls well short of these claims. For example, a visit to the Family Support Unit in Makeni did not reveal a suitable place to report domestic or sexual violence: the police officers (all men) were not very sensitive nor were they open to talking about sexual and gender-based violence and more interested to discuss ‘crimes of fraud, disorderly behaviours, larceny and outbreaking’^{111, 112} Table 15 shows that the Family Support Unit has a very low rate of conviction, due in part to corruption in the police force. For example, a rapist can still pay a police officer to ensure that an allegation of rape is not pursued.

¹¹⁰ Marie Stopes employee, Interview, Makeni, April 2011

¹¹¹ Theft, which and the others crimes automatically entitles for a 72 hours lockup.

¹¹² Interview with police officer, Makeni, Sierra Leone April 2011

Table 15: Criminal cases rates by the Family Support Unit (2009)

Year	No. of cases reported	No. of cases charged	Under investigation	Kept in view	Resolved	Lack of evidence	Convicted
2001	100	11	-	68	21	-	-
2002	984	92	-	197	695	-	-
2003	998	119	-	281	598	-	-
2004	949	191	-	233	525	-	-
2005	908	241	-	92	575	-	-
2006	1171	190	-	482	471	13	15
2007	808	125	-	135	252	38	8
2008	2747	369	-	203	712	2	-
2009	1007	118	502	73	314	-	-

Source: Leaflet given by Amy Kandeh, International Rescue Committee of Sierra Leone¹¹³

It is not uncommon, if a case is prosecuted by the local court, to see the perpetrator walk free, as illustrated by this comment from an online article from a Sierra Leonean newspaper:

‘a woman together with her husband was brutally attacked in their home, in which the woman was raped and stabbed and many cases have been reported to the *police but no drastic action have been taken*’ (emphasis added).¹¹⁴

These levels of post-war violence are often silenced by the politics of reconstruction. However, it is noticeable that the experiences of the postwar moment for Sierra Leonean women were negative, and that for the exception for women retaining roles in the informal economy, women were not part of the post-war reconstruction of the state. The following section examines how the state of Sierra Leone rendered the postwar moment a negative experience for women.

Re-institution of pre-war gender relations

It was clear from the beginning that the sexual violence of the war would not be addressed as the amnesty provision of the Lomé Agreement granted all combatants and perpetrators ‘absolute and free pardon’ (Lomé Agreement 1999, Article IX,

¹¹³ Personal collection, not available online

¹¹⁴ Awareness Times News Brief, 22 April 2014

paragraph 2) and similarly approved 'immunity to former combatants, exiles and other persons' (Lomé Agreement 1999, Article IX, paragraph 3) with the aim of restoring peace at all costs. For the women this meant it was unlikely that the perpetrators of rapes and sexual violence would be brought to justice. Although the Lomé Peace Agreement acknowledged 'women have been particularly victimised during the war' (Lomé Agreement 1999: Article XXVIII, paragraph 2), this was not accompanied by any positive action to assist women who had been victimised.

In addition, since the end of the war, women have had to take on additional roles 'not only providing for their own needs, but those of the extended family and the wider community as well [...]. These strategic tasks had traditionally been the exclusive preserve of men' (TRC 2005, vol. Three B CH3: 214, paragraph 516). As part of the Lomé Peace Agreement, in order to address the lack of justice for women in the aftermath of the war, a Truth and Reconciliation report was commissioned. About twenty Truth and Reconciliation Commission reports have been published relating to other conflicts, originating from bodies including international organisations, transitional governments and, occasionally, local non-governmental organisations (Avruch & Vejarano 2002).

'Typically, these were "transitional governments", since the early 1980s newly emerging and often very fragile democracies sought or were forced to (the difference is not a trivial one) present a formal accounting of the violence, crimes, and civil and human rights abuses of the previous regimes' (Avruch and Vejarano 2002: 37-38).

It however did not include Sierra Leone as the state completed its Truth and Reconciliation Commission report in 2005, less than three years after the end of the war; Liberia finished its Truth and Reconciliation Commission report in 2009, more than six years after the end of the conflict (Truth and Reconciliation Commission for Liberia 2009). However, Avruch and Vejarano (2002: 37-38) argue that the reports, with 'the word "truth" somewhere in their title, nevertheless demonstrate great diversity' as they 'function in a wide variety of socio-political settings with varying

levels of support (international, governmental, and popular), resources, and constraints, and with varying degrees of success'. They conclude that the 'definitions of "success" are themselves diverse and hardly uncontroversial' (Avruch & Vejarano 2002: 37-38).

The report of the Sierra Leone Truth and Reconciliation Commission, published in 2005, focuses on the level of sexual violence in the conflict. It is a lengthy report of four volumes, with over 500 pages in each volume, plus appendices. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (2005) details 'the journey of Sierra Leonean women'¹¹⁵; however, it does not mention gender equality nor does it propose changes to the political and judicial systems that would allow women to gain better positions in society. UNSCR 1325 (2000) is barely present in the TRC, appearing once in the submissions from the Women's Forum for changes to be in the forms of legislation. This submission called for mechanisms to implement UNSCR 1325 (2000) so it 'would take into account the special needs of women and girls during repatriation, resettlement, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction' (TRC 2005, Appendix 2: 235). The submission also stated that 'measures [supporting] local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution and involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements' (TRC 2005, Appendix 2: 235) should be also put in place. Furthermore, the report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2005) has detailed in lengthy terms the impact of the war on the lives of women, particularly in terms of gender-based violence and its post-war consequences, showing how institutionalised the practices of gender-based violence are in the state. The war had caused 'the erosion of the mainstream value system in Sierra Leone' (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, CH3: 197, paragraph 434), which seems to state that gender-based violence was not common. However, most of the scholarship disagrees with that statement. Keen (2005: 16-22), for example, refers to cases of political violence marred with gender-based

¹¹⁵ Jamesina King, Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011

violence prior to the war. Another appearance of UNSCR 1325 (2000) points to the “good” that UNSCR 1325 (2000) could good as

‘be[ing] pertinent. It is important to locate the struggle for a strong women’s voice in Sierra Leone in the broader struggle for women’s inclusion in peace initiatives around the world. The institutions and processes of peace, security and development, as well as societies at large, are made stronger and more effective by the full and equal participation of women’ (TRC 2005, Vol. 3B, CH3: 195, paragraph 428).

The TRC report is nonetheless essential for understanding, from an insider perspective, the past of Sierra Leonean women, identifying the role of colonisation and the role of single-party rule post-independence in acting as tools of repression of the rights of women. The report also blames the generalised ‘culture of silence’ (Ogunsanya 2007) for the non-questioning acceptance of patriarchal rule (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, CH3: 97, paragraph 58; CH3: 170, paragraph 326). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (2005) also mentions the “Father of the Nation” as being the saviour of the Sierra Leone post-war state (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, CH3: 168, paragraph 317), a figure who should acknowledge the suffering of women and apologise for the violence to which women were subjected during the war. Such an apology came in 2010, when President Koroma formally asked for forgiveness from the women of Sierra Leone for the damages they had to endure during the civil war (Cotton Tree News 2010). The President mentioned reparations but the amnesty rule, particularly with regard to rapists, eliminated the opportunity for any judicial reparation. The state had previously struggled to fund Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration programmes and pensions for war amputees (IRIN news 2009a).

The state of Sierra is still struggling with dealing with insidious gender-based violence in the state and therefore, in order to respond to the continuous levels of gender-based violence post-war, the government of Sierra Leone introduced the Domestic Violence Act in 2007 and the Sexual Offense Act in 2012. The Domestic Violence Act of 2007 includes the condemnation of physical, economic, and

psychological deprivations towards anyone within a household. The text takes into account acts of violence towards children. A clause for marital rape, which is uncommon for Western Africa (Peace Women 2012), was also included. The definition of marital rape included in the Domestic Violence Act of 2007 states that “sexual abuse” means the forceful engagement of another person in a sexual contact, whether married or not, which includes sexual conduct that abuses’ (Domestic Violence Act 2007: article 1, definitions). With regard to domestic violence, The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2005) states that ‘amongst all ethnic groups in Sierra Leone, it is accepted practice for husbands to chastise or beat their wives or female relatives’ (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, CH3: 105, paragraph 97). Before the war ‘the phrase “domestic violence” was rarely used’, and the ‘the culture of silence, in relation to domestic violence, was so prevalent’ that even educated women who were victims of domestic violence rarely reported such crimes’ (Abdullah et al. 2010: 42). Under customary law, a husband has the right to ‘reasonably chastises his wife by physical force’ (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, CH3: 105, paragraph 98); however, ‘while it is customary for a man to be able to beat his wife or daughter, it is not acceptable for such an act to become habitual as it is generally agreed among ethnic groups that an overtly violent man is abhorrent (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, CH3: 106, paragraph 99). Identically to gender-based violence, domestic violence is hard to pinpoint and obtain empirical evidence of (Denney & Ibrahim 2012) due to the intimate level at which such violence is perpetrated (Ben-Ari & Harsh 2005, UNFPA 2005).

Early marriages have been attempted to be curbed by the 2007 Registration of Marriage Act, which sets the legal age of marriage at eighteen. However a legal loophole emerged with a possible accommodation with the agreement of parents. The main measure taken by the state to change the situation was to adopt the Registration of Customary Marriages Act in 2007, which deemed the legal of age of marriage to be eighteen. The effect of the legal age of sexual relations, in theory, is

to delay early marriages and early pregnancies. It would also allow women to finish secondary education.

One reason for the low reporting of women's economic activities is linked to the issue of land ownership and inheritance practice, which deny women access to productive resources and to capital. This keeps their activities in the informal and domestic spheres. In Sierra Leone land is held 'by lineages and mostly transferred through patriline' while labour 'is universally provided – mostly by women and strangers, those who are outside the lineage' (Williams 2006: 5). Williams (2006) confirms that women are not in a position of ownership. The CEDAW shadow Report states that 'women have provided the bulk of the agricultural labour force, they have never owned land and whatever user rights they had under the land tenure system were lost upon the death of their husbands' (CEDAW shadow report 2007: 31). This explains why women make up the 'the highest percentage of workers in the agricultural sector but are not regarded as making any meaningful contribution to agriculture or the economy of the country' (CEDAW shadow report 2007: 31). The state introduced the Devolution of Estates Act (2007), which is a law that provides most women the right to inherit from their husbands. In the traditions of Western Africa, the land or house would pass to a brother, brother-in-law or to any male relative of the deceased.

In Africa, under most systems of customary law, women do not own or inherit land, partly because of the perception that women are part of the wealth of the community and that they therefore cannot be the locus of land rights' grants. For most women, access to land is via a system of vicarious ownership through men: as husbands, fathers, uncles, brothers, and sons. Customary rules therefore have the effect of excluding females from the clan or communal entity (Kameri-Mbote 2006: 11).

However, constant references to "his" estate throughout the Act (2007) reveal the gendered construction of the text. Appearing twenty-six times in the document (Devolution of Estates Act 2007), the deceased is never presented as other than a

man. This text also offers recognition, after five years of reflection, of the effect the civil war had on the demographics of Sierra Leonean society.

The text of the 2012 Sexual Offence Act is a departure for a society that usually only condemns as the rape of a virgin as 'rape of a married woman or a non-virgin is often not considered a crime at all: as in many countries, there is often a belief that the woman must have consented to the act, or she is seen as a seductress' (Human Rights Watch Report 2002: 5). However, the lack of effectiveness of the two acts is due to other hindrances for women's rights, which are the roles of customary laws and practices in the state of Sierra Leone, examined now.

Prior to the war, Sierra Leone was a CEDAW signatory in 1987 and as a signatory member, the state must submit a country report in its name for the CEDAW committee where it is required by the effort to monitor the effective changes in gender equality policies. In the case of Sierra Leone, the CEDAW reports, often written by leading local NGOs from Sierra Leone is often more a reflection of the international discourse on women than of the real status of women in the country. During the fieldwork, it quickly became obvious that the same people were in charge of the CEDAW country reports, parts of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report and pieces of legislation. Janet Tucker¹¹⁶, for example, had been part of the Mano River Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET), the 2007 CEDAW country report, and was then working for UNICEF in 2011; Rosaline McCarthy¹¹⁷ was also part of the CEDAW report for 2010 while one of the activists pushing for gender quotas (Women's Forum and 50/50 Group for Sierra Leone). She confirmed that 'only a handful of women work on these reports'.¹¹⁸ Two country reports were submitted in 2007 and 2011. They reflect and confirm the little changes for women's rights in Sierra Leone.

¹¹⁶ Former FAWE member, UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

¹¹⁷ Former Women's Forum member, 50/50 Group, Interview, Freetown April 2011

¹¹⁸ Former Women's Forum member, 50/50 Group, Interview, Freetown April 2011

Similarly, the adoption of a National Action Plan (NAP) for the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820 in Sierra Leone confirms the argument, which states that UNSCR 1325 has failed in its impact. The Sierra Leone National Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820 was created in 2009 (SiLNAP 2009). In introductory remarks for the SiLNAP, President Koroma (acting president of Sierra Leone since 2007) states that '[the state of Sierra Leone] must therefore ensure that our women and girls are by no means threatened by gender-based violence; otherwise *one will hasten* to say that there will never be a real chance for peace and security' (SiLNAP (2009: iii) *emphasis added*), which is lip-service for the external donors on promised actions from the government of Sierra Leone. Most of SiLNAP (2009) is concerned with budgeting issues rather than an evaluation of the real impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000). It is noteworthy that SiLNAP (2009) was published seven years after the end of the war and it is therefore outside the analysis and the post-conflict period. Citing the changes of the state in legislation like the Gender Acts of 2007 and the creation of the Family Support Units in 2000, SiLNAP (2009) congratulates the state of Sierra Leone for engaging with the rights of women. As mentioned in an article in the *Concord Times*,

'the research on monitoring the country's implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women's peace and security is coming at a time when the task force on the Resolution has just concluded its *regional consultation* towards the development of a national action plan for its implementation' (*emphasis added*).¹¹⁹

The article mentions that it was an external action – the regional consultation –, which led to the development – nationally – of an Action Plan. It took seven years for the state of Sierra Leone to implement UNSCR 1325 and had to do it through a National Action Plan. This indicates both that UNSCR 1325 is ineffective and that the

¹¹⁹ "MP Decries Women's Neglect", *Concord Times* 13 May 2009, Moses A. Kargbo

state of Sierra Leone would not act upon the implement if it were not for the external actions of regional actors.

Another hindrance developed by the state is linked to the way local Chiefs continue to act as judges in local courts to deal with many issues that impact on women such as sexual assault (TRC 2005) or even influence on political restrictions for women in their local councils (BBC News 2010). Few legislative acts were passed to re-arrange gender relations and try to favour women's rights in Sierra Leone. However, this position has been exacerbated by the adoption of the Chieftaincy Act of 2009, which explicitly privileges customary justice over national legislation despite the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (2005) addressing some of the limitations of the state in terms of justice. The TRC report had recommended law reform for 'women and peasant farmers at chiefdom level' (TRC 2005, vol. Two, CH3: 138, paragraph 110). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (2005: vol. Two, CH3: 169, paragraph 321) also seeks 'to address structural inequality, encompass law reform, access to justice, the abolition of discriminatory customary law and practices, the building of institutional capacity and the establishment of educational programmes to counter attitudes and norms which lead to the oppression of women'. This a clear indication to the TRC's positions in regards with giving less power to the Chiefs and ensuring that national legislation had more weight.

Although many of the new chiefs are educated, and frequently well-travelled, the institution remains built around a system that ties the chiefs to central government officials in a mutually reinforcing alliance (Jackson, 2007: 101). The chiefdoms also serve as the custodians of customary practices, which are protected, but outside the national legislative and judicial system. The CEDAW shadow report of 2010 states that 'the 1991 Constitution strengthens the status of customary law and usage as far as Chieftaincy is concerned and therefore women may be lawfully

disqualified from contesting for paramount chieftaincy if the customary law of the chieftdom so determines' (CEDAW shadow report 2010: 18). This section did not make it to the final CEDAW country report of 2011. The official CEDAW country report (2011) only states that

'women are only eligible "where tradition so specifies". Unfortunately, this provision can automatically disqualify female candidates if tradition (or customary law and practice) does not specifically allow for women to contest. This became evident when a female candidate was disqualified in Kono District because of the dictates of culture and tradition' (CEDAW country report 2011: 29).

Therefore, customary justice in many instances has more power than the national constitution and the situation is detrimental for women in post-conflict reconstruction (TRC 2005). The situation of women in the legislative context is, therefore, cause for concern. Despite the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission report (2005), little has changed in Sierra Leone since the end of the war. The state has reinforced pre-war justice mechanisms in issues regarding women's rights. Gender-based violence seems to be exacerbated by the fact that customary practices dominate local politics and local justice, ruled by chiefs. This outweighs the possible positive effect that the national legislation could have on women's rights.

Conclusion

Even since the end of the war, the state of Sierra Leone has still a serious problem addressing sexual and gender-based violence (Peace Women 2014). These findings on the status of women in post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone match partially the hypotheses drawn from the examples of post-WWII in France and in the United States, as experienced by women. Indeed, women of Sierra Leone are in the same situation that the women of Europe were in then. When in 2005, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission identified the most vulnerable in society as 'war widows, aged women, girl mothers, victims of displacement and female ex-combatants' (TRC

2005, vol. Two, CH3: 175, paragraph 367) in post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone, women of post-war Europe were also compared to fragile beings in need of further protection (Düchen 1994). In Sierra Leone, women are still in a vulnerable position as, despite some intentions in legislation to improve the conditions of women, limitations on women's public roles can be linked to the poor judicial system and unequal treatment by the justice system. The political system is identical to conservative post-war politics that occurred in both France and in the United States. In Sierra Leone, it was the same political party, which led the country to single party rule in 1978 that has been in power since 2007. This is an important point never mentioned in the literature. How can things change for the society if the political parties that led to a civil war are still in power? This creates a significant factor in the repetition of patterns of gender relations and more generally of the errors from the past.

However, there is an improvement that was noticed during the fieldtrip but which is kept under silence by academia. This improvement is in relation with the changes in economic statuses. Where women had to work during the conflict, they kept these position ever since. The main workers are the women. Therefore, similarly to the observations made on the United States post-war, which meant that only a category of women did not work, many had to survive in post-WWII America. Progress has been made even though due to the informality of the work, the benefits are not as big as expected.

The main difference resides in the judicial treatments of women post-war. If, in France, the rule of law was temporally suspended, everything came back quickly to the "way-it-was". However, in Sierra Leone, the lack of recognition by the judicial system of the rights of women is also a factor in such repetition of gender relations' patterns. The privileging of customary practices is a further cause for concern. That customary practices are generalised, despite many recommendations from

international organisations to the contrary, undermines efforts being made to improve the lot of women. These efforts are reflected in the changes to legislation undertaken in 2007 and 2012. However, the maintenance of the colonial system of chiefdoms has resulted in the spread of customary practices such as early marriage and the non-reporting of domestic violence and rapes, particularly in rural areas, leading to the marginalisation of raped women. The improvement of legislation is an indication of a desire within the state to improve the inclusion of women in public life. However, repressive customary practices, particularly those relating to domestic or sexual violence, continue to ensure that women are excluded from many areas of society.

These comparisons will be further seen in the following and final chapters. The analysis provided will look at the role that UNSCR 1325 (2000) may have had on post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone and how it was designed to counteract the postwar moment. Indeed, as examined in the last section of the chapter, it seems that the international texts and particularly UNSCR 1325 may not have the expected effects, even in light of the international efforts in the intervention for the reconstruction of Sierra Leone. However, from the hypotheses drawn from the examples of France and the United States in *Chapter 3*, it is possible to see how the postwar moment operated in Sierra Leone.

Chapter 6 – Gender and post-conflict reconstruction

The politics of gender in the post-war Sierra Leone resulted in a negative experience for women. This chapter examines the details of the negative postwar moment that has been experienced by the women of Sierra Leone through an examination of the content of newspapers and by relating this to the characteristics of both the postwar moment and to the discourse of UNSCR 1325. Based on the aggregated word counts grouped into themes in Table 16, it appears that priority in the newspapers content is given to the need for training for women in order to acquire set ok skills. This will be examined first. The second most important content of the newspapers relates to equality and empowerment for women. This is will be investigated first. It is particularly interesting since the indicators of the postwar moment indicates that women’s roles in post-conflict reconstruction are rarely in economic terms and that UNSCR 1325 (and the international discourse on women and security) does not mention economic activities as a form of empowerment. This will be investigated in the second section of the chapter. Finally, “women and politics” come third in content, and will constitute the third part of the analysis. This is of interest, as examined in the previous chapter, Sierra Leonean women had little to no roles in politics, particularly since the state engaged in a single-party authoritarian regime in 1978. The others themes that are present in the table will be discussed too within the chapter, particularly the theme of “women and “others”” which comes fourth in content, particularly in the equality and empowerment section.

Table 16: Themes based on aggregated word counts - Concord Times and Standard Times

	Concord Times (2002-2008)	Standard Times (2003-2006)	Total
Training (in relation to eco. development)	478	139	617
Women in politics	228	71	299
Women and “others”	235	54	289
Skill development	183	70	253
Women and economic activities	112	46	158
Women’s empowerment & emancipation	73	28	101
Discriminations against women or women’s groups ¹²⁰	52	28	80
Gender equality	40	22	62
Women equal to men	29	7	36
Access to justice	26	5	31
Access to property/land	7	4	11
Wellbeing of women	6	1	7
Total	1469	475	1953

Women and economic activities

Starting with the single most frequently mentioned term, which is “training” and the related term “skills”, which also ranks highly (Table 16), this section will examine the economic status of women in Sierra Leone in the newspapers content. The term “training” here discussed relates to the training of women that is related to the acquisition of skills the second is training in term of gender awareness programmes or empowerment training. This later form of training is linked to the high level of international presence in Sierra Leone and the training provided by international organisations is often covered as news items directly quoting from the organisations press releases for example

United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL) has organised a three-day training program for councillors [sic] of the Freetown city council on Human rights, Democracy and the rule of law, *a release from the UN body states*. The training exercise took place at UNIOSIL Headquarters, Mammy Yoko in Freetown. Topics discussed include Human Rights and the laws, basic principles and international standards, child rights, women's rights democracy and gender-based violence in the decentralisation process, the role of local government in promoting Human Right issues and the Millennium Development Goals and promoting quality leadership.

¹²⁰ These are put together as they are indiscriminately linked by the journalists who mention “discrimination” against women as the same thing as “discrimination” against women’s groups.

The training is designed to enhance the capacity of the councillors [sic] and guide them on the values human rights, principles of universality, equality and non-discrimination in the discharge of their duties'.¹²¹

In this case, although the “training” deals with “women’s rights democracy and gender-based violence”, is not aimed at women and is unlikely to have a pro-women impact given its top down nature (Table 17). Other training provided or funded by external agencies is aimed at women and the newspapers reporting of these activities account for the large number of times this term is used for example it was reported that ‘the 50/50 Group will hold a one-day workshop [...] to prepare women ahead of the 2007 Presidential and Parliamentary elections, [for this] training is designed to provide women with political campaign skills and skills for advancing within their political parties’.¹²²

Table 17: "Training" in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> (all)	<i>Standard Times</i> (all)	Total
Training ¹²³	478	139	617

Where “training” is linked to reports from NGOs or IGOs, the particular details of “skill” development are often lacking. For example, in a 2007 article, a journalist reports that a new NGO has been created to help young women. The help comes in the form of quality training so women can learn a skill and transmit that skill to their children. The article does not speak of the set of skills they can learn or the use of moving from informal (petty) trading to formal work. However, it concludes by warning ‘women to respect their husbands because “they will help you achieve your goals”’.¹²⁴ Therefore, it appears that “training” women and girls is not a threatening activity. This is reflected by the frequent mentions of “training” in the articles,

¹²¹ “Uniosil Engages City Council”, *Concord Times*, 14 March 2006, Mohamed Massaquoi

¹²² “50/50 Group to Prepare Women for 2007 Elections”, *Concord Times*, 23 February 2006, Abdul Karim Koroma

¹²³ Excluding “skills training”, for example.

¹²⁴ “SLO Woos Women to Develop Sierra Leone”, *Concord Times*, 10 January 2007, Mohamed Massaquoi

whereas a discussion of the specific “skills” that women need to improve their economic status is not present in the discourse of the national newspapers (Table 18). The general acceptability of the idea of training, gaining skills, especially as it is associated with external funding, is emphasised by a report of a speech by a female candidate in the 2004 local elections who said ‘*women must be empowered in areas of Skills training*’ (emphasis added).¹²⁵ This also demonstrates the way training and skills are conflated with women’s empowerment weakening and narrowing that term.

Table 18: Development of skills in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times* overtime

	<i>Concord Times</i> (all)	<i>Standard Times</i> (all)	Total
Skill/s ¹²⁶	159	59	218
Unskilled / semi-skilled	12	10	22
Skill training / development	12	1	13

However, the vague reporting on “skills training” casts a shadow on women’s economic participation in the post-conflict state. The majority of women in Sierra Leone are economically active and one of the impacts of the war is that ‘women’s economic activity increased and women became more economically self-reliant’.¹²⁷ In the capital Freetown, individual economic endeavours are the most visible roles undertaken by women.¹²⁸ In Freetown, most of the (informal) vendors on the side of the roads are women of all ages. ‘The main male activity observed was taxi driving. Female traders go to Guinea regularly to buy products and resell in the main markets of Freetown’.¹²⁹ However, as noted by Steady (2006: 60), ‘most of the enterprises of women are home-based and somewhat “invisible” from the gaze of the visitor. Informal trade shows that it a women’s dominated venture, but there

¹²⁵ “Local Government Elections Corner – Jemimah Davis: for Progress, Development And Equal Opportunity”, *Concord Times*, 4 April 2004, Regina Pratt

¹²⁶ Includes “skilful”, “skilfulness”, “skilled”

¹²⁷ Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

¹²⁸ Observed during the fieldtrip.

¹²⁹ Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

are more work done by women inside their home.¹³⁰ Table 19 shows the extent of the coverage of women’s activities, which confirms the somewhat invisibility of women’s economic activities.

Table 19: Women’s economic activities in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Market women	4	2	14	20	15	55
Prostitution	4	7	6	14	16	47
Women in agriculture	1	1	1	0	19	22
Women and food distribution	0	1	3	1	10	15
Women and jobs opportunity	3	0	1	2	4	10
Women cooking, washing (as a business)	2	0	1	0	3	6
Women at work	2	0	0	0	2	4
		<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total
Market women		14	1	7		22
Prostitution		13	1	9		22
Women in agriculture		5	2	7		14
Women and food distribution		2	0	3		5
Women and jobs opportunity		3	0	0		3
Women at work		0	0	1		1
Women cooking, washing (as a business)		0	0	1		1

Table 19 shows the general underrepresentation in news coverage of women in the economic sector. Women’s specific economic activities are mentioned fewer times than the more vague, external resource-attracting term “training”. The most referenced terms relates to “market women”, mentioned throughout the period covered and is the most frequently mentioned activity. The second most frequent is “prostitution”. The third most frequently mentioned activity is agriculture, followed by food distribution. The term “market women” is mentioned twice as frequently as “women in agriculture” and nearly four times as frequently as food distribution. More importantly, women’s informal employment is barely mentioned at all. This

¹³⁰ Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

does not reflect the main occupational activities reported by the CEDAW Country Report of 2011 (Table 13 in *Chapter 5*), which put farmers as top of the list, followed by petty trader, student and civil servant. Absent from the coverage of the newspapers is “teacher”, “security personnel” and “health worker”. The news coverage is misrepresenting women’s economic participation in the post-conflict state.

The “market women” who feature as the most mentioned economic activity for women are an organised and official trading group. Market women group sell goods in a marked location, not informally on the side of the road, and official permits are necessary to build and own a stall. One of the reasons they feature in the newspapers is because they operated as an organised group that take action to defend their right and working conditions. This is reflected for example In articles such as “Market Women Abandon Mattru Jong Market”¹³¹ and denounce their condition of work; “Palm Oil Trouble Looms”¹³², as women condemn the owners of the palm oil field who charged them but did not deliver the products as promised; and “City Council Forms New Taskforce”¹³³, in which market women join the Freetown City Council as an organised group to voice their claims. These examples show that “market women” have a voice and that their actions are news worthy.

Third most mentioned economic activity is “women in agriculture”. Out of the 36 references to women in agriculture 19 are in the *Concord Times* for 2008. This increase reporting of women’s participation in this area is not particularly relevant, due the increased poverty of the state and the rise of prices of basic commodities like rice, even ‘in Freetown, agriculture has become the main source of livelihood of majority of people migrating from rural sittings to the urban area’.¹³⁴ Agriculture is

¹³¹ *Standard Times*, 18 November 2003, Peter Goma

¹³² *Standard Times*, 14 July 2004, Joseph Lebbie

¹³³ *Concord Times*, 15 September 2005, Mariamah Kandeh & Theodora Renner

¹³⁴ “Urban Vegetable Production to Boost Food Security”, *Concord Times*, 9 June 2008, Rachel Horner

women's dominated activity, which seems to come as a surprise for the Freetown-based journalists who see women's participation as something new, even in 'urban agriculture [which] contributes largely to household food security and nutrition'¹³⁵ of the country. A journalist travelling to Kamalo¹³⁶ realises that even 'in the rural areas, women and men work on their farms from dawn to dusk. It is hard for one to set eyes on able-bodied [sic] adults and youths in those villages during the day as most of them would have gone to their farms'.¹³⁷ Something is even more striking is the confirmation of the gender divide and division in labour: 'agriculture in Freetown is gender-sensitive as [eighty per cent] (80%) of urban farmers are women [...] Urban farming has created employment for poor people particularly women who sell their products to cater for their needs'.¹³⁸ With the conditions of increased poverty of the state, it seems that women have found a place with men in working side by side, which seems to be something increasingly worrying for the news commentators because it seems to have reached the capital, Freetown.

However, the women engaged in agricultural activities are seen as agricultural workers and not farmers and most importantly not as the owners of the land they work on. Access to land and the capacity for women to own is a central issue for African women (Tripp et al. 2009) and has been identified as an obstacle to gender equality by international agencies (Karl 2009). The "access to land" ownership is part of the pursuit for gender equality as women continue to have a larger workload than men, and a lack of access to land ownership. The impact on women's lack of land or properties is key to understanding why women find it difficult to be self-reliant. Indeed, land or properties are often put collateral against bank loans to

¹³⁵ "Urban Vegetable Production to Boost Food Security", *Concord Times*, 9 June 2008, Rachel Horner

¹³⁶ 'Kamalo is one of the many villages in Sierra Leone that are completely cut off from civilisation. The village is situated in the Sandal-Loko chiefdom about 47 miles from Makeni and it takes two and a half hours for a forerunner jeep to reach the village. Two and a half hours through ditches, potholes and fallen trees across the road' ("Amidst Hard Work, Poverty Still Rules Country's Interior", *Concord Times* 10 September 2008, Mariamah Kande).

¹³⁷ "Amidst Hard Work, Poverty Still Rules Country's Interior", *Concord Times*, 10 September 2008, Mariamah Kande

¹³⁸ "Urban Vegetable Production to Boost Food Security", *Concord Times*, 9 June 2008, Rachel Horner

develop one’s economic activities. Without land or properties acting as collateral, women cannot access bank loans and cannot develop their economic ventures. As expected, hardly any reports in the newspapers concern “access to land” or linked women to land ownership (Table 20).

Table 20: Women and access to land in *Concord Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Access to land / property	0	0	1	1	5	7
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total	
Access to land / property	1	0	3		4	

The mentions of “access to land” in the newspapers are found in only a handful of articles. Some of the reports reflect negatively on the state for example a report of a meeting held by several NGOs, which noted that ‘no progress was made on these key demands or on women's access to land despite the final declaration reaffirming the key role played by women in food security’.¹³⁹ This negative statement is reinforced by the fact that ‘the laws of the land affect the advancement of women, exposing the barriers that inhibit women from developing i.e. access to loans, grants for higher education, protection from sexual harassments [sic] etc.’¹⁴⁰ Another article mentions access to land, in the sense of accessing land for investors, when the newly elected Liberian President mentioned that ‘she promised to revisit with the land tenure system to give investors more flexibility and access to land’, as ‘he land tenure system, which is amongst the greatest enemies to many African

¹³⁹ “Governments Indifferent to Causes of Hunger, Says Action Aid”, *Concord Times*, 8 November 2006

¹⁴⁰ “Veteran Female Journalist Explains Sexual Harassment Experience”, *Concord Times*, 11 March 2008, Rachel Horner

economies'¹⁴¹. However this is not in the interest of women. This shows that the issue of women owning land is not important for the media or the state.

The second most mentioned term is “prostitution”. The issue of prostitution will be discussed further in *Chapter 7*. However, it needs to be said that the discourse in the newspapers often portrays prostitution as a choice made by women for economic survival. For example in a confused article, it is reported ‘that women had resorted to prostitution, drug abuse because they were not empowered to be self-employed’.¹⁴² This need for economic survival is linked to the worries of increased poverty reaching in the coverage of the newspapers. It would be expected that efforts would be made in supporting women’s economic ventures and access financial independence. As seen earlier, petty trade is the most visible female dominated economic venture. It allows often women to help their families and to access micro-credit for more formal trade activities and reaches self-reliance. However, as Table 21 shows, “self-reliance” is barely mentioned in the newspapers.

Table 21: Self-reliance in *Concord Times* and in *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
“Self-reliance”	5	1	1	1	1	9
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004		<i>Standard Times</i> 2005		<i>Standard Times</i> 2006	Total
“Self-reliance”	2		0		1	3

There is therefore a difference in the coverage of the newspapers and the reality of women’s economic participation: the newspapers content indicates that women are mostly organised in trade or engaging in prostitution, whereas women are farmers or engaged in petty trade, which is not organised trade. Also the content related to the activities of women is lesser than the reported “training”, which indicates that

¹⁴¹ “How Did/Would They Effect Development, Peace and Posterity?”, *Concord Times*, 25 January 2006, Karamoh Kabba

¹⁴² “Local Government Elections Corner – Jemimah Davis: for Progress, Development And Equal Opportunity”, *Concord Times*, 4 April 2004, Regina Pratt

the newspapers cover the topics that can attract funding, instead of showing the lives of women working for their survival, without any apparent support from the state.

Gender equality and empowerment

In 2007, three legislative texts were passed, with the aim to improve women’s rights. The Devolution of Estates Acts insured that inheritance laws would favour both men and women. The Registration of Customary Marriages insured that early marriages would stop, with the text stating that the legal age for marrying at 18. The registration of marriages would insure protection of young women. The Domestic Violence Act was the last text passed. It insured a reinforced legislation to protect women against domestic violence including marital rape. Despite national legislation drawn in 2007 that made men and women equal in terms of their right to property, no newspapers articles discuss support from the state for women’s rights. In general, little is said even about the Gender Acts (2007). The *Standard Times* is not included as the three Acts were passed in 2007 and the available data for the newspapers stops in 2006.

Table 22: Legislation referenced in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> (all)
Other Acts/Bill	164
"Gender Acts/Bills"	20
Domestic Violence Act	0
Devolution of Estate Act	0
Registration of Customary Marriages	0
Total	184

Table 22 clearly shows the little impact of, and even interest for, the Gender Acts (2007). Neither of the newspapers mentions the preparations of the Bills in parliament or within the civil society. One article points out that ‘there was the need for a speedy enactment of legislations to guarantee the rights of people living

with disabilities, other health issues and look at the remaining gender bills'.¹⁴³ Another article speaks of a trip in Moyamba¹⁴⁴, where 'there was also a forum for women and children, which focused in part on Sierra Leone's new Gender Acts and women's and children's rights'.¹⁴⁵ The newspapers do contain muted complaints that the 'lack of implementation of the three Gender Acts (2007) is undermining the whole exercise of making men see women as partners and not emotional toys to give fun when needed'.¹⁴⁶

This is problematic because the Gender Acts should be a key component of women's "access to justice" as envisioned in UNSCR 1325 (2000). The term "access to justice" is used by NGOs and IGOs as a key term in their work and documentation. Table 23 however shows that "access to justice" is not a key factor for women's independence in newspapers.

Table 23: Access to justice in Concord Times

	<i>Concord Times 2004</i>	<i>Concord Times 2005</i>	<i>Concord Times 2006</i>	<i>Concord Times 2007</i>	<i>Concord Times 2008</i>	Total
Access to justice	0	0	10	6	10	26
	<i>Standard Times 2004</i>	<i>Standard Times 2005</i>	<i>Standard Times 2006</i>			Total
Access to justice	4		0		1	5

This is in spite of the fact that "access to justice" has been a priority for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report¹⁴⁷ and 'while Sierra Leone is governed by a constitution that prohibits the promulgation of discriminatory laws, women are not protected in the areas that affect them most, such as marriage, divorce and inheritance' (TRC 2005, vol. Three B, Ch. 3: 98, paragraph 61). However, as noted by Jamesina King, 'there is less unity since the end of war, the women's groups have

¹⁴³ "Gov't Urged to Review Youth Policy", *Concord Times*, 10 September 2008, Ibrahim Tarawallie

¹⁴⁴ Southern Province, north of Freetown

¹⁴⁵ "Special Court Deputy Registrar Honoured in Moyamba", *Concord Times*, 4 December 2008, Ben Samuel Turay and Bryna Hallam

¹⁴⁶ "Veteran Female Journalist Explains Sexual Harassment Experience", *Concord Times*, 11 March 2008, Rachel Horner

¹⁴⁷ Jamesina King, Human Rights Commissioner of Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011

lost their ground and the men are enjoying this division' which, she added, 'plays in favour of the lack of implementation of the [TRC] Report'.¹⁴⁸ She also added that, these laws do prevent women's access to the judiciary system to be treated as equals.¹⁴⁹ Conversations with several activists and members of the civil society of Sierra Leone confirmed that the passed Gender Acts have not been able to favour women's interests and rights.¹⁵⁰ There is a still on-going difference in equal treatment in face of the law between men and women that preserves in Sierra Leone.

Parliament passed bills on domestic violence, intestate succession and the registration of customary marriage and divorce in June. These were seen as a victory in the strengthening of women's rights in rural areas. Nonetheless, women continued to face widespread discrimination and violence, compounded by a lack of access to justice.¹⁵¹

The mentions in newspapers of the legislative Gender Acts should guarantee an "access to justice" for women or at least a better recognition. However, these mentions are not in relation to women's access to justice. Furthermore, with a lack of recognition of women's economic activities or access to property or land, the newspapers content shows that there are severe obstacles to women's access to equal rights in Sierra Leone.

Looking in more detail at the issue of gender equality, Table 24 shows the difference between "gender equality" and "women equal to men". References to "gender equality" increased between 2004 and 2008 but at a very low level. In the *Standard Times*, with fewer articles on gender rights, "gender equality" is reported between eight and twelve times in the period from 2004 to 2006. In this table, "gender

¹⁴⁸ Jamesina King, Human Rights Commissioner of Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011

¹⁴⁹ Jamesina King, Human Rights Commissioner of Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011

¹⁵⁰ Valnora Edwin, Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 2011; Jamesina King, Human Rights Commissioner of Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011; Rosaline McCarthy, Former Women's Forum member, 50/50 Group, Interview, Freetown, April 2011; Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

¹⁵¹ "Amnesty Condemns Justice System", *Concord Times*, 29 May 2008, Tanu Jalloh

equality” is counted as the full expression, whereas “women equal to men” refers to the few times in the articles it has expressed that women are and can be equal to men.

Table 24: Gender equality in *Concord Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Gender equality / equity	0	2	4	19	15	40
Women equal to men	6	7	7	4	5	29
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total	
Gender equality / equity	12	2	8		22	
Women equal to men	3	0	4		7	

There are some examples of gender equality in the newspapers explained for the masses:

People usually frown at a lady climbing trees or a man cooking in the kitchen. This does not mean that a woman cannot climb trees or men cannot cook. These are norms laid down by society and any deviation from these so-called norms usually creates problems.¹⁵²

In the case of this specific article, it is reminded that Sierra Leone ‘adopted the Beijing Platform for Action and the Commonwealth Plan of Action on Gender and Development. It also signed and ratified the Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women (CEDEW) [sic] in 1998 [sic]¹⁵³ and ratified the optional protocol in 2000’.¹⁵⁴ This is an unusual statement for the newspapers as the CEDAW and the Beijing Declaration are referenced as part of the wider agenda for gender equality. But the lack of clarification on what the texts are, or do, in spite of being one of the few articles that does mention the international

¹⁵² “Gender must be considered during Presidential, Parliamentary Race in '07”, *Standard Times*, 21 June 2006, Abu Bakarr Kargbo

¹⁵³ It was in 1988. Sierra Leone in 1998 was at the height of its civil war.

¹⁵⁴ “Gender must be considered during Presidential, Parliamentary Race in '07”, *Standard Time*, s 21 June 2006, Abu Bakarr Kargbo

“gender” texts, limits the journalist’s support for “gender equality” limited even if he later reminds readers that

‘fighting for equality does not mean that a woman is shunning her duties as a woman. She can perfectly perform her triple role as a woman, which are reproductive, productive and community management role’.¹⁵⁵

The newspapers describe accesses to rights for women: ‘the time for the emancipation of our women is finally here, and it is also the time for all Sierra Leoneans to put hands on deck in support of the *womenfolk* so that we can emerge from the state of backwardness that has been our lot for so long’ (*emphasis added*).¹⁵⁶ The pejorative term “womenfolk” reappears here, diminishing the potential impact of the first part of the sentence, which is positive for women’s pursuit of equality. The article continues stating that ‘it’s only a matter of time before the women too began to own property, power and prestige to a point of being admired by the men not for their beauty but for their contribution to the society’.¹⁵⁷ Again, this statement reveals the sexist environment women have to overcome in order to be independent and “empowered”. It feels that sometimes the term “empowered” feels empty: an interviewee, Marie Pikargbo, farmer from Waterloo (district of Freetown), referred many times to be “empowered” after gaining skills from COOPI (NGO) and being economically independent with a patch of land.¹⁵⁸ She stated that ‘the workshops [done by COOPI] that I have done have helped me to understand my empowerment and the role I can have in my community’.¹⁵⁹ She added that she would ‘attend up five training sessions a year and after that I spread the knowledge to the men’ of the community.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁵ “Gender must be considered during Presidential, Parliamentary Race in '07”, *Standard Times*, 21 June 2006, Abu Bakarr Kargbo

¹⁵⁶ “A Time to End the Abuses And Subordination”, *Standard Times*, 19 May 2006,

¹⁵⁷ “A Time to End the Abuses And Subordination”, *Standard Times*, 19 May 2006

¹⁵⁸ Interview, Freetown April 2011

¹⁵⁹ Interview, Freetown April 2011

¹⁶⁰ Interview, Freetown April 2011

On a few occasions, the question of women's rights and equality is brought forward, as, for example, below:

Women should be given the opportunity to employment on merit, and even handed recompense both in the formal and informal sectors with sufficient economic, political and social support systems particularly *equal access to credit, land and other natural resources (emphasis added)*.¹⁶¹

The most interesting outcome is that both newspapers seem to report "gender equality" as something "good for women". Tanu Jalloh argues that 'gender parity suffered tremendously as a result of the stereotype male dominated policies and programs, which range from political activism to sustainable economic development even at local/rural level'.¹⁶² This interesting extract shows that sometimes women can be agents of development. One journalist from the *Standard Times* adds that it would soon be 'the end of the macho men in this country, the end of those men who believe they can own women as property simply because they can give them 'chop money' [sic] and turning them into child-breeding machines'.¹⁶³ However, most of newspaper articles on the issue of "gender equality" are not strong in their attempts to end stereotypical reports. In one specific article, it is argued that

'some traditions had decreed it and other cultural/customary adherence had clogged the active participation of women in sustainable community development, local politics and the laws binding married couples'.¹⁶⁴

This article illustrates the limits to women's quest for equality. It is recognised, at least by some journalists then, that the state impedes women's rights, which results in limiting women's access to public roles. The connection with international

¹⁶¹ "Women And Sustainable Development", *Concord Times*, 11 May 2004, Tanu Jalloh

¹⁶² "Women And Sustainable Development", *Concord Times*, 11 May 2004, Tanu Jalloh

¹⁶³ "A Time to End the Abuses And Subordination", *Standard Times*, 19 May 2006

¹⁶⁴ "Women And Sustainable Development", *Concord Times*, 1 May 2004, Tanu Jalloh

discourse on women and equality is rarely made.¹⁶⁵ Nor is the connection between national legislation and “gender equality” made.

Women’s “empowerment”

The use of the term “women’s empowerment” or “empowering women” increases from 2004 to 2008 (Table 25), rising in the *Concord Times* from 14 mentions in 2007 to 33 mentions in 2008. “Women’s emancipation” on the other hand is not present. It would be expected to be present, as emancipation is regarded to be an important step in the empowerment of women with regard to their freedom and rights. It is possible that the old-fashioned term would not present, as it is one of the early Second Wave Feminism term (De Beauvoir 2011 [1949]). Similarly in the *Standard Times*, “women’s empowerment” is present albeit decreasing in numbers over times and “emancipation” matches the findings in *Concord Times*. This further weakens the argument that “empowerment” is improving.

Table 25: Empowerment and self-reliance linked to women in *Concord Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
“Women’s empowerment”	0	1	16	14	33	64
Women’s “Emancipation”	0	1	6	0	2	9
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total	
“Women’s empowerment”	12	0	8		20	
Women’s “emancipation”	1	0	7		8	

The results in Table 25 reflect the content of some interviews conducted during the fieldwork¹⁶⁶, which revealed that a number of international agencies are calling

¹⁶⁵ “Gender must be considered during Presidential, Parliamentary Race in '07”, *Standard Times*, 21 June 2006, Abu Bakarr Kargbo

increasingly for the empowerment of women, through trainings, meetings, and workshops. Valnora Edwin, for Campaign for Good Governance, a NGO set in Freetown stated that ‘men [of the state]were pushing for training’ and that it was ‘the only way to improve the rights of women’, due to the ‘debatable role of the customary laws’.¹⁶⁷ Overall, however, the trainings to the rule of law should be ‘natural’ and the push from the international organisations ‘is forcing the process’, Valnora confided.¹⁶⁸ However it would appear that these forms of empowerment” through training are mostly lip-service. This article attempts to demonstrate the meaning of the term “empowerment”:

‘Gone are those days when our womenfolk were permanently sentenced to the backdrop of doing domestic chores. Today, we talk of equal opportunities with the firm belief that women are also capable of delivering the goods’.¹⁶⁹

The term “womenfolk” in this quote and only mentioned two other times (one more in *Concord Times*, one in *Standard Times*) somewhat diminishes the tentative tone for women to achieve equality, which is seen as the finite goal to be achieved with the help of women’s empowerment.

It appears that, in the newspapers, the call for empowerment is often related to women’s rights pushed by the international agencies’ agenda, as one article explains: ‘YOW [Young Women Leaders Sierra Leone] Project Secretary General, Alicia Kamara explained that the empowerment of women in society is very vital, as it will create mutual understanding for the betterment of the society’¹⁷⁰ adding that

¹⁶⁶ Valnora Edwin, Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 2001; Janet Tucker UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011; and Roisin Cavanagh,, COOPI (NGO), Freetown, April 2001

¹⁶⁷ Valnora Edwin, Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 201; Janet Tucker UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

¹⁶⁸ Valnora Edwin, Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 201; Janet Tucker UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

¹⁶⁹ “Local Government Elections Corner – Jemimah Davis: for Progress, Development And Equal Opportunity”, *Concord Times*, 4 April 2004, Regina Pratt

¹⁷⁰ “Yow to Engage Women”, *Concord Times*, 9 November 2006, Mohamed Massaquoi

‘the empowerment of women would contribute to good governance’.¹⁷¹ However, it is sometimes unclear what “women’s empowerment” relates to, particularly in editorials:

If we have to care for our women and children, we have to change that attitude with the PMDC's “Positive Change” ideal. It is only through such transparent ideal that we can make a difference in Sierra Leone in the lives of women and children. For the exigency to fill that gap between government and the ordinary man, for the exigency for women and youth empowerment, for the exigency to reverse the looming leadership gap, the PMDC was borne.¹⁷²

In short, the term “empowerment”, understood as a way for women to be emancipated is rarely discussed or clarified in the newspaper’s discourse. On the other hand, “emancipation”, which is used in the feminist scholarship for women’s freedom of rights, is mentioned only a few times but is used in its feminist meaning, as per this article which states that ‘March 8th every year is globally celebrated as International Women’s Day in recognition of the uncompromising strides made in the historic emancipation of women from the yoke of discrimination, castigation and, above all, chauvinism’.¹⁷³ It seems therefore that “women’s empowerment” is used to show the external donors, actors in the post-conflict reconstruction of the state and does not necessarily indicate that women must be empowered to be self-reliant or self-sufficient (see UN Women 2012b), as there are no real discussion on how women could benefit from this. The term “empowerment” is used loosely, with no definitions or clarification of the meaning of the words given in the newspapers.

By insisting that women are not empowered, a sense that women are vulnerable is maintained. The vulnerability of Sierra Leone’s women is an underlying theme that was present in the literature as well as the newspapers analysis. It can be found in the forms of the absence of “access to justice”, in the lack of implemented policies

¹⁷¹ “Yow to Engage Women”, *Concord Times*, 9 November 2006, Mohamed Massaquoi

¹⁷² “PMDC Secretary General's Pledge”, *Concord Times*, 9 May 2006

¹⁷³ “International Women's Day And Sierra Leone's Unsung Heroines”, *Concord Times*, 22 March 2006, Abdulai Bayraytay

that favour women's rights, or in the way women are considered as sexual commodities (discussed in *Chapter 7*). As seen in *Chapters 1* and *4*, the concept of "womenandchildren" (Enloe 1990, Carpenter 2006, Shepherd 2008a) was discussed as one of the critiques of the UN Resolution, which seems to associate "women" with "others", creating a sense that women need "others" to exist; thus adding further vulnerabilities. The theme of women and "others" is now examined to see how women and "others" are associated in the newspapers articles. Table 26 shows that "women" are indeed associated more with "children" than any other "others". In this case, "women" is added for reference to indicate the scale of number of articles and the mentions of women and "others".

Table 26: “Womenandchildren” in Concord Times and Standard Times

	<i>Concord Times 2004</i>	<i>Concord Times 2005</i>	<i>Concord Times 2006</i>	<i>Concord Times 2007</i>	<i>Concord Times 2008</i>	Total
Women and children	21	19	29	12	60	141
Women and girls	5	5	4	12	14	40
Women and youth	4	6	10	0	11	31
Women and men	1	1	5	3	12	22
<i>WOMEN* (for reference)</i>	<i>196</i>	<i>163</i>	<i>642</i>	<i>511</i>	<i>898</i>	<i>2410</i>
	<i>Standard Times 2004</i>	<i>Standard Times 2005</i>	<i>Standard Times 2006</i>	<i>Standard Times 2007</i>	<i>Standard Times 2008</i>	Total
Women and children	30		3		7	40
Women and girls	4		0		4	8
Women and youth	3		1		1	5
Women and men	0		0		1	1
<i>WOMEN* (for reference)</i>	<i>403</i>		<i>54</i>		<i>257</i>	<i>714</i>

* Raw count, case insensitive

“Women” overall is mentioned 2410 times for the *Concord Times* and 714 times for the *Standard Times*. However the total of “women and others” is mentioned 10 times less in the *Concord Times* and 13 times less in the *Standard Times*. However, it is the use of the term, reporting with content related to HIV/AIDS or prostitution that is the most problematic. Similarly, with the *Standard Times*, “women and children” is brought together more often than any of the other associations (Table 26). “Women and men” on the other hand is virtually absent from both newspapers content.

This table confirms that women are most likely to be associated with children. In most cases, “women and children” emphasises the unacceptability of “women” as whole citizen or able-beings. It can also be used to place women outside the bounds

of the society, as illustrated in this quote: '[Chief Brima] said their village was invaded in 1995 by the RUF rebels who burnt down twelve houses and one mosque, taking people *including women and children*, many of whom have never been seen again' (*emphasis added*).¹⁷⁴ In most references to "womenandchildren" (expression coined by Enloe 1990), there is an association with the vulnerability of women. For example, in one article it is claimed that 'women and children suffered most during the conflict in Sierra Leone and that 'the International president of the Christian Children Fund (CCF), Dr. John Sohultz ... assured them of CCF's support at all times'.¹⁷⁵

Table 27: "Women" as vulnerable in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Women vulnerable	2	3	11	3	12	31
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004		<i>Standard Times</i> 2005		<i>Standard Times</i> 2006	Total
Women vulnerable	12		0		6	18

Table 27 gives the number of time the term vulnerability is used. Women's vulnerability is often linked to women's nature, as depicted in this example: 'women ... are vulnerable by nature and women rights defenders are facing series of problems in the execution of their duties as they are subject to atrocities and gender victimisation'.¹⁷⁶ Other times, it is pointed out in the newspapers that women (and children) are vulnerable because of diseases like HIV/AIDS when 'women ... are vulnerable to the scourge of the disease, as most of them, because of poverty often give in to prostitution in exchange for cheap returns'.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁴ "Benduma People Appeal for Help", *Standard Times*, 28 May 2004, Saidu Kamara

¹⁷⁵ "Christian Children Fund (CCF) International President Visits CCF Sierra Leone [sic]", *Standard Times*, 19 September 2003

¹⁷⁶ "WORD [Women Human Rights Defenders] to Be Launched Tomorrow", *Concord Times*, 25 July 2005, Abdul Karim Koroma

¹⁷⁷ "Female HIV/Aids Project Launched", *Standard Times*, 16 June 2004, Theophilus S. Gbenda

Women and politics

The end of the war saw an increased participation of women in the politics of Sierra Leone. In 2007, elected women were occupying 16 seats or 13.22% of parliament seats (Table 12 in *Chapter 5*). Since then, in the last election of 2012, the number of women in parliament has stagnated. This keyword analysis counts the number of times women are mentioned as engaged in political roles as politician or candidates or articles that are interviews with women politicians. It also includes articles that refer to women in politics in a more general way. In spite of being the second highest category in terms of newspaper coverage, this very low level of coverage of women in politics reflects how male dominated national politics is in Sierra Leone. It also reflects the small number of women politicians and the fact that increasing the level of female representation is not an issue in the discourse.

Table 28: References to women in politics in *Concord Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Women in politics	12	10	52	53	101	228
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004		<i>Standard Times</i> 2005		<i>Standard Times</i> 2006	Total
Women in politics	49		4		18	71

The *Concord Times* shows a significant increase in 2008, which could be due to the increased work by national NGOs on the National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and 1820, published in 2009. Considering that Sierra Leone has such a small cohort of civil society, politicians, and journalists, it would make sense that every one of them became involved in the drafting process in some ways. It is also likely that external funding was given for the drafting process, which drew all the actors of the state.

The limited coverage in the newspapers primarily covers articles written from various perspectives that support greater political representation for women,

statements by politicians on women political representations, NGO activities in support of women in politics and coverage of news worthy stories involving women politician or candidates such as harassment during elections. Additionally, a survey conducted in 2007 found that 'men are slightly more likely than women to feel strongly that their views are represented in political discussions, and that their views are represented by political parties'.¹⁷⁸ These results are not unique internationally as in many contexts women have less attachment to formal politics than men do, but it is further evidence that women are more removed from the political sphere and from the political parties.

This is seen, with the help of the international literature discussing the barriers to women entering politics (Connell 1990, Yuval-Davis 1997, Dahlerup 2006), and in which is identified key barriers, such as harassment of women candidates, male dominance of the public sphere and lack of access to finance which appear in the Sierra Leone newspaper coverage.

Harassment was a feature of the local council elections of 2008 when women were 'harassed to a point of withdrawing from the contest'.¹⁷⁹ That there was widespread harassment and intimidation carried against female candidates contesting the 2008 local elections is confirmed by other newspaper reports, for example a 'female candidate (SLPP) declared "my life is presently under threat from supporters of the APC. I was asked to step down but I refused"'.¹⁸⁰ In such cases reporting harassment to the police does not result in action being taken against those involved in the harassment, nor do women receive support from the

¹⁷⁸ "Citizens Not Happy With Political Parties – Survey", *Concord Times*, 13 July 2007, Mariamah Kandeh

¹⁷⁹ "Local Government Crucial to Putting an End to Domestic Violence", *Concord Times*, 2 July 2008, Mariamah Kandeh

¹⁸⁰ "Women Group, NDI Condemn Bullying Female Candidates", *Concord Times*, 23 June 2008, Ibrahim Tarawallie

authorities.¹⁸¹ Harassment and other difficulties are attributed to the prevalent anti-women attitudes in the country that are present in family and community settings as well as in national politics. As one article argues ‘in such areas as marriage and politics, most men still perceive women as intruders anytime they attempt to assert their rights [...]’.¹⁸² It is also recognised that the significant change that have happened in women’s political representation elsewhere have not influenced mainstream opinion in Sierra Leone and that ‘the real problem [...] is that men have not caught up, have not educated themselves, or trained adequately to deal with this social revolution’.¹⁸³ So that ‘the male stereotype that is widespread in the country’¹⁸⁴ remains the single biggest barrier to women’s political advance.

The dominance of this male perspective produces a patronising attitude to women even when the individual journalist or a politician in a reported speech is trying to be positive. This is illustrated by an article, which quotes the Vice President Berewa (2002-2007), making the initial positive statement that ‘traditional notions are gradually being emptied into the dustbin of history, as women can now hold sensitive positions in politics’.¹⁸⁵ He however goes on to declare that ‘the need to integrate women into the political process is a laudable, empowering our *women folk* [sic]’ (*emphasis added*).¹⁸⁶ Here, the use of the term “womenfolk”, diminishes again the potential positive impact of this speech.

The ultimate barrier of women’s participation in politics is the lack of finance or funding available, limiting women’s participation to campaign trails.¹⁸⁷ The cost of travelling in Sierra Leone is expensive because Sierra Leone is a country with no public transports and the terrain is rough when in the rural areas. Travelling can be

¹⁸¹ “Female Candidates Face Harassment”, *Concord Times*, 16 June 2008, Ben Samuel Turay

¹⁸² “Expanding the Political Space for Women”, *Standard Times*, 20 August 2004, Saidu Kamara

¹⁸³ “Women in Local Government”, *Concord Times*, 30 June 2008, Samuel Tarawally

¹⁸⁴ “Women Not Welcome in Politics”, *Concord Times*, 14 May 2008, Mariamah Kandeh

¹⁸⁵ “Expanding the Political Space for Women”, *Standard Times*, 20 August 2004, Saidu Kamara

¹⁸⁶ “Expanding the Political Space for Women”, *Standard Times*, 20 August 2004, Saidu Kamara

¹⁸⁷ Valnora Edwin, Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 2011

done by private taxis, operating as buses and often crowded. Private hiring of a car can be expensive particularly because a 4x4 wheels drive must be hired for the rough terrain.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, it is the 'immoral emphasis on money as an instrument of politics [which] encourages the exclusion of women'.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, the 'politics ... in Sierra Leone is [sic] all about money without enough of which women will never be successful'.¹⁹⁰

In spite of the barriers, and represented somewhat in the content of the newspapers, it appears that some of the coverage in the newspapers reflects a view that sees women making particular positive contributions to politics. One article discussing churchwomen, for example, said that 'usually when a group of women take [sic] centre stage to complain about an administration in Sierra Leone, it is the end of that regime'.¹⁹¹ It also portrays women as outside of political debates except at times of crisis when they take to the streets in protest:

'Sierra Leonean women [as] very loyal and long-suffering, but once they come out of their homes and move from grumbling in the market place; place of worship and backyards to protesting on main street, it means "you yon don done"¹⁹² [sic]. It is finished'.¹⁹³

In effect, this is expressing the view that women do not engage in active political protest against a regime until things are at a crisis point and their activity provides either decisive support to the opposition, or their activity can be taken as a sign that public opposition to the government has become overwhelming.

Another aspect of this special role identified in the newspaper coverage is the participation of women in local elections. It is argued that this is more important

¹⁸⁸ Valnora Edwin, Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 2011

¹⁸⁹ "Expanding the Political Space for Women", *Standard Times*, 20 August 2004, Saidu Kamara

¹⁹⁰ "Women Not Welcome in Politics", *Concord Times*, 14 May 2008, Mariamah Kandeh

¹⁹¹ "Replying to the President's Position On the Methodist Women's Demo", *Concord Times*, 11 March 2004, Raymond Bamidele-Thompson

¹⁹² In Krio (Creole of Sierra Leone)

¹⁹³ "Replying to the President's Position On the Methodist Women's Demo", *Concord Times*, 11 March 2004, Raymond Bamidele-Thompson

than national elections because, women's needs and interests are related to the activities and services of local government. In an article on women and local government, the range of areas of managed by local government is listed to make this point 'public health, medical service, licensing, local trading, commercial and industrial activity, education and environmental regulation'.¹⁹⁴ The relationship between women and local government is positively described as a two way process through which women elected to local government can be 'a conduit for women in communities to communicate their concerns and aspirations to the local authorities' and also 'women can influence decisions made at local level to ensure that they are gender sensitive and are able to support the empowerment of women'.¹⁹⁵ This perspective, which is repeated in other discussions in the newspapers that support more women in politics, sees women's role in politics as representing the views of other women and also it charges women with the task of reforming the political system to make it a more women friendly space. This view was also repeated by Vice President Berewa (2002-2007) who declared that 'Sierra Leonean women [should] unite and *use their influence to produce women* who can go on to attain political power' (*emphasis added*).¹⁹⁶ Local government is described as an easier place for women to get elected and to serve a political apprenticeship.¹⁹⁷

Related to this is the idea that women have a unique contribution to politics. In this case, women must stand for women in order to attain political positions:

'my only advice to the women who are standing up is to organise yourselves into a strong political force and next time around when there is an election, vote solidly for candidates who have demonstrated to you that they care'.¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁴ "Women in Local Government", *Concord Times*, 30 June 2008, Samuel Tarawally

¹⁹⁵ "Women in Local Government", *Concord Times*, 30 June 2008, Samuel Tarawally

¹⁹⁶ "Expanding the Political Space for Women", *Standard Times*, 20 August 2004, Saidu Kamara

¹⁹⁷ "Women in Local Government", *Concord Times*, 30 June 2008, Samuel Tarawally

¹⁹⁸ "In Sympathy With Our Poor Sierra Leonean Mothers", *Concord Times*, 23 February 2004, Mariamah Singateh

The newspapers convey the idea women's groups will benefit women's interests. Further political participation of women often means further representation for women's interest (Krook 2006). Another article declares that 'women need to give their struggle cohesion and focus in order to achieve the target of gender equity and equality'.¹⁹⁹ A 2006 article also describes the genesis of the 50/50 group, and asserts that women entering politics (local or not) are improving their political skills, thanks to seminars and trainings²⁰⁰, therefore augmenting against women's lack of ability to "do politics". However, there, at the exception of the article on the "'The Public Perception of Fifty/Fifty Group'²⁰¹", there are little references to women's political training after that.²⁰²

Readers are also reminded that women could benefit by participating in politics of the state 'now that we are seeing more women representation in politics, they should be targeted and those holding portfolios can directly help make positive change by supporting commitments that can work'.²⁰³ A member of the Sierra Leonean public interviewed about women's role in politics spoke admiringly of the 2005 elections of Liberia²⁰⁴:

'Women participation [sic] in politics is limited. Liberia is a test case that we must use and I strongly believe in the power of women. As a woman, I was very proud when I heard that it was a woman who won the elections in Liberia. The government should sensitise women about their roles in the development of the country because many women are too shy to even speak in public'.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁹ "Expanding the Political Space for Women", *Standard Times*, 20 August 2004, Saidu Kamara

²⁰⁰ "The Public Perception of Fifty/Fifty Group", *Standard Times*, 31 July 2006, Augustine Beecher

²⁰¹ "The Public Perception of Fifty/Fifty Group", *Standard Times*, 31 July 2006, Augustine Beecher

²⁰² "50/50 Group to Prepare Women for 2007 Elections", *Concord Times*, 23 February 2006, Abdul Karim Koroma

²⁰³ "Media Pornography Re-Affirms Violence Against Women", *Concord Times*, 14 March 2007, Mariamah Kandeh

²⁰⁴ References to the 2005 Liberian presidential election which resulted in the election of Ellen Sirleaf-Johnson as first female president of the African continent.

²⁰⁵ "Voxpop: What Are the Expectations of Sierra Leoneans Regarding the Government in 2006?", *Concord Times*, 12 January 2006, Mariamah Kandeh and Mohamed Massaquoi

The example of the election of a female president in the neighbouring state of Sierra Leone has helped to make the issue of women's political participation represented in the newspapers coverage (Table 16).

However, the constant barriers of male dominated politics and anti-women attitudes, present in the coverage of the newspapers are key factors to limit and hinder women's political participation. This confirms that the will to overcome women's access to political roles, as it is supported by UNSCR 1325 (2000) and some of its subsequent resolutions, is barred by obstacles that are unlikely to be totally overcome, which matches the post-WWII observations on limiting women's political access. One newspaper article suggests that 'it's high time the men had been conscientised [sic]'.²⁰⁶ This indicates a will to overcome these limitations. However, the general trend of women's political participation, with a drop of seats in parliaments and lesser governmental representation, seems to indicate otherwise.

Conclusion

The newspaper analysis reveals the position the state of Sierra Leone has undertaken since the end of the war in regards with the standing of women. First, the newspaper analysis misses on covering accurately the fact that women's economic roles undertaken during the war have been retained by women in post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone.²⁰⁷ The newspaper analysis does not reveal the shift observed during the fieldtrip where women occupied a large informal trade body nor does it reflect the observation made during the fieldtrip that women in middle-class have been rising to upper tertiary levels, owning clothes manufacturing or catering companies of clothes making. It shows a wrong representation of women in Sierra Leone in economic activities and this leads to the conclusion that women's economic empowerment is seen as a threat to the state, which explains

²⁰⁶ "Women in Local Government", *Concord Times*, 30 June 2008, Samuel Tarawally

²⁰⁷ Valnora Edwin, Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 2011

why “training” or “skill development” is numerous present in newspapers, unlike the real economic activities of women. The second point of analysis is that women’s rights are practically invisible from the newspapers content, particularly as they have legal access to justice and no access to land or property, in spite of three Acts of legislation that were passed in 2007 supporting these accesses to justice and equality. Thirdly, in spite of the strong presence of “training” in the newspapers discourse that would ideally support women’s empowerment, the real empowerment of women cannot be achieved with a constant negation of women’s rights and anti-women attitude, which is particularly prevalent when reporting is done on “women and politics”. Finally, the politics of women’s representation show a more significant double standard discourse where women in politics are good for the state in ways that fit the state’s gender stereotypes and it is left to women to organise themselves to be represented, which indicates that the state of Sierra Leone will not play a role – like introducing political quotas – in accelerating and pushing for political equality.

This grim analysis shows the extent to which the state has persistently perpetrated this version of “women”, attempting to please at the same time external donors and international agencies. This started prior to the war, which is only acknowledged for the case of this thesis in the literature on Sierra Leone since there is no media analysis prior to the war due to scarcity of data. The fact that the same political party that ruled before 1991 returned to power in 2007 demonstrates this persistence in conducting similar politics in pre- and post-war Sierra Leone despite international intervention. These results for both newspapers reflect the state’s treatment of “gender affairs”. A meeting with Rosaline Sankoh, the 2011 Deputy Minister for Social Welfare, Gender and Children Affairs in her Freetown office revealed some of the “gender” perspectives of the state of Sierra Leone. The office itself was inside a temporary building far from the main government building. It had no glass windows or air conditioning unlike other government offices, which are

located few meters away in a modern building. There was one computer covered on dust blowing in from the unpaved street outside. In spite of Rosaline Sankoh affirming the state's commitment to "gender affairs" and the pursuit of gender equality, in light of the obvious lack of priority the state of Sierra Leone accorded to the premises she worked in, it was hard to believe the claims.

In consequence, as the UN Resolution does not mention or refer to women's self-empowerment through economic activities, it cannot be concluded of a direct impact of the UN Resolution. However, in regards with the political participation, and in spite of being on the key argument of UNSCR 1325, limitations have occurred in women's political roles. These limitations reside mostly in the double standard discourse held by the newspaper discourse, which tends to try to please the external donors while maintaining an undermining discourse against women's abilities to undertake political roles. Again then, it becomes clear that the UN Resolution has little to no impact on the post-conflict reconstruction process that occurred in Sierra Leone.

Chapter 7 – Sexual relations and post-conflict reconstruction

The previous chapter alluded to a double standard in the gender discourse of newspapers in Sierra Leone. This double discourse shows a tentative pleasing of the international agencies while revealing an ingrained culture of traditional gender roles that persisted despite the civil war. This chapter further investigates how women are portrayed in newspapers articles of Sierra Leone in relation to the post-war sexual relations discourse. As seen in the previous chapter, women encounter many hurdles that prevent them from taking up economic or political roles in Sierra Leone. Added to this is the particular hurdle of connecting intimate sexual relations to public life and assuming that these intimate practices should be regulated and judged by the state. The newspaper articles are more likely to denounce the promiscuity of women via sensationalised content or through misconceptions about women's sexuality. This chapter reflects a specific shift in discourse and intends to show that women are not considered full citizens or equals of men in the Sierra Leone discourse and how the international discourse has no effect on that.

Aspects of the reinforced vulnerability of women are found in the overarching discourse on women in post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone. One of the characteristics of the postwar moment is how the ideology of gender difference is perpetuated. The reassertion of the "male" values present in this chapter (Table 29), which is done here through the themes on sexual violence and the overall sexual politics of the state in post-conflict reconstruction. It has to be noted that most of the references to the "sexual" relations related by the newspapers are significantly lower than any of the other mentions found in the previous chapter. In this chapter, the significance of the number of mention is important, it is possible to

identify what is missing; but more importantly, what is significant is the way the newspapers relate and report these “sexual relations”.

Table 29: Newspaper analysis for Chapter 7 in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> (2002-2008)	<i>Standard Times</i> (2003-2006)	Total
Sexual violence, sexual abuse ²⁰⁸	287	85	372
Violence against girls in schools ^{209*}	103	10	113
“Gender-based violence” ²¹⁰	76	6	82
Domestic violence (against women)	56	8	64
Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting*	59	4	63
Prostitution/sex workers	47	14	61
Sexual harassment	25	6	31
Total	653	133	786

* Particular references to Sub-Saharan states

The sexual politics of post-conflict reconstruction

“Sexual violence” is a theme that is often broached by external donors as evidence of the position of vulnerability women are subjected to. The significant rise of donations and international coverage by international media of sexual violence in conflicts (particularly African conflicts) in the recent years has also created the need for further national news coverage. In the case of Sierra Leone, sexual gender-based violence (SGBV) is a major theme for the newspapers content, in which the state plays a role by having legislative texts on the issue but do not follow with strong judicial answers to the growing problem. Analyses of both newspapers reveal that the newspaper content is high not just in sexual violence but also in overarching gender-based violence (Table 30). Included in the table is the distinction between women and girls in sexual violence.

²⁰⁸ Including “rape”, excludes “gender-based violence”

²⁰⁹ All forms of violence against girls, including “rape”.

²¹⁰ The expression was key word searched here.

Table 30: Sexual violence content in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Sexual violence	13	17	42	47	61	180
GBV	2	6	26	17	25	76
Girls raped	12	4	7	16	30	69
Rape ²¹¹	6	1	10	5	16	38
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006			Total
Sexual violence	47	10	11			68
Girls raped	9	0	0			9
GBV	4	2	0			6
Rape	3	0	0			3

With a total of 180 references in *Concord Times*, “sexual violence” (excluding domestic violence) is very much present in the newspapers. “Sexual violence” comes in different forms in both newspapers but is most of the times reduced to “rape”, even though work on the issue of sexual violence details that rape is only one of the issues and that sexual violence takes other forms than rape (Amnesty International 2011). “Rape” (“rape” + “girls raped”) is reported total of 107 times for the *Concord Times* and 12 times for the *Standard Times* (Table 30). In the analysis, a distinction has been made between “rape” and “girls raped” to show how sexual violence affects all ages. Sexual violence against girls is ingrained in the society and sexual violence against girls will be examined later in this section. To start with the issue of “rape”, it can be noted that with the main focus on sensationalising the news to attract most number of readers, the lack of concern for women’s health is evident.

Less than five articles recount the conflict’s sexual violence, in the form of case rape, and the atrocities committed against women during the war, which included womb perforation of pregnant women.²¹² Residual shame following sexual

²¹¹ “rape”, “raped”, “raping”; excluding “girls raped”

²¹² “Fyle Falsifies the Record of the First SLPP Administration”, *Concord Times* 19, October 2004, John Leigh

violence during the war is present this small number of articles: 'Bintu Kondowah's sister was raped by rebels during the 11-year civil war. Ever since, she's been too ashamed to return to her village and visit her family'.²¹³ The culture of silence with regards to the reporting of rape is described in one article;

Whenever girls who stay with their male relations are raped, the family mostly for fear of sending the image of the family into a bad light would decide to keep the whole story under the carpet and in the process set the life of the victim into shambles.²¹⁴

This is a reflection of the stigma faced by women in isolated rural areas 'in their own communities when they admit they have been sexually abused', as public mention of such sexual offences 'confront[s] social taboos against speaking publicly about rape and other sexual violence' (Ben-Ari and Harsh 2005) and is therefore rarely present in the newspapers.

Rapes are only occasionally reported in the media but, reflecting the reality of the state, as rapes in Sierra Leone are usually not reported.²¹⁵ There are many reasons for not reporting rape, as in the northern part of the state a woman would be forced to marry her rapist. Centres to prevent and protect women from sexual violence have been set up in the country, funded externally. Rainbo Centre, funded by the International Rescue Committee (IRC), provides 'free medical care and free legal counselling to women who have been raped'.²¹⁶ Ami Kandeh also confirmed that some of the data 'go missing' at times and with the IRC, she has not been able 'to update the recent numbers of rape' in the capital alone.²¹⁷ Other NGOs like COOPI have also set up a whistle blowing system: if a woman or girl has been raped, she can report it to a local connection of COOPI, which will take charge and provide the woman with transportation so she can go to a hospital and get a

²¹³ "Government Asked to Apologise to Sexually Abused", *Concord Times*, 6 November 2007, Rachel Horner & Danny Glenwright

²¹⁴ "Breaking the Culture of Silence", *Concord Times*, 18 January 2006, Mariamah Kandeh

²¹⁵ Ami Kandeh, IRC president, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

²¹⁶ Ami Kandeh, IRC president, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

²¹⁷ Ami Kandeh, IRC president, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

medical rape report with which she can report the rape to the police.²¹⁸ However, this system of whistle blowing is not reported in newspapers. Nor do newspapers report the fact that women who get pregnant from rape have a legal right to free abortion services either at a hospital or at a family planning centre like Marie Stopes if they report their rape to the police.²¹⁹ In cases where a woman does not report the rape, Marie Stopes also provides safe abortions to discourage women from approaching back alley abortionists.²²⁰

The tendency of newspapers to sensationalise sexual violence in their content can be seen in the following headlines: “50-50 Group Concerned Over Child Rape Cases”²²¹, “Rapist Soldiers On the Run”²²², “Touching of Breast is Sexual Abuse’ - IRC Scribe”²²³ or “FSU Boss Abets Rapists in Kenema”²²⁴. To sensationalise further the reports, some articles emphasise youth of the girl raped: “In Kono Teacher Nabbed for Sexual Assaulting Girl, 8”²²⁵, “‘Unlawful Carnal Knowledge is Prevalent,’ Says Chief Prosecutor”²²⁶, “Man Rapes Girl, 11”²²⁷, “Chief Rapes 8-Year Old Girl”²²⁸, “45 Year-Old Rapes Girl, Eight”²²⁹ or “‘Paedophile’ Rapes Girl Three”²³⁰. Overall, little concern is given to actual criminal investigation or the possible health problems linked to the rape. The discourse is more interested by the crime than its solution and resolution.

²¹⁸ Roisin Cavanagh, COOPI, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

²¹⁹ Marie Stopes employee, Interview, Makeni, April 2011

²²⁰ Marie Stopes employee, Interview, Makeni, April 2011

²²¹ *Standard Times*, 19 January 2005, Saidu Kamara

²²² *Standard Times*, 12 October 2004

²²³ *Standard Times*, 5 March 2004, Abu Bakarr Kargbo

²²⁴ *Concord Times*, 14 June 2007, Mohamed Massaquoi

²²⁵ *Concord Times*, 25 March 2008, Fuad Kamara

²²⁶ *Concord Times*, 3 October 2006, Michael Bockarie

²²⁷ *Concord Times*, 14 March 2008, Ibrahim Jaffa Condeh

²²⁸ *Concord Times*, 8 May 2008, Fuad Kamara

²²⁹ *Concord Times*, 15 May 2008, Fuad Kamara

²³⁰ *Concord Times*, 22 August 2008, Alhassan Bah

Further on the aspect of “rape” is the sexual abuse of underage children known in Sierra Leone as “unlawful carnal knowledge”. “Unlawful carnal knowledge” refers here to paedophilia, acts of illegal sexual relations with or abuse of anyone under the legal age.²³¹ It is also the most used expression in the newspapers in underage and not consented sexual relations.

Table 31: “Unlawful carnal knowledge” in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
“Unlawful carnal knowledge”	0	0	4	0	4	8
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006			Total
“Unlawful carnal knowledge”	3	0	0			3

The newspapers have hardly any references to specific sexual abuse cases of “unlawful carnal knowledge” (Table 31). How they discuss “unlawful carnal knowledge”, however, is very revealing. Take, for example, a *Concord Times* article, “Paedophile’ Rapes Girl Three”²³² detailing the rape of a young girl:

‘Mother of the victim Isatu Kamara told the court [...] she was in her bedroom when she heard a serious argument going on outside between the accused and some other boys. She said she came outside and found out that her daughter has been deflowered with bloodstain on her clothes’²³³.

In this case, the perpetrator was brought to justice, as ‘a middle-aged man, said to be a paedophile after he allegedly raped a 3-year-old at Ashobi Corner, is presently standing trial before Magistrate Carew of Court No.7 in Freetown’²³⁴ after the parents ‘took the accused to the Ross Road police station for further investigations’.²³⁵ The article provides even more detail, stating that ‘he accused has

²³¹ This is assumed as no legal document seems to give an age limit for “Unlawful carnal knowledge”.

²³² *Concord Times*, 22 August 2008, Alhassan Bah

²³³ “Paedophile’ Rapes Girl Three” *Concord Times*, 22 August 2008, Alhassan Bah

²³⁴ “Paedophile’ Rapes Girl Three” *Concord Times*, 22 August 2008, Alhassan Bah

²³⁵ “Paedophile’ Rapes Girl Three” *Concord Times*, 22 August 2008, Alhassan Bah

been released on a [LE] 4 million bail²³⁶”.²³⁷ This article is an example of the salacious details being more important, reducing the events to national gossip rather than taking women and girls injustice seriously. However, it is one of the rare example in which the beginning of the prosecution of such crimes is detailed. There was no follow up to this article to see if the man was judged or convicted.

The other aspect of violence against young girl is the prevalent violence in schools. In reporting these events, newspapers often reinforce “traditional” values about young girls in two main ways: first is the sensationalisation of the crimes which includes focusing on the victims’ young age, as the purity of young girls – virgins in waiting to be married – is essential in the traditional values re-instated and re-enforced in the news articles. The second one is through the lack of acknowledgement of why it is important for young girls to stay at school (prevention of early marriages, early pregnancies, and the acquisition of lifelong skills for future work). In both newspapers, it appears that concerns towards gender-based violence in schools do exist (Table 32), particularly in 2007 (total=17), a general election year. However, given that the issues of violence against girls could be reported several times within a same article, the present numbers of mentions are still low.

²³⁶ 710 euros

²³⁷ “‘Paedophile’ Rapes Girl Three” *Concord Times*, 22 August 2008, Alhassan Bah

Table 32: Non-specified violence against girls in schools in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Girls raped	12	4	7	16	30	69
Violence against girls in school	3	3	4	17	7	34
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total	
Girls raped	9	0	0		9	
Violence against girls in school	0	1	0		1	

The *Standard Times* has an even lower level of coverage of this topic with only one reference to violence in school (Table 32). The reference relates to male teachers, who are often the only teachers, and who ‘must be firm, honest, sincere and committed, especially the male teachers. “Use your psychology to avert the girls’ temptation,” said Mrs. Macauley [a lecturer in the department of education]’, as ‘education... must be an agent of empowerment in the lives of people, and must promote development, tolerance and peace’.²³⁸ This indicates that the position of power in teaching, and dominantly held by men in Sierra Leone, causes problems. Girls’ education is endangered by sexual abuses and harassments in schools by their teachers, particularly when the “blame is put on the girl, not the teacher: ‘a school girl could love her teacher for various reasons namely to always [be] top in her subjects that is getting pass marks even when it is obvious that she has failed; being provided with lunch; and sometimes to secure a permanent relationship’.²³⁹ It is added in the same article that ‘this relationship [...], which exists in schools between teachers and pupils, is not a hidden game. *Sometimes, relatives of the girl encourage the teacher into their homes’ (emphasis added).*²⁴⁰ There is in the articles the sense that victim-blaming is present and that girls are the one held responsible for “seducing” their teachers. The position of power teacher/student is not much

²³⁸ “International School Observe [sic] 6th Anniversary”, *Standard Times*, 22 January 2003, Saidu Kamara

²³⁹ “Sexual Mugs, Extortion in Schools”, *Concord Times*, 5 August 2008, Mohamed Vandj

²⁴⁰ “Sexual Mugs, Extortion in Schools”, *Concord Times*, 5 August 2008, Mohamed Vandj

discussed in the news articles or the abuse of the position of power by teachers on students is not present either.

The content of the newspapers shows that sexual or gender-based violence is often related with headlines like “UN Starts 16 Days Campaign Against Gender Violence”²⁴¹, “Faith Trains Law Enforcement Agents On Human Trafficking”²⁴², or “UN Trains Salone Police On Gender Mainstreaming, Prevention of Sexual Exploitation”²⁴³. This is where the impact that UNSCR 1325 should be visible. However, the content of those news reports are either copies of the statements or invitations from international organisations. The articles (less than 20) do not discuss sexual and gender-based violence in depth, its causes, or how it can be curbed. Therefore, there are news reports of sexual violence, as per the indicators of UNSCR 1325, but not the way that follows the international discourse. The articles mentioning sexual violence are mostly showing the extent of violence perpetrated against women in the most sensationalising way possible. Little is reported on the severity of the crimes or whether the perpetrators are being judged for their violent acts. It is difficult to compare the sensationalised articles to the “information” articles: the titles, as shown in this chapter and the previous one, are often misleading titles. Therefore, the sensationalised articles seem to have made way more significantly in the two chapters as they often outrageously depict the post-war gender relations in Sierra Leone.

Table 33 shows a lower form of sexual violence in the form of sexual harassment and the low numbers for sexual harassment in the table indicates that this issue is still not taken seriously. One article reminds however that ‘touching of a woman's breast and waist without consent is a sexual assault that could be charged to

²⁴¹ *Concord Times*, 1 December 2004, Theodora Renner

²⁴² *Concord Times*, 29 March 2006, Ibrahim Seibure

²⁴³ *Concord Times*, 29 July 2008, Bhoyy Jalloh

court'.²⁴⁴ This quote illustrates how sexual harassment operates in Sierra Leone, as it has to be reminded to the reader that touching a breast is a form of sexual violence. This explains why sexual harassment is rarely reported to police, even though it is encouraged by the FSU.²⁴⁵

Table 33: Sexual harassment in Concord Times and Standard Times

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Sexual harassment	1	1	4	1	18	25
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006			Total
Sexual harassment	5	0	1			6

Apart from the Sexual Offense Act which came into force in 2012 and which is outside the period covered by the newspapers analysis, there is no legislation to prevent harassment in employment of other contexts. The legislation has been slow to address these issues of harassment. The 2012 Sexual Offense Act introduced the subject of harassment defined as an act committed by 'a person who repeatedly makes unwanted sexual advances, repeatedly follows, pursues or accosts another person or makes persistent unwelcome communication with another person' and a person is 'liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding LE 10,000,000²⁴⁶ or to a term of imprisonment not exceeding three years (Sexual Offense Act 2012: article 13 (d); edited). The text was passed few months before the Presidential elections of 2012, a situation similar to the Gender Acts, also adopted a few months before the Presidential elections of 2007. Prior to 2012, there was no legislation to reduce harassment. This explains why there are little news reports and awareness with regard to harassment. In the few existing new reports, there are no distinctions between the types of harassment and the link to the legislation is inexistent. Since it is in the Sexual Offence Act (2012), it is easy to suggest that all harassment is sexual

²⁴⁴ "Touching of Breast is Sexual Abuse' – IRC Scribe", *Standard Times*, 5 March 2004, Abu Bakarr Kargbo

²⁴⁵ Police officer, Makeni Police office, Interview, Makeni, April 2011

²⁴⁶ 1700 euros

in nature. The vagueness used by both news articles and the legislative text on the topic indicates that harassment is used in the articles.

There is a clear attempt by newspapers to follow NGOs and international organisations reports signalling the dangers of sexual violence and the wrongdoing of subjecting women to violence. But more often, journalists seem to accuse women as wholly responsible of the violence they have been victim of. There is a lot of victim-blaming in the newspapers articles.

Prostitution

The level of ingrained violence resides also in the way prostitution and prostitutes are represented in the discourse of the newspapers. Generalised poverty has led many women of Sierra Leone to engage in prostitution as a means of subsistence. Prostitutes can be found in the nightclubs where foreign nationals go for drinks and are even found at the gates of hotels (where Westerners stay).²⁴⁷ In addition to “prostitute” or “sex worker”, this section looks at how women have been portrayed when it comes to the specifics of sexual relations, or when women are portrayed as a synonym for debauchery (Table 34). Indeed, little newspaper portrayals depict women as mostly interested in money through sexual relations.

Table 34: Content related to women with "low morals" in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Sex workers, prostitutes	4	7	6	14	16	47
Women = debauchery	0	0	5	2	2	9
Women and sex	2	0	1	2	0	5
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total	
Sex workers, prostitutes	13	1	9		22	
Women = debauchery	3	0	1		3	
Women and sex	1	0	0		1	

²⁴⁷ Discussion with Irish Aid worker (no name), Freetown, April 2011

It has to be noted that sex workers, prostitutes are only female in the newspapers. Reports of women as prostitutes are not numerous. Some content of these articles will be examined in details now, as they reveal interesting facts about how women engaging in prostitution are thought of by the elite discourse. Portrayed as greedy beings, women engaging in prostitution are the ones who want

*‘to live like queens and flamboyant with costly attractive attires, and the failure of the parents to meet such demands leaves them with no alternative but to jump to prostitution’ (emphasis added).*²⁴⁸

It is not questioned why those girls are leaving school nor are connections explored between sexual violence in schools and early-age prostitution. Another report references the young age of the prostitutes:

*‘school-going girls between the ages of 15 and 18 have become so engaged in this immoral trade that education has become a thing of no importance, especially as one comes across primary and junior secondary school girls in pregnancy’.*²⁴⁹

In this extract, it seems that the greediness of the young girls results in teenage pregnancy. However, the issue of promoting young girls’ education, which would be in opposition to early marriages, is not present in the newspapers articles in spite of being the focus of the international discourse for the last ten years, for example, the United Nations Girls’ Education Initiative (UNGEI) founded in 2000 (UNGEI 2014).

Blaming the low morals of young women for the transmission of HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmissible diseases and infections, this article states that ‘most of these young girls have boyfriends who might not know that they are “sex hawkers”. As such, they get infected and in turn communicate a disease to others through unprotected sex’.²⁵⁰ A related focus is also on what women wear: ‘along major streets like Siaka Stevens Street, Garrison Street, Howe Street, Charlotte Street, PZ

²⁴⁸ “Prostitutes on the Rampage”, *Standard Times*, 19 May 2004, Samuel Bobson

²⁴⁹ “Prostitutes on the Rampage”, *Standard Times*, 19 May 2004, Samuel Bobson

²⁵⁰ “Teenage Prostitution – Destroying the Country’s Future”, *Concord Times*, 24 October 2007, Mariamah Kandeh

one could see these teenage prostitutes in “mini skirts”[sic], “hot pants”, and “ultra back”[sic] tops’.²⁵¹ This again shows the need of the journalists to sensationalise the topic by showing the young girls as temptresses.

Sometimes, little sensitivity is deployed by the journalist, which reveals the class divide existing within the state, as the journalist is clearly better educated than the woman prostitute. In an interview with a sex worker, there is a patronising tone barely hidden within the insensitive questions. The journalists asked first why she does not use condoms when having sex despite an increase in HIV positive testing in the country. He continues, with judgmental tone to the question asking:

‘what you actually do to your husband for him to have abandoned you?’²⁵²

In response to the answer that her boyfriend slept with her best friend and chose the best friend over her, the journalist pursues the topic insisting that she is the reason of the abandonment:

'so because he fall in love with her that was why you abandoned him and started working as a sex worker?'²⁵³

The journalist remarks that she was probably a bad wife and that is why she became a prostitute. He concludes by asking:

‘do you normally encounter difficulty with some customers who may want to be rude or rough with you taking advantage that you are a woman?’²⁵⁴

The answers do not matter in this case because the woman is not defending herself. However, the journalist clearly uses his more powerful position to shame her. It was

²⁵¹ “Teenage Prostitution – Destroying the Country's Future”, *Concord Times*, 24 October 2007, Mariamah Kandeh

²⁵² “‘I Don't Use Condoms Always,’ Sex Worker Tells *Concord Times*”, *Concord Times*, 9 May 2006, Sahr Musa Yamba

²⁵³ “‘I Don't Use Condoms Always,’ Sex Worker Tells *Concord Times*”, *Concord Times*, 9 May 2006, Sahr Musa Yamba

²⁵⁴ “‘I Don't Use Condoms Always,’ Sex Worker Tells *Concord Time*, *Concord Times*, 9 May 2006, Sahr Musa Yamba

also made clear in the news reports that this young woman interviewed has no other means of sustenance, by emphasising the location where the interview was conducted.

Another article links the state's corruption problem and the greediness of women. It might be expected in this case that the article focuses on the corruption of the government official in question and concentrates on exposing his wrongdoing. However, this is not the case as demonstrated by extracts from what can be described as an extraordinary piece of reporting. The article recounts, in the form of a semi-personal essay, the journalist's arrival in a bar in Aberdeen²⁵⁵, in the west of Freetown. The journalist starts by stating that

'as I was about to take [his] seat and contemplating on what to do next with just [LE] 5,000²⁵⁶ in my pocket, I noticed one astonishing thing that distracted my attention from her. I saw a Government minister (name withheld²⁵⁷) sitting with four "Kolonkos"²⁵⁸ sorry with four ladies'.²⁵⁹

The journalist goes on describing the four women:

'the negative effect of bleaching was written all over the ladies. Their black and red fingers and feet and half-naked attire coupled with cigarette smoking was enough for one to conclude that they were "kolonkos"'.²⁶⁰

Noticing the table full of drinks and food, the journalist continued, stating that

'trust those "kolonkos" for their unlimited appetite for delicious foods at the expense of their victims'.²⁶¹

²⁵⁵ It is a wealthier area of Freetown, on the seaside, with beach restaurants and bars.

²⁵⁶ Less than 1 euro

²⁵⁷ In the article

²⁵⁸ "Kolonko" is derogatory terms for women. It usually means "easy woman" or "woman with low moral"

²⁵⁹ "Focus On Greedy Politicians And Government Minister Vanishes Into Thin Air", *Concord Times*, 25 August 2005, Alfred Hindolo Fomolu

²⁶⁰ "Focus On Greedy Politicians And Government Minister Vanishes Into Thin Air", *Concord Times*, 25 August 2005, Alfred Hindolo Fomolu

²⁶¹ "Focus On Greedy Politicians And Government Minister Vanishes Into Thin Air", *Concord Times*, 25 August 2005, Alfred Hindolo Fomolu

Interestingly, the women's greed is somewhat more important than the Minister's actions including a possible use of prostitutes, to the point where he was described as a victim.

There is a double standard in relation to prostitution in Sierra Leone, which seems to blame women for spreading HIV/AIDS, and to prostitution in Nigeria, which seems to be seen as more sophisticated. In this case, a journalist, travelling in the Nigeria, notes the beauty of the women, which makes the women of Sierra Leone seem like "gypsies". He describes his encounter with one particular woman, when he 'was pondering in the club when one slim and light skinned Nigerian babe whom [he] thought was modelling for a soap factory took me to the dance floor'.²⁶² Despite being aware of prostitution in Sierra Leone, he actually expresses his sadness for the young women of Nigeria having to prostitute themselves, something that would never be expressed towards the women prostituting themselves in Sierra Leone:

'one thing I found difficult to reconcile with is that most of the girls I came across who were selling their beautiful flesh for money are either University graduates, under graduates or students enrolled in leading institutions'.²⁶³

As a result, in this article, women in Sierra Leone are represented greedy and engage for prostitution to satisfy their need for material things, but women in Nigeria who prostitute themselves, do it for further education. This reinforces a negative and abusive attitude towards women in Sierra Leone.

Factual articles of women prostitution blame poverty, as the major caused prostitution. However, none of those articles link women's situations in Sierra Leone with the violence in schools and the exclusions of women from their

²⁶² "Night Life in Abuja", *Concord Times*, 9 June 2005, Abdul Karim Koroma

²⁶³ "Night Life in Abuja", *Concord Times*, 9 June 2005, Abdul Karim Koroma

community in cases of sexual violence. Newspaper stories on women and sex only report acts of prostitution. They also only report prostitution as a female economic activity. Consequently, the discourse never departs from the sensationalisation of news of sexual violence.

Another aspect of the lack of knowledge in the news is the confusion at times between same-sex relationships and prostitution. Same-sex relationships are illegal in Sierra Leone and it is doubtful that reports of male prostitution would make the headlines when so little on female prostitution is there. However, it appears that sexuality is confused at times with sex trade. Using an editorial from another newspaper article, it is declared that

‘these lesbians are forsaking their love relationships with men, reason being either because their fellow women go to an extent of forbidding them not to fall in love with men or that their concentration on same sex love life does not permit them time for the opposite sex’.²⁶⁴

The journalist adds that ‘this is ridiculous, unbelievable and above all abominable! ... It’s high time you started quitting [sic] this life of prostitution and lesbianism’.²⁶⁵ It would appear that there is an awareness of same-sex relations but while noticing the silence surrounding it. It is linked to the double stigma attached to homosexuality and HIV/AIDS, and encourages the silence of people engaging in same-sex affairs.²⁶⁶

It is a fact that homosexuality is being practiced in Sierra Leone both among women and men but society has made it a taboo to even discuss it. The stigma attached to it has made it impossible for gay people to come out and tell their sexual habits. It is difficult for HIV campaigners to reach this particular set of people in the country.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁴ “Prostitution and Lesbianism among Teenagers in Sierra Leone”, *Awareness Times*, 5 February 2008, Abdul Karim Kabia

²⁶⁵ “Prostitution and Lesbianism among Teenagers in Sierra Leone”, *Awareness Times*, 5 February 2008, Abdul Karim Kabia

²⁶⁶ Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee, interview, Freetown, April 2011

²⁶⁷ “HIV/Aids, a Bleak Future Ahead of Country”, *Concord Times*, 12 November 2008, Mariamah Kandeh

In essence, not only can same-sex relations be confused with prostitution, but because of the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS, the silence is persistent. This quote, above, is the only article that talked about same-sex relations in terms that were neither derogatory nor in search of sensationalising another topic.

The discourse in the newspapers also portrays women as a commodity or a tool for sexual relations as illustrated by this quote which states: 'all [politicians] care for is the simple equation: money, women and alcohol'²⁶⁸. The statement could explain why the few articles mentioning "kolonkos" are more interested in the women rather than the corrupted Minister or officials.

Another limitation of the Sierra Leone system in post-conflict reconstruction is the corruption of the judicial system (including police) and underage sexual abuse. .

It is illegal to have sex with a minor in Sierra Leone, but few men are prosecuted, as most parents will accept small out of court payments in lieu of taking the perpetrator to court. Koumba Kanawe, a Sierra Leonean lawyer who focuses on women's rights and family law, says the problem is getting worse *as mothers actively encourage their daughters into sexual relationships in exchange for money* (emphasis added).²⁶⁹

The above extract, from a 2013 news reports in the *Standard Times*, shows the extent to which the articles jump easily from underage sex to prostitution encouraged by mothers. Men are never blamed. This is related to the fact that 'rape of a married woman or a non-virgin is often not considered a crime at all: as in many countries, there is often a belief that the woman must have consented to the act, or she is seen as a seductress' (HRW 2002: 5). The double standard expressed in

²⁶⁸ "Why I Fear Sierra Leoneans", *Concord Times*, 26 January 2006, Idrissa Conteh

²⁶⁹ "OPARD-SL Looking into schools and sex abuse in Sierra Leone", *Standard Times*, 12 February 2013, available online.

the newspapers both in relation to prostitution and sexual violence reflects an ingrained culture of violence against women in the state of Sierra Leone.

Ingrained violence

One of the most extreme forms of ingrained violence is the increased presence of domestic violence in post-conflict reconstruction. Domestic violence is often a recurring issue in post-conflict reconstruction – Jacobson (2013: 238) calls it the “9pm violence” as domestic violence during the evening news was more likely to erupt in post-war Bosnia. In *Chapter 5*, it was detailed that pre-war domestic violence existed in Sierra Leone and it is also likely to be a high level post-war, given the level of violence during the conflict. Table 35 shows although that between 2005 and 2008, mentions of “domestic violence” have multiplied by nine in three years, there is still a low number of accounts of domestic violence in the media and it does not reflect the actual prevalence of this type of violence in Sierra Leone.

Table 35: Domestic violence content in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Domestic violence	0	3	14	10	29	56
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006			Total
Domestic violence	8	0	0			8

So in spite of the increased numbers of references for “domestic violence” in the *Concord Times* (Table 35), these numbers do not reflect the insidious violence that is domestic violence in post-conflict reconstruction context. In the case of the *Standard Times*, it appears that “domestic violence” is barely reported (Table 35). In rural areas, ‘many wives especially in the rural areas cannot freely speak of the nefarious acts their husbands might have meted [sic] out on them with the mere fear that they would be seen to be disobedient in their matrimonial homes’.²⁷⁰ The

²⁷⁰ “Breaking the Culture of Silence”, *Concord Times*, 18 January 2006, Mariamah Kandeh

article adds that ‘some husbands beat up their wives to comma [sic] should they resist or prove defiant to whatever instruction that comes from them’²⁷¹, contending that a continual beating only renders women ‘a part of the furniture’.²⁷² It confirms the scholarship on pre-war Sierra Leone which established that beating and “chastising” of children is a normal behaviour (Ben-Ari & Harsh 2005, TRC 2005), children who in turn will practice on ‘their colleagues in schools and even to their wives in the future. They may see it as something that worked well for their parents’²⁷³, and in this case, that male children who experience beating at home will do the same to their wives, as “normalised” behaviour.

Since the end of the war, the issue of domestic violence has not been taken seriously by the media. Frequently tabloid-like coverage of domestic violence ends up on the front pages of newspapers. In addition, ‘reports about prosecution or conviction of these offences are almost non-existent’ (Abdullah et al. 2010: 43). This is due to the lack of access to justice for women and the weight of customary practices, which are more significant in rural areas. This absence of judicial reports concerning domestic violence cases in the Sierra Leone newspapers show that there is very little interest in bringing a normalised customary practice to the knowledge of readers or that it is a normalised practice that no one wants to contest. It also expresses that “traditions” are strongly embedded in the society, even post-war and even with the existence of some campaigns to stop the practice of domestic violence.²⁷⁴ A 2008 article reflects the fact that men in authoritarian position do not do anything about domestic violence because they do not have to: ‘these men want to continue to see women suffer and thus doing everything in their favour to prevent women from holding positions of authority’.²⁷⁵ This reflects

²⁷¹ “Breaking the Culture of Silence”, *Concord Times*, 18 January 2006, Mariamah Kandeh

²⁷² “Breaking the Culture of Silence”, *Concord Times*, 18 January 2006, Mariamah Kandeh

²⁷³ “Breaking the Culture of Silence”, *Concord Times*, 18 January 2006, Mariamah Kandeh

²⁷⁴ Police officer, Makeni Police office, Interview, Makeni, April 2011

²⁷⁵ “Women Not Welcome in Politics”, *Concord Times*, 14 May 2008, Mariamah Kandeh

the discourse of the newspapers, seemingly not supporting women's presence in the higher levels of the states, even though it is noted, once, that 'this is really pathetic considering the current increase in gender-based violence which authorities concerned seem to be doing little or nothing to address. Today, we hear of rape cases and other forms of domestic violence from all quarters of the country'.²⁷⁶ Domestic violence is prevalent in post-war Sierra Leone and has been the reason of the creation of the FSU.²⁷⁷ However, ineffective police training (and rampant corruption) has rendered the conviction rates low (Table 15 in *Chapter 5*). In addition, there is ineffective legislation on the topic as 'customary practices seem to have control of local issues like domestic violence'.²⁷⁸

Articles reporting on domestic violence sensationalise the act committed rather than reporting on the effects domestic violence has. There is not one article on men subjected to domestic violence neither is it referring to the legislative text, of the Domestic Violence Act of 2007, which has condemned the practice. Equally, there is no link between this type of violence against women and the international "gender" texts, which in the case of domestic violence and violence against women should be DEVAW (1993). UNSCR 1325 (2000) does not mention the issue of domestic violence, because it is a domestic issue. However, once there is legislation on the issue, domestic violence becomes a public one and therefore, 1325 or other international texts should consider it as a problem to be resolved, particularly when studies show that domestic violence increases post-war (Jacobson 2013). This issue of domestic violence is therefore largely ignored in the national discourse albeit being prevalent in the household as a "traditional" practice.

²⁷⁶ "Women Not Welcome in Politics", *Concord Times*, 14 May 2008, Mariamah Kandeh

²⁷⁷ Police officer, Makeni Police office, Interview, Makeni, April 2011; Roisin Cavanagh, Gender Officer, COOPI, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

²⁷⁸ Suard Koroma, Caritas Makeni, Interview, Makeni, April 2011

Overall, the absence of men as responsible (for few exceptions) or the lack of discussion on why Sierra Leonean women are the recipients of this violence renders this topic a strong argument against the potential impact of UNSCR 1325. Sexual violence is reported on but it is only in its sensationalising form. The articles only report on training for NGOs leaders or some members of the Sierra Leonean community. The newspaper articles dealing with sexual gender-based violence ignore that the fact this violence is ingrained in the Sierra Leonean society post-war. The fact that there are no judiciary reports on rape cases, for example, shows how the state fails Sierra Leone women and girls. The newspapers reflect government policies and middle class discourse; and it is apparent there is no concern for women's health, welfare, or safety as none of the articles indicate the state apparatus in action. The state's lack of presence is quite significant on the issue. The fact that there are processes NGOs have set up to deal with the issue but this information is not made public shows that the state of Sierra Leone is not concerned by women's status or rights with regard to sexual and gender-based violence.

The politics of traditional practices

Customary practices are dominant in Sierra Leone and they impede women's rights, as customary justice is used at the local level as "everyday" justice (Liakounakou 2012, Jackson 2011). The weight of customary practices adds to the vulnerability of women and often reduces women to "traditional" roles, particularly as wives and mothers (Ferme 2013). There is a distinction between the types of courts and types of justice. Customary justice in Sierra Leone is still practised, and it is apparent in the newspapers analysis. The following table (Table 36) shows that "paramount chiefs" who are guardians of the local justice system are present in the newspaper discourse with a total of 212 references for both newspapers. They, however, are never referenced as judges, even though they are the ones who render a judgement

if an issue is brought before them. ‘Customary laws are disputable in Sierra Leone and it disfavours women’s rights to access justice’ confirmed Valnora Edwin.²⁷⁹

Table 36: Mentions of local justice in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> (all)	<i>Standard Times</i> (all)	Total
(Paramount) chief/s	141	71	212
Local court/s	17	1	18

Chiefs are clearly essential in the way districts function in Sierra Leone. This article contains a reminder of the role Chiefs take:

Paramount Chief of Jawie Chiefdom, Chief Ngumbu Klah Kallon, Chiefdom Speaker, Lamin Josiah of Mofindor, Luawa Chiefdom [...] appealed for the training of traditional birth attendants and construction of a good road network in the chiefdoms and pledged the support of their people for every government development ventures.²⁸⁰

Another article signals that ‘the purpose of the chiefs as champions for children’s initiative is to enhance the positions of the paramount chiefs to become advocates for children and work with their communities to improve the situation of children and women’²⁸¹, adding that ‘paramount chiefs are highly respected and have deep knowledge of community traditions beliefs and virtues’.²⁸² However, chiefs are clearly currently the guardians of traditions as illustrated by this article:

Paramount Chief of Nongowa chiefdom, Kenema district has declared his support for the controversial female genital mutilation (FGM) locally referred to as “Bondo” society practiced by women in Sierra Leone... [stating] that the traditional 'Bondo' practice among women was against the law and called on traditional elders in the communities to address the situation.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ Valnora Edwin Campaign for Good Governance, Freetown, April 2011 This was also confirmed by Jamesina King, Human Rights Commissioner of Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011; Suard Koroma, Caritas Makeni, Interview, Makeni, April 2011

²⁸⁰ “Kailahun Gets Three Health Centers, Two Schools”, *Standard Times*, 5 July 2006

²⁸¹ “Unicef Champion Chiefs for Children Initiative”, *Standard Times*, 15 June 2006, Saidu Kamara

²⁸² “Unicef Champion Chiefs for Children Initiative”, *Standard Times*, 15 June 2006, Saidu Kamara

²⁸³ “Paramount Chief Supports FGM”, *Concord Times*, 21 April 2008, Mohamed Massaquoi

The same chief then declares that it should be legal and that he is elected by ‘traditional people whom [he is] answerable to. If anybody denounces 'Bondo' that is his or her rights but it should not be a paramount chief because [they] are closely connected with the society’²⁸⁴, reminding readers of the break from the British Crown in 1961. This traditionalist view limits women’s access to political roles, in this case because by refusing FGM/C, chiefs would not gain sufficient public support to stand as a candidate.

One example of the influence of traditional practices is contained in marriage legislation. The 2012 Sexual Offences Act states that the age of sexual consent is eighteen, and the Act is consistent with the Registration of Customary Marriages Act of 2007, which also sets a legal age of marriage at eighteen. The intended impact of this legal age for sexual relations is to prevent early marriages and early pregnancies and, associated with this, to allow women to finish secondary education. The legal age of sexual consent also prevents perpetrators of rape from marrying the victim, which would ‘lead to a further violation of the rights of the victim’ (Abdullah et al. 2010: 42). Links between early marriages and violence in school is almost not present in the newspapers articles (Table 37). More importantly links between legislation, in the case of the analysis the 2007 Registration of Customary Marriages Act, and early marriages (and violence in schools) is also not present. There are even less references to “early marriages” in the *Standard Times*.

Table 37: Early marriage in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
Forced / early marriage	1	0	5	3	13	22
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total	
Forced / early marriage	4	1	2		7	

²⁸⁴ “Paramount Chief Supports FGM”, *Concord Times*, 21 April 2008, Mohamed Massaquoi

References to “early marriages” are present in the newspapers in the following form:

The community used one of the intervals, through drama, to demonstrate the harmful effects of teenage pregnancy, early marriage and STI's with a lot of emphasis placed on empowerment of the girl child through sports. The programme, which attracted many people from the community, is expected to promote women and girls through sporting activities and it is hoped that the message [sic] passed through the skits will have positive impacts on the entire community.²⁸⁵

It is not discussed here or in the other few examples, why early marriages are harmful. Although mentions of the topic increase, with a total of 13 for *Concord Times* in 2008, it is still at a very low level. Consequently, sexual consent and early marriage is not a matter of debate in Sierra Leone's post-conflict reconstruction discourse. There is no discussion of why early marriages can harm the standing of girls in the society. This particular aspect of vulnerability for young girls is not taken into account in the discourse and it accentuates the vulnerability for these young girls who are forced to marry frequently under the age of 15.

Female genital mutilation

A second area where customary practices are present is the widely unregulated area of Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting. In the newspapers, the issue seems to be more present (Table 38) than “early marriages” (Table 37), and the total number of times it is mentioned has doubled in the *Concord Times* from 2006 with a total of 15 to 2008 with a total of 36.

²⁸⁵ “Enwags Promotes Sports in Dworzack Farm”, *Concord Times*, 23 May 2007, Sahr Morris Jr.

Table 38: FGM/C in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	<i>Concord Times</i> 2004	<i>Concord Times</i> 2005	<i>Concord Times</i> 2006	<i>Concord Times</i> 2007	<i>Concord Times</i> 2008	Total
FGM/C	2	1	15	5	36	59
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004	<i>Standard Times</i> 2005	<i>Standard Times</i> 2006	<i>Standard Times</i> 2007	<i>Standard Times</i> 2008	Total
FGM/C	2		0		2	4

The increased references to FGM/C (Table 38) seem to correspond to a UNICEF programme to stop FGM/C, with some EU funding of four millions Euros (EUROPAID 2012). On the other hand, the practice of FGM/C is barely mentioned in the *Standard Times* for the available years (Table 38).

In a 2008 *Concord Times* article, a Paramount chief from the Nongowa chiefdom, Kenema district, declared that he could not marry ‘a woman who did not go through the process’²⁸⁶ adding that, in the Bondo society, it is part of their cultural practices and as a traditional chief his responsibility was to uphold the culture and tradition of his subjects.²⁸⁷ The practice is so entrenched that a female candidate to an election decided to undergo the “procedure” because she ‘was laughed at [and she] was called names such as an unclean person, a non-initiate, a promiscuous woman, etc. Besides [she] realised that [she] will never become a successful female politician if ... not a member of the society. [She] must be a part of it to get the vote of the majority traditional people’.²⁸⁸ In addition, FGM/C becomes an unspoken issue when elections times arrive. ‘Presidential and Parliamentary elections are coming in 2012 so no politician is willing to take on a battle they cannot win. Opposing FGM is political suicide and no one is ready to die, not even the President’.²⁸⁹ The rural-urban divide is present in the newspapers articles in the form of articles where traditional customs (early marriages, FGM/C) are discussed as present but only in the countryside and not in the capital.

²⁸⁶“Paramount Chief Supports FGM”, *Concord Times*, 21 April 2008, Mohamed Massaquoi

²⁸⁷“Paramount Chief Supports FGM”, *Concord Times*, 21 April 2008, Mohamed Massaquoi

²⁸⁸ “FGM Back On the Agenda”, *Concord Times*, 4 February 2008, Mariamah Kandeh

²⁸⁹ “No Let-Up in Female Genital Mutilation”, *Concord Times*, 14 June 2010, Hindowa E. Saidu

The views expressed by the journalists about FGM/C are differing from FGM/C in Sierra Leone and FGM/C elsewhere. This is an example in one article reflecting this difference in approach and understanding of the issue: a report from the *Concord Times* newspaper, reports that in Ghana such practices have been criminalised²⁹⁰. In another piece from the same newspaper it is stated that all the West African countries are taking action against FGM/C; apart from Sierra Leone,²⁹¹ where the practice of FGM/C is still legal. The report used in the article to discuss the issue of FGM/C relates that ‘the most effective approaches to this issue have been found not by punishing perpetrators but through encouraging and supporting healthy choices’.²⁹² The only action proposed by the state is ‘to establish a Parliamentary Task Force to sensitise all Parliamentarians on human rights issues and some of the recommendations of the conference [held previously in Dakar]’.²⁹³ The local NGOs, which would support the end of FGM/C, have had difficulties to reach out to the candidate engaged in the 2010 local elections²⁹⁴. The following article demonstrates the pressure exercised on women in order to comply with this traditional practice. This report is only newsworthy because of her refusal and that her husband speaks and operates on her behalf:

‘Mrs. Sarah Bangura, a devoted catholic Christian is a worried woman as members of the Bondo secret society in Kakambo in the Bombali district, wanted her to be the next "sowie"²⁹⁵, the chief initiator of the society on the death of her mother... [Her husband] maintained that his wife's refusal to accept the traditional rite stemmed from their strong Christian beliefs, which frowns at secret societies, not least female genital mutilation’.²⁹⁶

²⁹⁰ “Northern Ghana – Engaging Cultural Inhibitions”, *Concord Times*, 31 August 2007, Kofi Akosah-Sarpong

²⁹¹ “UNICEF Hails Progress Toward Ending Female Genital Cutting”, *Concord Times*, 10 February 2006

²⁹² “UNICEF Hails Progress Toward Ending Female Genital Cutting”, *Concord Times*, 10 February 2006

²⁹³ “UNICEF Hails Progress Toward Ending Female Genital Cutting”, *Concord Times*, 10 February 2006

²⁹⁴ Amy Kandeh, president of International Rescue Committee (IRC) for Sierra Leone, Freetown, April 2011

²⁹⁵ Another spelling of “Sowei”

²⁹⁶ “Christian Woman Rejects Joining Secret Society”, *Concord Times*, 24 August 2004, Sulaiman Fofanah

FGM/C is then more freely discussed in the newspapers, particularly if it is an external issue, like the case of Ghana, although a Sierra Leone farmer confided during the fieldwork that she had been cut when younger.²⁹⁷ After talking to local women and international NGOs, she now refuses to force her daughters to undergo bush initiations and FGM/C.

The newspapers' discourse seems to be oscillating between the traditional necessity of the practice and the denunciation of it. The surge in the 2008 references for FGM (Table 38) shows an increased interest on the issue. The low numbers in references for early marriages (Table 37) on the other hand show the lack of interest in curbing this practice. These observations lead to the conclusion that the newspapers articles seem to reinforce women's (and girls') vulnerability rather than showing that the state could act to resolve the issues. This reinforced by the lack of regulation and legislation on both issues, as FGM/C may be illegal but 'it is not officially legislated upon it in the Constitution'.²⁹⁸ Customary practices are more significant than formal law and chiefs while they are referred as "judges", are custodians of local justice, it is clear that the state relies significantly on the customary practices to regulate the rural areas, in a way that pre-dates the war and to extend control over women's bodies, with practices like FGM/C, early marriages and illegal abortions.

UNSCR 1325 and the international gender texts in the newspapers

The analysis in the previous sections established that Sierra Leone has still in place many obstacles to women that, in theory, at least UNSCR 1325 could be used to address. This section begins by assessing the influence of UNSCR 1325 (2000) by counting how many times the Resolution appears in the newspapers articles. The section also compares the UNSCR 1325 (2000) references count to the number of times the other international texts are mentioned in order to contextualise the

²⁹⁷ Marie Pikargbo, Farmer, Freetown, April 2011.

²⁹⁸ Suard Koroma, Caritas Makeni, Interview, Makeni, April 2011; Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

strength of the UN Resolution (Table 39). Exceptionally, in this case, two years have been added to the dataset for the *Concord Times* as most of the articles relating the UN Resolution are from 2009 and 2010. UNSCR 1325 (2000) is mentioned 27 times in the *Concord Times* (table 38). This is however skewed as most of the references come from a 2009 article (“MP Decries Women's Neglect”²⁹⁹), dealing with the topic of the Sierra Leone National Strategic Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820 (SiLNAP 2009) that was introduced in 2009 in the country. The result for UNSCR 1820 is also skewed as the UN Resolution is only mentioned once on its own. All other references are SiLNAP “on the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and UNSCR 1820”. As mentioned in *Chapter 5*, SiLNAP (2009) was to induce a form of implementation of the UN Resolution 1325 (2000). However, it appears that in the analysis, the efforts for the implementation of the text were not originated from the state but the African Union or the United Nations as demonstrated in “Sierra Leone Hosts Peace Consolidation Campaign”³⁰⁰, which mentions a forum of consultations held in Freetown. The forum

‘is aimed at supporting the government to identify ways of consolidating peace and tranquility [sic] by advancing women's priorities for the maintenance of peace and stability in the country’.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ *Concord Times* 13 May 2009, Moses A. Kargbo

³⁰⁰ “Sierra Leone Hosts Peace Consolidation Campaign”, *Concord Times* 10 January 2007

³⁰¹ “Sierra Leone Hosts Peace Consolidation Campaign”, *Concord Times* 10 January 2007

Table 39: International "gender" texts in *Concord Times* and *Standard Times*

	CT 2004	CT 2005	CT 2006	CT 2007	CT 2008	CT 2009	CT 2010	Total
CEDAW (1979)	7	3	8	0	4	2	3	27
UNSCR 1325 (2000)	0	0	0	1	5	11	10	27
UNSCR 1820 (2008)	0	0	0	0	0	1	7	8
Beijing Declaration (1995)	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	5
DEVAW (1993)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>Standard Times</i> 2004		<i>Standard Times</i> 2005		<i>Standard Times</i> 2006		Total	
CEDAW (1979)	1		0		7		8	
Beijing Declaration (1995)	2		1		3		6	
DEVAW (1993)	0		0		0		0	
UNSCR 1325 (2000)	0		0		0		0	
UNSCR 1820 (2008)	0		0		0		0	

Similarly to the *Concord Times*, CEDAW (1979) and the Beijing Declaration (1995) are the two only referenced texts in the *Standard Times*, which means that UNSCR 1325 (2000) is not referenced once as the this data only goes up to 2006.

The article references four organisations which “helped” the state to develop its implementation of the resolution: ‘United Nations Peace Building Commission, [which] recommended assistance to Sierra Leone as a way of empowering women to actively engage in peace consolidation and good governance’; ‘UNIFEM Chief Adviser on Governance and Security, Anne Marie Goetz and the Gender and Peace Building Adviser of PBSC Vina Nadjibulla [who] are closely working with other partners to achieve their goals’; and ‘The United Nations Integrated Office in Sierra Leone (UNIOSIL)... presently developing an integrated action plan to implement Security Council Resolution (SCR) 1325 with the view of consolidating peace through gender equality in the country’.³⁰² Written in early 2007, the article “Sierra Leone Hosts Peace Consolidation Campaign”³⁰³ is aimed at the international agencies, which reminds the audience that ‘the Resolution made provision for the UN to provide member states with training guidelines and materials needed for the

³⁰² “Sierra Leone Hosts Peace Consolidation Campaign”, *Concord Times*, 10 January 2007

³⁰³ “Sierra Leone Hosts Peace Consolidation Campaign”, *Concord Times*, 10 January 2007

protection of women's rights'.³⁰⁴ In addition, there is a clear indication on the roles that external agencies have had on UNSCR 1325 (2000) as

‘the research on monitoring the country's implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on women's peace and security is coming at a time when the task force on the Resolution has just concluded its regional consultation towards the development of a national action plan for its implementation’.³⁰⁵

Understanding how the state of Sierra Leone works, the references to “task forces” and “regional consultation” does not refer to consultation within the state. Indeed, the state of Sierra Leone does not consult inward, in partnership with the rest of country, but outward, with external agencies “helping”.

In addition, there are limits to ‘the effective implementation of the Resolution will go a long way in improving the status of women and remove the barriers to their advancement and empowerment’³⁰⁶ as it is never stated in the articles that how the implementations will be done and what the state will be doing to adapt its legislation to implement such policies. In addition, the elites in the state of Sierra Leone seem to be concerned about the issues that would be later found in SiLNAP (2009) but it appears to indicate a need to satisfy the international agencies on the issues in order to maintain their funding. Illustrating this point, another 2009 article states that ‘Deputy Minister of social welfare, gender and children's affairs, Jenneh Kendeh... pledged her ministry's readiness to support any initiative and also provide leadership for the development of the national action plan’.³⁰⁷ In the same article, it is suggested that Sierra Leone is still under heavy post-conflict reconstruction, even though by 2009, all the UN troops present during peace building were gone, and

³⁰⁴ “Sierra Leone Hosts Peace Consolidation Campaign”, *Concord Times*, 10 January 2007

³⁰⁵ “MP Decries Women's Neglect”, *Concord Times*, 13 May 2009, Moses A. Kargbo

³⁰⁶ “MP Decries Women's Neglect”, *Concord Times*, 13 May 2009, Moses A. Kargbo

³⁰⁷ “Country Holds National Forum On UN Resolution 1325”, *Concord Times*, 24 February 2009, Regina Pratt

that UNICEF and other international organisations were reducing their presence and personal from 2009.³⁰⁸

In the same article, it is reported that ‘the deputy minister noted that in order for peace consolidation to effectively integrate, and gender equality and women's right to be upheld, there should be a direct participation of women in the peace process Resolution’³⁰⁹, which is an effect of UNSCR 1325 (2000) and the developing discourse on women in post-conflict reconstruction (Anderlini 2008). Given that the peace process was dealt with in 1999, and the articles, along with the quote are from 2009, it indicates that the Deputy Minister is either thinking that Sierra Leone is still in the midst of the peace process or this means that the content of the Resolution is misunderstood by the elites.

The other mentions of UNSCR 1325 (2000) are linked to UNSCR 1820 (2008), as it is mentioned a total of 8 times (Table 39), including four times in one article.³¹⁰ In this article, the Sierra Leonean president, Ernest Bai Koroma agrees that ‘UN Resolution 1325 and 1820 aim at promoting and protecting the rights of women and girls’ adding that ‘as a government, [Sierra Leone] will give [its] fullest support to the implementation of the plan’.³¹¹ No details are given on how the president envisages the government will implement the National Action Plan on the implementations of these resolutions in Sierra Leone.

On the other hand, CEDAW (1979) is the most frequently referenced (Table 39), with the same total as UNSCR 1325 (2000). DEVAW (1993) is not mentioned at all and the Beijing Declaration (1995) is only mentioned six times. In addition to the

³⁰⁸ Janet Tucker, UNICEF employee, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

³⁰⁹ “Country Holds National Forum On UN Resolution 1325”, *Concord Times*, 24 February 2009, Regina Pratt

³¹⁰ “Koroma Slams Violence Against Women as He Unveils Country's Action Plan”, *Concord Times*, 9 June 2010, Ibrahim Tarawallie

³¹¹ “Koroma Slams Violence Against Women as He Unveils Country's Action Plan”, *Concord Times*, 9 June 2010, Ibrahim Tarawallie

most frequently mentioned text, CEDAW (1979) is also the most consistently mentioned over the period 2004-2010. The *Standard Times* mentions CEDAW (1979) seven times in 2006 but has only one reference in the years prior to 2006 (Table 39). The reports of CEDAW (1979) mostly concern workshop training, for the implementation of the Convention, where

‘the capacity building event will highlight, not only how preparation and presentation of the report will lead to enhanced understanding of the obligations in the Convention, but also based on the draft report identify gaps and areas for priority action for all Ministries’.³¹²

The workshop will also ‘identify opportunities for increased collaboration amongst key players in the follow up to the consideration of the report and the concluding comments’.³¹³ In a similar tone, one news report states that

‘United Nations Division for the Advancement of Women proposes to assistance in providing funds to sensitise officials on the provision of assessing the current challenges implementation, identifying opportunities for its use and the preparation of Sierra Leone's period report to CEDAW’.³¹⁴

This statement also shows that the incentive of funds is the carrot to persuade the state of Sierra Leone to implement to a certain extent the international “gender” texts.

CEDAW (1979), for its signatories, is also accompanied with country reports every five years. Only two articles mention that Sierra Leone is a signatory of the Convention and barely mention the reporting system. In one of the articles, it is recalled that

‘... it is pertinent to re-echo that Sierra Leone is a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW [1979]) ... It is now becoming intrinsically clear

³¹² “UN to Organise Workshop on Violence Against Women”, *Concord Times*, 19 June 2006

³¹³ “UN to Organise Workshop on Violence Against Women”, *Concord Times*, 19 June 2006

³¹⁴ “CEDAW Consults With Government”, *Concord Times*, 28 October 2004, Joseph Kamanda

that candidates from the governing All Peoples Congress (APC) are the major perpetrators unleashing terror on female candidates'.³¹⁵

CEDAW (1979) seems to be used as a leverage tool by women's groups even though as noted by Mariamah Kandehe, 'it is almost 30 years since the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Violence Against Women (CEDAW) was signed at the UN. It took almost three decades before it could be domesticated in our law books'.³¹⁶ The implementation of CEDAW (1979) came, according to Mariamah Kandehe, in the form of the three Gender Acts. Indeed, the first article of the convention is recalled, while stating that in 2007, the 'parliament approved the three gender bills, which include the domestic violence act which calls on governments including the local council to protect the vulnerable women majority from domestic violence'.³¹⁷ Only one article reports the origins of CEDAW (1979), stating that

'CEDAW was meant to help government institute programmes and policies to promote equality and equity in society, and in particular ensures that all forms of discriminations on the basis of sex or gender are eliminated so that women and girls would have the same opportunities in life as men and boys. *However, the achievements of government in that regard have not been very impressive, considering the enormity of the work that still remains to be done to ensure parity between men and women in both public and private affairs*' (emphasis added).³¹⁸

This quote, emphasised above, illustrated how the state of Sierra Leone has not achieved progress on the issues on women's rights and gender equality. Indeed, in spite of signing and ratifying CEDAW (1979) in 1988 and being 'a signatory to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action that recommends Affirmative Action for

³¹⁵ "Harassment of Female Candidates", *Concord Times*, 17 June 2008, Mariamah Kandehe

³¹⁶ "Unemployment Exposes Women to Abuse", *Concord Times*, 10 December 2008, Mariamah Kandehe

³¹⁷ "Local Government Crucial to Putting an End to Domestic Violence", *Concord Times*, 2 July 2008, Mariamah Kandehe

³¹⁸ "The Public Perception of Fifty/Fifty Group" *Standard Times*, 31 July 2006, Augustine Beecher

the acceleration of women's political participation' it would appear that 'the Constitution [of 1991] is silent on this issue'.³¹⁹

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) is mentioned a total of 18 times (twelve in *Concord Times* and six in *Standard Times* in Table 39 and primarily in references to the participation of women to Sierra Leone's politics. In "Women Sidelined in Upcoming Campaign", 'the gender advisor for the United Nations Department of Peace building operations, Comfort Lamptey, [notes] that Sierra Leone signed the 1995 Beijing Agreement, which called for 30% female representation in national parliaments'.³²⁰ The same article also remarks that if the main political parties would agree on the political quota for the representation of women, and if every women [sic] would be elected, 'it would only amount to a 33% representation of women in the next parliament, barely above the internationally recognised benchmark'.³²¹ The question of the quota is still pending in the Sierra Leonean political sphere, as for 2014.

In spite of the increased focus on gender-based violence, DEVAW (1993) is absent from the newspapers, signifying the minor importance of the text in the international discourse. This may reflect how the international discourse on sexual violence is primarily related to conflict, and since Sierra Leone is a post-conflict reconstruction state, references to DEVAW (1993) would be minimal.

Discussions or criticisms of the policies of the state towards women cannot be found in the newspapers. If the rights of women were a priority for the state and for the press, it would be expected that the 1991 Constitution would be discussed in

³¹⁹ "Breaking the Barriers to Expand Female Participation in the 2007 Elections And Beyond", *Concord Times*, 4 May 2006, Nemata Eshun-Baiden

³²⁰ "Women Sidelined in Upcoming Campaign", *Concord Times*, 29 June 2007, Mariamah Kandeh and Danny Glenwright

³²¹ "Women Sidelined in Upcoming Campaign", *Concord Times*, 29 June 2007, Mariamah Kandeh and Danny Glenwright

the newspapers. 'This text [the 1991 Constitution] is the text that needs to be addressed and reformed, we do not need another text. Just to reform the Constitution'.³²² The only other time the constitution was mentioned in this context was by Nemata Eshun-Baiden, in a 3000 words essay/article, who states that 'on the one hand, the constitution condemns and prohibits discrimination on the basis of factors including sex i.e.; on the other hand, it legally justifies discrimination in exceptional cases as evidenced in sub-sections 4d of section 27'.³²³ The lack of links between the 1991 Constitution and the international "gender" texts shows how little impact the international discourse had on the newspapers, and by extension, on the state. In addition, the lack of references relating to UNSCR 1325 (2000) over the time period analysed shows also the limitations that UNSCR 1325 (2000) has in terms of concrete application. If CEDAW (1979) and the Beijing Declaration (1995) are more present, it is also because of the nature of the texts and its implementation system, which for CEDAW (1979) means a country report every five years.

Consequently, there is a noticeable absence of the UN Resolution until 2008, which matches the preparation of and then the implementation of National Action Plan (SiLNAP, 2009). The international "gender" texts are overall not well represented in the newspapers. It indicates that like many of the issues reported in the analysis, the important issues are absent. The absence of the international "gender" texts, particularly UNSCR 1325, shows that the state still focuses on its national politics and that international intervention has had little impact. As confirmed by Ami Kandeh's blunt declaration at the start of her interview: 'UNSCR 1325 is not applicable in Sierra Leone',³²⁴ and the analysis of the content of the newspapers confirms this.

³²² Rosalyne McCarthy, Former Women's Forum member, 50/50 Group, Freetown, April 2011

³²³ "Breaking the Barriers to Expand Female Participation in the 2007 Elections And Beyond", *Concord Times* 4 May 2006, Nemata Eshun-Baiden

³²⁴ Ami Kandeh, IRC president, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

Conclusion

The chapter has shown that the way women are thought and represented in the national discourse reflects the ingrained culture of violence that has persisted since the end of the war in Sierra Leone. The way sexual violence is entrenched in the national discourse implies that UNSCR 1325 (2000) has not had an impact on the state, in spite of the underlying discourse of the UN Resolution on sexual violence. The newspapers content reflects an entrenched culture of diminishing women's standings by a patronising discourse on women and reducing them to promiscuous individuals. This matches the characteristics of the postwar moment. In addition, the state in many ways fails women by not adjusting its customary practices and applying the formal legislation that exists. The state's failure to have a strong judicial structure may be due to latent poverty and the rampant corruption of the state's police.

With the analyses of the two chapters, it is possible to conclude that the state of Sierra Leone is favouring traditional practices, which rely on customs and traditions, which undermine women's access to power and equality. Ami Kandeh confided that no matter what 'women are always at the bottom'.³²⁵ The analysis also establishes how the national discourse reinforces negative and abusive attitudes towards women, and as a result, women are considered as second class citizen. It is also possible to conclude that in regards to the absence of topics such as "gender equality" or "empowerment of women", and the reports in regards to sexual violence, particularly the way the articles speak negatively of women, that the state has an ingrained culture of violence and culture of "traditions" which have persisted despite the war, and that UNSCR 1325 (2000) did not have an significant impact on Sierra Leone national discourse, particularly because it is almost completely absent from both of the newspapers. It can be concluded furthermore that Sierra Leone, at

³²⁵ Ami Kandeh, IRC president, Interview, Freetown, April 2011

the exception of the pursuit of the economic activities – but not as reported in the media – has experienced all the characteristics of a negative postwar moment, similar to the one experienced in France and in the United States post-WWII. This combined by the absence of any potential impact of UNSCR 1325, shows that the state of Sierra Leone has reimagined its own history which is in this case a repetition of the pre-war standings for women, which were negative and already absent from the public spheres of the state's functions.

Conclusion

The thesis's underlying objective was to reframe the post-war experience for women in post-conflict reconstruction in regards with the impact of the UN Resolution 1325 (2000), suspecting that the UN Resolution would impact on gender relations of a post-conflict reconstruction state. The thesis did more than that as uncovered the nature of the postwar moment and demonstrated that the postwar moment has been a negative time for women's experiences of the post-conflict reconstruction. In spite of Cockburn and Zarkov (2002) constructing the postwar moment as a fluid moment and a window of opportunity for positive experiences for women and the development of their rights in post-conflict reconstruction, the related post-WWII and post-war Sierra Leone experiences, with the context of the creation and adoption of UNSCR 1325 (2000) – post-Balkans conflicts of 1991-1995 – show that the postwar moment is similar in negativity and establishes a continuity in the framing of the negative postwar moment across states regardless of the type of conflict or when it occurred. The continuity in the negativity of the postwar moment meant that the UN Resolution 1325 cannot therefore be of help for a state's improved gender relations in a post-conflict reconstruction state. As the content analysis of the UN Resolution 1325 in *Chapter 4* reveals, the conception and representation of women in the Resolution is so narrow that it does not show women as actors of the post-conflict reconstruction but as passive agents in need of protection. The literature on UNSCR 1325 (McKay 2004, Shepherd 2006, 2008a; Black 2009, O'Rourke & Bell 2009, Puechguirbal 2010b, Cohn 2013) has shown extensively the limitations of the Resolution in terms of implementation and to some extent in the negative portrayal of women, but the thesis goes further by demonstrating that, within the content of the Resolution and with the direction that the discourse of the UN Resolution has taken with the new resolutions on Women, Peace and Security, Resolution 1325 cannot develop a positive experience for

women and women's rights in post-conflict reconstruction and cannot overcome the negativity of the postwar moment. Furthermore, the study of Sierra Leone's available newspapers shows that the UN Resolution not only failed to have an impact, it was also unreported and unused in any significant way as to affect women and women's rights in the post-conflict reconstruction state. The study of Sierra Leone as a case study shows that in many ways women have experienced a negative post-war moment. It also shows how the state, the media and the rising middle-class which control the media, have continued pre-war negative policies, although more insidiously, towards women, in spite of promising improved women's rights and women's standing in the state to all external donors. The UN Resolution was established to support the inclusion of women in post-conflict reconstruction (Anderlini 2008, Pankhurst 2008) through increased participation of women in peace and post-conflict reconstruction processes. The answer to the research question is that, in spite of an increased international discourse on women and security, and with the creation of UN Women in 2011 as a merging of diverse UN agencies dealing with gender affairs (UNIFEM, DAW, INSTRAW and OSAGI), the UN resolution would have in many ways limited positive impacts on post-conflict reconstruction processes because of the weakness of its implementation processes.

The limitations observed in the thesis overpower the Resolution's potential for good. Some of the limitations, prior to the analysis, linked the criticisms on the implementation of the Resolution (Barrow 2009, Black 2009, Bell & O'Rourke 2010, Akter 2013) to other criticisms, less visible in the literature, of the limited understanding of the needs of women in post-war by the UN Resolution (Meinjes et al. 2001, Shepherd 2008a, Puechguirbal 2010b). First, the lack of implementation, and by extension the effectiveness, of UNSCR 1325 (2000) does not encourage states to adopt women's rights policies in the post-war era. This is due to the shortness of the text in comparison to other international "gender" texts, and the rather vague suggestions for the implementation processes, which were left to be

dealt with by each state that adopted a National Act Plan for the Implementation of UNSCRs 1325 and 1820. As for implementation during peace and post-conflict reconstruction processes, there are no clear indications of how UNSCR 1325 (2000) should be part of the peace negotiations, for example. However, as seen in both *Chapters 1* and *4*, other limitations on potential impact is due to the fact that “gender” is equated to “women”, which excludes men from the processes of peace and stabilisation of the state in post-conflict reconstruction. “Gender equality” is then missing from the Resolution, which renders the text unable to address post-conflict reconstruction’s inclusion of women in politics and other public roles (Puechguirbal 2010b). Women have been traditionally re-placed back home after war. The current scholarship on women in post-conflict reconstruction established that the state re-orders its structure, including gender relations, in post-conflict reconstruction (Meintjes et al. 2001, Puechguirbal 2007). This signifies that women’s roles during the war tend to be diminished or have even disappeared from the narratives of the war (Turshen & Twagiramariya 1998, Meintjes et al. 2001, Puechguirbal 2007). In addition to this, the construction of women as “vulnerable” people (Carpenter 2006, Shepherd 2008a) and naturally inclined for “peace” (Anderlini 2008, Cohn 2013) limits the potentiality of women engaging in peace and post-conflict reconstruction processes as equals of men (Carpenter 2006, Shepherd 2006). More importantly, women’s standing tends to be reimagined as the state reimagines its past to reconstruct for the future. This has been identified in *Chapter 2* as the postwar moment, a fluid period at the end of war, during negotiations, which allows the state to re-consider and reconstruct gender relations (Cockburn & Zarkov 2002). When the state considers that gender relations are not important, the likely outcome is a “backlash” against women (Meintjes et al. 2001) and this would signify a negative change in women’s standing in the post-war (Pillay 2006), resulting in the loss of roles acquired during the war and in the loss of rights after the war (Pankhurst 2008). However, Cockburn and Zarkov (2002) state that the postwar moment could actually be a positive time for the state, which would build

new gender relations that would aim, in theory, for better gender equality. In this thesis, it is argued that the UN Resolution intends to resolve the negative postwar moment, even though it is not explicitly articulated in the text of the Resolution. The UN resolution indeed is trying to improve women's rights post-war, noting between the lines that women's standing is generally bad during and after a conflict. Mechanisms and patterns of how a postwar moment operates are identified in the thesis, which allow support for the argument that UNSCR 1325 is indeed trying to address a state's postwar moment. Due to the lack of consideration of women in some of the mainstream post-conflict reconstruction literature (Ramsbotham & Woodhouse 2000, 2005), and due to the fact that women are often portrayed solely as peacemakers (Sorensen 1998, Anderlini 2008), the current literature on women in post-conflict reconstruction is rather small (for example, Shepherd 2008a, 2008b Puechguirbal 2007, 2010a, 2010b; Cohn 2013). The inclusion of UNSCR 1325 (2000) has been part of the new "women and security" literature (Cohn 2013), but few have investigated the links between post-conflict reconstruction and UNSCR 1325 (2000)'s specific potential impacts. Little has been said on the real impact that an end of war has on women. The postwar moment is here defined and discussed as an essential component of the experiences of women when a war ends and peace starts.

To see the changes in women's standing and the mechanisms of the states, the thesis used the example of WWII and post-WWII in France and in the United States in *Chapter 3*. The postwar moment in both cases was negative. Analyses to reach that conclusion were performed through use of the work of Simone De Beauvoir (2011 [1949]) and Betty Friedan (2001 [1963]), which showed how the mechanisms of the state operated in post-WWII. The changes in standing are clear and both authors address, in different manners and over two different periods, these changes. In the case of France, De Beauvoir writes in the immediate post-war France. If her work is often praised by feminists for her ground-breaking statement

on how gender is constructed and not defined by birth (2011 [1949]: 293), it is for her post-war experience that the thesis turned to for understanding mechanisms of the state. Her text, published in 1949, states that women's standing after the war changed. These changes are related to political standings, which shift from some progress for suffrage pre-war to little space and opportunities for women to stand in politics of the post-war France. Added to that, women's standing in the French post-war experienced a negative moment, as the social policies undertaken by several succeeding governments right up to the mid-1960s – generated incentives for women to stay at home and “make babies” to rebuild the nation – even though, as established in the thesis, it was unnecessary (Michel 1987). The French experience was a negative postwar moment for women and the change in standing for women had to wait for the political upheaval of May 1968 to take a more positive turn in terms of more equal employment (1962), politics (1972) and with the politics of the female body such as the law regulating contraception (1968-1972) and abortion (legalised in 1974) in the early 1970s.

The case of the United States was also interesting in uncovering the mechanisms undertaken by the state to re-allocate gender relations post-WWII. The military and economic commitment of the United States in WWII meant for gender roles to shift: men entered to war as soldiers (the norm), women replaced them in their jobs (not the norm). This shift was meant for women to take on men's roles in factories during the war, which became the “home front” (Sheketoff 2009). However, the end of the war signified a time for those returning from war to take possession of their old positions. This meant women had to leave their new means of sustenance and return to their homes. This was encouraged with the GI BILL (1944 – *on-going*), which pushed for men to pursue higher education. The after-war policies did not reinstate women as economic agents. This has been observed by Friedan (2001 [1963]) who argued that middle-class women were obliged to stay at home in the years that followed WWII. Her thesis was supported by the state through the GI BILL

(1944) and by media companies which, through advertising, supported the development of “helping” furniture for women like fridges, washing machines, dishwashers, etc. (Meyerowitz 1993). Friedan observed a *mal-être* nested in most (middle-class) women’s lives, unable to articulate why they were unhappy despite having “everything”. She articulated that women were suffering from the *feminine mystique*, which was caused by the fact that women were not working. She, however, dismissed women of lower classes who had to work after the war to maintain a livelihood, and ignored most of women from a different ethnic background. The United States’ example uncovers that the economics of the state were discriminatory for women of all ethnic backgrounds in the post-war, while men who returned from WWII were favoured as heroes. The economic roles of women during the war was almost erased from the re-imagined post-war and the only memory left are the famous poster girl of “Rosie the Riveter” calling for women to participate in the war efforts. It was arguably a negative postwar moment as well for the women of the United States.

The two examples of France and the United States helped to identify two main areas in which women’s standings clash with the post-war mechanisms of the states: political and economic. However, the identified indicators of the postwar moment are larger than these two areas. First, as illustrated by the cases of France and the United States, a strong re-assertation of gender roles operates post-war. This signifies that the “traditional” roles undertaken by men and women are strongly supported by the state during the negotiation of the postwar moment. Women become secondary during the post-conflict reconstruction processes to men who return as heroes of the war (either as soldiers or as political leaders). The pre-war gendered roles are at times exaggerated or more likely reimagined which results in an ideology of gendered difference. Second, with this gendered ideology comes a strong sense that “normal” families are idealised families with one working father and one stay-at-home mother minding the children. It results in the man

caring economically for the family and creates an ideology of “domestic bliss”, which means that it is an organisation of gender relations, reinforcing the first indicator. Third, in the case of France in the post-war, there was indication of political measures to support women’s standing in the post-war. However, these politics were to confine women within the house, as they were of a financial nature to support increased birth rates. The political measures if they seemed advancing women’s standing were limiting women’s access to political and economic roles. This resulted in the development of lower priorities given to women’s rights with an increased interest for men as individuals in the family or the male dominated political structures. This meant, finally, that the state’s structure would favour men’s dominance in economic and political roles, and that this gendered assertion would be institutionalised. Overall, a stronger sense of the family was developed, dominated by a strong gendered difference in roles within the family, with men being the main breadwinners and women in charge of the domestic space. The reimagined past of the war meant for women’s roles during the war to disappear. It also meant that women’s economic roles were given back to men. These strong narratives of post-conflict reconstruction in the context of WWII have created the indicators of the postwar moment, which had not been articulated prior to this thesis.

Therefore, with a framed context in the form of post-conflict reconstruction states and gender relations and with set-up indicators of the postwar moment, which happens for the gender relations in a state in post-conflict reconstruction situations, the content analysis of UNSCR 1325 (2000) in *Chapter 4*, reveals that the UN Resolution is a pivotal text marking a shift in the international discourse on gender. It steers the focus from political, social and economic rights as was in CEDAW in 1979 and the elaboration of this equality agenda in the Beijing Declaration in 1995 (with the addition of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women in 1993) to an agenda with a greater emphasis on gender difference with a focus on

security, sexual violence and the unique contribution of women to peace. With CEDAW (1979), adopted by the General Assembly in 1979, there is the start of a conversation around women's rights and statuses in the international system of the time. CEDAW (1979) recognised that women were not deemed equal to men in many aspects of life (political, economic, social) and asked states to undertake measures to render the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) effective, by simply placing women as equal to men. This was followed by other actions from the international system aimed at re-locating women's rights on the international scale and to protect them from unequal treatments (DEVAW 1993, for example). The subsequent texts of CEDAW (1979), DEVAW (1993) and the Beijing Declaration (1995) followed a similar path, with an emphasis in the Beijing Declaration on gender equality. The Beijing Declaration text is an oddity among the international "gender" texts, as the process to design the text originated not only from the General Assembly or the Security Council of the United Nations, but from an organised meeting of women's groups leaders from NGOs and INGOs, United Nations agencies, and government leaders, in a post-Cold War world at the Fourth Women's World Conference in Beijing. It has elements, particularly in the second part of the Beijing Declaration, called the Platform for Action (1995), which requires a particular analysis in further research, of the on-going conversation between women's rights and states. From UNSCR 1325 (2000), all international "gender" texts were designed by the United Nations Security Council. This is also a significant shift, which indicates the changes in the international structure that occurred at the end of the 1990s, and that these changes were accelerated by 9/11.

The results of the content analysis of the UN Resolution show a de-emphasis of equality and rights, unlike the previous "gender" texts. This is shown through the absence of the words "equality" and "rights" throughout the Resolution's text or any social policy-related terms. The results show on the other hand an emphasis on sexual violence in UNSCR 1325 (2000) and in the resolutions that followed it. To

conclude that this is a new phenomenon is wrong; but it means that there is a better understanding of what happens during wars for women. However, the clear shift from “violence” to “sexual violence” against women seem to only focus on the abuse of women at war and it eliminates all other potential roles that women could have during a conflict. Women are only seen as “victims” of sexual violence. This means that there is a lack of discussion of the mechanisms to effectively deal with sexual violence and the impact of sexual violence. The analysis also demonstrates that women as economic actors are ignored and that there is no support for their access to economic resources by the lack of any mentions of these roles in the Resolution or subsequent UN resolutions. Finally, there is a tendency in the international “gender” texts to see a woman as “good” when she acts as a peacemaker. The “bad” woman is not present in the international text but, from the literature, it can be concluded that the woman who is acting against her “traditional” gendered role is a “bad” woman (Elsthain 1987, Einstein 2004). The international “gender” texts reflect the traditional gendered roles and go further in portraying women as dependent and vulnerable in war and post-conflict reconstruction. This includes UNSCR 1325 (2000). The international “gender” texts, including UNSCR 1325 (2000), are part of an international elitist and gendered discourse that is incorporated into wider discourses as part of the actions or interests of elites of the state.

The content analysis of the UNSCR 1325 then reveals that, with no emphasis on rights and justice but with an increased discourse on sexual violence for women in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction situations, the UN Resolution cannot have any “real” impact on the positive inclusion of women in post-conflict reconstruction under these circumstances. Coupled with criticisms in the literature on the lack of implementation (Bell & O’Rourke 2010), it becomes clear that UNSCR 1325 (2000) can be expected to have little impact on the case study. Nevertheless, there are findings from the UNSCR 1325 (2000), which take the form of positive and negative

expected impacts. The first impact expected that the content analysis of the Sierra Leonean discourse, against which the UNSCR 1325 (2000) was compared, reveals a decrease of “equality” and “social policies” related terms. It was observed that there was a decline in the UN Resolution and its subsequent texts. The second impact expected took the form of an increase in “peace” and “security” terms, which are the results of the new international politics of intervention arising from the changing international structure, post-Cold War and post 9/11. Post-Cold War interventions were more “humanitarian” in the context of liberalisation (and democratisation) of politics after four decades of bipolarisation of international politics. Post-9/11 brought a push for further democratisation through increased securitisation of western states, where the discourse about the “enemy” changed from the enemy of democracy to the enemy of freedom. The US intervention in Afghanistan (and other states) as part of the “War on Terror” was after all called “Operation Enduring Freedom” (2001-*present*). A reflection of women as peacekeepers or peacemakers was also an expected impact as women are mostly represented as such in the text – they are never soldiers, for example (Goldstein 2003). Thirdly, “violence” associated to the “infantilisation” of women during a conflict (Enloe 1990, Shepherd 2008a) extends the representation of women’s vulnerability with victimisation. Finally, the last expected impact linked how international texts only refer to the international discourse and/or the national level of a state. The “local” is practically inexistent. This appears to be a limitation emerging from the UN Resolution, which is barely mentioned in the literature, as it is suggested that changes operating in the state often originated from local initiatives (Steady 2006). This signifies that changes for gender relations could operate and originate from the local level as well. In the case of Sierra Leone, it is seen that “local” barely exists in the newspapers articles or even in the literature (Puechguirbal 2010b). This is a problem as, if UNSCR 1325 (2000) were to communicate at the national level and push for local groups to be included, its implementation could actually work in more efficient ways.

The end of the Sierra Leonean war in 2002 coincides with the application-time of UNSCR 1325 (2000) in the state. Sierra Leone, which emerged from the war in even poorer condition than prior to war, has been particularly known for its level of sexual violence during the conflict. An estimated 250, 000 women and girls were raped. Sierra Leone's conflict ended with an external intervention under the patronage of the United Nations. It is evident in the national discourse of Sierra Leone's post-conflict reconstruction that there was an external intervention under the patronage of the United Nations, and under the assumed patronage of the UN Resolution. However, the newspaper analysis does not reveal a clear link between right advances in gender equality and the existence of UNSCR 1325 (2000). The experience of women in post-war Sierra Leone indicates a limited impact of UNSCR 1325 (2000). Prior to UNSCR 1325 (2000) and prior to the civil war, it is established that women of Sierra Leone were experiencing what many other women experienced during the colonisation of the African states: women became a commodity and were considered second-class citizens. The independence of the state in 1961, breaking away peacefully from the British Empire, did not change the state's gender politics. The state of Sierra Leone used similar politics to keep control of its territory as the ones of the colonisation era. This meant that it relied heavily on chiefdoms to keep control of rural areas and allowed customary practices to persevere. These practices do not favour women and are still in use in rural areas. The single-party rule state was led to increased poverty which led in turn to unrest and discontent in rural areas which resulted in the civil war beginning in 1991. The civil war showed that women were still a commodity. The increased level of sexual violence and abuses during the conflict led to an estimated 250,000 women and girls being raped during the ten-year conflict (TRC 2005). Since the end of the conflict in 2002, the state of Sierra Leone has relied heavily on external financial help to reconstruct itself. However, the politics of the state have been seemingly similar to pre-war politics. Indeed, the party in power since 2007 is the same one

that ruled from 1978 to 1991. This shows that Sierra Leone has not changed its intrinsic politics and is still relying on chiefdoms and customary practices to re-order the rural areas. One example of this is the Chieftaincy Act of 2009, which reinforced local powers for rulers of various districts of Sierra Leone. This also signifies that the Constitution of 1991 allows customary practices to overrule national laws in local settings, indicating a serious flaw in the legislative system of Sierra Leone. This can be seen in how both the state (and local chiefs) and the media are ignoring the passing of four Gender Acts (2007 and 2012) none of which, consequently, have been effective in the state of Sierra Leone.

These aspects of Sierra Leonean judiciary and legislative absence are found in the analysis of newspapers. Furthermore, by examining the discourse in the selected newspapers, *Chapters 6* and *7* provide a deeper understanding of the gendered aspects of the discourse in post-conflict Sierra Leone. This discourse reflects both the views of the political elite and of the rising middle class, which allows the newspapers to talk about the “national” levels. Few articles mention the “local” level of the state. The inequality observed between urban and rural when explaining the origins of the conflict (Keen 2005) still persists. In the collected articles, which referred to “gender” affairs, few mentioned rural areas and when it did, it was with a patronising tone.

The newspaper analysis also shows a strengthening of “traditional” gendered relations, indicating stronger limitations placed on women’s access to traditional power structures. This is found in the articles reporting on women in politics, also done with a condescending tone. This suggests women in politics are just a result of the push from external intervention rather than of a real will to change how the politics of the state operate. Therefore, in spite of an initial increase in women’s political representation in 2002, in subsequent elections (2007 and 2012) there was a decrease in the number of women both in parliament and government.

Economically then, women of Sierra Leone have maintained the increased level of activity in the informal sector they had gained during the war, yet the discourse of the political elite and educated middle-class contained in the newspapers show that informal work is not counted as important and seems to be treated almost always in negative terms. The most reported economic activities are “market women” which are official retailers; there are more street retailers than provided for in the official statistics but they are counted as informal economy (this was confirmed during the fieldtrip in April 2011). The other economic activity in which women are counted is prostitution, which is reported in the newspapers with a patronising tone even by female journalists. Judiciary reports are scarce and often focus on the nature of crimes (rape, sexual abuse, domestic violence) rather than the judicial consequence of the act. Reports of violence and sexual violence are frequent but also focus on the nature of the act rather than on the prosecution of the perpetrator. The focus of the newspapers is more on the women who are victimised during the attack rather than the intensity of the injury or whether someone was arrested. The tabloid-like character of the newspapers does little to help prevent the portrayal of women as nothing but vulnerable victims. The comments regarding women prostitutes show how women are still considered a commodity for men in post-war Sierra Leone, with women’s greed put as a defence of men “using” prostitutes. This means that female prostitutes are “bad women” because they want more money, but men who “use” prostitutes are never condemned or even present in the articles. The newspaper articles only refer to “bad woman” prostitute from whom, most articles on the topic assume without verification, the HIV/AIDS pandemic propagates. Moreover, along with the media portrayal of women as vulnerable and victims, women of Sierra Leone are not helped by the legislative system of the state that does not support them. The four Gender Acts of 2007 and 2012 are non-existent in the newspapers articles but reported customary justice is present. This indicates that customary practices reinforce gendered “traditional” roles and favour men (there is no female Chief in Sierra Leone in the present time). This indicates

also the little knowledge of the Gender Acts among the media and public. Sierra Leone needs to revise its 1991 Constitution so national laws can be more efficient than customary laws practised in the Chiefdoms. The discourse in the newspapers show the constant use of a double standard in the ways women are thought to be and how they are represented, more often leaning on sensationalised articles in which victim-blaming is strong, rather than showing the extent of the benefits for both gender of the NGOs trainings sessions, for example.

It can be concluded that these measures, affected just before the 2007 and 2012 presidential elections, are simple cosmetic measures to satisfy international organisations that intervene to help the country to recover post-war. This may be the only possible impact from UNSCR 1325 (2000) that can be observed directly. Increased post-war participation of women in politics and production was probably an answer to international organisations' demands. The other impacts, even though close to what was expected from UNSCR 1325 (2000), are coincidental. Considering the levels of violence against women already prevailing in the pre-war state of Sierra Leone these levels of violence increased during the conflict and remained after the war, which is a common observation in the literature (Jacobson 2013). So finding its presence in the newspaper articles is probably a consequence of these levels of violence predating the war rather than a result of UNSCR 1325 (2000) revealing it to the governing elites of Sierra Leone. Considering also that the judiciary and legislative system was not efficient pre-war and that they remain inefficient since 2002 does not make it an impact or a revelation from UNSCR 1325 (2000). It was pre-existing and persists post-war. The only variance from the UNSCR 1325's expected impact analysis is the presence of economic roles taken by women in the newspapers. This shows that women had to undertake these roles and never left them. The poverty of the state rendered the post-war mechanisms minimal.

Consequently, there was a negative postwar moment in Sierra Leone, which is expressed through the return of the same political party leading the country prior to and after the conflict, and reinforced traditions through customary practices of justice, which created a new form of “traditional”, gendered roles. This can explain why women’s economic roles are not taken seriously as seen in the newspaper analysis. In spite of strong international norms and international pressure, the state of Sierra Leone did not adopt gender quotas for parliament nor did it encourage the gender quotas question to move from being a civil society discussion to a national debate on the topic. Furthermore, despite attempted progressive gender legislations that came seven years after the peace process, it is shown in the analysis that it was primarily window-dressing as the strengthening of traditional law and customary practices negated the full effect that such legislation could have had. Consequently, as predicted, UNSCR 1325 (2000) did not have an impact on post-conflict reconstruction Sierra Leone.

Research must be done in other states to see if UNSCR 1325 could have an impact, particularly at the local level and how it could positively impact the states. It is likely that similar findings to the case of Sierra Leone will arise. In this case, it means that UNSCR 1325 (2000) must be adapted and possibly re-done to allow some of the following recommendations. First, gender equality must be pursued and included in peace and post-conflict reconstruction processes to re-establish a balance in gender relations, knowing that women will be placed second in gendered (male) state and knowing that women are targeted during conflict by (male) sexual violence. Steps must be taken after the conflict to adapt the judicial system if necessary to condemn perpetrators of sexual violence (and others crimes) accordingly. As for now, all of these recommendations are close to non-existent in spite of an increased understanding of gender relations after conflicts, an increased international discourse on “women and security” and an increased level of international engagement into conflicts.

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APPENDICES

1. United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (text)
2. Tables for Chapter 4

United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325

(text)

The Security Council,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1. Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict;
2. Encourages the Secretary-General to implement his strategic plan of action (A/49/587) calling for an increase in the participation of women at decision-making levels in conflict resolution and peace processes;
3. Urges the Secretary-General to appoint more women as special representatives and envoys to pursue good offices on his behalf, and in this regard calls on Member States to provide candidates to the Secretary-General, for inclusion in a regularly updated centralized roster;
4. Further urges the Secretary-General to seek to expand the role and contribution of women in United Nations field-based operations, and especially among military observers, civilian police, human rights and humanitarian personnel;
5. Expresses its willingness to incorporate a gender perspective into peacekeeping operations and urges the Secretary-General to ensure that, where appropriate, field operations include a gender component;
6. Requests the Secretary-General to provide to Member States training guidelines and materials on the protection, rights and the particular needs of women, as well as on the importance of involving women in all peacekeeping and peace-building measures, invites Member States to incorporate these elements as well as HIV/AIDS awareness training into their national training programmes for military and civilian

police personnel in preparation for deployment and further requests the Secretary-General to ensure that civilian personnel of peacekeeping operations receive similar training;

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

8. Calls on all actors involved, when negotiating and implementing peace agreements, to adopt a gender perspective, including, inter alia: (a) The special needs of women and girls during repatriation and resettlement and for rehabilitation, reintegration and post-conflict reconstruction; (b) Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements; (c) Measures that ensure the protection of and respect for human rights of women and girls, particularly as they relate to the constitution, the electoral system, the police and the judiciary;

9. Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect fully international law applicable to the rights and protection of women and girls as civilians, in particular the obligations applicable to them under the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the Additional Protocols thereto of 1977, the Refugee Convention of 1951 and the Protocol thereto of 1967, the Convention Security Council - 5 - Press Release SC/6942 4213th Meeting (PM) 31 October 2000 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women of 1979 and the Optional Protocol thereto of 1999 and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child of 1989 and the two Optional Protocols thereto of 25 May 2000, and to bear in mind the relevant provisions of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court;

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

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

12. Calls upon all parties to armed conflict to respect the civilian and humanitarian character of refugee camps and settlements, and to take into account the particular

needs of women and girls, including in their design, and recalls its resolution 1208 (1998) of 19 November 1998;

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

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

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

16. Invites the Secretary-General to carry out a study on the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, the role of women in peace-building and the gender dimensions of peace processes and conflict resolution, and further invites him to submit a report to the Security Council on the results of this study and to make this available to all Member States of the United Nations;

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

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

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Table 40: Democracy and related terms for indexes for Figure 2

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ. DEC.	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Democracy (n)	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Democracy (%)	0	0	0.053	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Democracy (index)	0	0	5.255	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedom (n)	1	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedom (%)	0.017	0.245	0.263	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Freedom (index)	1.725	24.510	26.274	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Justice (n)	2	1	2	0	3	11	1	3	8	4
Justice (%)	0.034	0.061	0.105	0	0.159	0.346	0.047	0.130	0.325	0.154
Justice (index)	3.449	6.127	10.510	0	15.865	34.569	4.175	12.976	32.507	15.414

Table 41: Human Rights-related terms in international texts for Figure 3

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ. DEC.	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Dignity (n)	1	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Dignity (%)	0.017	0.061	0.053	0	0	0.031	0	0	0	0
Dignity (index)	1.725	6.127	5.255	0	0	3.143	0	0	0	0
Respect (n)	9	0	2	1	2	4	3	2	0	0
Respect (%)	0.155	0	0.105	0.073	1.06	0.126	0.141	0.087	0	0
Respect (index)	15.523	0	10.51	7.305	10.576	12.571	14.144	8.651	0	0

Table 42: Total rights for Figure 4

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Rights (n)	58	34	15	10	3	8	4	2	4	11
Rights (%)	1.000	2.083	0.788	0.730	0.159	0.251	0.189	0.087	0.163	0.424
Rights (index)	100.034	208.333	78.823	73.046	15.865	25.141	18.859	8.651	16.254	42.389

Table 43: "Protection" of rights in international texts for Figure 5

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Rights (and protection) of women (and girls) (n)	7	2	3	3	0	0	1	0	0	4
Rights (and protection) of women (and girls) (%)	0.121	0.123	0.158	0.219	0	0	0.047	0	0	0.154
Rights (and protection) of women (and girls) (index)	12.073	12.255	15.765	21.914	0	0	4.715	0	0	15.414

Table 44: "Participation" and "representation in international texts for Figure 6

	CEDAW	DEVAW	Beij. Dec	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Representation in decision making (n)	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Representation in decision making (%)	0	0	0	0.073	0	0	0	0	0	0
Representation in decision making (index)	0	0	0	7.305	0	0	0	0	0	0
Representation in peace processes (n)	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	1	0	0
Representation in peace processes (%)	0	0	0	0	0.053	0.063	0.047	0.043	0	0
Representation in peace processes (index)	0	0	0	0	5.288	6.285	4.715	4.325	0	0
Participation to decision making mechanisms (n)	4	0	5	1	1	0	5	0	0	4
Participation to decision making mechanisms (%)	0.069	0	0.263	0.073	0.053	0	0.236	0	0	0.154
Participation to decision making mechanisms (index)	6.899	0	26.274	7.305	5.288	0	23.574	0	0	15.414
Participation to peace and security (not specified) (n)	0	0	1	2	2	1	10	3	0	5
Participation to peace and security (not specified) (%)	0	0	0.053	0.146	0.106	0.031	0.471	0.130	0	0.193
Participation to peace and security (not specified) (index)	0	0	5.255	14.609	10.576	3.143	47.148	12.976	0	19.268

Table 45: Equality and social policy-related terms for Figure 7

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ. DEC.	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Education (n)	17	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education (%)	0.293	0.123	0.210	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Education (index)	29.320	12.255	21.019	0	0	0	18.859	0	0	0
End of Discrimination (n)	33	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
End of Discrimination (%)	0.569	0.061	0.053	0	0	0	0	0	0.041	0
End of Discrimination (index)	56.916	6.127	5.255	0	0	0	0	0	3.854	0
Equal, Equality (n)	54.00	6.00	21.00	1.00	5.00	2.00	7.00	0	2.00	5.00
Equal, Equality (%)	0.931	0.638	0.104	0.073	0.264	0.063	0.330	0	0.081	0.193
Equal, Equality (index)	93.136	36.765	110.352	7.305	24.441	6.285	33.003	0	7.707	19.268
Health (n)	3	2	4	0	1	1	5	2	3	2
Health (%)	0.052	0.123	0.210	0	0.053	0.031	0.236	0.087	0.122	0.077
Health (index)	5.174	12.255	21.019	0	5.288	3.143	23.574	8.651	11.561	7.707

Table 46: "Protection" of person (women) in international texts for Figure 8

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Protection of person (n)	0	2	0	3	4	6	4	6	5	7
Protection of person (%)	0	0.123	0	0.219	0.212	0.189	0.189	0.260	0.203	0.270
Protection of person (index)	0	12.255	0	21.914	21.153	18.856	18.859	25.952	20.317	26.975

Table 47: Security-related terms in international texts for Figure 9

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Peace (n)	1	1	7	2	4	6	5	4	2	6
Peace (%)	0.017	0.061	0.368	0.146	0.212	0.189	0.236	0.173	0.081	0.231
Peace (index)	1.725	6.127	36.784	14.609	21.153	18.856	23.574	17.301	8.127	23.121
Safety (n)	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Safety (%)	0	0	0	0	0.053	0	0	0	0	0.039
Safety (index)	0	0	0	0	5.288	0	0	0	0	3.854
Security (n)	0	0	0	1	5	0	2	0	3	7
Security (%)	0	0	0	0.073	0.264	0	0.094	0	0.122	0.270
Security (index)	0	0	0	7.305	26.441	0	9.430	0	12.190	26.975

Table 48: "Intervention" related indexes for Figure 10

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Conflict resolution/prevention(n)	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	1
Conflict resolution/prevention(%)	0	0	0.053	0.073	0	0	0.094	0	0	0.039
Conflict resolution/prevention(index)	0	0	5.255	7.305	0	0	9.430	0	0	3.854
Humanitarian (intervention) (n)	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	2
Humanitarian (intervention) (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0.031	0.047	0	0.041	0.077
Humanitarian (intervention) (index)	0	0	0	0	0	3.143	4.715	0	4.063	7.707
Humanitarian law (n)	0	0	1	1	1	4	0	1	1	1
humanitarian law (%)	0	0	0.053	0.073	0.053	0.126	0	0.043	0.041	0.039
Humanitarian law (index)	0	0	5.255	7.305	5.288	12.571	0	4.325	4.063	3.854
Peacekeeping operations(n)	0	0	0	2	2	5	1	4	2	3
Peacekeeping operations(%)	0	0	0	0.146	0.106	0.157	0.047	0.173	0.081	0.116
Peacekeeping operations(index)	0	0	0	14.609	10.576	15.713	4.715	17.301	8.127	11.561

Table 49: Raw counts of violence for Table 8 and Figure 11

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Raw violence	0	55	1	3	39	47	7	41	51	7
Armed conflicts	0	1	0	1	1	27	6	27	27	18
Total sex. violence (table 8)	0	4	0	2	33	59	3	41	52	2
Rape	0	2	0	1	3	5	2	8	4	2
Total violence (excl. sexual)	0	50	1	1	4	10	8	19	22	21

Where violence = (raw violence + armed conflict) - (sexual violence + rape)

Table 50: Raw counts for sexual violence for Table 8 and Figure 11

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
Sexual violence	0	4	0	2	33	59	3	41	52	2
Sexual abuse	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
Sexual harassment	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sexual exploitation	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
Total sex. Violence	0	7	0	3	34	59	3	42	54	2

Table 51: Infantilisation of women indexes for Figure 12

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
vulnerable	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
vulnerable	0	0.184	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.081	0.039
vulnerable	0	18.382	0	0	0	0	0	0	8.127	3.854
women	45	70	25	21	11	20	35	6	19	54
women	0.776	4.289	1.314	1.534	0.582	0.629	1.650	0.260	0.772	2.081
women	77.613	428.922	131.372	153.397	58.170	62.854	165.017	25.952	77.204	208.092
women and children	1	0	1	3	4	8	0	3	3	1
women and children	0.017	0	0.053	0.219	0.212	0.251	0	0.130	0.122	0.039
women and children	1.725	0	5.255	21.914	21.153	25.141	0	12.976	12.190	3.854
women and girls	0	0	8	4	13	0	16	0	4	9
women and girls	0	0	0.420	0.292	0.687	0	0.754	0	0.163	0.347
women and girls	0	0	42.039	29.218	68.747	0	75.436	0	16.254	34.682
women and men	25	3	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
women and men	0.431	0.184	0.368	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
women and men	43.118	18.382	36.784	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Where "women" = raw count women - (women and children + women and girls + women and men)

Table 52: Discourse interactions in the international texts for Figure 13

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
international incl. UN organisations and demands for states to act at the international level (n)	15	19	7	10	15	25	16	17	14	23
international incl. UN organisations and demands for states to act at the international level (%)	0.264	1.168	0.376	0.705	0.768	0.781	0.749	0.722	0.585	0.873
international incl. UN organisations and demands for states to act at the international level (index)	26.406	116.797	37.612	70.544	76.831	78.091	74.945	72.197	58.539	87.303
regional(n)	0	5	1	1	2	2	3	0	2	4
regional(%)	0	0.306	0.053	0.073	0.106	0.063	0.141	0	0.081	0.154
regional (index)	0	30.637	5.255	7.305	10.576	6.285	14.144	0	8.127	15.414
national(n)	7	6	4	2	2	13	5	4	8	4
national(%)	0.121	0.368	0.210	0.146	0.106	0.409	0.236	0.173	0.325	0.154
national (index)	12.073	36.765	21.019	14.609	10.576	40.855	23.574	17.301	32.507	15.414
local(n)	0		1	2	2	3	0	2	1	4
local(%)	0	0	0.053	0.146	0.106	0.094	0	0.087	0.041	0.154
local (index)	0	0	5.255	14.609	10.576	9.428	0	8.651	4.063	15.414
community(n)	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	2	2	0
community(%)	0.034	0.061	0.105	0	0.106	0.031	0	0.087	0.081	0
community (index)	3.449	6.127	10.510	0	10.576	3.143	0	8.651	8.127	0

Table 53: Discourse on women and security indexes for Figure 14

	CEDAW	DEVAW	BEIJ DEC.	1325	1820	1888	1889	1960	2106	2122
International peace and security (n)	1	0	0	3	2	3	2	2	2	6
International peace and security (%)	0.017	0	0	0.219	0.106	0.094	0.094	0.087	0.081	0.231
International peace and security (index)	1.725	0	0	21.914	10.576	9.428	9.430	8.651	8.127	23.121
Women peace and security (agenda) (n)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	11
Women peace and security (agenda) (%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.122	0.424
Women peace and security (agenda) (index)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12.190	42.389

Table 54: Total indexes for Table 9

Pre UNSCR 1325 (pre 2000)	Total of indexes	UNSCR 1325 and post-Resolutions (2000-onwards)	Total of indexes
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Rights (all)	387.190	Sexual violence	810.066
Violence (not sexual)	311.628	Violence (not sexual)	350.103
Equal, Equality	320.155	Women and others	321.565
Social policy terms	160.576	Rights	200.205
Women and "others"	49.019	Protection of person	154.026
Peace	44.636	Peace	126.741
Sexual violence	42.892	Justice	115.506
Justice	20.086	Equal, Equality	98.009
Protection of person	12.255	Social policy terms	82.637
External intervention	5.255	Security	42.341
Security	0	External intervention	40.217

Table 55: Difference total indexes for Table 10

Key terms	Total of indexes difference
Sexual violence	+767.174
Women and "others"	+272.146
Protection of person	+141.771
Justice	+95.420
Peace	+82.105
Security	+42.124
Violence (not sexual)	+38.475
External intervention	+34.962
Social policy terms (all)	-77.939
Equal, Equality	-222.146
Rights	-186.985