

Gender and the Role of Women in Peacebuilding: A Case Study of Select African Nations

 $International\ Journal\ for\ Peace\ and\ Public\ Leadership$

ISSN: 3066-8336 Vol. 1 (2025): 62-91

© The Author(s) 2025, Copyright Policy https://doi.org/10.63470/AYVP1959

Edmond M. Charley *Independent Researcher*

Abstract

Effective conflict resolution requires leaders who carefully consider the impact of their decisions. There is a need for special attention to the gender composition of the national peacebuilding panels to achieve broad impact. This article addresses the role of female leaders in achieving peaceful post-conflict results following a case study qualitative methodology. This research has five main sections—introduction and background, literature review, methodology, results and discussions, conclusion—and focuses on five crucial African nations: Sierra Leone, Liberia, South Sudan, Rwanda, and Congo (DRC). The core inclusion criterion for these countries was that they have had protracted warfare and used intricate peacebuilding processes to restore (or attempt to restore) peace. The finding indicates that female leaders Zainab Bangura, Fatima Maada Bio and Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff (Sierra Leone), Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Leymah Gbowee, and Comfort Freeman (Liberia), Rebecca Nyandeng De Mabior and Rita Lopidia (South Sudan), Jeannette Kagame and Odette Nyiramilimo (Rwanda) and Julienne Lusenge and Chouchou Namegabe (DRC Congo) have made notable contributions to post-conflict negotiations, achieving long-term peace agreements. However, ingrained cultural norms and gender stereotypes, the absence of political will to incorporate women into leadership and peacebuilding positions, security issues, and the widespread occurrence of gender-based violence still hinder women's full participation in post-conflict efforts. Expanding female leadership and decision-making roles will enhance and improve their contributions to African peacebuilding.

Keywords: women, peacebuilding, Africa, peacemaking, conflict, leadership.

Table of Contents

Introduction and Background	64
Introduction	64
Research Problem	64
Research Objectives	65
Research Questions	65
Theoretical Framework	65
Feminist Theory	65
Representation	65
The Equality Lens	66
Global Leadership Theory	66
Literature Review	67
Commission on the Status of Women	67
United Nations Women and its Role in Africa's Peace and Security Initiatives	67
Women and Peacemaking	
Women and Peacemaking – A Negotiation Perspective	69
Gender, Stereotype, and Leadership	70
Women Participating in Peace Education	70
Factors Inhibiting Women's Participation in Peacebuilding	71
Methodology	71
Research Method and Design	71
Inclusion Criterion of Case Studies	72
Textual Analysis and Research Sources	72
Research Findings	72
Case Study 1: Sierra Leone	72
Zainab Bangura Fatima Maada Bio	
Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff	
Case Study 2: Liberia	
Ellen Johnson SirleafLeymah Gbowee	
Comfort Freeman	
Case Study 3: South Sudan	
Rebecca Nyandeng De MabioRita Lopidia	
Case Study 4: Rwanda	
Jeannette KagameOdette Nyiramilimo	78
Case Study 5: Congo (DRC)	
Julienne Lusenge	79
Chouchou Namegabe	
Factors Hindering Women's Participation at the Highest Level in Patriarchal African Societies	
Discussion and Conclusions	
Notes	82

Introduction and Background

Introduction

The role of women in peacebuilding has recently garnered increased attention in numerous international conversations about conflict resolution and reconciliation processes. Regional frameworks, such as the Maputo Protocol from the African Union (AU) member states, encourage female participation in areas with protracted hostilities. 1 Many male leaders and male-dominated institutions have historically disregarded or underappreciated female leaders' contributions to peacebuilding. Moosa, Rahmani, and Webster note that the male elites have dominated these formal initiatives for many years, denying women an opportunity to make a similar impact.² While these challenges adversely impact the female population, Erzurum and Berna Eren observe that female leaders make notable contributions to peace through mediation to resolve conflict as they build trust.3 On October 31, 2000, the UNSC (United Nations Security Council) adopted Resolution 1325, which affirms the importance of including women in conflict resolution, humanitarian efforts, and post-conflict rebuilding. This resolution also addresses issues of safety and equality, to ensure "girls' protection from conflict-related sexual violence and women's equal participation in all stages of the prevention and resolution of conflict."⁴ The resolution further declared an in-depth affirmation of females' decisive role in approaching armed conflicts, thereby reflecting their acknowledgment of the disproportionate impact that such conflicts have on women.

In Africa specifically, sociocultural constraints restrict women's participation in formal peace discussions and decision-making processes. According to a policy brief by True, these barriers become even worse due to the systemic disparities that disproportionately impact female groups globally in economic prospects, political representation, and education.⁵ Despite these challenges, women actively participate in peace-based initiatives in many African countries, typically motivated by their traditional roles as nurturers, mothers, and caregivers.⁶ Moreover, although improvements have been made, gender inequality still exists, even occurring in academic settings, which results in lower literacy rates among women.⁷ As such, this inequality persists and translates to other situations such as peacebuilding and diplomacy.

Research Problem

The central research problem is as follows: While women's contributions to peacebuilding have continuously achieved wider acknowledgment, they constitute a disproportionately small portion of formal peace processes, particularly in Africa. Men still extend their supremacy on formal negotiation boards as their female colleagues often take on subordinate roles.8 While this patriarchal structure persists, females are frequently faced with stereotypical and sexist labels such as "unmarriageable" or "adulterous" when they attempt to engage their colleagues in conflict resolution conversations.9 Consequently, capable female leaders are constrained when it comes to peacebuilding. In fact, peace deliberations and ensuing agreements overseen by women are more likely to optimize stability and sustainability because they deploy socio-emotional, yet objective strategies.10 Nonetheless, organizational impediments—political unwillingness, constrained leadership duties, and cultural predispositions—deter women from active engagement in post-conflict efforts. This underrepresentation and disregard for female contributions compromises the impact of peacebuilding programs.11

Moreover, improper policy (national and international) implementation impairs the problem of low participation among women who want to lend input to peacebuilding efforts. Although the UNSC Resolution 1325 and other frameworks offer the basis for female participation in peace and security initiatives, African countries have had difficulty properly incorporating these policies into their national agendas. 12 Thus, based on historical and current issues, this study analyzes five African countries (Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Rwanda, Liberia, and DRC) to assess the utilization of women's skill sets and knowledge to influence peace in conflicting communities.

Research Objectives

This paper will address the following objectives:

- i. To analyze how women participate in peace processes in the context of peacebuilding efforts in a few African countries.
- ii. To determine the obstacles preventing women from taking part in peacebuilding and recommend solutions to increase their engagement in efforts to resolve conflicts.

Research Questions

For this study to achieve the above objectives, it will focus on answering the following central questions:

- i. How do women contribute to peace initiatives, and what unique roles do they play in post-conflict resolutions and peacebuilding within particular African countries?
- ii. What are the primary obstacles hindering women's full involvement in peacebuilding initiatives, and how can they overcome these challenges?

Theoretical Framework

Based on the scope of this study, four crucial theories and perspectives are relevant to understanding women's leadership place in peacebuilding.

Feminist Theory

Feminist theory influences this study's analysis of gender inequality dynamism and its impact on participation in post-conflict reconciliation. Patriarchal systems that minimize women's contributions to conflict settlement cause their exclusion from official peace procedures. These cultures are more present in some African countries. Feminism is a "conceptual toolkit" where systems place a higher value on masculine leadership styles while downplaying the strategies that females frequently use, exposing the "hierarchical and mutually exclusive gender binaries" to justify the scope of conflicts. While relying on such a definition, this research highlights the gendered power disparities that prevent women from participating in formal negotiations and leadership positions within peacebuilding frameworks. Feminist theory underscores how state-driven activities headed by men precede women's grassroots attempts to promote peacetime after wartime. However, instead of including women in the peace process, others reject the feminist approach, noting that the female population deserves more coping strategies in warring areas and post-conflict society. Nonetheless, women's experiences and viewpoints are crucial, and this approach affirms the superiority of inclusive peace processes.

Representation

This study critically assesses the involvement of women in leadership positions for peacemaking efforts in African countries using representation theory. Research indicates that feminine views

go unnoticed during formal peace talks, with glaring underrepresentation in decision-making organizations. Institutionalizing women through gender-inclusive membership on peacebuilding teams guarantees adequate representation, ensuring broad and bigender participation. Representation theory posits that some decisions ignore gender-specific issues such as gender-based marginalization and sexual abuse by silencing female voices, despite the value of negotiations for everyone. When a war ends and leaves a high incidence of displacement, women try to restore peace using gender-focused methods such as aesthetic considerations. Regardless, these meaningful efforts are not always adequate to justify women's broad involvement. Representation theory builds the foundation for comprehensive and longstanding peace treaties sensitive to the interests of all community members—regardless of gender—through the purposeful equitable addition of females in the peace process.

The Equality Lens

The equality perspective highlights the necessity of gender parity in all areas, including peacebuilding. It questions the structural factors that result in unequal gender involvement.²⁰ The concern is the effective integration of every individual's perspective, thereby giving women equal standing and normative power over the issues they face. Dunn observes that the equality viewpoint also contains the Liberal Feminist Theory, wherein women prioritize equity in the foundation.²¹ This is crucial for women, enabling them to achieve positive outcomes on a par with their male counterparts. As such, this theoretical view explains how deeply ingrained societal norms defend male dominance and its place in leadership. Based on the perception of equality, women's absence from peacebuilding roundtables enables the extension of uneven gendered power relations. Furthermore, this framework asserts that peace consensuses do not converge within women's unique needs. From an equality perspective, more female presence in postconflict reconstruction programs is crucial for maximizing representation and adhering to their human rights.²² Global politics contribute to conflicts; however, advancing feminine rights helps to ensure that these military disputes will result in less violence and intensity.²³ Therefore, the equality perspective also illustrates that removing institutional barriers that sustain inequality is as essential as including women in peacebuilding to achieve substantive equality.

Global Leadership Theory

Globalized politics provides another crucial perspective: global leadership. Integrating people from all over the world into proper coordination to form a broader society is not easy, as leaders must ensure peace for prosperity.²⁴ Successful global leaders need to be inclusive, flexible, and cross-culturally aware. Indeed, women exhibit these qualities—particularly inclusivity—in peacebuilding, through their grassroots strategies.²⁵ Female leaders embody many attributes that are compelling and rational for peacebuilding initiatives, and they champion collaboration and trust with their male counterparts throughout the decision-making process.²⁶ Applying this theory underscores the discrepancy between these traits and the official power structures that tend to minimize the contributions of women. Paradigms that seek to overcome these limitations that women face should feature meta-level conversations across operative resolutions.²⁷ Hence, a pillar structure like the UN system must incorporate gendered strategies for conflict prevention and reconstruction mechanisms.

Literature Review

Commission on the Status of Women

The UN formed the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 1946, marking one of the crucial outcomes of the feminist movement. CSW is "the principal global intergovernmental body exclusively dedicated to the promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women." Scholars like Bent observe that the Commission traces and appraises the advancement of feminine rights because it values socioeconomic and legal progression. Works with UN member nations and other UN-based agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to annually scrutinize and deliberate gender-related global issues, especially those involving equality. The Commission is crucial in forming policies and establishing international standards for women's rights. CSW performs these functions by focusing on accomplishing the objectives of the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which was a historic development for gender equality. Yet, Rincker and others note that some state leaders appoint CSW delegates who oppose these progressions of feminine rights. Consequently, they fail to seek resources and deliberately circumvent the Commission's goal of empowering women. Likewise, Brannon argues for a consistent rise in appointing male representatives to the CSW. These actions partly indicate that the Commission is losing its central objective of optimizing global gender equality.

While challenges continue to emerge, one of CSW's primary responsibilities is recommending policy reforms prioritizing the promotion of gender-based equality. Some areas that need transformation to advance inclusivity are healthcare and education access, economic enabling, and participation in crucial decision-making discussions.³³ The Commission organizes annual meetings with themes that correlate with contemporary issues, such as enhancing gender equality, preventing violence against women, and even climate change. The CSW continues to influence the global agenda on feminine rights through its resolutions and support of women's international movements.³⁴ Therefore, it encourages member states to enact more robust domestic gender policies and mainstream gender perspectives in all UN operations.

United Nations Women and its Role in Africa's Peace and Security Initiatives

As the UN organization continued its dedication to women's empowerment, it founded the UN Women formally in 2010. Its function is to unify the work of other UN entities that previously concentrated on gender equality. Its establishment signaled a dramatic change toward a more cohesive and coordinated strategy for tackling female rights worldwide. Women take part in critical decision-making and analyze policies to optimize gender mainstreaming. UN Women targets its work to Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, which addresses gender equality and empowering all female populations, young and old. Additional goals include eliminating violence against females and advancing their economic empowerment. UN Women also focuses on guaranteeing female involvement in leadership positions in public and political life. This leadership objective is pertinent to strengthening women's contributions to post-conflict resolutions.

In Africa, there is heavy reliance on regional plans to address issues of peace and security. The continent uses the "African Union Peace and Security Council" (AUPSC) and Regional Economic Commissions (RECs).³⁹ The groups function under the coordination and guidance of the UN system. Additionally, the African Women Leaders Network (AWLN) has hosted forums since 2017 to discuss action-based initiatives to improve female leaders' capacity to bring transformative

changes.⁴⁰ AWLN also facilitates women's direct engagement with regional organizations that mediate peace and seek to resolve conflict. In 2018, this institution mobilized over 120 female African leaders to develop the 2018-2020 Plan of Action.⁴¹ They aimed to strengthen women across all societies in Africa. The peace and security pillar of AWLN has amplified and scaled up females' profiles to ensure they also participate in the continent's decision-making.⁴² Through the UN Women, Africa continues to hold strategic workshops to share diverse agendas. A report by Popovic shows that the western and central parts of this continent conducted gender-responsive peacebuilding workshops to maximize the benefits of conflict preventive and recovery measures.⁴³ Females use such meetings to discuss case studies of civil unrest and determine which roles they can continue playing to restore peace.

Moreover, UN Women provides capacity-building programs, fosters collaborations with civil society, and offers member states technical assistance and expertise in creating and applying policies. 44 Some of these professionals could be gender experts who give the agency new ideas and address current issues. UN Women uses numerous advocacy initiatives, such as the "16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence," to implore men and boys to promote gender equality. 45 The program's target is to raise awareness of valuable issues that affect women and girls and to champion collective actions. Another notable campaign is "Heforshe," which asks men and all others to support making bold moves to guarantee a world that values gender equality. 46 Thus, UN Women continues to play a critical role in advancing and defending female voices as it elevates them, which is crucial for encouraging their participation in peacebuilding initiatives.

Women and Peacemaking

Women have traditionally been essential to peacebuilding, especially at the local level. They often spearhead initiatives to restore communities that conflicts have ripped apart.⁴⁷ As Gaynor stresses, while higher level discussions include national government representatives driving decision-making, it is sometimes more challenging for women to develop peace-based strategies at the lower levels.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, they persist in engaging in this peacebuilding due to their distinctive responsibilities as educators and mediators within families and communities.⁴⁹ Through encouraging communication and establishing trust, women facilitate the reconciliation of divisions between conflicting groups. Additional studies demonstrate their crucial function in the peacebuilding process, highlighted by their ability to mobilize community resources and deliver essential provisions such as food, shelter, and medical care.⁵⁰ Women have been essential in post-conflict reconstruction in numerous African nations, including Rwanda, particularly at the village level.⁵¹ They engage actively in community development and reintegration activities.

Conversely, women's participation in formal peacebuilding processes remains significantly underrepresented despite their substantial contributions. Structural barriers, including patriarchal norms and their exclusion from political leadership, obstruct women's involvement in peace negotiations and decision-making processes.⁵² Rinck defines patriarchal civilizations as "gendered orders" reliant on "a power hierarchy of masculinities and femininities" wherein the ideal of hegemonic masculinity is overriding.⁵³ International frameworks, including UNSC Resolution 1325, emphasize the importance of including women in peacebuilding initiatives. Notwithstanding considerable progress, the implementation of these guidelines remains inconsistent, and females continue to face challenges in securing formal roles in peacebuilding initiatives.⁵⁴ By disregarding women's unique perspectives and experiences, their exclusion from

peacebuilding undermines gender equality and diminishes the impact and scope of peace initiatives.

Arostegui's literature suggests that efforts to enhance women's participation in peacebuilding aim to tackle these structural barriers through legislative reforms and capacity-building programs. Governments, international organizations, and NGOs increasingly acknowledge the importance of integrating gender views into peacebuilding frameworks. These stakeholders aim to promote more inclusive, enduring peace processes and solutions by educating women in leadership and creating platforms for women's viewpoints in peace negotiations. Such support lends itself to gender-inclusive peace accords, and women's engagement in community-based programs in nations such as Nepal, where they serve as compensated mediators, illustrates their ability to generate more thorough and enduring post-conflict accords rooted in the Resolution of fundamental conflict causes. Consequently, these studies confirm that women's involvement is essential for enduring peace.

Women and Peacemaking - A Negotiation Perspective

One crucial, yet underutilized, tool in conflict resolution is female participation in peacemaking, especially at the national and international levels. As Adjei mentioned, formal peacemaking processes have historically excluded females while men continue to dominate.⁵⁸ Regardless, women have proven exceptionally skilled at promoting peace. Their activities in unofficial or communal contexts, such as violence-prone areas in Kenya, portray their mediation abilities to aid in settling conflicts and averting violence.⁵⁹ Further, women have a greater awareness of the psychological and social effects of war. According to Sherwood, their efforts to promote peace come from their own encounters during conflict.⁶⁰ Thus, they can support all-encompassing peace accords that consider justice, reconciliation, and human rights because of their personal experience with conflict.

Furthermore, the environment of male supremacy in the peace and stabilization process is one of the biggest obstacles preventing women from engaging. This is a significant hurdle in military-dominated peace talks. Some parties view female contributions as peripheral to the formal procedures prioritizing military agreements, territorial disputes, and ceasefires. Often, females are relegated to supporting roles as opposed to leadership and decision-making positions, which disregards their value. On the other hand, research indicates that peace accords can be inclusive, long-lasting, and sustainable when women participate. Female leaders are more likely to stress the significance of social cohesiveness, restoring trust, and attending to the concerns of oppressed groups. These actions come from their instincts for the necessity of achieving lasting peace. Hence, women's participation in peacemaking will affirm that their concerns are addressed and included, and will encourage increased accountability for gender-based violence (GBV).

The issues of gender parity in peace talks as well as challenges to traditional gendered conventions have become front and center in attempts to boost women's involvement in peacemaking.⁶⁵ The creation of female-led peace organizations and the promotion of gender-sensitive mediation techniques have continued to gain momentum. Establishing quotas is one initiative that attempts to give women more opportunities as well as ensuring accountability within the delegation.⁶⁶ These actions seek to establish a more inclusive and comprehensive approach to peacemaking that acknowledges the value of women's voices in bringing about peace and guarantees women's representation at the negotiation table.⁶⁷ This approach addresses the

end of hostilities and the more extensive social and economic circumstances required for lasting peace and stability.

Gender, Stereotype, and Leadership

The discussion of peacebuilding and women triggers the need to establish the connection between gender, stereotype, and leadership related to post-conflict actions. Shulika writes that long-standing gender stereotypes have affected the perception of leadership, leading to the exclusion of women from positions of authority.⁶⁸ Conventional stereotypes link masculinity to leadership traits such as strength, assertiveness, willingness, and independence.⁶⁹ Conversely, women are often characterized as emotional, passive, and nurturing. According to Mueller-Hirth, these qualities make females seem incompatible with leadership, distorting the importance of their peace process engagements.⁷⁰ Despite proof that women have critical leadership abilities, prejudices continue to prevent them from achieving leadership roles in various fields such as politics, business, and peacebuilding.

According to Mueller-Hirth, female leaders typically take a more inclusive and cooperative stance to achieve peacebuilding objectives.⁷¹ Thus, women use such strategies to create a setting that values cooperation, empathy, and communication, which are crucial for successful peace negotiations. Interestingly, Minarova-Banjac observes that women who exhibit traditionally masculine leadership attributes become subjects of harsher criticism than their male counterparts.⁷² They appear, via a pro-masculine lens, to be excessively aggressive or unfeminine. By punishing women for breaking gender norms and maintaining such double standards, the cycle of female marginalization persists.⁷³ Therefore, a cultural change that embraces a range of leadership philosophies and dismantles inflexible gendered norms is necessary to overcome these prejudices.

Women Participating in Peace Education

Women have played a significant role in advancing peace education, especially in conflict-affected regions where they frequently take on the roles of educators and advocates for peace.⁷⁴ They develop these interests and organizational skills through empowerment and educational programs, sharing critical information and teaching the skills and tactics necessary to settle disagreements amicably.⁷⁵ These sessions are valuable in guiding individuals toward harmony, as the women foster the collaboration, lenience, and non-violence that they embrace from their own experiences.⁷⁶ They conduct grassroots, peace-themed education campaigns in African countries. Adjei stresses that women capably tackle diverse concepts, particularly human rights, gender-based violence, and social justice.⁷⁷ Female peace educators assist in altering people's perceptions about conflict, replacing them with peace and paving the way to reestablish cohesiveness, making these teachings valuable after a conflict.

Despite women's proven abilities, their involvement in official peace education programs for the government remains unacknowledged.⁷⁸ Their engagement in peacemaking endeavors is constrained by structural barriers which hinder efforts to meaningfully engage. Okafor and Akokuwebe write that conventional patriarchal standards and controlled access to leadership in instructive institutions continue to be significant challenges.⁷⁹ Notably, even though many African nations' constitutions contain a provision for female involvement, these complications persist. International protocols like Resolution 1325 asked for more support to ensure that peace education involves women, underscoring the significance of considering all perspectives.⁸⁰ Over

the years, efforts to guarantee the inclusion of gender-sensitive subjects in the education system have increased. Goraș-Postică insisted that women's participation in peace education benefits learning institutions and programs that embrace inclusivity.⁸¹ These practices serve to prevent conflict and attain lasting peace; therefore, these studies indicate the need for participation by women in peace education in order to develop future leaders who seek to promote social justice and diplomacy.

Factors Inhibiting Women's Participation in Peacebuilding

There are notable factors that inhibit female participation in peacebuilding. According to Atuhaire and Ndirangu, systematic inclusivity of female decision-makers in peace and security issues is paramount to guaranteeing peaceful negotiations. Such inclusion also facilitates the consideration of women's interests and, while these positive effects are evident, a study by Meagher and others revealed that security concerns are substantial barriers that prevent females from taking leadership positions. Indeed, they further limit women's capacity to gain experience and develop valuable skills in post-conflict talks. Yet another barrier is the political arena, where women face marginalization. Wilson and others note that women face low representation in nations like Nigeria. Meagher and others add that these political obstacles minimize females' opportunities to lead since "political parties and de facto authorities led to the implementation of practices and policies, excluding women as central decision-makers." As a result, these women have zero to no chance of actively engaging with peacebuilding efforts.

Additionally, females consistently face "threats and intimidation" whenever they express their interest in taking leadership positions in post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding initiatives. Scholars like Maloiy Jonck and Goujon add that male dominance enables even the threat of violence, barring women from making any effort to become leaders. Women in peace dialogue committees and mediation forums are stigmatized, though there is little expression of intergenerational gaps due to capacity building, sensitization, and persistent engagement. People in these committees feel that female members' involvement makes them unruly. Even at informal mediation panels for peacebuilding, stigmas do occur. Another notable obstacle that relates closely to stigmatization is stereotyping. Women's desire to engage in reconstruction and peacebuilding encounters "restrictive gender norms and stereotypes" that discourage them from taking the first step toward voicing their concerns or influencing decisions. Thus, these obstructive actions portray women as lacking knowledge, social status, or skills to transform any post-conflict actions.

Methodology

Research Method and Design

This research adopts a qualitative case study methodology, like the scholarly work of Patricia Rinck, to determine women's leadership roles in peacebuilding.⁹¹ The design focuses on five specific nations: Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Rwanda, Liberia, and Congo (Democratic Republic). It is appropriate as it guided similar studies to determine women's contribution to post-conflict reconstructions.⁹² Below are factors that influenced which countries were crucial for this analysis.

Inclusion Criterion of Case Studies

The first inclusion characteristic of Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Congo (Democratic Republic), and South Sudan is their history of protracted warfare and intricate peacebuilding procedures. These countries are ideal for studying women's roles in peacebuilding because they have seen major internal conflicts that have had long-lasting effects on social, political, and economic institutions. Second, there are substantial examples of disregard for women's involvement in post-conflict reconstruction efforts in these nations. Additional inclusion criteria are the varied approaches to peacemaking, ranging from formal discussions to grassroots movements, which will offer a thorough understanding of how women's participation (or lack thereof) affects the viability and longevity of peace initiatives. Finally, these African nations share the challenges associated with political unpredictability, economic recovery, and social reconciliation. Due to these difficulties, there is a need to understand the structural obstacles and potential that exist for women in leadership and peacebuilding.

Textual Analysis and Research Sources

The study uses textual analysis like Turner and Swaine to examine gender and the role of women in peacebuilding. 93 The goal is to identify themes that explain how gender-inclusive participation impacts outcomes when women are part of the peace and security initiative. Additionally, primary and secondary sources that focus on Sierra Leone, South Sudan, Rwanda, Liberia, and Congo (Democratic Republic, DR)—individually or in combination—are assessed, including journals, policy briefs, conference papers, dissertations, and some book chapters with historical details.

Research Findings

The texts reveal that women have a significant role in post-conflict peacebuilding initiatives. The following cases illustrate female participation and contribution to the peace processes in select African nations.

Case Study 1: Sierra Leone

After Sierra Leone's violent civil war (1991 to 2002), the significance of female peacebuilders became increasingly apparent. Lifongo writes that women in Sierra Leone suffered disproportionately from the conflict. These challenges were products of pervasive gender-based violence and displacement; nonetheless, they made substantial contributions to peacebuilding, especially in community reconstruction and reconciliation initiatives at the grassroots level. Women's organizations were instrumental in establishing peace, as their objectives were to address the aftermath of war: needs of survivors, disarmament, reintegration of former combatants, promotion of healing, and provision of counseling services in post-war communities. Women remained primarily out of official peace talks and decision-making procedures even though these initiatives demonstrated the enduring structural obstacles they had to overcome themselves. Notably, the analysis shows that addressing social fairness and promoting long-term stability required women's participation at the local level. The Sierra Leone case serves as an example of women's vital role in informal localized peacebuilding as well as the continuous barriers they face when trying to be involved and constructive.

The following women have made significant contributions to peacebuilding in Sierra Leone:

Zainab Bangura

During and following Sierra Leone's civil war, activist and leader Zainab Bangura was instrumental in fostering peace in her nation. She kept her fervent advocacy for peace and women's rights after the war and, in 1996, helped to start the Campaign for Good Governance (CGG). Sievel Scientific Sci

Bangura's accomplishments garnered international acclaim, including the Africa Prize for Leadership in the Sustainable End of Hunger. Her post-conflict peacebuilding efforts included advocating for gender equality and facilitating the reintegration of women impacted by the fighting. While even acting as an expert witness in some of the conflicts that undervalue the dignity of women, Bangura's unwavering pursuit of justice underscored the significance of incorporating women in peace negotiations. Her actions demonstrate that their distinct viewpoints contribute to more inclusive and effective peace solutions. By increasing awareness of the impact of sexual assault in conflicts, she established a benchmark for tackling gender-related issues in post-conflict recovery in both Sierra Leone and worldwide.

Fatima Maada Bio

Fatima Maada Bio is Sierra Leone's First Lady. She actively fosters peace and champions children's and women's rights. Fatima's "Hands Off Our Girls" program started in 2019 to address sexual assault and child marriage. The program focused on issues that usually became more severe during and after wars. Her projects address the fundamental causes of inequality and violence, safeguarding at-risk areas and advancing social unity. Fatima's project guarantees that victims of violence obtain justice and healing, promoting peace immediately.

Using her platform, Bio has promoted women's leadership in politics, gender equality, and the value of female involvement in government and peace projects and has won awards for promoting human rights and social justice. 107 Additionally, she has contributed to Sierra Leone's development and stability by focusing on community-centered initiatives and using her platform to highlight issues that predominantly affect women. 108 Bio best illustrates the transformational impact of women in leadership during post-conflict rehabilitation. Her emphasis on education and economic development for women comes from her belief that "life for women and girls will not improve by chance. It will get better by intentional change." 109 Indeed, Bio shows dedication to fostering a resilient and peaceful community.

Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff

Promoting women's involvement in peacebuilding and government has also been greatly aided by eminent human rights lawyer and gender campaigner Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff of Sierra Leone. She was crucial in encouraging women's participation in peace talks throughout the terrible civil war that tore through the country. 110 She contributed to the post-conflict rehabilitation initiatives as well. As a co-founder of the "Mano River Women's Peace Network" (MARWOPNET), she endeavored to mobilize women throughout the region to participate in discussion and conflict resolution. 111 Through this organization, Jusu-Sheriff facilitated the alleviation of tensions and fostered sustainable peace. Her endeavors contributed to establishing a framework for gendersensitive peacebuilding tactics in Sierra Leone. Jusu-Sheriff has been a vigorous proponent of law reforms aimed at combating gender-based violence and discrimination, noting that women usually "belong to some kind of collective" that counters their forceful removal from political parties. 112 She ensures that women's rights are integral to Sierra Leone's reconstruction efforts. During an interview with MEWC, she acknowledged that the "Women's Response to Ebola in Sierra Leone" (WRESL) campaign strengthened the position of civil societies in Sierra Leone and West Africa. 113 Jusu-Sheriff has demonstrated, via her legal acumen and activism, that women's participation in peacebuilding can transform cultures, promoting inclusivity and enduring stability.

Case Study 2: Liberia

Another noteworthy illustration of the transforming role females play in conflict reconciliation and post-conflict healing is Liberia. The country experienced various peacebuilding efforts, especially during and after its 1989-1997 and 1999-2003 civil wars. Liberian women were instrumental in ending the second civil war by partnering with organizations such as the Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, which organized protests that led to President Charles Taylor's resignation. Liberian females compelled politicians to hold peace talks and organized demonstrations, sit-ins, and talks with opposing groups, resulting in the 2003 Accra Peace Agreement. Women benefited from the accord as it addressed earlier reluctance to fulfill political rights.

Furthermore, the mass action demonstrated the suitability of collaborative efforts between refugees, Muslims, and Christians alongside women's guidance for peaceful protests. Contrarily, lawmakers' reactions affirmed their lack of desire to resolve these concerns. Reid notes that as of the end of 2004, many Liberian legislators opposed bills like the one meant to grant women electoral quotas. Despite these disappointments, women persisted and sought legal alternatives in their earlier agreement with the government. Leib observes that the peace brought about by Liberian females has ensured stability. These accomplishments only became evident after the post-conflict era; nonetheless, they affirm that when women secure peace, they achieve stability.

The following women have made significant contributions to Liberia's peacebuilding:

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf

As the first female president of Liberia, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was the continent's first non-male leader and significantly contributed to peacebuilding after the nation's civil wars. Upon her election in 2005, she emphasized national reconciliation, institutional reconstruction, and the advancement of women's rights, establishing a foundation for a more stable country. Sirleaf's government endeavored to fortify the rule of law and reestablish public confidence in governance by addressing corruption and promoting economic development. Under her direction, the "disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration" (DDR) initiatives necessary to stabilize Liberia

after the war were less complicated. 121 As a global advocate for women in peacebuilding, Sirleaf emphasized the importance of women serving in leadership roles and recognizing their role in promoting social justice and lasting peace.

Sirleaf received the Nobel Peace Prize (2011) in acknowledgment of her efforts to advance peace and free women. Liberia passed laws under Sirleaf's direction addressing gender inequality, including those encouraging women's political and educational participation. Her campaign went beyond Liberia; she became a symbol of women's fortitude and will against suffering related to violence wherever it is found. Although specific problems persist, Sirleaf's government demonstrates the potential of female leadership in rebuilding nations devastated by war in order to create a foundation for peace.

Moreover, as Liberia's former president, Sirleaf subsequently used her position to encourage women to participate in peacebuilding initiatives. While giving a Nobel lecture in Oslo in 2011, Sirleaf told Liberia's Nobel Prize winner, Leymah Gbowee, "You are a peacemaker. You had the courage to mobilize the women of Liberia to take back their country." ¹²⁴ These were words of affirmation and appreciation of Sirleaf's fellow women's effort to end conflict. Sirleaf understood that women's involvement in peacebuilding was risky and that their actions constituted warrior-like bravery.

Sirleaf believes that women can lead the human race to freedom. In 2019, she spoke at a TED conference on "How women will lead us to freedom, justice and peace." She noted that:

I wanted to put women in all top positions, but I knew that was not possible. And so, I settled for putting them in strategic positions. ... The first woman chief of police to address the fears of our women who had suffered so much during the civil war ... another, the first minister of gender, to be able to assure the protection and the participation of women ... numerous women in junior ministerial positions. 125

The ex-president wanted to show women that, like men, they were capable of taking the top leadership positions and make long-term reforms. While responding to an interview question with the Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace, and Security podcast about how her administration was inclusive, Sirleaf noted that they had "talented, strong, educated women with all the technical skills," and they "put them in all those key positions: Justice Ministry, Foreign Ministry, the Ministry of Finance." Women are change makers. The former president stated, "There is nothing more predictable than a strong woman who wants to change things." Women-led peace initiatives were more likely to succeed. Sirleaf noted that, if given a chance:

Women bring to negotiations a commitment, a consistency and compromise in trying to achieve peace ... I believe the experience shows very clearly that when women are involved, the durability of peace can be secured. And so, we also know that so many times women are involved in the discussions, in taking actions to bring about peace, to end wars. And when the time comes, around the table, the women are not there. 128

One of the obstacles that women face in leadership is the perception that only men can hold some position. However, this was not the case with Sirleaf. She said:

I was never deterred from running for president just because there had never been any females elected head of state in Africa. Simply because political leadership in Liberia had always been a "boys' club" didn't mean it was right, and I was not deterred. Today, an

unprecedented number of women hold leadership positions in our country, and we intend to increase that number. 129

In a 2022 interview during the International Day of Women, Sirleaf remarked, "Even though women are the victims, they are the ones who stand up. They are the ones who can promote peace and reconciliation." Sirleaf perceived women as the interlinking force between conflict, peace, and long-lasting reconciliation. She utilized WIPNET's Mass Action for Peace and workshops alongside other women to demand a stop to the international community's funding until the peace talks resulted in an agreement.

One of her notable achievements was the "Women's Situation Room" (WSR). Even after retiring, Sirleaf continued to use WSR to promote a peaceful and inclusive electoral process in African countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Kenya. 132 Another achievement is "Sister Aid Liberia" (SALI). Her administration supported SALI, whose objective is to promote gender transformation and mentor and train women on the need to participate in politics and peacebuilding by eliminating harmful masculine influences. 133 Therefore, the ex-president believed in inclusive societies where gender is not a barrier to participating in post-conflict reconciliation.

Leymah Gbowee

Throughout the Second Civil War (from mid-1999 to August 2003), Leymah Gbowee inspired Liberian women to fight and champion peace. Leading the "Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace" (MLMAP) movement, she organized ecumenical gatherings of Muslim and Christian women carrying out nonviolent marches, sit-ins, and demonstrations. ¹³⁴ These deeds helped the war-torn factions to compromise. Under Gbowee's direction, former President Charles Taylor's participation in peace negotiations in Ghana produced the Accra Peace Agreement signed in 2003. ¹³⁵ Her movement's emphasis on grassroots participation and nonviolence highlighted how well group efforts might advance peace.

In acknowledgment of her remarkable contribution, Gbowee received the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize (together with Ellen Johnson Sirleaf and Yemen's Tawakkol Karman). After the war, she continued her activism for women's rights and peacebuilding as the creator of the Women, Peace, and Security Network Africa (WIPSEN-Africa). WIPSEN-Africa was committed to strengthening female leaders throughout the continent. Her efforts have garnered international acknowledgment of the significance of women's involvement in conflict resolution and post-war reconstruction. Obowee's leadership illustrates how women can proficiently unite factions and champion enduring peace in profoundly fragmented cultures.

Comfort Freeman

Comfort Freeman, a distinguished Liberian peacebuilder, significantly contributed to reconciliation and healing during and after Liberia's civil wars. As the president of the Liberian Women Initiative (LWI), Freeman facilitated mobilizing women from various backgrounds to advocate for the cessation of violence. Her activities focused on creating safe surroundings for children and women affected by the war. Using church recruitment, she supported peace at the local level and supplied tools for trauma healing. Freeman reveals the need for community-oriented solutions to consider unique local needs and situations in achieving lasting peace.

In the post-war period, Freeman's civil peacebuilding encompassed economic empowerment and social togetherness. 140 She emerged as a proactive leader in advocating for small-scale

enterprises for women. Freeman assisted in reconstructing their lives and enhancing the revitalization of their towns. Working with foreign organizations, she addressed trauma and displacement as part of the long-lasting effects of the war. Her dedication to the social and economic empowerment of women emphasizes their vital part in transforming societies touched by protracted conflict.

Case Study 3: South Sudan

Studies reveal that political instability, ethnic conflict, and civil war (2013-2015) have substantially impacted South Sudan's social fabric since winning independence in 2011. 142 Women in this country use the Honyomiji, institutions of the "South Sudanese indigenous women" working for national peacebuilding. 143 Honyomiji also helps them organize and offer educational and social support as well as valuable leadership. South Sudanese female groups have encountered substantial obstacles to joining formal peace discussions because political and military elites marginalize them. 144 Despite these constraints, studies affirm women's extensive advocacy and conflict mediation involvement. 145 Even though Adeogun and Muthuki acknowledge South Sudan's unwillingness to absorb women due to tokenism leadership, 146 Chol observes that their grassroots programs are noteworthy for resolving humanitarian adversities. 147 Hence, South Sudanese women engender social interrelation among sharply divided communities to enable reconciliation between warring parties.

The following women made significant contributions to South Sudan's peacebuilding:

Rebecca Nyandeng De Mabio

While serving in South Sudan government, Rebecca Nyandeng De Mabior has been a well-known peace and reconciliation activist in her nation. She became a uniting agent once the nation acquired independence in 2011 and after the 2013 civil war. War. De Mabior's job is to promote collaboration and negotiations among the disagreeing parties. Her commitment to encouraging inclusivity in peace projects was evident in the process of the Revitalized Agreement for the Resolution of Conflict in South Sudan (R-ARCSS). Programs by Nyandeng encouraging women's involvement in political and peace-building areas have raised their profile and value in the policymaking processes. She has concentrated chiefly on helping with humanitarian situations such as GBV and displacement that disproportionately impact women's and children's lives. South Store with grassroots activism, she considers women leaders' critical role in facing challenges following the war and advancing long-lasting peace.

Rita Lopidia

Rita Lopidia, a South Sudanese activist, has been an unwavering proponent of peace and women's rights. She was instrumental in inspiring women to speak out for the war's end and giving reconciliation a top priority during the Civil War. Lopidia has worked in other countries as well. She participated in the 2018 peace talks, pushing for the inclusion and consideration of women's voices and experiences in post-conflict resolution projects. Her leadership underscores the transformative influence of grassroots women's groups in advancing peace initiatives. Additionally, Lopidia acknowledges that psychosocial support from NGOs and UN agencies cannot address conflict's repercussions. Instead, she assists women impacted by relocation and violence. Through the EVE Organization, Lopidia advocates for education, livelihood initiatives, and leadership development for women in South Sudan. Her work illustrates how grassroots activism and international campaigning may close gaps in peacebuilding and guarantee more inclusive results for all societal members.

Case Study 4: Rwanda

Rwanda, an East African country, is a distinctive illustration of peacebuilding, given the devastating genocide that occurred here in 1994. Mansab acknowledges women's contributions to Rwanda's post-genocide reconstruction since they were crucial in promoting transition justice, education, economic growth, and reconciliation. The genocide, women filled the void created by the depleted male population by taking on leadership positions in a variety of fields. Females participated in Gacaca courts and promoted community-based reconciliation. According to Ugorji, these judicial systems were to handle genocide-related offenses, as the local initiatives remained vital components of grassroots peace programs. With women occupying the majority of seats in Rwanda's parliament (over 63 percent), the post-genocide government has made significant progress in encouraging women's participation in official peacebuilding and political leadership. Therefore, the analysis shows that Rwanda considers gender inclusivity central to its peace and general development goals.

The following women made significant contributions to Rwanda's peacebuilding:

Jeannette Kagame

Since 2000, First Lady of Rwanda Jeannette Kagame has been valuable in promoting healing and peace following the 1994 massacre. While using her lobbying and leadership, she has pushed initiatives meant to rebuild Rwanda's social fabric. She works on the concerns of underprivileged areas and the empowerment of women. Restoring dignity and hope for genocide survivors, Kagame founded the Imbuto Foundation, which supports initiatives for educational, health, and financial development. Her initiatives support harmony and peace by helping many organizations coordinate and interact. Rwanda is now an example of gender inclusiveness thanks primarily to Kagame's commitment to advancing female leadership. From a global perspective, her projects indicate women's crucial role in sustainable development and post-conflict healing. Kagame's position as first lady is a crucial resource for contributing to peacebuilding missions.

Odette Nyiramilimo

Odette Nyiramilimo, a physician and former senator of Rwanda, has played a significant role in promoting peace and healing in the nation. Throughout and after the genocide, she rendered essential medical assistance to survivors, emphasizing the restoration of physical security and emotional health in ravaged communities. Then, Nyiramilimo turned to political leadership and used her platform to advocate for women's participation in politics and the need to undo the long-lasting effects of war. Her efforts highlighted rebuilding trust and encouraging diversity in policymaking, qualities that are essential in Rwanda's post-genocide recovery. As a member of the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA), Nyaramilimo has participated regionally in promoting peace cooperation. Her ability to combine political activity, social welfare, and healthcare shows how women in authority have helped bring peace and healing. For cultures that have suffered significant violence, these activities are increasingly impactful.

Case Study 5: Congo (DRC)

DRC has extreme cases of GBV with female victims, which negatively portrays its presence in the society, as combatants use these atrocities as war weapons. Even while facing these barriers, females in Congo lead peacebuilding programs, using civil society establishments and grassroots movements. DRC women also organize small groups aiding sexual assault victims to obtain

support, championing human rights, and seeking justice and peace. ¹⁶⁷ Gender-based institutions (for females) actively push for inclusivity in peace negotiations. ¹⁶⁸ Other scholars like De Almagro note that advocates of movements in Bukavu and Goma in DRC created spaces in which to express their concerns and become political leaders, rather than always waiting to benefit from peacebuilding procedures. ¹⁶⁹ However, institutional obstacles that prevent them from fully participating in peacebuilding and decision-making processes include persistent violence and deeply ingrained patriarchal norms. ¹⁷⁰ Therefore, the analysis shows that DRC still needs more inclusive strategies to reduce ongoing conflicts.

The following women made significant contributions to DRC's peacebuilding:

Julienne Lusenge

While working in DRC as a human rights activist, Julienne Lusenge has been a fervent opponent of GBV and a steadfast advocate for peace. Lusenge, who co-founded Female Solidarity for Integrated Peace and Development, has diligently provided psychological and legal support to sexual violence survivors. ¹⁷¹ She also founded the Congolese Women's Fund, whose core focus is offering economic help. Lusenge has constantly emphasized the systematic employment of sexual violence as a weapon of war, drawing the attention of the world community to these horrors through her addresses to the United Nations and other global forums. ¹⁷² Her grassroots initiatives have concentrated on empowering women to serve as peacebuilders in their communities by providing training in conflict resolution and leadership. Lusenge's achievements exemplify her unwavering dedication to justice and peace in the DRC, and other consistently conflicting nations worldwide.

Chouchou Namegabe

Chouchou Namegabe, a distinguished journalist and activist from the DRC, has harnessed the influence of the media to champion peace and promote women's rights in her conflict-ridden nation. As the creator of the South Kivu Women's Media Association, Namegabe has concentrated on elevating the narratives of sexual violence survivors.¹⁷³ She chronicles their experiences to reveal the crimes perpetrated throughout regional conflicts. Through her radio broadcasts and advocacy initiatives, she has heightened awareness regarding the struggles of women and demanded accountability from those who commit acts of abuse.¹⁷⁴ Her work has illuminated the human cost of conflict and inspired survivors to articulate their experiences and regain their agency. Namegabe's endeavors have garnered international recognition, including prizes such as the Knights International Journalism Award (2009).¹⁷⁵ Her activism underscores the essential function of communication and narrative in peacebuilding and confronting entrenched injustices in conflict areas.

Factors Hindering Women's Participation at the Highest Level in Patriarchal African Societies

A significant obstacle to women's involvement in high-level peacebuilding within patriarchal African nations is the prevalence of ingrained cultural norms and gender stereotypes. Cultural expectations often restrict women to conventional roles such as caregivers and homemakers. Such obstacles deter their participation in decision-making processes. Moreover, these norms establish structural disparities that restrict women's access to educational and leadership resources, crucial for participation in peacebuilding initiatives. Despite women's capabilities,

these biases erode their credibility, hindering their recognition as legitimate participants in peace processes.

The absence of political will for change further hinders the role of women in leadership and peacebuilding positions. While global efforts for gender inclusiveness are evident, peacebuilding continues to be predominantly spearheaded by male leaders and elites who frequently marginalize women from negotiations and high-level conversations. Institutional obstacles, such as biased regulations and insufficient enforcement mechanisms for gender quotas, intensify this exclusion. Justino, Mitchell, and Müller noted that women frequently encounter systemic obstacles, including restricted access to resources, money, and networks. The lack of this support lessens their ability to achieve influence and visibility in peacebuilding initiatives.

Security issues and the widespread occurrence of gender-based violence in conflict zones also inhibit women's active involvement in peacebuilding efforts. Female leaders and activists frequently become victims of assault and intimidation, deterring them from taking on significant positions in conflict resolution. These dangers, coupled with insufficient legal protection and accountability measures, foster an atmosphere in which women are disproportionately at risk. Overcoming these obstacles necessitates transformative initiatives to confront patriarchal frameworks, advance gender equality, and guarantee women's safety and participation in all phases of peace processes.

Discussion and Conclusions

Women's Overall Contribution to Peacebuilding

Women have been crucial to peacebuilding in areas devastated by conflict; yet men continue to overlook and dismiss their contributions. Their work in local programs supports victims of violence and stimulates peace and justice. Further, grassroots activities also promote healing, which adds value to female participation. Citizens in countries like Rwanda are organized to advocate for post-conflict reconciliations as their Liberian counterparts spearhead nonaggressive resistance. Women have a vast, noteworthy impact on peace agreements; however, literature reveals that leaders leave them out of formal peace talks and decision-making processes. These challenges limit their potential to impact policies that deal with the underlying causes of conflict. As females acquire positions at the peacebuilding table, they safeguard peace agreements that are all-inclusive, lasting, and representative of diverse socioeconomic factors.

Recommendations

First, institutional reforms that value women's input in formal peace negotiations and decision-making organs are needed, which will guarantee the inclusion of women's viewpoints into national and international peace processes. Second, governments, NGOs, and global organizations should invest in enhancing women's capacity and acquiring and training senior leaders. This will help female grassroots organizations engage in peace initiatives more effectively. Reinforcing and upholding legal structures that support gender equality are necessary for preventing discriminatory behaviors such as excluding women. Third, stakeholders should gather more detailed data to monitor and assess the impact of female participation in peacebuilding. Such data is crucial for highlighting the real advantages of their involvement and guiding future peace and post-conflict reconciliatory policies.

Finally, women should engage in politics in order to be elected to office, which will help them to be in positions to more effectively address gender inequalities. Via participation in governance, women attain the ability to influence policies aimed at promoting gender equality and other issues that impact them disproportionately. Also, these roles allow them to address protections against gender-based violence, educational access, and reproductive rights. Political engagement will enable women to contest patriarchal conventions and redefine cultural views on leadership, proving that women are equally competent in high-stakes decision-making positions. Women in leadership roles can inspire future generations to pursue similar careers and disrupt the cycle of underrepresentation. Programs that integrate leadership development, gender-sensitive and inclusive political reforms, and financial assistance are vital to establishing systems that will mitigate barriers and cultivate an environment that promotes women's effective political involvement.

Notes

- ¹ Julie Arostegui, "Gender, conflict, and peacebuilding: how conflict can catalyze positive change for women," *Gender & Development* 21, no. 3 (2013): 538, https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2013.846624.
- ² Zohra Moosa, Maryam Rahmani, and Lee Webster, "From the private to the public sphere: new research on women's participation in peacebuilding," *Gender & Development* 21, no. 3 (2013): 455, https://doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2013.846585.
- ³ Kemal Erzurum and Berna Eren, "Women in peacebuilding: A criticism of gendered solutions in post-conflict situations," *Journal of Applied Security Research* 9, no. 2 (2014): 244, https://doi.org/10.1080/19361610.2014.883297.
- ⁴ Jana Kraus, Werner Krause, and Piia Bränfors, "Women's participation in peace negotiations and the durability of peace," *International Interactions* 44, no. 6 (2018): 985, https://doi.org/10.1080/03050629.2018.1492386.
- ⁵ Jacqui True, "Women, peace and security in post-conflict and peacebuilding contexts," *NOREF Policy Brief* (2013): 2, https://noref.no/publication-documents/women-peace-and-security-in-post-conflict-and-peacebuilding-contexts/True_NOREF_UNSCR1325_Feb-2013_FINAL.pdf.
- ⁶ Funmilayo Idowu Agbaje, "The challenges of instrumentalist approach to the involvement of African women in peacemaking and peacebuilding," *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* 8, no. 8 (2018): 102, https://doi.org/10.30845/ijhss.v8n8p12.
- ⁷ Moosa, Rahmani, and Webster, "From the private to the public sphere," 468.
- ⁸ Erzurum and Eren, "Women in peacebuilding," 241.
- ⁹ Chrispinous Iteyo and Alice Mumbi, "Challenges and opportunities of women's peacebuilding activities in Nairobi County Kenya," *Journal of Public Policy and Administration* 5, no. 1 (2020): 50, https://iprjb.org/journals/index.php/JPPA/article/view/1102.
- ¹⁰ Veneranda Mbabazi, Resty Naiga, and Nkabala Nambalirwa Helen, "Towards gendered peacebuilding processes for sustainable peace," *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations* 24, no. 2 (2020): 4, https://doi.org/10.1177/0973598419896441.
- ¹¹ True, "Women, peace and security," 2.
- ¹² Soumita Basu and Catia C. Confortini, "Weakest 'P' in the 1325 pod? Realizing conflict prevention through Security Council resolution 1325," *International Studies Perspectives* 18, no. 1 (2017): 4, https://doi.org/10.1093/isp/ekw004.
- ¹³ Basu and Confortini, "Weakest 'P' in the 1325 pod?" 1.
- 14 Basu and Confortini, "Weakest 'P' in the 1325 pod?" 3.
- ¹⁵ Berry and Rana, "What prevents peace?" 326.
- ¹⁶ Adjei, "Women's participation in peace processes," 13.
- ¹⁷ Adeogun and Muthuki, "Feminist perspectives on peacebuilding," 2.
- ¹⁸ Oluwayemisi Ajoke Adepoju, Daniel Eseme Gberevbie, and Bonny Ibhawoh, "Culture and women participation in peacebuilding in Africa: Perspective of national culture and social role theories," *Academy of Strategic Management Journal* 20, no. 3 (2021): 1, https://www.abacademies.org/articles/Culture-and-women-participation-in-peacebuilding-in-africa-perspective-of-national-culture-and-social-role-theories-1939-6104-20-3-754.pdf.

- ¹⁹ Berry and Rana, "What prevents peace?" 341.
- ²⁰ Torunn L. Tryggestad, "State feminism going global: Norway on the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission," *Cooperation and Conflict* 49, no. 4 (2014): 470, https://doi.org/10.1177/0010836714530576
- ²¹ Michelle Dunn, "You will go far but no further': Applying a gendered lens to the women peace and security agenda in post-conflict Liberia," PhD diss., The University of Queensland, 2016, UQ eSpace, 22.
- ²² Megan Lounsbury, "Engendering peace?: a critical examination of the gendered rationale for United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security," PhD diss., University of Georgia, 2016, 46, Esploro (9949333196002959).
- ²³ Lounsbury, "Engendering peace?" 46.
- ²⁴ Nancy J. Adler and Joyce S. Osland, "Women leading globally: What we know, thought we knew, and need to know about leadership in the 21st Century☆," in *Advances in Global Leadership*, vol. 9 (2016): 18, Emerald Group Publishing Limited, https://doi.org/10.1108/S1535-120320160000009003.
- ²⁵ Sebastian Angzoorokuu Paalo, "Intergenerational gaps in women's grassroots peacebuilding in Ghana: a critique of 'inclusive peacebuilding'," *Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research* 14, no. 4 (2022): 1, https://doi.org/10.1108/JACPR-01-2022-0663
- ²⁶ Adjei, "Women's participation in peace processes," 18.
- ²⁷ Catherine Turner and Aisling Swaine, "Aligning participation and protection in the women, peace and security agenda," *International & Comparative Law Quarterly* 72, no. 2 (2023): 482, https://doi.org/10.1017/S002058932300009X.
- ²⁸ Gakiya, Tiu Wu, and Al-Rousan, "Women's leadership," 12.
- ²⁹ Emily Bent, "The boundaries of girls' political participation: A critical exploration of girls' experiences as delegates to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW)," *Global Studies of Childhood* 3, no. 2 (2013): 174, https://doi.org/10.2304/gsch.2013.3.2.173.
- ³⁰ Mohd Nazish, "United Nations and Women's Rights: A Historical Analysis of CEDAW," *Sprin Journal of Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences* 3, no. 1 (2024): 45, https://sprinpub.com/sjahss/article/view/sjahss-3-1-8-41-47.
- ³¹ Meg Rincker et al., "Evaluating the representation and responsiveness of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) to diverse women populations worldwide," *Frontiers in Sociology* 4 (2019): 2, https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2019.00041.
- ³² Elizabeth L. Brannon, "The Appointment of Men as Representatives to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women," *Political Research Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (2022): 1360, https://doi.org/10.1177/10659129211066124.
- ³³ Rincker et al., "Evaluating the representation and responsiveness of the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women," 12.
- ³⁴ Gakiya, Tiu Wu, and Al-Rousan, "Women's leadership," 12.
- ³⁵ Mona Lena Krook, and Jacqui True, "Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality," *European Journal of International Relations* 18, no. 1 (2012): 120, https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066110380963.
- ³⁶ Krook and True, "Rethinking the life cycles of international norms," 120.

- ³⁷ Chandan Kumar Roy and Huang Xiaoling, "Achieving SDG 5, gender equality and empower all women and girls, in developing countries: how aid for trade can help?," *International Journal of Social Economics* 49, no. 6 (2022): 930, https://doi.org/10.1108/IJSE-12-2020-0813.
- ³⁸ Thania Paffenholz, Nick Ross, Steven Dixon, Anna-Lena Schluchter, and Jacqui True, "Making women count not just counting women: Assessing Women's Inclusion and Influence on Peace Negotiations," (2016): 47, https://library.alnap.org/system/files/content/resource/files/main/ipti-un-women-report-making-women-count-60-pages.pdf.
- ³⁹ "Peace and security," UN Women Africa, accessed October 17, 2024, https://africa.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/peace-and-security_africa.
- ⁴⁰ "Peace and security," UN Women Africa.
- ⁴¹ "Women Working Together for the Africa We Want: African Women Leaders Network convene for a second forum," United Nations Women Africa, accessed October 17, 2024, https://www.unwomen.org/en/news/stories/2018/4/announcement-african-women-leaders-network-second-forum.
- ⁴² "African Women Leaders Network national chapters commit to accelerate engagement and mobilization of women," African Union, accessed October 17, 2024, https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20220830/african-women-leaders-network-national-chapters-commit-accelerate-engagement.
- ⁴³ Nicola Popovic, "Gender-responsive Peacebuilding Learning and Strategy Workshop for West and Central Africa," UN Women Africa, accessed October 17, 2024, https://africa.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2016/08/gender-responsive-peacebuilding-learning-and-strategy-workshop-forwest-and-central-africa.
- ⁴⁴ Krook and True, "Rethinking the life cycles of international norms," 115.
- ⁴⁵ "16 Days of Activism against Gender-based Violence," UN Women, accessed October 14, 2024, https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/november-december-2020/16-days-activism-against-gender-based-violence.
- ⁴⁶ "HeForShe," UN Women, accessed October 14, 2024, https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/en/get-involved/heforshe.
- ⁴⁷ Erzurum and Berna Eren, "Women in peacebuilding: A criticism of gendered solutions in post-conflict situations," *Journal of Applied Security Research* 9, no. 2 (2014): 248, https://doi.org/10.1080/19361610.2014.883297.
- ⁴⁸ Niamh Gaynor, "Decentralization, conflict and peacebuilding in Rwanda," Dublin City University, 2013, accessed October 14, 2024, https://doras.dcu.ie/19184/1/Report_final.pdf.
- ⁴⁹ Smita Ramnarain, "Interrogating women's peace work: community-based peacebuilding, gender, and savings' cooperatives in post-conflict Nepal," *Community Development Journal* 50, no. 4 (2015): 5, https://doi.org/10.1093/cdj/bsu065.
- ⁵⁰ Alexandria Maria Bianco, "Breaking bread: examining the intersections of women, cooking and peacebuilding," University of Malta and the George Mason University's School for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, United States, 2022, 2, accessed October 14, 2024, https://www.um.edu.mt/library/oar/bitstream/123456789/119860/1/22MCRMS002.pdf.
- ⁵¹ Gayno, "Decentralization, conflict and peacebuilding," 30.
- ⁵² Maxwell Adjei, "Women's participation in peace processes: A review of literature," *Journal of Peace Education*, 16, no. 2 (2019): 10, https://doi.org/10.1080/17400201.2019.1576515.

- ⁵³ Patricia Rinck, "Peace at the Margins? Peacebuilding and Patriarchal World Ordering in Sierra Leone," *Global Studies Quarterly* 4, no. 3 (2024): 4, https://doi.org/10.1093/isagsq/ksae069.
- ⁵⁴ Kraus, Krause, and Bränfors, "Women's participation in peace negotiations," 1003.
- ⁵⁵ Arostegui, "Gender, conflict, and peace-building," 544.
- 56 Nyathon James Hoth Mai, "Role of Women in Peacebuilding in South Sudan," Sudd Institute, 2015, 11, accessed October 14, 2024,
- $https://www.suddinstitute.org/assets/Publications/572b7eb2dd52b_TheRoleOfWomenInPeaceBuilding\ In_Full.pdf.$
- ⁵⁷ Ramnarain, "Interrogating women's peace work," 11.
- ⁵⁸ Adjei, "Women's participation in peace processes," 10.
- ⁵⁹ Natascha Mueller-Hirth, "Women's experiences of peacebuilding in violence-affected communities in Kenya," *Third World Quarterly* 40, no. 1 (2019): 1-25, https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1509701.
- ⁶⁰ Leah Sherwood, "Women, peace and security: Gender perspectives on conflict prevention and peacebuilding," *TRENDS* (2016): 8, https://musakhalil.com/trendsresearch.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Women-Peace-and-Security_SHERWOOD.pdf.
- ⁶¹ Jenna Sapiano et al., "I Wouldn't Want to Be a Gender Expert:' Gender Experts in Peace Mediation," *International Negotiation* 28, no. 2 (2022): 221, https://brill.com/view/journals/iner/28/2/article-p201_3.xml.
- ⁶² Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, "The relationship of political settlement analysis to peacebuilding from a feminist perspective," *Peacebuilding* 4, no. 2 (2016): 20, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2016.1192243.
- ⁶³ Kraus, Krause, and Bränfors, "Women's participation in peace negotiations," 1007.
- ⁶⁴ Ramnarain, "Interrogating women's peace work," 11.
- ⁶⁵ Fredline Amaybel Olayinka M'Cormack-Hale, "Gender, peace, and security: women's advocacy and conflict resolution," Commonwealth Secretariat, 2012, 32, https://www.thecommonwealth-ilibrary.org/index.php/comsec/catalog/book/149.
- ⁶⁶ Anne Marie Goetz and Rob Jenkins, "Agency and accountability: promoting women's participation in peacebuilding," *Feminist Economics* 22, no. 1 (2016): 2, https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2015.1086012.
- 67 Marie Saiget, "Women's participation in African peace negotiations: cooperating with the UN agencies in Burundi and Liberia," <code>Peacebuilding 4</code>, no. 1 (2016): 8-9, <code>https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2015.1099727</code>
- ⁶⁸ Lukong Stella Shulika, "Women and peacebuilding: from historical to contemporary African perspectives," *Ubuntu: Journal of Conflict and Social Transformation* 5, no. 1 (2016): 16, https://hdl.handle.net/10520/EJC188632.
- ⁶⁹ Çağlayan Başer, "Women's Role in Violence and UN Women, Peace, and Security Agenda," *Alternatif Politika* 16, no. 1 (2024): 4, https://doi.org/10.53376/ap.2024.01.
- ⁷⁰ Mueller-Hirth, "Women's experiences of peacebuilding," 15.
- ⁷¹ Antonia Does, "Inclusivity and local perspectives in peacebuilding: issues, lessons, challenges," (2013), The Graduate Institute, Geneva, 1, accessed October 14, 2024, https://www.daghammarskjold.se/wp-content/uploads/2014/08/PP-08-Inclusivity-of-Local-Perspectives-in-PB-July-2013.pdf.

- ⁷² Cindy Minarova-Banjac, "Gender culture in diplomacy: a feminist perspective," *Culture Mandala* 13, no. 1 (2018): 25,
- $https://librarysearch.bond.edu.au/discovery/fulldisplay?vid=61BOND_INST:BOND\&docid=alma993072\\6571502381\&context=L.$
- ⁷³ Shulika, "Women and peacebuilding," 7.
- ⁷⁴ Arostegui, "Gender, conflict, and peace-building," 546.
- ⁷⁵ Adjei, "Women's participation in peace processes," 11.
- ⁷⁶ Cardozo Lopes et al., "Silent struggles: women education leaders' agency for peacebuilding in Islamic schools in post-conflict Aceh," *Journal of Peace Education* 19, no. 2 (2022): 160, https://doi.org/10.1080/17400201.2022.2052826.
- ⁷⁷ Edwin Etieyibo and Pedro Tabensky, "Feminism and women in African philosophy," *South African Journal of Philosophy* 42, no. 3 (2023): 163, https://doi.org/10.1080/02580136.2023.2283674.
- ⁷⁸ Sarah Pelham, "Born to Lead: Recommendations on increasing women's participation in South Sudan's peace processes," Oxfam International, 2020, 7, accessed October 15, 2024, https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/handle/10546/620934.
- ⁷⁹ Emeka Emmanuel Okafor and Monica Ewomazino Akokuwebe, "Women and leadership in Nigeria: Challenges and prospects," *Developing Country Studies* 5, no. 4 (2015): 6, https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/234682222.pdf.
- ⁸⁰ Viorica Goraș-Postică, "Educational role of women in peace education: Global and local approaches," in *Education for values-continuity and context*, 2018, p. 159, https://ibn.idsi.md/sites/default/files/imag_file/159-165_23.pdf.
- 81 Goraș-Postică, "Educational role of women in peace education," 163.
- ⁸² Paul K. Atuhaire and Grace Ndirangu, "Removing Obstacles to Women's Participation at the Peace Table and in Politics: Policy Brief 2019," Women in International Security, 2, accessed October 14, 2024, https://wiisglobal.org/wp-content/uploads/Removing-Obstacles-to-Womens-Participation-at-the-Peace-Table-and-in-Politics.pdf.
- ⁸³ Kristen Meagher et al., "Strengthening health systems and peacebuilding through women's leadership: a qualitative study," *Globalization and Health* 19, no. 1 (2023): 9, https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-023-00920-1.
- ⁸⁴ Fredrick Wilson et al., "Women in Peacebuilding in Northeast Nigeria: Roles, Challenges and Prospects," *Recent Trends in Data Mining and Business Forecasting* 5, no. 1 (2024): 10, https://matjournals.net/engineering/index.php/JTDMBF/article/view/145.
- 85 Meagher et al., "Strengthening health systems and peacebuilding through women's leadership," 10.
- ⁸⁶ Atuhaire and Ndirangu, "Removing Obstacles to Women's Participation at the Peace Table," 2.
- ⁸⁷ Lanoi Maloiy, Petronella Jonck, and Anne Goujon. "The role of education about female political leadership in Kenya," 2016, last modified August 27, 2021, https://pure.iiasa.ac.at/id/eprint/13895/.
- 88 Wilson et al., "Women in Peacebuilding in Northeast Nigeria," 10.
- 89 Wilson et al., "Women in Peacebuilding in Northeast Nigeria," 10.
- 90 Atuhaire and Ndirangu, "Removing Obstacles to Women's Participation at the Peace Table," 2.
- 91 Rinck, "Peace at the Margins?" 4.

- 92 Adeogun and Muthuki, "Feminist perspectives on peacebuilding," 2.
- 93 Turner and Aisling Swaine, "Aligning participation and protection," 477.
- ⁹⁴ Maureen Namondo Lifongo, "Women and Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone: 2002-2011," University of Johannesburg (South Africa), 2013, 4, https://ujcontent.uj.ac.za/esploro/outputs/graduate/Women-and-peace-building-in-Sierra-Leone/9912552707691.
- 95 Rinck, "Peace at the Margins?" 9-10.
- ⁹⁶ Lifongo, "Women and Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone," 130.
- ⁹⁷ Tony Karbo, "Localising Peacebuilding in Sierra Leone: What Does it Mean?," in *Conference Paper*, no. 3. 2012, 8, http://159.203.64.176/article/localising-peacebuilding-sierra-leone-what-does-it-mean.
- ⁹⁸ Zainab Monisola Olaitan and Christopher Isike, "The role of the African Union in fostering women's representation in formal peacebuilding: A case study of Sierra Leone," *Journal of African Union Studies (JoAUS)* 8, no. 2 (2019): 145, https://doi.org/10.31920/2050-4306/2019/8n2a8.
- ⁹⁹ Oumar Ndongo, "Women's Wartime Struggle for Peace and Security in the Mano River Union," in *Preventive Diplomacy, Security, and Human Rights in West Africa* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 166, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-25354-7_5.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ndongo, "Women's Wartime Struggle for Peace and Security," 166.
- ¹⁰¹ Olaitan and Isike, "The role of the African Union in fostering women's representation in formal peacebuilding," 144.
- ¹⁰² Bangura Haja Zainab Hawa, "Global Solutions to Sexual Violence in Conflict," 3.
- ¹⁰³ Kiran Grewal, "Using War to Shift Peacetime Norms: The Example of Forced Marriage in Sierra Leone," in *Rethinking Transitional Gender Justice: Transformative Approaches in Post-Conflict Settings* (2019): 85, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-77890-7_5.
- ¹⁰⁴ Grewal, "Using War to Shift Peacetime Norms," 85.
- ¹⁰⁵ Martina Mchenga, "Female Genital Mutilation and Sexual Risk Behaviors of Adolescent Girls and Young Women Aged 15–24 Years: Evidence From Sierra Leone," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 74, no. 1 (2024): 191, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2023.08.02.
- ¹⁰⁶ Mchenga, "Female Genital Mutilation and Sexual Risk Behaviors," 191.
- ¹⁰⁷ Collen Walsh, "Lifting women up: First Lady of Sierra Leone Fatima Maada Bio is working to end gender-based violence and empower women," Harvard Law Today, accessed December 18, 2024, https://hls.harvard.edu/today/using-her-voice-to-address-gender-based-violence-in-the-africancontext/.
- ¹⁰⁸ Walsh, "Lifting women up."
- 109 Walsh, "Lifting women up."
- ¹¹⁰ Augustine S.J. Park, "Community-based restorative transitional justice in Sierra Leone," *Contemporary Justice Review* 13, no. 1 (2010): 104, https://doi.org/10.1080/10282580903343134.
- ¹¹¹ Margo Okazawa-Rey and Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff, "Women Mobilising for Peace," *Feminist Africa* 10 (2008): 99, https://www.jstor.org/stable/48725957.
- ¹¹² Okazawa-Rey and Jusu-Sheriff, "Women Mobilising for Peace," 103.

- ¹¹³ "Interview of the Month: Our Interview of the Month with Yasmin Jusu-Sheriff," MEWC, https://www.mewc.org/index.php/community/our-monthly-interview/8727-our-interview-of-themonth-with-yasmin-jusu-sheriff.
- ¹¹⁴ Jude Cocodia, "Local Women and Building the Peace: Narratives from Africa," *Insight on Africa* 15, no. 1 (2023): 74, https://doi.org/10.1177/09750878221114377.
- ¹¹⁵ Maxwell Adjei, "Ending Civil War through Nonviolent Resistance: The Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace Movement," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 9 (2021): 19, https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss9/2/.
- ¹¹⁶ Lindsay Reid, "Peace agreements and women's political rights following civil war," *Journal of Peace Research* 58, no. 6 (2021): 5, https://doi.org/10.1177/0022343320972748.
- ¹¹⁷ Saiget, "Women's participation in African peace negotiations," 4.
- ¹¹⁸ Reid, "Peace agreements and women's political rights," 5.
- ¹¹⁹ Julia Leib, "The Security and Justice Approach in Liberia's Peace Process: Mechanistic Evidence and Local Perception," *Peace Economics, Peace Science and Public Policy* 25, no. 4 (2019): 1, https://doi.org/10.1515/peps-2019-0033.
- ¹²⁰ Alex Otieno, "Peace Profile: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf," *Peace Review* 32, no. 4 (2020): 557-558, https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2020.1921419.
- 121 Otieno, "Peace Profile," 557.
- ¹²² Judith Hicks Stiehm, *Champions for peace: Women winners of the Nobel Peace Prize* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018), 221.
- ¹²³ Felix Nyarko and Raija-Leena Punamaki, "Future orientation of youth with a history of war trauma: a qualitative study in the African context," *Medicine, Conflict, and Survival* 35, no. 4 (2019): 329, https://doi.org/10.1080/13623699.2019.1706879.
- ¹²⁴ "Ellen Johnson Sirleaf: Nobel Lecture," The Nobel Prize, Nobel Prize Outreach 2025, accessed March 6, 2025, https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2011/johnson_sirleaf/lecture/.
- ¹²⁵ Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "How women will lead us to freedom, justice and peace," TED Talk, Vancouver, BC, December 2022, Video, 14 min.,
- $https://www.ted.com/talks/h_e_ellen_johnson_sirleaf_how_women_will_lead_us_to_freedom_justice_and_peace.$
- ¹²⁶ "EP 4: Sustaining Peace w/ Ellen Johnson Sirleaf," GIWPS, accessed March 6, 2025, https://giwps.georgetown.edu/ep-4-sustaining-peace-w-ellen-johnson-sirleaf/.
- ¹²⁷ Sirleaf, "How women will lead us to freedom, justice and peace."
- ¹²⁸ "Why is women's equal participation crucial in peace processes?" The Elders, accessed March 8, 2025, https://theelders.org/news/why-women-s-equal-participation-crucial-peace-processes.
- ¹²⁹ Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, "Text of Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's speech," The Harvard Gazette, accessed March 8, 2025, https://news.harvard.edu/gazette/story/2011/05/text-of-ellen-johnson-sirleafs-speech/.
- ¹³⁰ "Ellen Johnson Sirleaf: Women are the backbone of peace and reconciliation," Ellen Johnson Sirleaf Presidential Center for Women and Development, accessed March 6, 2025, https://ejscenter.org/ellen-johnson-sirleaf-women-are-the-backbone-of-peace-and-reconciliation/.
- 131 "How the Women of Liberia Fought for Peace and Won," Tavaan Organization, accessed March 6, 2025, https://tolerance.tavaana.org/en/how-the-women-of-liberia-fought-for-peace-and-won/.

- ¹³² "Former President Sirleaf launches third edition of the Women Situation Room," UNDP, accessed March 6, 2025, https://www.undp.org/liberia/press-releases/former-president-sirleaf-launches-third-edtion-women-situation-room?utm_source=chatgpt.com.
- ¹³³ Francis G. Boayue, "Liberia: Sister Aid Liberia rolls out key activities promoting gender transformative and positive masculinity through training and mentorship," Front Page Africa, accessed March 6, 2025, https://frontpageafricaonline.com/gender-issues/liberia-sister-aid-liberia-rolls-out-key-activities-promoting-gender-transformative-and-positive-masculinity-through-training-and-mentorship/?utm_source=chatgpt.com.
- ¹³⁴ Maxwell Adjei, "Ending Civil War through Nonviolent Resistance: The Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace Movement," *Journal of International Women's Studies* 22, no. 9 (2021): 3, https://vc.bridgew.edu/jiws/vol22/iss9/2/.
- ¹³⁵ Véronique Dudouet, "From the street to the Peace table," 2021, United States Institute of Peace, accessed December 18, 2024, https://www.usip.org/sites/default/files/2021-08/pw_176-from_the_street_to_the_peace_table_nonviolent_mobilization_during_intrastate_peace_processes.pdf.
- ¹³⁶ Allison M. Prasch, "Maternal bodies in militant protest: Leymah Gbowee and the rhetorical agency of African motherhood," *Women's Studies in Communication* 38, no. 2 (2015): 198, https://doi/.org/10.1080/07491409.2014.993105.
- ¹³⁷ Adjei, "Ending Civil War through Nonviolent Resistance," 8.
- ¹³⁸ "Immediate ceasefire, humanitarian aid crucial for Liberia," Relief Web, accessed December 18, 2024, https://reliefweb.int/report/liberia/immediate-ceasefire-humanitarian-aid-crucial-liberia.
- ¹³⁹ Mahlon Dalley et al., "Definitions of peace and reconciliation in Africa," *International handbook of peace and reconciliation* (2013): 82, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4614-5933-0_7
- ¹⁴⁰ Brenda Salter McNeil, *Becoming Brave: Finding the Courage to Pursue Racial Justice* (Brazos Press, 2020), 114.
- ¹⁴¹ Brenda, *Becoming Brave*, 95.
- ¹⁴² Mai and James, "Role of Women in Peacebuilding," 2.
- ¹⁴³ Winnie Bedigen, "Honyomiji: the local women's peacebuilding institution in South Sudan," *Peacebuilding* 9, no. 4 (2021): 1, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2021.1895613
- ¹⁴⁴ Adeogun and Muthuki, "Feminist perspectives on peacebuilding," 2.
- ¹⁴⁵ Kelly O. Opiyo, "Transforming the Landscape: Women in Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding," *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies* 7, no. 5 (2023): 131-144, https://lnu.divaportal.org/smash/get/diva2:183`2780/FULLTEXT01.pdf
- ¹⁴⁶ Adeogun and Muthuki, "Feminist perspectives on peacebuilding," 6.
- ¹⁴⁷ Jacob D. Chol, "South Sudanese Women in Peace Building and Conflict Resolutions: Prospects and Hurdles," in *Current Developments, Peace and Stability in the Horn of Africa* (Sirc & Terra Nullius Publishing Company, 2023), 134.
- ¹⁴⁸ Esther Soma, "Our search for peace: Women in South Sudan's national peace processes, 2005–2018," Oxfam and UN Women, 2020, 49, https://doi.org/10.21201/2020.5525
- ¹⁴⁹ Melek Aylin Özoflu, "Navigating Fragility: Unraveling Intergroup Relations in South Sudan's Peacebuilding Process," *Journal of Humanity, Peace and Justice* 1, no. 1 (2024): 42, https://doi.org/10.26650/hupej.2024.10.1.1456766.

- ¹⁵⁰ Soma, "Our search for peace," 36.
- ¹⁵¹ Soma, "Our search for peace," 30.
- ¹⁵² Theo Tindall, "Women's participation and influence in transitions from conflict: The case of South Sudan," *London: ODI* (2022), 1, accessed December 18, 2024, https://www.csrf-southsudan.org/repository/womens-participation-and-influence-in-transitions-from-conflict-the-case-of-south-sudan-2/.
- ¹⁵³ Rita M. Lopidia, "South Sudanese Women at the Peace Table: Violence, Advocacy, Achievement, and Beyond," (2019), 66, The Zambakari Advisory, accessed December 18, 2024, https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3405803.
- ¹⁵⁴ Tindall, "Women's participation and influence in transitions from conflict," 16.
- ¹⁵⁵ Maria Mansab, "Nurturing Sustainable Peace: Unveiling the Integral Role of Women in Rwanda's Peacebuilding Endeavors," *NUST Journal of International Peace & Stability* (2023): 35, https://doi.org/10.37540/njips.v6i2.150.
- ¹⁵⁶ David Mwambari, "Leadership emergence in post-genocide Rwanda: the role of women in peacebuilding," *The Journal of Leadership and Developing Societies* 2, no. 1 (2017): 88, https://doi.org/10.47697/lds.3435004.
- ¹⁵⁷ Basil Ugorji, "Indigenous dispute resolution and national reconciliation: Learning from the gacaca courts in Rwanda," *Journal of Living Together* 6, no. 1 (2019): 158, https://icermediation.org/indigenous-dispute-resolution-and-national-reconciliation/.
- ¹⁵⁸ "Women representation," Rwanda Parliament, accessed October 14, 2024, https://www.parliament.gov.rw/women-representation
- ¹⁵⁹ David Mwambari, Barney Walsh, and 'Funmi Olonisakin, "Women's overlooked contribution to Rwanda's state-building conversations," *Conflict, Security & Development* 21, no. 4 (2021): 491, https://doi.org/10.1080/14678802.2021.1974699.
- ¹⁶⁰ Pierre C. Rwigema, "Initiatives aimed at increasing the participation of women in the tech industry in Rwanda and their impact on social and economic development. 30 years after the genocide against Tutsi in Rwanda," *Journal of Social Science & Humanities* 5, no. 1: 346, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/381522906_initiatives_aimed_at_increasing_the_participatio n_of_women_in_the_tech_industry_in_rwanda_and_their_impact_on_social_and_economic_development_3 0_years_after_genocide_against_tutsi_in_rwanda.
- ¹⁶¹ "Women representation," Rwanda Parliament, accessed October 14, 2024, https://www.parliament.gov.rw/women-representation.
- 162 Philip Gourevitch, We wish to inform you that tomorrow we will be killed with our families, vol. 24 (Pan Macmillan, 2015), 62.
- ¹⁶³ Karolina Svobodová, "Impact of gender policy on post-conflict reconstruction and security in Rwanda," *African Security Review* 28, no. 2 (2019): 131, https://doi.org/10.1080/10246029.2019.1663744.
- ¹⁶⁴ Jennie E. Burnet and Jeanne d'Arc Kanakuze, "Political settlements, women's representation, and gender equality: the 2008 gender-based violence law and gender parity in primary and secondary education in Rwanda," Effective States and Inclusive Development Research Centre, 14, accessed December 18, 2024. https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3123023.
- ¹⁶⁵ Elyse J. Thulin et al., "Male and female perceptions and experiences of sexual and gender-based violence in South Kivu, Eastern DRC," *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 37, no. 1-12 (2022): 1-2, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0886260520983301.

- ¹⁶⁶ Mathijs Van Leeuwen, "The 'local turn' and notions of conflict and peacebuilding–Reflections on local peace committees in Burundi and eastern DR Congo," *Peacebuilding* 8, no. 3 (2020): 293, https://doi.org/10.1080/21647259.2019.1633760.
- ¹⁶⁷ Thulin et al., "Male and female perceptions and experiences of sexual and gender-based violence," 11.
- ¹⁶⁸ Opiyo, "Transforming the Landscape," 138.
- ¹⁶⁹ Maria Martin De Almagro, "Hybrid clubs: A feminist approach to peacebuilding in the Democratic Republic of Congo," in *The Politics of Peacebuilding in a Diverse World* (Routledge, 2020), 10.
- ¹⁷⁰ Nkwazi Mhango and Evelyn M. Birabwa Namakula, *Liberal Peace: On Conflict, Gender, and Peacebuilding: Democratic Republic of Congo Case Study* (UJ Press, 2024), 28.
- ¹⁷¹ Andrea Durbach, "Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies: International Agendas and African Contexts," *Australian Journal of Human Rights* 21, no. 1 (2015): 197, https://doi.org/10.1080/1323238X.2015.11910937.
- ¹⁷² Durbach, "Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies," 198.
- ¹⁷³ Natalie Florea Hudson and Alexandra Cosima Budabin, "When advocacy securitizes: Non-state actors and the circulation of narratives around sexualized violence in conflict," in *Securitization Revisited* (Routledge, 2019), 103.
- ¹⁷⁴ Marie Godin, "Theatre and photography as new contentious repertoires of Congolese women in the diaspora: towards another politics of representation of rape," *African Diaspora* 9, no. 1-2 (2016): 10, https://brill.com/view/journals/afdi/9/1-2/article-p101_6.xml.
- 175 Godin, "Theatre and photography as new contentious repertoires of Congolese women in the diaspora," 2, 10.