Women and Peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone

A comparative study of the impacts of United Nations Resolution 1325

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Abstract

This study examines and problematizes how the Resolution 1325 has impacted women's inclusion in two developing countries. The study focuses on how the resolution 1325 has affected and increased women's inclusion in peacebuilding since the implementation in Rwanda (2009) and Sierra Leone (2010). To analyse the results a theoretical framing is used, which is Empowerment theory and Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding. This thesis uses a comparative literature method to compare the impacts in the two cases and critical reading is used while searching for material in e.g. scientific articles and in reports. Based on the theoretical framing and the material that are used in this thesis, the study concludes that Rwanda and Sierra Leone have experienced different results from the implementation of resolution 1325.

This study concludes that the implementation of resolution 1325 in Rwanda has worked as a tool to push gender equality further in peace processes as in the parliament and in the security sector, alongside women's organizations and activists since 2009. The results in Sierra Leone concludes that the implementation of resolution 1325 has progressed the work within peacebuilding as the proportion of women has increased in peace processes and in the police and security-sector since 2010. However, the development in Rwanda had come further before the implementation of resolution 1325 and therefore the results differ in these countries.

Key words:

Empowerment, Gender, Peacebuilding, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, UNSCR 1325, Women

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1. Introduction

The proportion of women in peace processes is inferior to that of participating men. The United Nations therefore established Resolution 1325 to enhance women's inclusion and reduce the unequal proportion between the genders (Bell & O'rourke, 2010, p.942). The resolution aims at three categories: Representation, Gender perspective and Protection. This in order to increase women's presence in peace-building, to implement a gender perspective in peace processes and protection of women in conflicts and women's rights and also protection against violence (Tryggestad, 2009, p.540-541). UNSCR (United Nations Security Council Resolutions) urges all member states in UN to increase the participation of women in decision-making at both international, national and regional levels at each institutions (United Nations, 2011, p.1-2) and today UNSCR 1325 is available in more than 80 different languages and has become very important for women and women's organizations (Caglar, Prügl & Zwingel, 2013, p.165).

By applying UNSCR 1325 the support of women's opportunities and rights in gender equality increases and the amount of women in peacebuilding, parliaments and security should grow. UNSCR 1325 works like an agenda to integrate more women into peace and security work and it is based on the various problems associated with women's exclusion (United Nations, 2000, p.3). Although it has been almost 20 years since the founding of UNSCR 1325, UN Executive Director Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka believes that the results and goals have not yet been fulfilled, but she points out that women's increasing presence in peace processes achieved so far affects society in a positive way (UN Women, 2019) and this is confirmed in the quotation below.

> Another tremendous accomplishment of those who constructed the resolution is that they broadened the Council's construction of women and/in armed conflict, detaching women from 'womenandchildren' and making women visible as active agents (Cohn, Kinsella & Gibbings, 2004, p.139).

This study deals with women's inclusion in peacebuilding and it aims to examine differences and results out from UNSCR 1325. The method of this study is a comparative method and the comparison is made in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. These will be compared to get an insight in women's role in peacebuilding and decision making processes. In this thesis critical reading is used while analyzing previous research, while studying the results and during the writing process. The theoretical framing of the study is constituted by Empowerment theory and also Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding and both are applied in the analysis. Both Empowerment theory and Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding will be useful as both advocate women's role and equal participation in society and both will analyze the previous research and interpret the material of the results. Both are determined based on the choice of purpose and the two definite research questions in this thesis.

Empowerment is useful as the framing of the theory points at inclusion in society (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995, p.570) and more specifically in this thesis Women's empowerment will be used as it advocates women's opportunity to make choices in life, and also the right to live in freedom (Kabeer, 2005, p.13). Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding is based on women's rights and gender equality, because without these factors peacebuilding will not be as effective as it automatically slows down the process if peacebuilding processes only includes one gender (Adeogun & Muthuki, 2018, p.84).

Empowerment ensures and increases individuals own choices and can be defined as change (Kabeer, 2005, p.13-14). In relation to the central problem, women should hold more seats in parliaments around the world and due to the theoretical framing there might be a chance to increase (Ibid, p.21). Empowering women increases the proportion in governances and increases the power to make a change. But, if women are questioned while possessing the power inside the governance, women's status might change and just turn women's presence into symbols. "The question, therefore, is to what extent the international community is prepared to provide support to women at the grassroots – support which will ensure that they have the collective capabilities necessary to play this role." (Ibid, p.24). Both empowerment theory and feminist approaches to peacebuilding will be further defined in the theoretical chapter.

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To analyse this problem, empirical material will contribute with different approaches on the Resolution 1325 and the problems surrounding inclusion of women in Peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Previous research will also contribute to compare similarities and differences between the two countries and Rwanda and Sierra Leone will contribute with different perspectives and examples on how Resolution 1325 has affected women's inclusion in peacebuilding. Both will be useful to find different aspects and examples on differences out from the implementation of Resolution 1325, which will be compared in the analysis based on the results.

1.1 Background

Peacebuilding is a long-term process were the main goal is to achieve a long-lasting peace in post-conflict societies (Öjendal & Johansson, 2017, p.243). Women have been excluded in political situations like peacebuilding and activities within parliaments around the world, such as throughout Sub-Saharan (Fallon & Rademacher, 2018, p.101). But although women have for long been excluded in conflicts and peacebuilding, women are seen as peace fighters (Pankhurst, 2003, p.154) and by including women in peacebuilding, it is 35 percent more likely that agreements will last for more than 15 years from its foundation (UN Women, n.d).

But, for this to be possible, women must be included in peacebuilding and women must have their voices heard. This includes women being present in crisis management, in preventive work and in the recovery phase after a conflict (UN Women, n.d). However, between 1970 and 2017 United Nations reported only two percent of women were mediators, five percent were signatories and only eight percent were negotiators in peace processes (United Nations, 2018). There are visible factors that displays that the process of building peace is dominated by men where women are absent in large while these important processes should include both genders (Pankhurst, 2003, p.168).

Since Women's presence in peacebuilding is low and the proportion of women in decision making processes is even lower (Porter, 2003, p.245) United Nations established UNSCR 1325, which is aimed to develop and include women in peace and security work and protect

women and girls in reconstructions (United Nations, 2000, p.3). However, UNSCR 1325 was established to implement gender in peace and security work, in efforts based on hard working women activists and movements (Renzulli, 2017, p.211). Since the founding of UNSCR 1325 a total of 79 countries, that are members in UN follows the plan, which is around 40 percent of all the countries that are members in UN. Among these 79 Member States, Rwanda adopted the plan in 2009 and Sierra Leone in 2010 (Peace Women, n.d).

For a very long time UNSCR 1325 has been useful in order to change and display women's inclusion in peacebuilding and change for the better. But, yet the problem is not solved as women still are marginalized in peace processes (Pankhurst, 2003, p.154). In comparison with men, women's presence in formal peace processes are much lower (Bouta, Frerks & Bannon, 2005, p.49) and this is also a problem in conflicts as women's presence is difficult to see (Pankhurst, 2003, p.157). However, womens small inclusion in peacebuilding is no advantage as there are clear differences in what each gender brings to the process as women and men receive different qualities and properties (Ibid, p.162). Women and men seems to focus on different factors while working with peacebuilding and political situations, and women's participation should bring more interested citizens to the area (Bouta, Frerks & Bannon, 2005, p.49).

There are a few areas addressed by the resolution that are important to mention to increase understanding what UNSCR 1325 contains:

- "Equal representation and participation of women in all stages of peace processes and in all UN field-based operations, aspiring to a 50/50 gender balance;
- mainstreaming a gender perspective in all activities of peace processes and reconstruction;
- recognition of the particular needs of women and girls and protection from gender-based violence; and
- an end to impunity regarding sexual and other violence against women and girls and the exclusion of such crimes from post-war amnesties" (Caglar & Prügl & Zwingel, 2013, p.165).

1.2 Problem

The proportion of women in peacebuilding is still relatively low in Rwanda and Sierra Leone and even if the implementation of Resolution 1325 has contributed to the proportional increase of women in peacebuilding, the relative proportion is still below the expectations of policymakers and concerned actors of decision-making arenas e.g. peacebuilding. The problem in relation to women in peacebuilding is the low inclusion, which must increase in peacework, including security work, as well as in preventive work in post-conflicts (United Nations, 2000, p.1-2).

Historically, women have been invisibilized and systematically and structurally excluded in peacebuilding. According to Pankhurst "women's concerns are still rarely heard, let alone addressed, by policy makers during peace settlements" (Pankhurst, 2003, p.155), but women's participation in peacebuilding is a requirement in the process of building a long lasting peace, because women's voices and participation affect legitimacy and the longevity of the peacebuilding processes as peace negotiations and various agreements (UN Women, n.d). Because of this, the problem this study addresses is the low inclusion of women in peacebuilding and the aim is based on understanding how the Resolution 1325 has affected women's inclusion in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone and compare the differences from the results.

1.3 Purpose

This study aims to examine the inclusion, relative participation and influence of women in peacebuilding processes in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. The purpose is to examine and analyse how UNSCR 1325 has affected women's inclusion in peacebuilding and the purpose is also to examine if the results of UNSCR 1325 differ in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Both countries have experienced problems surrounding low proportion of women in peacebuilding in the past, and the present, and while searching for previous research the results differ, which will bring various perspectives and results to this thesis.

1.4 Research questions

The questions to be answered in this study are:

- How does UNSCR 1325 impact women's participation in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?
- How do the results differ in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?

Both questions connects directly to the central problem and the aim of this study. The first question helps to get answers on how UNSCR 1325 has impact women's inclusion in peacebuilding and the second question is useful as it brings comparative perspectives to this thesis as it presents differences in the two cases.

1.5 Disposition

The structure of this thesis follows: The first chapter problematized and presented Women's inclusion in peacebuilding and UNSCR 1325. The second chapter will present the theoretical framework of the study which is Empowerment theory and Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding. The third chapter will present previous research which will be useful to get more knowledge about women's inclusion in peacebuilding and UNSCR 1325. The fourth chapter will present the methodological approach and in this study a comparative method is used to compare the results and while comparing the material, critical reading is used. The fifth chapter will present the results from scientific articles and reports and all the findings out from the resolution and how the strategy has affected women's inclusion in peacebuilding, and also how the results differ in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. In the sixth chapter the findings and results will be analysed out from the theoretical framing, and the seventh chapter includes a final discussion. In the eighth and final chapter there is a conclusion followed up by references.

2. Theoretical framework

> Empowerment is an intentional, ongoing process centered in the local community, involving mutual respect, critical reflection, caring, and group participation, through which people lacking an equal share of valued resources gain greater access to and control over those resources (T*he Cornell Empowerment Group* 1989, quoted in Zimmerman, 2000, p.43).

The Empowerment theory is useful in this thesis because the concept of empowering women is increasing women's presence in peacebuilding and decision making. This because of choice in life and opportunity to choose and make own decisions e.g. to be more present in parliaments and decision making (Kabeer, 2005, p.13). Empowerment theory is used in this thesis to frame the problem as the theory includes both genders when creating a stronger society.

The Feminist approaches to peacebuilding is also useful to find different perspectives to the problem and also to strengthening the theoretical framing. All material in this thesis will be analysed from a feminist perspective as feminist approaches is an important link to gender equality and development. This thesis uses the approach to study and problematize how resolution 1325 has progressed women's inclusion in peacebuilding from a feminist view. The quotation below indicates that peacebuilding is more accessible with women included.

> The belief is that if women are on board in peace processes then peace is achievable in South Sudan because women have access to everybody in the community (Activist of *Voice for change* quoted in Adeogun and Muthuki, 2018, p.87).

The feminist view focuses on differences in status and in power-relations linked to both genders while empowerment theory also focuses on ethnic roles and cultural roles. In fact, it was a group of feminists who initially was "..the first to recognize that empowerment must be anchored within woman's own experiences" and after this discovery, empowerment theory has been an important part of the feminist perspective (Turner & Maschi, 2015, 151). Empowerment theory can be defined as a potent theory which affects where people receive

more power to decide for their own lives, and on their own initiative take control of how she or he wants to live (Turner & Maschi, 2015, p.152).

2.1 Empowerment

In large parts of the African continent, women are subordinated by not having the same rights and economic and social conditions, but also excluded and "disadvantaged" in the political sphere and linked to cultural factors (Onditi & Odera, 2017, p.149). Within various meetings held by the UN, it has been clear that women's empowerment within sustainable development has been an important part and a central starting point (Ibid, p.161). But, as argued in a report by the African Development Bank "due to institutional weaknesses, exclusion, and other barriers, women cannot enjoy their rights in accessing opportunities, decision- making processes, and basic services" (Ibid, p.149).

Perkins & Zimmerman refers to an influential study by Rappaport and the definition of empowerment as "a process by which people gain control over their lives, democratic participation in the life of their community". Participating in organisations in societies might empower individuals e.g. in decision making and in leadership roles, and the opportunity to "access government" is also an empowering process (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995, p.570). However, empowerment as a theory could empower individuals at community level and change the "quality of life" (Ibid, p.571).

The theory is therefore useful as it works as a guidance to understanding the central changing factors, as individual power and choices in life. As quoted above in the introduction of this chapter, Zimmerman refers to *The Cornell Empowerment Group* 1989 and their definition of empowerment (Zimmerman, 2000, p.43). The Empowerment approach thus aims at identifying the positive effects and factors instead of looking for the negative ones as for example "identifying strengths instead of cataloging risk factors" (Ibid, p.44).

Since the focus of this thesis is towards women's inclusion in peacebuilding the Women Empowerment theory is more suited to analyse the issues on hand. Empowerment, from a feminist point of view, focuses on "structural injustices and lack of resources" (Turner &

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Maschi, 2015, p.158) and women's empowerment emphasizes that women should have the opportunity and freedom of choice when speaking in education, work and political situations. Naila Kabeer's interpretation of Women's Empowerment is central in this study and her work emphasizes major differences between the genders in political participation, for example, in parliaments, where most are men. By applying empowerment theory on the selected problem surrounding women's inclusion in peacebuilding, the opportunities linked to development should grow (Kabeer, 2005, p.13). Sandra Turner and Tina Maschi also advocate empowerment as a theory of strengthening the role of women in society, because by applying empowerment, women's role is strengthened and automatically also the fairness and rights of women's participation towards men who dominate (Turner & Maschi, 2015, p.160).

Kabeer analyzes the concept from three different kinds of dimensions which are Agency, Resources and Achievements (Kabeer, 2005, p.14). When these dimensions are put together they build a platform for empowerment theory to grow (Ibid, p.15). She describes Agency as something with both pros and cons linked to power. The pros refers to choice in life and the cons refers to when people uses this and might be taking advantage of it for own winning. This means that individuals might be used by others that have the power over these individuals (Ibid, p.14).

Resources refers to "the medium through which agency is exercised" which I interpret as links between actors with power and people who have a possibility to be empowered. These actors affects norms and rules and this might in the end affect people who does not possess power. Kabeer underlines that resources create and affect power and norms depending which situation they are in and achievements displays people's capabilities within the framework of the creation of power and peoples possibilities and rights to different choices in life, and it also displays what is possible or not. According to Kabeer these three dimensions together create the basis of empowerment (Kabeer, 2005, p.15).

The opposite of empowerment theory is disempowerment which examine women that do not have the right to choices in life or make own decisions about how to live (Kabeer, 2005, p.13-14). According to Ankita Mishra, it is important to investigate disempowerment to study women who do not have the premise of living on the basis of empowerment. However,

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disempowerment includes women who lives without the right to different choices (Mishra, 2014, p.1409). The concept disempowered is when women are being denied to make own decisions and the right of freedom. Kabeer & Mishra are not in agreement with each other as Mishra believes it is important to study disempowerment and not only empowerment. This because the theory will make it possible to investigate, with new measuring tools, and study the setbacks by women who lives by zero conditions to affect. Also women not included in different situations for example decision making or other political situations including power (Ibid p.1394).

According to Michra the relevance of studying disempowerment is to examine the differences in the areas where women does not have the opportunity to different choices in life and also the right to live a life in freedom (Mishra, 2014, p.1409). But, Kabeer does not agree about the importance of examine disempowerment as she argue that it will not make the development move forward, as it only denies women to make their own choices (Kabeer, 2005, p.13). However, they agree with each other about the importance of applying empowerment theory (Mishra, 2014, p.1394). Empowerment and disempowerment in this thesis will be useful as a part of the theoretical framing to create debate and analyse the results, and also because of its critical approach to women's low inclusion and lack of choice.

2.2 Feminist approaches to peacebuilding

Tolulope Jolaade Adeogun & Janet Muthoni Muthuki refers to Hudson (2009) who advocates African feminist theory in peacebuilding and believes that in order to make peacebuilding as efficient as possible in Africa, the process must include both genders. This means that without the inclusion of both genders in peacebuilding processes, the improvement will not be as successful as if the process only include one gender. This means in order to make the process more effective, women must be included in peacebuilding at all levels (Adeogun & Muthuki, 2018, p.84).

As Hudson focuses on African feminist theory, she uses different tools to form the theoretical framing to study the conflicts that occur in Africa (Hudson, 2009, p.287). African feminists

uses the term "Womanist" which means "to balance the strategic emancipatory project with the tactical dimension of African women's reality, their overlapping identities, and the dynamics of empowerment" (Hudson, 2009, p.292-293). The African feminist theory argue in the feminist approach, linked to peacebuilding, to include both genders in all processes. This includes both formal and informal processes as success has been shown while including women in e.g. negotiations (Ibid, p.293-294). But, despite the results in including both genders in these processes it has shown that the proportion women in formal processes still is low and women instead is more active in NGOs at "grassroots level" (Ibid, p.294).

As reflected in the quotation above in the theoretical introduction, Adeogun & Muthuki include fragments of an interview carried out during 2013 in Sudan, with one member of a women's organization called a *Voice for Change* (VFC) (Adeogun & Muthuki, 2018, p.87). The fragments of the interview connects directly to the problem of this thesis and also covers the problem regarding women's inclusion in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone as the statement is linked to the importance of including women in peacebuilding. As reflected in the quotation below women researches concludes the importance of implementing Resolution 1325, and underlines that the criticism against the resolution has to minimize. However, positive effects based on the founding is that United Nations are much more ahead than other strategies or programmes (Cohn & Kinsella & Gibbings, 2004, p.139).

> Speaking to the latter, I think that we need to be careful not to lose sight of just how extraordinary 1325 is. In fact, perhaps we academics and researchers should slow down, engage in the appreciative aspect of critique and see what we can learn from it, before focusing on its possible dangers or limitations (Quoted by Carol Cohn in Cohn & Kinsella & Gibbings, 2004, p.139).

Despite the low inclusion, women are today central in peacebuilding in connection with the UN Fourth World Conference 1995 as the commitment to women's inclusion in peacebuilding took off as those who were present wanted to increase the inclusion of women in all areas (Adeogun & Muthuki, 2018, p.85). Besides UNSCR 1325 women's movement has been useful as the organizations acted as "eye-opener" for the United Nations. At this time, women's organizations formed a strong foundation for UNSCR 1325 to be able to influence women's presence in decision-making processes (Ibid, p.90).

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Despite women having more seats within ministries, it does not reflect the influence they have within closed walls. This suggests that despite the growing inclusion, women do not have the same power as men, despite the same principles in power. In this situation, women experience that men do not display respect as decision makers and women also experience that men do not understand problems relating to violence and discrimination, or other problems relating to uncertainties for women. This indicates that men are not willing to show respect or transfer power to women decision-makers, ambassadors or at Ministry posts (Adeogun & Muthuki, 2018, p.88) and as quoted in the next paragraph it took many years before women's inclusion even become a central subject in peacebuilding.

It has taken the United Nations fifty-five years to have a full debate in the Security Council on "Women, Peace and Security" (Quoted by Angelea King in Cohn & Kinsella & Gibbings 2004, p.130).

2.3 Theoretical summary

This study uses Empowerment theory and Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding to analyze the results from material in different reports and scientific articles. Both Empowerment theory and Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding focuses on strengthening women's role and in this study both are applied on the results linked to the proportion women in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Both empowerment theory and feminist approaches to peacebuilding are relevant to this study as they both advocates women's rights in society and in the political sphere included peacebuilding.

3. Previous Research

Looking back historically, women has not been included in different agreements when discussing peace and security and UNSCR 1325 has been helpful to move forward and form agreements that includes women. These agreements has lacked guidelines for strengthening the role of women in peacebuilding, and UNSCR 1325 was actually the first strategy to connect women and peace work together (United Nations, n.d.). While studying peace agreements from January 1990 to May 2010, 16 percent of peace agreements, out of 585 agreements in total was linked to and included women. This means that 92 peace agreements in total mentioned and referenced women. Despite these low numbers, peace agreements linked to UNSCR 1325 displays that agreements including women have increased after the founding of UNSCR 1325. More exactly, 50 new agreements were formed after the founding (Bell & O'rourke, 2010, p.955-956).

According to the low proportion women at 16 percent in peace agreements, Christine Bell & Catherine O'rourke argue that few peace agreements refers or includes women in general. They argue that there is a lot of work to be done before all agreements linked to peace directly includes women (Bell & O'rourke, 2010, p.968). But, despite very low numbers of peace Agreements including women before the founding of UNSCR 1325, the proportion of peace agreements referenced to women has actually grown since the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Ibid, p.942).

The data Bell & O'rourke collected from the research led to evidence that women are more likely to be mentioned and referenced in peace agreements after the implementation of UNSCR 1325 rather than before. However, there is a connection that influence researchers being cautious as it is complex and difficult to see how and if the implementation of UNSCR 1325 affected the change linked to women's inclusion in peace processes (Bell & O'rourke, 2010, p.969). Cheryl Hendricks also emphasizes the relevance of studying the link between gender and development, this because if we disregard the problem, we automatically see that it weakens future ambitions and goals regarding gender, peace and security. The plan of achieving these goals must focus on the particular points, and the security must be directed

towards a society of equal value where everyone's necessities in life are achieved. According to Hendricks, by applying the global goal as a tool alongside the resolution, the pace of the development process increases (Hendricks, 2012, p.11), but she argue while trying to include women based on global goals and resolution 1325, it is important to change the patriarchal structures that still exist (Ibid, p.17).

Christine Chinkin & Hilary Charlesworth also emphasizes the importance of including women in peacebuilding, as they are concerned with the construction of peace without women (Chinkin & Charlesworth, 2006, p.937). They analyze UNSCR 1325 and underline the relevance of the strategy and state that women should not be excluded in peace and security processes, as well as ensuring that women were given the support they needed during ongoing conflicts (Ibid, p.938). The authors argue that the United Nations Peacebuilding Commission works as a strategy that should not be omitted, as it works as a tool to move forward. However, the authors questions if United Nations really can make these problems disappear, as they are concerned that UN does not ensure that women will be involved in different committees (Ibid, p.952). Elisabeth Porter also concludes that women have been excluded in peacebuilding and to study this she uses the UN and Beijing Action Platform. However, Porter underlines that women to some limited extent are included in peacebuilding. But, she claims that women are not included in decision making processes (Porter, 2003, p.245).

According to Patrick Regan & Aida Paskeviciute, the hierarchical structures could be one reason why countries are in present conflicts, or if there is peace. Regan & Paskeviciute presents in their study that there is a connection between hierarchical power structures and women's participation in political processes, and also linked to the fact that men choose to participate in conflicts. In the end, it will benefit countries to include women in politics and in the military by allowing women being involved and influence in decision-making processes when the government makes decisions regarding military disputes (Regan & Paskeviciute, 2003, p.290).

While searching for answers in the selected subject it is easy to find criticism linked to the implementation of UNSCR 1325. For example, according to Torunn Tryggestad, criticism

has been directed to the implementation of resolution 1325, but she however argues that resolution 1325 has changed the problem to the better (Tryggestad, 2009, p.541). But despite this argument, the results based on the resolution seems to be mixed. However, it does not mean that the resolution is a bad strategy as Tryggestad points out that new strategies and changes takes time in general within implementations of United Nations (Ibid, p.549).

However, Oliver Ramsbotham, Tom Woodhouse & Hugh Miall refer to the 1997 study by Pankhurst and Pearce and underlining the four stages that should be followed to hold an effective conflict resolution. These four stages are:

Stage 1:"Making women visible as agents of change in conflict resolution

Stage 2: Removing male bias in conflict resolution data-collection and empirical research

Stage 3: Rethinking conflict resolution theory to take gender into account

Stage 4: Incorporating gender into conflict resolution policy-making and practice"

(Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011, p.306).

4. Methods

4.1 Methodological approach

This is a literature study with a comparative method which is used to analyze women's inclusion in peacebuilding in relation to UNSCR 1325. This methodological approach is suitable for this study as a literature study in this case helps to identify problems and also to find answers to the research questions. The results from the empirical material and the two cases Rwanda and Sierra Leone are compared and analyzed using the theoretical framework. In this study, critical reading is used while studying all selected articles and reports.

In this study secondary data from scientific articles and reports are compared and analyzed, this because it brings a more trustworthy result by not only a few authors. By using secondary data there are several studies that have been discussed before, for example reports (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996, p.306). The scientific articles that are used have been found by specifically selected keywords, for example "UNSCR 1325", "Women and peace" and "gender". Based on that strategy while searching for scientific articles all the relevant material that now have been included to this thesis was found.

The choice of research questions is based on the problem that this study aims to examine. The first question is "How does UNSCR 1325 impact women's participation in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?" and the second question is "How do the results differ in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?". The first question is based on analyzing and problematize how the resolution has improved women's inclusion in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone and the second question aims to examine if the results based on UNSCR 1325 differ in these countries.

4.2 Comparative method

In this study comparative method is used and according to Stein Sundstøl Eriksen comparative method works as a tool to find factors and relations between different cases

(Sundstøl Eriksen, 2018, p.328). Comparative method is suitable for development studies as "comparisons can highlight aspects that are easy to neglect in single case studies, and can make it possible to identify connections and explanations that otherwise would have been missed" (Ibid, p.343). According to James Mahoney, comparative method is useful as "the future prospects of research that develops or uses qualitative methodology in comparative politics appear to be quite good" (Mahoney, 2007, p.137). Compared to other methods, comparative method according to the researcher Arend Lijphart, works as a basic method out of various different methods (Lijphart, 1971, p.682-683) which have been useful as it works as a tool to get answers on the comparative part of this study. However, when the two cases of this study are compared they bring differences as well as similar factors (Collier, 1993, p.105) to the results.

The comparative method contains different kinds of approaches: asymmetrical comparisons, comparisons-as-quasi-experiments, interpretive comparisons and comparative historical analysis (Sundstøl Eriksen, 2018, p.343). This study uses a symmetrical method comparison "where the cases compared are given equal treatment, and where the aim of the comparison is to reach a better understanding of all the cases included in the study" and also to get more knowledge and better comprehension (Ibid, p.329) about the cases in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. According to Sundstøl Eriksen the differences between a study with comparative method compared to other variants of studies are actually not many. But, an advantage by applying a comparative method is that it can be easier to achieve certain results rather than in other methods (Ibid, p.344).

4.3 Critical reading

Critical reading is used in this thesis while studying and analyzing scientific articles, which means there is a full comprehension of the selected article (Akin, Koray & Tavukçu, 2015, p.2445). It is important to use critical reading while studying different sources and understand the differences between articles and reality and the reality in the story that is used (Börjesson, 2003, p.16). According to Sabrina Marschall and Cynthia Davis "critical reading is a process through which students elicit meaning from a text" (Marschall & Davis, 2012, p.64) and

critical reading contributes to a more "mature academic style of writing that is both fair an discerning in its accounts of other's work" (Wallace & Wray, 2016, p.6).

Critical reading also means that the reader is aware that the author may not receive all relevant information, or missed out relevant parts. The articles might not conduct all the relevant information since authors might miss out certain information, either on purpose or not, and by using critical reading it is easier to find which parts that are trustworthy to use (Wallace & Wray, 2016, p.4-5). By using critical reading the writer is also aware of incorrect material on the internet and different online files and uses a critical approach while searching for material (Ibid, p.22). However, in this study critical reading aims to find and present arguments, not to find weak parts or mistakes.

4.4 Material

Scientific articles have brought arguments and debates and also been helpful to reach results to the selected research questions. The used articles are relevant to the subject and linked to the central problem and both research questions, as the selected articles are about women and peacebuilding, UNSCR 1325 and gender. Included in this thesis there are also articles about Empowerment theory and Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding. These theories have been helpful to analyze the results as both theories increases women's role and freedom of choice. Beside scientific articles and theories, content and reports from United Nations, UN Women and Peace Women have been useful to the results concerning women's inclusion and UNSCR 1325.

4.5 Case selection

Rwanda and Sierra Leone are used in this study and these countries were selected because when searching for scientific articles it is clear that both have experienced these issues about low inclusion of women in peace and security work. These countries were selected to this study to analyze how effective the resolution has been to improve women's inclusion and compare these with each other. But, also to improve the results and provide it with different

outcomes and approaches. The idea with this study is to see a pattern of how UNSCR 1325 has affected this problem in these countries and also to bring different perspectives to the results.

More specifically, Rwanda is used as the consequences that occurred from the genocide affected women very negatively (CSMR Rwanda, n.d, p.80) but in the last decade womens inclusion has increased significantly for example in The Rwandan governance (Burnet, 2008, p.362). Sierra Leone is used as civilians, especially women, has experienced different impacts based on the consequences of the post-conflict and that the proportion women in peacebuilding still is low in the country (CSMR Sierra Leone, n.d, p.92-93). However, these two countries were compared as there are clear differences in gender equality and women's proportion in peacebuilding in these countries.

5. Peacebuilding processes in Rwanda and Sierra Leone

How does UNSCR 1325 impact women's participation in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?

Since the establishing of UNSCR 1325 the ambition has been to reach an equal society linked to peace-building, protection and also reconstruction of former conflicts (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.317). Besides results in terms of women's inclusion in peacebuilding there are more aspects that affect the results in the end. For example, the uncertainty about how effective UNSCR 1325 has been to change the proportion of women in peacebuilding and how this can be changed in the future. For example, norms and stereotypes around women and men affect how participation appears within peacebuilding and conflicts. In this case, the opportunities are influenced by the fact that women are seen as peace fighters and men as fighters in conflicts (Caprioli & Boyer, 2001, p.503).

The on-going work based on resolution 1325 has given results, but according to Parkhurst in small changes (Pankhurst, 2003, p.155) which creates debate. Exactly what the implementation of bringing a gender perspective into different negotiations would do is unclear according to Bell and O'rourke (Bell & O'rourke, 2010, p.978) as Women's proportion in peace processes still is low in many countries. It should also be pointed out that it is a contemporary problem in many countries around the world (UN Women, 2019).

However, as it has been found that the resolution has changed the situation with women's role in peacebuilding, the changing process have progressed slowly, but after all moving forward. United Nations employees (interviewed between 2006-2008) actually pointed out that the changing process gave positive effects in recent years (Tryggestad, 2009, p.550). As Tryggestad confirms the increasing numbers of women in peacebuilding, the next step in this thesis is to study the results on how the implementation of resolution 1325 actually worked in Rwanda and in Sierra Leone.

5.1 Rwanda

It has been years since the founding of resolution 1325 by UNSCR, and still there are differences between the genders in post-conflict countries. Annika Björkdahl & Johanna Mannergren Selimovic goes straight to the point early in their article while asking: "Whose security is to be protected and who will make peace?" (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.312). The development of women's participation in political spheres in Rwanda is very well-known and a history that is known worldwide. But, nevertheless, Björkdahl and Manngergren points out that there are many uncertainties regarding the development of women's participation in politics and also still large holes and voids. This is worrying as it does not fully strengthen women's role in peacebuilding (Ibid, p.326).

Heidi Hudson notes that at least 30 % of the total seats in decision-making processes inside the parliament should be held for women (Hudson, 2009, p.304). However, by studying a chart between 1961 to 2008, before the implementation of UNSCR 1325, there are clear differences in the progress regarding the inclusion of women in peace-building, in this case in the Rwandan Parliament. From the very first political meeting 0 out of 44 seats was dedicated to women in 1961. At 2008 in the Parliament, 45 seats were filled by women of 103 seats in total. Which means that women's presence at 2008 was 43.6 % (Burnet, 2008, p.370), which meets/fulfills Hudson's argument that at least 30 % of the seats should be assigned to women, and in 2017 the statistics presented rising numbers of 61,3 % women in the parliament in Rwanda (O'Brien & Piscopo, 2018, p.141-142).

Compared to many other post-conflict countries, Rwanda can act as a model linked to women's participation in peace processes, political processes and also the creation of a strong democracy in other societies (Hudson, 2009, p.289). In 2013 after an election in the Rwandan parliament over 60 % of all seats were dedicated to women, and this led Rwanda to being pushed to the top of ranked countries in relation to included women in the parliaments and participation in the country's policies (UN Women, 2018). But, despite the years that have passed since the horrific genocide, the country still has difficulties in agreeing on the effects

that arose linked to gender, and this is still an ongoing conversation to be resolved in Rwanda (Hudson, 2009, p.290).

Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic argue that Rwanda already was on the path in developing and achieving an equal society before the implementation. Regarding the implementation of gender based agendas in the government, the proportion of women has grown. As mentioned above the proportion of women in politics and inside the government exceeds 60 percent. The implementation of UNSCR 1325 strengthened the process of a society that now is more equal than before (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.316).

As presented above, since the genocide in Rwanda the progressing work linked to women's inclusion in peacebuilding and politics has increased rapidly and in large numbers compared to 1994. Just to mention a few major changes in the process, for example, Rwanda introduced a ministry of gender and as mentioned above, it was taken into account that there must be seats in the parliament for women. In 2003, the population voted 39 women out of 80 seats in the Chamber of Deputies during an election (Burnet, 2008, p.361-362). But, while studying Rwanda and looking for results based on resolution 1325 the progressing work had already started before the implementation of resolution 1325, according to other strategies and women's organisations and movements, which will be further analysed in the next chapter.

By studying the areas where women are involved in decision-making, the statistic displays that women's participation is linked to questions relating women's health and also gender and families. Women are not included in other areas such as economics and as Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic calls it "hard topics" as these areas still are dominated by men. They also underlines that security-work still is a male-dominated area (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.326) and the security sector in general in Rwanda is not given as much attention as it should from the national action plan to gender in security sectors, as for example the representation of women in the police and military is below 30 percent (Ibid, p.323-324).

Diana Højlund Madsen refers to new "state levels" reports of *Gender Monitoring Office 2015 in* Rwanda which displays that the results of the successful work based on NAP are found in various factors, such as in situations of violence that includes women, inclusion in political processes and also in security work. However, Madsen also underlines that there have been difficulties in searching after the effects caused by NAP, based on the fact that it is problematic and difficult to follow up these implementations to see the final results (Madsen, 2017, p.74). But, Madsen argue despite these uncertainties, women was given the space and being included in rebuilding Rwanda. For example, the Executive Secretary of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, while Rwanda began the project as rebuilding the nation, was a woman called Aloisea Inyumba. At the time Inyumba also was a minister at Gender and Women in Development (Ibid, p.75).

Summing up, in Rwanda Women's influencing role and participation in peacebuilding has grown since the 1994 genocide. For example the proportion women in the Rwandan parliament has increased and in 2013 the country was top ranked in the world of most included women. It is clear that the resolution 1325, since the implementation in 2009, contributes to the progress and minimizing the gaps between the genders that unfortunately still exists. These gaps have been reduced in different peace processes as well as in the security-sector.

5.2 Sierra Leone

The Sierra Leone conflict affected thousands of civilians and also overthrew the state. The conflict came to and end after 1999 and The Lomé Peace accord and the implementation of UNAMSIL (United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone). There was not much consideration about gender in UNAMSIL before the implementation of 1325 (Nduka-Agwu, 2009, p.187). At that time United Nations gender-team was founded to get the opportunity to work and discuss problems relating to gender within the government and in society. The group was supposed to educate about gender and to raise awareness of gender issues within the UN. The gender advisors worked to include women's rights in teaching other leaders and the gender specialist was supposed to include perspectives linked to gender in UN. As a result based on

the work made of the group and gender advisors, women's rights are today included within police and army programs in Sierra Leone. But, due to low financial support and lack of staff, UNAMAIL's gender specialist Theresa Kambobe reported that the upcoming work was slowed down including the implementation of UNSCR 1325 (Nduka-Agwu, 2009, p.188).

Despite hard times while implementing UNSCR 1325, positive effects based on the implementation has for example been Women's inclusion in security sectors in Sierra Leone, as it has grown since before the implementation of resolution 1325 (Basini & Ryan, 2016, p.396). The Sierra Leone report: *Civil Society Monitoring Report* (CSMR) confirms that the gaps in the security sector in 2010 was various and that women's inclusion is much lower than men's inclusion, but the work to reduce these differences is progressing, but at a slow pace. Despite the progressing work there is still a lot left to be done to solve the gender gaps in the security sector (CSMR Sierra Leone, n.d, p.105) but 10 years after the implementation of resolution 1325, women's inclusion has increased linked to leadership at the operational plan (Ibid, p.93). According to Beoku-Betts, 23,9 % are women in the judiciary in Sierra Leone, in the police-sector 17,8 % and in the military 2,4 % (Beoku-Betts, 2016, p.665). However, despite all numbers of little increase, there has been a change in the gender gaps in peace building, as the gaps have been reduced, as confirmed above (Basini & Ryan, 2016, p.396).

The results based on UNSCR 1325 has improved the gender gaps in peace processes and political federations and the state also shown willingness to change the structure to include even more women in the future (Basini & Ryan, 2016, p.396). The Police and the Republic of Sierra Leone Armed forces, made an effort, in 2010, as they implemented a gender perspective in the security sector (CSMR Sierra Leone, n.d, p.93). And this resulted in that the UN Police Division in Sierra Leone agreed on implementing a target that should be reached by 2014, which should include at least 20 % women in the police-sector. And as a result out of this target women in 2012 obtained 15 % of the positions. This means that in 2012, 77 police officers out of 180 in total were women in SLP (Sierra Leone Police). "The UN Police Magazine (2012) placed Sierra Leone fourth out of the top ten contributors of female police officers. Thus, Sierra Leone has passed the 20 % global goal set for 2014" (NAP Sierra Leone, 2015, p.39-40).

However, although that the level of included women still is low, a positive change has occurred (Basini & Ryan, 2016 p.396) as the inclusion has risen especially in the police-sector (Peace Women, 2016, p.29) as presented above. The results in the military based on the implementation of the resolution 1325 has given mixed results in relation to women's inclusion. According to a senior male respondent the problem has progressed while implementing a gender perspective within the military, which is presented below in the figure (NAP Sierra Leone, 2015, p.41). But, despite this progressing work as per the male respondent, 0 percent women worked as military experts in 2013 (Ibid, p.43).

As presented in the figure below the results displays that the numbers are both increasing and decreasing in the military-sector after the implementation of Resolution 1325:

			2010		2012		2013	
Class	Level	Rank	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %	Female %	Male %
Commissioned	Senior Officers	Major General to Major	19.0	81.0	7.5	92.5	7.0	93.0
	Junior Officers	2nd Lieutenant to Captain	4.0	96.0	5.1	94.9	6.0	94.0
Non Commissioned	Senior Officers	Sergeant to Warrant Officer Class 1 & 2	3.0	97.0	2.4	97.6	2.0	98.0
	Junior Officers	Corporal to Recruit	4.0	96.0	4.7	95.3	5.0	95.0

(Figure: NAP Sierra Leone, 2015, p.41).

According to feminist analyses, the results of the implementation of Resolution 1325 in Sierra Leone, did not provide sufficient results to achieve the feminist's expectations and "other scholars criticize SCR 1325 as being a 'soft' law because it lacks enforcement powers that compel member states to implement their national action plans". A powerful "hard law" instead of a "soft law", will affect women badly as it "reduces the agency of women's NGOs to advocate" (Beoku-Betts, 2016, p.657).

Summing up, in Sierra Leone the implementation of resolution 1325 has progressed the gender gaps in the military sector, the police-sector and within the parliament. But statistics and reports concludes that the proportion of women still is low in the country and even though many years have past since the implementation back in 2010, the gender gaps have only to some extent been reduced.

How do the results differ in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?

In the material that is included it seems like, based on different scientific articles and reports, that UNSCR 1325 has had different impacts on each country. Based on the material from several scientific articles and reports, the implementation of UNSCR 1325 appears to having affected women's inclusion in peacebuilding more in Sierra Leone than in Rwanda, due to the progressing work linked to women's inclusion was already on the path in Rwanda since the genocide. But, it is important to emphasize that UNSCR 1325 also influenced changing women's inclusion in Rwanda but perhaps not as thoroughly as in Sierra Leone as the development in Rwanda came further as the work with gender equality started before the implementation.

Rwanda is after all, according to Diana O'Brien & Jennifer Piscopo, the country in the world that has the highest proportion women in the parliament and decision making followed by Bolivia and Cuba in the top (O'Brien, Piscopo, 2018, p.141-142). Below is a selection from the report *Implementation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in Africa* which presents the results and the differences in % of participating women in parliaments in Rwanda and Sierra Leone (2012-2013):

Country	Women's Parliamentary Representation (Date of last elections) & Leadership	Special Provisions
Rwanda	63,8 % Chamber of Deputies (9/2013) 38,5 & Senate (9/2011) Secretary General and President Women	Legislated candidate quota and Reserved seats (30%)
Sierra Leone	12,4 % Parliament (11/2012)	None

(Figure: Peacewomen, 2016, p.17).

After all, implementing resolution 1325 has given the power to develop women's inclusion even further in Rwanda and Sierra Leone. While studying different areas within peacebuilding researchers underlines that changes have been visible, but still small, for example within the police and security sector were the statistics differ in these areas. In Sierra Leone in 2012, 15 % of the police officers were women (NAP Sierra Leone, 2015, p.40) while in Rwanda the statistics indicates that women's presence is below 30 % in the police and the military sector (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.324). Rwanda has developed the inclusion in security work since the genocide and there are differences in the statistics when it comes to the proportion of women in the security sector. However, statistics presents that the proportion women is higher in parliaments in Rwanda than in Sierra Leone. Which Björkdahl and Mannergren Selimovic defines as a "globally recognised success story" (Ibid, p.326). However, researchers presents that the proportion women has risen within the security sector in both countries, but the statistics also displays that the security sector still is male-dominated and the results has in times been quite mixed as mentioned earlier in the results.

To conclude this section, while comparing Rwanda and Sierra Leone there are clear differences as presented earlier. However, despite good results while analysing statistics and reports, it seems like the implementation of resolution 1325 has not affected the problem as much in Rwanda as in Sierra Leone, due to the work already had begun to include women in Rwanda long before the resolution was implemented at first. But, although the work started earlier, the resolution has been a useful tool also in Rwanda, as women's presence has increased since the implementation.

6. Analysis

According to O'Brien & Piscopo, as also mentioned in the results, women's presence in parliaments has never been higher and number one on the list of ranked countries there is Rwanda at 61,3 % (2017) included women (O'Brien & Piscopo, 2018, p.141-142). In comparison with Sierra Leone where the proportion women as parliamentarians were much lower at 12,1 percent (2013) and 16,4 % (2013) total women in the Government (NAP Sierra Leone, 2015, p.30). Despite statistics of increasing numbers of included women, there are different perspectives in Sierra Leone on whether the implementation of the resolution 1325 benefits women and women's presence in peace and security or not (Basini & Ryan, 2016, p.390). However, previous research indicate that women's movements and organizations had a good influence on the area to improve and include more women in peacebuilding, alongside building peace and implementing UNSCR 1325. While studying these results from a empowering perspective, it becomes clear that women's increasing role in peace-building is important and by using Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding it is clear that woman's point of view is central when studying the problem.

6.1 Rwanda

In Rwanda, peacebuilding and security became important after the genocide based on people's safety, since protection is an important factor in global security perspectives (Stern, 2017, p.182). A problem in Rwanda has been equality and poverty and this has affected the country. There is also a concern that Rwanda could be affected in future conflicts based on these factors (Finnoff, 2015, p.209). According to Kade Finnoff it is important to look at factors in rural areas in Rwanda linked to equality and this because possible effects in rural areas can affect the chance of building peace in the country in the future (Ibid, p.226). While progressing these problems it is important to also consider empowerment theory in relation to choice in life and equal power (Kabeer, 2005, p.13) as it is important to empower women in all positions and according to African feminist theory the processes linked to peacebuilding must obtain women, otherwise the process will not be as effective as it could be (Hudson, 2009, p.293-294).

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By now it is clear that UNSCR 1325 from the beginning was established to empower and promote women's inclusion in peace, the security sector and also prevention linked to conflicts (Madsen, 2017, p.70). But, in Rwanda the work was already in the process of including women before the implementation of UNSCR 1325 when women were at full speed to influence the situation based on women's organizations. The women members saw early that the information they had would arrive at those who had the power, in this case male members of the Security Council. This led to positive news as the information arrived to the final destination. This continued even after 2000 and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 when women's voices within the organizations ensured that words came into action by women's presence in peacebuilding alongside the implementation of the resolution (Ibid, p.70-71).

Even though UNSCR 1325 not was founded to directly support women's groups and organizations the resolution addresses women's organizations in two sections, which is 8b and 15:
- (8b) "Measures that support local women's peace initiatives and indigenous processes for conflict resolution, and that involve women in all of the implementation mechanisms of the peace agreements" (United Nations, 2000, p.3)
- (15) "Expresses its willingness to ensure that Security Council missions take into account gender considerations and the rights of women, including through consultation with local and international women's groups" (United Nations, 2000, p.15).

However, civil society actors like women's organisations have been important in Rwanda while implementing UNSCR 1325 as women members in these organizations, with their voices, are important while building peace (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.327) and this underlines the importance of applying empowerment theory on these problems in developing countries as both genders are valuable while building peace. Also to analyse this from a feminist point of view as women's inclusion in politics does not automatically mean that women receives power well inside, as it has shown that even though

women have been voted on in elections, men's power is still dominated against women in decision-making arenas.

As mentioned earlier, the Rwandan women and organizations fought for women's rights even before the implementation of UNSCR 1325, relating to women's inclusion in peacebuilding and security. But, even though women's inclusion has increased in the Rwandan parliament and the political sphere there has been uncertainties about how much women actually can influence as the attendance has risen as women might risk to just being "window-dressing" (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.326-327). It is therefore important to find new ways to develop women's inclusion to move forward even more in Rwanda. However, there is a need for new global and local perspectives, and also new perspectives on woman's value at both global as at local level (Madsen, 2017, p.77).

Women's organizations emphasizes that UNSCR 1325 has been suitable as the resolution has worked as a tool to see the future goals within the gender equality sector linked to women, peace and security in Rwanda (Madsen, 2017, p.76). However, it has also shown, despite the implementation of UNSCR 1325, that the gaps between women and men are still visible and clear in Rwanda. And this creates thoughts about how effective the implementation really has been of UNSCR 1325 in the country (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.311). Considering this it becomes obvious that a feminist view is useful and also women's organizations to create a equal society and an interaction between both parties.

> This is an important resolution [Res 1325] as the issue of peace and security has been one of the pillars of the development of our country. We didn't start involving women in peace and security after the resolution of conflicts; they have always been involved in peace building and the liberation of our country (Quoted by Oda Gasinzigwa in Madsen, 2017, p.74).

This means, just as the Minister for Gender and Family Promotion quoted in the paragraph above, that gender equality and women's participation in peace and security processes is not something that has just become known in Rwanda, but a process that has been around for a very long time in the country (Madsen, 2017, p.74), even aside and before the implementation of UNSCR 1325. Fragments from another interview that Madsen conducted

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from women's organization she was told that "Whatever we are doing here that is Resolution 1325 - it is not a new thing, but it made our work more visible and made women's participation more dynamic" (Madsen, 2017, p.76). And the effects has led to broader gender perspectives as confirmed below in a fragment of an interview with Rose Kabuye in the military in Rwanda.

> I was a military Major. I was a Major. I was from the RPF. And, you know what? I think they just said, these people are strong. These women are strong. They're not just women as women, these are military. They know what they want and you know what? The RPF because of the ideology, because of that discipline of the military, I think everybody knew that we are not coming to joke, they knew that we are coming to work (Interview with Rose Kabuye, 2014, quoted in Brown, 2016, p.237).

Concluding, in Rwanda it is clear that women's organizations have been important while implementing resolution 1325 and empowering women, and there are also clear arguments that women's organizations has progressed the work on their own before the implementation. The Rwandan women makes it clear that women were already included in peacework before and this seems very important to be aware of, according to the Minister for Family and Gender Promotion. This section has shown that Rwanda for long has worked to include and empower women, and that the implementation of resolution 1325 has been useful since the strategy was adopted in the country in 2009, alongside other strategies and activities.

6.2 Sierra Leone

In Sierra Leone, gender discrimination and women's vulnerability have been a major problem since before the civilian conflict and women and girls are and have been exposed to factors such as exclusion in society and violence (CMSR, n.d, p.92). Women in Sierra Leone have long been exposed and lived out of bad conditions, which has led to consequences in both the mental well-being and the physical health. This resulted in that Sierra Leone violated all human rights linked to women (Ibid, p.93) and more than 10 years after the war started in Sierra Leone, the problem remains which the conflict created. Despite peace agreements and attempts at progress in the consequences of the conflict, there is a traumatized population left (Hirsch, 2001, p.145). Which displays that empowerment is a suitable theory to increase

people's empowerment and rights in life (Kabeer, 2005, p.13) and to create higher quality in living (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995, p.570).

Sierra Leone has had intensive conflict management after the conflict (Söderbaum, 2017, p.223) and the process of building peace became a persistent process along side of the state-building process that was going on at the same time (Öjendal & Johansson, 2017, p.247). NAP (National Action Plan) was implemented in Sierra Leone between 2010-2013 and the budget was 21,301,314 US Dollar (NAP Sierra Leone, n.d, p.36). However, by studying the UN's commitment to achieving gender equality, this displays that UNSCR 1325 has had an impact on the progressing work to include more women in peacebuilding, but UNAMSIL "did not meet the Resolution's gender requirements.." as it was established before the resolution (Nduka-Agwu, 2009, p.196). However, while studying this after the founding of resolution 1325, the conditions was better for women's rights and the integration of gender equality in society was considerably more powerful after the implementation of 1325 (Ibid, p.197).

But the results of NAP and the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Sierra Leone has been different, as in some places the results have proved to be positive, but in others, the implementation has been canceled and even in the worst case completely stopped (Basini and Ryan, 2016, p.396). This is confirmed in the NAP report as it appears that the results, 9 years after the adoption of UNSCR 1325, has not been as desired as "translating the principles and provisions into practice has been minimal, with little or no deliberate and coordinated actions". Sierra Leone then decided to form the National Action Plan and by developing the plan the implementation of UNSCR 1325 also became more effective (NAP Sierra Leone, n.d, p.ii).

Helen Basini & Caitlin Ryan underlines the importance of applying resolution 1325 in post-conflict countries like Sierra Leone, but points out the uncertainties about how effective the plan has been to advantage for women (Basini & Ryan, 2016, p.390). According to Basini & Ryan, it might be hard to apply the resolution through NAP as it is not always the best strategy to implement in post-conflict countries with bad institutions. Also, it has shown that the implementation of the strategy sometimes fails as the state misses some resources to

implement (Basini & Ryan, 2016, p.400). According to the authors, it may not be the smartest path to apply the resolution based on the NAP as this affects women's presence in peace and conflict management. This because countries have to relate within certain rules and frameworks via NAP, which affects the application of the resolution in these countries (Ibid, p.401).

While progressing the implementation between different organizations and ministries, Sierra Leone created a committee that was supposed to have several participants that was supposed to meet up during different meetings. Despite this, pariticants find it difficult to attend the meetings as it usually arrived invitations short time before it was held. Also because of the total cost each member had to lay out for each meeting was an influencing factor to not attend. Even in those cases where members attended, the meetings were unplanned and "lacked concrete action" (Basini & Ryan, 2016, p.398). But, the summary of the implementation of NAP and resolution 1325, women's organizations had a great influence on the development phase in Sierra Leone (Ibid, p.401).

Besides from NAP there have been a lot of different interventions out from implementation of UNSCR 1325 to reduce differences between the genders and also work to eliminate the problems relating women, peace and security (CSMR Sierra Leone, n.d, p.105). For example, members got together from 50 different organizations and as a result all women together built up Womens Forum, which worked as a strategy to progress the situation for women (Steady 2006, in Fallon & Rademacher, 2018, p.101). And besides the progress out of UNSCR 1325, Women's movement worked as a tool to include more women in political processes such as peacebuilding and worked as a "eye-opener to the security council" (Adeogun & Muthuki, 2018, p.90) which will empower women and the empowering perspective is therefore important as women's voices will automatically become stronger in society.

However, it is clear that Women's organisations in Sierra Leone has been important to develop the progressing work to include more women in peace processes in political spheres, as decision making processes, and as quoted below from a member in the organization *Fifty-Fifty Group* the importance is confirmed (Beoku-Betts, 2016, p.660):

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What we see in postwar Sierra Leone is an increase in women's movements, organizations, and associations engaged in providing needed services and advocating for democratic principles, good governance, justice, and security reforms. They advocate for gender equity, bodily integrity, access to resources, property rights, and more representation of women in parliament (Beoku-Betts, 2016, p.660).

Fifty Fifty group took on the mission seriously to implement gender in different laws and equality in society. For example, the organization worked to get information through the media and in this way spread the knowledge about new laws that took office (Beoku-Betts, 2016, p.664). But, the path to an equal society is not easy as women's organizations encounter many different situations and problems that stand in the way of their effective work (Ibid, p.665) and I connect this with empowerment as including more women and empowering them, there might be a chance to avoid problems which are not relevant for the studied problem in the moment, but only disturbances. This is rather in relation to disempowerment and the denial of own choices and individual power while women encounter problems as said above, which stand in their way.

Summing up, in Sierra Leone researchers points out how important resolution 1325 has been for the development in the country, but it is also clear that Women's organizations and activists are important to progress and include even more women in peacebuilding. While analyzing this in relation to rising numbers of included women in peacebuilding and in different decision-making arenas the importance becomes clear of empowering women and including women at all levels in peacebuilding and decision-making.

7. Final discussion

Today, the United Nations peacekeeping has a budget of about $ 6 billions and much money are invested in various programs. Nevertheless, peacebuilding is still uncertain as several ask themselves if the concept really is profitable while trying to implement those projects in peacebuilding (Vogel et al, 2014, p.517). It has been found that, even after a long time since the implementation of the UNSCR 1325, there are still major differences in peace in countries affected by war and disorder "and peace-building practices continue to (re)produce gender hierarchies" (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.312). For example as also mentioned in the results: In Sierra Leone 0 percent worked as military experts in 2013 (NAP Sierra Leone, 2015, p.43).

But it is clear that women's inclusion in political spheres is high in Rwanda, higher than in any other country. Unfortunately, women are easily exploited and "window-dressing" instead of being taken seriously with their participation (Björkdahl & Mannergren Selimovic, 2015, p.326-327). This I interpret as that women might be included in politics but are not really treated as human beings. Instead of women being present and being treated with respect, it seems like, from this argument above, that women are mostly there because it looks good and not for reasons such as empower human rights, own choices or opinions that can affect and make a difference in the country. I believe this case is just not related to Rwanda but appears also in other countries like Sierra Leone.

It is clear that researchers are in doubt as there are arguments about the increase due to concern and uncertainty whether the high rising figure of included women really does matter or "has any meaning given the increasingly authoritarian nature of the Rwandan government" (Burnet, 2008, p.378). However, the results displays that the inclusion of women in political spheres has influenced great changes in gender linked to cultural and social opinions, and this affects women positively in the long run as it has given a greater acceptance and respect for women as individuals and actors (Ibid, p.386). I believe this is one of the reasons why the theoretical framing of women's empowerment is important linked to this problem, e.g. that women's will and opinions are as much important as men's opinions.

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It is important to progress the work with gender equality, included that all human rights are equally, regardless of gender. While empowering women, all human rights increases as for example the right to choose in life and to live a life in freedom in both Rwanda and Sierra Leone. Empowerment can be described as change or power in relation to participation, or support by societies and this is directly linked to the purpose and women's inclusion as these factors should increase. I interpret the description of empowerment theory as power and freedom of choice, and while applying the theory it changes the position beyond powerlessness living, and this is why the theory fits into this study as it is directly linked to the central problem in women's inclusion in peacebuilding.

Women's participation in groups and organizations has been important for women and rebuilding since the genocide alongside strategies as resolution 1325. For example, donors made it possible for women's organization to implement different activities (Madsen, 2017, p.73). Burnet, also claims that women's organization has been extremely important to women when rebuilding communities after conflicts by supporting women and rebuilding their own lives, for example with necessary daily-basic needs (Burnet, 2008, p.371-372). My interpretation linked to this is that there is a clear commitment and public interest from women's organizations and activists, who have worked to reduce the gaps between the genders, for example increased women's inclusion and reduced the vulnerability in society, which contributes to positive factors and benefits for everyone.

Even though the ongoing process has increased women's inclusion in peacebuilding, Madsen underlines that women today "still is in need of support" in Rwanda. She points out that women still suffer from the conflicts and are in need for help to progress all the horrific consequences that arose from the struggling time including losing family members, traumas from spread of different diseases and also rape (Madsen, 2017, p.76). This entails further reflections and discussions about how effective the resolution has been to increase women's presence and gender equality in peace processes in countries affected by conflicts and war. But I would like to point out that, for further research in women's presence in peacebuilding, that many researchers argue that women are victims in relation to the resolution, as in the case above, in which Madsen mention that women still is in need of support and seen as

victims. Instead, this perspective from several researches should be directed towards regulating the problems, increasing the proportion women and empowering women's choices instead of appointing women as victims.

However, women's influenced role of active participation in peacebuilding processes can also be completely overlooked. The documentation of women's many experiences in the Rwandan peace process has been quite mixed, where aspects surrounding women's participation has been moderated, or in some instances even ignored, whereas their victimization has been widely acknowledged (Hudson, 2009, p.304). While founding UNSCR 1325, new perspectives of women's position in conflicts were highlighted and also the lack of inclusion in peacebuilding. However, it is clear that Rwanda has moved forward in gender issues since the genocide in 1994 and the changes that occured has had a great impact on the country.

To end this section, problems concerning the low proportion women in peacebuilding still remains, such as the issues of power-societies and gender-defined hierarchies, which means that these societies is still not equal. This is why the UNSCR 1325 (since 2009 in Rwanda & 2010 in Sierra Leone) is questioned and, I believe, in some cases even criticized when it is uncertain about how effective the implementation really has been and the uncertainty about which factors that actually played a role and influenced women's inclusion. However, new formed strategies and National Action plans should include more women, and while connecting this to the commitments of empowering theory and underlines women's rights, the proportion of women in peacebuilding should increase in developing countries around the world.

8. Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to problematize and examine the impacts of the UNSCR 1325 on women's inclusion in Rwanda and Sierra Leone and how the results differ. More specifically I have examined reports and scientific articles to find different perspectives on impacts based on the implementation of resolution 1325 in both countries. Empowerment theory has been useful as the theory empowers women in all situations and highlights the right to make own decisions and choices. Feminist Approaches to Peacebuilding have been useful as the feminist view on this problem is that all women must be included and get the chance to influence in all areas, and also the opportunity to being allocated seats in parliaments. Based on the theoretical framework and the two research questions, this study has achieved a result and this following conclusion.

The first question "How does UNSCR 1325 impact women's participation in peacebuilding in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?" provided this study with answers on how resolution 1325 has affected women's inclusion. The second question "How do the results differ in Rwanda and Sierra Leone?" helped to get answers on the comparative part of this study, as it examines the differences between the cases. Both questions connects directly to the central problem and the results displayed that even though Rwanda already had begun the work in relation to gender issues before the implementation of resolution 1325 due to Women's organisations and activists, resolution 1325 worked as a tool in the country to increase women's inclusion in peacebuilding. But, it seems like resolution 1325 has not affected Rwanda as much as in Sierra Leone, besides in addition to pushing gender equality even more in the country. Based on the fact that Rwanda had come further in developing the inclusion and the gender gaps than Sierra Leone had before the implementation of resolution 1325. In Sierra Leone e.g. women's inclusion in the police-sector increased and results showed in 2012 that the goals that were set a couple years before was almost reached.

However, it is clear that both Rwanda and Sierra Leone have experienced low inclusion of women in peacebuilding. Based on the material examined in this study, it is possible to conclude that despite differences in progressing these problems, the results displays both in

Rwanda and Sierra Leone that the implementation of UNSCR 1325 has improved the inclusion of women in peacebuilding, alongside with other strategies and women's organizations and activists. For example in the security-sector and in decision making processes within parliaments. But, the problem remains as women's proportion still is low and the inclusion of women in peacebuilding could be even higher in these post-conflict societies. Despite this, the proportion of women in police and security sectors, parliaments and decision making in both Rwanda and Sierra Leone are higher than ever before. But, yet it is not equal in all areas linked to peacebuilding.

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