

Spring 2014

Adorative Worship, Respectively. Does The Concept Of Peacebuilding Adequately Address Gender In Africa ? An Accord Practicum

Sylvia Percovich

SIT Study Abroad, sylviapercovich@college.harvard.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection

 Part of the [African Studies Commons](#), [Gender and Sexuality Commons](#), [Inequality and Stratification Commons](#), and the [Peace and Conflict Studies Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Percovich, Sylvia, "Adorative Worship, Respectively. Does The Concept Of Peacebuilding Adequately Address Gender In Africa ? An Accord Practicum" (2014). *Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection*. Paper 1760.

http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/1760

This Unpublished Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the SIT Study Abroad at SIT Digital Collections. It has been accepted for inclusion in Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection by an authorized administrator of SIT Digital Collections. For more information, please contact digitalcollections@sit.edu.

**DOES THE CONCEPT OF PEACEBUILDING
ADEQUATELY ADDRESS GENDER IN
AFRICA ?
AN ACCORD PRACTICUM**

Sylvia Percovich

Advised by Dr. John Daniel, School for International Training (SIT)

School for International Training

South Africa: Social and Political Transformation

Spring 2014

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	4
Abstract	5
Introduction	6
ACCORD: An Overview	9
Literature Review	13
On Peacebuilding and the African Context	13
On Gender and the African Context	19
Gender in Peacebuilding	21
Methodology	29
Participatory Observation	29
Interviews	32
Limitations of the Study	35
Findings	36
Does Peacebuilding Adequately Address Gender in Africa?	36
<i>Current Problems and Alternative Explanations</i>	37
<i>Analysis</i>	39
What are the implications of having/not having gender in peacebuilding?	40
<i>Including Gender</i>	40
<i>Not Including Gender</i>	41
What does A Gendered Approach to Peacebuilding Look Like?	42
<i>Possible Scenarios</i>	43
<i>Suggestions</i>	44
Recommendations for Further Study	46
Conclusion	47
Bibliography	49
Appendices	52
Appendix A: Internal Seminar Abstract	52
Appendix B: Email to Interviewees	53
Appendix C: Interview Questions	54

Appendix D: Natacha Kunama Interview55
Appendix E: Laura Doriguzzi Bozzo Interview62
Appendix F: Internal Seminar Transcript65

Acknowledgements

One semester is not enough. It is not enough to truly take in the beauty of South Africa and enjoy all of the wonderful things it has to offer. All of the amazing experiences I've had in this country would not have been possible were it not for a number of people.

First, I want to take the time to thank everyone at SIT; Imraan, John, Shola, Felicity, Bryan, and all of the lecturers that opened my eyes to the realities of South Africa. There are three individuals in particular who I wish to extend my deeps gratitude. Imraan, thank you for being a great mentor during my time here. I know that you will remain one of the most interesting and caring people I encounter during my life. To Shola, thank you for putting up with all of our needs with the patience and love only a mother could have. You made the transition to becoming South African citizen a smooth and fun one. Lastly, I want to thank my advisor, Dr. John Daniel. I would not have been able to figure this out without your feedback and support. Beyond being a great sounding board, your resilience and strength throughout this process inspired me to keep going every day.

I would also like to extend my sincerest thanks to ACCORD and its Peacebuilding Unit, my internship was a magnificent. I was able to squeeze a substantive and meaningful experience in the month that I was there. To the Peacebuilding Unit, Lesley, Nonto, and Jill, thank you for welcoming me and making me part of the team. I especially want to thank my ACCORD supervisor, Ms. Lesley Connolly. Her guidance, support, and dedication is something I will never forget. I can honestly say there wasn't a day I didn't learn from you.

Finally, I want to thank several people who made this experience quite spectacular. To Beza, Caroline, Seun, and Ivette, thank you for making the trek to work one of the best parts of my day. To Dan Forti, SIT alum, thank you for providing me with invaluable insight into ACCORD. Saving the best for last, to my wonderful flat mates Zoe, Connor, and Alex. Zoe, thank you for being my rock this semester. Connor, your optimism made every day here better. Alex, your conversations and insights always taught me something new; for that, I promise to become a better baseball fan in the future. I'm so fortunate to say I am leaving South Africa with three amazing friends.

Abstract

There are certain themes that must be at the core of peacebuilding, gender is one of them. This study aims to answer if the field of peacebuilding adequately addresses the issue of gender in their African missions. The thesis argues that by approaching peacebuilding efforts through a gendered lens, actors are able to increase the chance of creating sustainable peace. This independent study looks at the role gender currently plays and should play in peacebuilding efforts in Africa. Moreover, it outlines where the gaps between policy and implementation exist on the topic. The research seeks to answer three main points: What are the implications of having a gendered approach to peacebuilding beyond gender? What would a “true” gendered peacebuilding mission look like? Are we using the wrong approach based on the context of the continent?

Research for this project included a practicum at ACCORD during the ISP period. The topic of gender in peacebuilding continues to be a work in progress in the field. That being said, the project seeks to provide the reader with an overview on gender in peacebuilding that highlights its importance and makes suggestions on how to include a gendered lens. The information retrieved for this study came from secondary sources, participatory observations, and interviews. All of these methods were used during the practicum.

Despite comprehensive policies and vocal commitments to having gender conscious peacebuilding efforts, implementation and action is, for the most part, non-existent. The study found that current approaches to gender do not address the ideology behind it, making it impossible to change its dynamics. Furthermore, there is no picture as to what an ideal gendered approach looks like, no recognition of men’s role in gender issues, and no effort to have local ownership around the subject. In conclusion, we find that the concept of peacebuilding does not adequately address gender in Africa. Two ways to change this would be to change the narrative and increasing education on the subject.

Introduction

The field of peacebuilding changes constantly. With every conflict, the peace process must be approached in new and creative ways. Unfortunately, it seems that every year, there is a new conflict that the international community must grapple with. Addressing conflict, however, goes beyond securing a peace agreement or a cease-fire, it means dealing with everything that comes after. The consequences of conflict are far reaching and become ingrained in a community's conscious. To overcome this, a society must rebuild itself in its entirety through the peace process. The field of peacebuilding attempts to approach the dilemmas a society faces post-conflict in a comprehensive and inclusive manner, or such is the hope. When considering peacebuilding, it seems that some issues take precedence over others, depriving post-conflict societies of sustainable peace.

It appears that one of the issues that peacebuilding leaves behind or marginalizes is gender. Incorporating gender into peacebuilding, this thesis argues, is critical to accomplishing the goals of any mission, especially in Africa. While every conflict is unique in nature, African conflicts are bound together by their geography and common challenges; one of these are the challenges gender poses to peacebuilding efforts. The problem is that this issue is rarely made a priority for initiatives in the region. By looking at the current role gender plays in peacebuilding efforts in Africa, we can obtain greater insight into the field of peacebuilding. In doing so, we can begin to understand if gaps exist in the field and how these shortcomings relate to the absence of a gendered perspective; especially in forging lasting peace.

It is appropriate to look at gender and how it is implied in peacebuilding missions because of the debates and resolutions that currently surround the topic. Gender, and its

importance in peacebuilding, has been at the center of about five UN Security Council resolutions over the last 14 years. If policy alone is considered, there seems to be an almost universal consensus that gender is a critical component of peacebuilding. Despite comprehensive policies and vocal commitments to having gender-conscious peacebuilding efforts, implementation and action is, for the most part, non-existent.

This study will consider the policies and actions taken by different actors in the field of African peacebuilding and analyze if they are adequately addressing gender. Furthermore, the study will look at training material and feedback from trainers/experts in the field to evaluate how much of a prevalent role gender currently plays in peacebuilding. Through this, the reader will obtain insight into the benefits of including a gendered lens in peacebuilding, the negative effects its absence has on the peace process, what the challenges of incorporating gender in peacebuilding are, and what can be done going forward. The research, thus, seeks to answer three distinct inquiries: first, whether peacebuilding adequately addresses gender in post-conflict African societies; second, what the implications of addressing/not addressing gender in peacebuilding are in post-conflict societies; third, obtaining a clearer picture of what a gendered lens to peacebuilding looks like on a practical level.

My interest on this topic is based on its current absence in the field of peacebuilding. My academic interests rest in post-conflict resolution and memory politics, which led to my practicum at ACCORD. During my time there, I was part of several projects. The main one was the editing process for *ACCORD's Peacebuilding Handbook: Second Edition*. Through this process, I was shocked at how little the topic of gender was touched on, especially with the amount of gender-based violence present in the continent.

Coming to terms with peacebuilding, let alone the implications of gender in the field, is overwhelming. It is a huge topic to cover in the span of one small research project. The aim of this project, however, is to provide a comprehensive overview on the topic, highlight its importance, and make some recommendations about actions going forward. To accomplish this daunting task, the paper will include the following sections. First, I will provide a brief summary of ACCORD and my time there. Then, I will provide a comprehensive background on gender, peacebuilding, and gender in peacebuilding. Throughout this background, I will focus on case studies and context of Africa. This section will also look at the benefits and challenges of including gender in peacebuilding. Next, I will outline the methodology used to obtain the information that will be presented in the findings section. Then, I will discuss the limitations of my study. The findings section will answer the three objectives listed above. Before my conclusion, I will make recommendation for further study on the issue of gender in peacebuilding.

ACCORD: An Overview

ACCORD, the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes, “is a South Africa-based civil society organization working in Africa pursuing creative African solutions to the challenges posed by conflict on the continent.”¹ The organization was founded in 1992 to assist with conflict resolution in South Africa. Twenty-two years after being founded, ACCORD now has offices in Burundi and South Sudan (joining its Durban headquarter) and continues to evolve. In addition to working with governments and third party actors, ACCORD brings international players and civil society together in an effort to ensure successful resolutions. Today, ACCORD focuses on conflict resolution, analysis, and prevention. As an institution, ACCORD comprises two departments, intervention and knowledge production (KPD). The intervention department divides its work into three units: peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. KPD undertakes research and production of publications, as well as managing the resources of the organization.

ACCORD’s mission of providing African solutions for African problems is clear in their multifaceted approach to conflict resolution. ACCORD also has a robust publications dimension. For example, ACCORD publishes regular policy and practice briefs, the *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*, and the magazine *Conflict Trends*. Furthermore, ACCORD has several initiatives aimed at conflict resolution, such as the African Peace Award. ACCORD’s main focus, however, is in negotiation and training. The structure of the intervention department allows ACCORD to approach a conflict in a comprehensive and sustainable manner. Today, peacebuilding goes beyond immediate peace, it must also be sustainable. With this

¹ <http://www.accord.org.za/>

understanding, ACCORD offers trainings and forums for governments and civil society.

Throughout its history, ACCORD has been stationed or has spearheaded initiatives in South Africa, Somalia, South Sudan, Burundi, and Sierra Leone, to name a few. ACCORD is currently providing support in Central African Republic, Liberia and South Sudan.²

Based on ACCORD's history and current work, I wanted my practicum to look more closely at the impact peacebuilding efforts have in an area. ACCORD's aim is to move a country forward and beyond conflict. I soon found out that it is nearly impossible to assess, let alone define, what a successful intervention looks like. This becomes more complicated when certain themes of peacebuilding are taken into consideration, such as gender. Fortunately, my tasks as an intern shed light and understanding into the objectives, work, and challenges faced by the organization in the field of peacebuilding.

During my time at ACCORD, I had a wide range of assignments. As an intern for the Peacebuilding Unit, my responsibilities and tasks varied on a daily basis. The unit is quite small, two staff members and another intern during my practicum. My supervisor in the unit was Ms. Lesley Connolly, the program officer. Depending on the assignment, I also worked closely with Ms. Jill Baggerman, an intern finishing up her Master's thesis on South Sudan. Regardless of what needed to be finished by the end of the day, I was given time to work on my ISP. I had three main projects and an event that I worked on during my internship: the editing the Peacebuilding Handbook, editing a Civilian Capacity report, helping write a Policy and Practice Brief (PPB), and providing assistance for an African Union (AU) conference ACCORD co-sponsored. This does not include the time I dedicated to editing other documents, researching different topics,

² These countries/interventions represent a fraction of the initiatives ACCORD is currently a part of.

helping put together content, etc. It also does not take into consideration the almost daily meetings I had with Ms. Connolly to discuss my ISP and assignment progress, as well as other meetings and interviews.

First is the handbook. One of my first assignments was compiling the commentary sent to ACCORD by experts about what changes needed to be made to the peacebuilding handbook into a word document. Suggestions ranged from including more tools for peace builders and African case studies to including extra chapters and introducing different concepts. Through meetings and research, I assisted in coming up with a plan on how these comments should and could be incorporated into the new edition. I included the edits and referenced possible new content on a printed copy of the first edition of the handbook. This makeshift mock up of the second edition will assist the unit in making the proper edits and additions, as well as making sure that all the comments and possible changes are taken into consideration.

Second is the Civilian Capacity report. For most of my first week I had to edit and comment on a report on Civilian Capacity efforts by South Africa in post-conflict societies. My job was to proof read the document for any gaps in analysis and to comment on its clarity. I was also able to make suggestions on what could be done to improve certain sections within the document. My comments on the paper will help the editing process in terms of clarity and comprehension.

Third is the Policy and Practice Brief. The unit is currently working on publishing a PPB on coordination and coherence in peacebuilding. PPBs' aim to bridge the gap between the rhetoric of policy and the complexity of implementation. PPBs' are about 5,000 words, making its biggest challenge achieving brevity when discussing large topics. I was in charge of drafting

the challenges section of this PPB. The information for this section came from a conference held by ACCORD on this topic last year. For research, I had to watch videos of the conference, go over conference minutes, and read through presentations. Then, I had to meet and plan what work needed to be done in the other sections with Ms. Baggerman.

Lastly, is the AU conference. During the last stretch of my internship, I was offered an opportunity to help with the planning and running of a conference held by the AU and co-sponsored by ACCORD. The theme of the conference was *Silencing Guns in Africa: Building a Roadmap to a Conflict Free Continent*. Before the conference, I had to help write the biographies for some of the panelists and notable attendees. The bulk of my work came during the conference. I had two extremely long days where I helped with anything that was needed at the event; from printing to handing out itineraries. The most rewarding task came during the sessions, for which I was a page. I was able to listen to key arguments on the issues that Africa is currently facing.

Although these tasks monopolized the majority of my time at ACCORD, they did contribute to my independent research on gender and peacebuilding. The handbook inspired my research and was an amazing source for understanding the field as a whole. The Civilian Capacity report served as another example of where policy fails to address gender. The PPB touched on topics that are critical if gender is to be adequately included in peacebuilding missions. Finally, the AU conference touched on issues of gender, women empowerment, and the shortcomings of peacebuilding, forcing me to look at my own research and conclusions in a different light.

Literature Review

This is an overview of the literature surrounding gender and peacebuilding. It aims at making the endless stream of information on the topic easier to process. A general background will be provided on the following topics: peacebuilding, peacebuilding in Africa, and gender, particularly gender dynamics³ in Africa. The background sections will serve as a foundation to understand how gender is implicated in peacebuilding. By providing definitions, analysis, and case studies, the background section will clarify what terms are being discussed throughout this study. Following this concise but comprehensive overview is a section highlighting and analyzing how gender affects peacebuilding efforts. The section will also include how gender and peacebuilding come into play in Africa. The literature review will serve as a strong reference point for understanding the what, why, where, and how of incorporating gender in peacebuilding. In doing so, the literature review seeks to stress the importance of a gendered perspective in peacebuilding and to emphasize that such an approach should be mandatory for all peacebuilding missions.

ON PEACEBUILDING AND THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

Peacebuilding is a complicated, high stakes field. After an area is ravaged by conflict, it must rebuild to survive. To do this, actors⁴ involved in building peace after conflict must work on an array of issues in the long and short term. In their peacebuilding handbook, ACCORD tracks

³ Gender dynamics refers to the relationship of assigned roles and expectations placed on individuals within a society based on their sex. The reason behind these assignments are seeded in cultural norms and stereotypes.

⁴ These will vary by conflict and country. They can be divided into two categories, internal and external actors. Internal actors will include the national government, local officials, civil society, local organizations, etc. External actors refer to outside governments, international organizations, international NGOs, etc. Actors will also be foundations, militaries, bilateral aid agencies, multilateral organizations, and private sector actors (Zelizer 37-44).

the changing nature of the term peacebuilding. They note that peacebuilding can be a “catch-all concept” but at its core “seeks to help people recover from, prevent, reduce, and transform violence” (ACCORD 11). According to then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, peacebuilding is the “action to identify and support structures which tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse into conflict” (ACCORD 12). The UN also states that “peacebuilding is a long term investment by all relevant actors, and requires a shared vision and long term strategy to address the root causes of conflict” (Zelizer 31). As a concept, peacebuilding appears to be straightforward; rebuild after conflict and set a foundation for the future. There is a disconnect, however, between what peacebuilding means in theory and in action.

Peacebuilding is not linear nor static; it requires massive efforts, resources, and coordination between multiple actors, at every stage of its process. Peacebuilding includes a “multiplicity of interdependent actions that contribute to the construction transformation of the conflict” (Lederach 67). Depending on the conflict, peacebuilding might involve addressing water access, religious tensions, economic problems, lack of infrastructure, etc. The problems that need to be addressed to build peace are as complex and unique as the conflict itself; the motivations that drive actors to get involved are just as intricate. The official reasons for US foreign assistance provides insight into the incentives any actor can have to engage in peacebuilding. For the US government, assistance is dependent on three things: national security, commercial issues, and humanitarian concerns (Zelizer 45). If one considers any actor that would be involved in peacebuilding, their motivations would fall under one of these three categories.

The motivation behind an actor’s involvement illustrates the importance of peacebuilding

and possible challenges in the field. The biases actors will carry going into a mission can harm coordination and lead to tensions between actors, undermining the entire peacebuilding process. Peacebuilding seeks to address and eradicate the root causes that led to a conflict; if successful, it would remove motivations for individuals to engage in violence. Furthermore, peacebuilding hopes to guarantee and sustain security in an area, allowing for society to prosper and grow. To achieve success, problems present in societies post-conflict must be tackled in a dynamic and aggressive manner. Depending on their resources and sphere of influence, an actor involved in peacebuilding can embark on different courses of action. Actors involved in peacebuilding engage the process in one, or a combination of, three phases: stabilization, transition, and consolidation (ACCORD 28). Under each of these phases, certain expertise and levels of involvement by certain actors are necessary. The stabilization phase focuses on securing an environment to engage in peacebuilding (ACCORD 29). For this phase, it would make sense for military and peace keeping actors to be engaged in the field. Next is the transitional phase, which focuses on the political transition of a region (ACCORD 31). In this phase, international organizations and governments, along with local actors, should take the lead. Finally, the consolidation phase focuses on recovery and development (ACCORD 32). Here, NGOs and private actors should be brought into the fold.

What is problematic is making sure that actions at each phase by different actors complement one another. It is difficult to do this if the actors involved cannot even agree on what the concept of peacebuilding means. Even within a single government or department, there can exist multiple definitions of peacebuilding (Barnett, Kim, O'Donnell, Sitea 38). The distinction of what peacebuilding means and what it entails is even greater when comparing actors from

different fields; from academics, to governments and international organizations, everyone has a different conception of peacebuilding and what it should accomplish. Without a consensus of what process an institution or government is embarking on, it is next to impossible to coordinate what actions need to be taken and what goals need to be achieved collectively. Competing perspectives and short-term goals can cause tensions to rise between actors, undermining the long-term goals of peacebuilding. Likewise, motivations, approaches, and challenges to peacebuilding are all dependent on context. Different areas of conflict add another layer of challenges, whether they are social, economic, or political, to peacebuilding efforts. That is why it is important not to think of peacebuilding as a separate concept. Peacebuilding includes state-building, economic development, etc; it must work to accomplish these goals in addition to its own.

Conflicts in Africa provide excellent examples of how these complexities come into play. It must be noted that one should always be wary of making sweeping generalizations about the similarities within a region. Focusing on a particular area, however, provides a greater understanding into how peacebuilding methods have an impact post-conflict. By taking different approaches to conflicts with shared characteristics, peace builders can see what methods are working in addressing the issues on the ground. In his book, *Peacebuilding in the African Union: Law, Philosophy, and Practice*, Dr. Abou Jeng outlines shared themes and unique characteristics of African conflicts. According to Dr. Jeng, the causes of violence in Africa are many. Some of the most poignant explanations behind the never ending conflicts in the region involve: a defective international legal order, Cold War politics, colonial history and post –colonial struggles, appropriated patterns of internal conflicts, international law that formulates uneven

interfaces in African societies and institutions, and external involvement in the region (Jeng 95-96). Contemporary conflicts in the region also emerge due to a lack of access to resources, “which is compounded by corruption and an unfriendly international economic environment” (Falola and Njoku 607). For peacebuilding to have a chance, it must address the root causes of conflict; thus, peace builders must analyze and understand the nature of a conflict and its context.

All of these factors contribute to the unique approach and common challenges that plague peacebuilding efforts in Africa. At their core, African peacebuilding missions emphasize local involvement and ownership of the peacebuilding process. With organizations such as ACCORD and the AU⁵ becoming more involved in the peacebuilding process, methods that are tailored to the context on the ground have started to replace Western approaches to peacebuilding. The AU’s 2003 intervention in Burundi is a perfect example of Western shortcomings and the benefits of an African approach to peacebuilding. Interventions (limited in nature to begin with) in Burundi by international organizations did little to quell the violence and begin the peace process (Jeng 232). The UN was unsuccessful in Burundi because they lacked an understanding of the country’s history, failed to commit adequate resources to their missions, and were reluctant to engage in general (Jeng 232). The biggest weakness in the UN’s Burundi mission was its approach to the conflict itself. Rather than engaging the social system and locals, the focus was placed on “the agency of the state as the medium through which advances to peace and security are conceived” (Jeng 232). The reality on the ground was not conducive to securing peace in this

⁵ African Union. Over the last couple of years, the AU has become stronger and more focused of the problems the region faces; as opposed to having foreign governments and institutions step up. Examples of this can be seen in Somalia and Burundi.

manner. That is why, when the AU became involved in Burundi's peacebuilding process, they shifted attention and resources from the state to civil society and the reconciliation process, promoting social integration in the process (Jeng 232). In the end, "a collective will to engage and actualize African solutions to African problems, the mission generally averted further escalation of large-scale violence. To this end, it [AU mission] played a crucial role in helping in the transformation of the agencies of violence and overseeing sufficient stability for the advancement of durable peace" (Jeng 232-233).

International organizations, such as the UN, have, in theory, recognized the benefits of a more local approach. By cooperating with internal actors, "international and African officials can overcome many-if not all- the dysfunctions, operational failures, and shortcoming of earlier peace operations in Africa" (Adebajo xiv). Local cooperation is especially critical in Africa due to the absence of strong state institutions. While peacebuilding in the region attempts to address this issue, it must not be confused for or assume it will take over the responsibilities of state building (Hutton 10). Finding the balance between addressing challenges of state building and focusing on the "traditional" goals of peacebuilding is difficult to say the least. Peacebuilding in Africa must come to grips with harrowing realities not experienced anywhere else in the world. It is important to make a distinction between peacebuilding in general and peacebuilding in Africa; acknowledging these differences provides greater insight of how to approach peacebuilding in a more comprehensive manner. One aspect of African peacebuilding that is rarely addressed is how gender is implicated in post-conflict efforts. Before addressing the specifics of gender in African peacebuilding, we must define the term and its context in Africa.

ON GENDER AND THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

Gender, like peacebuilding, is a complex term to define. Gender is often used as a catch-all term for anything that deals with women. For most, gender is synonymous to women's issues; the term, however, is much more multifaceted than this limiting assumption. Social scientists define gender as "a socially constructed institutional arrangement, with gender divisions and roles built into all major social institutions such as the economy, the family, the state, culture, religion, and the law, that is, the gendered social order" (Kennelly, Merz, and Lorber 600). Gender is separate from the biological configuration that makes an individual a man or a woman; it implies social/cultural expectations and stereotypes for an individual based on their sex. When using the term gender, it should not be assumed that women's issues are automatically being discussed. All things considered, "gender is not primarily an identity or role that is taught in childhood and enacted in family relations. Instead, gender is an institutionalized system of social practices for constituting people as two significantly different categories, men and women, and organizing social relations of inequality on the basis of that difference" (Ridgeway Correll 510). Thus, when considering gender issues and roles, it must be clear that there are multiple players involved, not just women. Gender is an institutionalized structure that reflects and encompasses every aspect of society. As such, having a gendered lens on anything, including peacebuilding, must involve women, men, governments, private institutions, etc. Since gender is socially constructed, it implies different things in different regions; it also implies that it can be reconstructed.

Gender relations in Africa were established long before colonists arrived. The overwhelming patriarchal structure of society made women dependent on men and gave men

power over most of society. When looking at West Africa, for example, the arrival of colonists did little to liberate members of society from this oppressive structure. “European patriarchy thereby replaced, or where compatible, was grafted onto indigenous gender regimes throughout the construction of the French colonial system that transformed life in the African colonies” (Griffiths 362). Two systems collided to set up a new social order, one that placed power in the hands of men and the burden of dutifulness onto women. The relative disadvantage of women continued with the expansion of the colonial state, thus institutionalizing a gender system in the continent (Griffiths 363). To understand gender in Africa, particular focus must be paid to masculinity and the role of men within society due to their dominant position in the power dynamics of gender. In Africa, it is men who benefit most from the gender system that is in place; they have more of an incentive to maintain the status quo as it relates to gender dynamics. Thus, they should be involved in the discussion if anything is going to change.

Masculinity and the structure of gender varies within Africa; not just between countries but between ethnic groups, rural versus urban settings, religions, etc (Porter 489). For the most part, African masculinity is defined by three things; “achieving some level of financial independence; employment or income; and later starting a family” (Porter 490). The societal and cultural expectations placed on men gives them complete control in their relationships with women. In Africa, “ ‘femininity’ is associated with a need for protection, peacefulness and life-giving, in contrast to the supposed ‘masculinity’ of protecting, warring and killing. Such associations render women/girls particularly vulnerable to the logics of rape in conflict and post-conflict settings” (Baaz and Stern, 41). The concept of masculinity plays a significant role in the types of violence that take place during/after a conflict and thus, has a huge bearing on the

peacebuilding process. The masculine identity will often drive conflict in Africa. These ascribed gender roles in Africa create a situation where gender is exploited during conflict yet, is not considered during peacebuilding.

GENDER IN PEACEBUILDING

Before considering how gender plays a role in building peace, we must understand how it lends itself to conflict. Gender is relevant in peacebuilding because of the implications it has during conflict. A report from the International Center for Research on Women provides the following insight into the intersection of gender and conflict: “gender is about men as much as women, especially when it comes to war. War is an extremely complex system in which state-level interactions depend on dynamics at lower levels of analysis, including gender. War casts a shadow on everyday life – especially on gender roles – in profound ways” (Strickland Duvvury 5). The significance of gender described here is present in the types of violence men engage in during a conflict and why they are able to do so, “An increasing amount of research on young men’s involvement in conflict identifies associations between participation in violence and conflict, conditioning and socialization of boys into rigid gender norms. This means that if men were to be conditioned differently, it is likely that their engagement in violence – both during and after conflict, and during peacetime– would substantially decrease” (Porter 489). Actors within a conflict tap into these roles to achieve their means. Gender roles are exploited by the state to fulfill military and political purposes (Porter 489).

Gender as a tool of war is present in African conflicts. Understanding gender dynamics in Africa will provide insight into the types of gender-based violence (GBV) that are experienced

by a community (Baaz and Stern, 42). Thus, part of understanding conflict in Africa means understanding gender in Africa. Assigned gender roles drive individuals to and exacerbate different types of violence used during/after a conflict. If peace builders hope to build sustainable peace, they must address the gender politics within Africa. Gender dynamics in Africa, for the most part, oppress women, place high expectations on men, and are easily exploited by actors in a conflict.

The significance of gender in conflict has not gone unnoticed by peacebuilding actors. While attention has been placed on gender in peacebuilding and different resolutions have been passed on the subject, implementation of these policies remains weak at best. The UN's Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325, passed in 2000, speaks to the importance of women in the peacebuilding process. UNSCR 1325 set up a precedence for gender mainstreaming in the field of peacebuilding. Gender mainstreaming "aims to ensure that the different needs of women and men are taken into account in all policies, strategies, and interventions, both internal and external, to promote gender equality" (Zeliger 111). However, this proclamation has failed to manifest into action, even within UN peacebuilding missions. While "there is reason to be optimistic about the direction in which the UN is heading [in relation to the passing of UNSCR 1325]. Progress has, without a doubt, been sporadic and gradual (N. Hudson 804). When looking at African conflicts, or any conflict for that matter, gender is still notably absent from the peacebuilding process (H. Hudson, *Peacebuilding Through...*297). It isn't enough to pass resolutions about gender in peacebuilding, missions must implement the changes called for in these policies. In fact, policies seem to be ways for actors involved in peacebuilding to say they have dealt with the issue of gender without having to make any real changes. For example,

despite these policies, actors seem reluctant to include women in the peacebuilding process. This reluctance is rooted in cultural assumptions about women's status, acceptance of this status quo, and the actors's inability to acknowledge that gender inequality still exists (O'Connell 457).

While strides have been made in securing legislation that supports a gendered approach to peacebuilding, its implementation remains weak. Gender is not a pillar of the peacebuilding process. This is a huge problem for missions because gender dynamics are present at every phase of the peacebuilding. Thus, gender is important not just because it deals with societal issues but because it is directly implicated in conflict and peacebuilding. Starting with stabilization, there is an inherent difference in achieving security for men and women post-conflict. Women are not safe in the chaos that follows a conflict. For example, women lack a secure physical environment and are vulnerable to sex-based violence; these threats are intensified by their lack of political acknowledgement and their own understanding of security (Ni Aolin 1063). The transition phase is no different. Failure to adequately address the gender dynamics during a country's transition leads to GBV to be used as a means of coping post-conflict. Men reassert "violence in the private sphere during the transitional phase [to] constitute a form of compensation for male combatants, for their loss of public status and hegemony (Ni Aolin 1073). Inability to adequately address gender after a conflict has implications beyond immediate GBV. When a conflict ends, winners and losers emerge. Since gender is rarely addressed in post-conflict processes, gender is used as a means to reassert power; it also creates a more detrimental and oppressive order within society. This is especially true in the African context.

"Men in post-conflict societies are often traumatized, and that their masculinities have been deeply wounded. Especially when experienced in combination with the shame and depression that unemployment and

financial difficulties often produce, this sometimes leads men to alcohol abuse and other substance addictions, which then become normalized in many social contexts and communities. A vicious cycle is created: such addictions then make finding jobs or income and thereby attaining the targets of manhood even more difficult, producing further shame and depression among men...Indeed, rigid gender norms that encourage men to act violently, to instrumentalize and oppress women, and not to express emotions, are to blame for a great deal of men's – and women's – suffering, not only in post-conflict contexts but in all contexts (Porter 492 - 493).

Invariably, peace will not be consolidated. and an opportunity to change an instrument that can lend itself to violence is missed. If gender is not adequately addressed in peacebuilding, actors are ensuring that a critical component of conflict remains unchanged or unchallenged as they attempt to rebuild society. Peacebuilding must tackle the unequal standing of women and the monopolization of power by men in society.

When looking at gender in peacebuilding, the implications of gender during a conflict cannot be ignored. Conflict changes traditional gender roles in a society. During a conflict, women suffer and die in greater numbers than men, assume traditional male roles, and are at the forefront of local peacebuilding initiatives, changing traditional gender roles within a society (Zeliger 104). Conflict deconstructs the archaic roles placed on men and women by forcing them into a situation where they must adapt into new roles to survive. Peace builders must be able to balance the clash between previous gender roles and the new ones that emerged due to conflict. Recognizing and incorporating the changes of gender will provide a more comprehensive approach to peacebuilding because of how greatly these roles change society. For example, the status of women in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) completely shifted after conflict. Post-conflict in the DRC 60-80% of households are headed by women, during the

conflict 15-20% of combatants were women, due to the men's absence women were in charge of providing resources for their families, and rape was widespread throughout the conflict (Puechguirbal 1273-1274). In the DRC, it is clear that traditional masculine and feminine roles prevalent in Africa are no longer compatible with the situation on the ground. This change in dynamics creates an opportunity for gender to change within a community. Peacebuilding efforts can change gender structures by institutionalizing a new social order, by changing the roles and expectations attached to gender that existed before a conflict. Despite this opportunity, none of the peacebuilding initiatives have addressed these crucial changes in the DRC or anywhere else.

By not bringing gender into the fold of peacebuilding, the idea that gender is not critical to peacebuilding emerges. This mindset gravely undermines the peacebuilding process as a whole. The inclusion of gender in peacebuilding secures a more comprehensive understanding of a conflict and helps identify what needs have to be addressed to consolidate peace. An example of this would be the minimal presence women have in the peacebuilding process. By not including women, it sends a message that they shouldn't or aren't capable of the future of their country and that men should be in complete control; reinforcing traditional gender roles. But in addition to deconstructing traditional gender roles, there are other tangible benefits to the inclusion of women in peace missions:

“Their presence, especially in decision-making roles, sends a clear message in favour of equality and non-discrimination against women, Women's presence puts new items on the agenda, women are perceived as being more empathetic, which enhances trust and fostering of confidence, women may have better and important access to women within a host country, female peacekeepers may act as role models for local women, women's presence may reinforce the traditional notion

that peacekeepers only use force in self-defense” (H. Hudson, *Gender and the Globalization... 50*).

Even if internal and external actors do not buy the argument that gender plays a crucial role during and after conflict, they cannot ignore the benefits that come when gender roles are changed. If peacebuilding becomes more inclusive, it will improve the results of these missions.

Gender and peacebuilding have different implications in the context of Africa. The way issues of gender are approached in Africa, as they relate to peacebuilding, are different from those of the West. African feminists have articulated these difference by stating that there needs to be a “balance between universal normative principles of gender equality and traditional [African] values such as ubuntu⁶” in peacebuilding efforts (H. Hudson, *Peacebuilding Through...293*). Gender dynamics in Africa encompass more than traditional roles and expectations for an individual; it includes specific challenges and societal struggles. Possessing a more African perspective towards gender and peacebuilding is critical for mission to succeed⁷. By understanding these dynamics and their implications, external actors can have a greater positive impact because they will take context into consideration. For example, when external actors guarantee rights for women in Africa, they fail “to pay attention to their priorities, which would often rank social, economic, and cultural rights before those civil and political rights” (H. Hudson, *Peacebuilding Through... 297*). Because they did not understand the context, peace builders invested their time and resources on a solution that had little impact on the ground or on the peace process as a whole.

⁶Compassion and humanity

⁷ This will vary by the goals of the mission/entity in charge, can be highly contested, or might not be quantifiable. It is nearly impossible to label or know if a mission is successful.

It must be noted that due to the complexity of the topic being discussed, there are certain topics that are briefly touched on which might require a literature review all on their own. Furthermore, while there is a wide range of literature available on gender and peacebuilding, gender is sometimes confused with women's empowerment or simply on how something affects women alone. As previously stated, gender is a social construct that creates norms and roles for members of a certain sex to follow. Peace builders must understand that both men and women must be included in the gender aspect of peacebuilding. Another challenge faced in the process of addressing gender in peacebuilding is the monitoring and evaluation of missions and their effects on a community. While case studies and field testimonies may shed light into impact of peacebuilding, it is difficult to assess how much of a lasting impact this can have in a community or how much the impact can be attributed to a gendered approach. Much like peacebuilding, success in changing gender norms is difficult to assess.

Overall, major gaps are still present in the field of peacebuilding due to a lack of emphasis on gender. Despite policy initiatives that recognize the importance of gender in peacebuilding, current missions are not doing enough, especially in Africa. Peacebuilding alone is a complicated process that requires massive coordination and cohesion between actors from across fields and countries. If gender were brought into the foreground of peacebuilding, it would foster a positive environment and set these missions on a successful track in addressing problems on the ground⁸. Heidi Hudson summarizes this point best when she states that “considering gender in peacebuilding also increases the chances of successful planning, implementation, and institutionalization of a post-conflict order. On the other hand, the exclusion

⁸ Refer back to Hudson citation on page 26

of women and/or the failure to consider gender in peacebuilding processes risks not only women's rights, but also the general failure of peacebuilding as an enterprise" (H. Hudson, *Peacebuilding Through...* 288). If peacebuilding is going to have any chance at "success" in a community, it must adequately address gender. The problem with current gender approaches, if it is even taken into consideration, in Africa is that gender is seen as an aspect rather than a pillar of peacebuilding; this mentality must change. We have rudimentary tools that can assist peace builders in addressing gender today. Actors in peacebuilding must stop hiding behind policies that are simply for show and take action on the ground. Thinking about the issues of gender must become synonymous with achieving peace.

Methodology

The information for this ISP was collected through two different manners: participatory observation and interviews. Both of these methods provided me with great insight into the state of gender in peacebuilding. In this portion, I will only cover the tasks and observations that informed this research. It must be noted that my practicum included many different aspects of participation and observation, as noted under the ACCORD overview contained in this study.

PARTICIPATORY OBSERVATION

There were three different types of participatory observation that contributed to this research: editing the Peacebuilding handbook, unit meetings, and conducting an internal seminar for the office. Each of these tasks added a unique perspective to the topic at hand. Additionally, they also presented certain challenges to the research.

First was the process of editing the peacebuilding handbook. My participation in editing the handbook began before I began my internship. To start the process, I met with Ms. Connolly, my supervisor, to understand why the handbook was being edited and the timeline we were working under. She made it clear that this was one of the unit's priorities and thus, needed to become one of my priorities. Before I began editing, I needed to read through all of the feedback and comments that the unit had about the handbook. These comments came from practitioners, academics, experts, etc. I then needed to sort out comments by chapter and create appropriate word documents. Unfortunately, after this was accomplished, the handbook was pushed to the side due to the amount of work I needed to get done in other areas. It was in reading through the suggestions for the handbook, however, that I began to see the lack of emphasis gender issues had throughout the handbook. This perspective was also reinforced through my meetings with

Ms. Connolly, who emphasized the need to incorporate gender more aggressively into the handbook. Towards the end of my practicum, I made my way back to the handbook. Even though my time at ACCORD was limited, having sat in on countless meetings about the work that the unit was doing and cross referencing other projects I was working on, I was better equipped to recognize what the gaps were in the handbook; at least when it came to gender. During my last week, I took a copy of the first edition of the handbook and wrote in all of the comments that were made by the experts, in addition to some of my own. I also noted where new chapters needed to be included, per my meeting with Ms. Connolly on the subject. Furthermore, I included personal inquires about format and content.

Second were unit meetings. These would consist of one-on-ones with Ms. Connolly or Ms. Baggerman, or the three of us. We had meetings to discuss the different projects on an almost weekly basis. My one-on-one meetings with Ms. Connolly would usually revolve around my progress with the handbook and my ISP. Meetings encouraged suggestions and critical commentary from everyone involved, regardless of title. Furthermore, they always included a space for questions. It was through my participation in these meetings that I was able to shape my perspective on the question at hand, as well as receive guidance of where to begin my research. For example, these meetings gave me the opportunity to brainstorm a list of possible interviews within the organization. Another example would be my meeting with Ms. Petronella Mugoni, Senior Program Officer: Knowledge Production Department. The sole purpose of this meeting was to talk through my thesis for my ISP with someone who had a strong background on gender. This form of participatory observation was beneficial in two ways. One, it gave me the opportunity to receive immediate feedback and work through any issues I might have with my

research and general work. Two, it gave me a chance to improve essential critical skills when it came to peacebuilding. These benefits assisted my research by sharpening my insight about the field and making me more aware of its needs.

Finally, there was the internal seminar⁹. An internal seminar at ACCORD is voluntary and consists of a twenty minute presentation on a topic that relates to someone's work within the organization, including independent work. As part of my practicum, I had to present on my findings and progress on my ISP. The presentation is followed by a comment and question period that is moderated by someone in KPD. Everyone on staff received an event email invitation, three to four days in advance, about the upcoming seminar; in this email, they receive an abstract¹⁰ about the topic that will be covered. The moderator sends out this email, along with possible discussion questions they have come up with. About fifteen people attended my seminar, including interns, KPD members, members from the peacebuilding/peacemaking/peacekeeping units, and my flat mates. Before I began, attendees were informed that they were to provide me with critiques and suggestions that I could use in my research going forward. The seminar, for the most part, ran smoothly. When it was time for the discussion portion, the moderator took over and asked for feedback and suggestions anyone could offer me. I took notes on the comments made by ACCORD staff, which will be referenced later on.

These three examples of participatory observation provided most of the insight and information found in the findings section. By actively participating in meetings and editing process, I was able to form my own perspective on peacebuilding in addition to receiving first-

⁹ Included in Appendix F

¹⁰ Included in Appendix A

hand accounts from leading experts in the field. My participation in ACCORD's daily tasks granted me the opportunity to ask specific questions to experts with the benefit of immediate feedback.

Despite these benefits, some weaknesses were prevalent in this methodology. For one, the nature of the office and the work being performed was hectic to say the least. Although space was provided for me to participate and offer feedback, we were sometimes pressed for time depending on the nature of the work, cutting down discussion. Furthermore, although all three examples were used for the benefit of my ISP, their intent related to work, giving me less of an opportunity to talk about my ISP. That being said, responsibilities and work related tasks took precedence over ISP work. One of the biggest weaknesses of this methodology came to light during the discussion section of the internal seminar. Although I was able to obtain great feedback, the event took a tone of office politics towards the end. By that, I mean that questions and answer about my seminar began to be geared towards the accomplishments and work of different units and departments within the organization, discomfoting some attendees.

INTERVIEWS

Although one of the most rewarding parts of my research, the interview methodology was extremely problematic. As previously stated, the idea to conduct interviews of certain ACCORD staff members came from meetings with Ms. Connolly and Ms. Mugoni. In these meetings, a list of names was compiled. This list consisted of individuals within ACCORD that could provide insight into the topics of gender and peacebuilding. Fifteen staff members were contacted via email¹¹. The email outlined what the interview was in reference to, that it would be recorded and

¹¹ Found in Appendix B

included in a research paper, and that the paper would be submitted for grading. From the very beginning, possible interviewees knew what the content was¹² and what it would be used for. Thus, willingness to partake in the interview was taken as consent. However, the response to these emails was fairly low.

Of the fifteen, only six responded. Of the six, three stated that they would not be able to provide valuable insight into the topic. From these three, one met with me to discuss other possible interviewees and reference books while another made suggestions about possible interviewees, in passing. Three agreed to be interviewed. Of those three, only two came to fruition due to scheduling conflicts. Both of the interviewees were adults and were asked if they would be willing to be recorded and quoted, once again, before the interview started. These interviews were later transcribed for purposes of the study¹³.

Due to the nature of the job, most individuals were far too busy to partake in an interview. This led to another weakness in the methodology, the fact that only two individuals were able to be interviewed. Another challenge with this method is how easy it was to stray from the topic at hand. When reading back through the transcripts, more of a focus was given to women's issues rather than gender, for example. This is not to say, however, that the method was without strengths. Despite only speaking to two individuals, they were incredibly knowledgeable and helpful. It must be noted that perspectives made by these practitioners are not the norm of the field. Even if they are, that assessment cannot be made in this study due to a small response rate. Even though I was only able to speak to two individuals, they were key individuals in the

¹² The email included an attachment of the interview questions, found in Appendix C.

¹³ Appendix D: Natacha Kunama Interview and Appendix E: Laura Doriguzzi Bozzo Interview

field of peacebuilding. One was with Ms. Natacha Kunam, Coordinator: Peacemaking Unit. The second was with Ms. Laura Doriguzzi Bozzo, Training Officer: Training Unit. They were able to provide me with valuable insight on gender and peacebuilding.

Limitations of the Study

As noted previously, the concentration and quantity of primary sources is a substantial shortcoming in this study. The number of individuals that were interviewed was small and concentrated in one organization. The same assessment could be made for the internal seminar. When looking at the internal seminar specifically, there were instances where contributors would get defensive about their work within the organization¹⁴ (Appendix F). Another limitation to consider is that since all of the contributors came from ACCORD, despite coming from different backgrounds and fields, there was no variety in perspective of how things are done in the field. This could have serious implications on the conclusions drawn by the study. Another limitation of the study was timeframe. Because this study was also a practicum, sufficient time was not dedicated to the study because of other responsibilities within the organization. Although rewarding, it made the experience manic. The topic and objectives of the study should also be viewed as a limitation, to some extent. Peacebuilding and gender are complex topics that require a lot of attention, independent of one another. To try to make sense of them together, especially in the context of Africa, meant sacrificing space that would have shed light into these complexities and enhanced comprehension even further. I'm trying to accomplish a lot in a limited paper let alone a twenty five minute presentation later on.

¹⁴ This refers to the comments made during the internal seminar which was led and moderated by a KPD staff member. Transcript can be found on Appendix F.

Findings

Answering the question of whether or not gender is adequately addressed by peacebuilding in Africa is extremely difficult given the amount of time and resources used to complete this paper. The aim of this project is to provide a small but comprehensive window into this topic. By no means does it seek to, nor does it have the authority to, address all of the problems that stop gender from becoming an integral part of peacebuilding. Rather, this report should be seen as a background for an individual looking to answer these questions on a deeper level. The best way to accomplish this is to focus on the main components of the debate and their implications going forward. By doing so, we can obtain a greater understanding and perspective to answer if peacebuilding is adequately addressing gender. Given the pool of interviewees and participants in the internal seminar, the conclusions that will be derived from this information will have an ACCORD bias to them and by no means should be taken as the norm in the field of peacebuilding.

DOES PEACEBUILDING ADEQUATELY ADDRESS GENDER IN AFRICA?

At first glance, it seems that this question answers the research topic. The purpose of this section, however, is to depict how practitioners and experts respond to this question. Changes in the field cannot be achieved unless there is a basic agreement that there is a problem that must be dealt with. Despite in-depth studies and research, there is no replacement for field experience. Thus, obtaining feedback from individuals who work on the ground or deal with these questions on a daily basis brings a key perspective. Furthermore, this section will look at current problems that gendered perspectives face in Africa. By considering interviews and feedback from

practitioners and experts , we are able to gauge how prevalent this topic is for actors and what they view is the problem to adequately addressing gender in peacebuilding. In order to grapple with the question at hand, this sub-section will be divided into two main sections: current problems/alternative explanations and analysis. The sections will illustrate how gender is viewed on the ground, beyond the one size fits all rhetoric of policies.

CURRENT PROBLEMS AND ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATIONS

This section discusses some of the most poignant problems that peace builders face in the continent when it comes to gender. Based on this knowledge, more comprehensive recommendations can be made about if/how gender can be addressed in peacebuilding.

Ms. Kunama’s interview answers the question of problems and incorporation. She states that for gender in peacebuilding in Africa, “the core problem that remains are stereotypes and culture. There are too many policies in place. Some are for gender empowerment things like that exist on the continent but implementing them has been very difficult. Ever since UN resolution 1325 to today there have been plenty of other resolutions.. Mainly because it is a male dominated environment in those countries in terms of decision making” (Appendix D). A possible concern, then, is whether these resolutions are not being implemented because they cannot adapt to the context on the ground. If policies are present, there must be an explanation as to why it is difficult to implement them in Africa. Ms. Kunama states:

There is no African approach that and been defined per say. I think African story about women has not been told enough, but definitely there is a lot to learn. Because Africa, in terms of statistics, has the best statistics in women empowerment in terms of decision making. We have more women in parliament than in the USA even Europe, in Africa only. That is not saying enough, I think. If we can turn these achievements into a real approach it could actually be more useful. I am not against any UN resolution, it is fine, it’s good because it has been domesticated at some level. It has been

domesticated in the sense that it has broken down in the AU protocols on gender and broken down into regional and national policies. So integrating some of the elements of culture of those societies. Now, to what extent it has work is what maybe should be questioned. Should we develop a more African led approach? That is also possible, I think. All of these training manuals i think can be useful. But, the main goal is domestication of those elements. It needs to be adapted to the context, to the local context of those you want to support (Appendix D).

When it comes to Africa, adequately addressing gender means domesticating solutions, not simply transcribing them from abroad. Similar problems effect trainers. Ms. Doriguzzi Bozzo supports the argument that security is a problem for the incorporation of gender in peacebuilding¹⁵ (Appendix E). She also alludes to the impact that a trainer's gender can have on training itself (Appendix E). Not surprisingly, less attention will be paid to a trainer who is a woman, according to Ms. Doriguzzi Bozzo (Appendix E). This diminishes the effectiveness of peacebuilding training in a society because of patriarchal gender roles.

As referenced in the literature review, one problem peace builders must address is whether or not rebuilding gender roles falls under their jurisdiction¹⁶. Furthermore, there is a risk of confusing gender as a women's empowerment issue rather than something that must be a collective issue¹⁷. The internal seminar group took these problems and applied them to the realities on the ground. Something that has to change, according to Ms. Baggerman, is not simply the shuffling of roles but the ideology behind them; focus dialogue and expected outcome should be changed to ideology transformation, especially as it relates to power dynamics

¹⁵ Reference Page 24

¹⁶ Reference Page 24-25

¹⁷ Reference Page 24

(Appendix F). During this session, Ms. Kunama added that gender in peacebuilding boils down to “women's empowerment and men’s enlightenment” (Appendix F).

ANALYSIS

Based on the information provided by the interviews and seminar, it is clear that there are additional problems that accompany a gendered approach to peacebuilding. All of the problems outlined in the literature review were alluded to by ACCORD staff members. However, reference to other problems were also made. One such problem is the perception we have of women in the continent. Although a patriarchal society, women do hold power, especially in the private sphere. Understanding this and incorporating it in peacebuilding could be beneficial in the long run. This highlights the need for a context sensitive approach even more. Trainers as a vehicle and possible tool to change gender dynamics was also alluded to. Most importantly, however, was the point of changing the ideology rather than just the images/roles attributed to gender.

Based on this information and the literature review, we can conclude that there are fundamental changes that need to be made of how gender is perceived by practitioners and how it should be approached in general. Although policies exist, gender is not being adequately addressed because there is a lack of implementation. It also should be a two-fold approach. Gendered approaches should be tailored for men and women. For women, the question of gender takes the form of empowerment. For men, the question of gender takes the form of enlightenment. Policies and actions should reflect these needs if society is going to be transformed. When considering gender dynamics we cannot ignore that they are rooted in power¹⁸. Adequately addressing gender in peacebuilding means dealing with the power vacuum

¹⁸ Reference Page 24

that will emerge once these roles are deconstructed. It means changing the ideology and rhetoric of how men and women interact and see one another, not as a tool to measure and assert power but as fellow citizens rebuilding society. Changing this helps address the types of violence that might arise after conflict. Rape, for example, is motivated by a need to exert power. Men rape women to restore their power and sequentially take power away from another men by shaming “their” women. On the other hand, Ms. Baggerman noted in the seminar that men rape other men to feminize and deprive them of their identity/power. This power vacuum must be filled somehow.

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS OF HAVING/NOT HAVING GENDER IN PEACEBUILDING?

The importance of having a gendered perspective in peacebuilding is rooted in the effects it has on the overall peace process. Authors like Heidi Hudson¹⁹ outline some of the benefits that gender approaches can have on peacebuilding. I hope to assess the impact gendered approaches can have on African societies, especially post-conflict. Seeing the value that practitioners put on the approach can bring us closer to understanding at what stages implementation might be failing. This section will be subdivided into two sections: including gender and not including gender. Thus, the section will analyze the tangible impacts of including this perspective into peacebuilding.

INCLUDING GENDER

Like all of the UN policies that speak on the subject, interviewees and members of the seminar spoke of the importance of having a gendered perspective in peacebuilding. Much like authors on the subject, Ms. Kunama argues that gender is important because:

¹⁹ Reference Page 26

Gender inequalities, gender issues I would say, should definitely be part of the agenda. Because I don't see how you can do peacebuilding without that, anyways. It is like saying that you will provide water, and you just don't have any water. You have to have a gender sensitivity lens through peacebuilding efforts anywhere in the world. It is not a focus per se, it should not even be part of, gender is a cross cutting issue that people put out there thinking that "oh yes by the way, there is also gender. Let's put it in there and see what we can do with it." It should be at the core of anything. If you are rebuilding a society, you are rebuilding both sides of society, which means both men and women. So it is part of your strategy to start with, whatever you do, it needs to be gender sensitive, gender focus.

Gender cuts across every line in society. The benefits here are simple; by including gender you are effectively addressing peacebuilding. Although we see examples of handbooks and rhetoric stating the same thing, implementation, if it occurs, takes the shape of a chapter or small tool box, not of an all encompassing approach. Instead of having "Gender peacebuilding" we should get to a point where the same principles and goals are present when "peacebuilding" is discussed. We need to take ownership of the narrative and make gender inseparable from sustainable peace. Here is where implementation is failing, our perceptions of "including" gender should be holistic. The argument here is that the inclusion of gender is beneficial because it is implicated in every aspect of rebuilding society.

NOT INCLUDING GENDER

The question then becomes what if we don't address gender adequately? Simply put, not including gender, in any capacity, cripples peacebuilding in its entirety. You also risk re-establishing similar patterns of gender dynamics that existed before the conflict. Failure to or partially addressing gender in peacebuilding allows practices and mentalities that could perpetuate violence to simply transfer over during transition. Although local ownership is key, actors in a post-conflict society must make an active effort to change the mentality and ideology

behind gender issues. Ms. Kunama argues that one of the biggest challenges faced is changing the perception that gender equality is a western value, when in fact, it is a universal one (Appendix D). This concept must be presented to communities in a way that allows them to embrace it in their context. The only way to ensure that this process occurs, however, is to include gender as a pillar of peacebuilding. If we don't, we will fail to uphold a fundamental human principle.

WHAT DOES A GENDERED APPROACH TO PEACEBUILDING LOOK LIKE?

It would seem that this should be the first question to be addressed. After all, how can we know the impacts of including/not including gender or if it is adequately addressed without knowing what a gendered approach looks like. Most of the literature on the topic, emphasized the importance of addressing gender and highlight the need to include women in the process. Some even talked of the need to include men in the discussion of gender²⁰ and rightfully so. But, the literature never outlined or gave a prime example where peacebuilding adequately addressed gender. During my interviews and seminar, this was always a question: *In an ideal world, what does a peacebuilding mission look like if it has adequately addressed gender?* The answer to this question could potentially make the problems that come from an absence of a gendered perspective minimal. As it turns out, the complexity of the topic, let alone the variables that it must take into consideration, make this an impossible question to answer. To understand why, we must take two different focuses: possible scenarios and suggestions on how to get there.

²⁰ Reference Page 24

POSSIBLE SCENARIOS

Possible scenarios refers to what individuals and sources cited as an ideal gendered approach to peacebuilding or what factors should be considered in making this assessment. During the internal seminar, the moderator, asked what ACCORD was doing to incorporate gender in its programs and what it would take for an activity to adequately address gender. Although there were attempts by some to state that gender was addressed, most individuals remained quiet on the matter. It was only the Peacebuilding Unit that stepped up and said that gender was not really emphasized and that much more needed to be done. Members from the peacekeeping unit, as well as KPD, suggested that gendered approaches to peacebuilding can be seen and should be measured by the number of women present at the table of peacebuilding. This can manifest itself in all female peacekeeping unit or in the amount of women present at a training session or negotiating table. This is problematic because it leaves men out of the equation and it does not address the ideology that upholds gender dynamics. Upon review of the literature and commentary from other sources, it is clear that presence alone does not address gender problems.

Once again, it must be noted that the ideology and mentality that uphold this system must be reconstructed. Presence and focus on women alone will not address the problems of gender in peacebuilding, although it is a start. Ms. Doriguzzi Bozzo states that “with ACCORD, generally every training we try to reach a balance of 30% of women in the crowd”, for example (Appendix E). Although obtaining a women’s perspective is important, it does not address the root causes of gender inequality and GBV in a post-conflict society. Furthermore, even at 30% it is still not conducive to representing realistic ratios of sex in a context. What is worse, is that the 30%

minimum is rarely met. One explanation that Ms. Doriguzzi Bozzo offered was the fact that this is still a male-dominated field and thus, the women presence is low to begin with (Appendix E). This, despite the fact that women are at forefront of peacebuilding movements in their home²¹. What does that say about the implementation and incorporation of gender in peacebuilding? This also doesn't touch on the role men have to play in gender and peacebuilding. Men must be part of the conversation.

SUGGESTIONS

Throughout both of the interviews and the internal seminar, suggestions were made about how to incorporate gender into peacebuilding missions, especially in Africa. First is a push towards education. Gender dynamics are socially constructed and taught, even after conflict, it is difficult to teach individuals within a society a new way to view gender. Ms. Doriguzzi Bozzo emphasizes this need by stating that “ there is a need for education in gender issues, education to afflictions, education to values. You know, this type. And then I think that it becomes a process, you change the culture, you see? The culture of peace that we try to promote with ACCORD needs to be translated also, this culture of respect towards the other sex” (Appendix E). Ms. Kunama follows this up by suggesting that not only education is needed but a space for women to be empowered, to support the idea that women are heroes during and after a conflict, that women help rebuild society, and that gender stereotypes must be broken.

So that you can see some of the achievements, that women can achieve in any field. You find that women are social, more creative, things like that. But why not have a women Minister of Defense or something?...But, yeah, opening up doors in fields that are usually male dominated so that people can see that women have the same skills and capacities is very important. And trainers

²¹ Reference Page 24

should find the tools necessary to convey that message. To take those examples into reality. But to the the classroom and things like that when building the country again. Brining the voices of women at the forefront is key but it is also something that should be heard because there are a lot of women who do peacebuilding work but nobody knows about it, so it is also key (Appendix E).

Another suggestion involves the role that men play when it comes to gender. One is the inclusion of men when gender is discussed. Gender and peacebuilding needs to include both men and women. When I talk about inclusion, I don't mean that we need more men at the peacebuilding table or in leadership positions, the same way that women need to be. Rather, I am referring to the need for men to realize that gender effects them and that they are, for better or worse, defined and limited by it. It is perhaps by understanding how social roles are constructed that men will realize that their masculine identity cannot be legitimized by the oppression of the so-called second sex. If the goal really is to reconstruct society (it might not be), than those who used to hold the power need to be part of the conversation. In this case, the conversation refers to gender dynamics and roles, not peacebuilding necessarily. Furthermore, peace builders need to understand that gender does affect sustainable peace. We need to deconstruct the idea, especially in Africa, that masculinity equates to lack of emotions. Men are also traumatized during a conflict. Failure to address trauma can manifest in different forms of substance abuse that can create a new cycle of violence, only this time, it can become another social reality.

Recommendations for Further Study

Going forward, this ISP can serve a good reference point for anyone who might want to do an in-depth study on gender, peacebuilding, or both in Africa. For individuals interested in gender, they could trace and analyze the changing gender dynamics on a local, national, or regional level. Moreover, they could consider how education can ingrain or challenge traditional gender norms. On the other hand, someone could expand on the topic of peacebuilding. Depending on what is taking place at ACCORD, they could follow up a training and analyze the impact and “success” it had. They could also look at different approaches to peacebuilding and analyze what components make for a successful intervention. If someone decides to do both, then I think an interesting focus would be to expand on the training component. For this, I would recommend taking this ISP as a background that will inform what tools and considerations trainers must take into account when gender is in question. What approach should they take? What material should they develop? etc.

In terms of doing a practicum at ACCORD I have a few recommendations. First, the person thinking about doing this must know that they will be extremely busy, throughout the work day and during their free time. They must also realize that they will be brought into the fold right away, it is a very swim or sink place, but everyone is there if you need help. Lastly, I would tell them to consider if they want to dedicate so much of their time to balancing the responsibilities of working at ACCORD with researching a topic that they might not be covering in depth. This requires a lot of extra work, but in the end, I think it is worth it.

Conclusion

Reading through the three objectives listed in the introduction, this research paper answered the questions with primary and secondary sources. It is clear that despite policy initiatives, gender is not yet a priority in the peacebuilding process. Furthermore, we learned that gender must become a key component in securing lasting peace, implying that gender brings positive results to the peacebuilding process as a whole. Lastly, through interviews and a focus group, we can conclude that no real picture exists of an ideal gendered approach, making it difficult to know how to proceed in the future. All of these questions inform the field's understanding and the importance of gender in African peacebuilding. It also sheds light on why it has been difficult to implement popular international policies on the ground throughout Africa.

In the end, if we had to answer whether or not peacebuilding adequately addresses gender? The response would be no. Several reasons support this statement. Based on primary and secondary sources of this study, current efforts to incorporate gender in peacebuilding are limited to policy. Furthermore, if efforts are implemented, they don't address the root of the gender system, namely the power dynamics that are at play. Failure to address these issues and internalize the importance of gender will doom every single peacebuilding effort in the region for years to come.

It is in understanding the connections between gender and peacebuilding that we can assess how much further we have to go in the field of reconciliation and development, especially post-conflict. We must face the reality that in order for reconciliation to grow anywhere we must ensure that the needs of everyone in a community are met. If you are to take anything from this research it is that gender is cross-cutting and present everywhere, even in conflicts that are rooted

in other social dilemmas. To achieve lasting and sustainable peace anywhere, gender must be on the agenda.

The handbook and my time at ACCORD are a perfect example of recognizing this important aspect of peacebuilding and reconciliation. First, editing the handbook provided me exposure and insight into the complexity of peacebuilding. It is not enough to have security or to have a plan. Organizing lasting peace is not a linear cookie-cutter process, it resembles a volatile organism more than anything. Keeping gender in mind throughout this process, I was amazed at how relevant it is with everything that falls under the purview of peacebuilding. Even more shocking is how little time is spend on this issue. The editing process also evolved my work and train of thought, especially when it came to how internalizing that everything in peacebuilding interconnected and effects each other.

My time at ACCORD as an organization also provided me greater insight into the issues that surround peacebuilding and gender. By attending and participating in meetings, I was able to go through the process of conceptualizing, executing, and analyzing a plan that could best address these issues. In going through the motions of how to best deal with these topics, I was forced to know them inside and out, contributing to my research project. Moreover, the work environment at the office always challenged me to work harder and look for alternatives and solutions to situations that seemed hopeless. When dealign with daunting and larger than life issues such as this, it helps to have that extra kick in you, one way or another.

Bibliography

Adebajo, Adekeye. UN Peacekeeping in Africa: From the Suez Crisis to the Sudan Conflicts. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2011. Print.

African Peacebuilding Coordination Programme. ACCORD Peacebuilding Handbook. 1st ed. Vol. 1. South Africa: ACCORD, 2013. Print

Africa Recovery United Nations. The Causes of Conflict and the Promotion of Durable Peace and Sustainable Development in Africa. Rep. New York: United Nations, 1998. Issafrica.org. Web. <<http://www.issafrica.org/uploads/CAUSECONFLICT.PDF>>.

Barnett, Michael, Hunjoon Kim, Madalene O'Donnell, and Laura Sitea. "Peacebuilding: What Is in a Name?" *Global Governance* 13.1 (2007): 35-58. JSTOR. Web. Apr. 2014. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/27800641>>.

Baaz Eriksson, Maria and Maria Stern. The Complexity of Violence: A Critical Analysis of sexual violence in the democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). Rep. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet/SIDA, 2010. Web.

Falola, Toyin, and Raphael Chijioke. Njoku. War and Peace in Africa. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic, 2010. Print.

Griffiths, Claire. "Engendering Humanism in French West Africa: Patriarchy and the Paradox of Empire" *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46.3 (2013). JSTOR. Web. Apr. 2014.

Hudson, Heidi. "Peacebuilding Through A Gender Lens and the Challenges of Implementation in Rwanda and Côte d'Ivoire" *Security Studies* 18 (2009): 287-318. JSTOR. Web.

Hudson, Heidi. "Gender and the Globalization of Violence : The Treacherous Terrain of Privatized Peacekeeping" *Agenda* 59, *Women in War* (2004): 45-55. JSTOR. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4548113>>

Hudson, Natalie Florea. "En-Gendering UN Peacekeeping Operations" *International Journal* 60.3 (Summer 2005). JSTOR. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40204063>>

Hutton, Lauren. *Internal and External Dilemmas of Peacebuilding in Africa*. Rep. no. 250. Pretoria: Institute for Security Studies, 2014. Print

Jeng, Abou. *Peacebuilding in the African Union: Law, Philosophy and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012. Print.

Kennelly, Ivy, Sabine N. Merz, and Judith Lorber. "What Is Gender?" *American Sociological Review* 66.4 (2001): 598-605. JSTOR. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088925>>.

Lederach, John Paul. *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 1997. Print.

Ni, Aolain, Fionnuala. "Women, Security, and the Patriarchy of Internationalized Transitional Justice" *Human Rights Quarterly* 31. (2009): 1055-1085. HeinOnline. Web.

O'Connell, Helen. "What are the opportunities to promote gender equity and equality in conflict-affected and fragile states? Insight from a review of evidence" *Gender and Development*. 19.3. (November 2011): 455-466. JSTOR. Web. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13552074.2011.636571>>

Porter, Antonia. "What is Constructed can beTransformed: Masculinities in Post-Conflict

Societies in Africa” *International Peacekeeping* 20.4 (November 2013): 486-506. JSTOR. Web. <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13533312.2013.846137>>

Puechguirbal, Nadine “ Women and War in the Democratic Republic of the Congo” *Signs*. 28.4 (Summer 2003): 1271-1281. JSTOR. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/368319>>

Ridgeway, Cecila L. and Shelley J. Correll. “Unpacking Gender System: A Theoretical Perspectlive on Gender Beliefs and Social Relations” *Gender and Society* 18.4 (August 2004): 510-531. JSTOR . Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4149448>>.

Strickland, Richard and Nata Duvvury. “ Gender Equity and Peacebuilding From Rhetoric to Reality: Finding the Way” International Center for Research on Women. Washington DC: 2003. 1-48. JSTOR. Web.

Zelizer, Craig. "The Business of Peacebuilding." *Integrated Peacebuilding: Innovative Approaches to Transforming Conflict*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2013. 31-54. Print

Appendices

APPENDIX A: INTERNAL SEMINAR ABSTRACT

Does Peacebuilding Adequately Address Gender?

There are certain themes that must be at the core of peacebuilding; gender is one such topic. Incorporating gender into peacebuilding is critical to accomplishing the goals of any mission, especially in Africa. Due to the ever changing nature of the field, it is difficult, if not impossible, to assess what tactics are successful in ensuring lasting peace. By approaching peacebuilding efforts through a gendered lens, however, actors are able to increase the chance of creating sustainable peace.

Peacebuilding, particularly peacebuilding in Africa, must incorporate gender in its approach. Despite comprehensive policies and vocal commitments to having gender conscious peacebuilding efforts, implementation and action is, for the most part, none-existent. This independent study looks at the role that gender currently plays and should play in peacebuilding efforts, particularly in Africa. Moreover, it outlines where the gaps between policy and implementation exist on the topic. Through this research it seeks to answer three main points: What are the implications of having a gendered approach to peacebuilding beyond gender? What would a “true” gendered peacebuilding mission look like? Are we using the wrong approach based on the context of the continent?

By addressing these points, the seminar will support the thesis that conquering gender problems are at the core of achieving sustainable peace post-conflict.

APPENDIX B: EMAIL TO INTERVIEWEES

Dear _____,

I hope this email finds you well. My name is Sylvia Percovich and I am an intern with the Peacebuilding Unit. As part of my internship, I have been working on an independent study project that deals with the importance of gender in peacebuilding. As part of my research, I was hoping to ask you a couple of questions regarding this topic and your experiences in the field. The interview would be short, maximum thirty minutes. Attached are the questions I wish to ask you. I was hoping to speak to you at some point this week, depending on your schedule. If this is not a possibility, would it be possible for you to address these questions over email? By speaking to you, I hope to obtain a greater insight into the challenges of addressing gender in peacebuilding and gaining practical knowledge on the subject. I hope to record the interview so that I can have a clear transcript to refer back to. I can also simply take notes of our meeting. Your insight would be included in my independent study paper, which will be submitted as a paper for my school. If you wish to not be quoted or identify in the paper, I will make sure that these wishes are upheld. I would also greatly appreciate if you can refer me to anyone else in the institution that could provide insight on this topic.

Thank you for your time and I look forward to hearing back from you.

Regards,

Sylvia Percovich

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What are some of the poignant gender problems that peacebuilders are faced with in Africa?
2. How are current peacebuilding manuals and other training material taking gender into consideration?
 1. Is this enough?
 2. What are some of the gaps of current approaches?
3. What are some case studies, within the continent, where you think a greater or smaller focus on gender could have contributed to the peacebuilding process?
4. What are some common debates in the field of peacebuilding as they relate to gender?
5. What are some gender issues trainers must deal with in the field?
6. Do approaches to peacebuilding vary depending on the sex of the trainer?
7. How does a trainer's approach change if most practitioners are of one sex?
8. Have you ever experienced any challenges in a peacebuilding mission due to your sex?
9. What would you say are the current gender dynamics in the peacebuilding missions?
10. What role do women play in peacebuilding?
11. How can addressing gender and involving women in peacebuilding enhance the results of a peacebuilding mission?
12. What are some recommendations you would give to people on the field to better deal with the issue of gender in their sessions and in peacebuilding in general?

APPENDIX D: NATACHA KUNAMA INTERVIEW

N: I can see that this is more towards peacebuilding, even though we have mainly work with peacemaking here. I will maybe mention some of the issues that I know so far. *reads first question*

That is a very broad question I think. . I think the stereotypes and cultural factors have been very hard to break down throughout the years even though it has been successful in some countries. So culture has been an issue. Political will as well. Political will is very important because we are talking of women taking more part in decision making and benefiting from some of the peacebuilding efforts on the continent as well. Not only the men but the women are also taking a big part in some of the division of income division of labor division of cultural benefits. In some many ways, once the woman turns into somebody that is earning from some of these efforts it becomes an obstacle in itself. So those are some of the main challenges. Cultural, political, and funding. Funding is key in all of these things. What we notice on the continent is that most of these funders usually impact man or young boys rather than women or young girls. Not explicitly, not that they meant to do that. But because the way the system works most of the funding has been channeled to projects that benefit men more than women. Those are the three main issues. Is that sufficient for the first question?

second question

N: Okay. I think first of all, here, so is this enough for some of the gaps. Peacebuilding, depends, the peacebuilding manual that is within the peacebuilding unit actually started with a strong gender aspect. That is just one of the peacebuilding manuals, there are so many out there. What I feel is that most of these training tools have focused on policies; making people understand policies behind 1325, behind the AU protocol on gender, on all of this stuff. Now the gap, the real gap is between making people understand the policies and making people implement these policies. What are the tools? The tools to understand the policies is one thing. But the tools and the techniques to actually implement, to turn these policies into action and actual projects on the ground have been lacking, I think. Even though some have tried, it is not always very easy. A manual is meant to teach how to do something or to guide on how to do something. Right? I find most of the manuals have not guided on how to implement projects that focus on developing more gender aspect of some of these projects. Because there are two things: you can have a gender mainstreaming approach, which most of the tools have been using. Or you can have an approach that is more towards empowering women, which is a big difference. Right? So I think most of the tools have been about gender mainstreaming because it has been the UN, a very European centric and UN centric approach as well. So this is what most people have been doing. Then you have the more American approach i would say which is more towards empowering women, especially. But then, again, peacebuilding is defined by diversity and complexity. If there is something that is true is that there is plenty of material on training manuals, on gender, how to do this, how to do that. But it can be improved when you say is this enough. Acknowledging the change in the picture of women. They are not only the victims or the ones suffering they are not the ones at the bottom of the land; they are the actors now. they are the

ones who can implement projects, they are the ones who can start everything, not only benefiting from projects, being the receivers of peacebuilding efforts. Right? But they are the ones that can implement those peacebuilding efforts. Right? I think the level which women are the actors not just waiting for things to happen to them but helping them, empowering them. So if we had money or material that could help women implement peacebuilding for themselves, maybe there could be a good idea.

S: So these, gender mainstreaming and women empowerment, are very western approaches. Do you think there is a more African centered approach that could be taken?

N: I think that there is no Africa approach that and been defined per say. I think African story about women has not been told enough, but definitely there is a lot to learn. Because Africa, in terms of statistics, has the best statistics in women empowerment in terms of decision making. We have more women in parliament than in the USA even Europe, in Africa only. That is not saying enough, I think. If we can turn these achievements into a real approach it could actually be more useful. I am not against any UN resolution, it is fine, it's good because it has been domesticated at some level. It has been domesticated in the sense that it has broken down in the AU protocols on gender and broken down into regional and national policies. So integrating some of the elements of culture of those societies. Now, to what extent it has work is what maybe should be questioned. Should we develop a more African led approach? That is also possible, I think. All of these training manuals i think can be useful. But, the main goal is domestication of those elements. It needs to be adapted to the context, to the local context of those you want to support.

question 3

N: I'd say that in most cases, most countries that are post-conflict. I can cite Burundi, DRC, Covet' Devore, any country that is usually post conflict has the greets risk of not considering the gender approach as much as possible. First of all because, the first obstacle of women, for gender, if I can put it that way, aspects to be included in the policies and agenda is conflict. As soon as you have a conflict usually that means that the society is breaking down. The values of the society is breaking down and you need to rebuild it. So from the time the conflict happens, already there is a point were gender aspects should be include in rebuilding the country. Okay? So, I mean if its specific, if I had more time to think about this...what I have in mind is DRC or CAR is one of the issues. When I see gender I see more women, even in the peacemaking, now I am going in the peacemaking field, but even in peacemaking trying to come up with agreements, peace agreements, that include, because most of the peacebuilding efforts are based on the peace agreements that are broken, that are made by the conflicting parties. Right? So if those peace agreements do not include gender issues, already, than you have high chances that the peacebuilding efforts will lack this gender sensitivity when it comes to implementing these peace agreements. Okay? So it is not something that happens over night. If from the start of the discussion, one or two of the conflicting parties do not agree on some of the gender issues, because women are effected or women are even part of the conflict sometimes, so if they are not

part of the reconciliatory process you have high chances that down the line when you have peacebuilding efforts to rebuild the country you will lack the gender sensitivity that could have started at the beginning. I think one of the key studies I can put here is Burundi is a case where I know women were part of the peace agreement, as well as observers and down the line you can see in the agreement we see that some gender issues are included, especially in the security arrangements. So what it means for peacebuilding in that sense is that when you are doing the DDR process when you are doing the SSR process included in peacebuilding. In Burundi, some of these process were gender sensitive in that they acknowledge that women were associated with armed groups. The government and the demobilization process were specific to the needs of women. So that is an example, a good example were gender issues were included. On the other side, when you talk of bad examples, think, for the moment, CAR could be considered a bad example. The women voice is not really heard, not really there. Peacebuilding processes are not really included women groups or women politician, even before the war, so on the other side you have those cases. Here in Mozambique, same thing is happening. It is not a conflict zone but it is a country that has tensions, especially linked to political processes. So, you have women groups and women activists who are not really included in the peacebuilding efforts as well. Those are some of the key cases I could put forth.

S: And then you mentioned the break down in society because of conflict, do you think that it should be the responsibility of peacebuilding missions, when they help rebuild society to reestablish this social dynamic of gender inequality. Should they address that? Should that be one of the things you know, like state building, access to resources, should that be something they say “we will provide access to water, we will teach people to do X,Y,Z, we will rebuild society in a way , help rebuild society, in a way that address gender inequalities” ?

N: Gender inequalities, gender issues I would say, should definitely be part of the agenda. Because I don't see how you can do peacebuilding without that, anyways. It is like saying that you will provide water, and you just don't have any water. You have to have a gender sensitivity lens through peacebuilding efforts anywhere in the world. Right? It is not a focus per say, it should not even be part of, gender is a cross cutting issue that people put out there thinking that “oh yes by the way, there is also gender. Let's put it in there and see what we can do with it.” It should be at the core of anything. If you are rebuilding a society, you are rebuilding both sides of society, which means both men and women. So it is part of your strategy to start with, whatever you do, it needs to be gender sensitive, gender focus. Specifically in conflict zones, it could even be women focus. It is important to mention that most programs tend to shy away from the term gender-empower, I'm sorry, from women empowerment strategies thinking “ No if we do this we are pushing discrimination for women. It will look bad, not look bad, but it will look like we are focusing only women and men can decide not to be on board with our project.” Things like that. But in some areas it is necessary. In some areas, places, of course it is up to peace builders to decide, to assess the situation and decide what to do. But I believe, especially in conflict zones, post conflict zones, where women have been effected very differently from men, it is important to do a women-centric approach to peacebuilding as well. Yeah.

question 4

N: It is too bad you came after the peacebuilding coordinator left, because he was involved in the debate and everything. I think even Lesley can help you in these things. I know that security especially in the sense of the post 2015 development goals in this context, I know that women and security issues were mentioned. Because more and more, most of the peacebuilding efforts came out of this post 2015 millennium goals. Right? So a lot of the programs are from UN, a lot of the projects and everything came straight from that. Now that those goals have ended because we have gotten into 2015, now that we are at 2015 there is already a reflection of post2015 which will shape the future of peacebuilding anyways. Most of the peacebuilding work that will be done after 2015 will come out of that new agenda for millennium goals. Now one of the key debates in terms, I'm trying to relate it to peace and security, is women and security. That is what is lacking. It was part of the millennium goals initially because they were done I think in 2005. At that time women were still seen as victims, not as actors, yet. So now, there is much more emphasis on women being actors of achieving peace. I think that is one of the key debates that is ongoing. If that is the case, how do we design peacebuilding, not in that women are only going to benefit as victims but are going to be the ones implementing, going to be the ones bringing their own perspectives, bringing their own strategies, and their own experiences to it. So, that is one of the main debates. But in the field of peacebuilding I'd rather recommend that you discuss more with Lesley and others in the peacebuilding unit.

Question 5

N: Again stereotypes, trainers will deal with stereotypes all the time. and their own stereotypes sometimes as well.

SP: Can you provide an example of a stereotype?

N: You go there and you do a gender training on peacebuilding. Only audience will be women, let's start with that and then we ask men " Why are you not attending? What do you think about gender? [they will say] "No no, this is for women, it is not for us to know anything about it." That is one stereotypes were you think that gender issues are for women. Gender means both men and women. Okay? Second stereotype is that, on the issues themselves. Gender issues mean what? How are men and women effected differently by security issues things like that. Men, the stereotype that you get is that why would women be part of deciding what the solution should be? Okay? When we talk of gender issues, also, empowerment of women is also a big issue. The stereotype that people have is that most of the; actually one key issue here is that most concepts are European on the continent. So, you find people who will not accept that some of those concepts are actually universal values rather than European concepts. The big challenge for trainers is to get people to understand that it is a universal value, universal means every person on the planet should have that as a value. But again, because it has been crafted and conceptualized mainly in Europe, the idea that it is an imposed concept, an imposed way of

living, an imposed change of the order, were by women might become decision makers rather than men, right? So there is a lot of that the the trainers will face in every day training as well. Certainly in some in cultural myths and at all level and every channel that you sue for training will carry that stereotype. If you go on the radio, and the radio is used for training sometimes, to convey messages, you will find that stereotypes exist. Everywhere you go. However, I think that it is breaking down. At the time, people are acting more and more as a result of trusting women in decision making. You have countries that have 51% women in the parliament, such as Rwanda and you see that it is working. Rwandan women are making the decisions for the rest of the society and it is not always the gender/women relate decision, they are making decision on the economy, on defense, on you know what they call hard issues, issues that initially were meant for men to decide on. Right? So those barriers are breaking down and trainers should use those examples to train and overcome those obstacles.

SP: How do you think the subject should be presented to men? How do you break down the stereotype that this is a woman's issue or it is not really an issue but just the way things are? How you get men to embrace gender issues?

N: First of all I don't think it starts when you are an adult. It is something that should be part of the overall education as a child. I mean, the stereotypes exist in the most "advanced" countries anyways. So it is not something you can explain to men at 30 40, I mean you need to reinforce it, but it is an educational issue as well. One of the main things to do is that children of people in general are impressed by heroes, heroes of society. One of the key elements women should be portrayed as heroes, heroines, not as the lady behind the hero or the woman that was just at home when the men was doing all of these incredible achievements in life. They should always be reminded to the population that you have women heroines who have been part of the country, who have been part of building the society. Remember, especially if we come back to the conflict of conflict where by values are broken down, the first thing that is this sense of women who are builders of a society in terms of Africa definitely raising and educating children. Some children don't go to school but are educated at home in some rural areas. So the first victim of conflict they say are values. So already, there, how do we protect those values? How do we make sure that we protect those values during the conflict is very important as well. So I think its key in trying to break down the stereotypes. Again, also at the more policy level, trying to open up doors for women in fields that are male dominated. So that you can see some of the achievements, that women can achieve in any field. You find that women are social, more creative, things like that. But why not have a women Minister of Defense or something? I know that even in Europe I think it is only in Finland that we've ever had a woman who was Minister of Defense. I've never heard of any other women, I'm giving examples of male dominated fields of course. But, yeah, opening up doors in fields that are usually male dominated so that people can see that women have the same skills and capacities is very important. And trainers should find the tools necessary to convey that message. To take those examples into reality. But to the the classroom and things like that when building the country again. Brining the voices of women at the forefront is key but it is also something that should be heard because there are a lot of women who do peacebuilding work but nobody knows about it, so it is also key.

SP: I know that it is almost 4 so I want to close with one really quick question: How then do we get, a lot of the other constraints that you raised are the fact that these are perceived as western ideals even though they should be universal ideals, how do you think Africa as a continent and an African country can embrace those and make them African values, whatever that means. I know I read something about approaching it in the same way they did in South Africa an ubuntu mentality, but is that the way to go you think or what should be done in that respect?

N: I think there should be more understanding what is the Africa way. We live in an international order where by you have to follow certain rules and policies and things like that. Okay? People need to understand that the UN resolution 1325 and all these other protocols and charters were all voted by African countries as well. They did not come out of the blue from somewhere. The UN includes all of the African countries as well. Whenever there is a resolution that is passed, all the African countries have had a say in it. At least have had an opportunity to say if they are against it or for it. Anyways, so those concepts are there but just to guide the rest of the world, it should not feel imposed. They are there to guide us. Now, how do we turn these into policies that work for us? Now, what is the African way in all of that. First of all African values include very much respect for women. I think there is no culture, if you really read through the books or listen to the elders and things like that, there is no culture that doesn't involve at some point a woman who was a leader of something. Even in Egypt there was an emperer or something and she was really well respected. It is just that gender in Africa has not been conveyed properly, first of all, and it is not only that but there is a way Africans include gender issues in their every day dealings, you know? Just not as apparent as the rest of the world where by you have women leaders, especially the family unit in Africa is very important. You will find that within family units, for example, a woman will have most say in whatever decisions is taken by a family unit. But those decisions will not be made public. She will not say publicly or anything like that. But at home, for example, she will be making the decisions and things like that. There is more nuances that need to be learned from the African way of empowering women for example. African culture usually involves women not being local publicly that is the African way, usually. So, when it is the opposite in the European world, you have women who are vocal publicly and it is seen as the standard, so for a woman to be empowered, for a woman to be powerful, she needs to be able to speak in public. Why? Because this is the European way. But in Africa, a woman can be very influential without being a public figure, that is the reality. So, all these nuances need to be incorporated in everything that is transformed into a project. If you come with a project for Burundi for women empowerment, where you teach women to be vocal and express anything publicly, it might not work as well as if you come with a project that teaches women how to do a specific trade within a specific area, for example. So you empower them economically, things like that. So it depends on the region, it depends on the context. So the African way is different in that sense that the culture needs to be part of the design of the project. The growth of Africa, ten times what it was, even educationally, with that growth comes emancipation, with that growth comes empowerment, of women especially. All I can say for the future of African women: first of all, to describe our history in terms of what our women have been doing. Second, to provide

women with specific access to education, access to financial means for private sector for small businesses and things like that, especially to women. What has been happening over the past decade, all of these projects have been very good, especially in education, but who goes to school? Boys in most cases. If a family has to choose they will send a boy to a school and things like that. So in terms of education, access to finances, those are the key elements to shape the African way of thinking about gender for now.

APPENDIX E: LAURA DORIGUZZI BOZZO INTERVIEW

SP: Talk to me about different training sessions that you have done and if training has posed an issue when you've gone to the site, the session?

L: The most obvious thing generally, and it also depends on where you are going, where you are training. I haven't done training myself, like as a lead trainer anywhere in Africa, at least in South Africa, and not necessarily in peacebuilding. The one thing I can tell you is that when you go to the field the one difference I've noticed; there is a difference in cultures and in approach between the training I did in Europe and the trainings that I've done in Africa. What I've observed is that there is, generally, you can see divisions in gender. As a trainer, we did train last year, I joined ACCORD in August and then we trained in September we went to South Sudan to train women. We trained 50 women. I've noticed the difference of approach that women have, even if they are with other women, even amongst other women, the difference is that they feel less secure. As a trainer, somebody that is exposed in front of an audience, I can tell you that there is a gender awareness and consciousness when you do train, when you are in front of a male audience. But it also depends on the trainer, how comfortable you are with gender, with male or female. The one big thing I can tell you that when we go out and train, I am very aware. I do run my training session, I do deliver my presentation, and at times there is no real attention to what I am saying. It is much more about the fact that I am a woman, that I might be more or less pretty, and that is about, which is quite upsetting.

SP: And is it an issue when you've done training, is it usually a completely dominant male crowd or a completely women crowd, there is no mixing?

L: With ACCORD, generally every training we try to reach a balance of 30% of women in the crowd. I think with ACCORD its 25%. But yeah when we look for participants we always try to get at least 30% participants.

SP: Is that usually harder to get women to say that they will participate than men for example?

L: It is harder because it is harder to get them to the training. In the workplace there are definitely more male, especially in the field we work in. It is a male dominated environment. I would say for peacebuilding as well, peacekeeping definitely and peacebuilding as well I've noticed there are definitely more men.

SP: And then do you change your approach at all, on how you give your presentations if you are speaking to a group of women or a group of men or would you? Is that something that you might take into consideration?

L: I don't think that I do it, on purpose. But I know that subconsciously I am much more comfortable, probably, speaking to a female dominated crowd than a male dominated crowd. I

think many women trainers become much more manipulative when they are speaking to men. But, it is a personal choice.

SP: After speaking to Natascha, one thing that was very interesting was how she said that in Africa women are revered more than in any other part of the world. They are revered, they have more of a central decision making in the home. Yet, that doesn't seem to translate into participation in training or just engaging in the decision making process after conflict. You've worked in other places where maybe this reverence isn't cultural but women participate more and are more vocal or more engaged.

N: I think the difference is between the domestic role of women in the African continent and the European continent, where women have achieved much more recognition in Europe than they have in Africa. A well educated woman wouldn't have a problem grabbing a mic and speaking in front of 200 people to say what she thinks. Firstly because there is much more gender balance in terms of numbers and also because she's done it before, many times. Either in university or... While in Africa, where women were part of the conflict where they are the victims of the conflict they never had anything to say. Now they are put into a system, for peacebuilding or peacekeeping, in which they are not really sure of where they fit. The one comment I heard, that might be useful for you, depending on what type of conclusion you want to make, we were trying to get gender balance in the different countries. One of the organizers from Europe, send me an email which I found particularly disturbing, she said "I do not think that we will reach the 30% but it is better like this than to have all of these young ladies bossed around by the male participants."

SP: So there is no shift in approach? So a training that would be done in South Sudan would be the same training that would be done in Bosnia for example? Is there a shift in the approach because of the context? Is context taken into consideration or is it just a mainstreaming, we aren't really going to address it?

N: You mean from the trainers?

SP: I guess in the material, in how, depending on the training again, how is everything is approached? Because, like you said, context matters. So how do you take gender that are very different in Europe and in Africa and apply it to a training? Is that even taken into consideration when the materials are created?

N: If you think about it, it usually depends on the material and on the procedures of the situation. But i think that there is a need for more preparation of material, especially when we address a specific crowd. The preparations don't have to taken into account only gender but levels of education. They have to take into account different aspects. It is a challenge, its still a challenge. That's why we do the training assessments and the training assignments. But it doesn't really work. A lot of organizations, they have a presentation and I think it is the trainers responsibility most of the time to read the crowd, to read the audience, the second they get into a room.

SP: And when, this is something, there is no answer to it, it is something I am trying to figure out myself, I've been reading a lot about that we need to have a gendered lens in everything but what does that necessarily look like? It can't be numbers, you can't have a 50/50 crowd and say that is a gendered perspective and not address these issues during the training, how do you think, based on your knowledge of the field as a whole what is a successful "gender approach" in application? Not in this utopian resolution and policy realm.

N: I think it is a practical thing to do. The first thing I would say is that there is a need all over for gender sensitivity and gender issues synthesization. Not only in Africa, in Europe too. I mean in my country, in Italy, we've never seen so many gender related matters in the like the past 10 years and abuses. So I think there is a need for education to gender issues, education to afflictions, education to values. You know, this type. And then I think that it becomes a process, you change the culture, you see? The culture of peace that we try to promote with ACCORD needs to be translated also, this culture of respect towards the other sex.

SP: Now, in particularly a lot of gender discussion is focused on women. But what of the role men play. Education is a really big part of it but also on the kind of ascriptions on what being a man is, especially in Africa in terms of providing for their family, in terms of being the head of household when sometimes a conflict dishevels that notion. How can training or how can resolutions after conflict address that, in a way?

L: I don't know that training per say can actually address, definitely not the training with ACCORD. You know regardless of the fact that we talk a lot about inclusiveness and other things that ACCORD can play that specific role unless we design a training specifically on the issues and then we take into account male and female role, women and men's roles as extras in a society. But I don't know. I really don't know. You really challenged me with that question there. I think that including more women in systems and dynamics, social dynamics can improve the opinion and can improve the understanding that men have of women so to then lead to inclusiveness and a change of the understanding of the roles of men and women in society.

APPENDIX F: INTERNAL SEMINAR TRANSCRIPT

The transcript below represents the hand-written notes taken during the discussion portion of the internal seminar at ACCORD.

Irene from Peace Keeping:

- Topical: Be careful not to overwrite.
- Men and women are not affect in the same way. Different impact on all of them.
- Add a phrase on why it is different. Be careful not to generalize.
- Justify why women are affected more than men.
- Peacekeeping: There is gender balance in training and facilitators

Moderator: Gender considerations vs. women empowerment?

- Important to look at women's empowerment
- Impact on identity?
- Man and power —> dynamic of asserting violence.
- We don't touch on real issues of gender.

Natacha from Peace Making:

- Women's empowerment and men's enlightenment
- Limitation on the ground.
- Include women's issues—> main limitation
- Demilitarization—> not addressing of women in armed groups
 - Burundi: First time in peace agreement that a DDR was women specific.
 - Rare that this is taken into consideration.
 - Security agreement was difficult
 - Not present in leadership. Small steps.
- ACCORD—> main focus on training to include on the table and open space to talk about women's issues
- Engaging and accompanied when on the ground. Tools and means must be considered.
- Limitations on the ground
 - Somalia: bringing women is difficult (anywhere)
- Hard for men to ensure space; hard to secure it for women
- Narrative, power balance and masculinity need to be looked at.

Lesley: Peacebuilding

- We don't address gender though, at least peacebuilding doesn't.
- More of an emphasis.

Jill from Peacebuilding

- Consideration in representation
 - Limitation is that gender isn't biological but social
 - Still viewed that way

- GBV not just saying more women are raped but rather what are the power dynamics?
 - Rape of men—> feminization
- Dialogue and expected outcome should be to change ideology
 - Difficult to be local owned or culturally appropriate

Thulisa

- Change narrative direct efforts to grass roots level.
- Dynamics of environment change .
- What is the role of women at praise sector and on one on one? Presenting a difficult talk
 - Encouraging rather for them to talk about it with their husbands
 - To make changes through subtle means
 - Change not through the table but private sphere.
 - Honey tactic rather than vinegar. Not numbers but look at ideology

Caroline: Peacemaking

- Ware are at a political level that don't include women
 - Women are not in that sphere, wars are not based on gender.
- Great Lakes Region
 - Women are the victims of sexual gender based violence
- DRC world capital of rape, based on conflict
 - Sexual crimes being considered war crimes
- Inspired that conflict in Africa, women's bodies are part of the war field.
- Recognition but no implementation.

Petronella: KPD

- Relegate into public sphere. Reject what Thulisa said. Cannot be core to make change through numbers and implication. We need to look at this.

Natacha: Peacemaking

- Grassroots—> acknowledgement
- Not naive that women groups are not as politicized.
 - Don't bring them to foreground
 - Women will focus on soft issues. Shy away so that they look like men. So that they aren't seen as soft.
- Don't underestimate the power of women in the corridors, strategies not set in stone

Irene: Peacekeeping

- Actors, roles, interest, sustainable peace.
 - Ignore the roles of women
 - Bring children into conflict analysis
- Secondary role is given during conflict
 - Implications during conflict?
 - How can we incorporate?
 - New perspective on participation of male inclusion as a new topic.

- Amazon gender Policy and AU training on gender.

Moderator Summary

- Material initiative that need to be driven. Balance of ratio and issues.
- Background
 - Women and men don't suffer the same way, but how?
 - Men flee and women are left behind and assume new roles
 - Women become weapons of conflict
- Post-conflict suffer a hangover of violence
 - Rebuild (trauma)
 - Women at the center of conflict
 - Bring back to focus
- Imperical basis—> not grounded in reality.
 - Context: Back up data
 - Martha Mutisi on gender
 - Maxi Schuman
 - Professor of International Relations at University of Pretoria
 - Benefits of including gener issues of women in peace agreements
- Does the lack of inclusion of gender perpetuate conflict?
 - If so, how?
 - Women/gender?