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Women's Roles in Peacebuilding

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Yu Nagahama

Women's Roles in Peacebuilding

International Track

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"If you are trying to make peace, the 'blame culture' doesn't work. You have to see in what ways you can build trust and confidence to make progress."

Mo Mowlam, Former Northern Ireland Secretary

“In war-torn societies... women often keep society going. They... are often the prime advocates of peace. We must ensure that women are enabled to play a full part in peace negotiations, in peace processes, in peace missions.”

Kofi Annan, Former United Nations Secretary General

Abstract

How can we restore peace after conflicts? And how can we maintain it? The institution of successful peacebuilding has been a critical task for the international community since the end of the Cold War. The United Nations, the Member States, scholars, and civic organizations have been searching for the perfect solutions to establish sustainable peace. However, in many cases, conflict resolutions are fragile, and many of them end up with the recurrence of violence. According to the United Nations, countries that have experienced wars are more likely to have successive wars within a decade (United Nations 2017).

In 2000, the United Nations adopted the resolution 1325, which claims that women’s active participation in peacebuilding is the key to build a sustainable peace after conflicts. The claim is based on the idea that gender equality has a substantial relation to stability in society. Therefore, peacebuilding with perspectives of both men and women can be more comprehensive and thus may work more effectively. The aim of this paper is to analyze how the presence of women in peacebuilding change the outcome and in what mechanisms their participation in peacebuilding can contribute to constructing a sustainable peace.



Statistics of women in peacebuilding -UN WOMEN 2011

Introduction

I have chosen this topic while I was doing an internship at the United Nations Headquarters last year. I have attended meetings at the United Nations on a daily basis, and the resolution 1325 kept coming up in the discussion. I started to wonder what it is about and found out that it was a game changer in the field of women and peacebuilding.

Also, since making a world a better place for everyone has been my dream since I was a child, I wanted to know how we can construct sustainable peace. I am aware that the gap between advanced countries and least developed countries has kept growing. The gap between advanced countries and least developed countries consists of many factors: economical disadvantages, political stability, developed infrastructures, and so on. The gap between advanced countries and least developed countries has expanded greatly because least developed countries are often affected by wars or the aftermaths of conflicts. While advanced countries are focusing on their economic growth, people in least developed countries have to find out ways to survive. After the World War II, civil war has been the major type of war, and a number of peace agreements have been failed and were followed conflicts. Building stability and peace in developed countries, especially the ones under conflicts, had had always been my interest. It was last year when I had a chance to know about the Security Council resolution 1325, which addresses women's vital roles in peacebuilding, and I wanted

to see how this mechanism can contribute to build successful peacebuilding and eventually reduce the gap between advanced countries and least developed countries.

Literature Review

Contents:

1. How the **trend** of having women's participation in peacebuilding has evolved
2. The adoption of the resolution 1325
3. Why Restoring Peace is Difficult
4. Definition of 'Successful peacebuilding

1. History of the trend of having women's participation in peacebuilding

I would like to first talk about some of the major events which involve with the field of 'women and peacebuilding.' The first remarkable event in this field is 'the 1995 UN World Fourth World Conference on Women' in Beijing. The conference was held in order to further peace and security of women and worked as a catalyst to strengthen the movement of bringing women to the peacebuilding processes. Luz Mendez, a Guatemalan women's rights activist notes "the Beijing Platform of Action was a source of strength and inspiration, because it deepened our capacity to make proposals at the negotiating table." (Porter 633). The conference was followed by the

adoption of the UN resolution 1325 in 2000 by the Security Council, which has created the norms around the world. As Elisabeth Porter claims, an international studies professor at the University of South Australia, the resolution “is historic in recognizing women’s rights to protection from violence and participation in all forms of decision-making to prevent, manage, and resolve conflict” (Porter 634).

2. The adoption of the resolution 1325

The norms of inclusion of women in peacebuilding has begun from the adoption of the resolution 1325. Member states took it seriously because the resolution was adopted by the United Nations Security Council and embedded this resolution into their policy.

The resolution 1325 is remarkable because it addresses women as vital actors in conflict resolution. Inclusion of women at decision tables and during peacebuilding had been considered as ideal, yet the adoption of the resolution has really changed the behaviors of the international community towards the issue of ‘inclusiveness.’ Before the resolution 1325 was adopted, women were often seen as vulnerable players, victimized, and given no roles in peacebuilding at any level. The resolution 1325 was a pivotal point in history of women and peacebuilding; the resolution has emphasized the importance of inclusion of women in conflict resolutions. The resolution is “rooted in the premise that women’s inclusion – their participation and contributions to the

process and substance of negotiations – will improve the chances of attaining viable and sustainable peace” (Anderlini 2010).

Below is extracts from the resolution 1325, which specifically mention women’s involvements in peacebuilding.

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and stressing the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Recognizing that an understanding of the impact of armed conflict on women and girls, effective institutional arrangements to guarantee their protection and full participation in the peace process can significantly contribute to the maintenance and promotion of international peace and security....

Urges Member States to ensure increased representation of women at all decision-making levels in national, regional and international institutions and mechanisms for the prevention, management, and resolution of conflict (S/RES/1325)

The resolution is extremely important in the debate about women’s roles in peacebuilding because it has created the international norms, which countries follow or

try to keep up with. The Security Council resolutions are more influential and more coercive than resolutions by other UN bodies. The adoption of the resolution 1325, which strongly urged women's "full participation in the peace process" (S/RES/1325) has played a significant role in changing behaviors of countries and ideas about women under armed conflict.

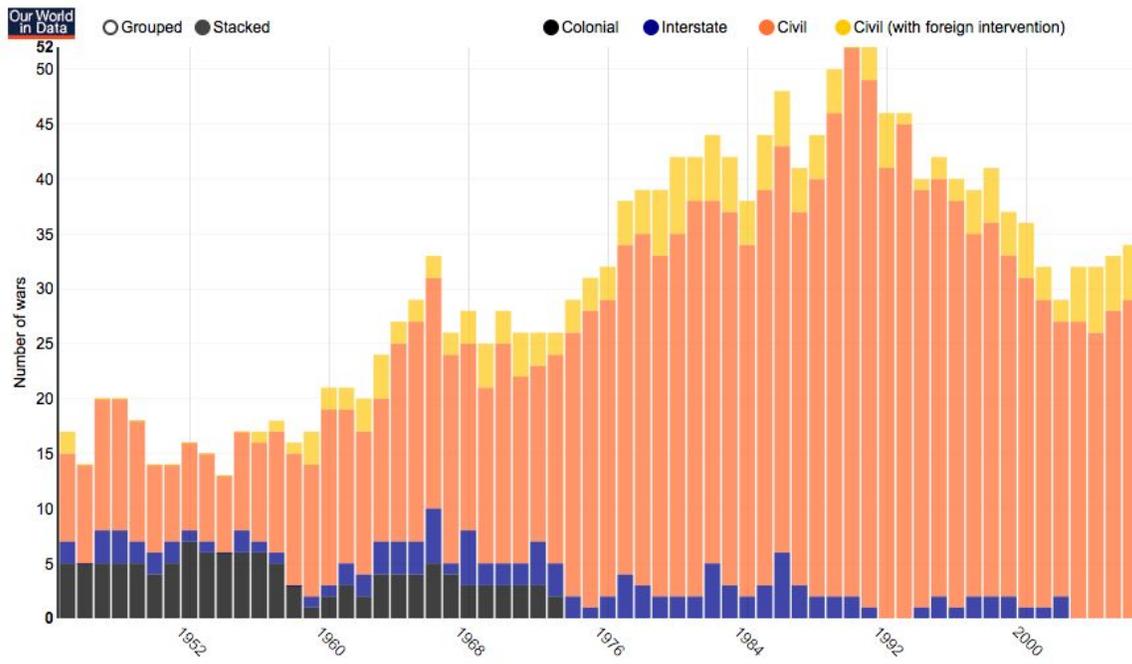
The resolution 1325 has concreted and demonstrated the idea of 'how peacebuilding should be carried out' to the world, and therefore it was followed by the establishment of a number of international organizations. Inclusiveness and sustainability were the new ideas to peacebuilding. The Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) is one of the international organizations that has followed the resolution 1325. CMI is an independent Finnish organization, which was signed by Nobel Peace laureate and former President of Finland Martti Ahtisaari in 2000. The aim of CMI is to " help create spaces for negotiated solutions of violent conflicts by involving all relevant actors in the pursuit of sustainable peace" (CMI). As collective effort is essential for restoring peace, organizations like CMI have important role in the international community. CMI argues for " the importance of women's participation in building and sustaining peace, and work to create a greater role for women in peace processes" (CMI). CMI also emphasizes on the impacts on the resolution 1325 by calling it "groundbreaking" and claiming "[the] resolution recognized the women's rights as a vital part of international peace and security" (CMI).

2. Why Restoring Peace is difficult nowadays

Before discussing women's actual roles in peacebuilding in depths, we first must understand why restoring peace after conflicts is difficult; why a number of countries fail to restore and maintain peace. There are still fifteen ongoing peacekeeping operations (PKO) around the world, and the oldest mission has been operating since 1948 in middle east. In each mission, stakeholders have worked together to build sustainable peace so that all the PKOs can be done and a legacy of the past.

According to CMI, "half of all peace agreement fail in their first decade." After the end of the Cold War, people have expected to see no more wars, but war continued by changing its form from interstate (between states) to intrastate (within states).

Number of state-based armed conflicts by type, 1946-2007 – Max Roser⁴



-Peace Research Institute of Oslo (PRIO)

Coming to negotiated agreement and restoring peace are more challenging in intrastate wars than interstate wars. Regan Patrick and Aidin Aysegul, professors of political science at Binghamton University and the University of Colorado, argue that there are two main reasons: “(1) the difficulty in signaling one’s own strength, resolve, and preferences to the opponent and (2) the civil parties’ inability to identify a mutually acceptable solution to their disagreements and make a credible commitment to this position without being vulnerable in the post conflict period” (Regan and Aysegul 740). In most cases, civil war is a battle between the government force and rebels. Because these two groups are different in terms of legitimacy, objective, economic

background, and etc.. it is more challenging to come to negotiated agreement than interstate wars. In order to solve this ‘commitment problem,’ peace resolutions in civil wars requires the involvement of powerful third party; “an outside mediator serves as the conduit for information, ideas, and possible concessions that civil war parties would not possibly convey without a third-party intermediary” (Regan and Aysegul 2006). However, having interventions of third-party is not an easy task because this may violate the national sovereignty and also this is often out of national interests. In addition, having third-party intervention is effective to establish credible resolutions, yet parties have to sustain peace and construct peaceful society by themselves after the resolution is established and the third-party leaves. Therefore, it is crucial to acquire capability of maintaining peace for countries after peace agreements are established. CMI notes “lack of inclusiveness may be one significant factor in why many peace agreements fail” (CMI) within decades.

3. Definition of Successful Peacebuilding

Now I would like to clarify how we can determine peacebuilding as ‘successful.’ Without defining ‘successful peacebuilding,’ it is hard to demonstrate how involvements of women can contribute to constructing ‘successful peacebuilding.’ One of the characteristics of successful peacebuilding is establishment of systematic government in order to prevent following conflicts; “a country's abilities to construct

well-functioning political institutions and vibrant civil society” (Gizelis 506) is an important characteristic of peaceful society. In addition, researchers found “providing basic rights and entitlements to women can have large positive effects on economic development” (Gizelis 507). Since peacebuilding and conflict resolutions are the foundations of development of the country, it is critical to embed women’s voices in peacebuilding processes.



“Women’s Inclusion in Myanmar’s Nationwide Ceasefire Agreement”- Inclusive Security

There is a number of NGOs which specifically work towards ‘successful peacebuilding,’ and Inclusive Security is one of them. Inclusive Security argues “sustainable peace is possible only when those who shape policy include women and other affected groups in the prevention and transformation of violent conflict” (Hunt).

Marie O'Reilly, director of research and analysis at Inclusive Security argues, "there is overwhelming quantitative evidence that women's empowerment and gender equality are associated with peace and stability in society." (O'Reilly 2015). Just like society needs a variety of perspectives in order to build a strong and fair community, conflict resolutions, too, need the voices of both men and women. Despite of the trend in international community, women are still widely considered as vulnerable targets or victims under conflict. Even though the resolution 1325 was adopted by the UN, "less than two percent of the peace agreements signed since 2000 were signed by women" (CMI). While the need of inclusion of women in peacebuilding is emphasized by some stakeholders, their voice is not well-represented. The significance of inclusiveness in peacebuilding needs to be acknowledged by more people. The goal of this research paper is to address the significance of women's involvements in peacebuilding and find out by what means women's involvements in conflict resolution can change the outcomes of the courses.

The Crisis Management Initiative (CMI) notes, "lack of inclusiveness may be one significant factor in why half of all peace agreements fail in their first decade." Having the voices of both men and women seems an important factor to construct stable conflict resolutions, yet gender equality in such countries are often far behind, and having women's voices heard at decision making is difficult. If countries are

modernized to the level in which women's voices are actively included and reflected, they are more likely to avoid having conflicts.

Methodology

Methods I have selected for this research paper is to conduct case studies of peacebuilding, which vary in terms of levels of women's participation. Since the aim of this paper is to determine how women can contribute to constructing successful peacebuilding, I have decided to look at both successful and failing cases, in order to determine how the presence or a lack of women's participation can affect the course and result of peacebuilding. The cases I selected were: Solomon Island and Cambodia. The cases of Solomon Island represents women's active participation and successful peacebuilding. On the other hands, the case of Rwanda is unique because it demonstrates shifts from failing peacebuilding to successful peacebuilding with the increasing amount of women in peacebuilding processes.

In the case of Solomon Islands, women participated in peacebuilding at grassroots level. The conflicts in Solomon Islands were due to ethnic division, which were embedded by the unfunctional government. The native Isatabus and migrant Malaitans were fighting over lands on Guadalcanal, and the beautiful islands, where used to depend on tourism for the economic source, have turned into battlefields. The

ethnic tension was at the peak during the conflicts, however, Solomon women formed a number of women organizations to advocate non violence and to promote disarmament. The strong bond of womanhood was stronger than that of ethnic divide, and Solomon women were able to organize through the conflict and in its aftermath. One notable example is Women for Peace (WFP). WFP is an organization which consists of women of all ages, religions, lifestyles, and ethnicities. According to Alice A. Pollard, the leader of WPF, their main objective is “to actively and effectively support and encourage women’s initiatives at all levels, in the search for a peaceful solution to the political crisis” (Pollard 45). The proactive activity of WFP also raised awareness of women’s roles in peacebuilding among women, who often end up as victims after armed conflicts. As changing women’s comprehension of about themselves is essential yet difficult, the formation of active organizations like WFP was critical under Solomon conflicts. Solomon women’s strong bond of womanhood and their efforts for peace beyond ethnic differences may be a key to successful inclusion of women in peacebuilding.

On the other hands, the case of Rwanda demonstrates both failed and successful peacebuilding. The first peacebuilding efforts were diminished into nothing after the Arusha Accords were destroyed by the occurrence of the genocide. There are many causes that led to the devastating failure of the accords, yet a lack of inclusiveness in the process of negotiation and implementation were one of the critical causes. When

the war finally ended in 1994, it was followed by successful peacebuilding with a massive efforts of people of Rwanda as well as the international community. The second peacebuilding was implemented with active participations of women at all levels, and Rwanda now has the biggest number of women representatives in their government.

In each case, I will first explain the course of each event to determine the significance of the conflict as well as whether there were special conditions which have led to include/exclude women from the following peacebuilding processes. Examination of each case must be done attentively because factors like cultural backgrounds, customs, linguistic fractionalization, ideology, or local policies can have influences over likelihood of having women in peacebuilding. In each case, I will include (1) road to the armed conflict, (2) how ceasefire of the conflict was done, (3) peacebuilding and women's roles.

By comparing these cases, this paper should be able to determine (1) whether women's roles are essential in peacebuilding and (2) in what mechanisms presence of women can contribute to constructing peace in society.

Case 1: Solomon Islands



-World Atlas

The course of the conflict

Solomon Islands is known as one of the fierce battlefields during the World War II, where Japan and the Allies have fought. During the WWII, the country was occupied by Japan. There is a number of warships sinking at the bottom of ocean around Guadalcanal, the province island of Solomon Islands, and this has been the major source of tourism, which has been the major economic source of the country. When Japan was defeated in 1945, British rule was instituted until Solomon Islands has gained its independence in 1978. However, lawlessness and concentration of the wealth and resources in Guadalcanal have caused ethnic tension within the same country. Solomon Islands is composed of six main islands, Choiseul, New Georgia, Santa Isabel, Guadalcanal, Malaita, and Sanchrisobal, as well as over 900 small

islands. BBC notes “more than 90% of the islanders are ethnic Melanesians, but there has been intense and bitter rivalry between the native Isatabus on Guadalcanal... and migrant Malaitans” (BBC). This ‘ethnic tension’ is critical because the conflict mainly involved with Isatabus and Malaitans between 1998 and 2000 over the island of Guadalcanal. While the damage from the conflict was not devastating, only causing 150-200 deaths and around 450 gun-related injuries in five years, “it involved significant trauma and upheaval for many people, with more than 35,000 people internally displaced as a result of the conflict” (Moser 232). Considering the fact the population of Solomon Islands is just over 400,000 people, one may understand the significance of the conflict. The conflict also had a devastating effect on economy; GDP per capita in 2003 was less than a half of the one in 1997. (shown below)



GDP per capita in Solomon Islands from 1997-2003 - World Bank

There are many factors to consider in order to understand the causes of the conflict because they are “multiple and interlinked, including the cultural differences between different ethnic populations, and increasing competition for limited resources around the centralised capital” (Moser 231). Even though the population of Solomon Islands is relatively small, “more than 70 language groups signifying its cultural diversity” (McGovern 1). Hugh Laracy, Pacific historian at the University Auckland, notes “traditionally Solomon Islanders lived in small, self-reliant communities. Their loyalties did not extend beyond people of the same language group or from the same island. There were no overarching structures of unity” (Dixon 2003). One may

consider, though, reactivation of the ethnic tension has initiated the conflict in 1998. Ethnic tension was initially activated when the governor of Guadalcanal announced that an area of Guadalcanal bordering the capital city Honiara was illegally traded and that the state government would not accept its land registration. This announcement caused problem for Malaitans because there were Malaitan population associating with the land, and that decision of the state government may cause elimination of Malaitans from the island of Guadalcanal. The announcement was followed by a series of direct conflict between Malaitan and western youths, whose complex ethnic tension was remained unsolved by the state government for a long time. The situation of the conflict has changed dramatically in April 1999 when an armed group of Isatabus attacked a group of Malaitan people, and over 80 Malaitans were forced to be displaced. This incident was followed by a number of attacks by both sides, involving dozens of casualties; these attacks were reported by newspapers and the radio. The violence has skyrocketed in the beginning of 2000 “when a resistance group named the Malaita Eagle Force (MEF), claiming to represent the interests of the Malaitans, took control of Honiara” (McGovern 1). Bernard Choulai, a researcher from the United Nations Development Programme claims the conflict was “prompted by the successive failure of the national government to address issues raised by the indigenous people of Guadalcanal” (McGovern 1).

The end of the conflict in Solomon Islands

The conflicts in Solomon Islands formally ended in October 2000 when the Townsville Peace Agreement was signed by Malaita Eagle Force, Isatabu Freedom Movement, the Solomon government, and the provincial government. The agreement called for the ceasefire as well as disarmament of both parties.

Even though the Townsville Peace Agreement remained unbroken, the ethnic tension and violence continued after the agreement. The continuity of battles and instability of the country led to the establishment of women's organizations for peacebuilding.

Peacebuilding in Solomon Islands

In 2000, at the height of the conflict, Solomon women formed a group, Women for Peace (WFP), as an independent and neutral group of Solomon Islands women. WFP consists of women of all ages, religions, lifestyles, and ethnicities and was committed to working on a voluntary basis to restore peace; one of the members noted "women were able to organize through the conflict and in its aftermath was because the bond of womanhood was seen as stronger than that of ethnic divide." (Brigg 2015). This strong bond of womanhood might be the key to explain why having women at the peace table is essential for successful peacebuilding.

One of the reasons that Solomon women were able to organize through the conflict and in its aftermath was because the bond of womanhood was stronger than that of ethnic divide, Their activities included: advocating non violence through dialogue, promoting disarmament, and emphasizing shared communal values across the ethnic lines drawn by the conflict. Through emergence of women's groups during the conflict, women were able to connect beyond their ethnicities. For example, "WFP was able to establish linkages between Malaitan women sequestered in the urban capital of Honiara and rural women from the Guadalcanal Plains" (Brigg 2015). Such activities underscored the shared bond of strong Christian faith, seeking to remind the combatants of a larger sense of shared Solomon islands identity that transcended ethnic and communal lines, while also emphasizing Christian virtues of forgiveness and nonviolence.

Also, the case of Solomon Island involves with women's participation at grassroot level. Therefore, this case can not only demonstrate how women's participation can contribute to successful peacebuilding, but also how different kinds of their participation can have various effects on the outcome.

Case 2: Rwanda

Road to the conflict

In order to understand how Rwanda has gone through the horrific civil war, we must begin understanding from the colonial era in the country. The Rwandan Civil War was a racial war, and the racial division between Tutsis and Hutus was first embodied by the Belgian colonial government.

Before the World War I, Germany had colonized the eastern Africa while they had invaded Northern Irish at the same time. However, German colonization of Africa was ephemeral as “the colonial situation was mainly characterized by occasional encounters between locals and strangers... whose presence in a certain place was only temporary” (Pesek 2007). During German colonization, Rwandan autonomy had remained, and the country was ruled by Germans indirectly. After Germany lost in the World War I, though, Rwanda was put on under Belgian administration according to the League of Nations mandate. And this was the pivotal moment in Rwandan history. Before Belgium came to Rwanda, there was no clear distinguishment between Tutsis and Hutus or with Twas. They shared the same culture, language, history, and lived in the same community; they were all ‘people of Rwanda.’ However, when Belgium came to Rwanda, they favored Tutsi and gave them authority over Hutus because they were believed to have bigger skulls and thus be more intelligent (Smeulers 437). In 1933, Belgian colonial government instituted ethnic identification card for them to

classify ethnicity of individuals. The introduction of new system has played a significant role in embedding racial division among people of Rwanda; Tutsis and Hutus were categorized as different people for the first time, and one group was favored than the other by the authority.



*Image of the identity card-
Prevent Genocide International*

After Rwanda had become independent from white colonialism, ‘democracy’ was instituted, and the majority Hutus came to the power. The

first Hutu president of Rwanda was Gregoire Kayibanda, who was later ousted by Juvenal Habyarimana. After long been controlled by Tutsis, Hutus extremists have started to oppress Tutsis population. In 1957, nine Hutus intellectuals instituted what is called ‘Bahutu Manifesto’ which was “the Hutu elite's desire to end Tutsi dominance once and for all” (Hintjens 255) and to strengthen inequality between Hutus and Tutsis. Hatreds of Hutus toward Tutsis were the products of the Belgian colonial government, “the idea of a hierarchy of races had far more devastating implications in Rwanda... than could ever have been imagined by the early European explorers”

(Hintjens 255). Also, during the turmoil of political shift in Rwanda, an estimate of 10,000 Tutsis people were killed by Hutus extremists.

The decisive moment which has increased ethnic tension was when Habyarimana, a former chief of military coup, ousted Kayibanda and became the president. His policy was more harsh on Tutsis than the one during Kayibanda administration, and a number of Tutsis fled the country. Although Habyarimana emphasized on the need of ethnic integration in public, he announced maintenance of the ethnic identification card, which is a legacy of ethnic discord (Hintjens 255). Habyarimana also promised equality of all kinds of ethnicities, but in reality Tutsis people “were strictly limited in terms of access to public office or official state employment” (Hintjens 257). The reckless action of Habyarimana led the formation of the Rwandan Patriotic Front, Banyarwanda (RPF) which is composed of extreme Tutsis. In 1990, filled with indignation, the RPF invaded Rwanda “from Uganda with the purpose of ousting the Hutu-dominated regime of Habyarimana.” (Songolo 114).

The Arusha Accords and the devastating result

The invasion of the RPF was followed by a series of guerrilla warfare, causing a number of deaths of both sides. As the situation was getting out of control, Habyarimana agreed to ceasefire in 1992. A peace treaty Arsha Accord was signed in Tanzania by both the RPF and the president Habyarimana in 1993. Arsha Accord led

the creation of special mission, United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR), yet their mission at this time was limited to monitoring.

Arsha Accord, however, ended with the devastating result; it was followed by the Rwandan genocide with over 800.000 deaths. The agreement brokedown “when Habyarimana's plane was shot down at the beginning of April 1994; it was the final nail in the coffin” (BBC 2011). Even though who exactly killed the president was not established (later investigation suggests Tutsis people had no access to the kind of missile that was used to crash the airplane, according to BBC), this worked as a great explanation for Hutus extremists to eliminate Tutsis. After the crash, “the presidential guard initiated a campaign of retribution... and immediately, the slaughter of Tutsis and moderate Hutus began” (BBC 2011). The identification card, the legacy of Belgian colonization, played an important role; “identity cards were examined at all checkpoints set up throughout the country during the genocide” (Hintjens 272). Those who carried out the genocide were not only officers, nor extremists; most of the participants were ordinary Hutus. They were encouraged by officers and extremists and given incentives such as money and food. And also, if they refused to kill the Tutsis, the officers would suspect that you were on the Tutsis side, and you could have been killed.

The Arusha Accords failed for many reasons: distrust among the signatories, lack of funding for programs, security concerns related to the process of

demobilization, challenges in integrating the militaries, and increasing political tensions (Soderberg 2005). Absence of a neutral international force at the table was also one of the causes. The United Nations was asked by the RPF to assist the implementation of the accord, however, the United States was against intervening Rwanda due to their previous mission in Somali War, which has demonstrated their inability to deal with complexity of civil war. After the accord was signed in 1993, Joyce Leader, the US Embassy's Deputy Chief of Mission in Rwanda wrote to the US "although leaders of both sides have signed the peace accord, neither side trust the intentions of the other" (Willard 2014).

As a result, the both parties failed to "sustain trust and a positive spirit into the implementation phase... Not only were the extremists unhappy with the peace process, but more importantly, the [Hutus] moderates were unsatisfied"



Arusha Accords- NIOD

(Scorgie 67). The Arusha Accords were signed by the top of two military groups: the Hutus government and the RPF with no representations of women. While absence of women at the decision table was not the ultimate cause for the failure of the accords, a

lack of inclusiveness in the process may have caused ineffectiveness of the accords.

The End of the Rwandan War

After the airplane crash triggered the genocidal civil war in 1994, many of the Tutsis refugees who have fled from Rwanda since 1962 joined the RPF. In Rwanda, three of the major political parties joined together and formed Interahamwe; “these forces became potentially self-contained, with extensive command networks throughout the country” (Pearn 205). The militia Interahamwe groups led widespread massacres of civilians, and the victims included hundreds of women and children. The Tutsis refugees from Uganda, Zaire, and Burundi joined together to capture Kigali, the capital of Rwanda. The government force and the RPF fought a large number of battles until Kigali fell on the 8th July 2014 with the victory of the RPF. “A power-sharing government was established, and the RPF evolved from being a guerrilla army in exile to the nation's standing army, and became the legitimate arm of the new government in power” (Pearn 206). Although the international community was initially bemused and hesitant, foreign powers started sending their troops in mid-June. France sent an operation known as ‘Operation Turquoise’ and “established a Zone of Sanctuary in the southern part of the country” (Pearn 206). Also, the United Nations has sent their PKO troops, which have grown to 7000 by May 1995. Even though the international

community initially reacted to the war poorly, foreign powers contributed during the post-conflict reconstruction.

Paul Kagame, the former chief of the RPF, became the new president of Rwanda after the establishment of the new government. The president Kagame's objective has been to bring peace to the country by unifying all people of Rwanda since the first invasion of the RPF, but he "inherited an incredibly difficult situation in 1994. As a Tutsi, he was viewed with suspicion by the Hutu majority, which feared retribution" (Pearn 208). To bring unity to the country, Kagame had not only to rebuild the country but to bring the guilty to justice, while promoting reconciliation. He also abolished the ethnic identity card to eliminate ethnic difference and hierarchy in the country. Moreover, Kagame established Gacaca Courts, grassroots tribunal system, and promoted communities to engage in the genocide together as a country.

The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda

After the end of the Rwandan War, the United Nations established the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda to "prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law committed in the territory of Rwanda and neighboring States" (MICT 2015).

The ICTR opened in 1995, and in total 93 people were indicted. Those 93 accused included "high-ranking military and government officials, politicians, militia,

and media leaders” who organized the genocide and ordered civilians to kill Tutsis during the genocide. Their responsibilities were grave because a terrifying factor of the genocide was that your neighbors could have turned into murderers and tried to kill you. During the genocide, “detailed lists of Tutsi targets were prepared in advance, and government radio stations called upon Rwandans to murder their neighbors... these specific lists included names, addresses, and sometimes license plates.” (BBC 2011). Also, those who were suspected to be Hutu-supporters were also killed regardless of their ethnicities. The ICTR closed in 2015 with the results of 62 sentenced, 14 acquitted, ten referred to national jurisdiction for trial, three fugitives, two deceased before judgment, two indictments were withdrawn before trial.

The Gacaca Court

In addition to the ICTR, the Rwandan government instituted the Gacaca court as their efforts for the post-conflict reconstruction. And this is one of the places where women took active roles. In Rwandan (language), the word Gacaca means ‘a bed of soft green grass’ which refers to the tradition; “a community and its representatives, mainly elders, leaders and individuals known for their integrity and wisdom, gathered to discuss and resolve conflicts within or between inhabitants” (Gacaca 2017). During Belgian colonization, the Western-style justice system was introduced to Rwanda, but “the Gacaca courts tradition remained the primary solution to resolving conflict

amongst the locals.” (Gacaca Community Justice 2017). The Gacaca courts are about peacebuilding at the grassroots level; judges are selected among civilians, and the discussion are open to everyone at the meeting. A number of women participated Gacaca courts as judges, witnesses, and observers. The government started the Gacaca courts in 2002 to rule all the cases during the genocide, but the system was also used to strengthen the unity in Rwanda. The Gacaca courts finished in 2012; in total, 1,958,634 genocide-related cases were tried. (Gacaca 2017).

Transformative Justice with the World Bank

The World Bank also has played a significant role in post-conflict reconstruction in Rwanda. Rwanda has experienced the remarkable progress in human well being and service delivery as well as empowering women in the post-conflict period. Their GDP is growing by 8.6 percent in average, the percentage of the population with access to water almost doubled from 44 percent to 71 percent. (World Bank 2015. The World Bank’s long-term development goal in Rwanda is defined as “vision 2020, ” and it aims at “transformation from a low-income, agriculture-based economy to a knowledge-based, service-oriented economy, with a middle-income country by 2020” (World Bank 2015). Vision 2020 is a great example of transformative justice. Transformative justice focuses on ‘transformation,’ which implies long-term, sustainable processes, embedded in society and adoption of psychological, political

and economic, as well as legal, perspectives on justice.” (Lambourne 2009).

Peacebuilding would never be successful if we push the dominant western worldview and try to apply it without understanding the local contents. Therefore, transformative justice should be applied in Rwanda so that the country can experience robust development in long-term. According to the World Bank, Rwanda was ranked 2nd among 52 African countries on the Gender Equality Index in 2015 and 7th among 142 countries. Rwanda has become one of the most developed countries in terms gender equality because of the president Kagame. Since he became the president of Rwanda after the end of the genocide, he has decided to eliminate gender inequality and strengthen empowerment of women. In 2003, the Rwandan government passed a new constitution to reserve 30 percent of parliament seats for women, encouraged girls’ education, and appointed women to leadership roles like government ministers.

Conclusion

From the cases of Solomon Islands and Rwanda, I was able to emphasize the necessity of women’s participation in peacebuilding. Women’s efforts for peace in Solomon Islands illustrated the effectiveness of inclusion of women in peacebuilding at the grassroots level. On the other hands, peacebuilding efforts in Rwanda

demonstrated the importance of top-down peacebuilding, in which the government takes an active role and encourages society to empower women. The case of Rwanda also helps us recognize that we need long-term and sustainable efforts in order to restore peace. To restore lasting peace, peacebuilding must be carried out comprehensively, spending efforts at the governmental and the grassroots level, with the inclusion of women to reflect their voices in the process.

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