

## Teaching Gender, Conflict & Peace: A Review Essay

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Peace studies is a growing academic field that has its scholarly roots in international relations (IR), political science, and history. All three academic disciplines consider the nation state as a primary constitutive element of the international system and central to social stability, security, and peace. This has been heavily critiqued by IR feminists (Still, 1998; Stean 1998, among others) who associate the notion of the nation state with an embedded patriarchal system that entrenches hierarchical social relations across race, class, and gender. The language of national security does not address socially differentiated experiences of insecurity, particularly women's vulnerability to violence within this (Stean, 1998, Cockburn 2008). An academic course on gender, conflict, and peace requires teaching resources that enable a re-conceptualisation of conventional notions of peace and war. Due to its 'statist' discourse on peace and security and an apparent absence of gender as an analytical category, IR and political science are not best suited to make and challenge conceptual links between gender, conflict and peace. This review paper thus relies on women's organising and activism during 'war' time and 'post conflict' reconstruction processes as a guide for the development of teaching resources on gender and peace studies in Africa.

Having stated that a feminist approach to peace cannot rely on an uncritical use of the nation state as a unit of analysis, what are the main components of peace from a gender perspective? A gendered approach to 'peace' requires an understanding of social constructions of womanhood and manhood embedded in systems of oppression that expose women and men to particular kinds of physical violence and social and economic exclusion. Attempts to build 'peace' require an analysis and engagement with the way in which gender relations shape and are shaped by efforts to reconcile divided communities and build 'sustainable peace'. In an article titled "[Rethinking Human Security: The Implications of Gender Mainstreaming](#)" [20], Desiree Lewis (2006) states that "gender identities are central to the formation of other group identities, such as national and ethnic identity. Fully understanding and responding to patterns such as militarism and ethnic conflict therefore require an exploration of gendered identity-formation".

An academic course on gender, conflict and peace would thus invariably require the deconstruction of conventional definitions of conflict, war and peace so as to make conceptual links between widely used methods for building peace and context-specific constructions of masculinities and femininities. For example, Hale (in Meintjes et. al, 2001: 122) demonstrates that even though Eritrean women fighters were indeed icons of liberated women, the pressure on former fighters to revert to traditional gender norms threatened to undo the gains that women had made in relation to an increase in women's representation in decision-making roles (at micro and macro levels) <sup>1</sup>. Similar experiences have been found amongst female ex-combatants in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Mozambique among others (Mckay and Mazurana, 2004; Mazurana, 2004; Nzatuzola, 2005; Sajjad, 2004; Turshen and Twagiramariya, 1998).

A gendered approach to peace requires recognition of insecurities experienced by men and women at BOTH micro and macro levels of society. This brings into question mainstream definitions of war and conflict that classify entire countries as being in a state of war or peace. For example, a recent study done by the [Open Society for West Africa](#) [21] (OSIWA) states that:

For much of the period from the mid-1960s onwards, West Africa became the theatre for some of the most intense cases of political violence and instability witnessed in the first two decades of African independence. Apart from the widespread use of force and the assassination of political figures, the sub region became the *coup d'etat* belt of the African continent as numerous cases of seizure of power by the military and counter-coups took place. Ethno-regional and religious conflicts of various dimensions were equally widespread, degenerating in some cases into civil wars that took a huge toll in human lives and property.<sup>2</sup>

This is not an uncommon way of describing conflict and war. According to Tripp et. al (2009) Africa has experienced no less than 31 wars over the last five decades. The last two decades have been described as relatively stable due to a series of formal 'peace' processes that has led to an increase in comprehensive peace agreements and post conflict reconstruction processes. Examples include: Mozambique - 1992; Rwanda -1994; Sierra Leone - 2002; Angola - 2002; Chad - 2002; Democratic Republic of Congo - 2002; Liberia 2003; Burundi - 2004; and Southern Sudan - 2005. Whereas this may not be an entirely incorrect way of describing the prevalence of violent conflict in Africa, there is a danger of over looking forms of violence and insecurities that are not necessarily played out in the public arena (and thus not defined as war), or those that are not linked to contestation over formal political governance structures and systems.

According to Meintjes et. al (2001) and Barry (2005) after the cessation of public violent conflict (that often occurs after a formal peace agreement has been signed by political ruling elites) violence against women and girls does not diminish, in fact it increases. Barry (2005: 10-12) proposes three reasons for this. First, there is an overall rise in the number of individuals and groups that pose a potential threat, including national armed forces, non-state armed groups that retain territorial control and, in some cases, international military intervention forces, international police units and private military contractors. Second, there is an expansion in certain forms of violence such as trafficking, sexual slavery, exploitation, harassment, and prostitution. This is exacerbated by a failing economy and absence of social services that results in increased drug and alcohol abuse, mounting unemployment, the breakdown of the family, and easy access to small arms. A third factor is the prevailing sense of impunity that is sometimes compounded by amnesty agreements that signal that violence can go unpunished.

A critical gender analysis of conflict reveals the centrality of asymmetrical gender relations in shaping the experiences of violence. For example, a recent study that sought to document South Sudanese women's experiences of armed conflict revealed that :

women had to contend with suppressed anger which the collapsed socio-cultural system encampment environment could not allow them to vent. Although men were affected by the war, many of them perverted the established cultural norms of conduct and behaviour to perpetuate or maintain their status quo as household heads. The men, however, found it difficult to fulfil their traditional roles as breadwinners and protectors of their

families and as a result developed insecure gender identities. This turned into anger and frustration which they in turn meted out on the helpless female household members subjecting them to all forms of abuse including beatings, rape and defilement.<sup>3</sup>

According to Meintjes et. al (2001:4) "During transition from war to peace or from military dictatorship to democracy, the rhetoric of equality and rights tends to mask the reconstruction of patriarchal power, despite recent emphasis on women's human rights". It is thus important to note that an uncritical use of the term 'peace' or 'war' could over-look or reinforce the kinds of masculinities and femininities that condone a certain kind of violent manhood and subservient womanhood that if not addressed will leave patriarchy and oppression in-tact.

Conversely, an uncritical use of the term 'peace' or 'war' could over look shifts in gender relations that occur during situations of violence that might challenge patriarchal gender identities. Tripp (2009), Koen (2006), and Meintjes, et. al (2001) argue that experiences of public violent conflict (in its narrow description) seems to open up opportunities for a shift in gender relations that could benefit women. Manchanda (in Meintjes et. al, 2001: 99) states that "...conflicts can open up intended and unintended spaces for empowering women, effecting structural social transformations and producing new social, economic and political realities that redefine gender and caste hierarchies." An interesting point made by Tripp et. al (2009), is that situations of civil war seem to have opened up opportunities for women to enter political office. For example, African countries that experienced civil war that ended after 1985 have an average of 24 per cent women holding legislative seats. This is significantly higher than an average 17 per cent women holding legislative seats in other countries on the continent. Rwanda stands at the highest with 56.3 per cent women holding legislative seats, followed by South Africa at 43.5, Angola at 37.3 and Mozambique at 34.8, while Burundi, Mozambique, Uganda, and Tanzania stand at just over 30 per cent.<sup>4</sup> All these countries (except for Tanzania) are categorised as 'post conflict' and have undergone what is conventionally described as war. Tripp et. al (2009) attributes this to a combination of factors. First, prolonged conflict disrupts stereotypical gender roles pushing women into new activities in the absence of men. These include taking over household finances, running their own businesses, taking on community leadership roles, etc. This flux in gender relations in combination with the creation of new institutions (constitutions, and rules of governance) and local women's organising for increased representation seems to have created nominal increases in women's representation in public political positions (2009: 196).<sup>5</sup>

Thus a course on gender, conflict, and peace requires reference to the history of women's activism and the extent to which questions of violence became an integral part of feminist discourse. It would probably be worth re-visiting women's global activism that reached a peak during the 1970's and 90's with the adoption of the [Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women \(CEDAW\)](#) [22] and [Beijing Platform for Action](#) [23]. Both documents clearly put violence against women on the global agenda. Women's rights organisations have played a central role in establishing shelters for abused women, providing psycho-social support and legal assistance for women survivors, and advocating for national and international legal reform that recognise and address Violence Against Women. (see [Review Essay for Teaching Gender-Based Violence – Part One](#) [24])

However, much of this activism hardly drew on mainstream discourse on peace, conflict and war. Rather, women rights organisations and international agencies (Human Rights Watch, 1996, 2003; International Alert, 2005, among others) demonstrated the prevalence of 'sexual and gender-based violence' in situations of armed conflict and the inadequacies of national and international peacekeeping interventions and legal frameworks (Carlson and Mazurana, 2002; Dallman, 2009; El-Bushra and Ibrahim, 2006; Mazurana et. al, 2005; Ntombizozuko, 2006 and 2007). This has taken three forms. First, there has been an increase in documentation on the extent of women's experiences of sexual and gender based violence (particularly rape perpetrated by warring factions, national government security structures, non-formal militia groups, and international peace keeping forces). Examples include studies done by [Isis-WICCE](#) [25] in North Uganda (1999, 2001, 2002), Sudan (2007), and more recently Liberia (2008). Other reports include studies by the international agencies<sup>6</sup> that reveal the extent of sexual abuse, rape, early and forced marriages, and pregnancies amongst girls and women.

Second, there have been calls for the need to bridge the gap between codes of conduct for armed forces and legal international standards and their enforcement. Third, there has been significant emphasis on the importance of recognising rape as a war crime and the need to reform court room procedures in order to ensure that the survivors

of sexual violence are not re-victimised by adversarial courts processes that have dominated efforts to bring perpetrators of war and violence to book.

In 1998, as a result of activism on the severity and prevalence of rape in situations of armed conflict, the Arusha-based International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) found former mayor Jean-Paul Akeyesu, guilty of nine counts of genocide, crimes against humanity and war crimes that included having incited and encouraged his troops to commit acts of rape (Scanlon, 2008). This became known as the **Akeyesu judgement**<sup>7</sup> that had substantial impact on future international principles for the prosecution of sexual violence and served to influence the jurisprudence of a permanent International Criminal Court created in 1998. Ten years later, the **United Nations Security Council passed Resolution 1820** ( see [Polices on Gender, Peace and Security](#) [26] ) in June 2008 stresses that sexual violence against women significantly exacerbates conflicts and impedes peace processes. The text demands that all parties to armed conflict take immediate and appropriate measures to protect civilians.<sup>8</sup>

Another prominent strand of women's activism is linked the recognition and documentation of women's involvement in formal and informal peace building. Efforts to end hostilities and bring about peace have been a central concern of networks such as the [African Women's Committee for Peace and Development \(AWCPD\)](#) [27] and the [Federation of African Women Peace Networks \(FERFAP\)](#) [28] and a wide range of national networks and groups. With the passing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in October 2000, there is a growing field of research that attempts to document women's peacebuilding efforts (Clarke and Scanlon, 2006; Karame, 2004 and 2005; Chinkin, 2003a, 2003b; Tripp et. al, 2009; Rodriguez and Natukkunda, 2005; UNIFEM, 2005, 2006, and 2007). According to recent on-going research by UNIFEM (2009) 'A cursory review of 21 major peace processes since 1992 shows that where women have been involved, even as non-speaking observers, in peace processes, they have been able to ensure that matters of importance to them are included in peace accords, with the strongest cases being Uganda, Darfur (Abuja), Burundi, DRC and Liberia'.

It is beyond the scope of this review essay to provide detailed background information on women's peace activism in selected African contexts. I am also weary about making arbitrary comparisons between extremely different histories and lived realities across the continent. However, it is worth stating that a few cases do stand out as useful examples of the ways in which formal peace processes can be 'engendered'. In the heat of the civil war in Liberia in 2003, for example, the women of Liberia, under the auspices of the [Women in Peacebuilding Network \(WIPNET\)](#) [29], launched a campaign that tacitly became known as the 'Liberian Women's Mass Action for Peace'. "Even the then President Charles Taylor granted them an audience to hear their plea for Taylor's government to meet with Liberians United for Reconciliation and Development (LURD) and Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL), and political party leaders to embark on peace talks. The mass action was transferred to Accra where the peace talks took place. With the support of women's groups based in Accra, the women barricaded the entrance of the hall, barring the delegates from leaving, and hence forced the delegates in the peace talks to come an agreement. Even though the women were not directly involved in the content of the peace agreement, they made substantive impact on the process of the peace talks and challenged the patriarchal power of political leaders who were using the peace process as a platform to advance personal political interests" (Clarke, 2008). Leymah Gbowee, who lead the Liberian women's mass action for peace stated that 'the rationale behind women's peace activism is to promote social justice in West Africa. ....women's activism is not only about advocating for the cessation of physical violence during conflict and wars but also to terminate the physical and structural violence that exists in everyday society'.<sup>9</sup> An award winning documentary titled "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" is a useful resource to demonstrate successes in Liberian women's activism and the kinds of challenges they faced.<sup>10</sup>

In Uganda, women peace activists from around the country organised a Women's Peace Caravan in November 2006 that crossed the country from Kampala, to Kitgum, and then to Juba, Sudan, where peace talks were being held between the Lord's resistance Army ( LRA) and Ugandan government representatives to bring an end to 19 year long conflict. At two different times in the history of the conflict in 1993 and again in 2005, *Betty Bigombe*, the chief government negotiator with LRA head Joseph Kony, had been close to a settlement. Her efforts ultimately paved the way and were essential for the signing of a ceasefire in September 2006 (Tripp, et. al, 2009: 201).

In the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), when the country plunged into civil war in 1998, women's groups, together with human rights activists, formed lobby groups, organised marches, wrote memoranda, and made trips abroad to bring attention to the conflict and seek a resolution to it. They had two objectives: to convince contending male-led factions that dialogue was essential; and convince them to include women in negotiations (Tripp et. al,

2009: 213). With the support of continental and national organisations such as [Femme Afrique Solidarite \(FAS\) \[30\]](#) and [South African Women in Dialogue \(SAWID\) \[31\]](#), various women's groups continue to push for peace in DRC.

Much of women's activism on peace has included 'skilling up' women in negotiation and mediation practices as well as making them familiar with continental peace and security policies and institutions. A collection of peace building training manuals (Anderline and Conoway, 2004; Ekiyor and Clarke, 2007) for example, have been designed by various NGO's to address women's particularly gendered experiences of insecurity as well as introduce women to practical skills and conceptual tools to engage with formal peace and security structures on the continent. Training materials include an overview of key peace and security policies and institutions of the African Union - its Peace and Security Council, the African Standby Force, the Conflict Early Warning System, and Panel of the Wise. The manuals also tend to emphasise those continental and sub-regional bodies<sup>11</sup> that have made explicit commitments to gender equality and women's involvement in peace and security structures. The [African Union Protocol on Women](#) and the [Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality](#) (see [Policies on Gender, Peace and Security](#) [26]), for example, both affirm their commitment to gender equality and explicitly commit to involving women in peace processes. Trainees are encouraged to explore opportunities for women activists' increased involvement in transforming the practice of peace building on the continent.

Training manuals that target policy makers (diplomats, UN officials, humanitarian organisations, etc.) and peacebuilding practitioners (doctors, nurses researchers, etc.) provide information and expertise required to address women's gendered experiences of insecurity, particularly extreme forms of violence such as rape, social and economic deprivation, and trauma. For, example, Isis WICCE trains women living in situations of armed conflict on documentation using tools it has developed such as *Documenting the Violations of Women's Human Rights During Armed Conflict: a tool for advocacy and sustainable peace* and *Pillars for Peace: A handbook for women peace builders* (2005).

An academic course on gender and peace might consider conducting a practical workshop on a selection of peace building skills so that graduates of the course are in a position to practically engage in formal peace process and appreciate the practical and conceptual limitations of taking gender seriously. A UNIFEM publication titled *Securing the Peace: Guiding the International Community Towards Women's Effective Participation throughout Peace Processes* (October 2005) offers a useful summary of practical ways of ensuring gender is included in conflict analysis, negotiation, and mediation efforts.

Unfortunately, and perhaps this is a result of the patriarchal nature of mainstream peace studies, a large part of women's activism is not considered 'real' peace building because it does not fit into narrow conceptualisations of 'peace' and 'war' that foreground public actions of government structures as central to peace. El-Bushra's (2008) article on 'Feminism, Gender and Women's Peace Activism' explores the 'different feminisms' that have manifested in the field of peacebuilding. She suggests the need 'to adopt a definition of 'peace' which encompasses the totality of women's needs and interests and which puts accent on structural change towards justice and towards representivity in political decision-making' (El-Bushra, 2008: 140). She further argues that an essentialist approach to women's peace activism - that only draws on women's roles as wives, mothers, care givers, and inherently peaceful and gentle people - can undermine efforts to deal with structural causes of patriarchy. A critical analysis of women's peace activism reveals conceptual limitations of narrow definitions of peace, femininity and patriarchy.

A useful alternative to a narrow 'statist' discourse on peace and security can be found in critical security studies and feminist literature that has promoted the concept of human security. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) 1994 *'Human Development Report'* describes 'human security' in its broadest terms - a people-centred approach that ensures that individuals (and communities, I suppose) have both 'freedom from want' and 'freedom from fear'. According to Lewis (2006), Hudson (1998, 2000, 2004) and Muthien (2003) a feminist reading of human security enables one to perceive bodily and personal integrity as integral to notions of security. This would include recognition of all forms of Violence Against Women (including socio-economic violence in the private and public) as essential to building secure societies.

Re-visiting Africa's history of liberation offers another route to re-imaging peace. It is worth noting, for example, that what is currently referred to as peace studies in Africa tends to include situations of stability and instability that have occurred in post-independence Africa. So, for example, Zambia's 'liberation' from British colonial rule in 1964 is not necessarily theorised as a peace process in the same way that the over 20 year conflict in South Sudan is considered a transition from conflict to peace through a formal peace process. Thus, countries that are referred

to as being 'post-conflict' (Liberia, South Sudan, Angola, Mozambique, Rwanda, Burundi, to name a few) are distinguished from those countries that are referred to as post-independent or post-liberation (Zambia, Malawi, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, etc). Peace studies has the challenge of widening its historical scope of analysis to include Africa's history of liberation as well as post-independence politics as sights of 'conflict' and 'peace'.

Africa's history of anti-colonial struggles offers useful insight on 'security' structures that were present in colonial governance structures (many of which remain fundamentally unaltered). A historical analysis of militarization in Africa, for example, would open an academic course on gender, conflict and peace to literature on global geopolitics that have shaped Africa's 'security regime'. Constructions of masculinities and femininities within these institutions and the ways in which women and men were integrated or NOT in liberation movements and post-independence governance structures and 'security' sectors reveals embedded gendered notions of security and insecurity. Cock's (1989, 1991, 1994) research on women's role in the South African Defence Force offers insights on gender identities and militarization during apartheid. Raymond Suttner's (a2007; b2007) research on masculinities in ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) sheds light on men and masculinities in relation to South Africa anti-apartheid underground military structures.

Another aspect of militarization is the increasingly dominant role of armies and global geopolitics on the control of security infrastructure. The **United States African Command (AFRICOM)**<sup>12</sup>, for example, threatens to heighten militarization in Africa and insecurity at local, regional and international levels. There is still lack of research on AFRICOM and its effect on men and women's experiences of insecurity and how it might impede on efforts to de-militarize African communities (Mama and Okazawa- Rey, 2008). This field of thinking and research is still under-developed; however one could draw on literature undertaken under the ambit of 'security studies' such as widespread research done by the Institute for Security Studies on security institutions across the continent. Unfortunately, there is still an absence of activism and research that provides a critical gender analysis of Africa's varied security structures. Nevertheless, a course on gender, conflict and peace could highlight the prevalence of militarization on the continent and its reliance on militarised gender identities (Clarke, 2008).

Transitional justice is another emerging field that is considered a crucial aspect of ensuring peace. Transitional justice refers to a range of judicial and non-judicial approaches that have been adopted to address human rights abuses that occurred during wars. My own preference is non-judicial approaches that emphasise the importance of trauma healing and individual and communal reconciliation. **ISIS-WICCE's** [25] role in forming self-help groups among women survivors reveals the central role of networks of trust in women's individual and collective healing (Ochieng, 2008). ISIS WICCE have also increasingly worked with medical doctors and practitioners to respond to both physical healing of rape survivors as well as psycho-social support.<sup>13</sup> By recasting 'symptoms' of trauma as 'coping skills', feminists have begun to recognise that trauma reveals human weaknesses and strengths (Burstow 2003:1295; Amedom et. al, 2005). Strengths might include: the development of profound survival skills; an enhanced ability to understand other traumatised and oppressed individuals and groups; a passion for justice; a desire for a different kind of society, and perhaps a less distorted view of the world (Burton, 2003: 1310). This raises the question of the significance of women's survival strategies, identity, resilience, and agency. Women that have survived traumatic experiences during armed conflict might offer interesting insights on the gendered nature of the conflict. Their knowledge of militaristic masculinities and patriarchal structures might provide options for challenging patriarchal aspects of the conflict - particularly oppressive masculinities and femininities.

This review essay has highlighted a selection of themes, research, and documentation that could shape an academic course on gender, conflict and peace. The AGI has included these themes in its courses on gender and development at undergraduate and post-graduate levels (see [An Academic Course On Gender, Conflict, And Peace In Africa](#) [32]). However, I am aware that this review essay is in no way exhaustive. There is certainly research that has been conducted and published that I have not referred to. A comprehensive course would certainly require reflection on a broader range of themes such as:

- Gender, conflict, and peacekeeping;
- Gender, migration, and displacement;
- Gender and humanitarian interventions;
- Gender and conflict early warning and response;
- Gender and security sector reform;
- Gender and transitional justice.

## Useful Websites:

- [Feminist Africa](#) [33] - African regional gender studies journal with thematic issues addressing various areas.
- [UNRISD](#) [34] - Working papers, policy briefings plus the full text of 'Gender Equality: Striving for Justice.'
- [ISIS-WICCE](#) [35] - Uganda
- [PeaceWomen](#) [36] - Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
- [Eldis - Gender and Conflict](#) [37]
- [Women, Peace, and Security](#) [38]
- [Gendercide Watch](#) [39]
- [The Men's Bibliography](#) [40]
- [Conflict Trends](#) [41]
- [Security Dialogue](#) [42]
- [UN Security Council Resolution 1325](#) [43]
- [UN Security Council Resolution 1820](#) [44]

## Endnotes

1 For another account of experiences of Eritrean ex-combatants see Pankhurst, Helen, "Gender and Conflict: Case Study on Eritrean Ex-fighters", Occasional Paper, <http://www.acordinternational.org/index.php/down..> [45]

2 Adebayo Olukoshi, "Governance in West Africa: A Survey of Trends in 2006", [http://www.osiwa.org/IMGpdf/final\\_Report\\_on\\_2006..](http://www.osiwa.org/IMGpdf/final_Report_on_2006..) [46]

3 ISIS WICCE, *Womens Experiences in Armed Conflict in Southern Sudan, 1983-2005: The Case of Juba County, Central Equatorial State*. September 2007: ISIS WICCE, [http://www.isis.or.ug/component/docman/doc\\_view/.](http://www.isis.or.ug/component/docman/doc_view/) [47]

4 See International Parliamentary Union web site, <http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm> [48]

5 Other authors that demonstrated the role of women's peace activism in pushing for an increase in women's political representation include:

International Crisis Group Report. 2006. "Beyond Victimhood: Women's Peacebuilding in Sudan, Congo, and Uganda", <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=418..> [49]

Clarke and Scanlon, "Women and Peacebuilding in Africa" CCR Report, 2006, [http://www.ccr.uct.ac.za/fileadmin/template/ccr/.](http://www.ccr.uct.ac.za/fileadmin/template/ccr/) [50]

6 See Centre for Human Rights report on '[Gender-Based Violence in Africa - Perspectives from the Continent](#)' [51]; United Nations, 2006;

UN Women Watch, 2006, UNICEF, 2000; UNFPA, 2009; USAID, 2008; UN Special Report, 2009; IRIN, 2004.

7 Akeyesu Judgement, International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda web page, <http://www.icttr.org/default> [52] htm

8 The text of the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1820, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2008> [53] sc9364.doc.htm

9 Leymah Gbowee. 2009. "Effecting Change through Women's Activism in Liberia", *IDS Bulletin*, Volume 40, No. 2, p50, <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fullt..> [54]

Also see MARWOPNET Press Release, "Mano River Women's Peace Network ( MARWOPNET) Signs of Peace Agreements in Akosombo, in PeaceWomen's 1325 News, No. 30, September 5, 2003, [http://www.peacewomen.org/news/1325News/PW\\_News..](http://www.peacewomen.org/news/1325News/PW_News..) [55]

10 See "Pray the Devil Back to Hell" web page, <http://www.praythediabacktohell.com/v3/> [56]

Also see review of film by [Yaba Badoe, \*Feminist Africa\* 10](#) [57]

11 Regional governmental bodies that each have put in place policies on peace and security include: the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), the East African Community (EAC), and the Inter-governmental Authority for Development (IGAD).

12 The **United States Africa Command (USAFRICOM or AFRICOM)** is a Unified Combatant Command of the United States Department of Defense that is responsible for U.S. military operations and military relations with 53 African nations - an area of responsibility covering all of Africa except Egypt. Africa Command was established October 1, 2007 as a temporary sub-unified command under U.S. European Command, which for more than two decades was responsible for U.S. military relations with more than 40 African nations. Africa Command was formally activated October 1, 2008, during a public ceremony at the Pentagon attended by representatives of African nations posted in Washington, D.C.

For a critical insight on perspectives on AFRICOM from African activists see: [Mama, Amina and Okazawa-Rey. \(2008\) 'Editorial: Militarism, Conflict and Women's Activism'. \*Feminist Africa\* 10](#) [58]

Campbell, Horace, 'George Bush Visits Africa to Promote US Africa Command', <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/46..> [59]

Also see: [Policies on Gender, Peace and Security](#) [26]

13 See ISIS WICCE, Uganda web page, [http://www.isis.or.ug/200708-exchange-institute/..](http://www.isis.or.ug/200708-exchange-institute/) [60]

Also see other ISIS WICCE reports such as: *The Short Term Intervention of the Psychological and Gynaecological Consequences of Armed Conflict, 1999; Medical Intervention Study of War Affected Teso Region in Uganda, 2002; Medical Intervention Study of War Affected Gulu Region of Uganda, 2001; Medical Intervention Study of War Affected Teso Region in Uganda, 2002.*

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ACCORD. 2003. *Conflict Trends Magazine*, 3, [click here](#) [62]

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Buregeya Alfred, et al (eds). 2001. *Women's Land and Property Rights in Situations of Conflict and Reconstruction*. UNIFEM. <http://www.unifem.org/attachments/products/Women..> [66]

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2003b. "Gender, Human Rights, and Peace Agreements," *Ohio State Journal of Dispute Resolution*, 18:3, 867-886.

Campbell, Horace, "George Bush Visits Africa to Promote US Africa Command", <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/46..> [68]

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