

SÃO PAULO UNIVERSITY
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS INSTITUTE

Beatriz Azevedo Coutinho

Mainstreaming women in post-conflict development: a
case study of Liberia

São Paulo

2020

Beatriz Azevedo Coutinho

Mainstreaming women in post-conflict development: a
case study of Liberia

Dissertation presented to the
International Relations Postgraduate
Program at the International Relations
Institute at São Paulo University as a
requirement for the Degree of Master
in Science.

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Yi Shin Tang

Simplified version

The original version can be found in the library of the International Relations
Institute.

São Paulo

2020

I authorize the full or partial reproduction and distribution of this document, by any conventional or electronic means, for study or research purposes, since it is quoted.

Catálogo na publicação
Serviço de Biblioteca e Documentação
Instituto de Relações Internacionais da Universidade de São Paulo

Coutinho, Beatriz Azevedo

Mainstreaming women in post-conflict development: a case study of Liberia / Beatriz Azevedo Coutinho ; orientador: Yi Shin Tang. – São Paulo, 2019.

73 p.

Dissertação (Mestrado) – Instituto de Relações Internacionais. Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2020.

1. Gênero e desenvolvimento 2. Libéria 3. Violência de gênero e sexual
4. Reconstrução do Estado I. Tang, Yi Shin, orient. II. Título.

CDD – 305.42

Responsável: Giseli Adomato de Aguiar - CRB-8/6813

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my spiritual guides for assisting me in this process. I am grateful for my family, especially my mother, Célia, and my partner, Marcos support. They have patiently listened and helped me when I questioned my abilities. I extend my gratitude to my professors, colleagues, and public servants of IRI-USP and to the ones that truly assisted me through this process. In particular to the MaRIAs for welcoming to the institute and inspiring me to keep studying gender.

Abstract

Post-Conflict development literature tends to overlook the importance of including women and gender policies in statebuilding process. I use the Liberian case as the main frame to analyze how gender development policies can enhance this process by tackling the roots of conflict. Through a qualitative analysis of Liberia's history, its gender and development policies, and its dual system of law, the dissertation exams president Sirleaf's policies and actions towards women. It demonstrates the constraints her government faced and the strategies used to overcome them. Using international institutions' data, ground research reports, government documents, it identifies that her government experienced certain challenges to address sexual and gender-based violence crimes. Since such felonies are part of violent infrastructure that deeply affects women and their capabilities of being fully integrated socially, economically, and politically to society. Therefore, this paper aims to shine a light on the contemporary debate on Gender and Development, as well as bring a feminist approach to statebuilding analysis.

Keywords: Gender and Development; Liberia; Sexual and Gender-Based Violence; Statebuilding.

Resumo

A literatura de desenvolvimento pós-conflito tende a dar pouca importância para inclusão de mulheres e de políticas de gênero no processo de reconstrução de Estado. Eu uso o caso liberiano como quadro principal para analisar como as políticas de gênero e desenvolvimento podem melhorar esse processo ao atacarem as causas do conflito. Através de uma análise qualitativa da história da Libéria, de suas políticas de gênero e desenvolvimento e do sistema duplo de leis, o artigo examina suas políticas e ações para mulheres. Assim demonstrando as dificuldades enfrentadas pelo governo da presidente Sirleaf e as estratégias usadas para superá-las. Ao analisar dados de instituições internacionais, relatórios de pesquisas de campo e documentos do governo, o artigo identificou que o governo dela experimentou alguns desafios ao enfrentar crimes de violência sexual e de gênero. Tendo em vista que tais tipos crimes estão inseridos numa estrutura violenta que afeta profundamente as mulheres e suas capacidades de se integrarem socialmente, economicamente e politicamente de forma plena as suas sociedades, o artigo busca colaborar com os debates sobre Gênero e Desenvolvimento, assim como trazer uma análise feminista ao processo de reconstrução de Estado.

Palavras-chave: Gênero e Desenvolvimento; Libéria; Violência de Gênero e Sexual; Reconstrução de Estado.

Introduction

In the 1960s, influenced by the second feminist wave, the international community started promoting more policies for women. Since the 1970s, there is a bigger international understanding that women should be active participants in the promotion of development. Particularly after the 1975 United Nations Women's Convention in Mexico Cityⁱ. In the 2000s, the United Nations Security Council through its 1325ⁱⁱ resolution reaffirmed the importance of women's participation not only in decision-making position, but also in peace-building processesⁱⁱⁱ. This article provides the case study of Liberia as an insightful example of how President Ellen Sirleaf incorporated the 1325 resolution in Liberia after the Civil War. It focus on her gender and development policies towards Sexual and Gender-based Violence (SGBV)^{iv}. Since post-conflict long-term development policies tends to overlook such violence, used as weapon of war, as a subject that must be addressed in order to promote a positive peace^v.

According to Johan Galtung^{vi} there are two types of peace: positive and negative. The former is when there is harmony, justice and equality in the society. It means that there is not structural violence. Whereas the negative peace is the absence of war, however there are still violent structures that do not promote equality, justice and harmony. The challenge for every country, especially the ones that have undergone through conflict, is to transition from negative to positive peace.

Johan Galtung argues that actors, regardless if they are states or individuals, should use the Transcend approach^{vii}. In which he argues about the need to find a middle ground between the parties through non-violent actions. Some of its steps are peace culture/structure, mediation, peacebuilding, nonviolence, conciliation and virtuous cycles. He strongly emphasizes the need of addressing the roots of violent conflict, depolarizing and humanizing the enemy. This means dismantling the social, economic, political, cultural structures that promote violence.

In this study, I do not address all the invaluable steps presented by Galtung. Instead, I focus on how gender and development policies can enhance the statebuilding process by tackling the roots of conflict. Because as Galtung argues to have peace, the actor/state needs to promote an infrastructure with equality, equity and reciprocity across faultlines^{viii}. I use the Liberian case as the main frame for this analysis. When President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected after fourteen years of civil war, she established that one of her priorities was to use gender as a crosscutting issue in her policies. She understood that including women in the statebuilding process was essential to

prevent the country from resuming hostilities^{ix}. She also comprehended the need of addressing the violent structures that most affect women. Because as O. Pala^x argues, women should not be included in development model, if its structures constrain them instead of improving their lives. Hence, in this study, I shine light on her policies towards sexual and gender based violence because this is one of the most pressing issues to Liberian women.

Countries in post-conflict situations face the challenge of rebuilding society in shambles, wounded, and with scarce resources. Usually, in this context, there is a peace agreement that secures the negative peace. Thus, countries need to promote policies and actions in order to avoid new hostilities. They should tackle three major fronts: human assistance, rehabilitation, and short-term development^{xi}. The first consists of providing shelter, food, water, clothing, and medicine to victims of conflict. This is vital to secure people's lives in a scenario where the state cannot enforce the rule of law and democracy. The second, rehabilitation, concerns immediate actions after the end of hostilities. They are essential to restore the basic functions of the state and a primary sense of normality. They should also provide the physical infrastructure needed for refugees and displaced people can return to the land. The last, short-term development, are measures to reconstruct the state, the administrative structures, and even in some cases, a new constitution. Another essential action is to promote social and economic reconciliation as detailed below.

Gariba^{xii} and Ero^{xiii} stress that only taking these initial policies is not enough to secure the state and effectively promote peace. Gariba^{xiv} argues that the other four approaches are vital to rebuilding the country: good governance, security reforms, a long-term development goal, and building local capacities. The first concerns addressing the root causes of the conflict and establishing inclusive governance. He defines democratic governance as a group of the following features: state principles, the guarantee of civil rights and society participation. By these, he means that the State should have rule of law, electoral legitimacy, accountability, development-oriented leadership, gender equality, transparency, decentralized power, voting, freedom of expression and association, a vigorous media, and a responsible and engaged civil society. The second, security reforms, encompasses regenerating the police, the army, and other security forces in cooperation with international institutions. Especially if there are peacekeeping missions deployed in the country^{xv}.

The third, long-term development (LTD) is an expansion of short-term development (STD). As exposed before, the post-conflict country needs to focus on the main two areas: social and

economic reconciliation. The former starts as STD, with DDR (disarmament, demobilization, and rehabilitation) of ex-combatants, particularly of child-soldiers. These actions are necessary to reintegrate them into the civilian population and to bring forth transitional justice committees, and peace and reconciliation initiatives. In LTD, the government needs to focus on human security, thus providing jobs, health care, and education. Gariba^{xvi} and Ero^{xvii} defend that long-term policies must integrate development and security interchangeably. In order to do it effectively, post-conflict countries need international assistance. In the case of African countries, this means receiving support from the former metropolises, along with their interference in the process^{xviii}.

The last, building capacities, requires countries to work in two spheres: national and local^{xix}. The former demands creating standards and regulations, providing the tools (political, economic, social, and technical) for institutions and organizations to empower themselves. This means building leadership capacity based on managerial skills, public service values, and ethics focused on the national interest.

Moreover, the government's institutions should create action plans and targets, as well as revise such plans to verify their efficiency. While the local capability requires involving individuals and societies to engage in policy formulation, implementation, and evaluation. In order to do this, the government should capacitate local leaderships with institutional and technical knowledge. In addition, the government should decentralize political, administrative, and financial structures. Hence allowing the communities to run their localities, to create revenues, and to have their local initiatives incorporated into the national development plan.

Numerous countries have experienced conflicts and needed to rebuild their states. This reality is particularly common in Africa, where there is the most prominent occurrence of fragile states in the world^{xx} ¹. According to Ero^{xxi} it is more difficult for African states to promote state-building actions and policies since the creation of states was an alien construction made by the Europeans. Jackson^{xxii} defends that African countries are 'courtesy states' since they lack the characteristics of States. Moreover, their legitimacy and self-determination were not taken into account, neither in the colonization process nor in the decolonization one. Even countries such as Liberia, never colonized, bore the weight of having metropole-oriented elites^{xxiii}. Which used the country's

¹ THE FUND FOR PEACE, **Fragile States Index Story Map Series (2006-2018)**. Available at: <<https://www.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=7e7947483f8342f8a31445cebce3754>>. Accessed on 23/oct/2019.

(natural) resources in their benefits, creating networks of power and influence, usually favoring some ethnic group.

This alien construction of the state was one of the roots for the two civil wars in Liberia. After the conflict, the country democratically elected its first female president Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. She claimed that in the process of bringing back the country to its feet, she would also promote women's development^{xxiv}. By making gender a crosscutting issue in her policies^{xxv}. Therefore, promoting policies to address sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) and tackling other issues such as national reconciliation.

According to the Overseas Development Institute^{xxvi}, the peacekeeping processes tend to overlook the importance of dealing with sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV). They do not address properly the roots of this type of violence. The United Nations through its Security Council 1325 resolution aims to change this reality by incorporating women into peacebuilding efforts. Since more women in the peace process increases the probability of positive peace^{xxvii}. Therefore, the Liberian case is essential for the statebuilding, and women and development literature. Because it demonstrates an attempt to prevent new conflicts, through a development project that took into account women. Since they had a meaningful engagement in peace negotiations during the country's civil war².

In 2006, Sirleaf counted on her political experience in the country - as former finance minister - and her international prestige - as she worked for Citibank, the Bank of Equator, and the United Nations - to assemble the economic, social and political means to restructure the country. One of her challenges was to rebuild a state with few resources due to the heavy burden of former loans the country took from international institutions. In addition, she needed to repair roads, schools, hospitals, reestablish the national police forces, and many other actions present in her 150-day plan of action^{xxviii}. In this plan, the 2011 Nobel Peace Prize winner already set actions such as the creation of 'Women and Child Protection Units', a Women Legislative Caucus, among other women-oriented initiatives.

Even though these short-term development policies are significant, this article focus on long-term ones. Since, as pointed out by Gariba^{xxix}, they are essential for building effective governance

² SÁ, Willian, **PERSPECTIVAS FEMINISTAS SOBRE UM CONFLITO: O PAPEL DAS MULHERES NA SEGUNDA GUERRA CIVIL DA LIBÉRIA (1999 – 2003)**, Monograph, Universidade Federal da Paraíba, João Pessoa, 2016.

for the country. This study investigates her policies and actions towards women, demonstrating the constraints faced by Sirleaf's government and the strategies used to overcome them.

Authors that study the Liberian case, such as Gariba^{xxx} and Massaquoi^{xxxi}, focused their work on presenting their views about the development strategies Sirleaf should take. Even though, Massaquoi addresses gender issues, both analysis did not present conclusive results since the researches took into consideration only her first term (2006-2011). While Quiminee³ describes Sirleaf's two terms, his accounts are brief and not focused on women. Thus, this paper contributes to the gender and development literature by presenting and the intersection of gender and development theories with the local accounts that reveal the constraints and advancements made through the twelve years (2006-2018) of Sirleaf's mandate in Liberia.

The article has three sections. The first presents the gender and development approaches, describing how women become objects and agents of development policies through time. Providing an overview of development policies and their feminist influences. It provides the necessary background to understand the development policies made by Liberian presidents since the 1970s.

The second section provides an overview of Liberian history. It has three subsections. The first provides the origins of the country's identity struggle and the emergence of the dual-system of law. It also illustrates how these laws affect women. Thus, presenting the foundations for the violent structures that sponsored the two civil wars. The second subsection is a brief summary of the development policies made by Liberian presidents since the 1970s. It demonstrates the historical episodes that led to the two civil wars. The third provides an account of the roles women performed during the war. They were combatants, political actors and peacekeepers. This subsection also provides a discussion of women's stereotyped peaceful nature. As well as their actions to elect Ellen Sirleaf.

The third section has six subdivisions. The first investigates how some concepts, as gender and patriarchy, are understood in Liberia's context. It questions the idea of universal gender concepts as well as other ideas presented on section 1. The second illustrates the scenario and the challenges Sirleaf faced when she rose to power. The first actions of her to promote development and the address Sexual and Gender-Based Violence (SGBV). It describes some of the consequences of this

³ QUIMINEE, Robert, Liberia's Economic Recovery Policies and Failures, 2018. Available at <<https://www.mediate.com/products/docs/Liberia'sEconomicRecoveryPoliciesandFailures.pdf>>. Accessed on 19/oct/2019.

practice to the victims. It also provides an account of her short-development policy, the 150 day plan. The third describes her cooperation with other governments and organizations in order to establish her long-development strategies to tackle (SGBV). It summarizes her first term (2006-2011), presenting the positives and negatives aspects of it. The fourth presents how she implemented the policies described in the previous section. It shows the challenges her government faced in attempting to enforce politics that went against ethnic groups' beliefs. The fifth exams Ellen Sirleaf's policies towards women in her second term (2012-2018) and its backlashes, especially regarding infrastructure problems. The sixth provides a more in-depth analysis of one sort of SGBV, Female Genital Mutilation (FGM). After these sections, the article presents its conclusions.

Conclusion

When Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf rose to power, she accepted the difficult challenge of redressing the roots of the war, in order to prevent new conflicts. Some of them were Liberia's identity struggle, the dual system of law, corruption, poverty, and customary culture. To understand her legacy, some remarks are necessary. First, she was able to sustain peace during her 12-year-old government and to start the process of the country's reconciliation. Which was a significant achievement, since previous governments were unable do it, as illustrated in section 2.

Second, she stepped down at the end of her second term, following the constitution. She did not attempt to change it in order to rerun for other terms. She was able to secure a smooth transition to Geoge Weah. For stabilizing the country's democracy, she received the Ibrahim Prize for African Leadership^{xxxii}. Sirleaf intends to use the money to establish the Ellen Johnson Sirleaf Presidential Center for Women and Development that aims to o support women as "*agents of change, makers of peace, and drivers of progress*"⁴.

Third, even though Sirleaf, during her 2005 campaign, asserted she would make corruption 'the enemy number one of the nation'⁵, she left the government under alleged accusations of

⁴ FELEKE, Bethlehem, **Liberian ex-president Ellen Johnson Sirleaf dedicates \$5M prize to women empowerment**. Available at: <<https://edition.cnn.com/2018/04/28/africa/sirleaf-accepts-african-leadership-award/index.html>>. Accessed on 5/nov/2019.

⁵ CHÉNE, Marie, **Overview of corruption and anti-corruption in Liberia**, U4 Anti-Corruption Resource Centre. Available at: <<https://www.u4.no/publications/overview-of-corruption-and-anti-corruption-in-liberia/>>. Accessed on 10/sep/2018.

committing this crime and of favoring her family and practicing nepotism.⁶ When interviewed about not being able to address the government's corruption, she answered: "*Because our system is like that*" (...) "*If you want to really understand Liberia, you need to dig a little bit deeper. You need to understand our culture, our values, our systems, and the way to tackle it. It is not always to just make a whole lot of noise about it*"⁷. However, she contradict herself. Because when she worked for the UN, she appointed in one of her reports how practicing such a crime jeopardized the statebuilding process^{xxxiii}.

Regarding appointing her sons to top government positions, she asserted they were qualified for the positions, and she needed people with 'specialized skills'. However, her son Charles Sirleaf, a deputy governor of Liberia's Central Bank, was arrested in 2019 for unlawfully printing Liberian dollars. Moreover, her son Robert Sirleaf, a chairman of Liberia's National Oil Company, was accused of causing the enterprise's collapse^{xxxiv}.

Fourth, despite her policies, poverty remains a concerning issue in Liberia. According to the United Nations, the unemployment rate among youngsters (60% of the population) is almost 90%⁸. The majority of Liberians still do not have access to electricity or the ones that do suffer from frequent power cuts^{xxxv}. During the 2014 Ebola outbreak, there were only 50 doctors to attend all Liberia^{xxxvi}. This epidemic provoked some setbacks in her policies.

Although several aspects previously stated are significant to understand the efficiency of Sirleaf's long-term development policy, this article focused on her policies for women. Particularly the ones to promote peace and security, emphasizing the SGBV crimes. Because redressing the violence, these women underwent was essential not only to promote justice, but also for the process of fully incorporating these women into Liberian society. Thus fostering a more inclusive and sustainable society.

In order to do this, Sirleaf needed to change the culture of several ethnic groups. Notoriously, modifying a culture is a long process. Since it is difficult to measure it in such a short period these transformations, this article only presents trends. As clarified in graphic 3, women in 2013 were

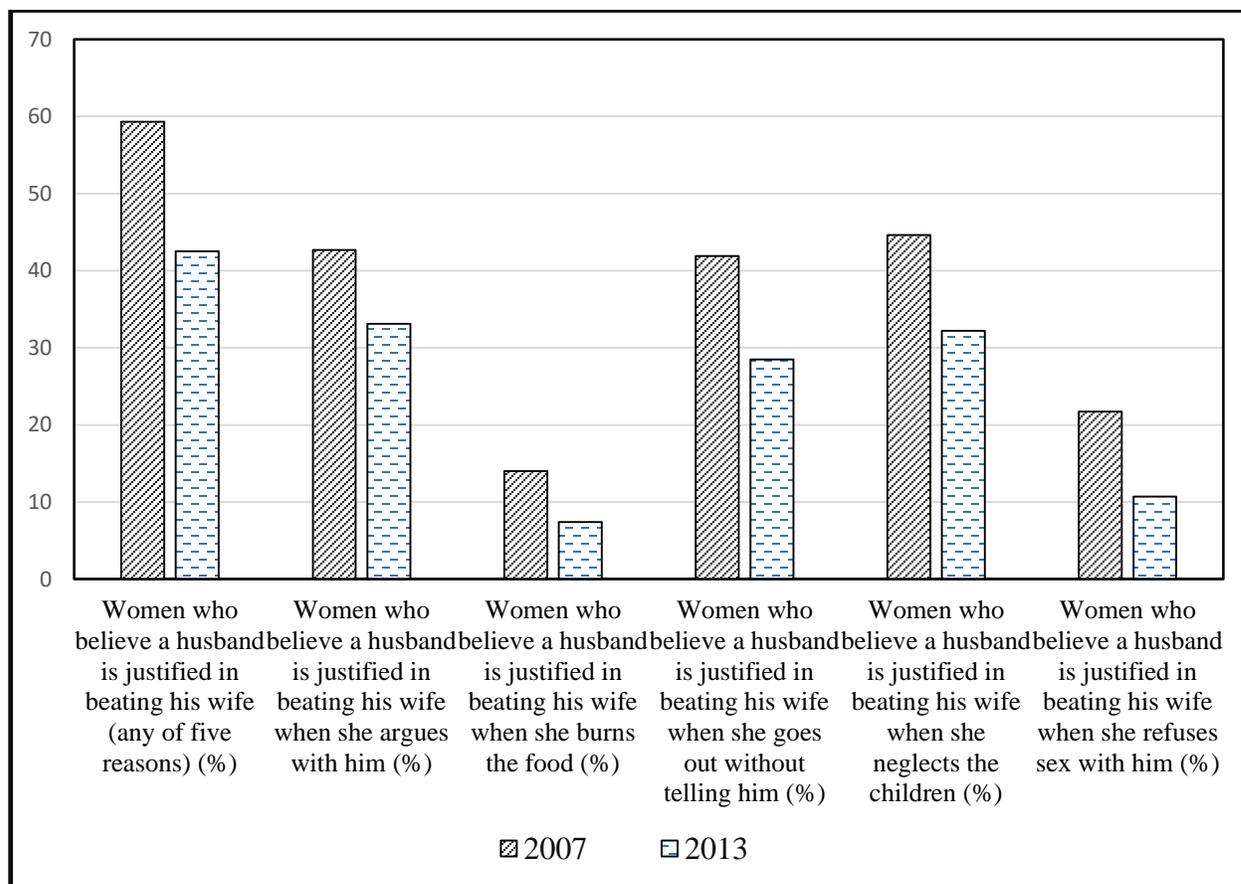
⁶ JIDEONWO, Chude, **Why Africa owes a debt of gratitude to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf**, CNN. Available at: <<https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/10/africa/africa-ellen-johnson-sirleaf-legacy/index.html>>. Accessed on 5/nov/2019.

⁷ AL JAZEERA, **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf responds to allegations of nepotism**. Available at: <<https://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/upfront/2019/05/ellen-johnson-sirleaf-responds-allegations-nepotism-190524094426269.html>>. Accessed on 5/nov/2019.

⁸ JIDEONWO, **Why Africa owes a debt of gratitude to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, 2017**. Available at <<https://www.cnn.com/2017/10/10/africa/africa-ellen-johnson-sirleaf-legacy/index.html>>. Accessed on 05/nov/2019.

less willing to believe that it is justifiable for their husbands to beat them up. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that they are gradually changing their perspective of naturalizing SGBV.

Graphic 3 – Women who believe it is justifiable to be beaten by their husbands.⁹



World Bank (2018)

However, as illustrated in section 3, if these policies and awareness campaigns do not receive adequate support and infrastructure from the state, there will be backlashes. People will feel restrained towards the state's actions, as shown in the WACPS case. Policies only by themselves do not shape social reality. Laws need to have 'teeth'. This means they should preview penalties, and the government must enforce them, as well as provide investment and the infrastructure required to do it. For example, the WACPS did not have cars to commute and to search for suspects, and many rape cases continued happening because the perpetrators felt they would not be caught. As investments in WACPS plummeted and court E backlogged, the reports of SGBV crimes

⁹ World Bank. Data are available at < <https://data.worldbank.org/country/liberia?view=chart>>. Accessed on 08/07/18.

decreased. Despite of being comprehensible that not all government sectors will receive all investment they need, especially in such a poor country like Liberia. Once more, Sirleaf contradicts the recommendations she did in the UNIFEM report^{xxxvii}. Since in this document she strongly emphasized the importance of continuum investment.

People have agency. Thus, they can choose or not obey the law. They can also influence the process of law-making. For instance, some local leaders choose to report rape cases to statutory law, while others prefer to handle it in customary law. Culture is so vivid and present in people's lives that even Liberia's legislature did not support the FGM ban. Moreover, placing women in power positions does not guarantee that they will fight against SGBV because they may understand that this practice is part of being Liberian. For instance, Sirleaf nominated Counselor Serena F. Garlawolu to serve as the judge for Court E, despite her favorable perception of FGM practice¹⁰.

Despite of that, it is possible to notice that Ellen Sirleaf promoted gender as an issue in the government's development policies. She nominated women for important positions in the LNP and promoted actions to enhance the number of women in the force. Thus promoting education, job opportunities, empowerment, and an example to young girls, as proposed by UNSC 1325 resolution. According to Thorbjørn Jagland, Chairman of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, "*Ellen Johnson Sirleaf's whole life can be seen as a realization of the intentions of Resolution 1325*"^{xxxviii}. Future researches could investigate how Sirleaf's case inspired other female leaders to embody this resolution into their policies, particularly in Africa. Since she was the first woman elected in the continent.

Moreover, she attempted to address some of the women's significant concerns as SGBV. This type of violence hampers women from getting jobs, going to school, receiving proper health care, and commuting. Even though she brought forth important policies as National Gender Policy, the Domestic Violence Executive Order, the Rape Law of 2005, they were not fully enforced due to budget, infrastructure, and cultural constraints. Therefore, it is possible to conclude that there were some advancements for women in her long-term post-conflict development. However, it is uncertain if these improvements will remain in the next government. New studies should investigate her legacy to Liberian women. Analyzing whether George Weah and Liberians kept it

¹⁰ AKWEI, Ismail, **FGM not a violation of anyone's rights culturally - Liberian judicial nominee**, Africanews. Available at <<https://www.africanews.com/2017/05/27/fgm-not-a-violation-of-anyones-rights-culturally-liberian-judicial-nominee/>>. Accessed on 15/03/2019.

or not. In order to comprehend the long-term implications of having a state-building policy that used gender as a cross-cutting issue.

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf proposed a gender and development policy that combined neoliberal aspects with empowerment and a rights-based approach. She attempted to blend the knowledge she acquired working for international institutions with her vision for Liberia. Her policies also reflected the need for pleasing international partners, who would provide the financial support the country required. At the same time, she had to take into account several demands from her people. This dilemma reflected very clearly in the LGBT rights issue. On that occasion, she decided not to act. Neither did she submit to US pressure, nor did she support stricter laws.

In sum, Sirleaf's case contributes to Gender and Development literature for exposing the challenges of adapting mainstream theories to a post-conflict setting. It illustrates the need to not following 'one recipe for all' and of balancing international's and national's influence and demands in the inclusion of gender in the state-building process. Even though there were some backlashes during her government, Ellen Sirleaf's case should be used as a reference for governments that seek to be more women inclusive.

Bibliography

-
- ⁱ MOMSEN, Janet, Introduction: gender is a development issue, *in*: **Gender and Development**, New York: Routledge, 2010, p. 1–20.
- ⁱⁱ UN, United Nations, Resolution 1325 Security Council UN, 2000.
- ⁱⁱⁱ *Ibid.*
- ^{iv} “There is a need to define Gender Based violence as the terms “violence against women” and “gender-based violence” are often used interchangeably. “Gender-based violence” is defined as violence that is directed at an individual based on his or her biological sex, gender identity, or perceived adherence to socially defined norms of masculinity and femininity.” GOVERNMENT UN GBV JOINT PROGRAM, Exploring Gender Based Violence Prevention in Liberia, 2013. Available at <<https://www.undp.org/content/dam/liberia/docs/docs/SGBV%20Prevention%20Strategies%202013.pdf>>. Accessed on 6/apr/2020.
- ^v GALTUNG, Johan, introduction: Peace by peaceful conflict transformation – the TRANSCEND approach, *in*: **Handbook of Peace and Conflict Studies**, London ; New York: Routledge, 2007, p. 14–34.
- ^{vi} *Ibid.*
- ^{vii} *Ibid.*
- ^{viii} *Ibid.*
- ^{ix} REHN, Elisabeth; JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, Ellen, **Women, war, peace: the independent experts' assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building**, New York, NY: UNIFEM, 2002. Available at < <https://www.unfpa.org/sites/default/files/pub-pdf/3F71081FF391653DC1256C69003170E9-unicef-WomenWarPeace.pdf>>. Accessed on 4/apr/2020.
- ^x O.PALA, Achola, Definitions of Women and Development: An African Perspective, *in*: **African Gender Studies: a reader**, Houndmills, Basingstoke, England ; New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2005.
- ^{xi} GARIBA, EDWARD BANKA, Post-conflict development in Liberia, **The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) - African Journal of Conflict Resolution**, v. 11, n. 2, p. 105–132, 2011.

xii *Ibid.*

xiii ERO, Comfort, Peacebuilding Through Statebuilding in West Africa? The Cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia, *in: Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa*, 1 edition. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012, p. 232–252.

xiv GARIBA, Post-conflict development in Liberia.

xv *Ibid.*

xvi *Ibid.*

xvii ERO, Peacebuilding Through Statebuilding in West Africa? The Cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

xviii *Ibid.*

xix GARIBA, Post-conflict development in Liberia.

xx WORLD BANK, Low-Income Countries Under Stress 2006-2009. Available at <<http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/359521410886172040/FY6toFY9Fragile-States-List-formerly-LICUS.pdf>>. Accessed on 23/oct/2019.

xxi ERO, Comfort, Peacebuilding Through Statebuilding in West Africa? The Cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia, *in: Peacebuilding, Power, and Politics in Africa*, 1 edition. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2012, p. 232–252.

xxii JACKSON, Robert, Juridical Statehood in Sub-Saharan Africa, *Journal of International Affairs*, v. 46, n. 1, p. 1–16, 1992.

xxiii ERO, Peacebuilding Through Statebuilding in West Africa? The Cases of Sierra Leone and Liberia.

xxiv SIRLEAF, Ellen, inaugural speech Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, 2016. Available at <https://emansion.gov.lr/doc/inaugural_add.pdf>. Accessed on 19/may/2018.

xxv *Ibid.*

xxvi JONES, Nicola *et al.*, The fallout of rape as a weapon of war, 2014. Available at <<https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/8990.pdf>>. Accessed on 28/nov/2019.

xxvii GIZELIS, THEODORA-ISMENE, Gender Empowerment and United Nations Peacebuilding, *Journal of Peace Research*, v. 46, n. 4, p. 505–523, 2009.

xxviii GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA, First 150 Days Action Plan, 2006. Available at <<https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/4B6D32CC99BB6DE785257154006EAEAE-govlbr-lbr-18apr.pdf>>. Accessed on 24/oct/2019.

xxix GARIBA, EDWARD BANKA, Post-conflict development in Liberia, *The African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) - African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, v. 11, n. 2, p. 105–132, 2011.

xxx *Ibid.*

xxxi MASSAQUOI, William N., *Women and Post-conflict Development: A Case Study on Liberia*, Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master in City Planning, MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 2007.

xxxii BBC, Liberia's Sirleaf wins \$5m leadership prize, *BBC News*, 2018. Available at <<https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-43027375>>. Accessed on 18/nov/2018.

xxxiii REHN, Elisabeth; JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, Ellen, *Women, war, peace: the independent experts' assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building*, New York, NY: UNIFEM, 2002.

xxxiv AL JAZEERA, *Ellen Johnson Sirleaf responds to allegations of nepotism*.

xxxv JIDEONWO, *Why Africa owes a debt of gratitude to Ellen Johnson Sirleaf*.

xxxvi *Ibid.*

xxxvii REHN, Elisabeth; JOHNSON-SIRLEAF, Ellen, *Women, war, peace: the independent experts' assessment on the impact of armed conflict on women and women's role in peace building*, New York, NY: UNIFEM, 2002.

xxxviii JAGLAND, Thorbjørn, *The Nobel Peace Prize 2011 - Presentation Speech*, NobelPrize.org, disponível em: <<https://www.nobelprize.org/prizes/peace/2011/ceremony-speech/>>, acesso em: 10 set. 2018.