ASSESSMENT OF THE VULNERABILITY OF MALES IN POST-CONFLICT SITUATION: CASE STUDY OF THE LIBERIAN CONFLICT

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LEGON        JULY 2017
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work is entirely my research except the references that have been made to the works of other authors. Such references have been cited and duly acknowledged. This work is the result of my own research under the supervision of Dr. Afua Yakohene. I assume full responsibility for this work.

......................................................... .........................................................
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(STUDENT) (SUPERVISOR)

DATE ........................................... DATE: ...........................................
DEDICATION

To God, for seeing me through this research successfully.

To the loving memory of my father, the Late Francis Kwabena Appau.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praises and thanks to God Almighty, for seeing me through this research work successfully.

I express my gratitude and appreciation to my supervisor, Dr. Afua Yakohene for her invaluable guidance, dynamism and motivation that have seen me through the completion of this research successfully. Thanks again for supplying me with relevant materials I needed.

I am forever indebted to my parents, Mr. Anthony Kwaku Nyame and Mrs Joyce Appau, for selflessly giving me the opportunity of higher education. I thank them for their prayers and sacrifices. I am sincerely grateful to Mr. Isaac Graham for his constant encouragement and support in this academic journey. Thanks so much for always believing in me.

To my three irreplaceable sisters – Esther, Yvette and Davina, God bless them for all their prayers love and motivation that kept me in times I almost gave up.

Special thanks to these individuals who opened their doors to me when I needed to conduct interviews on this project; Olga Teye-Topue (Protection Associate, United Nations High Commission for Refugees, Ghana) Tetteh Padi (Programme coordinator, Ghana Refugees Board), Christopher Agoha (Political affairs officer, United Nations Mission In Liberia), ADP Francis Omane-Addo (Secretary, Africa Correctional Services Association). Without them the completion of this thesis would not have been possible.

I believe I am fortunate to have been in the midst of great intellectuals like my colleagues, (LECIAD class of 2017), thanks for challenging me to this far. Finally, I express my thanks to Ebenezer Anderson, Alfred Atakorah and Eric Amartey for their support and contribution to this research.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACSA</td>
<td>Africa Correctional Services Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>AFL</td>
<td>Armed Forces of Liberia</td>
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<tr>
<td>AIDS</td>
<td>Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<td>CDR</td>
<td>Community Driven Reconstruction</td>
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<td>CIOM</td>
<td>Council for International Organization for Medical Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>DDR</td>
<td>Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration</td>
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<td>ECOMOG</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group</td>
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<td>ECOWAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of West African State</td>
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<tr>
<td>GBV</td>
<td>Gender-Based Violence</td>
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<td>GDP</td>
<td>Gross Domestic Product</td>
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<td>HIV</td>
<td>Human Immunodeficiency Virus</td>
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<td>ICDSI</td>
<td>Independence Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues</td>
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<td>IDMC</td>
<td>Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre</td>
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<td>IDP</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<td>IGNU</td>
<td>Interim Government of National Unity</td>
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<td>INPFL</td>
<td>Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberation</td>
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<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Funds</td>
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<td>LAPS</td>
<td>Liberia Association of Psychological Services</td>
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<td>LDF</td>
<td>Lofa Defense Force</td>
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<td>LPC</td>
<td>Liberian Peace Council</td>
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<td>LURD</td>
<td>Liberian United for Reconciliation and Democracy</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAE</td>
<td>Monitoring and Evaluation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>MODEL</td>
<td>Movement for Democracy in Liberia</td>
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<td>NPFL</td>
<td>National Patriotic Front of Liberia</td>
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<td>NRM</td>
<td>National Resource Management</td>
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<td>NSSR</td>
<td>National Security Sector Reform</td>
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<td>RUF</td>
<td>Revolutionary United Front</td>
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<tr>
<td>SALW</td>
<td>Small Arms and Light Weapons</td>
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<td>STD</td>
<td>Sexually Transmitted Disease</td>
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<td>ULIMO</td>
<td>United Liberation Movement for Democracy</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNHCHR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNICEF</td>
<td>United Nations Children’s Fund</td>
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<td>UPFL</td>
<td>United Patriotic Front of Liberia</td>
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<td>WANEP</td>
<td>West African Network for Peacebuilding</td>
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<td>WINEP</td>
<td>Women in Peacebuilding Network</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organisation</td>
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<td>WPS</td>
<td>Women Peace and Security</td>
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<td>VSL</td>
<td>Village Savings and Loans</td>
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<td>YEST</td>
<td>Youth Empowerment and Skills Training</td>
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Vulnerability can be defined as being handicapped in protecting oneself from danger or a negative situation. This research sought to assess the vulnerability of males in post conflict situation in Liberia. Many African countries have directly or indirectly been affected by brutish, violent and destructive conflict; which have resulted in loss of many lives. In the post-conflict situation in Liberia, there were the displacement of millions and the subsequent retardation of the country’s economy. The research, however, sought to assess the vulnerability of males in the post-conflict situation in Liberia. It argues that, firstly, the vulnerability of men in post conflict Liberia has not received much attention like their female counterparts. Secondly, it assesses the dynamics of armed conflict on males and its impact on Africa’s development. Thirdly, it assess how the vulnerability of males in the post-conflict affected their economic, political, educational and social lives. It concludes by that, males are as vulnerable as their female counterparts. Finally, it recommends that state and non-states actors should provide social, educational and economic assistance to males and also establish an assurance for them to openly talk about their ordeals knowing they will have the needed support.
CHAPTER ONE
RESEARCH DESIGN

1.1 Background to the Statement of Problem

Africa is touted to be the most conflict-prone region in the world. It is believed that, Africa has experienced more conflicts compared to other continents of the world and indeed, there are on-going conflicts in some African countries. Many African countries have directly or indirectly been affected by brutish, violent and destructive conflicts, which have resulted in the loss of many lives, the displacement of millions and the consequent retardation of economies of these countries.

Several scholars have given different definitions for conflict. The word “conflict” is described by Joseph Nye as, “the study of incompatible goals between or among groups leading to protests and contestations.” Diez et al, define conflict as, “a struggle or contest between people with opposing needs, ideas, beliefs, values, or goals.” Their definition emphasises the opposition or incompatibility at the heart of the conflict, and excludes the exact nature of these incompatibilities, that is, whether they are between individuals, groups or societal positions, whether they rest in different interests or beliefs, or whether they have a material existence or come into being only through discourse.” To Holsti, conflict is “a particular relationship between states or rival factions within a state which implies subjective hostilities or tension manifested in subjective economic or military hostilities.” Coser, on his part views conflict as “a struggle over values and claims to scarce status, power and resources, in which the aims of the conflicting parties are to injure or eliminate their rivals.”

Conflicts could however, be violent or uncontrollable, dominant or recessive, resolvable or insolvable. Therefore, conflict can be said to be the existence of incompatible goals between and among groups leading to protests and contestations that, sometimes aggravate into wars.
There are many causes of conflicts in Africa with most of them having recurring frequencies. Causes such as resource allocation, power struggle, ethnicity, inter-state boarder control and poor economic performance cannot be overlooked.\textsuperscript{7} States which have experienced some form of conflict on the African continent include Ethiopia, Eritrea, Algeria, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sierra Leone, Uganda Cote d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast), Liberia, Nigeria, Sudan and South Sudan/Darfur, Zimbabwe, Mali and Burkina Faso, just a few to mention. Conflict is recorded as the major challenge facing the African continent.\textsuperscript{8} The Liberian civil war is one of the most destructive conflicts that have ever occurred on the Africa continent.\textsuperscript{9}

The Liberian conflict started in 1989 and ended in 2003. It is reported that more than 250000 lives were lost and a lot more displaced into neighbouring countries as refugees.\textsuperscript{10} The United Nations estimates that, over 250,000 people were killed and a third of the population was displaced to neighbouring countries.\textsuperscript{11} It is also estimated that about 51\% of the population is below the age of 18, rendering many of them homeless. The conflict ruined the economy of the nation and destroyed most of its basic infrastructure and other services. Liberia still faces many other challenges including the successful reintegration of ex-combatants (including child soldiers and civilians) and thousands of internally and externally displaced people by helping reintegrate them into the society. There is still the urgent need to improve the health and educational systems and other basic social services like electricity and shelter. The aftermath of a violent conflict such as that of Liberia ushers in a high level of vulnerability to all. Therein, very little attention has been given to the vulnerability of men and boys.

There are three different aspects of vulnerability. The first is the degree of resilience of the livelihood system of an individual or group, and their capacity for recoverability (another
measure of economic strength and responsiveness to hazards). This can be called “livelihood resilience” and has some affinity with Sen’s Concept of entitlement.\textsuperscript{12} The second is the health component (medical), which includes both the robustness of individuals (itself, largely a function of livelihood strength) and the operation of various social measures (especially preventive medicine). The third component is the degree of preparedness of an individual or group. This is determined by the protection available against a given hazard, something that depends on people acting on their own behalf and on social factors.\textsuperscript{13}

According to the Council for International Organization for Medical Science (CIOM), to be vulnerable means to be exposed to the possibility of harm while being unable to protect oneself.\textsuperscript{14} Therefore, vulnerability is viewed as a dynamic phenomenon that influences household well-being over time and it is the result of two distinct components that exist in a fragile external environment surrounding households, as well as, the resilience to fortify oneself when these risks manifest into shocks.\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{1.2 Statement of the Problem}

Gender and Conflict Studies espouses the role gender plays in beginning or ending conflict and, the extent to which both males and females are affected differently by conflict. Several studies have been done in recent times illustrating the vulnerability of women and children during conflicts and in post-conflict situations. Aoláin, carried out one of such study in her work, “Gender, Masculinities and Transition in Conflict Societies”. She identifies how conflicts affect men and women differently from a gendered perspective. She reveals that, women are more disadvantaged during conflict situations than men.\textsuperscript{16} In my opinion, men are as vulnerable as women in post-conflict situations, particularly, with that of post-conflict Liberia.
It appears, nonetheless, that minimal attention has been given to the vulnerability of male during and post conflict situations. The plight of males has not received as much attention as compared to that of females. It is upon this background that, the study aims at assessing the vulnerability of males in post-conflict in Liberia and the various platforms and mechanisms being utilized to address this vulnerability for the purpose of healing, peace and national development.

1.3 Research Questions

- How do conflicts affect males and make them vulnerable?
- What are the factors that have contributed to male vulnerability after the Liberian Conflict?
- What measures are being put in place to address factors that promote male vulnerability after the Liberian conflict?

1.4 Research Objectives

The research is conducted against the background of the following aims and objectives:

- To assess the effect of conflict on males and how it makes them vulnerable.
- To investigate the factors that contribute to male vulnerability after the Liberian Conflict.
- To address measures put in place to address male vulnerability after the Liberian conflict.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study focuses primarily on assessing male vulnerability in post conflict Liberia after the immediate cessation of hostilities between 2003 and 2015.
1.6 Rationale of the Study

The research will broaden the intellectual scope of academicians, policy makers, international institutions and civil society in both academic and development dialogue on male vulnerability in post conflict situations and recommend measures towards addressing them. It will also provide valuable information for further research.

1.7 Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this research is, males are vulnerable in post-conflict Liberia just as their female counterparts.

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The concept of Human Security is used as the framework for the research. Historically, the idea of broadening the concept of security from state security to that of individual human beings was first articulated by the Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues (ICDSI) in 1982. The UNDP 1994 Human Development Report defines human security as “safety from chronic threats and protection from sudden hurtful disruptions in the pattern of daily life.”17 Human or People Centered Security have two main aspects. First, “safety from such chronic threats as hunger, disease and repression” and second, “protection from sudden and hurtful disruptions in the patterns of daily life whether in homes, in jobs or in communities.”18

The basic components of Human Security from the 1994 Human Development Report includes; Economic Security, which emphasizes an appreciable basic income that must be earned from productive work or from public financial systems by individuals to be able to
provide their basic needs. It also includes Food Security, which also means having the physical and economic capabilities to obtain basic foods in their appreciable qualities and quantities. Additionally, Health Security suggests minimum security from ailments and avoidance of lifestyles that are dangerous to the health of individuals. Environmental Security refers to practices that lead to the deterioration of the natural environment and associated consequences. Political Security stresses on the extent to which individuals within a state are allowed to exercise their political liberties; such as the freedom to vote for any political party of one's choice without coercion or restrictions. Personal Security focuses on the extent to which individuals within a state are protected from physical violence or harm and lastly, Community Security expounds the efforts made by government in protecting and enhancing the traditional relations and values that bind people together and promote harmony among individuals in a state.  

Taylor Owen, also proposes, a limit-based theory centered on UNDP definition, which offers a satisfaction to what normally is referred to as a fractured debate. He defined the concept as, “a method of protecting people from critical or pervasive threats, situations and allowing them to have basic opportunities and freedoms essential to their livelihood.” He asserted that, to have a clear policy agenda which will be able to operate under various scales, it is important to limit the threat of inclusion by severity and not the causes or bridges which divide the opponent, this in its own will address the critique of the concept.

Lincoln Cheng argues that, the term Human Security focuses on human survival, well-being and freedom, He further argues that, the concept of Human Security can be analyzed from an objective perspective, thus it is the ultimate end which harnesses all security concerns of humanity. Kanti Bajpal, on his part asserts that, Human Security relates to the protection of
the individual personal safety and freedom from direct and indirect threats of violence. He posits that, the promotion of human development and goal governance and the collective use of sanctions and force are central to managing Human Security.23

MacFarlane et al, argued in favour of adding violence into the mainstream traditional security discussion and pointed out the success gained in violence based Human Security Programs. They believed in the value added conceptual framework consequences. MacFarlane commented on Realism’s inability to identify the state as an internal aggressor, and its inability to analytically explain that 95% of conflicts are within the states rather than between two or more states.24

In spite of the above, the concept has come under a barrage of criticisms. Newman argues that, the concept does not allow scholars and policy makers to prioritize different types of threats, it confuses sources and consequences of insecurity.25 Sakiko Fukuda-Parr and Carol Messineo assert that, the concept is seen to allow international institutions and powerful states the freedom to regulate weaker states.26 This inadvertently disempowers impoverished states. In addition, some skeptics of the concept believe that the validity of the concept it is too vague and broad to be examined academically and that, it should not blur the importance of traditional security agendas.27

The relevance of the Concept of Human Security is associated with two sets of principles; Human Security is not only relevant but it is needed as a response to the interrelatedness and complexity of the current trends of security threats from persistent poverty, ethnic violence, climate change, health and human trafficking pandemics, international terrorism and sudden economic and financial downturns. Such threats tend to acquire transnational dimensions and
move beyond traditional notions of security that focus on external military aggressions alone. Human Security is also required as a comprehensive approach that utilizes the wide range of new opportunities to tackle such threats in an integrated manner.  

In linking Human Security to the Concept of Vulnerability, MacFarlane further indicates that, it is important to elucidate the concept of Human Security as the ability of a household to maintain a standard of living over time. His research emphasizes basic components of Human Security such as “availability and amount of income earned by the household, availability and type of shelter, availability and type of water, sanitation facilities and fuel.”

Other scholars such as Duffield and Waddell also suggest that Human Security means something more than safety from violent threats. They each criticize the pragmatic rationale of the narrow proponents not only by citing the substantive importance of a wider range of issues (such as poverty, disease, and environmental disasters), but also posits that, in shifting the referent of security, these issues necessarily fall under the Human Security umbrella. To them, the subsequent analytic and normative difficulties are unfortunate but unavoidable consequences of broadening the security paradigm beyond threats to the state.

The concept is relevant to the research because it focuses primarily on protecting people while promoting peace and assuring sustainable and continuous development.

1.9 Literature Review

There has been some scholarly works done on the subject of Gender and Conflicts in the Post-Cold War era in recent times. However, little attention has been given to the vulnerabilities of males during and after conflict situations. Conflict in all forms is endemic
all over the world. Violent conflict exists within a triangle of relationships, which involves the belligerents and the citizens from the location the conflict is taking place. In many analyses of conflicts however, the vulnerability of males is not often over looked or is rarely considered. It is therefore imperative to assess the impact of conflict on males in post-conflict situations and highlight the possible means of reducing, if not eliminating it. Many researchers and scholars have done in-depth studies on conflicts that have been useful in conducting this study. This study will review the impact and examine their contributions to the topic under study.

Conflict in Africa and Vulnerability

Adeleye Oyeniyi (2011) in her paper on Conflict and Violence in Africa: Causes, Sources and Types, she categorizes conflicts in Africa into five broad types. First of all is the Elite Conflicts which are normally of a low intensity but have significant impact on the polity. Secondly. There is Fractional Conflicts whose main purpose is to influence the composition of official power apparatus. Thirdly, Communal and Mass Conflicts that call into question not only the legitimacy of specific regimes but also the essentials of state power. Additionally, there is the Revolutionary Conflicts which poses a basic threat to the validity of state power as constituted and offer alternative political visions guided by a clearly defined set of organizing principles and lastly is the Foreign Intervention which questions foreign interventions and ruthless exploitation of African conflicts by the world super powers like the former Soviet Union and the United States. African leadership is therefore admonished to own up to the challenge and work towards the development of their nations and citizenry. Understanding and dealing with the types of conflict is a sure way of solving them and will help eliminate the overall impact on all groups affected during conflict situations.
Aremu, Johnson O., in his writing on “Conflicts in Africa: Meaning, Causes, Impact and Solution”, believes the causes of conflicts in Africa are as a result of “arbitrary borders created by the colonial powers, heterogeneous ethnic composition of African states, inept political leadership, corruption, negative effect of external debt burden and poverty.” He concludes by looking at the impact of conflicts on Africa’s socio-economic development, such as, the problem of reconstruction. There is a huge infrastructure gap for all countries coming out of armed conflict situations as almost all such infrastructures are destroyed during the battle, whiles patriotism, loyalty and mutual relations are all broken among hitherto friendly nations and people. It is therefore important for such relationships to be mended to ensure the gains made towards peace is sustained and the destroyed infrastructure rebuilt. This amounts to a total waste of material resources and unnecessary dissipation of energy on unproductive ventures.

Aremu, Johnson O. also highlights the problem of unemployment among the youth, which, is a major source of worry for the continent. It is instructive to note that, without other means of economic support, there is a danger that, unemployed former combatants will engage in criminal behaviours, especially with the many small arms in circulation in war-torn countries.

Another impact of conflict on socio-economic development of Africa is loss of life: A great number of Africans, young, old, male, female, civilians and military men alike, have lost their lives to various wars and conflicts on the continent.

Last is the creation of refugee crisis: One of the attendant effects of wars and conflicts in Africa is the emergence of numerous number of displaced persons who have become
refugees in different nations across the continent. This view is noteworthy as it places emphasis on the root cause of conflicts in the region. However, this is not the only case, as disregards for cultural values is a major factor since most of the conflicts in Africa are linked to ethnicity.

Ahmed Maha (2010) in his research, “Defining, Measuring and Addressing Vulnerability: The Case of Post-Conflict Environments” discusses the fact that vulnerability is dynamic; it emphasizes household and individual well-being at the present and the changes that occur over time. Making this distinction is important because uncertainty about the future affects household and individual well-being directly. From a policy perspective, it is important to make this distinction since policies that respond to both of these two components will have a greater and more sustainable impact in the end.

In criticizing previous works, he indicates that vulnerability assessments used by practitioners are mostly ex-ante, focusing on disaster risk reduction, de-emphasizing vulnerability that results due to the occurrence of a shock.

In addressing the issue, Maha’s study proposes a six-step methodology to measure vulnerability:

a) Envisaging the identification of domains or functioning of losses

b) Dividing each domain into the components of vulnerability

c) Identifying each domain indicators that measures each components

d) Identifying thresholds for each indicator

e) Identifying cut-offs, which determine multidimensional vulnerability

f) Envisaging identification of levels of vulnerability.
In defining vulnerability, the study posits three assumptions: First, vulnerability in post-conflict environments is multidimensional. Second, vulnerability in post-conflict environments comes about because there is fall in resource endowments to which households have access that is a fall in the level of entitlements. Third, vulnerability in post-conflict environments is exacerbated by a breakdown in the process by which households convert entitlements into functioning that is exposure to risk.38 Above mentioned are all relevant to the study because many cultures and societies consider males the heads of households, therefore bringing their issues to the fore for the needed and appropriate exposure that will lead to resolution is critical.

Giller et al, in their research emphasise the health impact of war and conflict on the health of the people by looking at medical implications of conflict situations. Their research places much emphasis on psychological and physical consequences of violence on people and its corresponding impact on social life of a community. It concludes that such situations have widespread implications. A legacy of bitterness towards the perpetrators may make reconciliation and community reconstruction particularly difficult. Existing health services are usually overstretched and at best functions at lowest capacities, since they are expected to cope with an increased number of injuries because of widespread violence. Health systems need training support to enable them deal with such situations.39 This research is applicable to the study as it looks at the health implication of what males go through during and after conflicts from the medical perspective. Most of these males are afraid or shy to express their ordeal during conflict situations, as they will be tagged as weak or inferior in most African settings where males exhibit great strengths and fortification.
A study conducted by Fearon, Humphreys, and Weinstein (2009) examines the efficacy of international support by addressing the question of development aid and its impact on Social Cohesion after Civil Wars, by gathering evidence from post conflict Liberia. The study indicates that due to the destruction wrought by violent conflict, which destroys social capital, impedes economic development, and leads to the recurrence of violence, donor agencies are injecting large amounts of aid into post-conflict countries. They reviewed the concept of “Community Driven Reconstruction” (CDR) programs that takes significant share of this assistance, which support the establishment of new local institutions in order to promote social reconciliation.

Findings from their work suggest that , the CDR program improved community cohesion: communities raised significantly more money than control communities did. In addition, communities that receive international development assistance provides evidence that the introduction of new local-level institutions can alter patterns of social cooperation in a way that persists after the program’s conclusion. Villages exposed to a community driven reconstruction program exhibit higher subsequent levels of social cooperation than those in the control group, as measured through a community-wide public goods game.

Again, the research suggests that, changes in community cohesion can take place outside intervention, thus they can develop without fundamental changes either to the structure of economic relations or to more macro-level political processes. Their findings suggest that post-conflict development aid can have a measureable impact on social cohesion. This assertion is noteworthy as it portrays the impact of donor support in post conflict Liberia. It is imperative to note that, aid workers often return from the field demoralized and depressed with an impression that the benefits of foreign aid projects are easily captured by existing
power brokers and are not given to the areas for which the support are meant for. It is therefore important for donor agencies to assist in building strong institutions at the local and community levels. This will ensure that their support is making the intended impact, that is eliminating recurrence of conflict and addressing the vulnerability of males especially in post conflict situations since their smooth integration into society largely depends on the elimination of the driving forces of the conflicts.\textsuperscript{41}

**Gender and Conflict in International Relations**

According to Aoláin, in her work *Gender, Masculinities and Transition in Conflicted Societies*, she identifies how conflicts affect men and women differently from a gendered perspective. She reveals that, women are more disadvantage during conflict situations as compared to men. Aoláin explains her assertion by examining some peculiar situations that necessitate some form of masculinity in conflict situations and how this hyper masculinity subsequently affects peace-building attempts. In other words, she explores the role gender plays in the construction and implementation of post-conflict transition processes by focusing on gendered dimensions of societies.

Carpenter in her work “Recognising gender based violence against civilian men and boys in conflict situations” postulates that, even though there has been some reported acknowledgment of the experiences of civilian men and boys including force conscription and other forms of gender based abuses as evident in Former Yugoslavia in 1992, Pakistan in 1994, Rwanda in 1994 and in Northern Afghanistan, there exist some gaps in the analysis which has not been analyzed which mostly focuses on women and girls as manifest in UN.\textsuperscript{42} This is not surprising as, the United Nations Security Council Resolutions (UNSCR) 1325 calls on parties to the armed conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls
from gender-based violence, to neglect of protection for men and boys during such conflict situations.

Her work therefore contributes to Gender Studies by revealing how non-state actors have supported the efforts aimed at addressing the issue of gender-based violence in the context of protecting civilians, predominantly relying on the assumption that, girl and women are the major victims during violence situation, while ignoring the fact that, adult men and adolescent boys also face major risks of abuse and violence. This notion is based upon culturally constructed notions about gender roles. She therefore argued that, Human Security advocates have been unsuccessful in adequately recognizing, condemning, or responding to adult men’s risk of execution sexual-violence, and conscription as a human rights abuse and a Human Security problem. To Carpenter, emphasis must remain on gender, rather than on men, but gender must be defined inclusively so as not to remain synonymous only with women.

She concludes that, advocates of Human Security agenda must take the already existing literature on gender mainstreaming to assess vulnerabilities of populations instead of reifying the notion women are victims and men the perpetrators. Though the notion over the period has influenced all forms of gender based violence areas.

There exist some commonalities when comparing the above scholarly works. Both scholars emphasize that conflict can also be analyzed from a gendered perspective rather than the traditional ways of viewing conflicts usually from the realist perspective. In addition, they point out that, in addressing conflict situations, gender consideration must be of great priority during conflict resolutions, peacekeeping and reconstruction, as well as reconciliation efforts.
Their works also contribute significantly to the understanding of the concept of Human Security by identifying vulnerable groups during conflicts or violent situations and the need for the international community to put in place mechanisms and efforts geared towards protecting these disadvantaged groups during conflicts.

Notwithstanding the above similarities, there exist some differences in the works of Carpenter and Aoláin in their analyses of conflict from the gender perspective. Whilst Aoláin analyses how conflicts affect men and women differently from a gendered perspective, Carpenter’s works focuses predominantly on the neglect of the impacts of conflicts on men and boys, while more attention is being focused on women and girls as victims of conflict or violent situations.

Both articles contribute extensively to literature in the area of Gender and Conflict Studies in International Relations. Aoláin’s work in particular stresses the relevance of employing gender lens when analyzing the effects of conflicts on both men and women by pointing out that, doing so makes more effective the policies and practice involved in ending conflicts and ensuring that they do not recur. Carpenter’s work on the other hand calls on international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and the World Health Organization (WHO), as well as gender activists to formulate and promulgate legal and social frameworks and policies that will end gender stereotyping and consider men and boys as victims of conflict or violent situations.

Sandesh Sivakumaran in his writing, emphasizes the need for equal platform for discussing issues of sexual violence against boys and men as given to women and children. That is, boys and men also undergoes sexual violence in times of armed conflict (as well as in times of
peace) is a fact that must be acknowledged. He further assesses the state of knowledge and work in the field of male sexual violence and noted that very little is being done in this area. According to the author, lack of understanding of the issue and data has contributed to the low awareness and recognition given over the last decades.\(^{43}\)

There is therefore the need for legitimate debates to be held on this subject, but they must be held with the aim of taking the problem beyond mentioning it in speeches to finding a more pragmatic approach in nailing the issue. The issue of male sexual violence must not be considered under the rubric of torture, beatings, and the like, but must be addressed as it is. Strict prosecution of offenders and severe punishment issued out to those who will be implicated can achieve this.

**The Post - Conflict Situation in Liberia**

Adedeji Ebo (2005) in his book, *“The challenges and opportunities of security sector reform in post-conflict Liberia”*, argues that a successful Security Sector Reform (SSR) hinges on the relationship between the security on one hand and the security of the state on the other hand. The measure of success of the SSR is predicated on a broad definition other than a narrow focus on the state of security. He asserts that, there must be democratic governance of the security sector before operational efficiency can be measured, without it, there will be massive oppression of the citizenry by the armed group.

He further stresses the importance of the subject to Liberia because of the repeated security breaches and personalization of the security of the state with a very powerful presidential system. He therefore mentions the following as factors which prevent the advancement of good governance in Liberia security sector: Implementation gaps between SSR and the
broader governance framework, inadequate constitutional framework, lack of mechanisms for making the reform process accountable to the Liberians; inadequate parliamentary oversight; lack of genuine and effective civilian leadership and management capacity in the Ministry of Defence (MoD); inadequate civil society involvement in the reform process; in the recent past, a gap between the Liberian population and the leadership of UNMIL. Overall, a coherent and accountable framework for SSR in Liberia needs to be articulated, based on a comprehensive and inclusive national security policy.\textsuperscript{44}

The security of the state, when well-articulated and coordinated promote Security Sector Reform. The possibility for stability and peace building greatly depends on how well the two are collaborated. A homogenous combination of operational efficiency and democratic governance is the foundation of SSR. An imbalanced approach leaves Liberia as a practical testimony of the grotesque outcome. In addressing the various challenges and inadequacies of the security sector of Liberia, a comprehensive and inclusive national security policy was proposed. In summary, Liberians have the fundamental responsibility to reform the entire post conflict process and not just their security sector and to cater for men who became vulnerable during the war.

The above scholarly works contribute significantly to the topic under study, by revealing the nature of conceptualization between gender and conflicts in International Relations especially concerning the most vulnerable groups during conflict situations. They also espouse the nature of conflict in Africa. In addition, some literatures also reveal some post-conflict situations of addressing challenges and vulnerabilities suffered during the Liberian conflict. However, little is said in their works concerning the vulnerabilities of males during and after the Liberian conflict.
In matter of conflict situations, focus is mainly attached to the vulnerability of females during and post conflict. It is for this purpose that the research seek to assess the vulnerability of males in post Liberia conflict who were equally endangered with the ramifications the conflict brought to them.

1.10 Sources of Data

The sources of data for this study are both primary and secondary source. Primary data was collected through unstructured interviews with key personalities who occupy relevant offices and are privy to some vital information which are instrumental to this research. As such, some personnel from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees-Ghana (UNCHR), Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and Africa Correctional Services Association (ACSA) will be interviewed whiles Secondary Data was collected through journal articles, relevant online sites and books, as these are easily attainable and serve as opportunities for comparison with the primary data.

1.11 Research Methodology

The study used qualitative research method for data collection and analysis for this study. This gives the researcher room to pay attention to the context, process and live experiences. Qualitative research enables a researcher to acquire an indepth and holistic understanding of events so as to explain complex social and cultural issues. This method was also relevant because the study relied heavily on secondary data.

This research implored purposive sampling to select expert officials. According to Bryman (2008), purposive sampling is recommended in qualitative research using interviews, an
attempt to foster communication between the researcher and the samples relevant to the study.\textsuperscript{46} The sampling tool helped to collect reliable data.

A sample size of three respondents from United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees-Ghana (UNCHR), Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and Africa Correctional Services Association (ACSA) was used. The sample size was selected based on the expertise of the respondents.

In-depth interviews were conducted with the help of semi-structured interview guide. The researcher also used a detailed guide to conduct skype and face-to-face interview with respondents. The interview guide served as a controller to put participants within the limits of subject under discussions. Publications from relevant institutions were taped and data gathered were analysed for relevant information.

These were instrumental to the researcher in order to access the emic perspective of respondents by collecting detailed information in order to understand people’s views on the subject matter. Again, this was very useful to test the validity and reliability of the primary and secondary data collected.

The thematic analytical tool was used to collect data due to its simple and flexible nature. It allowed the researcher to comprehensively assess the implication of the concept of human security on political, economic, social and health issues in Liberia’s post Conflict.

For the purpose of this research, consent of participants were fully sought. These ethics were necessary to ensure all the respondents participated voluntarily and they were fully aware of
the research procedures and any potential risk. This value system also protects the confidentiality of the interviewees. In cases where radio or phone recorder was used, correspondents’s consent were fully indulged and they approved.

1.12 Arrangements of Chapters

Chapter One presents the Research Design, which entails the introduction, statement of the problem, objectives of study, hypothesis, and scope of the research, theoretical framework, and rationale of the study, literature review, data collection, and arrangement of chapters.

Chapter Two discusses the dynamics of armed conflicts on males and its impact on Africa’s development.

Chapter Three focuses on vulnerability of males and the impact of state and non-state support in post conflict Liberia whiles Chapter Four presents summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.
Endnotes

8 Collier, Paul, and Anke Hoeffler., op. cit.
10 Ibid
14 Ibid
18 Ibid
19 Ibid
21 Ibid
29 Ibid
31 Owen Taylor, op. cit.

Ahmed, Maha. *op. cit.*

Ahmed, Maha., *op. cit.*

Ahmed, Maha. *op. cit.*


Ahmed, Maha. *op. cit.*

Ahmed, Maha. *op. cit.*

Ahmed, Maha. *op. cit.*


Ibid.
2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the impact of armed conflicts on Africa’s development, by evaluating the effect of the factors that contribute to male vulnerability on development with respect to socio-economic growth and political impacts.

2.1 Socio-Economic Impacts of Conflicts in Africa

There exists a bulk of literature on the socio-economic impact of conflict which lends credence to the fact that underdevelopment causes conflicts and it is a consequence of it as well. In other words, there is likely to be conflict when there is economic underdevelopment and conflict worsens economic underdevelopment.¹ Multiplicity of factors such as age, ethnicity and occupation may influence how conflicts are experienced by people; whether women or men. Conflict has multi-faceted, short and long-term effects on environment, human well-being and development. Effects of conflicts that happen internally are experienced at various degrees within the immediate conflict area, and oftentimes in neighbouring countries. Conflict undermines physical, human, social and environmental capital, reducing opportunities that could have been used for development.²

Conflict affects human welfare, reduces life quality and the likelihood of victims living the life they desire is reduced. Lives are lost, opportunity, livelihoods as well as human dignity and basic human rights are also lost. Directly, livelihoods are influenced through minimized land access and insufficient accessibility to natural resources due to exclusion,
displacement and death of plants and animals. Conflicts can start a cycle of destruction and vulnerability of humanity. The heightening of social and economic vulnerability due to conflicts coupled with environmental land degradation may spark unrest and heighten conflict over important resources like food and water. There may be an increase in poverty not only through loss of livelihood. Inability of people to cope with change can also contribute to poverty. Absence of such resilience also directly leads to less accessibility to public services, thus, leading to, for example, a break out of diseases, destruction of subsistence livelihoods, unemployment and other entitlement which affect nutrition and consumption thus weakening the social cohesion and increasing insecurity.

Conflict is estimated to lead to, on average, 12% production losses and reduce growth in the agricultural sector by 3% per annum. Thus, war increases the gap between need and food production, increasing poverty and hunger and consequently boosting continued food aid dependence.

According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), “violence and armed conflicts alone led to the internal displacement of 38 million people in 2014”. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) Office estimates that same year, averagely 32,200 victims migrated daily seeking protection either within the borders of their countries or in other countries because of persecution and conflict. Thus, forced displacement is a normal consequence of conflicts, not a collateral one (Jacques 2012:50).

Displacement is mostly perceived as a temporary phase. However, evidence in nations like Sudan, Sri Lanka, Peru and Somalia indicates the phenomenon is a permanent one. Several people have been displaced globally due to wars. A lot of victims have been displaced not just once but for a number of periods (Indra, 1999). Displacement does not
obviously mean that victims forcibly migrate to places distant from their homes during and after armed conflicts. Millions of people were internally displaced during armed conflicts in 1990s. Others were still striving within the borders of their country. Refugees outside of their native borders are provided protection by the UN Refugee Convention of 1951 but not those internally displaced. The International Community is limited in options in the protection of internally displaced people (IDP) especially if cooperation from their home country is low.8

Clearly, the duty to protect IDPs as well as meet their basic needs lies with the State. In an armed conflict, it is in the hands of the authorities to control the territory where the displaced are located. Oftentimes, displacement results in a shift in gendered responsibilities and roles for both men and women. More women have become heads of households because of demographic changes due to conflict. This contributes to changes in the division of labor, hence, creating fresh opportunities for women, however, in other regards, further marginalizing their place in society.

Though displacement results in vulnerability and trauma, it is an advantage to some women. They are prioritized in development and training programmes in health and education and in activities that generate money. Skills gained help them to have fresh responsibilities in their households, thus, becoming the sole breadwinners when men have lost their lives or may have challenges being employed after they have been removed from their abode. This shift in roles represents a move away from the ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ roles stereotype. However, men may be depressed with these reforms. Others may resort to alcoholism and may even attack women either publicly or privately (de Alwis and Hyndman 2002).9
When infrastructure is destroyed, it does not only affect essential services provision such as electricity, water, and health care. There is loss of communication because roads and telecommunications breaks down too. This may heighten the degree of isolation already experienced by communities in the rural areas; it may minimize their sense of citizenship and further contribute to civil society that is wasting away. Local, national and international issues all have a role to play in sparking conflicts. At the local level, armed groups may arise due to controversies over resource access. Such are often blamed on large scale national or international “political” conflicts or economic interests. The local socio-economic space may be militarized including increasingly bloody competition over economic resources and infrastructure, trade networks and extraction systems. This may sometimes be evident in the rent-searching behaviour by those linked to military power or even direct appropriation and asset transfer. This inhibits local people from accessing markets. It also pushes up transaction costs and drives up expenditure.\textsuperscript{10} In the short term and also in post-conflict periods, the main social and economic consequence of conflict is when people are displaced. Mostly, those without military training are the casualties of armed conflicts. Most conflicts in Africa often takes on ethnic undertones of which militias and guerrillas may get involved and regular troops and civilians are targeted because of their ethnic or cultural ties.\textsuperscript{11}

In several conflicts in countries such as Rwanda, Liberia, Uganda, Sierra Leone, Angola and Mozambique, child soldiers have been forcefully recruited. There was an estimate of 250,000 child soldiers in Africa in 2001. In order not to dampen the morale of the other side, children may be killed or maimed. Due to violent conflicts, street children have increased.\textsuperscript{12}
Neighbouring countries have their share of displacements when refugees flee there. Impacts on such countries, however, are not limited to these population movements. Indeed, there may be multiple effects economically and socially. The phenomenon of displacements of people during armed conflicts also directly impact on communities and countries which receive them. Burden is placed on local infrastructure like health and educational systems as well as national security. There are often complex cross-border connections between different actors at different levels and this involves cross-border operations between armed opposition groups. For example, the operations of Boko Haram on the Nigeria and Cameroon border where they engage in arms trade, narcotics, sale of natural resources and other commodities which is fuelling instability across the border. International border zones are particularly affected by conflict. Often, these zones are economically and politically marginalized with weak state administrative and security structures.¹³

Conflicts also have macro-level influence. These include a reduction in state capacity associated with a reducing revenue base, diminished public spending and economic stagnation due to a decline in exports, exchange rate depreciation, hyper-inflation, disinvestment and capital flight (Luckham et al, 2001).¹⁴ Economically, however, the impacts are not limited to the center of conflict only; countries bordering conflict zones may have to shoot up their expenditure on security in military and non-military sectors to be able to cope with refugee situation as well as their own internal security. During conflicts, there’s either a breakdown of public institutions or their failure to cope with people displaced internally or externally. Conflicts can result in large areas coming under the authority of non-state actors. A lower managerial capacity may be as a result of weak
environmental institutions and governance systems. Little monitoring and evaluation may lead to biodiversity loss while encouraging an unsustainable and illegal natural resources trade. In these zones, natural resources may be exploited at alarming rates so as to buy weapons, or simply to enrich members of the controlling military.

2.2 Socio-Economic Impacts of Conflicts on Gender in Africa

Gender inequality is a facet of a large structure of inequalities, abuse and norms of discrimination that help in mobilizing groups and making violence legitimate. Qualitatively, cross-country research in conflict-stricken countries suggests that gender relations that are patriarchal overlap with ethno-national and economic power relations, fuelling a likelihood of armed conflict.

The effect of armed conflict on the economy of the affected country cannot be over emphasized. There is a strong negative correlation between conflict and economic development of any country which directly impacts its citizenry both male and female. Any country which experience armed conflict undergoes a devastating economic hardship. The conflict in Liberia affected the GDP to decline well over 90% in less than two decades. This is one of the worst economic downfalls in world history since World War II.

The economy of Liberia utterly collapsed during the war. Liberia’s GDP was at its peak in the late 1970s. It, however, began to fall after the coup in 1980. When the war began in the late 1980s, the economy collapsed eventually (Figure 1). Between 1987 and 1995, Liberia’s GDP declined a whopping 90%. The economy initially began to get back on its feet after violence reduced in 1996 and elections were subsequently held in 1997.
However, the conflict was soon re-sparked. Violence reached its extreme between 2002 and 2003. Peacekeepers arrived in mid-2003. In 2005, when elections were due, Liberia’s average income was only a quarter of that which existed in 1987, and just a sixth of its level in 1979. In nominal terms, GDP per capita in Liberia was only $160 in 2005.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{Figure 1: GDP and GDP per capita in Liberia, 1976-2007 (constant prices; 1987=100)}

Widely, it is accepted that conflicts change the economic role of women at home as well as the community at large. Though well-researched evidence is almost non-existent,
current comparative studies point to the fact that wars can boost the economic activity of women largely by participating in labour markets and engagement in other economic activities to support and cater for their families. In some cases, this is linked to a boost in overall household and community well-being. Generally, however, employment of females mostly involves poorly-paid, menial professions, by necessity. In contrast, married women still submit to traditional views of women’s role; doing domestic self-employment in the informal sector or voluntary family labour.\textsuperscript{20} The consequences of conflict on women’s economic activity vary from life status and age. Widows are empowered (probably tasks and subsistence farming).\textsuperscript{21} Mostly, tradition and culture, education and accessibility to land and resources shape the economic opportunities open to women.\textsuperscript{22}

In Colombia, Nepal and East Timor, there is evidence that, women are empowered in households when they have a greater economic participation. This is measured by the quota of the income women contribute in a household. Several case studies in conflict-related countries like Sudan, Uganda, Angola, Mali, Liberia and Somalia have revealed that women in some instances make decisions in the family once they become the sole breadwinner.\textsuperscript{23} Generally, however, there is inadequate research to verify if there are long-term impacts on gender roles since they may have been adjusted temporarily through the conflict period.\textsuperscript{24} It is posited that, after the conflict, women tend to lose the economic, social and political gains they may have gained during the conflict, mainly due to the fact that men forcefully take up their roles once they return from combat and exile. This coerces the women to return to their former roles.
Inspite of the foregone view, men, on the other hand bear the consequence of post conflict situation as they tend to become dependent on women as a result of loss of their income generation activities during the conflict, often most men who cannot bear the humiliation of a women taking up the role of breadwinners may be forced to engage in other social vices. Male normative role in society (where males are seen as family heads and always to be at the frontline of the family issues) possess a burden on males as their actual capabilities are not considered.

2.3 Political Impact of Conflicts in Africa

Employing violence over political issues is referred to as armed violence. Political consequences of conflict are, thus, grave. The commonest political consequence of armed conflict is that, it leads to securitization of a chunk of society. Policies often rejected by the populace can be forced down their throats with support from state security. Freedom of speech can be easily inhibited by linking certain political stances to terrorists. Securitization may result in political exclusion during conflict. This destabilizes the community. Many countries in Africa have tried to run authoritarian and democratic rules concurrently while sustaining the openness and inclusiveness of their political strategy. Should this inclusive strategy not succeed, the only way to push the agenda of the opposition is via riots and violence. Stopping popular riots is very expensive. The political climate is further securitized. Eventually, these half-hearted attempts at opening up have oftentimes led to further suppression or relapse into wars.

Collier et al (2003) posit that if a country experiences wars at once, it is susceptible to further conflicts. This is obvious in all the conflicts across Africa with Liberia not being an
exception. War is expensive; both economically and socially. It significantly minimizes the opportunities economically available to young males. In the first place, civil conflict worsens the very conditions which sparked conflict.26

2.3.1 Political Impact of Conflict on Gender in Africa

Conflict creates opportunities for women to take up more roles politically, such roles include taking up political appointments in both the executive and political arms of government27. Hughes (2009) discovers that large scale wars that politically contest the system and or change the government’s composition have made a lot of women gain parliamentary representation. Studies from the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) have evidence that from Rwanda, Mozambique, Uganda to Tajikistan, political openings combined with structural and cultural mechanisms have led to more women getting into parliament.28

Like the issue of gender-powered economic impacts, however, most women have not been able to exploit political gains made during conflicts to translate them into post-conflict political representation (Hughes, 2009)29. Although some women in Sudan and Uganda took roles politically at community and national levels, the trend is not consistent. In several examples, women have not made gains into power structures at the community level or higher political levels compared to their fellow males.30 There is still a gulf between men and women politically as far as post-conflict political representation in Africa. This mostly can be attributed to the cultural influences and norms in most Africa communities which still relegate the plight of the woman as inferior to the men thus preventing the women themselves to take up political position even in a stable political
climate. Men on the other hand are mostly dominant in all decision making processes thereby dictating the pace and direction in most post conflict resolution.

Even though men take up majority of the political roles right from the community through the county to the national assembly and dominate in the political landscape, there is a high tendency of not getting the right men to occupy positions since most of them may have fled or there is shortage male who have been groomed or, lack requisite educational qualification to take up political leadership roles.

2.4 Cultural and Ideological Impact of Conflict in Africa

The causes of African conflicts cannot be understood without an appreciating the role culture plays and the struggle between African and European culture. Prior to colonization, African had their own set of beliefs and way of life through its ethnic groupings. Ethnicity is viewed as a form of identification, socially specific to the history of a locality, location and culture. Ethnicity in Africa is a contemporary construction rooting from our experience colonially.

Ethnicity in Africa can be viewed as an unfortunate happening of history which originates from both specific local conditions and global influences, which took place solely during the colonial period, when access to power and political representation were changed and creating of artificial boundaries of territories drawn up around perceived ‘cultural units’ and social-political units became the order of the day. A system of attitudes and behaviours totally embodied in way of life of a group of people including their norms and traditions, diet, language, music and dancing, religion, art and distinctive behaviours is culture. This makes the group of people unique and sets them apart from
other people. Armed conflict destabilizes family support systems, worsens divisions between groups, boosts intra-group insecurity and hostility, destabilizes inter-group economic relationships and promotes disease. During conflict, most leaders resort to the use of ethnic cleavages as a tool to gain or consolidate power which turns to favour one ethnic group over the other. This in turns weakens traditional authority control which leads to problems in promoting peace and protecting human rights after the conflict. This phenomenon greatly affects social cohesion and control in the affected communities thereby prolonging the span of the conflict and impacting on the development of the country and the continent.

2.4.1 Cultural and Ideological Impact of Conflict on Gender in Africa

A variety of factors such as ethnicity, race and occupational group influence how individuals experience war; whether male or female. This inequality experienced during and after armed conflict in all cultures and societies is derived from dominant understanding of gender roles. In the context of armed conflict, there is still the perception that women are only wives, mothers and nurturers whereas men are perceived as aggressors and soldiers. Although women and men do often assume these traditional parts, there is a tendency in mainstream literature to exaggerate the extent to which they play stereotypical gender roles during wars.

Stereotypes surrounding male and female and a culturally permissive approach to their issues are always skewed. In certain cultural set up, women are relegated to the background irrespective of the contribution and impact they make in the society. The Grebo culture in South-Eastern Liberia is an example of how the culture and ideology impact conflict in Africa. Their culture is subdivided into the uncivilized and civilized
with the latter controlling greater land, money and involvement in political activities while “uncivilized” have little money and opportunities. Their women are expected to work to cater for their families. In spite of the contribution women take as the breadwinners, women are still viewed as subordinates to their male counterparts though there is the expectation on them to contribute to the finances of the household. In the “civilized” societies, the men are the breadwinners and the women regarded as home owners or child support. Men are expected to do whatever it takes to cater at all cost to maintain the respect and dignity of their family name.

2.5 Dynamics of Armed Conflict: The Gender Perspective
2.5.1 Men and the Dynamics of Conflict

Men and women respond to violence differently during and after conflicts; both as ‘perpetrators’ and ‘victims’. Women are majorly the victims of sex-related violence but men and boys become victims, too, during wars. This is to suppress male power. Though there have been accounts of men being sexually abused on the battle field, they continue to be labelled as ‘masculine heroes’.

Zarkov (2001) argues that with regards to the former Yugoslavia, unwillingness to label men as sexual violence victims during wars was concluded with regards to power relations during armed conflict. Subsequently, there was the process of nation-building which dictated who could be tagged sufferers. Otherwise speaking, a woman may be identified a victim but a man can never be a victim. This is a denial of one of the gendered realities of wars.

It must be noted that, men do not only experience sexual violence. They are also victims of human rights abuses though such differ but are equally unjust as those inflicted on
women; whether as prisoners of war, soldiers, or as people who have diverged from the gender norms (e.g. homosexuals, male pacifists). They also are intentionally aimed at wars and such consists of majority of casualties caused by Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALW). Many households are led by women who are experiencing conflict. This is an evidence man’s weakness (El Jack 2002).

It is common to have men as combatants in armed conflicts in the region. Literature estimates around 300,000 children are trained as soldiers worldwide. Majority of such are in Africa and they are boys (Verhey2001). Child soldiers are largely boys with an insignificant percentage of combatants as girls. Such concerns need urgent attention. However, in many conflict settings, the issue of boy soldiers is perceived as a norm or nothing beyond the extraordinary.

There have been some documented records of men being abused sexually during war and conflicts. Johnson et al. (2010) reported about 23.6% of boys and men were sexually abused in Eastern DR Congo. In Bosnia about 5000 inmates were reported to have been abused sexually during the armed conflict (Stemple, 2009: 613). Johnson et al. (2008) likewise reported that statistically, one third of former combatants whose men experienced sexual violence in Liberia, with other similar cases been reported in Columbia, El Salvador, Afghanistan Sudan and Syria (UN 2015). Increasingly, the degree of pain sexually abused men brings in war zones is being identified by the International Community specifically the UNHCR. In July 2012, it issued guidelines of recognizing and supporting males who have been raped and others who have
fallen victim to other forms of sex-related violence when conflict broke out. Victims are displaced (UNHCR, 2012).

Challenges that arise when managing victims are significant though varied. They are mostly peculiar to their legal, psychological, medical and social consequences. However, because such trauma and pain triggered by sexual abuse against men during wars has been overlooked at the national and international levels, its reduction has until recently, not been even a concern worth considering. Until recently, the UN Security Council Report (UN 2015) only recognized in detention settings the reality of sexual and gender-based violence against boys and men (6.p.2). In spite of these documented cases most measures from the international to the national levels do not directly target male but often geared towards the prosecution of sexual violence instead of supporting the survivors. “Technical support to relevant countries has been provided by the UN through the training of mediators, mediation experts and envoys. Their sole duty is to ensure that provisions on sexual violence be made in agreements of ceasefire and peace (89. p. 26).”

In only one paragraph, the Secretary General Report addressed the concern of survivors’ support pointing out the significance of ensuring “differentiated and appropriate services” for male victims. However, it is unclear, stating duties without guidelines for a practical course of action.

“I encourage donors, member states and regional organization: (a) To help deliver multi-sectoral support for victims of sex-related violence including the full range of reproductive health and sexual services: HIV awareness, response measures and legal, psychosocial and
livelihood support, ensuring appropriate and differentiated response for male survivors and children (100. p. 29)\textsuperscript{48}

2.5.2 Gender-Based Violence (GBV) On Men

Gender-based violence discussions have currently emerged as an important issue in the conflict discussion but have been limited mostly to sexual violence against girls and women. It is worth noting that gender-based violence affects both male (especially civilian) and female as men also undergoes sexual violence, sex selective massacre, forced conscription, to mention a few. This, therefore, needs equal attention and condemnation from all protection bodies and Human Security agencies in international relations.

Within international institutions, the concern of war-affected civilians being protected is at the forefront of the current Human Security policy (Golberg & Hubert, 2001).\textsuperscript{49} Included in such an agenda to address Human Security issues within the international institutions, organizations involved in the protection of civilians have started looking at violence that is gender-based; both during armed conflict and post-conflict situations.\textsuperscript{50} In theory, violence that is gender-based is one, which is aimed at men and women due to the socially-constructed gender roles and sex.\textsuperscript{51} Meaning, both men and women can be either victims or culprits. It is known as gender-based because of the configurations of gender ideas that justify or naturalize it. Lately, gender-based violence in wars has largely been referred to as a Human Security issue. This is made evident in UN Security Council Resolution 1325 which pointed out ‘all parties to wars have special policies to protect girls and women from gender-based violence’. Resolution 1325 refers to past activities within the International Women’s Movement whose aim was to redefine violence against women as a human rights issue, thus, connecting it to the ongoing ‘Human Security’ discussions.\textsuperscript{52}
The label ‘gender-based violence’ explains that one refers to violence which originate from prescribed attitudes, behaviours and norms that are related to gender (Lang, 2002). Gender-based violence is one that is targeted at an individual (male and female) with regards to their gender-related role in society (Human Rights Watch, 2002a). With such definitions, most of the gender-related abuses males experience in conflict settings can be classified as violence based on one’s gender, thus, a holistic approach is needed by all Human Security practitioners to curb the menace.

Gender-based violence against males are often recorded in sex selective massacres where adolescent boys and military age men are perceived as potential combatants, thus, forcibly engaged on the battle field or low intensity conflict. They are also recorded under forced recruitment where males are recruited even against their religious belief on killing each other and finally sexual violence where male undergo almost same magnitude of sexual assault like rape and sexual mutilation.

“They considered me like their woman...I had to wash their clothes, take care of their children and I was raped every day. I was like a wife to the people in the forest. I did everything that a wife does” (Christian, et al., 2012).

Dehumanizing enough is the situation where males are forced to sexually abuse their own family members. This high level of incest is recorded during armed conflict situations but barely recognized as gender based violence. It may be argued that it is out of place to insist that men who are forced to rape family members are instead perpetrators than victims since in a sexual assault only the ‘passive’ partner can be thought of as a victim
though elements of force may be involved. Should rape be understood as an exercise of power, we can’t overlook how such assault is used against men and women to hold them back, with the target of terrorizing the entirety of society.56

The phenomenon of secondary victimization where women are raped as their male family members watch on is a direct attribute of gender-based violence against male though most of the perpetrators are male. This act result in psychological torture of the men involved. It is, therefore, critical to address the psycho-social torture men go through from these acts.

Certain unwholesome gender norms grant social permission for some men to perpetrate forms of violence against women to its peak. This makes it hard for men who are victims or witnesses of such violence to come forward, either to report the violence or to seek help, both in war and peace. These norms reinforce the notions that to be a man requires having power, being in control, not submitting to the power of another man, and being able to handle whatever life throws men’s way. For a man to admit to having been assaulted or to being powerless to stop an assault against those he loved is experienced as emasculating or the equivalent of saying, “I am not a man.”57

2.6 Conclusion

Armed conflict has become one of the most significant causes of poverty in Africa, leading to displacement of people and communities’ livelihoods being destroyed.58 Its effects cut across all levels of the economy with immediate economic impact via physical disruption denying the populace access to their land, markets and other important resources. These have also lead to insecurity across the countries which have affected
investor confidence in the development of the wider region as the stable countries are having a fair share of the effect of the conflicts from their neighbouring countries.

There is much debate about the contribution of gender identities, and of masculine identities in particular, to the performance, management and perpetuation of violent conflict, and about the implications of this for intervention strategies and practice. Men have been variously perceived as perpetrators of violence against women (such as sexual violence as an integral part of armed conflict). During armed conflict normative male responsibilities are taken on by women or are forsaken. The tendency is for women to have stepped in to generate resources. This shift in family roles is a countrywide phenomenon which represents a significant change in gender relations in the family which renders the men incapable to perform their normative patriarchal roles in society. From the information provided it is evident that the social, economic, political and cultural impact of conflict on men cannot be overemphasized as there are consistent evidence that both men and women experiences conflict differently and have different contributions and impact on their development as well as that of their countries.
Endnotes

11. Ibid
13. Ibid
24. Ibid
30. Ibid

43


ibid.


Ibid

Ibid


Ibid

Brief, MenEngage-UNFPA Advocacy. "Sexual Violence in Conflict and Post-Conflict: Engaging Men and Boys.”


CHAPTER THREE
THE ANALYSIS OF THE VULNERABILITY OF MALES IN THE POST-CONFLICT SITUATION OF LIBERIA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter begins by discussing the profile of the Republic of Liberia as well as its foundation and the genesis of the Liberia war. It explores some reasons for male vulnerability during post conflict. The chapter finally assesses some mechanisms for intervention that have been put in place by state and non-state actors towards male vulnerability in post conflict in Liberia, giving credence to the human security concept used in this study.

3.1 Profile of the Republic of Liberia

The Republic of Liberia is situated in West Africa. It was established, ruled and controlled by United States and ex-Caribbean slaves, Liberia was created on the July 16, 1847 through declaration by the freed slaves from America. There are 15 counties in Liberia. It has a land area of 111,370 square kilometres (km²) and shares border with Sierra Leone to the West, Guinea to the North, Cote d'Ivoire to the East, and the Atlantic Ocean to the South. The country has a coastline of approximately 579 kilometres. Liberia can be located on geographical coordinates 6 30 N, 9 30 W, on the world map.

Climatically, Liberia has a dry season (between November and April) and its wet season runs from April to October. Tropically, it is either hot or humid. The dry winters come with hot days and cold nights. The wet, cloudy summers come with frequent heavy
showers. With an annual rainfall of 4650mm, Liberia is among the rainiest countries in the world.¹

It is endowed with natural resources like gold, diamond and iron ore. It has a vast land of rain forest, timber, a wide collection of wildlife and water resources. Notably, Liberia has approximately 40% of West Africa’s rainforest.² This ranks the country among the most endowed countries in Africa. In spite of Liberia’s natural wealth, it is also one of the poorest nations in the world. Reportedly, at least more than half of the population live on less than a dollar daily. 2011 UNDP Human Development Index places Liberia at 182 out of 187 countries. It placed sixth on the list of African countries with the least human development.³ Recent population estimate put the total population of Liberia at 4,299,944 with an average household size of 5.1 people.⁴

Americo-Liberians make up about 5 percent of this population. The remaining 95 percent are indigenous Liberians. Bassa 13.4%, Kpelle 20.3%, Gola 4.4%, Mano 7.9%, ,Gio 8%, Kissi 4.8%, Grebo 10%, Kru 6%, Lorma 5.1%, other 20.1% (2008 Census). Liberia has a high fertility rate of nearly 5 children per woman and large youth group— more than 60% of its population is under 25 years. Indigenous people account for between 16 and 20 indigenous languages. Many Liberians, however, speak their local derivative of the English language known as “Liberia English” or “Liberia pidgin”.⁵

The population is divided into various religious groupings, namely, Christian 85.6%, Muslim 12.2%, Traditional 0.6%, other 0.2%, none 1.4% (2008 Census). Liberia has a mixed legal system of law (which is based on Anglo-American law) and operates a constitutional republic which constitutes a thirty-seat Senate and a 73 seat house of
representatives. The country is divided into 15 counties namely Montserrado, Nimba, Bong, Lofa, Grand Bassa, Margibi, Grand Kru, Grand Gedeh, Grand Cape Mount, Sinoe, Maryland, River Gee, Rivercess, Gbarpolu, and Bomi. The capital city is Monrovia in the Montserrado county.

Figure 2: Map of the Republic of Liberia

Source: Mapsoftheworld.com

3.1.1 The Foundation of Liberia

Founded in 1822, Liberia was created to cater for American and Caribbean slave returnees. It gradually developed into a colony and with time became a commonwealth nation. It became independent in 1847 when its independence was declared from the
American Colonization Society (ACS). Ancestors of liberated slaves popularly referred as Americo-Liberians with the objective of settling freed slaves outside of the US and particularly in Africa, until 1980, had control of the social and political environment of the country.⁷

Wealth and power are unequally distributed in Liberia. This is largely the reason for the conflict. Abayomi Karnga, a scholar and politician, posited that the divisions among Liberians eventually brought about the hierarchical system with four unique orders. The highest in rank were Americo-Liberian officials largely made up of light-skinned citizens of mixed Black and White ancestry [also known as “Mulattos”]. They were followed by dark-skinned Americo-Liberians who were made up mostly of small farmers and laborers. The captives [also known as “Congos”] followed. These were Africans returned to Liberia after been rescued aboard slave ships. And at the bottom were the indigenous African Liberians.⁸

Gradually, it was difficult to separate the Mulattos from other freed slaves, and everyone became known as a “Congo” or “Americo-Liberian”. Who comprised less than 3% of the total population, had control over the social, political and economic authority of the country at the expense of the other tribes until they were over thrown in a coup d’etat in 1980.⁹


The late 1980 saw the collapse of the Liberia economy, following the coup let by opposition from Sergent Samuel Kayon Doe’s regime. In November 1985, another coup
attempt failed against his regime. He struck back against the Gio (or Dan) and Mano in the North from where most of the coup plotters originated from.

Sergent Samuel Kayon Doe’s tribe the Khan’s also begun reprisal attacks on other tribes in the Nimba County close to the Ivory Coast boarder with some of the inhabitants fleeing into Ivory Coast. On December 24, 1989, Charles Taylor came from neighbouring Côte d’Ivoire through Nimba County with a small group of Libyan-trained rebels. His rebel group known as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL), had a lot of support within Nimba County initially as they had been under massive oppression after the Sargent Doe’s regime in 1985 attempted coup. The AFL counterattacked and retaliated against the whole population of the region. By the mid 1990’s, an armed conflict was raging between Krahn on one side, and Gio and Mano on the other. Many civilians were massacred on both sides. In August 1990, The Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) which is an intervention force which was created by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), was called to restore order and help with enforce a cease-fire and peace deal in the absence of NPFL. The NPFL made a lot of gains in Monrovia with massive atrocities reported in Mandingo and Krahn suburbs. Largely, the Mandingoes suffered most in the hands of the NPFL during this period since they were seen as supporting the Doe government. Prince Johnson after splitting from Charles Taylor formed the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL). They both (NPF and INPFL) continue d their onslaught in Monrovia with the AFL defending it territories. Doe was impressed upon to leave the country when he visited the ECOMOG headquarters in Monrovia.
Doe was captured and sent to the INPL base at the port where ECOMOG were still in the process of establishing in Monrovia. On his arrival at INPL base he was tortured and killed. Subsequently, Taylor’s NPFL and Johnson’s INPFL engaged in a battled for control of the capital Monrovia.

An interim government led by Dr Amos Sawyer was established in 1990 after a negotiation by ECOWAS. Tylor did not recognise the Interim government and continues fighting still targeting the Mandingoes and the Krahns by his NPFL rebles. This development led to the formation of ULIMO-K led by ALhaji Kromah and ULIMO-J also led by Roosevelt Johnson with rebels ethnic groups of Mandeingoes and Krahn respectively. The Abuja Peace Accord was signed in 1995 September with seven of the factions joining to form the Liberian Council of State, That notwithstanding, the fighting escalated through to July 1997 when an election was held with Charles Taylor declaring the winner with 75.33% of the total vote cast. There is the believe among the international cycles that Liberians voted for Taylor because they were of the view that will bring the fighting to an end. Peace in Liberia was short lived as the citizenry accused the Taylor’s government of corruption and abuse coupled with serious human security issues, further widening the divisions and worsening popular resentments caused by civil war. State officials enriched themselves at the expense of the Liberian citizenry.

By the late 1990s, it was obvious Charles Taylor had extended support to the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) in neighbouring Sierra Leone and was actively involved in the war. In that vein, the United Nations banned foreign travel by the members of government and their close family relations as well as arms importation ban and a ban
on trading “blood diamonds”. With both domestic and international pressures mounting, it was just a matter of time that Taylor’s government was going to be overthrown.

Operating under the aegis of Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), the rebels, akin to Taylor’s NPFL of 1989, drew significant support from deprived and marginalized communities within the north of the country. Subsequently, other rebel groups such as the Movement for Democracy in Liberia (MODEL) all joined the fray in a final push to oust Charles Taylor. Finally, Charles Taylor through the mediation of EWOWAS participated in the summit held in Ghana where a bench warrant was issued for his arrest but was not executed.14

Taylor went into exile on 11th August 2003 in Nigeria and was replaced by Vice President Moses Blah. The rebel factions in 2005 signed the Accra Accord that finally brought hostilities to an end and committed the country to elections later that month. The signing of the accord ushered in an Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) and the introduction of a United National Mission in Liberia—a multidimensional peacekeeping mission. Eventually, the 2005 elections saw Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf’s election as President of Liberia.

3.3 The status - quo of Vulnerability of Males in the Post - Conflict Situation from the Liberian Perspective
3.3.1 Political Vulnerability

Political Security, which is one dimension of human security stresses on the extent to which individuals within a state are allowed to exercise their political liberties, such as the freedom to vote for any political party of one’s choice without coercion or restrictions. It also influences the extent to which citizens are allowed to echo their views of issues that
borders on their security and well-being.\textsuperscript{15} Most men particularly those in the military as government forces became vulnerable following post-conflict situations in Liberia which saw that, power for the administration of the country was transferred back to a central democratic government rather than a military take over group or personnel. In this vein, such military group or personnel find it very difficult dealing with their new status of becoming ordinary men in the country. Such military group or personnel feel they are restricted or denied their hitherto authority in being at the fore front of affairs of the state. Consequently, they perpetuate clandestine atrocities against other citizens especially males by selectively killing and arresting them which continues to affect the security of the country.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{3.3.2 Economic Vulnerability}

Economic security which is another dimension of Human Security defines an appreciable basic income that could be obtained from productive work or public financial systems for individuals to be able to provide their basic needs.\textsuperscript{17} However, many males during the conflict situations in Liberia from 1989 to 2003 were recruited as foot soldiers to survive. Most of these recruits have either no education or did not attain higher educational levels due to intermittent conflict situations.\textsuperscript{18} As a result, such men who were somehow employed as foot soldiers to survive during the conflict situations have now become unemployed in the Post-conflict environment since they lacked technical know-how or academic qualification to be employed into a meaningful job to contribute to the development of the country. Consequently, such men lack basic income or financial standing to cope with the economic status quo or meet their basic need in the new Post-conflict environment.\textsuperscript{19} This has largely contributed to the high poverty levels in the country. Consequently, some men end up doing menial jobs like hawking, riding motor
bikes among others which they are not so comfortable with, whilst others resort to social vices such as armed robbery and pick pocketing for survival. In an interview with Olga Teye-Topue (UNHCR) she buttress this fact as she states

social vices become common during post-conflict as mostly men are unable to get good paying jobs that can afford them enough to live comfortable lives as well as cater for their family, and they will do anything to survive as far as it fetches them some good amount to live on.20

3.3.3 Social Vulnerability

Community security; this aspect of Human Security expounds on the efforts taken by government in protecting and enhancing the traditional relations and values which bonds together and promotes harmony among individuals in a state.21 However, during conflict situations, there is a state of anarchy and instability, which induces forced migration throughout the country. This leads to a disorientation in social organization which also affect men. In order words, the civil wars which has bedevilled Liberia from 1989 to 2003 has led to social and ethnic disorientations which greatly affected men during post-conflict situations in the country. This is because, the forced migration causes some men to lose touch with families, friends, relatives, wives and children even after war subsides.22 The relocation or forced migration have caused most men to find themselves in different societies or regions where they are struggling to reintegrate. In effect, most men are practical non-existent in new localities or societies they found themselves in Post-conflict situations in Liberia.

The social system of males in Liberia was broken after their series of civil wars. Most men in Liberia have been through pains, bitterness and wickedness, and for such men, their social orientation has completely been uttered. Life of these males are so much occupied with violence and aggression to the extent that at work, even when their salaries are a little
bit delayed, it results in commotion and use inappropriate means to seek their salaries. These acts impede progress, in the end their employers are left with no other option than to sack their employees. This is a major problem to development in the country because most men cannot simply fit into the civil workplace.

3.3.4 Personal Vulnerability

Personal security, a dimension under Human security focuses on the extent to which individuals within a state could be protected from physical violence or harm. However, during the civil wars in Liberia from 1989 to 2003, most men have suffered physical injuries to the extent that some have become disabled or have developed deeper scars which disfigure or tarnish their appearance. Some of these men find it very difficult coping with such physical disability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia. Christopher Agoha (UNMIL) revealed in an interview that one traumatizing instance for men is when they come out of war paralyzed or disabled hence cannot go about their normal duties, this cause them serious pain and definitely affect the psychological well-being, in most cases they commit suicide to end their lives. Men always want to be the head and not otherwise.

3.3.5 Health Vulnerability

Health security suggests minimum security from diseases and avoidance of lifestyles that are detrimental to the health of people. Contrary to these, a lot of men during the conflict situations in Liberia were subjected to sexual abuses, brutalities and molestations from particularly male military personnel. Consequently, some men acquired sexually transmitted diseases including HIV/AIDS, and as a result most of such men died and others lived with the infection during Post-Conflict situations in Liberia. Christopher Agoha (UNMIL) confirmed in an interview that males likewise females are captured during war to serve as wives and cooks to the combatants, they are normally called bush housewives.
Also, unstable environment during conflict situations made it highly impossible for especially males to get better and balanced nutrition. As a result, most men become malnourished with its attendant health repercussions which are usually evident during Post–conflict eras in Liberia. In addition, a lot of these men continue to suffer psychological trauma due to horrible scenes they encountered during conflict situations. In addition, majority of the male combatants during conflict situations in Liberia rely heavily on hard drug such as cocaine and heroin during the conflict, as a result, most of them are usually caught up in depression, anxiety, anger, insomnia, hallucinations and sometimes even madness.

### 3.3.6 Educational Vulnerability

The last civil war in Liberia (1990-2004) created a situation where children, especially males who were born during that period or where the young men have no proper education and therefore their greatest vulnerability is illiteracy. Tetteh Padi (GRB) stated that,

> for instance, a boy at the age of 14 years would have been 28 years by the time the war ended. This person would have lost his youthful and academic years already.\(^8\)

This was confirmed by report by the International Rescue Committee that at this period, students, mostly males were unable to access the educational services due to the instability in the country and high poverty levels to fund for their educational needs.\(^9\) Since men are the head of the house and the providers for the home, it is important and imperative that they have some form of formal education and training to be able to take up some of the formal employments in the country and be able to cater for their families. However, because some men and boys were born or grew up during the periods of civil strife in the country, most of them did not get the opportunity to be in school. Consequently, it
rendered such men illiterates with no formal skills or knowledge to become employable in post-conflict situations of the country, creating a great threat to the human security of the country.\textsuperscript{30} Also, because most of the men are illiterates, it means therefore that they are bereft of civic education. This makes it very difficult for them to comprehend the tenets of democracy, let alone appreciate them and abide by them. This has been a major factor to the intermittent instability which has engulfed the country spanning over decades.

3.4 Interventions by the Liberian Government and Non-State Actors’ in addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia

3.4.1 Educational Assistance

Between the year 1980-1989, data shows that, the number of schools in Liberia decreased from 1830 to 1765. However, after the outbreak of the war in 1989, data shows that the educational system had completely collapsed. This collapse of the educational system has been attributed to factors such as instability or political unrest and lack of funding to support and sustain educational personnel and facilities in Liberia.\textsuperscript{31} In an interview with ADP Francis Omane-Addo (Head of Africa Correction Services Associations), he pointed out that

\begin{quote}
a lot of schools were destroyed as a result of the wars making accessibility a challenge. In addition, there were lack of qualified education personnel such as teachers and administrators to run educational institutions in the country\textsuperscript{32}
\end{quote}

This was backed by the report by the International Rescue Committee (2002) which indicated in 1994, after the war, that less than 400 schools which represents 25\% percent of total schools in the country remained.\textsuperscript{33} Due to high levels of poverty and illiteracy rates in the country, the Government of Liberia through its Ministries of Education and Gender have initiated programmes, policies and strategies to ensure that, most male acquire the necessary skills and knowledge to become employed towards contributing to meaningful economic development in the country.\textsuperscript{34} The education is also geared towards making the
citizens aware of the security and development implications to the country, thereby sensitizing them to be law abiding and to refrain from any form of act which could plunge the country into a state of instability. In this vein, the Liberian government provides scholarships to deserving young men who have excelled in their exams and wish to study in other foreign countries with hope of returning to contribute to national development agenda. This is because the educational system in Liberia is not well established due to lack of qualified teachers and schools to improve the educational system in the country. Most of such promising men are currently enrolled in some of the educational institutions in Ghana. However, attempts have been made by the government to increase the number of educational facilities and personnel such as schools, as well as teachers and facilitators to improve the educational system in the country. Also, a well-calculated educational curriculum is developed to help meet the human resource capacity building needs of the country to engineer development.

In addition, efforts from non-state actors such as United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF), Save the Children, World Vision and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) compliments efforts of government to improve the educational system in the country. They focus on volunteer services through community engagement to ensure that especially boys are healthy to pursue quality education acquire knowledge and skills to contribute meaningfully to national development. UNICEF and Save the Children are dedicated to providing basic education support schemes to boys through provision of books, reading and writing materials, among others.\(^{35}\) According to Christopher Agoha (UNMIL), they offer school feeding program to most children including boys to encourage them come to school since most of their parents are not
working. In an interview with ADP Francis Omane-Addo (Head of ACSA secretariat), he indicated that

Non-state actors such as World Vision, UNICEF and UNESCO decided to find a way to feed the children whiles at the same time educating them. Therefore, they set up food eating stands and anyone who comes to eat will be given a form of education before food is given to the person. This made more people, particularly men come around to eat, but eventually, they were impacted with knowledge. \(^{36}\)

![Figure 3: UNICEF donation to school children.](image)

*Source: UNICEF/Liberia. \(^{37}\)*

### 3.4.2 Economic Assistance
#### 3.4.2.1 Skill training

The Liberian Government through its Ministries of Finance, Education, Trade and Agriculture implement restructuring programmes and policies to help revamp the economy during post-conflict situation. These include providing skill training and employment opportunities through donor funds received by the government to help
provide employment avenues for especially the male youth across the country to reduce the high rate of unemployment and poverty levels in the country.\textsuperscript{38} This type of training includes on the job training for those who had been fortunate to be employed in the public sector, and also technical and vocational training for those who are seasonal and totally unemployed.

\textbf{3.4.2.2 Youth Employment Scheme}

The ministry of youth and sports organizes some Technical and Vocational Education and Training TVET Programs that equips out of school children with skills. 19\% out of these students get employed afterwards. Some of these programs are the Youth on the job training program, National Youth Volunteer Program and the National Cadet Program.\textsuperscript{39}

\textbf{3.4.2.3 Start - up capital}

Start - up Capital such as the Village Savings & Loans (VSL) is also provided to hardworking male entrepreneurs in the villages to develop and expand their businesses so as to provide employment for others. This loan was usually granted to businessmen. It has no legal protection and required a minimal amount of collateral and loans, which are paid back with 25\% interest. In the agricultural sector, the Liberian government provides tools and extension services to men who are into commercial or large-scale production to be able to boost their production to encourage export.\textsuperscript{40}

Efforts from non-state actors such as IMF, World Bank, World Vision, ACSA and UNDP have complimented the efforts of the Liberian Government to improve the economic system in the country during its Post-Conflict situations. This has been evident in the provision of financial assistance to the citizens after the war. The depleted state of the
country after civil strives necessitates financial intervention to revamp and resuscitate every sector of the economy in Liberia. In relation to the financial assistance directly to the citizens, Mr. Francis Omane-Addo explained that, he stated that,

"we had to give startup capitals to those we had trained to be able to make good use of what they had learnt. This is because, without this capital, what they had learnt would be going waste. This is because most people especially men who had to take care of their families had become vulnerable and it took the financial assistance provided by these NGOs to address their vulnerability."

### Agriculture

**Interview with Mr. Francis Omane-Addo (Secretary, Africa Correction Services Association, ACSA)** revealed that Liberia was in shambles and it took the financial assistance which was provided by the NGOs, other states and other international donor agencies to revive the economy of the country. He explained that the financial assistance went to the governments. We allocate some of our budget to the Governmental for Capacity Building in the state institutions in Liberia. But take note, we did not give the monies to the government directly. With most of the non-state institutions, our policy was that we do not give money to state institutions, but we can allocate budget for capacity building for state institutions.

With specificity to addressing vulnerability of men in post conflict situations, there was collaboration between ACSA and the Liberian government in 2015 to build the capacity of some farmers, this is known as Project XOA, (a Netherland project). With this project, there were groupings of vulnerable men into groups, who were given starting capital, seed monies and tools to engage in productive agriculture. In total, 75 groups were sorted out, with each group containing 30 men, making a total of 2250.

### 3.4.3 Political Assistance

Assistance or efforts aimed at addressing the political vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia are usually embedded in Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programmes and policies. They are programmes aimed at promoting
and ensuring stability and entire peace process in a conflicted state. These include peace-making and negotiations, peace keeping and peace building processes and activities.

Disarmament entails retrieving, documenting, controlling and disposing of small arms, light weapons, explosives and ammunition which are in the possession of some civilian population or form combatants during conflict situations. There is a high tendency of re-fuelling or instigating another conflict with the least provocation if weapons and ammunition continue to remain in possession or are in circulation among combatants and the civilian population.

Demobilization entails ensuring complete detachment of the civilian population, particularly men form the supply or support of some faction of the military against the sitting government or democratic system. To address this situation, there were several collaborations among the Liberia Armed Forces, the ECOWAS Standby Force, the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) and the US Joint Task through deployment of military troops to Liberia, to ensure peacekeeping processes to prevent another conflict from resuscitating and escalating to become a threat to the peace and stability of the West African sub-regional, continent or the international community at large.\(^\text{43}\)

In terms of peace-making, WANEP in 2001 established the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) to end the Liberia's Second Civil War through the vibrancy and campaigns of religious women as peacemakers in the country. The leader of WIPNET in Liberia, Leymah Gbowee asserted that “We would take the destiny of this tiny nation into our own hands.”\(^\text{44}\) Gbowee also declared that “In the past we were silent, but after being killed, raped, dehumanized, and infected with diseases…war has taught us that the future
lies in saying NO to violence and YES to peace!" In addition to the above, several negotiations and arbitrations have gone on among key political stakeholders and leaders of combatant factions in Liberia (who were usually men) and delegates from the UN, AU, ECOWAS and the United States of America towards ensuring cease fire and end to civil wars which had plunge Liberia into a state of instability lasting over decades.

Reintegration entails socialization of conflicting factions and the entire citizenry, particularly men, to be able to fit and cope better in post-conflict situations. This involves reconstructing the country to its initial peaceful or state condition which could promote growth, development and enhanced human security. This is because the inability of men to cope with conditions in the post-conflict situations could instigate or fuel another conflict. In terms of peacebuilding processes, efforts have been made by the UNDP, ECOWAS, AU, UN to reconstruct Liberia back to its stable condition by revamping its state institutions and systems, as well infrastructure to be able to promote and sustain meaningful development which translates into enhanced human security of the citizenry. This in the provisions of grants, aids, encouraging bilateral trade with Liberia, establishing strong diplomatic relations or ties with Liberia, promoting foreign investment in the country, among others.

### 3.4.4 Social Assistance

Benedict Anderson (a well-known academic expert on identity) fraternity makes it possible for people to coexist peacefully and even enhances longevity. Collective consciousness which builds up solidarity in people to be willing to even sacrifice for others and the country is largely dependent on the manner or the extent to which people are integrated into society. As already indicated, the civil wars which has bedevilled
Liberia from 1989 to 2003 has led to social and ethnic disorientations which greatly affected men during post-conflict situations in the country. In this vein, the Liberian government in conjunction with non-state actors such as World Vision organize psycho-social training, this offers refugees and asylum seekers some support services as well as mental health monitoring. The Liberia Association of Psychosocial Services (LAPS) is a Liberian non-governmental organization which was established in August 2007 and seeks to bring relief to survivors of trauma, torture and victims of gender-based violence at all ages and groups so as to enable them function effectively in their communities.

3.5 Successes of the intervention by Government and Non-State Actors in addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia.

3.5.1 Political Successes of the interventions in addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia

Interventions by Government and Non-State Actors in addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia has yielded results to some extents since it led to political negotiations and planning to implement peace accords between governments and male Warlords such as the Akosombo Agreement or Accor of 1994 Akosombo, which laid the foundation of the policy of appeasement. Interventions has also led to enhanced civic education, among especially men which led to the holding of peaceful democratic elections with the last of its kind being held in 2011. In effect, there is democratic governance pertaining in Liberia currently. This has made most men in contemporary times in Liberia to avoid the physical, social and health vulnerabilities which characterizes civil wars in the country. The intervention processes have also resulted in demobilization of combatants, who are mostly men, hence ensuring peace and stability in the country for the general welfare or all.
3.5.2 Economic Successes of the interventions in addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia

In terms of economic successes, there are has been improvement in the level of infrastructure development due to aids and grants received from foreign donors. This has attracted some foreign investors into the country to accelerate growth and development through the provision of employment opportunities. Consequently, significant number of men currently in Liberia are employed which provide them with basic income to sustain themselves and family.

3.5.3 Social Successes of the interventions in addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia

LAPS had achieved its goals over the years through activities such as trauma recovery and mental health care, training of community members and leaders as well. As indicated by ADP Francis Omane-Addo in an interview, LAPS works in five counties of Liberia and has 44 employees. Also, much successes have been chalked from the training provided by Africa Correction Services Association, ACSA). This is evident in the 2016 Monitoring and Evaluation Report by ACSA which revealed that some men who went through the psycho-social training in post-conflict situations are now community leaders and also top government officials. Also, most men who are now displaced or relocated in Liberia due to the previous civil wars in the country have been able to reintegrate into the new socio-political climate of country without wishing to migrate to other countries as refugees, where they would not wish to return again as evident in the case of some Liberian Refugees currently residing in Buduburam refugee camp in Ghana.

In terms of education and health, little successes have been chalked in addressing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia since the illiteracy rates continues to be high in the country, with very poor health systems. The 2014 Ebola crisis
which bedevilled the country exposed the weak and poor health systems in Liberia to tackle an epidemic of that sort, thereby allowing it to escalate into a pandemic.

3.6 Challenges militating against the Overall Success of the interventions by Government and Non-state actors in addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia

3.6.1 Widespread Culture of Corruption

Most aids which come into Liberia to initiate and accelerate development projects are received by the government, which usually end up in the hands of some corrupt top diplomats, government officials, politicians, high ranking church officials, Customs Officers, Military personnel, Airport Security officials, and the police, among others. The palms of such of people are usually ‘greased’ to help facilitate and sustain the activities of investors. In effect, the very moral fibre of the Liberian society especially the government institutions is collapsing, making it very difficult for meaningful or substantial development to be realized in the country despite inflows of aids and other assistance from the international community in general. This is generating a culture of corruption as a way of life for survival in contemporary Liberian society. Consequently, there is difficulty in effectively carrying out development projects which translates into effectively tackling the vulnerability of males in post-conflict situations in Liberia.

3.6.2 Increase in Crime rates and other social vices in the country

The high prevalent rate of poverty in Liberia coupled with the proliferation of small-arms and weaponry still in the possession of some male combatants creates the high tendency to instigate violence, crime rates and other social vices such as prostitution. This is because, most male combatants during conflict situations in Liberia rely heavily on hard drug such as cocaine and heroin abuse. As a result, they usually distort the peace and harmony in
the community through practices and acts such as rape, defilement, domestic violence abuses and torture, arm-robbery and murder. This poses a great threat to National Security in the country.

3.6.3 Institutional Challenges

Notwithstanding strenuous efforts taken by the Government of Liberia and other non-state actors, institutional challenges pose great challenge to addressing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia. The 2014 Ebola outbreak in Liberia revealed the incapacity of the state institutions especially the security and health institutions in tackling human security threats that attacked the citizenry of Liberia. The Ebola crisis claimed many lives including men, most of whom are just resuscitating from the scourge of war. The inefficiencies in state institutions in Liberia create a great challenge in effectively addressing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia.

3.6.4 Poor Global Image

Liberia is noted and recognized internationally as one of the poorest countries in the world.\textsuperscript{52} Therefore, there are difficulties faced by the Liberian government towards ensuring and sustaining the Human and National Securities of the country. The prevalence of civil conflicts in the country from 1989 to 2003 taints the globe image of Liberia as a state failing to uphold and fulfill the mandates of its Human and National Security provisions. Therefore, instability in the country serves a barrier to attract foreign investors into the country to be able to come carry out any meaningful development projects which will culminate also in effectively addressing the vulnerability of men in the post-conflict situations in Liberia. This draws attention of terrorist groups and money launderers to the country to carry out their clandestine operations. The situation could deter foreign
investments in the form of Foreign Direct Investments since conflict situations in Liberia is believed to be associated with such dangers such as money laundering and terrorism. Therefore, conflict situations in the country tarnishes the global image of Liberia, which also affects her National Security, hence difficulty in effectively addressing the vulnerability of males in post–conflict situation in Liberia.

3.6.5 Threats from Rebel Groups

Some rebel groups in Liberia continue to pose threat to the Human security and National security of the country. The complexity in the whole situation is embedded in the fact that some of these rebel groups had some ‘Big Shots’ or high-profile personalities in Liberia who supported their agenda and therefore provide them with support ranging from intelligence, weaponry to financial support. These personalities include top Liberian diplomats, government officials, politicians, high ranking Islamic leaders, security personnel, among others. Most of such people benefit from the status quo if rebel groups are able to wage constant war against the central government and will therefore do all they can to support their agenda. Paramount among such rebel groups include Taylor’s rebel group, the (National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NFPL) and the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL). The activities of these rebel groups pose great challenge to effectively addressing the vulnerability of men in Liberia.

3.6.6 Lack of Political Will on the Part of the Citizenry

Most Liberian citizens have also lost confidence and trust in the government’s ability to handle the crises including health and other security crises, and allow them to fester even to date. Therefore, the love for the country is beginning to wax cold among most citizens, especially men since they are not assured of their safety and security due to impromptu
attacks carry out occasionally by rebel groups. It is in this vein some of them seeking refuge in other countries are not willing to return to come and contribute anything meaningful to the national development of Liberia.

3.7 Prospects of Effectively Addressing Male Vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia
3.7.1 National Development

Gboyega conceptualizes development as the embodiments of all efforts geared towards the improvement in the quality of life in all aspects of human existence.\textsuperscript{54} It implies improvement in both material and non-material well-being of all citizens. Efforts geared towards ensuring the improvement in the quality of life of citizens should not only concentrate on the rich and powerful, but should be all-inclusive to cover even the deprived and less privileged including vulnerable men in the post-conflict situations in Liberia. In addition, these efforts should address challenges of inequality and poverty that threaten the physical security and self-esteem of men in a state. These developments transcend beyond only economic progressing to embarrassing all aspects of socio-political and socio-cultural capabilities and opportunities of people within a state. The beauty and success of a development plans for addressing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia lies basically on its implementation and not only the formulation, but the implementation and committed leadership.

3.7.2 Capacity Building

In addition to the above, addressing male vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia, makes most men in the country become acquainted with the changing dynamics in the new socio-political environment in the country. They are trained to become acquainted with effective and new ideas towards ensuring the protection of the human and state
securities of the country. Interventions by government and other non-state actors create a platform where men are sometimes exposed to different languages, skills, knowledge to fit well in corporate and social life. This enable them to become competent in unfamiliar multicultural contexts.

3.7.3 National Security
Addressing the vulnerability of men in the post-conflict situations goes a long way to ensure the National security of Liberia. The objectives of national security focused essentially on state security, i.e. the protection of the territorial boundaries of a state. It also includes ensuring the safety of people within the state, institutions as well as values of the state, and these to him are the sole responsibility and objectives of a state. With effective interventions by the government and other non-state actors, most men could become responsible citizens who would adhere to the tenets of democratic practices, thereby refraining from acts that could plunge the country into a state of instability. Rather, self-preservation or the survival of the nation as a whole; protection of territory and natural resources confined within its borders, protection of individuals of the country; protection of investments at home and abroad, safeguarding the core interests of the nation; its prosperity and economic well-being, protecting the nation’s external image and prestige and finally safeguarding the institutions of the nation including the entire systems of government will become the preoccupation of most men rather than instigating violent conflicts.

3.7.4 Global Recognition or Good Global Image
Since Liberia is considered one of the poorest country in the world, addressing the vulnerability of the men in the post-conflict situations in the country will help minimize
the security and development challenges which already exist in the country. With Liberia could gain good global reputation or image which could attract more investors into the country to initiate and accelerate growth and development.

3.8 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter discusses that, though women usually become vulnerable during post - conflict situations, men are also victims of circumstances to that effect as analyzed from the Liberian perspective. The vulnerability suffered by men in post-conflict situations in Liberia are educational, health wise, social, educational, political and personal vulnerabilities. Based on these vulnerabilities some interventions that have been taken by the Liberian government and other non-state actors to address the situation. Notwithstanding some successes chalked in this regard, there are some few challenges militating against effectively addressing the vulnerabilities of men in post -conflict situations in Liberia including widespread corruption and presence of rebel groups. The study however, analyzes that Liberia stands a great deal of prospects if she will be able to effectively tackle the vulnerabilities of men in post -conflict situations in the country. These prospects include promoting national security and national development, gaining global reputation and also ensuring capacity building of men in the country.
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CHAPTER FOUR
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

4.0 Introduction
This chapter seeks to summarise the findings of this research drawn from the data and observations which were gathered from the interviews conducted in relevant offices. It also presents some recommendations for researchers who may in the future be interested in carrying out studies related to vulnerability of males in post-conflict situations. The study was carried out within the conceptual framework of Human Security, with the hypothesis that, “males are vulnerable in post-conflict Liberia just as their female counterparts.

Human Security has as its basic components economic, food, health security, social, security, political and cultural security. It posits the realism’s inability to recognize the state as a possible internal aggressor, as well as its inherent analytic failure to explain the 90% of all warfare that is now within rather than between states. The concept asserts that states coming out of conflict need the support of other states and non-state actors to support males and reduce their vulnerability. The theory was chosen because the hypothesis of the study indicates males are vulnerable in post-conflict Liberia just as their female counterparts.

This work set out to basically give an overview of male vulnerability and also to answer three major research questions: the implications of conflict on females and males, contributing factors to male vulnerability in Liberia, and the measures put in place by state and non-state actors to manage male vulnerability in post-conflict situations. Interviews
were conducted with a cross section of resource persons from Ghana Refugee Board (GRB), UNHCR-Ghana, United Nation Missions in Liberia (UNMIL), Africa Corrections Services Association (ACSC) and other three male Liberians. These were chosen because of their experience, coverage and perspective on the subject. The study also resorted to secondary data carried in books, journal articles, internet websites and news articles relevant to the topic. The study employed qualitative methodology in analyzing the information received during the interview and literature review, and for subsequent findings, conclusions and recommendations.

4.1 Summary of Research Findings

The following findings were derived from the study based on the analysis of data gathered from literature reviews and interviews; bearing in mind the statement of the problem, research questions and objectives of the study.

The study identifies that Africa is touted to be the most conflict-prone region in the world. It is believed that, Africa has experienced more conflicts compared to other continents of the world and indeed, there are on-going conflicts in some African countries. Many African countries have directly or indirectly been affected by brutish, violent and destructive conflicts, which, have brought about the loss of many lives, the displacement of millions and the consequent retardation of economies of these countries. Typical of these conflict-stricken countries is Liberia.

The study identified that the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia could be political, economic, social, personal, health-wise and educational. In terms of political vulnerability of men in Post- conflict situations in Liberia, the study reveals that
some military group or personnel who use to wield much power during conflict situations find it very difficult dealing with their new status of becoming ordinary men during post-conflict situations in the country. Consequently, some of these military men form rebel and vigilante groups who pose security threats to the government, civilians and the entire security of the country.

In terms of economic vulnerability, the study revealed that most males during the conflict situations in Liberia from 1989 to 2003 were recruited as foot soldiers to survive. Most of these recruits have either no education or did not attain higher educational levels due to intermittent conflict situations. As a result, such men who were somehow employed as foot soldiers to survive during the conflict situations have now become unemployed in the new Post-conflict environment since lacked technical know or education to be employed into a meaningful job to contribute to the development of the country.

Socially, the study revealed that during conflict in Liberia, there is a state of anarchy and instability which induces forced migration throughout the country. This leads to a disorientation in social organization which also affect men. In order words, the civil wars which has bedevilled Liberia from 1989 to 2003 has led to social and ethnic disorientations which greatly affected men during post-conflict situations in the country. This is because, some men lose touch with friends and relatives due to forced migration or relocation as a result of the conflicts. This pose a great challenge of reintegrating well in a new environment after the conflict.

The study also showed that in terms of personal vulnerability, during the civil wars in Liberia, most men have suffered physical injuries to the extent that some have become
disabled or have developed deeper scars which disfigure or tarnish their appearance. Some of these men find it very difficult coping with such physical disability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia.

More so, the study identified that men during post-conflict situations in Liberia experience health vulnerability. These include malnourishment as a result of poor dieting during conflict situations, acquisition of Sexually Transmitted Diseases such as HIV/AIDS due to sexual abuses during conflict situations and also experiences of depression, anxiety, anger, insomnia, hallucinations and sometimes even madness due to trauma suffered as a result of the conflict situations.

Furthermore, in terms of educational vulnerability, the study showed that the last civil wars in Liberia had created a situation where children, especially male who were born during that period and have no proper education and therefore their greatest vulnerability has been illiteracy. This is because most male children were recruited as child soldiers during the period and therefore saw no need or essence for education.

Based on the above vulnerabilities suffered by men during post-conflict situations in Liberia, the study revealed some interventions mechanisms advanced by the Government of Liberia and other non-state actors in addressing the challenge in Liberia.

The study revealed that the Liberian government provides scholarships to promising young men who wish to study in other foreign countries with hope of returning to come contribute to national development agenda. This is because the educational system in Liberia is not well established due to lack of qualified teachers and schools to improve the
educational system in the country. In addition, non-state actors such as UNICEF, Save the Children, IBIS, UNDP and World Vision are dedicated to providing basic education support schemes to boys through provision of books, reading and writing materials, and school feeding programmes to attract more males to pursue education.

Also, the study revealed that economically, the Government of Liberia and non-state actors such as IMF, World Bank, ACSA, and World Vision has provided assistance to vulnerable men in post-conflict situations through skills training, agricultural assistance and provision of start-up capital to make men develop and expand their business to be able to provide employment avenues to others.

The study also showed that the Government of Liberia and other non-state actors have made efforts aimed at addressing the political vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia through Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration (DDR) programmes and policies. They are programmes aimed at promoting and ensuring stability and entire peace process in a conflicted state. These include peace-making and negotiations, peace keeping and peace building processes and activities.

In terms of social assistance to vulnerable men in post-conflict situations in Liberia, the study revealed that the Liberia Association of Psychosocial Services (LAPS) which is a Liberian non-governmental organization was established in August, 2007 to bring relief to survivors of trauma, torture and victims of gender-based violence at all ages and groups so as to enable them function effectively in their communities.
The study revealed that although the intervention efforts by the Government of Liberia and non-state actors have yield some successes, there are some challenges which militate against the overall success of addressing male vulnerability in Post-Conflict situations in Liberia. Paramount among these challenges includes widespread corruption. Most aids which come into Liberia to initiate and accelerate development projects are received by the government, which usually end up in the hands of some corrupt top diplomats, government officials, politicians, high ranking church officials, Customs Officers, Military personnel, Airport Security officials, the police, among others. In effect, the very moral fibre of the Liberian society especially the government institutions is collapsing, making it very difficult for meaningful or substantial development to be realized in the country despite inflows of aids and other assistance from the international community in general.

The study also showed that institutional challenges in terms of inefficiencies in state institutions such as health and security institutions in Liberia create a great challenge in effectively addressing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia.

More so, the study revealed that Liberia is noted and recognized internationally as one of the poorest countries in the world. This coupled with the prevalence of civil conflicts in the country from 1989 to 2004 taints the globe image of Liberia as a state failing to uphold and fulfil the mandates of its Human and National Security provisions. Therefore, instability in the country serves a barrier to attract foreign investors into the country to be able to come carry out any meaningful development projects which will culminate also in effectively addressing the vulnerability of men in the post-conflict situations in Liberia.
The study also indicates that threats from rebel groups or insurgent groups such as the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NFPL) and the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPF) pose great challenge to effectively addressing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia.

In addition, the study revealed that lack of political will on the part of the citizenry poses great challenges in effectively addressing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia. This is because most Liberian citizens have also lost confidence and trust in the government’s inability to handle the crises including health and other security crises, and allow them to fester even to date. Therefore, some men seeking refuge in other countries are not willing to return to come and contribute anything meaningful to the national development of Liberia.

4.2 Conclusion

Following the findings obtained from the study, the researcher reached the following conclusions:

Based on the analysis of the study, it is concluded that the endemic culture of corruption among government officials in Liberia can facilitate the springing up of militant or rebel groups who feel they are deprived of their due advantages. This could perpetuate tensions and conflicts which have span over a very long period of time, resulting in the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in the country.

The study also concludes that conflict situations in Liberia affect both the National and Human Security of the country which culminates in aggravating the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia.
The study also concludes that the Concept of Human Security is plausible and appropriate in analyzing the vulnerability of men in post-conflict situations in Liberia.

The study again concludes that though the interventions by other non-state actors such as the UN, UNDP, ECOWAS, AU, World Bank, IMF, World Vision, Save the Children, IBIS, ACSA in addressing the male vulnerability in Liberia may have been tardy and inadequate, the current stability in the country would have been worse off but for these interventions. This proves the point that the role of these non-state actors is still relevant in contemporary international system in addressing global challenges. This is because, they help in addressing or tackling threats such as civil wars; which are sometimes beyond the capabilities of a single state to tackle as in the case of Liberia.

It is also concluded from the findings of the study that there is still hope for effectively addressing the vulnerability of men and women in post-conflict situations in Liberia. This can be achieved if critical attention is paid to the challenges identified in this study. Based on the above findings of the study, it is concluded affirmatively on the hypothesis that males are as vulnerable as their female counterparts.

4.3 Recommendations

The findings of the study as well as the opinions of the respondents helped the researcher draw the following recommendations:

- The impact of conflict-related sexual violence on females is just as significant as it is on males. Therefore, the international community, regional and national bodies in formulating policies and methods to prevent conflicts-related violence, should
not discriminate against males. A programme or an office to serve as a platform for the male victims to voice out their pain will have to be established in 15 counties to encourage men also to speak out.

- In post-conflict situations like Liberia, the citizenry is not comfortable, they are afraid and traumatized, and they live in constant fear of relapse into war. This is because the security systems are still not fully in place and there is heavy reliance on foreign security support. It is therefore important for the complete re-establishment of the legal and judicial systems to ensure prompt discharge of law and order in the country.

- International donors support like funds and logistics from (The International Monetary Fund (IMF), The World Bank, UNDP and International Finance Corporation, (IFC) should be strategically channeled into areas such as healthcare, education, roads infrastructure among others in Liberia, being mindful of the level of corruption emanating from the break down in development structures.

- Small loans and start-up funds should be made readily accessible to competent men and boys who are willing to enter into small and medium scale enterprises. This will serve as employment avenue which will fetch them legitimate income to take up their responsibilities as breadwinners of their homes, thereby building back their self-esteem and confidence. This will further make them more responsible and supportive to the reform process, more donor support and investment should be channelled into equipping ex-combatants with technical and vocational skills as well as agricultural input support. This will prevent them from slipping into
frustration and despair. Having a sense of hope for the future will reduce their tendency of engaging in criminal activities; thereby ensuring the safety of the community, as they are less likely to exhibit violent behaviours that could derail the peace of their community.

- Even though certain changes in roles during conflict can empower women more than men, the social and cultural foundations of gender relations remain largely unchanged in post-conflict, it is therefore important for the United Nations and other non-state actors to formulate programs to support both women and men in building new social and economic relationships.

- The United Nations and other international bodies should act as facilitators and as catalysts in the process of transforming potentials into opportunities, by ensuring the protection of the rights of affected persons; and particularly by reducing inequalities towards men and other disenfranchised groups through political, economic and labour market reforms.

- Last but not least, the fundamental role played by all the development partners cannot be overstated. To ensure more accountability and transparency from the states, institutions and agencies, they should keep up with consistent and proper Evaluation and Monitoring of projects and strategies with the intention of building sustainable institution and structures that will ensure governance development and security.¹
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APPENDIX: INTERVIEW GUIDE

TOPIC: ASSESSMENT OF THE VULNERABILITY OF MALES IN POST-CONFLICT SITUATIONS: THE CASE OF THE LIBERIAN CONFLICT.

The purpose of these questions is to obtain your opinions and views about the Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations. This is solely for an academic research as a further requirement for a Post-graduate MA degree certification. Responses to the following questions will be treated with high confidentiality and solely for the purpose of the research.

Name (If willing):
___________________________________________________________

Position:
_________________________________________________________________

1. What are the impacts of conflicts on both males and females during Post-Conflict?

2. What is your perception about Vulnerability of Males during Post-Conflict Situations?

3. What are some of the major vulnerabilities faced by males during Post-Conflict Situations?

4. What conditions or factors are responsible for Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations in Liberia?

5. What are the security and development threats or implications of Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations in Liberia?

6. How would you assess the national, regional, continental and global responses to the Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations in Liberia?

7. What roles do you think law enforcement agents and agencies play in addressing the challenges of Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?

8. What challenges are faced by law enforcement agents and agencies in Liberia in addressing the crisis of Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?

9. What are the challenges faced by the Liberian government in addressing the crisis of Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?
10. What short term measures have been taken by the Liberian government in addressing the incidence of Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?

11. What long term measures have been taken by the Liberian government in addressing the incidence of Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?

12. Do you think Liberia has done enough in addressing the issue of Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?

13. How bleak or bright is the future of Liberia and the African continent at large in dealing with the incidence Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?

14. What do you recommend as the way forward for addressing the phenomena of the Vulnerability of Males in Post-Conflict Situations?

Thank you so much for your time and co-operation. I hope this information will provide a useful and reliable source of data to help me carry out my research successfully. I am highly grateful for your contribution.