

involvement in attempts to perpetuate conflict and in many instances permitted them to commit human rights violations with impunity. Failing to understand that women are often willing participants in violence will continue to impair the international response to situations of armed conflict and peacebuilding policies in other countries.

In the Rwanda case study, the subjects of gender-based violence and international humanitarian law (IHL) will be explored. This will include an examination of how gender-based violence and women are constructed and dealt with in international humanitarian law and the subsequent gendered outcomes. In other words, the way that women and crimes against them are constructed in IHL impacts the ability of international tribunals like the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR) to be a fair and effective method of justice for women.

In the Guatemalan case study, the issue of women's mobilization during times of armed conflict will be explored. This case study will focus on two groups in particular; specifically, the widows of the 'disappeared' and refugee women. The case of Guatemala demonstrates that although times of refuge and armed conflict present enormous challenges for women, in some instances they may also provide the context for women's empowerment and mobilization. For example, in the case of Guatemala some women extended their analysis of discriminatory practices and structures which shaped their war-time experiences to a wider range of forces which circumscribe their agency in peacetime, including for example patriarchal relations in the family and society. Times of refuge can also present opportunities for the international community to ensure that women have access to and can participate in peacebuilding processes.

In spite of the mobilization of women in Guatemala, *ladino* and indigenous alike, the real gains in terms of legislation and public policy have been limited. There remain serious obstacles to the elimination of gender-based discrimination and the full integration of women into all realms of society in the post-conflict era. In the remainder of the Guatemalan case study, possible explanations for the failure to translate increased women's political, economic and social participation during times of conflict into a situation of post-conflict gender equality will be explored. These suggested explanations include resistance from other sectors of civil society, and the impact of restricted access to education and capital. This section will also explore, however, the women's movement itself as a barrier to achieving gender equality.

Conclusion

In all of these countries, Guatemalan, Rwandan and Cambodian feminists made the link which was alluded to earlier in the introduction; namely that the distinction that peacebuilding makes between the political and socio-economic context of conflict, and the military or humanitarian aspects of conflict is problematic and artificial. In their analysis of militarization, these women among others, make clear linkages between the effects of militarization on society, including violence against