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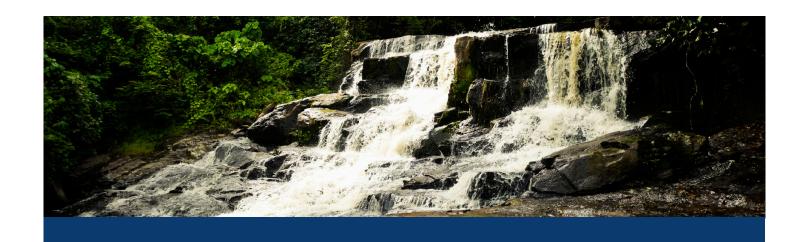
Religion and Conflict
Case Study Series

Ending Liberia's Second Civil War: Religious Women as Peacemakers

August 2013

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Abstract

This case study provides an overview of how a peace movement led by lay religious women inspired people across ethnic and religious lines and helped bring an end to the Second Liberian Civil War (1999-2003). The study examines this Liberian phenomenon by answering six questions: What are the causes of conflict in Liberia? How did domestic religious actors promote peace? How was laity-led peacebuilding different from that of religious elites? How did domestic efforts intersect with international efforts at peace? What factors explain the success of religion-inspired peacebuilding? How did religious actors continue to promote peace in the post-conflict phase? The case study includes a core text, a timeline of key events, a guide to relevant religious organizations, and a list of further readings.

About this Case Study

This case study was crafted by George Kieh under the editorial direction of Eric Patterson, visiting assistant professor in the Department of Government and associate director of the Berkley Center for Religion, Peace, and World Affairs at Georgetown University.

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INTRODUCTION

On December 24, 1989, Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) entered Liberia through Cote d'Ivoire, launching Liberia's First Civil War. The NPFL was an amalgam of individuals spanning Liberia's broad ethnic spectrum. The group achieved its primary objective—to gain control over Liberia—in 1997. However, violent confrontations between Taylor's men and disenfranchised warlords resumed just two years later. The rebels were united in their mission to overthrow Taylor's regime and called themselves Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). Throughout Liberia's Second Civil War, both Taylor's forces and LURD members terrorized civilians through killings, rapes, mutilation, pillaging, and forced internal displacement. As LURD moved on the capital city, Monrovia, Leymah Gbowee was inspired by a dream to bring Christian women together to start a peace movement. The desire for peace, however, was so strong that the women's peacebuilding movement soon transcended religious lines. Muslim women joined the cause with as much passion and devotion as the Christian women. This case study demonstrates how the religiously-inspired peace movement buttressed peace talks, supported UN-led disarmament operations, engaged former aggressors from both sides, and helped bring about the first authentic democratic election in Liberia.

King Zolu Duma Bridge, Monrovia

Historical Background*

On April 12, 1980, a class-based society was replaced by a military dictatorship when the Liberian military ousted the ruling class and brought Sergeant Samuel Doe to power. Initially, the coup d'état received widespread support from the Liberian masses and the various groups that were part of the pro-democracy movement because it was assumed that the military would transform the architecture of governance by laying the groundwork for the building of a new democratic society. Unfortunately, the Doe regime recreated the old system based on political repression, economic inequality, injustice, mismanagement, and social decay. Unsurprisingly, there was mass dissent against the regime.

Using the legitimate grievances of the Liberian masses as a facade, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) decided to dislodge Doe from power and began a military insurgency. This insurgency was originally launched from Cote d'Ivoire on December 24, 1989, when NPFL forces invaded Nimba County. The regime reacted aggressively and the national army attacked the whole region, killing many civilians. This fuelled increased resistance to Doe forces, and the NPLF rapidly expanded. However, at the same time, Prince Johnson, a former NPLF fighter, split from the main force and formed his own militia named the Independent National Patriotic Front of Liberia (INPFL).

The First Liberian Civil War was a bloody, indiscriminate fight, which officially ended under the terms of the Abuja II Peace Accord. Thereafter, an election was hastily organized, primarily by the regional group Economic Community of West African States. It was poorly handled, as were other critical transitional activities. With the electoral playing field tilted in his favor, Charles Taylor won the presidential election in a landslide with more than 75 percent of the vote; many believe he won because of fear among the population that there would be more violence if he lost. Also, the Taylor-led National Patriotic Party was allotted 21 of the 26 seats in the Senate, and 49 of the 64 seats in the House of Representatives, based on the proportional representation system that was used for the legislature. Thus, Taylor and his political party had complete control of the government. Under his reign, Taylor did not provide simple government services, and lawlessness was rampant. Oppression, extra-judicial killings, corruption and security forces acting outside the law became the norm.

In 1999, warlords who were a part of the first civil war but not integrated into the interim government resumed their fight for power, this time against President Taylor. Major clashes began in northern Liberia and raged for four years. The Second Liberian Civil War was marked by increased violence toward civilians, power imbalances, and an ambiguity between combatants and non-combatants. The bulk of rebel forces were young men and boys and their tactics increasingly included sexual violence, looting of homes and businesses, and forced displacement of local villagers. Children were also a target of rape and murder. Wartime was particularly difficult for the boys as they frequently faced the option of joining a militia or being killed. This particular sort of warfare had a devastating impact on Liberian women but it also served as a strong motivator for building a peace coalition.

Women were largely absent from formal peace processes and peacebuilding initiatives implemented by NGOs. Reacting to this marginalization, the West African Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) decided to establish a "women in peacebuilding" program in 2001. WANEP was founded in 1998 as a response to the many civil wars ravaging West Africa. It currently has national networks in 12 of the 15 West African countries. Its goals include strengthening the capability of peacebuilding organizations and practitioners in West Africa, and increasing awareness of nonviolent strategies for the peaceful transformation of violent conflicts. Specifically, better understanding women's experiences and their contributions to peace is important for developing informed and sustainable peacebuilding strategies. With that particular idea in mind, WANEP consulted with women's groups—many of which are faith-based organizations—across West Africa and launched a regional network called the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET).

DOMESTIC FACTORS

From the genesis of the repatriation project in the 1820s—through which free African-Americans settled in Liberia—Christianity has been, and remains a mainstay of the Liberian political landscape for a number of reasons. First, both the functionaries of the American Colonization Society—the driving force behind repatriation and the establishment of Liberia—and the repatriated African-Americans brought Christianity with them to the "Pepper Coast" of what would become Liberia. Second, major Christian churches based in the United States organized branches in Liberia. These included the Baptist, Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian, African Methodist, and Lutheran Churches. Subsequently, these Christian sects established schools throughout the country. Significantly, through the various Christian churches and schools, thousands of Liberians were converted to Christianity. Third, there was a fusion between the church and the state at various levels from the colonial period in 1822 to the coup d'état in 1980. At the administrative level, for example, during the early days of the Liberian colony, the government was administered by Protestant ministers. Also, since the founding of the Liberian state, the government has required the observance of the Christian Sabbath and all major Christian events as national holidays. For example, on Sundays, Easter, and Christmas, government offices and businesses are closed in observance of the Christian day of worship.

Importantly, the dominant role of Christianity in Liberian polity has led to the development of the popular belief among Liberians that the country is a Christian state. However, the data shows that, despite the prominent place of Christianity, traditional African religions collectively had the largest number of adherents for much of the country's history, though Christianity predominates today. In 1986, for example, nearly 45 percent of the Liberian population belonged to various traditional African religious groups compared to around 40 percent for Christian groups. Thus, the ubiquity and enormous influence of Christianity in Liberia are attributable to historical, social, and political factors rather than to the number of its adherents.

On the other hand, despite steady growth in terms of the number of adherents (in 1978, Muslims constituted 15 percent of the population, and 19 percent in 1980), Islam had negligible influence on Liberian politics until the ascendancy of Samuel Doe to the Liberian presidency. Unlike Christianity, which was a fundamental part of the repatriation project that culminated in the establishment of the Liberian state, Islam penetrated the Liberian landscape conterminously with the spread of commercial activities undertaken by Muslim traders. However, Islam's political fortunes in the Liberian polity changed with Samuel Doe's ascendancy to the presidency of Liberia.

Faced with criticisms from progressive Christians for the horrendous performance of his regime, including its horrific human rights record, and detached from the traditionally government-supportive segment of the church, President Doe made the determination that Islam could serve as a countervailing religious force. Accordingly, President Doe cultivated an opportunistic relationship with some of the unprincipled leaders of Liberian Islam, akin to what previous regimes did with a similar group of Christian clergy—known as the "pro-status quo" wing of Liberian Christianity. The pro-status quo Islamic clerics served as a bulwark for the Doe regime against the criticisms emanating from progressive Christian leaders, and as a vehicle for legitimating the regime. Based on the partnership, the Doe regime, among other things, appointed several Muslims to various positions of authority, especially in the executive branch.

Independent rebel groups emerged to challenge President Doe's regime. The rebel factions were led by Thomas Quiwonkpa, Charles Taylor, and Prince Yormie Johnson, among others, resulting in the

violent First Liberian Civil War. Faced with the rapidly rising costs of the civil war, a ceasefire was sought. The war ended in 1994 through the Abuja Peace Accords, which divided power among all the factions in an interim government and determined that elections would be held in 1997, which Taylor would go on to win.

The violence that resumed in 1999 had a devastating effect on the population. An estimated 20,000 child soldiers were fighting for both the rebels and the government. Unaccompanied girls were often captured by combatants and civilian men and used either as forced laborers or made to be rebels' wives. Women also suffered enormously, many as victims of sexual assaults and rape. When they managed to avoid the fighting, they still had the task of raising and fending for children and the elderly under extremely difficult conditions. By the 1990s, the dire situation led women to mobilize against injustice.

During the First Liberian Civil War, the Liberian Women's Initiative and the Mano River Union Peace Network worked with the Inter-Faith Mediation Council and other peace organizations to try to end the conflict. While the efforts by religious actors to end the First Liberian Civil War were unsuccessful, these groups did provide some humanitarian assistance and services to former combatants during the demobilization, disarmament, and reintegration process. Indeed, religious actors were not represented at the 1994 Abuja peace talks and had little sway over the political scene at that time. The Second Civil War left women even more frustrated, as the majority of refugees and internally displaced persons were women and children living in crowded camps in Monrovia. Cooperation among the various women's groups, however, was complicated by religious, political, and social divides.

Leymah Gbowee, president of the women's organization at St. Peter's Lutheran Church in Monrovia, and Comfort Freeman, president of the National Lutheran Church Women in Liberia, came together and helped create the Liberian branch of WIPNET in June 2002. Violence and suffering was a common experience among all women, however, and the peace initiative was expanded the following month to support the participation of Muslim women. By December 2002, the Muslim women organized and four months later, over 3,000 women came together for the WIPNET-Liberia launch. The women were bound by their commitment to their children and their god. Their faith and belief in the power of prayer united them in their quest for a peaceful outcome. Many members of the Liberian Women's Initiative and the Mano River Union Peace Network joined the new religious net-

work to bring advocacy experience to the movement. On April 11, 2003, WIPNET presented a petition to end the war to the Monrovian City Hall. Afterwards, they planted themselves in a field across from a popular Monrovian market and protested through prayer, dancing, chanting, and singing. The women returned to the protest site each day for over a year, gaining the attention of the international media and ultimately forcing Charles Taylor to meet with them. Muslim and Christian women prayed together at the demonstrations and all wore the same white headscarves and shirts, symbolizing peace.

Every day, despite inclement weather, Muslim and Christian women came together to pray at the Monrovia airfield beside the main road leading into the city. Soon after, bishops and imams came to the airfield to show their solidarity. Slowly, people started to take the women more seriously. Support continued to grow as the peaceful protest spread to key sites in Monrovia. And although the conflict in Liberia had little to do with religion, the divide between Muslims and Christians was ever-present, similar to many of their West African neighbors. A new sense of interfaith solidarity arose from shared experiences in confronting the war, regardless of faith tradition.

WIPNET continued to mount pressure on the Liberian government and rebel factions during the peace talks in Accra, Ghana. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement in 2003 was one of the first peace agreements to include gender-specific policies, including the participation of women in government. Even after the agreement was signed and a transitional government took over, WIPNET pursued a lasting peace with fervor, working to avoid a third civil war. Their involvement in efforts aimed at demobilization, disarmament, reintegration, reconciliation, dialogue processes, and democracy promotion has undoubtedly contributed to the sustained peace in Liberia.

WIPNET gave the Liberian women an opportunity to affect the peacebuilding process. The goal was to use women's peace activism to promote social justice. Women's peace activism used feminine (e.g. mother) and theological themes such as sin, love, justice, and reconciliation to highlight abuse and call for peace. By using women's numerical strength and their ability to mobilize around key issues in tandem with prayer, mass rallies, and political action, they were able to gain international attention and play a unique role in pressuring the belligerents toward peace.

International Factors

The role WIPNET played in Liberia's peace process is its most significant success. By early 2003, WIPNET-Liberia had a substantial network of community-based women's groups that were aided, in part, by the larger WIPNET movement. WIPNET-Liberia tagged the campaign Mass Action for Peace. Women from all levels of Liberian society were recruited from displacement camps, churches, markets, schools, ordinary jobs, and NGOs. The campaign chose a simple and effective message: "We Want Peace; No More War."

Initially, the public did not take Mass Action for Peace very seriously, but the women became a constant presence on the streets of Monrovia. They carried placards and posters in Monrovia and Totota exhibiting their desire for peace. Their international partners, and NGO activists in the West—especially the United States—began to drum up media coverage. The women learned how to effectively use the media to reach the international community to relay their hopes of peace and ask other countries for help in fostering a peaceful transformation. They succeeded in forcing President Taylor into meeting with them. At this meeting, they spelled out a clear program calling for an immediate unconditional ceasefire, dialogue for a negotiated settlement, and an intervention force.

When an international peace conference was organized in Accra, Ghana, WIPNET-Liberia's Mass Action for Peace opened a new front. Maintaining a presence in Accra created new difficulties, especially because of the expenses involved. They secured funding to send a delegation of seven women to Accra. Once in Accra, they mobilized Liberian women living there, including residents of the Buduburam refugee camp, to join the campaign. WIPNET-Liberia ef-fectively used the media in both Accra and Liberia and recruited WIPNET-Liberia members from northern Ghana to join them for a demonstration at the Akosombo conference center where the peace talks were to begin. Heads of state and other dignitaries were greeted by the sight of women sitting on the lawn holding placards demanding peace. Other women's groups such as the Mano River Women's Peace Network (MARWOPNET) and Liberian Women in the Diaspora were delegates at the talks. WIPNET-Liberia, in collaboration with other women's organizations, issued strongly worded statements expressing concern about civilian casualties in Liberia and appealing to the UN Security Council to deploy an intervention force.

The spirit of collaboration would continue among the women's groups for the duration of the peace talks. WIPNET-Liberia was also meeting with all parties to the conflict, and with the mediators, including the chief mediator, former Nigerian president, General Abdulsalami Alhaji Atiku Abubakar. Since the women were seen as speaking for ordinary Liberians, including the rebels who sought to forge alliances with them, they had extraordinary access. During the talks, WIPNET-Liberia also organized a Liberian Women's Forum alongside the peace talks, where women could reflect on progress at the talks, while stressing the importance of continuing with the campaign and not being sidetracked by the politics that surrounded the talks. As the talks dragged on, there were further funding problems and tensions as some of the delegates worried about their relatives back in Liberia. Eventually, four of the seven women returned home, but they were replaced by other Liberian women from the Buduburam refugee camp.

The talks moved several times between Akosombo and Ac-

cra, and upon another return to Accra, the women decided to adopt stronger nonviolent strategies. When the talks reached a stalemate, they barricaded the entrance of the talks in order to prevent the mediators, the warring parties, and other delegates from exiting the venue. The women insisted that the men would not leave until they took the process seriously and committed themselves to reaching an agreement. The new approach was effective, and the women were invited to participate in several meetings exploring strategies for peace with both the rebels and the mediators. Two members of WIPNET-Liberia represented the women at the political and security committee meeting, to the surprise and consternation of military officials.

For WIPNET-Liberia, attendance at these meetings, where the basic issues concerning the future of Liberia were discussed, represented one of the great successes of the Mass Action for Peace campaign. It showed that women were stakeholders in the conflict and had a role to play in the peace process. On June 17, 2003, a ceasefire agreement was signed, but that failed to end animosity as the parties still had to reach a comprehensive agreement. These talks stalled several times, leading the women to believe that a few delegates were holding all of Liberia hostage. In response to the delegates' stagnation, WIPNET-Liberia mobilized the women and blocked the entrance to the room where the negotiations were going on for a second time. Unmoved by the chief mediator's pleas to leave, the women displayed signs indicating the delegates' complicity in the continued suffering of the Liberian people. The open hostility between some of the delegates and members of WIPNET-Liberia attracted the attention of the press and the standoff was televised. Partly in response to the publicity, the talks resumed. On August 11, President Taylor agreed to resign. A week later, a comprehensive peace agreement was reached. 78 days of tumultuous peace talks ended and Gyude Bryant, a businessman, was selected as the interim chairman of the Transitional Government of Liberia.

Women sell grain from a roadside stall in Monrovia

Socioeconomic and Demographic Factors

The three primary religions in Liberia are Christianity, indigenous beliefs, and Islam. The first two each represent approximately 40 percent of the population and the third, up to 20 percent. (However, some figures show up to 85 percent Christians, counting those who have integrated Christian beliefs into their traditional African religions to varying degrees.) With a population of 3,685,076, Liberia's male-female ratio is essentially one to one, with fewer than 10,000 more women than men. The recurring violence in Liberia was particularly difficult for the women and children. Repeated displacement, lack of food and clean water, violent attacks, and forced recruiting of young boys came to be unbearable for some of the women. It was this shared burden that allowed Liberian women to unite across sectarian lines in order to promote and, ultimately, achieve peace in their country.

To maintain the recent peace in Liberia, an economic approach was taken by many organizations. Associations that are a part of the Mano River Women's Peace Network and that represent Muslim and Christian women provide training in different trades. Women who received training as seamstresses were then commissioned by the government for projects, including sewing school uniforms. Providing women with skill-based training opens up the avenue of continued employment while also integrating these women into the Liberian economy. This has helped reduce gender inequality in post-conflict Liberian society.

The World Bank is also an important factor in Liberian reconstruction. The World Bank reengaged Liberia in October 2006, voiding the non-accrual status it held since 1987. While doing so, the World Bank unveiled its Gender Action Plan, which made Liberia its focus country for the Bank's Gender Equality as Smart Economics program. The World Bank first conducted numerous gender needs assessments in order to determine the future needs of Liberian women. Simultaneously, the World Bank prepared development and reconstruction plans. The gender assessment needs revealed that women are indeed an active part of the Liberian economy but their presence in the most profitable sectors was lacking. The study found that women make up 53 percent of the agricultural labor force, produce 60 percent of all agricultural products in Liberia, and comprise a large number of entrepreneurs—77 percent of women are self-employed. However, the study also showed that women are absent from major sectors, such as infrastructure, public works, cash crop farming, and mining. To encourage women's participation in these sectors, the Gender Action Plan increased the Liberian women's ability to be competitive and to have access to commercial credit for female-owned businesses.

An agriculture-based pilot initiative is currently underway for women cassava farmers in Ganta, Nimba County to provide assistance with improving productivity, farming, and marketing methods. Undertaken in partnership with the Ministry of Gender and Development, UNIFEM, and the International Center for Research on Women, the initiative incorporates a quasi-experimental impact evaluation that will document results and lessons learned from the intervention. This ongoing agricultural assessment includes a chapter on women's roles in agriculture that can be used to inform the development of the Liberian government's agricultural strategy going forward.

Key Events

1821-1822 The modern Liberian state is established by the American Colonization Society and colonized by freed American slaves.

1822-1926 Liberia embarks on the "settler stage phase" in which skin pigmentation and social class become interrelated and institutionalized in governance.

Mid-1920s Foreign investment helps shift society's governance structure away from ethnicity and instead toward class, which developed more from economic circumstances than skin pigmentation.

1980 By this time, four percent of the population controls more than 60 percent of the national wealth. Class society is replaced by a military dictatorship when the Liberian military ousts the ruling class and brings Sergeant Doe to the presidency.

1989 The National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) moves through Liberia to remove President Samuel Doe from power and establish itself as Liberia's ruler, thus sparking an eight-year bloody civil war.

1990 The Liberian Council of Churches repeatedly appeals to the Doe regime and the NPFL to resolve their differences peacefully. The clergy also unveils its peace plan. A peace conference is called in Freetown, but peace negotiations soon break down.

1993 Warring factions devise a plan for a National Transitional Government and a ceasefire, but this fails to materialize and fighting resumes.

1997 The First Liberian Civil War officially ends under the terms of the Abuja II Peace Accord. Soon after, Charles Taylor wins the presidency in national elections.

January 1999 Ghana and Nigeria accuse Liberia of supporting Revolutionary United Front rebels in Sierra Leone. Britain and the United States threaten to suspend aid to Liberia.

April 1999 Rebel forces thought to have come from Guinea attack town of Voinjama. Fighting displaces more than 25,000 people.

September 2000 Liberian forces launch massive offensive against rebels in the North.

May 2001 UN Security Council reimposes arms embargo to punish Taylor for trading weapons for diamonds from rebels in Sierra Leone.

January 2002 More than 50,000 Liberians and Sierra Leonean refugees flee fighting. President Taylor declares a state of emergency the following month.

March 2003 Rebels advance on Monrovia.

June 2003 Talks in Ghana aimed at ending rebellion are overshadowed by an indictment accusing President Taylor of war crimes over his alleged backing of rebels in Sierra Leone.

July 2003 Fighting intensifies; rebels battle for control of Monrovia. Several hundred people are killed. West African regional group Economic Community of West African States agrees to provide peacekeepers.

August 2003 Nigerian peacekeepers arrive. Charles Taylor leaves Liberia after handing power to his deputy. US troops arrive. Interim government and rebels sign a peace accord in Ghana.

September-October 2003 US forces pull out. The UN launches a major peacekeeping mission, deploying thousands of troops.

February 2004 International donors pledge more than $500 million in reconstruction aid.

October 2004 Riots in Monrovia leave 16 dead; the UN says former combatants were behind the violence.

September, 2005 Liberia agrees that the international community should supervise its finances in an effort to counter corruption.

November 23, 2005 Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf becomes the first woman to be elected as an African head of state. She assumes office the following January.

February, 2006 Truth and Reconciliation Commission is set up to investigate human rights abuses between 1979 and 2003.

President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf addresses the sixty-third annual UN General Assembly meeting

Religious Organizations

Liberian Council of Churches

The Liberian Council of Churches (LCC) was formed in 1982 to serve as a fellowship of all organized bodies of Christians within the Republic of Liberia. Currently, the council has 19 member churches and 10 member organizations, totaling 29 members. The council seeks to, among other things, discuss religious and national issues and make relevant recommendations to the government, offer prayers for the survival of the nation, and mobilize resources to support the needy and church programs. Since its establishment, the council has been active in the resolution of national issues for peace consolidation and development in Liberia. In the process, it has collaborated with various governments in West Africa as well as with the international community. The LCC has been an active participant in all peace negotiations or settlements of Liberian civil conflicts, both national and international as well as the most recent Accra Peace Conference on Liberia at which the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was formulated, endorsed, and signed.

Muslim Council of Liberia

The Muslim Council of Liberia (MCL) serves as the central organization of all Muslims in Liberia. The organization seeks to support and strengthen its followers, as well as provide recommendations to the government regarding religious and national issues. The group played an active role in appealing for peace following the violent civil wars that engulfed the country.

Religious Leaders of Liberia

The Religious Leaders of Liberia (RLL) formed as a partnership between the Liberian Council of Churches and the Muslim Council of Liberia in order to seek peace. The group transcended religious divisions to show the necessity of ending the violence and bloodshed that was tormenting the lives of Liberian citizens..

Women in Peacebuilding Network

http://wanep.org/wanep/programs-our-programs/wipnet.html

The Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) examines avenues through which West African women can play more effective roles in peacebuilding. The program seeks to outline the roles of women at different stages of conflicts. A core objective of this program is to enable women to transform the negative image of "helpless victimhood" that is often ascribed to them in violent conflict situations to a positive and more assertive image of stakeholders and active participants in the pursuit of just peace in their communities.

Further Readings

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Discussion Questions

1. What are the causes of the conflict in Liberia?

2. How did domestic religious leaders promote peace?

3. How was laity-led peacebuilding different from that of religious elites?

4. How did domestic efforts intersect with international efforts at peace?

5. What factors explain the success of religion-inspired peacebuilding?

6. How did religious actors continue to promote peace in the post-conflict?

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[1] Terence Lyons, Voting for Peace: Post-Conflict Elections in Liberia, (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 1.

[2] Amos Beyan, "The American Colonization Society and the Socio-Religious Characterization of Liberia: A Historical Survey, 1822-1900," Liberian Studies Journal vol. 10, no. 2 (1984/1985), 2.

[3] David Barrett, ed., World Christian Encyclopedia, A.D. 1900-2000 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 457.

[4] Nya Kwiawon Taryor, "Religions in Liberia," Liberia Forum vol. 5, no. 8 (1989), 3.

[5] For statistics on the number of Muslims in Liberia, see Religion by Location Index, "Liberia," http://adherents.com/adhloc/Wh_184.html#448. The data for 1978 and 1980 were extrapolated from these statistics.

[6] For a comprehensive discussion of the role of commerce as a conduit for the spread of Islam in Liberia, see Augustine Konneh, Religion, Commerce and the Integration of the Mandingo in Liberia, (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996).

[7] To learn more see Eva Jensen Lutheran Liberian Women Unify for Peace, http://www2.elca.org/liberia/news/liberianwomenpeace.html

[8] To read more about Liberian reconstruction see "Women's Role in Liberia's Reconstruction," http://usip.org/publications/women-s-role-liberia-s-reconstruction