

Is Peace Possible?

WOMEN PEACEMAKERS IN ACTION



JOAN B. KROC
INSTITUTE FOR
PEACE & JUSTICE
UNIVERSITY OF SAN DIEGO

Final Report of the 2007 Summit
5th Anniversary of the Women PeaceMakers Program

Funded by the Fred J. Hansen Foundation

Is Peace Possible?

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Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace is committed to fostering peace, cultivating justice and creating a safer world. The IPJ was founded with a generous gift from the philanthropist Joan B. Kroc, who asked that the institute be a place that not only "talked about peace, but made peace." Through education, research and peacemaking activities, the institute offers programs that advance scholarship and practice in conflict resolution and human rights. The institute's Women PeaceMakers Program recognizes and connects women who have an essential role in the building of just and lasting peace.

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Foreword

Dee Aker, Ph.D.
Director, Women PeaceMakers Program
Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

On its fifth anniversary, the Women PeaceMakers Program honors the contributions and dignity of women who have been teaching us an essential truth: If it is necessary, it is possible.

The program, and this publication, seek to bring the course of global and local politics into sharp focus through the lives of women who stand up as individuals for humanity. We cherish their knowledge as it is shared in our community and with those we serve around the globe. Chapter 1 introduces some of the work and life experiences of the first 20 women who told us how they are taking on the seemingly impossible to move toward peace with justice.

Chapter 2 summarizes highlights from the 2007 Women PeaceMakers Summit that reunited many of the women whose stories we have been privileged to document. Joining them were experts and practitioners from international peacebuilding organizations, whose own labors promote inclusive, secure, respectful communities where past traumas and abuses are not only acknowledged but changed, where impunity and abuse of power no longer prevail.

Many people, projects and organizations have been woven into the unique fabric of the Women PeaceMakers Program. These are acknowledged in Chapter 3. Peace Writers, who have gathered stories of the peacemakers from 20 different countries or regions, are listed along with the documentary film series produced and shown internationally about the peacemakers. Global forums that connect the Women PeaceMakers with other scholars and practitioners are briefly identified as well.

As the 20th-century activist Kay Boyle wrote: "There is only one history of importance and it is the history of what you once believed in and the history of what you came to believe in." The Women PeaceMakers Program strives to understand life as it is being lived, and life as it can be lived when people are willing to take positive steps in the face of all their bitter experiences. Maybe when we believe peace is necessary, we will join in making it possible.

History of the Women PeaceMakers Program

Joyce Neu, Ph.D.

Executive Director, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

In fall 2000, when I became executive director of the new Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) at the University of San Diego, my colleague Dee Aker and I discussed how we could promote women's voices in peacemaking and peacebuilding work. The institute had, after all, a special "predisposition" to advance the role of women: It was founded with a gift by philanthropist Joan Kroc, a woman who wanted the institute to "not only talk about peace, but make peace"; is based at a university led by women presidents since 1995; and was founded by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart together with the San Diego Diocese. Thus, the institute was born with a genetic structure that gave it a head start in addressing the needs of women working for peace. But how to do so?

After a review of what other nongovernmental organizations were doing, we decided to launch a Women PeaceMakers Program that would focus not on our imparting knowledge to women in conflict zones, but on their sharing their attained wisdom with us and the larger global community. Rather than emphasize training, we would document the stories of exceptional women working against great odds for peace and justice. We were privileged to find a wonderful partner in the Fred J. Hansen Foundation which, in Jan. 2003, chose to support our proposal for a residency program that would bring women to the institute for an intensive eight-week period. They would tell their stories to writers, who would ensure that the stories were produced in the women's own voices.

We are grateful to the Hansen Foundation for continuing their support over the past five years and for making it possible for the IPJ to document the stories of 20 Women PeaceMakers since 2003. The women who have participated in this program are part of the institute's family, and their stories, documented both on paper and through documentary films, are now part of the IPJ's literature available to anyone – to students, scholars, diplomats and practitioners – so that we can all learn from these women not just that it is possible to survive wars and injustice, but that it is also possible for one person to take actions that, like ripples on a pond, have a reach far beyond their starting point.

All the World Loves a Story!

William Headley, Ph.D., C.S.Sp.

Dean, Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies

Some stories entertain. Those in this publication will not. These stories will instruct, edify and, hopefully, summon you to action on behalf of those afflicted by conflict. For here you will find the accounts of Women PeaceMakers, brave and courageous women who have experienced the profound crises which women, men, children and the elderly suffer in situations of conflict. Yet, to a person, they also chose to do something about it. Often, what they did was and continues to be dangerous, lonely and misunderstood.

By their actions, these peacemakers give us important lessons. They not only console and comfort those grieving, but they take stands for the human rights of others in the 20 countries they call home. In what they do on the frontlines of violent conflict, these peacemakers model some of the best close-to-the-ground peace practices. They show us what initiatives for reconciliation might look like. They point out what systematic changes need to be made in their own social contexts.

All this came together in a uniquely powerful way, when cohorts from five years of participants in the Women PeaceMakers Program gathered from Oct. 22 to 26 in San Diego. They came to share what has happened in their lives and peacemaking work since they first came to tell their stories at the University of San Diego.

Relief workers, development agents and a variety of professional peacebuilders often feel too preoccupied with the direct services they are rendering to give their attention to recording the creative work which they and local agents do in troubled situations. I have always been saddened by this loss of such rich knowledge. Having worked with women peacemakers in my former position at Catholic Relief Services, a large international relief and development agency of the U.S. Catholic community, I was delighted to learn that stories of individual women making a difference in conflict situations throughout the world are being carefully documented here at the university's own Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. What a rich research base for the new Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, begun in Aug. 2007 at the University of San Diego, and for the emerging discipline of peacebuilding.

Chapter 1:

Women PeaceMakers in Action



Overview

The Women PeaceMakers (WPM) of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) face many challenges; oftentimes they and those they work with struggle for daily survival. The two-month residency at the IPJ gives them a much needed respite from the violence ravaging their homes and regions. During this time, their work is documented through film and written narratives, creating a space for them to reflect on their lives and work and to renew their visions for the future. The WPM Program is unique – it recognizes the full peacebuilding potential of these women. It goes beyond their professional accomplishments and explores their personal motivations.

Updates on their work and stories that illustrate the range of experiences that inspired and called them to pursue peace accompany brief biographies in the following chapter.

The narrative excerpts show these women in action. From stepping into the line of fire to demobilize child soldiers or demand a ceasefire, to organizing peace education campaigns and post-conflict elections, the IPJ Women PeaceMakers have remained committed to pursuing justice and fostering peace. Excerpts also display their diverse paths to peace, simultaneously examining the personal and the political. From family relationships that empowered and encouraged, to situations that expose their vulnerability and humanity, these narratives paint a more complete and complex picture of what it means to be a peacemaker.

**Sister Pauline Acayo (2005)
Uganda**

- **Reintegration**
- **Human Rights Education**
- **Inter-Religious Peacebuilding**

As peacebuilding project officer for Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in Gulu, Sister Pauline Acayo has been instrumental in helping over 2,000 formerly abducted children reintegrate into their communities through the use of mediation, psychosocial trauma counseling and traditional indigenous ceremonies. Through Acayo's support of women peace committees in internally displaced peoples' (IDP) camps and encouragement to participate in peace and reconciliation activities, women are gaining influential roles in northern Ugandan society. She trains women task forces and creates community forums for women to voice their views. These task forces also work in coordination with Acayo and CRS to promote reconciliation and forgiveness in communities torn apart by 20 years of war.



Acayo trains human rights workers in IDP camps

Throughout the 2006 presidential and parliamentary election process, Acayo was instrumental in ensuring free and fair election processes. Prior to election day, she conducted civic education sessions and pushed for greater women's representation in government. Acayo is also making strides in coordinating civil society efforts for peacebuilding in Uganda. With the initiation of peace talks in Juba, Sudan between the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) in 2006, a large number of IDPs and refugees have been returning home. Acayo is engaged with other nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in educating the displaced communities on land rights and the land tenure system, hoping to alleviate and prevent land disputes as the people return to their homes.

Together with the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative, Acayo and CRS have formed sub-county and district religious leaders' peace committees to institutionalize the resolution of conflict through dialogue and mediation. Acayo also coordinated with CRS and the Inter-Religious Council of Churches to develop a peace and reconciliation strategy workshop for senior religious leaders in Uganda and the Great Lakes region, effectively sending the voices of religious leaders to the Juba peace talks. Acayo has been honored with a Voices of Courage Certificate of Recognition from the Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

In Focus: Uganda

The LRA, led by Joseph Kony – who claims to be a spirit medium and wants to lead the country according to the Ten Commandments – has been fighting the government of Yoweri Museveni since 1987. The LRA abducts children into its ranks to fight as soldiers or serve as porters and sexual slaves; the estimates for the number of children abducted over the years are between 20,000 and 80,000.¹ The fighting has led at times to the displacement of over 80 percent of the population of northern Uganda, many of whom remain in IDP camps. After many failed peace attempts over the 20 years of war, talks began again in July 2006 in Juba, Sudan, where the parties agreed on a five-point agenda and to the cessation of hostilities. Around 300,000 IDPs have returned to their homes during this period of relative security. In Feb. 2006, in the first multiparty presidential elections in 25 years, Museveni was again elected president, defeating opposition leader Kizza Besigye, who had been imprisoned from the previous Nov. until Jan. 2006.

Rebels at Home²

Writer: Emiko Noma

"We are going to take her with us to the bush to pray for us." This is the only justification given by one of the LRA rebels when a neighbor asked them why they had come to kidnap Sister Pauline. They gave only that reason.

It had been a relaxing evening, one of the first such nights Sister Pauline had had in several months. She rarely had the opportunity to go home to Minakulu to see her mother, much less spend two days there. That weekend in 1993 was to be a much needed break from her teaching duties in Gulu. As usually occurs when Sister Pauline goes home, many visitors from Minakulu came to see her that first night she returned, to eat, drink and relax as one community. They brought lots of food and the local brew, and talked and celebrated until late in the night. She was exhausted and unable to keep her eyes open past 11 o'clock. Some people remained, finishing off the food and drink and helping to clean the compound.

Her mother shook her awake two hours later. The rebels had taken the back roads in Minakulu and were searching for her. They had gone to a neighbor's home and were harassing the man, trying to find out where Sister Pauline lived. The man's wife escaped through the back of the house, "leaving the husband to be beaten by the rebels," in order to warn Sister Pauline and her mother. She was clothed in only a night dress, but before fleeing from the house, she grabbed her veil and a rosary. She and her mother were only able to run a few meters away from the house before they heard the rebels arrive, shouting, "Where is she? Where is she?"

Sister Pauline and her mother hid themselves in the tall grass just outside the compound. It was much colder this time in the grass; it was the rainy season, so the stalks were thick with moisture, chilling the night air. When the rebels could not find her, they headed for her uncle's house. Her uncle, Opira Martin, was a local businessman whose home was near their own compound. Sister Pauline could hear his screams from her hideout in the grass.

He kept begging them not to kill him, crying, "You're killing me for nothing." So first they cut his lips off. Then they took the sharpest part of their guns to his head, slicing almost to his brain. He went silent. The rebels – and Sister Pauline from below the grass – believed he was dead. "They were looting and they thought he was dead already, so they were just busy looting – looting and laughing in the compound." The rebels stayed until dawn; Sister Pauline and her mother lay in the grass until seven in the morning, unsure if they would return to look for her again.

When they rose from the grass, they immediately went to find out if Martin was still alive. He was indeed still breathing, but, "he was all swollen and didn't look like a human being, with the mouth cut, the head swollen so big and disfigured." They arranged for him to be taken to the hospital. By that time, word had reached the Archbishop of Gulu that the rebels had been searching for Sister Pauline, so a vehicle was sent to Minakulu. Sister Pauline was unable to go to the hospital to be with her uncle, but had to return to Gulu immediately.

Her uncle survived, but because he was not treated immediately and fell unconscious for a long period of time, he suffered brain damage. Sister Pauline still laments, "He is no longer himself. Up to today, he just sits and stares, but can't do anything."

The rebels wanted to abduct Sister Pauline so that she would pray for them in the bush. She wonders why they did not realize she was already praying for them, praying that this senseless conflict would end.

"[Acayo] wonders why [the rebels] did not realize she was already praying for them, praying that this senseless conflict would end."



Noma and Acayo work on her narrative

Mary Ann Arnado (2005) Philippines

- **Ceasefire Negotiations and Monitoring**

- **Civilian-Military Relations**

- **Internal Displacement**

As a lawyer and for several years the deputy director of Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID), a regional institution that promotes solidarity among the peoples of Southeast Asia, Mary Ann Arnado coordinated the grassroots peacebuilding and peace advocacy program in Mindanao, with the goal of promoting the participation of women in the peace process between the government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF). In that capacity, Arnado organized the successful Bantay Ceasefire monitoring team, worked directly in zones of conflict to educate warring factions on international humanitarian law and human rights and was appointed by the government peace panel to serve as an official advisor on ancestral domain.



Arnado negotiates with the AFP

Arnado was also the secretary-general of the Mindanao Peoples Caucus (MPC), a grassroots network of the Bangsamoro, indigenous peoples and Christian settlers, which seeks to promote indigenous peacemaking mechanisms and facilitate dialogue. During the Buliok War of 2003, Arnado helped mobilize over 10,000 IDPs who were demanding an immediate ceasefire between the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the MILF, a demand heeded by both sides. She recently participated in the International Women's Peace and Solidarity Mission to Basilan to investigate the recurrence of violence and the situation of the displaced in the region.

Arnado was instrumental in the success of the Basilan incident fact-finding mission, formed in response to the beheading of 14 members of the AFP, and comprised of representatives from the AFP, MILF and Bantay Ceasefire. Her insistence that the investigators visit the actual site of the incident resulted in the correct identification of the offending party. Arnado's participation in this mission further articulated the need to openly address issues of sexual violence as a result of conflict. With cultural norms dictating otherwise, Arnado is examining avenues to bring this issue to light in order for true root causes and ramifications of conflict to be incorporated into peace processes.

In Focus: Mindanao, Philippines

Mindanao – the second largest island in the Philippines – is inhabited by three major communities: indigenous peoples; the Bangsamoro, who are largely Muslim; and Christian settlers. The contemporary violent conflict on this southern island initially began in the 1970s with the appearance of the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) and later the splinter group known as the MILF, both separatist groups seeking self-determination for the island. While the MNLF signed a peace agreement with the government in 1996, past negotiations involving the MILF and successive governmental administrations have been characterized by a series of broken ceasefires and failed peace treaties. Other armed conflicts on the island – a communist insurgency dating from the late 1960s and an Islamic extremist campaign led by the Abu Sayyaf group – overlap with and complicate the struggle of the Bangsamoro people.

“Women Cannot Cry Anymore”³

Writer: Maia Woodward

The sound of the bombs was unlike anything she had ever heard. Mary Ann thought her heart would literally explode, as fast and as loud as it beat. She was in the middle of bombing raids in the 2003 Buliok War between the AFP and the MILF, the raids which uprooted thousands of Bangsamoro civilians from their fishing communities.

After the people fled to the nearest small town of Pikit, Mary Ann and her colleagues at IID helped set up and manage relief programs in the evacuation camps. On her initial visit to these centers, she stepped into the appalling conditions, but quickly stepped back out – the stench of thousands of people packed into the rooms in 100 degree tropical heat overwhelming her. There was no running water, and for the families surviving in schools, sports halls, warehouses and makeshift tents, food was only available through international relief agencies.

A short while later, back in her office in Davao City, Mary Ann received a phone call from Father Bert, the parish priest of Pikit and chairman of the MPC. He told her to come quickly – the mayor of Pikit had ordered the evacuees to return to their communities or face the bulldozers that were on their way to destroy the camps. By the time Mary Ann made the four-hour drive, the bulldozers were already in place; many of the people had started their long walk home to their villages along the Ligawasan Marsh.

Father Bert and Mary Ann accompanied the people on their trek home. As they approached one community, Mary Ann noticed something on the ground, covered by a white sheet, lying on a mat next to an expressionless woman. Under the sheet was a dead baby – a boy, nearly a year old. Sitting quietly next to the mother were several other women, also seemingly without emotion. Mary Ann, overcome by shock and grief, embraced the mother. But she was also incredulous; she could not understand why she was the only woman able to weep openly.

I cried and cried until I realized that no one was crying. The mother was just sitting there. I felt like I was the mother, but then I realized that the situation is really like that. Women cannot cry anymore – they just lose that kind of spontaneity. Their emotions can even just stop.

Staring at the infant and consoling the mother, Mary Ann was no longer the lawyer or the theorist and student of abstract theories of peace and conflict, of feminism. She had come face to face with the violent reality of armed conflict and its impact on women.

It was about the general situation of women. I was exposed more to their vulnerability and the brunt of the violence itself. In that moment, it was an encounter with the violence and the impositions made on the lives of women. I mean that as women, we tend to just accept or we are just at the receiving end of what men are doing to the world. That is how I see our situation: things happen to us because of the decisions that men make. So, for me, that is a very big violation, and when you see women like the woman who lost her child, you really see how helpless they are in that situation. For me, that was the really moving thing which prompted a conclusive transformation in my advocacy – to make it advocacy for women, for mothers.

“When you see women like the woman who lost her child, you really see how helpless they are in that situation. For me, that was the really moving thing which prompted a conclusive transformation in my advocacy – to make it advocacy for women, for mothers.”



Father and his baby in the evacuation camps

- **Gender Policy Expertise**

- **International Women's Network**

- **Civil Society Advocacy**

Samia Bamieh (2007) Palestine

Samia Bamieh is a founding member and respected leader of the International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Palestinian-Israeli Peace (IWC) and chairperson of its Palestinian Steering Committee. Bamieh, one of the experts who helped formulate the Palestinian government's Plan of Action on gender after the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China, was the director of gender policies and training in the Palestinian Directorate of Gender and Development of the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation. She then served in the same ministry as director of U.N. and International Organizations and director general of European Affairs, and was a member of the committee assigned to draft a Palestinian constitution under Minister Nabeel Shaath.



Bamieh addresses IPJ audience

Bamieh, a mother of two, has been involved for over 30 years in promoting women's rights and roles in politics and decision making. Her civil society activism includes being a member of Jerusalem Link, the coordinating body of two independent women's organizations (the Jerusalem Center for Women on the Palestinian side and the Jerusalem Women's Action Center on the Israeli side) that promote a shared set of political principles for coexistence and the resolution of the conflict. Bamieh continues to be engaged in efforts to build a civil, political society for a future Palestinian state on two interdependent fronts: the establishment of an independent democratic state with a constitution that acknowledges pluralism and non-discrimination, and the expansion and defense of achievements of Palestinian women in their political and legal struggles. In spite of having suffered from war, occupation and disappointing peace efforts, Bamieh has chosen to take paths that allow her to support and inform new ways of thinking about the conflict and how peace and communities might be restored.

In Focus: Palestine

A U.N. mandate to divide Palestine into Arab and Jewish territories in 1947 and the Six Day War in 1967, which resulted in Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, reduced Palestinian territory by over 70 percent and was responsible for the displacement of over 1 million people. The first intifada – the Palestinian uprising against Israeli occupation – began in 1987; the Oslo Accords were negotiated in 1993, establishing the Palestinian National Authority (PNA) to govern the occupied territories. But the failure of the peace talks and a 2000 visit by Ariel Sharon to Al Aqsa mosque, a sacred site to Muslims, led to the second intifada. The PNA has been weakened by internal conflicts between the Fatah and Hamas parties. Fatah, led by Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas, controls the West Bank, while Hamas, the militant group who won a majority in Palestinian parliamentary elections in 2006, gained control of Gaza in 2007. Formal peace talks between Abbas and Israeli leaders toward the resolution of conflict were initiated in Annapolis in Nov. 2007.

“
I think these women are the women who are seeking power, but differently. They are not women seeking power to combat the government or have a position. I think what is amazing is that there is here another model [for how] we define power, powerful women, decision making. I think women are seeking power for others and we really are only the messenger. And I think this is wonderful.”⁴

Dalit Baum (2003) Israel

Dalit Baum is a feminist involved in community work, human rights and conflict resolution activities in Israel. She took part in Palestinian-Israeli projects and the women's peace movement, but it was the outbreak of the second Palestinian uprising, the Al Aqsa intifada, which spurred her to new levels of activism against the growing racism, violence and hatred she saw around her. She became an organizer in the Coalition of Women for Just Peace, a community of various women's groups working for peace; started a new Women in Black vigil in Tel Aviv where Palestinian and Israeli women stand bravely and silently against the conflict; co-founded Black Laundry, a direct action group of lesbians, gay men and transgenders against the occupation and for social justice; has worked as a teacher and group facilitator at the Community School for Women; and participates in various solidarity and humanitarian initiatives in Israel and Palestine. Marcia Freedman, former member of the Knesset and president of the Jewish Alliance for Justice and Peace, says Baum is "brilliant, daring and original" and "a steady and constant activist who brought creativity and unwavering commitment to the table" as it became extremely difficult for women to have their voices heard after 2000. From her introduction to grassroots nongovernmental work in 1998 to her work with the National Feminist Conferences – which allowed her to be at the forefront of Israeli feminist culture – to her co-founding direct action groups such as Black Laundry, Baum has successfully used the power of activism and organization to unite marginalized people in an effort to achieve peace. Baum continues to raise awareness about injustices within the Israeli community, promote peace between Israelis and Palestinians and highlight the connections between all forms of oppression within society.

- **Feminist Activism**
- **Community Organizing**
- **Human Rights Education**

In Focus: Israel

A growing British Zionist movement and the persecution of Jews during World War II inspired the migration of many Jewish settlers to British-occupied Palestine in the 1930s and 1940s. A U.N. plan to divide Palestine into Arab and Jewish states was followed by the 1948 declaration of the formation of the state of Israel by the Jewish population. Israel's success in the Six Day War in 1967 resulted in Israeli occupation of West Bank and Gaza. An increasing number of Israeli settlements in those territories spurred the Palestinian revolt known as the first intifada in 1987. The negotiation of the Oslo Accords, signed by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in 1993, did not resolve the conflict, and Rabin was assassinated by an Israeli extremist in 1995. In Feb. of 2005, Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas declared an informal ceasefire, resulting in the removal of 9,000 Jewish settlers from Gaza and the West Bank, but occupation continues and settlements in the West Bank are still being built. Formal peace talks between Israeli and Palestinian leaders toward the resolution of conflict were initiated in Annapolis in Nov. 2007.

“
We need to start making new, perhaps surprising alliances inside Jewish-Israeli society, new support networks across class, ethnicity and gender. This requires new forms of organizing and other ways of political thinking.”



Baum describes her work to Mastron

Emmaculeta Chiseya (2005)
Zimbabwe

- **Democracy
Advocacy**
- **Electoral
Processes
Expertise**
- **Gender-
Sensitive
Community
Development**

Emmaculeta Chiseya, a mother of two from Harare, Zimbabwe has worked to gender-sensitize community development and promote human rights for over 15 years. From 1996 to 2000, Chiseya was responsible for the promotion, protection and defense of human rights under the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association. During an increasingly dangerous period of Zimbabwean history, she has helped pioneer human rights education and civic education curricula in schools throughout the country. As a project officer for the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), Chiseya advocates for democracy and electoral education and serves as an election monitor.



Chiseya explains Zimbabwe's conflict

In 2007, ZESN intensified its efforts for democracy through electoral education, election monitoring and observation, research, advocacy and information dissemination. Chiseya is focusing on educating the Zimbabwean citizenry on the principles and responsibilities of democracy through workshops and community training. She is also carrying out trainings-for-trainers to expand the base of qualified democracy education trainers. To date, she has trained 240 people who are carrying out workshops in 120 constituencies throughout the country. Chiseya has produced democracy education publications and is utilizing radio programs tailored to youth and marginalized communities to facilitate their participation in political processes. She is involved in a nationwide campaign to emphasize active citizen participation in view of the forthcoming 2008 presidential and parliamentary elections, encouraging political tolerance during campaigns while seeking greater voter registration.



Zimbabwe elections protest (IRIN)

In the current dangerous climate in Zimbabwe, with exorbitant inflation and unemployment rates and a nonexistent health care system, the rights which the constitution grants are challenged; politically motivated violence confronts the citizens who are seeking a return to peace. With the impending 2008 elections, human rights activists and peacemakers must maneuver carefully simply to assemble. Torture practices by police are on the rise. Chiseya has experience educating police and other security forces to desist from torture practices, and has used theater to encourage greater understanding of human rights. She is working to help people

negotiate these pitfalls in order to move democratic change and human rights forward, and believes in the right of the people to elect a government of their choice without fear.

In Focus: Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, formerly the British colony of Rhodesia, was a self-declared independent country ruled by a white minority under Ian Smith from 1965 to 1979. After a guerilla movement against Smith's rule ended in a peace agreement, the country gained its full independence in 1980; Robert Mugabe became the country's first prime minister. Named as president in 1987, Mugabe has been the nation's sole ruler to date. In 2000, his government seized farms owned by white farmers and redistributed them to black, landless farmers, claiming the land reform program was needed to bring justice after colonialism. The move, coupled with severe drought since 2005, has ruined the economy and led to mass migration by Zimbabweans to other southern African countries and abroad. Another 700,000 people were driven from their homes in Operation Murambatsvina, or "Drive Out the Trash," when the government cleared out illegal squatters in slum areas. Mugabe has been accused by the international community of rigging elections in 2002, which ensured his stay in office, and parliamentary elections in 2005. Growing opposition to his rule has been violently suppressed by government security forces, including the arrest and brutal beating of opposition leader Morgan Tsvangirai in 2007.

"That's why we always call it 'the politics of the stomach,' whereby people are forced or coerced to vote for something they don't want."

“
They would ... go into a community and tell them that 'We are going to be monitoring this area. If the ruling party does not win, you people are going to suffer. You are not going to benefit from any food aid.' So, at the end of the day, people then weigh between voting for the opposition or getting something for the stomach. So, that's why we always call it 'the politics of the stomach,' whereby people are forced or coerced to vote for something they don't want.”⁵



Elections cue in Zimbabwe (IRIN)

Zahra Ugas Farah (2003)
Somalia



Zarah Ugas Farah

- **H umanitarian Aid**
- **W omen’s Leadership**
- **Civi l Society Mobilizati on**

Zahra Ugas Farah is a founding member and director of the Family Economy Rehabilitation Organization (FERO), originally created in 1992 to meet the basic survival needs of people suffering from the violent civil war in Somalia. Within a year of its founding, FERO was appointed deputy head of food distribution, working directly with the World Food Program. The organization has since expanded its work to include HIV/AIDS awareness; the elimination of the practice of female genital mutilation; the empowerment of women through education, income-generating projects and skills building; and incorporating women into capacity building and decision making at the local and national levels. When government and Ethiopian troops battled Islamic insurgents in 2006 and 2007, re-igniting pronounced violent conflict in the country, FERO mobilized women’s groups in Mogadishu and called on the warring sides to observe international human rights standards; the organization also continued their humanitarian work to save lives during the height of the fighting.

The daughter of a clan chief and a devout Muslim, Farah has been participating in the Somali peace process as a key civil society leader. At the Somali Reconciliation Conference in 2002, Farah served as a member of the Committee on Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation, and later was nominated to chair meetings of the Leaders Committee composed of rival warlords attempting to communicate and find resolution to the conflict. FERO has hosted hundreds of events to educate local communities on Somali women’s role in reconciliation and peace processes. However, as the quota of women holding government positions in Somalia is not being filled, Farah and her colleagues are using forums and declarations to revitalize the call for and realization of women’s rights and representation.

In Focus: Somalia

The 1991 overthrow of Siad Barre, who had been leader of Somalia since 1969, and a subsequent power struggle between the five major clans and factions within them led to a civil war that is still ongoing. A Transitional National Government was established in 2000, and a transitional parliament, based in Kenya because of the insecurity inside Somalia, was created in 2004. Several national peace and reconciliation conferences took place throughout the early part of the decade, with women gaining limited influence through a “Sixth Clan” of women from all five major clans. Renewed large-scale violence between rival warlords and militias began in early 2006, and in June, militias of the Union of Islamic Courts (UIC) gained control of Mogadishu and later other areas of Somalia. Ethiopian troops – allies of the U.S., supportive of the transitional government and opposed to the UIC – battled the militias and eventually forced them to flee the capital. Though U.N. peacekeeping forces were driven from Somalia in the early 1990s, the Security Council approved the deployment of African Union peacekeepers in the country in 2007. A national reconciliation conference took place in July 2007, but lack of participation by all factions and ongoing violence in Mogadishu severely curtailed its operation.

The Base of the Community⁶

Writer: Carmen Dyck

"This war in Somalia has become usual and a part of everyday life. Kidnapping, murder – we never had these things before. There is so much destruction and violence. People are killed, displaced, looted, raped and more. Every day you see something you have never seen before." In the civil war that has been raging since 1991, faction leaders, or warlords, are essentially running the country.

Some of the faction leaders have airstrips, armies and militias of small armed boys. The small boys are the tools of the faction leaders. They are the ones who are always dying. This one boy, he became paralyzed from fighting. He was fighting for the sake of the clan, but no one cared when he was wounded.

As warlords increase their wealth and control their own spheres of influence, civilians, like this young boy forced to be a soldier and the small community that must now care for him, suffer most from the ongoing violence. "Most Somali people have had family members killed in the civil war. This has mostly affected the women, so they decided that they needed to organize something to establish and promote peace."

Zahra and other women went into the medinas, or neighborhoods, of Mogadishu to speak face to face with the militias who were destroying their communities. The majority of the militias were boys, starting from 13 or 14 years old, "just teenagers." Throughout their conversations, the women learned that the kids were either orphans who had lost their parents in the war, or impoverished, with families who could not feed them or send them to school. "The women asked the boys what they wanted; they wanted the boys to tell them how they could help them so that they didn't have to kill and loot. The boys all said they wanted to study."

The group of women went door to door asking for just 5,000 shillings to contribute to a fund so they could get the child soldiers off the streets and into schools.⁷ Several members of the business community also donated to the cause – "It became something great." But the women did not just give the money to the boys without asking something in return. "So, then the women said, 'Give us your weapons.' And the boys gave them their guns and knives. The women turned the weapons over to the elders. The result was that the medinas and several areas of Mogadishu were safer places and the boys were getting training." Women later mobilized these same boys to be security guards in parts of the capital, thus helping those areas become peaceful as well.

"The women asked the boys what they wanted; they wanted the boys to tell them how they could help them so that they didn't have to kill and loot. The boys all said they wanted to study."



Child soldiers (IRIN)



Farah and FEROs educate local communities

- **M ediation**
- **Jou rnalism**
- **H uman
Ri ghts
Ac tivism**

Shukrije Gashi (2006)
Kosovo

Shukrije Gashi lives and works in Prishtina, Kosovo, where she is the director of Partners Center for Conflict Management-Kosova, working within local communities to resolve disputes and build consensus on issues affecting civil society. A lawyer, poet and mediator, Gashi has worked throughout her life on issues of human rights and conflict resolution. As a student in the early 1980s, she was imprisoned for two years for her involvement in the struggle for the recognition of Kosovo Albanian rights in the former Yugoslavia. Following her imprisonment, Gashi worked as a journalist for many years, writing for newspapers such as the *New York Times* and the Albanian daily newspaper *Rilindja*. In the 1990s, she helped establish several regional NGOs, including the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Centre for the Protection of Women and Children and Motrat Qiriazi. She was one of the main actors involved in drafting the first mediation law, gender equality draft law, and property and housing legislation in Kosovo. Throughout the decade, Gashi was also involved in the Council of Reconciliation, which brought together Albanians from Kosovo and the diaspora to resolve sometimes decades-old blood feuds (or interfamily revenge killings); she and other mediators in the council adapted traditional conflict resolution practices to modern Albanian culture.



Shukrije Gashi

While working on the development of successful relations between civil society and government, Gashi has been working to raise awareness among women of the importance and advantages of seeking roles in decision-making processes, particularly at the local level. Gashi, recognizing that the healing of divided communities is vital at this stage of Kosovo's development, has also been focusing on the return of Serb minorities to the largely Albanian Kosovo. Working jointly with programs in Serbia, her efforts aim to reintegrate minorities both physically and mentally and to ensure sustainability of the process.

In Focus: Kosovo

Kosovo, a province in Serbia, has a large ethnic Albanian population that has been striving for independence from the government in Belgrade for decades. An unsuccessful non-violent movement for independence led by Ibrahim Rugova in the 1990s failed, and violent conflict between the armed Albanian separatist group, the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA), and Serb forces ensued in the late 1990s. Forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) intervened in 1999 as Serb President Slobodan Milošević implemented a policy of ethnically cleansing Albanians from the province; NATO defeated the Serbs and the province was placed under an interim U.N. administration. While reconciliation between the majority ethnic Albanians and the Serb minority is still fragile, U.N. Special Representative Martti Ahtisaari surmised a plan in 2007 to grant Kosovo eventual independence, which was accepted by the U.S. and Europe, but rejected by Russia. A deadline for a U.N. resolution on the status of Kosovo passed in Dec. 2007; Kosovo's political leaders are expected to declare unilateral independence from Serbia in 2008.

Unrest in Prishtina⁸**Writer: Jackee Batanda**

On March 11, 1981, students at the University of Prishtina gathered to demand improved living conditions and better food in the cafeteria. The university was severely overcrowded and neglected by the government in Belgrade. A member of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, Azem Vllasi, was sent by the government to quell the student demonstration. He stood tall and asked the students why they had not sent representatives to meet with the government. The students shouted back, "We did send representatives and you have had enough time. You have 72 hours to meet our demands. We don't trust you. You are not in our shoes. You are a servant of the criminal government."

In the students' dining room, they started banging plates on the tables and chanted, "We need better conditions! We don't want traitors here! We don't want servants here! We want honest representatives of our rights in the government!"

The police soon began arresting the known student leaders. Rather than suppressing the protests, however, the show of force by the regime provoked the rest of the Kosovo population and culminated in widespread demonstrations a few weeks later.

Days after the initial demonstration, Shuki went to the university and later met with Nuhi [her boyfriend and a fellow student at the university], who told her how the previous night the police had surrounded the student house looking for activists, and his friends in the next room advised him to leave the university immediately to avoid being arrested.⁹ He jumped down from the balcony, just as the police burst in and the shooting started.

He seemed anxious now, and finally asked Shuki whether she was willing to join a burgeoning organization, the Movement for an Albanian Republic within Yugoslavia. He wanted to know her position on their ideas and asked if she would join it once it was fully established. Shuki told him she wanted to think about his proposition before signing her name to any lists, but was willing to contribute to any student movement that could grow into a national movement for Kosovo independence.

On a morning in April of that same year, Shuki joined a crowd of students demonstrating again at the university. In the crowds, Shuki found her cousin, Hedije, and marched beside her. In the early evening, the riot police sprayed teargas into the crowd. Running with her cousin, Shuki heard screams as the crowds scattered. She saw riot police dragging women by their hair and beating demonstrators on their genitals. Shuki and Hedije saw a low brick wall and ran toward it, Hedije scrambling over first. Atop the wall, Shuki looked back to see a policeman aiming his pistol at her. Their eyes met for a moment. As she jumped to safety on the other side of the wall, the shot she expected never came.

They entered the first house they saw, breathless from the teargas in the streets. The woman in the house was sympathetic and gave them onions to neutralize the effects of the teargas. She said they could stay in her house until it was safe. When they were able to leave, they took side roads and hurdled fences and walls before reaching home.

Later in the evening, all the relatives assembled at the Gashi house. Shuki's father pulled her aside and cautioned her about her involvement in the demonstration. He was concerned her political activities would endanger the family, already under police surveillance. He said, "I don't want to discourage you, nor do I want to encourage you. Just remember not to do anything that would harm your life and put the family in danger. If you go ahead, I will still support you."

Shuki decided to continue her activities, and met with Nuhi and other activists late that night. During the meeting, they discovered that 13 people had been killed and over 100 arrested. Though dangerous, for Shuki it was a time of youthful exhilaration and determination: "We were young and proud of ourselves and wanted to make our contribution to the future of Kosovo."

"Shuki told him she wanted to think about his proposition before signing her name to any lists, but was willing to contribute to any student movement that could grow into a national movement for Kosovo independence."

- **P** *Peace Education*
- **D** *omestic Violence*
- **S** *mall Arms Reduction*

**Thavory Huot (2005)
Cambodia**

A survivor of three decades of civil war, genocide and domestic violence, Thavory Huot, from Phnom Penh, Cambodia, is currently affiliated with Brahmavihara, the Cambodia AIDS Project. Prior to this, she was the program manager of the Peace Education and Awareness Unit of the Working Group for Weapons Reduction. The group works to reduce weapons; promote peace and non-violent problem solving; and strengthen the capacity of high school teachers, pedagogical trainers, teachers-in-training and Cambodian civil society to build a peaceful and safe country.



Thavory Huot

In the 1970s, Huot witnessed the death of most of her family under the brutality of the Khmer Rouge. During those years, she was forced into manual labor, building dams and irrigation channels, and transplanting, plowing and harvesting rice. After the Vietnamese invasion in 1979, Huot survived by teaching in exchange for food for almost a decade. In the 1990s, she became the project coordinator of the Buddhist Association of Nuns and Lay Women, where she worked to empower women on national reconciliation and to heal the wounds of many years of war and genocide. Domestic violence, including assaults with a deadly weapon, is common following years of conflict, and Huot has worked in various projects against such violence since 1998. She is the mother of three adult children, two of her own and an adopted nephew, all of whom she says serve as inspiration for her tireless efforts to make peace in her scarred country. She states, "I would never want my children to suffer the way I did."

In Focus: Cambodia

A French territory for 90 years, Cambodia gained its full independence in 1953. In 1975, following years of guerilla-related warfare, Pol Pot and his communist party, the Khmer Rouge, took over the country. City dwellers were forced into rural areas to carry out slave labor in the Khmer Rouge's pursuit of a peasant, rural utopia. More than 1.7 million people died because of starvation and torture. The invasion of Vietnamese forces in late 1978 forced the Khmer Rouge into hiding, but war ensued and Vietnam did not end their occupation until 1989. The 1991 Paris Peace Accords called for democratic elections, which were realized under U.N. sponsorship two years later. Many Khmer Rouge soldiers surrendered in 1994 as the result of a government amnesty, but many leaders did not. A U.N. tribunal was established in 2005 to try Khmer Rouge leaders, including the highest-ranking surviving member, Nuon Chea, who was arrested in late 2007.



Disarmament Curriculum

Narrative Introduction¹⁰

Writer: Ozlem Ezer

Banyan trees grow throughout Cambodia. They may reach a height of over 100 feet, and as they grow, new roots descend from their branches, pushing into the ground and forming new trunks. The roots grow persistently. A single banyan tree might have dozens of trunks. It often becomes impossible to tell which trunk is the original as the time passes.

To understand Cambodia in the present, it is necessary to look at Cambodia in the past and its people. Thavory Huot's life story is one of thousands of Cambodian stories. It is a story of survival. Having witnessed one of the most horrific genocides of the 20th century, her engagement with peace and conflict resolution as an educator is profound. There are two Cambodias in Thavory's heart and mind. One is related to a peaceful and bountiful natural world, symbolized by her grandfather's fertile garden she remembers from her youth. The other is related to the dark side of human nature, which ruined the natural world of Cambodia for two decades, between 1970 and 1990. But Thavory's story is not just about survival; it is also about recovery, a continuous search for peace both within herself and for Cambodia.



Huot working with survivors of domestic violence

"Thavory Huot's life story is one of thousands of Cambodian stories. It is a story of survival. ... But Thavory's story is not just about survival; it is also about recovery, a continuous search for peace both within herself and for Cambodia."

- **I nterethnic
C o n f l i c t
M i t i g a t i o n**
- **M e d i a t i o n**
- **A n t i-
C o r r u p t i o n
A d v o c a c y**

**Raya Kadyrova (2003)
Kyrgyzstan**

Raya Kadyrova is the president and founder of Foundation for Tolerance International (FTI), an NGO founded in 1998 in Kyrgyzstan and which operates in the cross-border communities of the Ferghana Valley in Central Asia. Dedicated to preventing and transforming interethnic conflicts, FTI has developed a reputation as the premier NGO in its region for its ability to bring divided communities together in the spirit of peace and for its efforts to lend a voice to disenfranchised populations.



Raya Kadyrova

After graduating from the University of Bishkek, Kadyrova became a language instructor for the U.S. Peace Corps Volunteers in Kyrgyzstan and later joined the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to implement a tolerance education project, minimizing tensions between Kyrgyz and Tajik students. During incursions into southern Kyrgyzstan by Islamic extremists in 1999 and 2000, known as the Batken War, FTI established camps for IDPs and set up Radio Salam and Salam Asia, a radio station and magazine – critical outlets of information for the displaced population. For her and FTI's efforts in the Batken War, Kadyrova was conferred the title of Honorary Citizen of Batken Oblast by the government of Kyrgyzstan, the only woman among seven recipients.

Additionally, Kadyrova has strived to make police reform a priority in the country and is one of two civil society representatives in the Government Committee on Police Reform in Kyrgyzstan. She is also civil society representative in the Council on Human Rights of the Kyrgyz Republic and is currently chairing the Civil Society Advisory Board to the United Nations, which institutionalizes cooperation channels between the United Nations and civil society and seeks to improve the efficacy of U.N. activity in Kyrgyzstan.

While FTI remains focused on its original goals of preventing violent conflict and building peace and justice throughout Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia, it has expanded its efforts from the amelioration of interethnic conflicts in the Ferghana Valley to address a broader range of conflicts, particularly between corrupt governmental authorities and the citizenry of Kyrgyzstan. Kadyrova refers to this shift as a change in focus from horizontal to vertical issues, which is the result of the changing political context within the country. Therefore, FTI has developed programs aimed at the development of an effective multiparty democracy, improving the capacity of local government bodies, enhancing democratic decision making at the local level and incorporating women and youth in the peaceful democratic development of Kyrgyzstan. In addition, FTI is responsible for the development of the Early Warning for Violence Prevention program, which utilizes constant monitoring processes to raise awareness of potential and actual conflicts throughout Kyrgyzstan; it is the first early warning system in Central Asia. In 2005, Kadyrova was one of the 1,000 women nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

In Focus: Kyrgyzstan

After the fall of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan became independent in 1991. Ethnic tensions, particularly in the Ferghana Valley region, which includes portions of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, have existed for decades, but with the independence of former Soviet republics, a complex system of borders and checkpoints inhibits the movement of ethnic Kyrgyz, Uzbeks and Tajiks, and complicates clashes over land and water. In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Islamic extremists from Uzbekistan crossed into Kyrgyzstan, exacerbating conflict and displacing thousands. Former President Askar Akayev, who led the country since 1990, was initially popular, being re-elected in 1995 and 2000 on a platform of reform. However, his abuse of executive power led to a popular revolt that removed him from office in March 2005. His replacement, Kurmanbek Bakiyev, has also been the cause of much political tension, angering parliament by retaining authority in the presidency. Mass demonstrations by opposition parties and the citizenry called for his removal throughout 2007, but he remains president.

“
We found that at the very beginning [of FTT's work], we were more of a reactive NGO. When there was one problem in a particular area, we implemented some concrete activities to resolve the problem. But then, it was like we mistook the trees for the forest. We later realized that we needed to see the forest, because this particular problem did not change the situation, did not provide long-term solutions. Today, I see things differently. Today, I understand that the role of our organization is to change the way of thinking, and not just to implement projects. More emphasis should be placed on the question of whether structures and mechanisms have been established that prevent future conflict than on whether immediate local conflicts have been resolved.”¹¹



Kadyrova facilitates community dialogue

**Palwasha Kakar (2006)
Afghanistan**

• **W omen's
Adv ocacy**

• **H uman
Ri ghts
Do cumentation**

• **Soc ial
Mobilizati on**

Palwasha Kakar serves as a deputy minister in the Ministry of Women's Affairs for the government of Afghanistan. Prior to this, Kakar served as program manager in the eastern regional office of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission (AIHRC) in Jalalabad, Nangarhar Province, where she worked toward the protection, promotion and defense of the rights of the Afghan people with a particular focus on women.

Born to an educated family in eastern Afghanistan, Kakar graduated from the faculty of social sciences at Kabul University and became a teacher. Throughout much of the 1980s and 1990s, Kakar and her family were displaced because of the Soviet occupation or fighting among the Mujahedeen. When public teaching became impossible, she joined a United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) program working as a social mobilizer and trainer. She went on to create the only home school for girls in the eastern zone during the time of the Taliban. Because of her activities, her husband was briefly jailed and her family later forced into exile in Pakistan. Back in Afghanistan in 2001, Kakar served again as a UNICEF trainer, this time in the western city of Herat, and created the first council of women in the city. For the AIHRC, Kakar served as women's rights officer and program manager, documenting human rights violations and calling on the government of Afghanistan, Taliban insurgents and international forces to respect and uphold the rights of Afghan citizens.



Palwasha Kakar

In her post in the ministry, Kakar has been seeking ways to surmount the challenging patriarchal norms which prevail throughout the nation. With 64 women currently holding seats within parliament, Kakar is battling tokenism and pushing for effective, transformative leadership to ensure that the rights of Afghan women are ingrained within governmental policy. Her work to ascertain the status of Afghan women in remote regions of the country has placed her in life-threatening situations, yet she asserts that the voices of the female population will be heard. Additionally, through this post, Kakar is working toward the creation of environments in which Afghan women may have some reprieve from the constant discrimination and violence they face because of their sex, and is seeking to institutionalize the abolition of violence against women.

In Focus: Afghanistan

Afghanistan has been in a state of conflict for nearly 30 years. Soviet occupation beginning in the late 1970s, their withdrawal in 1992 and subsequent war among rival Mujahedeen factions created widespread instability for the Afghan people. In 1996, the Taliban regime took control of the country, imposing a strict interpretation of Islamic law which resulted in the deterioration of human rights and conditions for Afghan women, whose movements were restricted and education denied. In 2001, U.S.-led coalition forces bombed the country, targeting the Taliban after their refusal to hand over Osama bin Laden, held responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks in the U.S. A new president, Hamid Karzai, took office in 2001, and a new constitution went into effect in 2004, leading to the first parliamentary elections in over 30 years in 2005. The Taliban continues to carry out insurgent attacks in the southern and eastern regions of the country against Afghan, coalition and NATO forces. In 2006, Safia Ama Jan, director for the Ministry of Women's Affairs in Kandahar Province, was assassinated, and two women journalists were killed in 2007 – further exemplifying the continued violence against women leaders.

Women's Unions¹²

Writer: Heather Farrell

After spending two months in her basement in Kabul, Palwasha was reunited with Kabir [her husband], and the family relocated to Jalalabad. For the first two years there, Palwasha worked as a principal. Since the Mujahedeen had begun their in-fighting over control of Afghanistan, repressive social norms had permeated Jalalabad and become institutionalized in the school system, which made working for the Ministry of Education hard to bear for Palwasha. As soon as she received a job offer from the local UNICEF office, Palwasha began her work as a health educator in the nearby villages.

Despite living simply in Jalalabad, Palwasha saw how the women in the village she was visiting had far fewer material comforts. They lived in small, crowded dwellings, had little education, many children and not enough food to feed them. In her UNICEF job, Palwasha knocked on doors looking for pregnant women to talk with about breastfeeding and how to remain healthy.

On one of her visits to the village, Palwasha met with the village mullah under a tree. "As you know, I have been working with pregnant women and new mothers in the village for a number of months. While the health of new mothers has improved over this time, I feel that without addressing some of the women's other needs such as education and nutrition, my efforts at promoting health for breastfeeding mothers will be in vain. Recently, I have been speaking to some of the local women about organizing a women's *shura*.¹³ I would like to hold a meeting with the women of the village to see if forming a women's group is something they might like to do."

"What will be the purpose of this women's group?" the mullah inquired with a tone of skepticism.

"The objective will be for women to have a forum for deciding, together, what kind of assistance they would like from outside NGOs. Without a voice from the village, it is difficult for NGOs to know what the priorities are and what programs to offer."

The mullah narrowed his eyes and considered what Palwasha had proposed. He told Palwasha that he would allow her to hold the meeting under the condition that the women's group not become a catalyst for transgressions of the village's social norms and cultural traditions. He added that he did not expect many women to appear at the meeting. Nevertheless, Palwasha asked the mullah to announce at the mosque that the meeting would take place the following Monday.

Palwasha spoke to as many of the village women as she could about the upcoming meeting. Many of them found it difficult to imagine an association of women like the one Palwasha described to them. What role could they play in changing their circumstances? One woman told Palwasha that the idea was bound to fail: surely no one would be willing to walk all the way to the village health clinic for the meeting. The following Monday as she walked to the village, Palwasha wondered what she would find when she arrived at the health clinic. She hoped the women would be enthusiastic about the meeting, but she realized the tremendous challenges of convincing them that they, themselves, could be agents of change in their own community. She knew that the union would fail without the enthusiasm of the women.

When Palwasha arrived at the clinic, she had to wade through a crowd of nearly 50 women simply to get to the door, and 50 more to get to the front of the clinic's main room; the building was overflowing. She soon realized that there were many faces in the room that she did not recognize. Women not only from the village in which Palwasha had been working had appeared, but there were women present from villages throughout the entire Sukorod district.¹⁴ They heard about the meeting by word-of-mouth and made a significant journey to get to the clinic.

In time, the women's union grew so large that its members chose to elect representatives from each of the village areas to sit on a union council. Over the next three years that Palwasha worked with the representatives, she noticed changes in the women and in the communities. The women became more self-assured and spoke with greater confidence. The faces of children who came to the meetings with their mothers began to get plumper, their eyes brighter and their smiles wider.

"The objective will be for women to have a forum for deciding, together, what kind of assistance they would like from outside NGOs. Without a voice from the village, it is difficult for NGOs to know what the priorities are and what programs to offer."

- **Educational Psychology**
- **Theater in Education**
- **Peace Activism**

Svetlana Kijevčanin (2006)
Serbia

Svetlana Kijevčanin currently manages the bachelor of education in community youth work studies for the Swedish NGO Forum Syd Balkans Programme, where she also teaches a course in leadership, youth and development work. After the graduation of her first cohort of students in 2007, she is working to establish similar programs in other universities across the Balkan region.



Svetlana Kijevčanin

Kijevčanin was born and still resides in Belgrade, Serbia, part of the former Yugoslavia. As Yugoslavia began its disintegration, Kijevčanin embarked on peace activities with both local and international NGOs, including CARE International and the United Methodist Committee on Relief. She co-founded Group MOST ("Bridge"): Association for Cooperation and Mediation in 1992 and implemented various creative and innovative programs in peace education. During the conflict in the former Yugoslavia, including during the NATO bombing of Serbia and Montenegro in 1999, Kijevčanin continued her peace work, conducting hundreds of trainings, primarily with youth, refugees, psychologists, teachers and NGO activists throughout the Balkans. She has used a variety of media, including a television series on conflict, documentary films on peace studies and print media in the form of drawing books for youth, to explore the potential for conflict transformation and to connect people across national and ethnic lines. Kijevčanin is actively involved in the use of theater-in-education methodology for building tolerance and understanding among youth; her theater troupe recently performed their piece, "The Love Affair of the Sun and the Moon," at the International Festival of Theater in Education in Mostar, Bosnia and in the province of Vojvodina.

In 2007, Kijevčanin received a full scholarship to participate in a 10-month, long-distance course at the East Side Institute for Group and Short-Term Psychotherapy in New York, where she will enhance her psychological studies and strengthen the application to her work in education and grassroots activism. Her presentation of her work in reconciliation utilizing theater-in-education methodology at the fourth "Performing the World" Conference coincided with the recent publication of her article, "Reflections on Activism," in *20 Pieces of Encouragement for Awakening and Change: Peacebuilding in the Region of the Former Yugoslavia*, a publication of the Centre for Nonviolent Action. Kijevčanin is married with two children and considers herself a genuine networker and activist because "activism is my only authentic response to the situation in which we are living."

In Focus: Serbia

The disintegration of Yugoslavia – composed of the republics of Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia – began after the death of Josip Broz Tito and his system of "brotherhood and unity" in 1980. Nationalist forces became prominent and by 1991, four republics had declared independence, with violent ethnic conflict ensuing in Croatia and Bosnia. Yugoslav security forces, controlled primarily by Serb ruler Slobodan Milošević, carried out ethnic cleansing campaigns to create a "Greater Serbia." War in Kosovo began in 1998 between Serb forces and the Albanian KLA, with Milošević attempting to ethnically cleanse Albanians from the province. In addition to Kosovo, ethnic tensions often erupted into violence in southern Serbia, commonly referred to as the Preševo Valley, which borders Kosovo and also has a large Albanian population. On the domestic front, hyperinflation and political corruption characterized Milošević's reign, and he was overthrown by a mass non-violent movement in 2000. The 2003 assassination of progressive Prime Minister Zoran Đinđić – who had helped orchestrate the arrest of Milošević on war crimes charges – signaled to many the end of democratic reform in Serbia and the return to politics characterized by nationalism.

Flood of Awakening¹⁵

Writer: Emiko Noma

“Serbia is not officially involved in any war.’ That was the sentence that state television was telling the audience all the time.” Yet, her brother had left Serbia in 1991 to avoid the military draft, as had hundreds, perhaps thousands, like him. Ivan [her husband] had concealed his real address to avoid the JNA [Yugoslav People’s Army] knocking on his door. And the greatest evidence that Serbia was indeed at war: the refugees flooding Belgrade in 1991 and 1992.

The violence in both of the republics [Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina] resulted in thousands of people displaced, both internally and across borders as refugees. Though the numbers of Croats and Bosnian Muslims displaced was markedly higher in the region at this time, ethnic Serbs from Croatia and Bosnia also fled from revenge attacks. Many sought refuge in Belgrade.

The beginning of war in the former Yugoslavia coincided with Ceca’s first permanent job offer.¹⁶ She was invited by Tinde Kovač-Cerović, an educational psychologist at the University of Belgrade, to join the faculty as a researcher. Not yet fully aware of the events taking place in Croatia or Bosnia, the move to the university began her transition from the private to the public sphere, and widened her understanding of the war. Ceca helped teach classes and conduct research with the professors she was working for, but Professor Kovač-Cerović soon received an invitation from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) to gather educational psychologists to work with refugee youth in collective centers for refugees in Belgrade.

The government had no official policy for refugees; they were treated as a temporary phenomenon and housed in places such as former pioneer youth centers, which were “like summer camps” or almost “military bases”: little rooms with metal beds, sometimes 15 people to one room. Food and supplies were handed out by humanitarian organizations, but “there was never enough.” Beyond their physical needs, the refugees had obvious emotional and psychological needs, most escaping conflict and forced to abandon the only homes they had ever known.

So many people in Belgrade were just sitting and watching the news, viewing that there were refugees coming, but did nothing. We did not want to be part of the silent majority. We said it was really our responsibility, our duty as psychologists, as women, as human beings, to do something. Maybe there were potential different answers or responses to the situation. The response that was not acceptable for me was to stay passive and do nothing. So, personally, I needed to do something, and I belonged to this group of people, so that was easier for me to make this kind of decision. We supported each other and started thinking of what we could do.

They began working with the younger children, seven- to 10-year-olds (and then up to 14-year-olds), and rather than dealing directly with psychological issues the youth may have had because of the transition, they took a holistic approach.

We were educational psychologists and we wanted to offer something that was creative, engaging, not necessarily dealing with trauma or their feelings of loss, but just dealing with the actual, the present. We assessed their needs and then tried to provide structure and offer them some constructive content. There is a tendency in these situations to treat them as if something is wrong: they have suffered trauma and so they must be sick. Of course, if there was something deeper, it would surface and we had ways of handling that. But they were just displaced and we didn’t want to treat them as if something was wrong with them.

The team would spend up to three hours with the kids in the afternoons, offering games and activities, and providing a respite for weary parents, themselves dealing with displacement and still trying to take care of their children. The games and activities were focused on self-expression and peer and group interaction. Their objective was “to help the children gain a feeling of competence” and to provide an “experience which is authentic, conscious, adopted, enriched through exchange and added to, [becoming] a new phenomenon that is processed into cognition.”¹⁷ The group’s work was highly regarded by UNHCR and was developed into an educational manual entitled *Cognition through Games*,¹⁸ which enumerated and detailed the workshop activities for youth. Printed in 1993, it received the *Žiža Vasić*, the Serbian Psychological Society’s award for popularization of psychology in 1994.

“The response that was not acceptable for me was to stay passive and do nothing. So, personally, I needed to do something.”

• **G**ender Policy

• **P**eace
Activism

• **H**umanitarian
Intervention

Hyun-Sook Lee (2003)
Korea

Currently the vice president of the Korean Red Cross, Lee was raised in post-World War II Korea in a Confucian society marked by extreme poverty, heightened tension and militarization due to the political division between the North and South. As a student at the Hanshin Theological Seminary, Lee studied globally conscious theology which focused on politics and international affairs. She is the youngest member of the Presidential Advisory Committee for Reunification and the chairperson of the Advisory Committee of the Reunification Ministry.

Through her work as chief of the Women's Desk at the Korea Christian Academy, Lee, in collaboration with her colleagues, was responsible for initiating a program aimed at raising awareness and eradicating domestic violence in South Korea. The Korea Women's Hotline provides guidance and support to victims of domestic violence and has served as a catalyst for the progressive women's movement in Korea. The hotline was instrumental in establishing domestic and sexual violence as criminal acts in South Korea.

As co-founder and former executive director of Women Making Peace, an NGO established in 1997, with the goal of creating a culture of peace on the Korean peninsula, Lee has helped to open the door between the two Koreas by getting humanitarian aid to the North and encouraging the first people-to-people visits. Women Making Peace is a multi-dimensional organization that views gender equality, demilitarization, denuclearization, respect for human rights and the eventual reunification of North and South Korea as several of the necessary steps to making peace a reality. In the 10 years since its inception, Women Making Peace has forged new ground by bringing peace, gender and reunification issues to the forefront of Korean society.

In her present post at the Korean Red Cross, Lee is engaging in humanitarian activities, which has included her participation in the reunion of separated families across the divide of the peninsula. Inspired by her time at the IPJ, Lee recently initiated a 1325 Peace Club, which works toward implementing in Korea the agreed-upon commitments as outlined by the U.N. Security Council Resolution. The 1325 Peace Club activities also include visits to training centers for defectors from North Korea, of which approximately 70 percent are women, and the submission of recommendations to the minister of unification and related officials on appropriate measures for the successful resettlement of women. Lee has received the prestigious National Reconciliation Award from the Korean Council of Reconciliation and Cooperation, made up of leaders from NGOs and government, and a National Decoration from the Ministry of Gender Equality and Family.



Lee presents on the Korean peninsula conflict

In Focus: Korea

The Korean peninsula was divided along the 38th Parallel after World War II; the Soviet Union controlled the peninsula north of the divide, while the U.S. occupied the south. War between the Koreas began in 1950, and after the deaths of 2 million people, an armistice was signed in 1953. A military government controlled the South beginning in the early 1960s and continuing through to 1987. In the North, Kim Il-Sung ruled from the end of World War II until his death in 1994, when his son, Kim Jong-Il, became leader. Severe famine affected the North after major flooding in 1995 and 1996. After much reluctance to provide aid to the North or pursue policies toward reunification of the peninsula, South Korean President Kim Dae-jung began a "sunshine policy" of engaging the North in 1998. The first meeting since armistice between the leaders of the two countries took place in 2000, resulting in an outcome document, the June 15th Joint Declaration, which raised the hope of peaceful coexistence. Most recently, in Oct. 2007, the leaders of the two nations again met face to face and expressed their intent to restart talks toward the official and formal end of the Korean War.

Across the Divide¹⁹

Writer: Allison Meeks

In 2002, a boat filled with South Korean women set out, heading north. Many of the women expressed their long-held fear that they would end their lifetimes without ever setting foot on North Korean soil. But they were now embarked on the 12-hour journey to that very soil. Some wore traditional dress and carried a banner covered with their own handprints in many different colors of paint, alongside their individual wishes for reunification. At the end of their long boat trip and then bus ride to Mount Gumgang, the North Korean women were waiting for them – also covered in the same traditional dress of Korea. They were sisters after all.

Immediately after the June 15th Joint Declaration by Kim Dae-Jung and Kim Jong-Il back in 2000, Hyun-Sook became the only woman delegate to discussions between North and South Korean coalitions of civil society. Following the agreement in the declaration that the two countries would “build mutual confidence by activating cooperation and exchange in all fields, social, cultural, sports, public health, environmental and so on,”²⁰ the coalitions sought to initiate cross-border exchanges. But when Hyun-Sook saw that there were no North Korean women delegates to these meetings, she envisioned a massive women’s rally. As she greeted her North Korean sisters at Mount Gumgang, after over a year of intense preparation and negotiations for the event, the vision became a reality.

“A half century of division has made each society and its people so different. We have to learn how to tolerate difference and how to live together with different people.”



Meeks interviews Lee in the IPJ Garden of the Sea

Seven hundred Korean women – 350 from the south, 300 from the north and 20 from the diaspora – gathered at the North Korean mountain resort town with three goals in mind: “to raise gender as a mainstream issue in the peace process or reunification process between the two Koreas,” to exemplify the role of women as conciliators “to overcome the chronically hostile relationship between the two Koreas” – and to do so through “singing, dancing, knowing, helping together, building trust and sisterhood, and acting together” – and finally, “to strengthen the role of women” as peacemakers by urging their governments and other interested parties to resolve their conflicts through peaceful means “rather than military action.”²¹

Delegations from both nations released a joint statement. Despite their often challenging differences that inhibited complete agreement on all reunification issues, the Korean women included several resolutions in a joint statement, including affirming the role of women in implementing the June 15th Joint Declaration; pledging to work together to prevent future wars and challenge existing ones, both domestically and internationally; promising to pursue future exchanges and cooperation between women to lay the groundwork for reunification; and agreeing “to make every effort to establish a framework for a unified society with gender equality.”²²

A half century of division has made each society and its people so different. We have to learn how to tolerate difference and how to live together with different people. We, the women in South and North Korea, just started to work together toward improving our situation and making the way to unification. There is a long way to go. A long period of confrontation through blaming, hating and accusing each other for half a century did not work, so we are initiating alternative ways to peace. For us, it is a choice between continuing the hopelessly same old way and embarking on a new trust-building path.

- **Peace Negotiations**
- **Women's Human Rights**
- **International Gender Policy**

Luz Méndez (2004)
Guatemala

Luz Méndez is the coordinator of the Women Agents for Change Consortium (Consortio Actoras de Cambio), which has set in motion a political process for psychosocial healing and empowerment of women survivors of sexual violence during the armed conflict in Guatemala. The consortium seeks justice and reparations for those survivors so they can become protagonists, defining and directing their own life projects. Méndez is also president of the Advisory Board of the National Union of Guatemalan Women (UNAMG), a women's association working for women's human rights, gender equality and social justice. She led the reconstruction of UNAMG, one of the oldest Guatemalan women's organizations, which was forced into exile during the 1980s due to political repression. As the former general coordinator of UNAMG, Méndez worked to strengthen the women's movement and was a leader of the Political Equity Instance, a coalition seeking electoral law gender quotas. Méndez and UNAMG won the Gruber Foundation's Women's Rights Prize in 2006.



Luz Méndez

In the 1990s, Méndez was involved in the Guatemalan peace processes and actively participated in the negotiations as part of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity's (URNG) delegation. Being the only woman at the peace table for several years, she dedicated special attention to the incorporation of gender equality commitments into the peace accords. Since the signing of the agreements in 1996, Méndez was a member of the Follow-up Commission for the Implementation of the Agreements.

Working now to assist and strengthen women advocating peace processes in other countries and regions, Méndez has worked with Hutu and Tutsi women in Burundi, women civil society leaders in Colombia, and Israeli and Palestinian women leaders, among others. She was a speaker at the first meeting that the U.N. Security Council held with women's organizations leading up to the passage of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, and she was also vice-chairperson of the U.N. Expert Group Meeting on Enhancing Women's Participation in Electoral Processes in Post-Conflict Countries.

Back in Guatemala, Méndez has been active in the fight to eradicate violence against women. With the significant rise of threats to humanitarian aid and nongovernmental workers defending human and women's rights, Méndez has called for the unification of national and international organizations, government and media to combat these threats and ensure the safety and protection of all Guatemalan citizens and the defense of their rights.

In Focus: Guatemala

The 36-year internal armed conflict in Guatemala left over 200,000 dead or disappeared and over 1 million refugees and internally displaced people. Government forces were responsible for over 85 percent of these human rights violations.²³ The violence during the armed conflict disproportionately affected indigenous Mayans who suffered 83 percent of the violations while comprising only 60 percent of the total population. The scorched-earth policy reflected in over 650 massacres, orchestrated by Romeo Lucas García and Efraín Ríos Montt in the early 1980s, razed entire villages and destroyed the social fabric of the communities. Victims still live alongside perpetrators, producing a climate of fear and silence. While the peace accords were signed in 1996, the past is not forgotten and the violence has continued. The genocide of the Mayan population in the 1980s has a new face: femicide. Predominantly in urban areas, hundreds of women are killed each year; 66 percent of the murders are carried out with sadism and extreme force often involving rape, torture and mutilation.²⁴

Disclosure²⁵**Writer: Sarah Cross**

In 1989, Luz's political party, the PGT [Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo], joined the URNG, a coalition of political-military organizations struggling for social changes in the country. After several years of preparatory talks, a formal process of peace negotiations began in 1991 between the Guatemalan government and the URNG to find a political solution to the three-decade-long armed conflict. That year, Luz was appointed by her party to the URNG Political-Diplomatic team, which soon became part of the delegation at the peace table.

As an actor and a witness to the main political events of the previous 20 years, Luz understood the enormous importance and potential of the negotiations to impact the fate of the country – but it would also become a profound learning process for her as well. “The first thing I learned was the need to communicate with people with totally different backgrounds, political positions and views than mine.” In one of the first receptions for the two parties at the negotiations, a stern-faced military general approached Luz. Unable to forget the horrific actions of the army, Luz did not even want to greet the man, much less have a full conversation with him. But she knew that avoiding him now would sabotage any chance of making progress together at the peace table.

During the first round of negotiations, the parties agreed on an 11-point agenda and framework for the peace talks. The agenda was comprehensive, indeed, revolutionary. According to the agreement, the process of the talks had to address the underlying roots of the armed conflict, such as socioeconomic inequalities, political exclusion and ethnic discrimination; the tackling of these issues would help generate sustainable peace. Therefore, the negotiations included discussion of substantive issues, such as human rights, the status of indigenous peoples, socioeconomic, democratization, the role of the army in political life and the resettlement of refugees and internally displaced persons. The process had to simultaneously discuss the operational topics of ceasefires; disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of the URNG; and other measures to end the armed conflict.

As part of the Political-Diplomatic team, Luz was required to sign the agreement. But she had been using her pseudonym for so many years that she had forgotten how to sign her real name. A few minutes before going to sign this first document, Luz practiced writing her name and old identity again: María Luz Méndez Gutiérrez. As she put the pen to paper, Luz emerged back into public and political life. She revealed her membership in the outlawed political party after 15 years of concealing it.

So many people had been killed in Guatemala just for being suspected of being part of a left party, and suddenly here I am, appearing in the media with my face and my name. My mother almost died. For years she used to warn me, ‘Never get involved in politics. I never want to see any of my children involved in politics.’

As a student activist, her mother “asked me, begged me, ordered me,” to stop the work; likewise, on the day that Luz's participation in the negotiations was made public, her mother ripped out a plaque with Luz's name on it from the front of the house, fearful that the entire family was now in great danger.

With the signing of the initial agreement, Luz was hopeful that the political solution to the civil war was indeed possible, though the process would be arduous. “It was a challenging task for all the participants in the process. And for me, from the very beginning, I realized that I did not have the same power as my colleagues in the Political-Diplomatic team because I was representing a political party with no armed force.” But during the peace process in the ensuing years, Luz would also come to understand another dynamic. “It took time for me to understand that I also had less power because I was a woman.”

“It was a challenging task for all the participants in the process. And for me, from the very beginning, I realized that I did not have the same power as my colleagues in the Political-Diplomatic team because I was representing a political party with no armed force.”



Méndez speaks out against gender-based violence

- **Radio Journalism**
- **Gender Advocacy**
- **Grassroots Development**

**Rebecca Joshua Okwaci (2006)
Sudan**

Rebecca Joshua Okwaci is a journalist by profession and the secretary general of Women Action for Development (WAD) in Sudan. As a peace advocate, Okwaci co-led the Sudanese delegation to the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing, China in 1995 and facilitated dialogue between women from the south and north. Her progressive work to bring the groups together was recognized by international institutions and governments and culminated in the founding of Sudanese Women's Empowerment for Peace (SuWEP), an organization included in the list of 1,000 women nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. She is also a founding member of the Sudanese Women's Association in Nairobi and Sudanese Women's Voice for Peace (SWVP), the first grassroots peace organization established by Sudanese women living in exile in Kenya, and she co-led the Sudanese women's delegation to The Hague Appeal for Peace in 1999. With SWVP, Okwaci carried out the first peacebuilding and conflict resolution programs and trainings in the Shilluk Kingdom in Mid-West Upper Nile in southern Sudan.



Rebecca Joshua Okwaci

In her role as secretary general for WAD, Okwaci strives to educate women and communities in skills necessary to advance the agenda of peace in Sudan. She has conducted several trainings and is assisting in the creation of a WAD office in Juba, the capital of the south. Okwaci recently contributed to the Collo (Shilluk) Conference on Peace and Development with a presentation of her views on women's roles in peace and development. With successful strides in engendering the government of Southern Sudan at all levels, Okwaci is still working toward the realization of 25 percent women's effective representation within Sudan.

As an executive producer at Sudan Radio Service, Okwaci produces programs targeting women, such as "Our Voices" and "Women's Corner," and contributes to programs educating citizens on elements of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) signed in 2005. As the only female member of the Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan, Okwaci has been instrumental in the drafting of three media bills focused on issues of public service broadcasts, access to information and regulation of broadcasts. Additionally, she is contributing to the formation of a code of media ethics and a code of conduct for Sudanese journalists. She is a member of a media council task force designed to guide and support journalists in the proper usage of the code of ethics.

In Focus: Sudan

The civil war between the southern rebel movement known as the Sudan People's Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the national government in Khartoum in the north was one of the longest in history, with almost uninterrupted violence since 1955. The SPLM/A was calling for sharing of power and development. After 50 years, terms of peace were finally agreed upon, and the CPA was signed in 2005. The coming together of the SPLM and the central government has brought the hope of peace to the largest nation in Africa. While conflicts rage in the western region of Darfur, however, recent events concerning implementation of the CPA have brought political conflict to the forefront of the south-north struggle. The SPLM withdrew its ministers in the central Government of National Unity in Oct. 2007 as a form of protest, hoping the act would cause the national government to implement critical elements of the peace agreement; after much negotiation and assurances from the northern leaders, the SPLM rejoined the government in Dec.

What We Have Been Through²⁶

Writer: Susan Van Schoonhoven

Rebecca and John Tanza, the station manager, were leading the Sudan Radio Service team. Doki, David Amour, Elizabeth Limagur, Grace, Muneim and the young journalists in training were there alongside them. Everybody at Sudan Radio Service had exhausted themselves preparing for the broadcast. Now, on a sunny Jan. morning at Nyayo Stadium, they were in Nairobi ready to cover one of the most momentous occasions in Sudan's history, the signing of the 2005 CPA.

"She had sacrificed all of her adult life for the realization of this moment."

Rebecca had already reported from Naivasha, Kenya on the signing of the last three protocols,²⁷ which provided the framework for the CPA, in May of 2004. All of the work and sweat poured into making peace possible were coming to fruition in these three negotiated settlements. Rebecca stood anxiously waiting for news while groups of people sang and danced in anticipated celebration. Lazarus Sumbeiywo, the chief negotiator of the peace talks, would occasionally appear in front of the crowd to tell them that everyone inside was working hard and to ask those waiting for their patience. Rebecca sensed the tension of the moment, like the last moments of labor before birth. The weight of all Sudan was now resting on the shoulders of those few men inside the negotiating room.

After nearly a full day of waiting, Sumbeiywo appeared before the crowd to announce that the negotiations had, at last, been finalized. Garang, [Ali Othman] Taha and the other negotiators came out to publicly sign the protocols. Among the group was also Deng Alor, Rebecca's colleague from her days with the Radio SPLA. When Rebecca saw him, she smiled, remembering him in the SPLM/A office in Nairobi after the Nasir Declaration was announced. So much had happened since then.

The signing of the protocols had been a big story for Rebecca, but it was only a lead-in to the story she now found herself covering. She listened intently as Sumbeiywo's voice echoed in Nyayo Stadium announcing the beginning of the ceremony that would allow the world to witness the public signing of the CPA.

As Rebecca reported the minute-by-minute happenings back to Sudan Radio Service, she was seen by the public as a journalist. While her focus was on covering the story, she also stood in the stadium representing all of the roles in which, in her own way, she had contributed to peace between the government and the south. She had sacrificed all of her adult life for the realization of this moment.

In 2000, Rebecca had been called on by the African Renaissance Institute to participate in a series of workshops geared toward peacebuilding interventions in Sudan. This intellectual forum addressed issues that would later become integral elements of the CPA, such as power-sharing, wealth-sharing and humanitarian issues. The participants were selected based on their previous efforts for a peaceful Sudan and asked to participate as individuals, putting their affiliations with governments and organizations aside. Throughout the series of workshops, Rebecca made her presence known and contributed greatly to the issues with an eye for inclusiveness of marginalized groups, such as the people of the Nuba Mountains, Blue Nile and Abyei.

Rebecca had also advocated for women and fought for their representation in the new government. She and her colleagues from the SuWEP network had advocated 30 percent women's representation. Every document, correspondence or interaction any SuWEP member had with IGAD [Intergovernmental Authority on Development], the Dutch government, contacts in the United States, leaders in the Sudanese government or the SPLM/A, stated with resounding clarity that, as stakeholders in the future of Sudan, the women would be represented at the decision-making level. Present at the recent negotiation processes was a delegation of northern women and southern women living in the north from SuWEP, reflecting the collective face of Sudanese women as they reiterated their demand and simultaneously supported those at the negotiating table.

Likewise, Rebecca and Lam had supported one another throughout their marriage and the peace process.²⁸ Nearly 20 years ago, they had made a joint decision to fight for the revolution together no matter what may befall either of them. Even now, when there was a seat for Rebecca next to Lam on stage, he understood why it was empty. "Where is Madam Rebecca?" his colleagues asked.

He proudly pointed down to Rebecca among her team, "Do you see the one with the recorder and the headphones around her head? She's there."

- **Anti -Nuclear Weapons Activism**
- **Peace Education**
- **Community Organizing**

**Zarina Salamat (2004)
Pakistan**

Zarina Salamat was for several years the chairperson of the Pakistan-India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPFPD) in Islamabad and a leader in the Citizens' Peace Committee. She says that Pakistan came late to the peace movement, as did she. For most of her life, Salamat had been a social scientist researcher; it was not until the passing of her husband in 1994 that her peace activities began to take center stage. After she joined PIPFPD, India and then Pakistan exploded nuclear devices in May 1998. Salamat organized protests against both, in the midst of great hostility from extremist groups.



Salamat lobbies to eradicate nuclear weapons

By the end of 1998, Salamat was engaged with the Hiroshima Citizens Group for the Promotion of Peace and traveled to the Japanese city with a peace advocate from India to witness the effects of atomic bombs. Upon their return home, joint efforts for peace on the subcontinent commenced. In her efforts to ban nuclear weapons, Salamat hosted a number of peace missions from Japan to raise awareness in the Pakistani public of the reality and dangers of nuclear weapons. She hosted the visit by the mayor of Hiroshima as part of his worldwide campaign for "Mayors of Peace" and enrolled local mayors to join the movement. With the active assistance of the mayor of Hiroshima, Salamat convinced the government of Pakistan to set up a peace institute and university faculties to introduce peace studies as part of their curricula.

Salamat's efforts to create forums for parliamentarians, activists and intellectuals from Pakistan and India to meet are credited with setting the environment for the 2004 visit of the Indian Prime Minister to Pakistan, the first visit in over a decade. Salamat has also arranged for women from India and Pakistan to work together, and for youth between the ages of 15 to 17 to visit Hiroshima so they can witness for themselves the irrevocable impact of nuclear weapons.

In Focus: Pakistan

With the end of British imperial rule in 1947, East and West Pakistan were partitioned from India, resulting in the migration of millions of people to areas deemed safe for their religion: Muslims to East and West Pakistan, Hindus and Sikhs to India. War between India and Pakistan over the disputed Kashmir region has continued intermittently since 1948. In 1956, Pakistan passed its first constitution and became an Islamic Republic. During the reign of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, neighboring India exploded its first nuclear weapon in an underground test in the Thar Desert. Two decades later, in 1998 India again tested its own nuclear weapons; two weeks later, Pakistan, under Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, tested its own nuclear weapons in Baluchistan. A few months after the Kargil Conflict between the two countries over the Kashmir region in 1999, Sharif was overthrown in a military coup led by Gen. Pervez Musharaff, who later made himself president of the country while still leader of the army. War over Kashmir remains a threat, though a ceasefire was declared in 2003. With the U.S. backing Musharaff in the fight against terrorism, particularly the war in neighboring Afghanistan, Islamic extremism is a major cause of instability in the country and region.

The Late Comer²⁹

Writer: Kathleen Hughart

On a hot dry day in June 1998, Dr. Zarina Salamat sat facing newsmen in the downtown Islamabad Holiday Inn conference room. Under diffused lights and flanked by international relations professor Dr. Eqbal Ahmed and physicist Dr. A.H. Nayyar, she felt the tension rise soon after her friend Nasreen and their colleague distributed copies of the PIPFPD press statement condemning nuclear tests in both India and Pakistan.

Journalists sat forward in their chairs as one of the reporters asked Zarina to repeat the opening sentence of the press statement: "The Islamabad Chapter of the PIPFPD strongly condemns the nuclear tests carried out first by India and subsequently by Pakistan in May 1998." While Zarina read her statement again, right-wing Shabab-e-Milli youth activists carrying anti-India banners and placards marched into the conference hall and quietly surrounded the tables of the PIPFPD spokespersons.³⁰ A few journalists cried out, "We will not tolerate any word uttered to condemn Pakistan." One youth declared, "God is superpower, not United States." Reporters yelled antagonistic questions at the conference organizers and pressure mounted.

Suddenly the youth moved closer, picking up chairs and hurling them toward the table where Nayeer stood trying to explain the opening words of the press statement. Thinking the militants would not throw chairs at a woman, Zarina tried to shield Nayyar. Protesters in the crowd accused PIPFPD members of being western agents. Hotel security guards intervened and pushed the attackers back. Plainclothes government agents stepped forward and shoved Zarina, Nayyar and Ahmed into an anteroom. Zarina heard loud scuffling sounds coming from the hall as hotel guards pushed the right-wing youth outside into the street. The militants had broken Nayyar's eyeglasses and scratched his face. For the first time Zarina realized the danger she had faced by speaking out in public. In the aftermath, injured guards and protesters were taken to the hospital.



Salamat co-chairs peace conference in Pakistan

What motivated Dr. Zarina Salamat, at the age of 62, to become a spokeswoman for peace? Her story shows how, from early childhood, Zarina's sense of justice and zest for nonconformity ultimately propelled her toward the life of a woman peacemaker.

"Zarina heard loud scuffling sounds coming from the hall as hotel guards pushed the right-wing youth outside into the street. The militants had broken Nayyar's eyeglasses and scratched his face. For the first time Zarina realized the danger she had faced by speaking out in public."

Shreen Abdul Saroor (2004)
Sri Lanka

- **Microcredit**
- **IDP Resettlement**
- **Human Rights Advocacy**

Shreen Abdul Saroor is one of the founders of Mannar Women's Development Federation (MWDF) and Mannar Women for Human Rights and Democracy (MWfHRD) in Sri Lanka. Saroor's work grew out of her experience of being forcibly displaced, along with all of her family, in 1990 by the militant group fighting for a separate Tamil state. Saroor helped establish MWDF on the understanding that through microcredit and educational programs, Tamil and Muslim women could find common ground to resurrect the past peace in their communities. She assisted in the implementation of the Shakti gender equality program sponsored by the Canadian International Development Agency, which aimed to engage both government and nonprofit organizations in development and influence gender-sensitive economic, political and legal policies.



Saroor facilitates community dialogue

With the descent into deeper violent conflict in Sri Lanka, disappearances and the loss of civilian lives increase on a daily basis. As a result, Saroor has focused most of her recent work on highlighting human rights violations of the Tamil and Muslim minority communities at the regional and international levels. Organization of protests and petitions has become an integral part of her work.

As an Echoing Green Fellow, Saroor has been working for the establishment of a Model Resettlement Village, which brings together Hindu, Catholic and Muslim women who have become heads of households due to the conflict. With support from MWDF, these women have come together in the building of a new settlement where they can live and demonstrate reconciliation and peaceful coexistence. As children witness their mothers working and living together, they are ingrained with practices which allow for formerly divided communities to live in harmony with one another. The project has also focused on efforts to create community and social cohesion through the collection of stories that express individual and common experiences of living amidst violent conflict and imbue the element of truth-telling into the process. As the war escalates, Saroor and the community are still working toward the creation of the village, although progress has been drastically slowed.

In Focus: Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka has been home to one of the world's most violent conflicts, with clashes between the Sri Lankan government forces and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), who have been calling for self-determination and an independent state, since the 1980s. This conflict between the Sinhalese majority and Tamil minority has caused the internal displacement of over 520,000 people,³¹ and has also placed the minority Muslim population in the north and east, who generally speak Tamil, in the crossfire. In 1990, the LTTE massacred Muslims in the east, and in the north, the Muslim community was forcibly evicted from their homes. The majority of the northern community remains displaced. In 2002, a ceasefire between the government and the LTTE was signed with the mediation of the Norwegian government, but an upsurge of violence in 2006 led to the return of full-scale civil war, and in Jan. 2008, the government officially pulled out of the ceasefire agreement.

Crafting Reconciliation³²

Writer: Donna Chung

Increasingly, Muslim families began returning to Mannar; however, several of the Muslim women refused to work with Ganga, the field coordinators or the board members [of MWDF] – all of whom were Tamil.³³

It was almost impossible to diffuse the strong anti-Tamil sentiment widely spread among Muslim returnees. The Tamil women with whom I worked understood why Muslim returnees were hostile toward them. Yet, showing them sympathy did not alter the antagonism. What I thought to do at that time was to hold separate meetings with them. I thought that dialogue sessions would provide them with the space and time to think about ways to work with others in a civilized manner.

Nearly every month for the following 18 months, Shreen and others in the organization conducted awareness programs and skills trainings for Muslim women. They invited religious leaders to speak about contentious issues, providing a platform for them to pour out their grievances and hostilities toward the Tamils. “At one session, the women pointed to us, that we were favoring Tamil women over the Muslims because more than two-thirds of loans approved went to Tamil women.” While conducting these monthly dialogue sessions, Shreen also pointed out the lack of Muslim women’s representation within the organization and encouraged them to participate in MWDF meetings and forums. She emphasized that their active participation would allow the Tamil women to understand their grievances and reservations about being a part of MWDF.

But in addition to their anti-Tamil sentiment, Muslim women – by virtue of their generally conservative upbringing – were very hesitant to be vocal or take the lead in the public sphere, outside of their homes. Unlike the Tamil women who had been exposed to the activities of NGOs working in the north, the Muslim women rarely had opportunities to work as a formal group. “I used to tell them, unless they participated in the activities that the organization was involved in, the organization would not be able to equally represent the interests of Muslim women.” Eventually, they began organizing themselves and engaging in group activities with the Tamils in MWDF.

For the first one and a half years, I had to spend most of my time in Mannar mediating [between] the two groups. I had to talk to each group separately, helping them see the story of the others. It was not an easy task to bring them together and build some level of trust after what happened in 1990. I did not think their wounds would be healed in the near future. But I was hopeful that once they were rid of their grievances, they would be able to see each other’s sufferings and marginalization, and this would eventually lead them to work together.

In 2000, a Tamil widow who had learned pottery-making from her father wanted to start a new business and learned from her village leader that there were five other women looking for business opportunities. With \$300 of seed money from MWDF, the six women divided up the labor: one woman collected clay from neighboring villages, two women shaped the clay into pots, one woman (and her husband) dried the pots in an open oven, one woman worked as the vendor and sold the products in the local market and, finally, one woman provided child care for the other five mothers. Their business was highly successful, but the most remarkable fact was the composition of the group – three Tamils, three Muslims.

It was incredible to see how they coordinated the work based on their specialty. Moreover, I was very happy to see [that] these women’s family members, especially their children, started interacting together. Since these women worked together, the Tamil women were very protective of their Muslim associates. It was a gradual process, but I saw the possibility of reconciliation by watching their cooperation.

“Since these women worked together, the Tamil women were very protective of their Muslim associates. It was a gradual process, but I saw the possibility of reconciliation by watching their cooperation.”

Latifah Anum Siregar (2007) Indonesia

- **Human Rights Law**

- **Traditional Conflict Resolution Mechanisms**

- **Land Ownership Disputes**

Latifah Anum Siregar is a human rights lawyer, the chairperson of the Alliance for Democracy in Papua (ALDP) and an expert at the Commission for Law and Human Rights of the parliament in Papua Province, Indonesia. Although her family is from a different island, speaks a different language and practices a different religion, Siregar is a trusted, effective advocate for peace, working within the complex tribal and migrant conflicts of Papua communities. Respected for her and ALDP's call to identify traditional laws, norms and values that could help settle land disputes, she has led the way to articulating these traditions in written law, which the Papua indigenous people can now use to negotiate with the government and migrants in the search for peaceful solutions to land conflicts. During Siregar's student days in the early 1990s, she was the first woman chairperson of the Muslim Students Association; later in the decade she served as a member of the regional parliament in Papua Province; from 2003 to 2007 she was on the board of directors of Papua Women Solidarity; and from 2007 to 2011 she will serve as general secretary of the Papua Muslim Assembly.



Siregar answers audience question at IPJ Daylight Series

In Focus: Papua, Indonesia

Indonesia is an archipelago of 13,000 islands with 25 provinces, of which Papua is one. Papua is home to approximately 250 tribes and local languages, as well as a large community of non-Papuan migrants from other areas of Indonesia. Upon Indonesian independence from the Dutch in 1949, the western part of New Guinea – today called Papua – was retained by the Dutch. In 1961, the first Papuan parliament was established, with full independence expected in 1971. But the Act of Free Choice, a disputed referendum conducted in the territory in 1969, gave control of the area to Indonesia. The Free Papua Movement (OPM) formed in the mid-1960s to fight Indonesian occupation, and it continues its struggle to date. After the fall of Indonesian dictator Suharto in the late 1990s, the call for independence became more civilian-based.³⁴ The imposition of Indonesian military checkpoints within Papuan villages has created an environment of intimidation and resulted in often violent clashes and attacks on civilians. The conflict has escalated and become more complicated by the Indonesian government's labeling of OPM separatists as terrorists in the wake of Sept. 11, 2001. The separatists' goals have expanded to include issues of land use, land access and compensation for the timber and palm oil which have been harvested by multinational corporations in recent years. Contemporary localized conflicts also include land disputes and economic issues between Indonesian, non-Papuan migrants and the indigenous Papuans, and tribal conflicts that have been exploited by the Indonesian government.

“
Some people raise questions why I, as a non-Papuan and Muslim, help Papuans who are Christians. This question indicates that there is still a lack of understanding among some people that the struggle for justice and truth and nonviolence is our responsibility regardless of religion, ethnicity and culture.”³⁷



Siregar works with Papuans to document indigenous laws

Susana Tenjoh-Okwen (2007) Cameroon

Susana Tenjoh-Okwen is a teacher, community peace mediator, facilitator promoting social and economic empowerment and respected gender activist who has peacebuilding experience in two provinces of Cameroon. As technical advisor for women's affairs in the Ashong Cultural and Development Association of Bamenda, a founding member of the Moghamo Women's Cultural and Development Association of Cameroon and president of Moghamo Women's Association, Tenjoh-Okwen has been working to address causes of long-standing, intertribal conflict that seldom makes international news, but that has resulted in division, displacement and trauma for many people in several regions. In uniting and educating women from different villages, she was able to overcome the hostilities of men against men at the peak of a crisis when families were being torn apart. A mother of five, Tenjoh-Okwen is also publicity secretary for the Cameroon Association of University Women (affiliated with the International Federation of University Women) and serves on the board of the Fomunyoh Foundation, a charitable organization promoting humanitarian activities and peace. Tenjoh-Okwen teaches at the undergraduate and graduate levels, has many published articles on her gender work and has appeared on Cameroon television as a facilitator on peace and gender issues.



Tenjoh-Okwen clarifies Cameroon's history

- **Women's Education and Empowerment**
- **Intertribal Conflicts**
- **Community Mediation**

In Focus: Northwest Province, Cameroon

Cameroon is comprised of nearly 280 ethnic groups and languages, although English and French are the official languages of the country. The nation, which lies in between Central and Western Africa, gained its independence in 1961, yet sentiments of favoritism from the colonial period clash with the mandates of the current government. For example, in the village of Ashong in the Northwest Province, the bestowment of power to one faction of the Moghamo tribe during colonial rule lies in direct contrast to the government granting authority to the opposing faction, creating a power struggle. The conflict has been fueled by a lack of understanding concerning human rights issues as well as a lack of children's basic education. This cycle of violence is circulated through the family from husband to wife to child, creating and reinforcing the perception of the "other." The conflict has oftentimes erupted into violence, especially in the 1990s; elsewhere in the Northwest Province, the Bali and Bawock tribal conflict resulted in atrocities and accusations of ethnic cleansing in 2006 and 2007.³⁸



Moghamo Women's Cultural and Development Association of Cameroon

“
The unity of the women has undermined the men's ability to plan and successfully carry out attacks
 ”³⁹
of aggression against the opposite camp.

Christiana Thorpe (2004)
Sierra Leone

- **E lectoral Reform**
- **Formal and Non -Formal Education**
- **Re habilitation and Rei ntegration**

Christiana Thorpe is the chief electoral commissioner for the National Electoral Commission of Sierra Leone. She is the founding chair and former chief executive officer of the Sierra Leone branch of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE-SL). A former nun, Thorpe left convent life to devote herself to the protection and education of girls. She was appointed deputy minister of education in late 1993 – the only woman in a cabinet of 19 members. After establishing FAWE-SL in 1995, the group created Emergency Camp Schools in the capital, Freetown, for children displaced by the civil war. Unrest in the country forced her into exile in Guinea, where FAWE-SL developed non-formal education programs for children. The organization later counseled and rehabilitated women and girls who had been raped by the fighting forces, particularly those victimized during the rebel attack on Freetown in 1999.



Christiana Thorpe

Through her duties as chief electoral commissioner, Thorpe restructured electoral processes within Sierra Leone for the nation’s second post-conflict presidential and parliamentary elections. Thorpe was responsible for registering political parties and citizen voters and organizing and monitoring the voting process. In addition, she ensured the involvement of all stakeholders including civil society and security forces in the election planning process. She conducted a series of civic education trainings with women’s and youth groups to educate them on election processes. With the successful training of over 8,000 youth, Thorpe employed them to monitor the elections. In a final effort to minimize election-inspired violence, she conducted trainings of peaceful conflict resolution with village chiefs. Thorpe is also a member of the National Security Council, which elevated her capacity to institute free and fair elections within the country.

Thorpe received the 2006 Voices of Courage Award from the Women’s Commission for Refugee Women and Children and the Special Token of Appreciation for Remarkable Services Award of Sierra Leone for her service to humanity.

In Focus: Sierra Leone

An 11-year civil war began in 1991 between the government army and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF), who were backed by Liberian President Charles Taylor. A succession of coups characterized the political scene throughout the 1990s and the war. In Feb. 1996, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah of the Sierra Leone Peoples’ Party was elected president and signed the Abidjan Peace Accord with the rebels, but he was forced into exile after a coup by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, made up of many RUF members – effectively rejecting the peace process. A 1999 rebel attack on the capital, Freetown, was eventually quelled by the West African Economic Community Monitoring Group (ECOMOG), and Kabbah was re-installed as president. The Lome Peace Accord was signed by Kabbah and the RUF in July 1999, but like Abidjan, it was broken shortly after when the RUF took U.N. peacekeepers hostage. British forces then intervened and rebel leader Foday Sankoh was arrested. The civil war came to an end with the Abuja Agreement of 2001 and the official declaration in early 2002.

“We Let All Hell Loose”⁴⁰**Writer: Whitney McIntyre**

By Jan. 26 [1999] the rebels were being pushed out of Freetown by ECOMOG forces; there was still fighting on the outskirts of the capital. Christiana risked returning to her office at FAWE-SL to view the damage: mostly broken windows and evidence that the rebels had ransacked the building. Two girls whom FAWE had previously worked with came to the office with their parents – they had been raped; they did not know where else to turn for help. In the aftermath of the rebel attack, the scope of sexual violence during the entire course of the war was becoming clear.

Christiana began hearing more stories like those of the two girls. The more stories she heard, the more furious she became. Sexual violence was being used as “an instrument of war.” There is a culture of silence in Sierra Leone around sexual violence and it is taboo to mention such acts. But Christiana realized something needed to be done for these girls. “We let all hell loose and decided to fight against sexual violence.”

Though Christiana’s work – and FAWE’s work generally – had been solely about education, Christiana asked the headquarters in Nairobi for money to assist the rape victims. She believed that “before we can focus on education, we must restore the dignity to the women and girls who have been abused in war.” To restore their dignity, the organization, with the help of groups like Doctors without Borders-Holland and other NGOs, developed a program that included medical care and trauma counseling for the girls, and a “sensitization team” that would try to educate the local communities about sexual violence and gender-based issues. Knowing that there were most likely thousands of girls like the two who first reported to FAWE, Christiana and the other members began broadcasting their message to the communities through radio programs and press releases, and in visits to schools, marketplaces and other centers of community life. Initially, Sierra Leoneans were hesitant to be associated with this aspect of FAWE’s work; some even verbally attacked the group for what they perceived as exploiting others’ shame. The group had to work hard to counter this perception, but Christiana recalls that by the third week of their advocacy, girls and women began pouring into the center.

Most of the girls who reported to the centers had been abducted by the rebels. Abduction was a primary method for rebels to fill their ranks, and it became a means of terror as the RUF retreated from Freetown. Most of the abducted girls were forced to become sex slaves and the “wives” of rebels; many were impregnated and became child mothers, or reported to the center while they were still pregnant.

There were 25 girls who came to us when they were about eight-and-a-half months pregnant, so we saw them through the pregnancy and having the child. We rented the building across from the maternity hospital, and as soon as they were out of the hospital, they would come there with their babies. Everyday we would work with them and teach them how to take care of their babies. Some of them were also learning how to read; others were learning how to cook.

Their training in the centers encompassed child rearing, but also literacy training and skills building so that they could earn a living and contribute to the development of the community. “FAWE helps those children to shoulder the responsibility of motherhood and single parenthood when most of them have never experienced adolescence.”⁴¹

The girls’ eyes were dull and expressionless when they would first enter the program. Still undergoing unimaginable trauma and fearing rejection for reporting the violence done to them, the girls were indifferent to the hope of understanding, or education, or employment. But Christiana reports that in conjunction with psychological counseling, the education of the girls and women became a method of trauma healing. “The good thing in all this bad is that there has been a breakthrough in ending the culture of silence on rape.”

Each one’s experience is unique. The contours of the physical experience may seem similar – abduction, slave labor and sexual abuse – but the emotional response is different with each individual. The essence of our intervention lies in honoring that individuality and difference.⁴²

The girls were able to talk more freely about what they had experienced; they could take care of their children without feeling shameful; and they could look forward to a brighter future because of the skills they had learned. By the completion of the program, you could see it in their eyes.

“The good thing in all this bad is that there has been a breakthrough in ending the culture of silence on rape.”

Irina Yanovskaya (2007)
South Ossetia (Georgia-South Ossetia conflict zone)

• **Jou rnalism**

• **P ost-Trauma
Healin g**

• **I nterethnic
Y outh
Di alogue**

Irina Yanovskaya, of South Ossetia in the Georgia-South Ossetia conflict zone, is a journalist, lawyer, chair of the NGO Journalists for Human Rights, children’s advocate focused on post-conflict healing and peace education for children, as well as the mother of four, grandmother of one and a singer in her church choir. Devoted to resolving the conflict between Ossetians and Georgians that began with the disintegration of the Soviet Union, she is an outspoken critic of media that abuses and distorts public opinion. She was recognized in 2005 among the 1,000 women nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize for her work to help war-traumatized children and women to overcome the horrors they witnessed, and for her efforts to reopen doors in mixed communities of Georgian and Ossetian people torn apart by hate and suspicion. She has given seminars and facilitated discussions among various groups within Ossetian and Georgian civil society, created summer camps for Georgian and Ossetian children and works with War Child International in Holland. A primary emphasis in all of Yanovskaya’s work and extensive writing has been to find ways to open minds to peace and respect, especially those of children and young people who have only lived in conflict and revenge.



Yanovskaya documents militarized landscape

In Focus: South Ossetia

South Ossetia, made up largely of ethnic Ossetians, is a disputed region in northern Georgia on the border with North Ossetia in Russia. In 1989, with the fall of the Soviet Union imminent, Georgians and Ossetians clashed over Ossetian demands for greater autonomy. Intermittent, yet oftentimes bloody, conflict continued until 1992 when it was agreed that Georgian, Ossetian and Russian peacekeepers would deploy to the region. There is no official settlement, and ethnic tensions remain high. Conflict in another disputed territory, Abkhazia in northwest Georgia, and the resulting influx of displaced people in South Ossetia complicates issues on the ground. In May of 2004, South Ossetia held parliamentary elections which were not recognized by Georgia or the international community; later that year, violence ensued between Georgian forces and Ossetian soldiers. In 2006, South Ossetia voted in a referendum for independence from Georgia; again, it went unrecognized by Georgia and most of the international community apart from Russia.



Yanovskaya advocates for human rights

“
It is easier to destroy the world than to create it. But in creating the world, one is sowing life and creating the future.
 ”⁴³

Chapter 2:

Final Report – “Is Peace Possible? A Summit of Peacemakers on Today’s Frontlines”



Overview

In 2007, the Women PeaceMakers Program celebrated its fifth anniversary. Each fall, this unique program gathers four women and documents their stories of working to end conflict and build just and sustainable peace. As the IPJ welcomed four new peacemakers in 2007, it also invited IPJ Women PeaceMakers from previous years to return to San Diego for a summit.

A series of panel presentations provided the opportunity for the peacemakers to share how they address the complexities of real-world conflict mitigation in their respective countries. On the frontlines there is rarely a respite from violence; the first panel offered experiences and best practices from peacemakers who, despite the terror, struggle daily to overcome treacherous obstacles to peace. Strategies to foster human security among conflictive parties, generating the potential to bring greater healing to their societies and the rebuilding of their communities, were shared on the second panel.

Examining how grassroots efforts can be incorporated and supported by international movements, author and consultant Sanam Naraghi Anderlini recommended methods to work for gender-inclusive decision making. Many of these techniques are being implemented by presenters on the third panel who emphasized how women are restoring individual, societal and institutional relationships in the wake of violent conflict. The final panel included perspectives on the gender dynamics within media, and how film, radio, print journalism and other forms of communication have been successfully utilized to promote peace.

The Women PeaceMakers were joined by international policymakers and experts who highlighted gender concerns and inclusion in conflict resolution, peacekeeping operations and long-term peacebuilding efforts such as reconciliation and accountability in the Distinguished Lecture Series event, “International Strides for Inclusive Peacebuilding.”

Introduction: Getting off the Road to Conflict and on the Path of Peace
Dee Aker, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

While the danger and difficulties of clearing paths to peace are harshly evident around the globe, participants in this summit of Women PeaceMakers represent strong forces and alternative responses that demonstrate that a descent into violence is not inevitable. These peacemakers are guides, steering those who listen away from the slippery slopes and quicksands of violence.

This summit reveals how IPJ Women PeaceMakers have implemented strategies they have developed to help break cycles of violence. Their successes illustrate how a downward spiral can be halted and recovery begun. The path to violent conflict, theoretically and practically defined as a series of degenerating episodes in human relations, is a common experience across cultures and yet the work of these Women PeaceMakers shows that following that path to its violent conclusion is not inevitable. At various points, contravening measures and actions can prevent the decline of human security and vicious domination by the ruthless. Both episodic and structural injustices can be addressed.

With structural and social injustices underlying communities ripe for confrontation, it is the application of justice, rule of law, economic development and gender equity that can prevent the damage that gives rise to further confrontation. If the growing disenfranchisement of women, indigenous groups, the religiously and ethnically distinct and other marginalized communities prevails, however, the terrain becomes increasingly littered with cases of sexual violence, human rights violations and impunity for crimes committed by those in power. Accountability and truth become victims as freedom of press and human security disappear.

Attention to conflict indicators sheds light on access points and issues, which, if addressed justly, allow us to move away from conflict and toward sustainable peace. Even during times of great violence and insecurity, these Women PeaceMakers note such indicators and find ways to create conditions for peace. When clashes divide communities and impose widespread threats to human security, women have found new ways to cross those divides and defuse the enmity. In post-conflict times of relative peace, women are instrumental in the implementation of agreements and reconciliation, incorporating mercy, truth and justice into peacebuilding processes while working for the elevation of women at all levels of society.

The work and experiences of the IPJ Women PeaceMakers illustrate both the extreme challenges of conflict and innovative approaches to peace. Their achievements in the creation of sustainable, compassionate communities remind us that even small victories prove that peace is possible.

PEACEMAKING: DEFYING IN THE FACE OF CONFLICT⁴⁴

Speakers:

Mary Ann Arnado, Bantay Ceasefire, Philippines
Shreen Abdul Saroor, Mannar Women's Development Federation, Sri Lanka
Zahra Ugas Farah, Family Economy Rehabilitation Organization, Somalia
Palwasha Kakar, Ministry of Women's Affairs, Afghanistan
Samia Bamieh, International Women's Commission, Palestine

Moderator:

Laura Taylor, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Discussants:

Priscilla Hayner, International Center for Transitional Justice
Ranya Idliby, *The Faith Club*
Joseph Olorunmbi Owonibi, United Nations Mission in Liberia

Rapporteur:

Emiko Noma, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

"[Acayo] wonders why [the rebels] did not realize she was already praying for them, praying that this senseless conflict would end."

Introduction

Laura Taylor, moderator for the panel, recalled that in a recent lecture, Nobel Peace Prize laureate Muhammad Yunus stated, in reference to the political transition of East Pakistan to Bangladesh, "The euphoria after liberation work often turns to nightmare." The conflicts represented on this panel have been, at various points, arguably on the verge of resolution, but even with the hope and hard work of those striving for peace, there still remain numerous challenges due to the root causes of conflict. In the cases of the regions covered herein, those obstacles take the form of, among others, militarism, fundamentalism and extremism, patriarchy, cultural norms, impunity and the absence of a political will for peace.

Despite these factors, and though they live and work in some of the most protracted and violent contemporary conflicts on the globe, the women on this panel manage to defy the violence, the skeptics, the hopelessness, the despair – all with the aim of contributing to a just and sustainable peace.

The peacemakers on the panel, displaying their characteristic boldness, collectively decided to change the wording of their topic from "Persevering in the Face of Conflict," to "Defying in the Face of Conflict." The connotation of "persevering" – remaining steadfast and consistent when confronted with obstacles – is therefore broadened, and, in a sense, activated, when replaced with the word "defying." It denotes an active perseverance: the ability to analyze the conflict, while seeking to infuse it with the vision and pursuance of transformation.

Documenting Broken Promises: When Ceasefires Fail **Mary Ann Arnado**

"We have to balance the culture prevailing in the community and the consequences of whatever information or truth [we] will ferret out."

Arnado, from Mindanao in the Philippines, told a vivid narrative of how her community-based ceasefire monitoring team, Bantay Ceasefire (made up of 650 volunteers), addressed a recent and gruesome incident on the Mindanaoan island of Basilan. In July 2007, 14 soldiers of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) were found beheaded – and two of them castrated – on the island. As public outrage grew, the government in Manila accused and wanted to attack the rebel group, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), who denied responsibility. Bantay Ceasefire joined an independent fact-finding committee – composed of three members from the MILF,

three from the AFP and three from Bantay Ceasefire – to investigate the incident and determine who was to blame. Arnado was appointed co-chair of the committee and was the only woman involved in the investigation. As the military and rebel commanders focused on the positioning of the armed groups, the weapons used in the incident and other "security" concerns, Arnado brought up issues of human security – most pointedly, blatant sexual violence, a taboo subject.



Arnado describes her work as co-chair of an independent fact-finding committee

She found the experience as part of the investigative committee extremely difficult as she tried "to balance the culture prevailing in the community" – which would not raise the issue of sexual violence – "and the consequences of whatever information or truth we will ferret out." It was eventually concluded that it was not the MILF, but the Abu Sayyaf, an infamous kidnapping group known for their brutal tactics in the southern Philippines, who beheaded and castrated the men out of revenge for the rape of a young woman in the community; but in the final report of the committee, the issue of sexual violence was not addressed. Arnado articulated her "moral dilemma as a woman advocate" and member of the investigative committee: "We were able to prevent another war from happening. [However] I have the truth [about sexual violence], but if I bring it out, that might cause another war in this particular area... If I will also say this, the community will deny me, they will deny that this happened."

Arnado concluded that political negotiations in Mindanao must be reignited, because no matter how civil society groups like Bantay Ceasefire can contain and prevent the escalation of violence, "the political side is really the determining factor in the resolution of the conflict."

Advocating to End Gender-Based Violence: Defending Displaced Communities **Shreen Abdul Saroor**

"Children watch their mothers healing through telling what happened."

Saroor summarized the regression to brutal violence in Sri Lanka, including the pronounced growth in militarism and extremism, the disappearances of over 1,000 people in the last 18 months and the targeting of humanitarian and civil society workers. Feeding these phenomena is the rise in autonomous violence as a result of the presence of paramilitary and splinter groups: "Now, we don't know who is fighting whom," making it more difficult to hold the armed groups accountable.

Saroor continued her presentation by focusing on her efforts, through her organization Mannar Women's Development Federation (MWDF), to begin a peace village in her home of Mannar in northern Sri Lanka. The Muslim community in Mannar is often caught between the Sinhalese and Tamil fighting

forces; in 1990, they were forcibly evicted from the island, and today, the displaced community in the war-torn areas of the north and east numbers 1 million, most of whom are Tamils. After returning from the IPJ in 2004, Saroor began implementing her idea of a model community for resettled Muslim and Tamil women from Mannar. While procuring private land (as opposed to government-allotted land) and gaining the support of local religious leaders, Saroor ensured that the women were learning construction and other skills so they could build houses in the village. But as they began building, war intensified: "As I am talking, my town is getting bombed." The women persevered, and through the resettlement program they have begun to counteract the physical destruction through social reconstruction. The peace village has become a safe space for the women to share their experiences with one another, fostering truth-telling processes. "Children watch their mothers healing through telling what happened." While interacting and working with women of the other ethnic group – who share their same language – the families began collecting their common stories of war, displacement and community.

Saroor also described a recent development in Mannar: the formation of Mannar Women for Human Rights and Democracy (MWfHRD), which works to bring attention to human rights violations by the warring parties. For example, in June of 2006 a displaced woman was raped and killed, along with her two children and husband. After gathering 3,000 signatures on a petition for the government to form a commission to investigate the case and other war-related violence committed against Tamil women, MWfHRD forwarded it to a top Indian defense ministry representative, who was visiting Sri Lanka at the time, and he then raised the issue with the Sri Lankan president. Through this act of linking civil society with the military and high-level policymakers, the Sri Lankan president was compelled to transfer the commanding officer of the government forces in Mannar and replaced him with a new commander who was instructed to be more receptive to the concerns of women. In his first meeting with the civil society members, the new commander requested them to include more women in their monthly liaison meetings and opened the discussion on problems and solutions related to the war and its effect on women in Mannar.

Confronting Cycles of Violence: Struggling Against a Failed State

Zahra Ugas Farah



Farah explains the escalation of violence in Somalia

Farah opened with an overview of the escalation of conflict in her country during the past four years, providing examples that "war means violence against women." In one episode she recalled, a destitute woman was killed when a package she was being paid to carry – and which unbeknownst to her held a bomb – was detonated by a man holding a remote control. Farah stated, "We have seen what conflict is, what violation is, how people suffered, how war affects the people, the country, development."

Though often victims of gendered violence, Farah showed how "Somali women are not sitting," and that without them, "Somali

society cannot be saved." In 2005, her organization, Family Economy Rehabilitation Organization (FERO), along with other like-minded women's groups in Mogadishu, united to demobilize youth in militia armies. Building consensus with local business leaders and clan elders, the groups

"Though often victims of gendered violence, 'Somali women are not sitting' ..."

succeeded in disarming over 250 youth and placing them in vocational training programs. Two years later, at the height of armed conflict between the Transitional National Government and the Union of Islamic Courts, women in Mogadishu formed a crisis group to end the fighting. With their knowledge of clan leadership and sense of what the points of leverage could be with the men, they convinced the leaders to accept a temporary ceasefire so that civilians could be evacuated. Despite these successes, Farah protested that the impact of women's efforts on the ground are hidden amidst the carnage and destruction in Somalia.

Facing the Backlash: Defending Women's Rights Palwasha Kakar

"It makes you question what kind of culture we've ended up establishing and creating for ourselves that we cannot have even one minute of silence to recognize and honor the people who have died."

Recently appointed to a deputy minister position at the Ministry of Women's Affairs in the government of Afghanistan, Kakar pointed out the most pressing obstacles for defeating violence and discrimination against women in her country: patriarchy which runs deep within and across the different ethnic groups, a "culture of warlordism" and a forgotten sense of justice and decency. The 64 women in the parliament – as well as other women addressing women's issues publicly – are laboring under tremendous stress, and three outspoken women were recently murdered: two were prominent journalists, the other a provincial minister for women's affairs in Kandahar. The ministry recently tried to adopt the practice of holding a minute of silence to honor those who have died because of the conflict, but found themselves faced with the threat of prosecution. Kakar says of the situation, "It makes you question what kind of culture we've ended up establishing and creating for ourselves that we cannot have even one minute of silence to recognize and honor the people who have died."

But Kakar went on to highlight two recent initiatives by the ministry to create safe spaces for Afghan women. The first was the creation of a women's garden, a private area solely for women where they can enjoy being outdoors without the burden of a head covering or full burqa. The second project, in Jalalabad, was the establishment of a shelter for women who are "without protector," meaning they have lost their husbands or are separated from their families because of the violence. These women are extremely vulnerable in the radically conservative society, so the ministry has a place where they can be safe and sheltered.



Kakar highlights initiatives of the Ministry of Women's Affairs in the Afghan government

Getting Around the Walls: Striving for a Two-State Solution Samia Bamieh

Bamieh elucidated two wars she has struggled in, one within Palestine, concerning the role and rights of women, and the second a struggle to build a culture of recognizing the “other” and their rights, and coming together as Palestinians and Israelis to build a just peace based on these common values and objectives. Bamieh contextualizes these two wars within the broader war for a Palestinian state: the deepening of the occupation and the expansion of illegal settlements, the isolation of Gaza from the West Bank, the militarization of the Jordan Valley, the wall of expansion and annexation (labeled “the security fence” by some), and the system of checkpoints and permits that heavily restricts the mobility and movement of Palestinians.



Bamieh demonstrates diminishing Palestinian territory

“[The IWC] is a common body trying to have a common voice addressing occupation, negotiation and solutions.”

Despite these realities, Bamieh affirmed “it doesn’t mean there is no possibility of peace” in these two wars Palestinian women are fighting. After the development of a national strategy for implementing the Beijing Platform of Action,⁴⁵ Palestinian women succeeded in obtaining citizenship and inheritance rights and in passing laws for gender equality in relation to labor, fair policies for maternity leave and ensuring governmental seats for women at the municipal level.

While struggling in this war within Palestine, women began reaching out to one another over the walls of conflict to resist the militarization of their societies – both the occupation and the second intifada – and continue to fight for their rights as women. The International Women’s Commission for a Just and Sustainable Palestinian-Israeli Peace (IWC), established in 2005, gathers Palestinian, Israeli and international women in a common voice to address negotiations for a final two-state solution and the need to have women at the table of these negotiations.

Discussion and Conclusion



Idliby responds to peacemaking panel on behalf of *The Faith Club* authors

Following up on Bamieh's discussion of on-the-ground realities in Palestine, Ranya Idliby, author – together with Suzanne Oliver and Priscilla Warner – of *The Faith Club*, a book which explores interfaith dialogue after Sept. 11, 2001,⁴⁶ offered a glimpse into what it is to be a Palestinian-American in New York, where even from formally educated acquaintances she is told “there is no such thing” as Palestine, and where she must constantly reassert the story of the Palestinian people. Idliby commended the Women PeaceMakers for their work and sharing their stories, and emphasized that these kinds of gatherings are vital; she has found in audiences she has spoken to across the United States that there is a deep yearning for a message of hope.

As the former force commander for the U.N. Mission in Liberia, discussant Lt. Gen. Joseph Olorunbun Owonibi commented that various stakeholders to a conflict have different and often conflicting objectives, so at times, women's concerns may run contrary to the mainstream political, cultural, social or military platforms.⁴⁷ As conflict persists, fragmentation deepens and the number of stakeholder interests proliferates. For gender mainstreaming to be successfully integrated, this fragmentation of objectives must be addressed and managed.

Priscilla Hayner, co-founder of the International Center for Transitional Justice, remarked on the “remarkable breadth of creativity in response and approach to grappling with the problems faced in so many different contexts.” To begin the discussion period, she employed the image from Bamieh's presentation, “Getting Around the Walls,” to ask the panelists why they are confronted with these walls of resistance, where are the precise points of resistance and why that resistance exists.

For Arnado and Bamieh, resistance lies – and must continue to be defied – in culture and society. When resistance lies in the family, as in the case of Palestinian culture, and because family is the foundation of social relations, women must learn to engage those points of resistance within the home. In the Philippines, it is a similar situation, with women most often relegated to the kitchen and taking care of their children. Even when women's roles beyond the domestic sphere are acknowledged, Arnado describes it as “mere tokenism” and not meaningful inclusion. For Saroor, resistance begins not only in relegation to the kitchen, but in conscious and deliberate exclusion. In Sri Lanka, women's rights organizations advocated for inclusion in the peace process, but were instead marginalized to a sub-committee. Women's concerns and perspectives are and must be seen as integral to the ending of conflict and the construction of peace.

The peacemakers' acts of defiance in the face of both physical and cultural violence – whether demanding ceasefires to protect civilians, discussing sexual violence, building villages of ethnic coexistence in the midst of war, creating safe spaces for women, or joining forces and voices across a wall of separation – are gradually manifesting their vision of a transformed conflict and society.

SEEKING HUMAN SECURITY: CROSSING CONFLICT LINES

Speakers:

Raya Kadyrova, Foundation for Tolerance International, Kyrgyzstan
Susana Tenjoh-Okwen, Moghamo Women's Cultural and Development Association,
Cameroon
Latifah Anum Siregar, Alliance for Democracy in Papua, Indonesia
Sister Pauline Acayo, Catholic Relief Services, Uganda
Svetlana Kijevčanin, Forum Syd Balkans Programme, Serbia

Moderator:

Dee Aker, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Rapporteur:

Karla Alvarez, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Introduction

In the long and arduous road to establishing human security, women are active on multiple levels of peace efforts, exemplifying leadership, educating the citizenry and offering alternatives to the oftentimes violent norm. In Kyrgyzstan, the presence of women in negotiations between the government and opposition demonstrators dissipated threats to human security, while in Uganda, women are making communities safe by healing and reintegrating former combatants. In Papua, stable peace is jeopardized by ignorance of the utility of traditional law in settling disputes across cultural divides – an unawareness that women are trying to resolve. Other women are rejecting the imposition of dehumanizing conflicts and finding innovative modes of crossing faction lines within tribes in Cameroon, or ethnic lines in segregated spaces like southern Serbia. By questioning politically-motivated myths or manipulated perceptions of the “other,” women are fostering inclusive security and building stable communities.

Change through a Gender Perspective Raya Kadyrova

In post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, intimidation by security forces and police along with a corrupt and nepotistic government has stimulated the Kyrgyz citizenry to exercise their constitutional right to demonstrate. In response to this explosive combination, Foundation for Tolerance International (FTI), led by Kadyrova, initiated a program entitled “Cooperation between Civil Society, Police and Security Services in Times of Civil Unrest,” which brought together these groups to coordinate their efforts for peaceful demonstrations. As part of this program a National Coordination Council and seven Regional Coordination Councils representing the regions of the country were created. Council members were trained by FTI in tools to quell localized conflict.



Kadyrova discusses with Neu and Headley

“A male mediator, at that time, would have received a very different reaction.”

In Feb. 2005, President Askar Akayev held contested parliamentary elections, installing several members of his family into government. In response, on March 4, approximately 6,000 demonstrators protested the elections in the small city of Jalal-Abad, known for its history of interethnic violence. As Kadyrova stated, "The government was so corrupted that people couldn't continue bearing it." A lack of response from the regional government led to the takeover of the state administration building by approximately 200 demonstrators. An FTI team comprised of seven members of the National Coordination Council arrived in the city on March 8 to negotiate an agreement between the government and demonstrators.

Kadyrova and her colleague, a nationally-recognized human rights activist, negotiated between the two parties using shuttle diplomacy. These women were selected to mediate the process because of their previous work which had garnered the respect of both conflict parties. They were also chosen for what they brought to the table as women: "A male mediator, at that time, would have received a very different reaction," Kadyrova assured. According to her, employing men as mediators would have brought questions of power into the already tenuous environment while women mediators brought a sense of security to the talks.

The negotiations focused on the singular, agreed-upon issue of nonviolence, and culminated in a 13-point agreement. These successful talks are now a well-known event nationwide despite the insistence by all parties that no media be present at the table. Examples such as this illuminate the modes in which women in conflict situations and at the peace table influence and support the reduction of violence, community disintegration and corruption.

Applying Grassroots Knowledge from Tribe to Nation **Susana Tenjoh-Okwen**

"[In] the case of Cameroon, the fire is very small but there are many fires. If you leave the small fires to burn again they will make a big fire. It will be very difficult to extinguish."

According to Tenjoh-Okwen, "[In] the case of Cameroon, the fire is very small but there are many fires. If you leave the small fires to burn again they will make a big fire. It will be very difficult to extinguish." Tenjoh-Okwen highlighted her recent work in the village of Ashong where a post-colonial chieftaincy dispute has polarized the Moghamo tribe into two factions. Machetes, spears and petrol to burn homes are the tools of war in this divided community, leaving many displaced and the area sorely underdeveloped.

Moghamo Women's Cultural and Development Association of Cameroon (MOWOCUDA), of which Tenjoh-Okwen is a founding member, is made up of over 1,000 Moghamo women; the association works to address the causes of the factional conflict within the tribe. In response to the deteriorating situation in Ashong, Tenjoh-Okwen felt the only way to transform the conflict was through working with the women. "The men, themselves the elites of the area ... assembled all over ... and tried to settle this problem – and they did not succeed." MOWOCUDA, therefore, built an empowerment center, a place for the women to gather, learn about human rights and participate in income-generating activities, which, in turn, provide opportunity, resources and much-needed development to the area – all while bringing women from opposing factions together. The impact of the empowerment center has been shown through several achievements: an increasing awareness of human rights among the women of Ashong, which has stimulated them to develop alternative viewpoints to conflict; the creation of a secondary school within the village for children from both tribes to attend; and the encouragement of women's participation in government, leading to the election of two women to parliament.

Lobbying for both women's and men's inclusion in the processes that will bring peace to Cameroon remains at the forefront of Tenjoh-Okwen's plans. She also seeks more pervasive communication forms to reach larger communities within the nation. Through her work with the Fomunyoh Foundation,

a charitable organization promoting humanitarian activities and peace, Tenjoh-Okwen is currently developing radio programs to reach more women with the message of peace. From education to empowerment to effective communication and outreach, each of these strategies highlights a step toward social cohesion and the strengthening of communities in Cameroon.

Identifying Indigenous Wisdom: A Process for Inclusive Legislation
Latifah Anum Siregar

The blend of populations on the Indonesian province of Papua creates several challenges, including stereotyping, social tension and conflict over land use. Traditionally, the indigenous Papuan community has borne the major responsibility for issues of justice which both highlight and allow the necessary social cohesion for the province. However, the tensions are exacerbated by the three different bodies of laws used to govern: Dutch colonial law, Indonesian law and local Papuan law.

Siregar’s efforts in Papua have focused on utilizing and advocating for indigenous Papuan conflict resolution mechanisms such as oral communication and customary talking rooms: “This approach is effective to prevent violence and can be exercised between Papuan and Papuan. It is widely known that the oral speaking culture ... builds good communication in Papua.” For Siregar, this is the first level. In an effort to provide environments conducive for the coexistence of all inhabitants of Papua, she is continually seeking ways to increase dialogue among Papuans and the growing number of migrant populations living in the province. Siregar has also made strides in incorporating customary Papuan law into Indonesian law, in both the civil and criminal arenas. Forums have been created on several islands for civil and criminal cases to be settled in customary courts for both native Papuans and migrant populations, providing a space for justice to be carried out using traditional methods and enhancing community cohesion.



Siregar promotes inclusion of indigenous practices

“The [Papuan] oral speaking culture ... builds good communication in Papua.”

Reintegrating Child Soldiers: Rebuilding Communities
Sister Pauline Acayo



Acayo elaborates on reintegration programs

Acayo has been working on many fronts to rebuild communities that have been all but destroyed in northern Uganda over the past 20 years. She is involved with youth peace clubs, human rights advocacy and, the focus of the presentation, the reintegration of child soldiers.

Children abducted to fight for the Lord’s Resistance Army are subjected to severe mistreatment, abuse and profound psychosocial trauma. The challenges to the successful reintegration of former child soldiers are many, including the lengthy healing process, rejection

“In our culture they say women are not supposed to mediate. But with our struggle now, women sit together with the men and mediate and find a way, together, ... to reintegrate the children.”

by their families or communities for the abuses they may have committed, recruitment and acceptance into the government army because of their fear of revenge by the rebels, and discrimination against girls who were used as sexual slaves and gave birth while abducted.

Reintegration, therefore, requires many phases, the first of which is typically the returnees' placement in a reception center, where they receive basic necessities and security, but also rehabilitation and trauma counseling. While the children are at these centers, a simultaneous process of intensive community sensitization is undertaken by Acayo and her colleagues. Radio talk shows and drama skits help community members confront their emotional reactions to the inclusion of former rebels into the camps and villages those very rebels have devastated. Family mediation and traditional cleansing ceremonies help the formerly abducted children to "come out of the trauma" and allow their families and neighbors to "restore the cultural ties" while the slow process of reconciliation takes root. Acayo affirms that the reintegration process has been the impetus for the elevation of women's roles in northern Ugandan society: "In our culture, they say women are not supposed to mediate. But with our struggle now, women sit together with the men and mediate and find a way, together, ... to reintegrate the children."

Educating a Generation for Peace **Svetlana Kijevčanin**

"You can say the numbers are so small but I think we really changed the lives of these young people."

In southern Serbia, tensions reside between the Serb and Albanian communities which co-exist but are largely segregated. In an effort to heal the wounds from the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s, Kijevčanin has experimented with several different tools in her work with youth who are oftentimes easily ingrained into identifying the "other" as the enemy, without a true understanding of their history. Kijevčanin's background in the creative arts and psychology has inspired her to use tools such as theater-in-education processes. She implemented one such project with Albanian and Serb youth while working with CARE International.



Kijevčanin describes theater-in-education work with youth

When division of the two communities was accepted as the norm, Kijevčanin and CARE initiated a program entitled, "A View from the Other Side," bringing together 20 Albanian youth and 20 Serb youth to develop and experience personal understandings of reconciliation through theater. The program introduced the methodologies of theater in education while redefining the concepts of ethnicity and "other." The use of nonverbal improvisation broke down language barriers and created a new language among the participants. The youth ultimately created their own 15-minute nonverbal theater piece, followed by a facilitated dialogue incorporating the ethnically-mixed audience into the process. Asking them for their interpretations and to devise alternate endings to the piece expanded the influence of the project to create a forum for change within the larger community.

Kijevčanin highlighted the efficacy of this project to open channels of communication and humanize those of a different ethnicity. While this particular project was focused on a relatively small population, Kijevčanin emphasized the depth of the impact she witnessed among the participants. "You can say the numbers are so small but I think we really changed the lives of these young people."

Discussion and Conclusion

The continuous violent cycle of action and reaction is often a difficult scenario to navigate away from and clouds visibility of alternatives, moderator Dee Aker summarized. Stepping off of the path of conflict and envisioning a different future than immediate environments yield is required to illuminate access points to peace. Two such access points include interfaith initiatives and peace education for youth.

Acayo believes that the work that is needed now is what she terms the “uniting factor,” and, for her, religion has been the key element in bringing conflicting parties together to work toward peace. The formation of an inter-religious council of churches known as the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative has united Muslims, Catholics and Protestants who serve as examples for others in Uganda of how to cross conflict divides.

Several civil society organizations throughout the world have found alternatives by working with youth to stem the flow of enmity and create a generation that will carry forth the work of peace in their communities and nations. Battling stereotypes generated through families and communities is oftentimes one goal of these organizations’ efforts, yet it is an extremely complex process. As Kijevčanin notes, bringing youth together is just a first step in breaking through “this invisible wall.” However, after participation in such programs, the youth may be filled with new knowledge while their home environment remains the same. As Kijevčanin has found in her work, because some of these young people are now willing to interact with those of a different ethnicity, “[They] are discriminated [against] by [their] own community.” In her view, reinterpreting history, incorporating issues of diversity into education, and the institutionalization of acceptance and cooperation are key to having a lasting impact.

The overarching need is for women to be at the decision-making centers where human security is being decided. As Kadyrova noted, there may be times when men – even men working for resolution of conflict – are confined by conventional thinking. Security sector reform, engaging youth and crossing ethnic, tribal and religious boundaries must be done with gender-sensitivity and women in leadership roles.

"So much of everything that each of you do is groundbreaking. ... You're forging new paths all the time and the experiences you have need to be documented and taken forward."

WOMEN BUILDING PEACE: WHAT THEY DO, WHY IT MATTERS

Sanam Naraghi Anderlini was influential in the creation of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSC 1325), which calls for the inclusion of women at all levels of decision-making and peace processes. In her work, Anderlini seeks to broaden the discussion of who talks about peace and security, and thus, who makes policy on decisions that affect the lives of all: "The nature of conflict is changing but the model of peacemaking is staying the same, and that model needs to be broken up and expanded and become more inclusive." In her view, UNSC 1325 "is the first crack of that door."

Acknowledging the experiences of the Women PeaceMakers, Anderlini expanded on the issues they are facing on the path to true inclusiveness. "The challenge that we have ... is that the level of resistance to women is profound and deep and very personal at every level." In addition, she cited the disconnection between the work being done on the ground and national and international policymakers, the need for advancement of women's credibility, and the lack of continuity within the field as significant challenges to the advancement of both women and peace.

Anderlini urged the Women PeaceMakers gathered to work within networks and coalitions for a division of labor that addresses the issues at local, national and international levels, in order to "engage with the bigger process."

In her book, *Women Building Peace: What They Do, Why It Matters*, Anderlini attempted to bridge the gap between civil society and the international framework by sharing on-the-ground experiences in language acceptable in and adaptable to other arenas. "We need to start talking about what our impact is. We need to start being able to challenge the international, the mainstream structures and ways things are being done, but challenge them within their own frameworks." Recognizing that civil society activism and peace and security issues have only come to the forefront in the last two decades with the end of the Cold War, Anderlini commended and encouraged the peacemakers: "So much of everything that each of you do is groundbreaking ... You're forging new paths all the time and the experiences you have need to be documented and taken forward."



Anderlini shares her knowledge of women's global peacebuilding initiatives.

Discussion and Conclusion

The institutionalization of women's presence in decision-making processes requires a redefinition of current models of leadership. Arnado has found in her experiences that "when you gather the women and discuss the problem ... immediately you discuss what we should do and what can be done. In terms of leadership, surviving on a day-to-day basis, holding everyone together, nurturing the community – which for me is really leadership – it is the women who are doing that."

When women obtain roles of leadership, particularly within the government, how do they remain linked to their constituencies? Christiana Thorpe's experiences in government have taught her that the challenge of remaining linked to constituencies and also being effective within government is a dance that women are very capable of performing. Yet she maintains that it is also a struggle: "We need to share among ourselves how you ... remain a woman and do things from a woman's perspective." Anderlini expressed the importance of gathering and maintaining connections with constituencies. "It's an amazing thing to go out and connect with a mass of people because that gives you a strength. When you go sit down at the table, they're all standing there behind you in a symbolic way."

Challenges exist at all stages of the development of effective and accepted decision-making roles for women in peace processes. The adaptation of culture and tradition to allow for the important inclusion of women is not easily undertaken. Yet it is a necessary step in the process of creating structures and systems which address the needs of all relevant stakeholders in conflict and post-conflict societies.

Biography

Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, author and consultant, is also a research affiliate of the MIT Center for International Studies. For over a decade she has worked with the United Nations, NGOs and bilateral donors as an advocate, researcher, trainer and writer on issues relating to women's participation in peace and security. She worked with Women Waging Peace as director of the Policy Commission, International Alert as senior policy advisor, managing editor at the Forum on Early Warning and Early Response and was an expert contributor to the U.N. Secretary-General's 2002 report on women, peace and security.



Sanam Naraghi Anderlini

"It's an amazing thing to go out and connect with a mass of people because that gives you a strength. When you go sit down at the table, they're all standing there behind you in a symbolic way."

PEACEBUILDING: FOSTERING CIVIC TRUST

Speakers:

Shobha Shrestha, South Asia Partnerships-Nepal, Nepal
Shukrije Gashi, Partners Centre for Conflict Management-Kosova, Kosovo
Rebecca Joshua Okwaci, Women's Action for Development, Sudan
Christiana Thorpe, National Electoral Commission, Sierra Leone

Moderator:

Theresa de Langis, New Hampshire Commission on the Status of Women

Discussant:

Joyce Neu, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Introduction

Moderator Theresa de Langis stated, "When peace is not stable, peace work cannot be static." Following periods of mass atrocity and gross human rights violations, a range of issues must be addressed at each level in society. Working for the implementation of peace agreements, fighting for the inclusiveness of women in decision-making processes to ensure the sustainability of peace, and eradicating structures that spur violence to replace them with inclusive structures which inspire peaceful societies, the women on this panel have employed an array of effective strategies to create communities and nations that work together to rebuild after violent conflict.



de Langis moderates peacebuilding panel

Preparing for Peace: Implementing Agreements, Moving Forward Shobha Shrestha

While peace and conflict in Nepal have generally revealed themselves as part of an interconnected ebb-and-flow process, the people have remained vigilant in their pursuit for a just government. When the Nepali monarchy failed the nation, the people took the responsibility to reclaim their voice. The presence of an interim government brought hope for a stronger future for Nepal, yet the nation is currently at a crossroads. Elections that were scheduled to take place in Nov. 2007 were postponed due to the rejection of Maoist demands for the declaration of a republic and an electoral system of proportional representation. As a result, the Maoists have resigned from their government posts. According to Shrestha, their absence in government has created a “turmoil situation in the country.”



Shrestha contextualizes the conflict in Nepal

“[We have to] continue civil society’s momentum [and] build the ability to monitor, investigate and expose human rights violations, corruption and other abuses of power.”

South Asia Partnership-Nepal (SAP-Nepal) has been working with more than 1,500 partner organizations in rural communities to create forums where academic experts, civil society members and politicians can devise peacebuilding strategies to be proposed at the government level. Shrestha believes that peace is, indeed, possible and that the advancement of Nepali women as key decision makers is vital to the process. Her work with SAP-Nepal has given her hope with the appointment of two women program participants to the Ministry of Women, Children and Social Welfare and the Ministry of Health. “We created space for them to learn, share their experience. Now they are able to create a space for themselves and they have [received] recognition from the parties, as well.”

Shrestha also stressed the importance of continuing to innovate and implement strategies for peace. Dissemination of letters to government urging a date to be set for elections that would include Maoist participation is essential. Additionally, she values the importance of mobilizing youth to urge their investment in the future of Nepal. Shrestha believes it is of the utmost value to “continue civil society’s momentum [and] build the ability to monitor, investigate and expose human rights violations, corruption and other abuses of power.”

In Focus: Nepal

Nepal became a constitutional monarchy in 1990. A Maoist insurgency began in 1996, and a dysfunctional government witnessed the massacre of the entire royal family in 2001. King Gyanendra came to the throne, but soon suppressed all constitutional freedoms. A people’s pro-democracy movement in April 2006 forced the king to surrender his direct rule; an interim government comprised of seven major political parties of Nepal stepped in. A ceasefire and subsequent peace negotiation created space for Maoist representatives to quickly join the interim government; their representatives were sworn into the legislature in Jan. 2007. A new U.N. ceasefire monitoring and electoral assistance mission began work disarming combatants and preparing for elections. Originally slated for June 2007, the constituent assembly elections to finalize a new constitution and determine the outcome of the current interim government proposal to end the monarchy and create a federal republic were rescheduled for Nov., and postponed a second time to the great frustration of the people. Tensions among ethnic and regional groups have flared as various factions call for greater representation in the new government.

Biography

Shobha Shrestha has a post-graduate diploma in NGO leadership and management from BRAC Bangladesh and currently is pursuing a Master of Arts in peace and justice at the University of San Diego. With SAP-Nepal, Shrestha has worked for peace, gender equality and democracy in Nepal for close to a decade and conducted trainings throughout the region with a focus on empowering emerging leaders, women and marginalized groups to gain access to policymakers. She has participated in the IPJ Nepal Project since 2003, and has collaborated as the IPJ local partner since 2005.

Envisioning a Common Future Within an Independent Kosovo

Shukrije Gashi

"We intervene with dialogue, facilitation [and] mediation in order to have the receiving community and returnees better cooperate and try to better envision their common future."

In her desire for a peaceful and independent nation, Gashi is working to create a stable Kosovo and to encourage the return of Kosovo Serb communities. She is also working to encourage both Kosovo Serb and Albanian women to create a fair and just Kosovo through joint participation in local and regional government.

Gashi and her organization, Partners-Kosova, have been working to contribute to peacebuilding efforts with programs in mediation, women's and youth leadership, local government initiatives and minority reintegration. Reintegration requires efforts at all levels of government and society, and Gashi is beginning with the grassroots. "We intervene with dialogue, facilitation [and] mediation in order to have the receiving community and returnees better cooperate and try to better envision their common future." With her extensive experience as a mediator, Gashi works to ameliorate formerly divided communities and bring Albanians and Serbs together to live as whole communities working to create a new future for Kosovo.



Gashi explains mediation work

In coordination with reintegration efforts, Gashi is also working toward the elevation of women, both Albanian and Serb, into leadership positions within the local government. Through conferences and training sessions, women from both sides of the conflict are brought together to articulate the challenges they face and jointly draft project proposals which will influence sustainable minority return policy at the local and regional levels. Through becoming personally invested in the processes of legislation and governmental leadership, the women are creating opportunities for themselves as well as taking the initiative to build a peaceful Kosovo.

Promoting Women’s Involvement Toward Comprehensive Peace
Rebecca Joshua Okwaci

Though the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between southern Sudan and the Sudanese government was signed in 2005, implementation remains the key to sustainable peace. In Okwaci’s words, “It’s not enough to put pen on paper. What you need is implementation on the ground.” Her work in bringing Sudanese women from both sides of the conflict together prior to the signing of the CPA set the stage for the work that these women would do as a group once the fighting had stopped.

The involvement of women, when integrated into every aspect of peace and policy, has a transformative effect on the shaping of a nation. As such, Okwaci and her organization, Women’s Action for Development (WAD), have continually engaged in peacebuilding activities such as education, advocacy and lobbying for women’s representation at all levels of government. In order to ensure that the new constitution would guarantee a place for Sudanese women, the women of WAD sent a continual and pervasive message at every conference, meeting and constitutional committee meeting: 33 percent representation. The result of their lobbying was 25 percent women’s representation at all levels of Sudanese government, which is transforming gender policy and roles particularly in the south.

As Okwaci and her colleagues continue to monitor the progress of women’s participation as leaders in governments, they also work to keep them connected to their constituencies to ensure that the needs of women are being addressed in the formation of policy. “We track them. Whatever they do, we want to be there and the women have to be very clear that they are doing their participation.” As implementation of the CPA continues with its successes and pitfalls, Okwaci states that the overarching sentiment of the people is that they simply do not want to go back to war. Her view on the matter is clear: “Unless we continue to build the trust and the peace and keep together as a strong force as women ringing the bell, then we will be back to war.”

“Unless we continue to build the trust and the peace and keep together as a strong force as women ringing the bell, then we will be back to war.”

Fighting Corruption from Within: Post-Conflict Elections and Institution Building
Christiana Thorpe



Thorpe describes how she overcame challenges in Sierra Leone’s elections

A vital element to the peacebuilding process is the eradication of corrupt institutions which ignite violence and the creation of new structures which are built upon inclusiveness and justice. In her experiences as national electoral commissioner of Sierra Leone, Thorpe bore the responsibility for the transformation of the electoral process from a corrupt system to one based on integrity and community involvement. Her recognition of the necessities of stakeholder involvement and commission autonomy brought about the success of the second post-conflict presidential and parliamentary elections for Sierra Leone in 2007.

Thorpe was appointed as chief commissioner, overseeing four regional commissioners, all of whom were men. “When I came in and I walked in a woman ... I had to start fighting from then on. Yes, I’m a woman. Yes, I can head this commission.” Having experienced and witnessed the effects of excluding stakeholders from processes such as

“When I came in and I walked in a woman ... I had to start fighting from then on. Yes, I’m a woman. Yes, I can head this commission.”

this, Thorpe made concerted efforts to connect with women's groups, civil society, media, youth and security forces to incorporate them into electoral planning.

The involvement of army and police forces was of utmost importance and Thorpe made sure they were active participants; she was soon invited to become a member of the Office of National Security. The commission also specifically targeted women and youth groups to become invested in the planning of elections. Thorpe employed a strategy to train over 8,000 youth in basic electoral systems with the goal of then utilizing their newly developed knowledge and skills to monitor the elections. Thorpe and her team also worked with the chiefdoms to develop peaceful relations among its leaders. "By that strategy, we began to get our own constituency and people involved in the process."

Thorpe acknowledges the importance of support from civil society for all women in leadership positions. Her ties to the stakeholders of the electoral process "can give you the strength you need when you face the lion." Her overhaul of Sierra Leone's electoral process sets an example of what is gained from inclusiveness and the effective application of leadership skills such as information gathering and listening. It also demonstrates the impact of breaking gender stereotypes to create a forum for women to have a positive, transformative effect on society.

Discussion and Conclusion

"The way I [felt], I wouldn't want anyone, even an animal, to have that experience. And [I'll do] whatever I can to minimize it and whatever I can to let other people feel this passion that we together can do something."

All participants of this summit share a common commitment to the work they do in spite of the sacrifices they have made and even, at times, threats on their lives. This sense of responsibility surfaces from a variety of sources. For Okwaci, the lessons learned in childhood, particularly from her father, of social responsibility extend to every aspect of her life. These lessons have been instilled in her as she continues her fight for a peaceful Sudan. Religion has also played a role informing her belief that it is every individual's duty to lead and to inform. Okwaci also stated that this responsibility is something from which she cannot disassociate herself. "It's inherent. You feel it inside you that if you contribute the little you contribute, others will contribute and you will realize something good." Likewise, Shrestha carries with her a sense of duty concerning her work in Nepal. Her work with the grassroots in her nation has illuminated for her the need to commit oneself to "do something," specifically when governmental leaders fail to do so.



Participants pose questions to peacebuilding panel

Thorpe counts upbringing and religion as instrumental in the development of her responsibilities to Sierra Leone and adds the influence of experiencing violent conflict as a contributing factor to her sense of duty. "The way I [felt], I wouldn't want anyone, even an animal, to have that experience. And [I'll do] whatever I can to minimize it and whatever I can to let other people feel this passion that we together can do something." Direct exposure to overt conflict can be damaging but can also serve as an impetus of social and political change. The fortitude of the women on this panel has been instrumental in the use of conflict as a transformative agent to restructure corrupt institutions and overcome divisive barriers. They redefine societal structures, defying the norms of hatred and violence.

MEDIA AS A TOOL FOR PEACEBUILDING

Speakers:

Kathy Sangha, co-founder, Sun & Moon Vision Productions
 Rebecca Sangha, co-founder, Sun & Moon Vision Productions
 Dee Aker, executive producer, Women PeaceMakers Documentary Series
 Rebecca Joshua Okwaci, executive producer, Sudan Radio Service
 Shukrije Gashi, former print journalist, Kosovo
 Lilia Velasquez, attorney and media advocate, U.S./Mexico

Moderator:

Erika Lopez, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Introduction

Media has the capacity to play a significant role both in times of conflict and times of peace. When used in the processes of building peace, it has the ability to provide essential information while uniting communities and creating a space for the voices of marginalized populations. In an exploration of past, present and future uses of effective media, panelists illustrated the use of documentaries and film to educate, open forums for dialogue and generate community involvement; the importance of maintaining a vital women's press throughout the world to increase capacity for communication and awareness raising; and the efficacy of print and radio journalism to connect and inform.

"[Media can] help us strengthen our cultures, educate communities no matter what level of literacy, and monitor peace processes."

Expanding Global Communication

Kathy Sangha
Rebecca Sangha

New media tools which have increased global communication in recent years have relevant application to the field of peacebuilding. They can "help us strengthen our cultures, educate communities no matter what level of literacy, and monitor peace processes." One avenue employed by Sun & Moon Vision Productions (SMVP) is the creation of a documentary series focused on the Women PeaceMakers Program. Spreading the message of women building peace, these documentaries showcase women in active leadership roles. "With this documentary series we're also documenting history from a women's perspective," which Kathy Sangha affirmed is too often written from a military's or conquering party's point of view.

The dissemination of media such as this documentary series is as vital as their creation. Through free community screenings and in classrooms, SMVP is raising community awareness of the historical and current contributions of women to peace processes. An additional benefit to this strategy includes the building of constituencies based on viewers' abilities to identify with the women in the documentaries. "When people can see someone like themselves, identify with them, they're more likely to want to participate." In engaging grassroots communities, it is the individual story, rather than statistics, that is more likely to have an impact on the desire to become involved.

While it is important to have a strong women's presence on the public side of media, current trends throughout the world reflect the absence of women working in media at the decision-making level. Portrayals of women based on stereotypes or caricatures influence cultural perceptions, weakening the capacity of women to affect positive change at all levels of society. But "as more women are involved in creating media, the face of media will change and women will be portrayed as much more empowered

and reflect the character of women more accurately." Both Kathy and Rebecca Sangha also stressed the importance of a unified effort among men and women in order to change the "trends of media and the characterizations of women," so that they may instead be an effective tool for empowerment and gender equality.



Sun & Moon Vision Productions demonstrates how to use newly donated video cameras

Kathy Sangha highlighted the value of new technologies for both communication purposes and for documentation. In Arnado's work with ceasefire monitoring in the Philippines, text messaging via cell phones has become an increasingly effective way to communicate among her monitoring teams. Recently, in Burma, a journalist whose camera equipment was seized at the border used his cell phone to capture video images of the crisis, which were then relayed to media in the United States. These stories exemplify the utilization of new technologies and global media to encourage and support peacebuilding processes.

Biography

Kathy Sangha and Rebecca Sangha are the co-founders of Sun & Moon Vision Productions, a nonprofit organization that strives to support women filmmakers in producing films, documentaries, media art and events that educate, inspire change and advance a humanitarian vision. They are the producers and directors of the *Women PeaceMakers Documentary Series*, which includes "Leading the Way to Peace" (2004) and "Reversing the Ripples of War" (2005).

Assuring Gender Equity in the Press Dee Aker

"Men do not see the lack of women's voices in the press as a problem."

Aker's experiences in documenting the stories of women working in the fields of conflict and human rights combined with her long-standing role as a journalist have taught her the importance of the presence of women in media. She encouraged the examination of the ways in which women are portrayed in the press and how they are excluded. "We have to look at the invisibility issues of women. We have to look at the bylines. Who's writing what?"

Men dominate the decision-making level in media that covers conflict and its impact, causes and potential resolution. Much of the information conveyed in mainstream press is gender-biased, limiting the coverage of important work being done on the ground. Aker highlighted the sore absence of U.S. media coverage of the events which took place at the NGO Forum on Women in Beijing in 1995. In a story written by Aker upon her return from Beijing, she commented, "The major media, in ostrich fashion, buried their editorial heads in diversionary stories."

Should women have their own press? In spite of a growing number of people who believe that women need to build solid ground in mainstream media, Aker believes in the importance of a women's press. As an example, she cited the founding of a magazine by a group of Ugandan women targeting female audiences. Through articles on democracy, government and the ways in which these issues pertained to women in the country, this group provided an opportunity for the empowerment of women in their communities. Aker urged women to take responsibility for their own inclusion in media. "Men do not see the lack of women's voices in the press as a problem. It's our responsibility and no matter where you are in the process, you can always write an article."

Biography

Dee Aker, Ph.D., deputy director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, is a psychological anthropologist and conflict resolution professional with 30 years experience working in the international sphere and with communities and individuals in transition. Most recently at the IPJ, Aker created and directs the Women PeaceMakers Program, Nepal Project and WorldLink Program. She worked as a regular TV host, columnist and freelance journalist covering women and gender concerns for 10 years, including the production of 234, 30-minute interviews with women leaders, pioneers and survivors from around the world.

Informing and Empowering through Radio Rebecca Joshua Okwaci

The communication of peace issues has the ability to educate and unify communities. Through her work as a journalist, Okwaci has used media as a source of information-sharing and empowerment for marginalized groups and has bridged the gap between civil society and national politics. Sudan Radio Service is an independent radio initiative with a primary focus on peace and development. As executive producer, Okwaci manages several program desks including civic education. In Sudan, civic education programs inform the public on issues of rule of law and constitutional elements, and put forth explanations of the CPA.

Okwaci also focuses on programs aimed at women. "It's very important to have the voices of the women because they are always forgotten." Okwaci prefers to focus her efforts on community and women's issues as she feels this is where the genuine issues surface. With two radio programs targeting female audiences, "Our Voices" and "Women's Corner," Okwaci utilizes her programs to create opportunities for women's voices to be heard, to keep women who have garnered governmental posts connected with their constituencies, and to unite Sudanese women all over the country. Most recently, Okwaci produced a series of six broadcasts focused on the challenges and efforts of the Darfuri women who are currently uniting in a call for peace in the region.

Additionally, Okwaci has used her experiences in media to ensure its place in the new constitution. As the only female member of the Association for Media Development in Southern Sudan, Okwaci has worked closely with her colleagues in drafting three media bills focused on issues of public service broadcasts, access to information and regulation of broadcasts. While they are tracking government efforts to pass these bills, the team is currently working on a code of ethics for Sudanese media. In another role, she has become part of a media council task force whose aim is to guide and support journalists in the proper use of the code of ethics. Okwaci's activities demonstrate the availability and successful utilization of all entry points in the field of media.



Okwaci emphasizes importance of community radio in peacebuilding

Okwaci's activities demonstrate the availability and successful utilization of all entry points in the field of media.

Connecting Women's Voices by Journalism Shukrije Gashi

"Journalism is the most powerful tool to bring voices and truth among the people, to better understand what is going on, and how to better share our experiences and to learn about each other as local and international women."

As a journalist with over 15 years of experience, Gashi believes that the purpose of media is to put forth "the voices and eyes of the truth." Fighting against media corruption and, at times, endangering her own life to tell the stories of Kosovo, Gashi has covered issues of human rights, the events and effects of the violence in the 1990s, and the experiences of women in Kosovo. Her reporting on international women conferences provided her with the opportunity to interview over 20 influential world leaders including Hillary Clinton. "I did that to bring the voice of women from all over the world in order to have our local women, including myself, learn from them."

Gashi's role in media has extended beyond print journalism to include television and radio. Her recent nomination to the Board of Directors of National Radio and TV in Kosovo is encouraging her to devise strategies for a larger inclusion of women in broadcasting to address the issues which pertain to them. According to Gashi, "Journalism is the most powerful tool to bring voices and truth among the people, to better understand what is going on, and how to better share our experiences and to learn about each other as local and international women."

Advocating and Mobilizing for Social Change Lilia Velasquez

"We're trying to accomplish education, empowerment, we want to mobilize the masses, we want to create what is called a critical mass for people to put pressure on the government."

Velasquez has defined her role as an attorney to include not only advocacy in the courtroom, but also educating and raising awareness. "With [education and information] comes empowerment because then people are able to access their rights." Her weekly television and radio shows address the pressing issues of immigration along the U.S.-Mexico border, and her work in print journalism has been nationally recognized. Yet she is constantly looking for new ways to inform the community on relevant issues.



Velasquez uses media to advocate for human rights

Velasquez emphasized the importance of journalists clearly articulating their goals and audiences, particularly when using media as a tool for social change. She views media as an agent to affect change at the policy level. "We're trying to accomplish education, empowerment, we want to mobilize the masses, we want to create what is called a critical mass for people to put pressure on the government." Velasquez stressed the importance of having a solid strategy and approach when using media. Her work as a professor of law and her experiences instructing judges, lawyers and government officials on effective and appropriate uses of media throughout Latin America have showed her the value of strategically defining one's message. This includes the selection of appropriate messengers and a secure knowledge of one's target audience.

Additionally, Velasquez does not discredit the ability of media to reach the public-at-large as a secondary audience or the value of reaching that group as a means to reconnect communities to issues they otherwise might not view as pertinent to their lives. "The key is to bring everybody on board; what happens to her, what happens to me, also affects the quality of your life ... as we are connected to certain groups of people."

With a firm passion for the role of media in changing structurally violent policy, Velasquez quoted Makani Themba-Nixon, executive director of the Praxis Project: “Once you understand media advocacy, you have to do it or live with the fact that you’re not doing everything you can to make a difference.”

Biography

Lilia Velasquez, an attorney in private practice, has been a certified specialist in immigration and nationality law since 1991. For the last three years, her practice has focused on defending women’s rights, particularly the rights of refugees and victims of domestic violence and trafficking. With Proyecto ACCESO, a program that promotes the rule of law and access to justice, Velasquez teaches oral advocacy, media advocacy and cross-cultural negotiations throughout Latin America. She has a weekly radio show that broadcasts in Mexico and the United States.

Discussion and Conclusion

A women’s press opens avenues for communication and allows for the expression of their voices that may not otherwise be heard. In Palestine, Bamieh and her colleagues have utilized the channels of radio, television and print to decrease the marginalization of women and to speak “about women’s issues for women.” In the Palestinian context where women hold fewer decision-making positions, radio and television programs are designed to address issues that are typically ignored in society. The inclusion solely of men in programming focused on issues of legislation surrounding Shari’a law validated the need for new outlets of information. “As women, we have to use as many tools as we can in media, especially those media reaching the family,” Bamieh emphasized, in order to elevate women’s issues to both the community and national levels.

Several strategies exist to fight the presence of media corruption. First is the cautious reading, seeing and hearing of pro-government media. In an effort to gain accurate knowledge, the use of independent media has proven to be highly effective in countering and discrediting misinformation while serving as a watchdog of pro-government media. The use of alternative avenues of communication can also be effective, as Rebecca Sangha noted was the case in Chiapas, Mexico. When the voices of the Zapatistas were suppressed by governmental forces, the group bypassed mainstream media to spread their message via the Internet, thereby drawing the attention of the international community and illuminating their cause to a larger population. Okwaci believes when citizens are aware of their rights, they are in a strategic position to battle media corruption. As she stated, “It’s very important for people to be informed about what governs the media.” She also feels it is the responsibility of journalists to be acutely aware of their codes of ethics and conduct in order to ensure proper use of media to inform and educate.

The utilization of media as a tool for social change most effectively contributes to peacebuilding efforts when used as a source of communication, information sharing, education and empowerment. It also holds the power for women, youth and marginalized groups to expand the range of their collective voices and begin carving space for themselves in changing societies. Through media, fuller versions of history can be written, alternative viewpoints revealed, and stories of inspiration, truth and transformation told.

INTERNATIONAL STRIDES FOR INCLUSIVE PEACEBUILDING

Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series

Speakers:

Joyce Neu, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
Joseph Olorunbun Owonibi, United Nations Mission in Liberia
Priscilla Hayner, International Center for Transitional Justice

Moderator:

Dee Aker, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Rapporteur:

Emiko Noma, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice

Introduction

All levels of peace processes – from the first move toward conflict resolution and making peace, through the implementation of peacekeeping operations, to post-conflict peacebuilding and addressing issues of reconciliation – must be engendered, incorporating women’s perspectives in each aspect. The international experts represented on the panel joined the IPJ Women PeaceMakers at their summit to, as framed by moderator Dee Aker, “learn and lend,” to discover the activities of the Women PeaceMakers and share their own experiences and fresh ideas on involving women in the construction of sustainable peace.

Peacemaking: Getting a Place at the Table

Joyce Neu

“The reason we have anything about women’s rights in our peace agreement in Northern Ireland is because of what Luz [Méndez] did in Guatemala.”

Neu analyzed the participation of women on two levels in peacemaking and conflict resolution processes: international intervention by third parties, and on the local level in countries in conflict. UNSC 1325 stipulates that women need to be part of all peace processes, yet it seems the United Nations itself is reluctant to live up to that standard. Special Representatives of the Secretary-General (SRSGs) and Special Envoys represent the United Nations to help bring about resolution to conflicts around the world; of the more than 30 SRSGs who serve Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon, not one is a woman. There are women of similar status who are in charge of issues such as gender and HIV/AIDS, but not in positions where they are intervening in conflict as a mediator on behalf of the international community.

In comparison, the United States – though still not exceptional or balanced – has several women ambassadors, who potentially act as mediators in situations of conflict, such as in Haiti, Nepal and Pakistan, while the international NGO community has some women in lead positions on negotiating and mediating teams. Neu herself was a mediator or facilitator in several conflict situations, including in Cote d’Ivoire, Congo-Brazzaville, Sudan and Uganda. Though a woman, she had great credibility as a representative of a respected international organization. As an outside woman mediator, she was not perceived as a threat by the conflict parties, and was thus given more access at times. It is for reasons like this, and other potential benefits, that women need more access to higher levels of politics and policymaking when it concerns ending conflict.

Neu also emphasized the examples of the women gathered at the summit and those like them who are working for resolution at the grassroots and national levels, but who are also making an impact globally. In a conversation with Monica McWilliams, one of the key women in the Northern Ireland peace process, Neu mentioned former IPJ Woman PeaceMaker Luz Méndez.⁴⁸ McWilliams remarked enthusiastically, “The reason we have anything about women’s rights in our peace agreement in Northern Ireland is because of what Luz did in Guatemala.” Women must continue to share methods and experiences and build constituencies of support while demanding a place in official peace processes.

Biography

Joyce Neu, Ph.D., is the executive director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies. Neu is a conflict resolution specialist with a background in international mediation and negotiation. From 1992 to 2004, Neu conducted conflict assessments and helped facilitate discussions between parties in conflict around the world. During her years at The Carter Center, Neu accompanied the former president to Bosnia, where they obtained a four-month ceasefire in December 1994. She led a Carter Center team working on restoring Sudan-Uganda bilateral relations that culminated in a summit with the two heads of state – with President Carter serving as mediator – and the 1999 Nairobi Peace Agreement.



Peacekeeping: Mainstreaming Gender Concerns Lt. Gen. Joseph Olorunbun Owonibi

Quoting former Secretary-General Kofi Annan, Owonibi affirmed, “We can no longer afford to minimize or ignore the contributions of women and girls to all stages of conflict resolution, peacemaking, peacebuilding, peacekeeping and reconstruction processes. Sustainable peace will not be achieved without the full and equal participation of women.” In its development from traditional peacekeeping – observation and keeping belligerent parties separated – to a three-dimensional approach that encompasses not only peacekeeping, but also peacemaking and peacebuilding, in what could be designated “peace support,” the United Nations and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO) have instituted several reforms on gender policy. These include the creation of gender offices and appointing advisors to all mission areas; gender training for all peacekeeping personnel; an increase in the recruitment and deployment of women, though the number of women as military personnel is still very low, at only 2 percent; and the designation of a task force to oversee the implementation of these policies. Despite the low numbers, the participation of women is now integrated into the mission mandate of any peacekeeping operation – a major accomplishment.

A current issue that has hampered operational success concerns sexual exploitation and abuse (SEA) by U.N. peacekeepers. With the Secretary-General's 2003 bulletin on SEA and the establishment of a zero tolerance policy, the DPKO's strategy outlined preventive measures to build awareness, both for troops and civilians in mission areas; enforcement measures, such as the creation of the Office of Internal Oversight Services, the deployment of a conduct and discipline team to mission areas, and new processes for people in the community to report SEA; and finally, remedial measures so that commanders can discipline soldiers. Despite the great effort put forth by the United Nations on the first two measures, remedial measures are still challenging, as force commanders have no mandate to discipline personnel who are not from their home country.

Challenges to increasing the participation of women in peacekeeping operations are numerous; the two most daunting are local cultures and tradition which do not accept women in peacekeeping roles, and the nature and make-up of missions. The DPKO relies on troop-contributing countries who voluntarily send their soldiers to the field. The most prominent troop-contributing countries do not have significant roles for women in their military or police forces, but these forces are so desperately needed around the world, it is difficult to refuse the offer of troops.

“Peace anywhere, whether we want to believe it or not, is closely linked with equality between men and women and development. When one is downplayed against the other, you cannot have peace.”

Biography

Lt. Gen. Joseph Olorunbun Owonibi of Nigeria was appointed force commander of the United Nations Mission in Liberia (UNMIL) in 2005 and retired from military service in 2006. Beginning in Nov. 2003, Owonibi served as the deputy force commander and chief military observer of UNMIL. Prior to that, he served in several high-level national and international positions, including coordinator of the Nigerian Army Training Group, which undertook the reorganization and training of the Gambian National Army from 1992 to 1994, and commander of the first reconnaissance company in support of the Nigerian battalion within the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon.



Peacebuilding: Strengthening Gender-Inclusive Peace and Justice Processes Priscilla Hayner

"We need to be able to argue the other side as to why we are all better off and why the process is stronger with the inclusion of women."

Transitional justice, still a very young field, intends to provide a set of policy options for countries confronting the past at the point of transition after civil war or authoritarian regimes – essentially, how do countries come to terms with a history of past violent conflict, and how can these policy options contribute to peacebuilding. An issue that is increasingly raised in the field is the role of gender in transitional justice measures, such as in truth commissions and public hearings: How can women engage in these forums when they are reluctant or afraid to speak publicly about taboo subjects, such as rape and sexual violence? How do you encourage women's participation and ensure that the process allows a full exploration of the truth that took place in the country – a truth that is not limited to narrow definitions of crimes?

At the intersection of issues of peace and justice, gender again emerges as an important concern. In Hayner's own recent research on peace processes in Sierra Leone and Liberia, she was struck by how often critical decisions were taken without full information, or simply with misinformation, about what creative alternatives were available to deal with matters of accountability. Thus, it is entirely relevant to ask, who then is at the table? The answer – as earlier demonstrated by Neu's presentation – is, rarely women.

Hayner proposed several interrelated reasons why the inclusion of women will strengthen government and peace and justice processes, and why societies and countries will be more stable because of it. First, women should be included because they "are more likely to know what they don't know and to be humble about not knowing everything." As they say in the United States, women ask for directions, men do not. Again, women often have honed the listening skills that could lead to more informed decisions at the peace and policymaking tables. Women's participation should also be mandated because women are more focused on how and why conflict affects communities. Women are more likely to approach topics, such as sexual violence, that are often pushed aside or ignored by men.

Biography

Priscilla Hayner co-founded the International Center for Transitional Justice, where she is director of the Peace and Justice Program and the Liberia Program. She recently undertook in-depth research into past peace negotiations and how justice issues are handled therein, with publications forthcoming. Hayner is an expert on truth commissions around the world and has written widely on the subject of official truth-seeking in political transitions. She is the author of *Unspeakable Truths*, published in 2001, which explores the work of more than 20 truth commissions worldwide.



Discussion and Conclusion

Who decides who is present at mediated peace talks? Typically, it is those who are armed, the traditional centers of power, who get to sit at the table, and though it is different in each particular case, it is generally mediators and the parties themselves who get to choose who else is there. But as Neu pointed out, those who would intervene to resolve conflict – donor countries and third-party mediators – must stop looking only to the guarantors of violence, but to the guarantors of peace as well: the women. Just as there has been a shift in the field of development – where women are now getting more assistance because it is recognized that they make a substantial contribution to sustainable development – there must be a shift in thinking and approach when it comes to peacemaking: women are the sustainers of peace and must be formally recognized as such.



Distinguished Lecture Series presenters - Hayner, Owonibi and Neu

In peacekeeping mission areas, the relationship between the local community and the peacekeepers is sometimes weak: They often do not even know the troops are arriving, are ignorant of what is taking place on the larger scene, do not know how to report problems when they arise, and can easily be lured into vulnerable situations because of poverty. How much effort, then, does the United Nations put toward raising awareness and informing the community prior to a peacekeeping deployment? According to Owonibi, each mission has a structure designed to address those very issues. The public information department of the mission is the main mode of outreach; however, its functionality can be hampered at the beginning of any mission because of a lack of local media outlets and limited access to an entire mission area. But missions also use military observers, who are deployed, unarmed, all over the country well ahead of the full arrival of troops, to spread community knowledge about the role of the peacekeepers. Owonibi also credited local NGOs and women's organizations for coordinating with the peacekeepers and explaining roles and procedures to their constituencies – and he encourages the broadening of that type of collaboration between peacekeepers and grassroots civil society organizations. As more and more allegations of SEA are investigated and the knowledge of abuses is disseminated, the initial stages of peacekeeping missions will be smoother and procedures further streamlined.

**Closing of the Women PeaceMakers Summit:
Fred J. Hansen Foundation
Gail Dimitroff, on behalf of Anton Dimitroff, trustee**

It is a pleasure to see familiar faces from the past five years; it provides a good sense of the continuity of the program. This year in particular, and the summit "Is Peace Possible?" which has gathered 14 peacemakers from previous years, creates a dynamic atmosphere and a new plateau of possibilities. It is important for the IPJ Women PeaceMakers to share knowledge and give mutual support to each other. This type of gathering should be replicated in your own countries with others. The dialogue among peacemakers must continue.

The Women PeaceMakers Program is the jewel of the Fred J. Hansen Foundation's world-wide projects. The primary purpose of the Fred J. Hansen Foundation is to bring together individuals, like the Women PeaceMakers, to further international understanding. Hansen believed that through international understanding, world peace could be achieved, which is what each peacemaker is doing in her country and community at the ground level. This program fulfills his dream of bringing people to the United States, having them mix and mingle with us, get to know us, and be able to speak freely in a state of relaxation and of peace. The Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice is the ideal place for this to occur.

As a small foundation, we closely follow the initiatives we fund and watch each grow. We want to know what is happening with those dollars and energy we put in. As the trustee, Anton signs the check, but he says that I am the eyes and ears of the program. I come to everything when the Women PeaceMakers are in residence; you and your experiences are very important to us.

Our only regret about the Women PeaceMakers Program is that it is so small: four women, four writers, once a year. We wish we could have 4 million. In this huge world, how can we make an impact?



Dimitroff offers closing words at the summit

Margaret Mead said: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has." In her work, Mead and 10 or 15 other people got together and worked to abolish slavery in Great Britain. They did not waver, and they changed the world forever. We know you have that capability, too.

When I attended the San Diego College for Women, which preceded the University of San Diego, it was a finishing school for girls. Through education, we got "finished" in the brain as well as the heart. The sisters used to tell us, "Once you're here, once you've passed through these halls, *toujours enfants du sacre coeur*" – "you are always children of the sacred heart."

With regard to the Women PeaceMakers Program, I want to take that "sacred heart" in the biggest possible meaning: a sacred heart of love, a sacred heart of compassion, a sacred heart of friendship, a sacred heart that expands beyond any religious consideration and to the highest level of spirituality and connection. Therefore, when we look around at each one of you, each of you committed global citizens, *toujours enfants du sacre coeur*.



Women PeaceMakers receive certificates from Headley, Dimitroff, Neu and Aker



San Diego Call for Action: An International Declaration of the Women PeaceMakers Summit

We, Women PeaceMakers, from conflict zones around the world, were convened for a summit by the Women PeaceMakers Program of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego from Oct. 22 to 26, 2007. Peacemakers work in conflict and post-conflict areas to promote human security through peace and the observance of human rights. Our members include governmental and nongovernmental leaders, journalists, lawyers, teachers and human rights defenders. We, Women PeaceMakers, from diverse backgrounds, affirm that peace is possible, reject the use of military force as a means of resolving differences, and share a commitment to the peaceful resolution of conflicts based on justice, tolerance, equality, inclusion and the dignity of all people.

Therefore, as an outcome of this summit that focused on challenges in peacemaking, peacebuilding, human security and the role of the media in conflict, we call for an end to all armed conflicts and the use of military force as a means of resolving differences.

On human rights and human security:

We, Women PeaceMakers, painfully aware that women's rights are violated during times of conflict, demand respect for human rights and emphasize the need to observe the rights of women, minorities, indigenous peoples, internally displaced persons, refugees, children and other marginalized communities in peace and war.

We therefore pledge to take action to hold our leaders, armed factions and external and occupying forces accountable for human security violations in accordance with international instruments; for the deteriorating human rights situations in times of conflict; for enforcing implementation of human rights in regions in which human rights mechanisms are not functioning; for the breakdown of rule of law; and for assuring access to U.N. human right observers for all of the above. States and non-state actors must be held responsible for protecting civilians and respecting their rights in accordance with international law and the Geneva Conventions.

On peace processes:

Women, as recognized by U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, are the guarantors of sustainable peace. They are essential to the effective implementation of any peace accord. Therefore, women and their perspectives must be included in all phases of a peace process – from prevention of conflict through negotiations, peacebuilding and reconciliation. We call on our leaders and all belligerents to ensure that women's voices are heard in all processes and at all levels.

We call for the just resolution of all conflicts and demand the initiation of peace talks where applicable; the resumption of peace talks that have stalled; and the speedy and full implementation of peace settlements.

On the role of the media:

Recognizing that journalists and media practitioners play an important role in promoting peace and are frequently exposed to danger and risk, we express our appreciation to those journalists and media practitioners who are willing to put their lives in jeopardy to report truthfully and accurately. We appeal to all journalists and media practitioners to report responsibly and accurately and to refrain from using inflammatory language and partisan bias that may exacerbate conflict.

On conflict and post-conflict zones:

Afghanistan: We urge support for women's participation and issues to be raised at the community level so as to ensure local issues are addressed at the national level.

Cameroon: We call on the government of Cameroon to monitor the progress of agreements made in the conflict zones and to ensure that they are implemented with the participation of women.

Kosovo: We insist that the U.N. Security Council, European Union, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the United States continue to lend their strong support to independence for Kosovo to prevent renewed conflict.

Kyrgyzstan: We appeal to the government to promote women's participation in the upcoming national parliamentary elections and urge the appointment of women at different governmental decision-making levels.

Nepal: We urge the government and the parties to the conflict to appoint women representatives to participate in all aspects of the political processes; to implement the peace agreement without delay; and to announce the date for the constituent assembly elections at the earliest possible date.

Palestine and Israel: We call for expeditious, substantive negotiations to end the occupation, establish a Palestinian state side by side with Israel on the 1967 border and conclude an agreement on final issues (border, settlements, Jerusalem, refugees). We call on the international community to establish mechanisms for monitoring, verification and arbitration of the implementation of the agreements. We call for the implementation of the International Court of Justice's advisory opinion on the construction of the wall in the Occupied Palestinian Territory, stopping the expansion of settlements and ensuring freedom of movement for people and goods.

Papua: We urge the United Nations and the United States to facilitate peace talks between Papua and Indonesia with the full inclusion of women and to stop the Indonesian military oppression in Papua. We call on the international community to implement international human rights mechanisms to protect human rights in Papua.

Philippines: We call for the formal resumption of talks between the government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front to address the final status of the Bangsamoro people.

Serbia: We appeal to the Serbian government to agree on a negotiated solution to the status of Kosovo, taking into consideration the wider social and political context and involving a wider spectrum of actors including women, NGOs and peace activists. We call on the government to understand the needs and interests of those who live in Kosovo and Serbia. Prolonging a resolution keeps Serbia in a state of stagnation when it needs to move towards European integration and development. We urge the government to protect victims of human rights abuses, including human rights defenders whose rights are abused by organized criminal groups and war profiteers.

Sierra Leone: We congratulate Sierra Leone on the successful elections and urge the new leadership to engage more women in decision-making positions.

Somalia: We call for a country-wide ceasefire and urge Ethiopia to immediately withdraw its troops from Somalia. We appeal to the Transitional Federal Government and the opposition, including the Union of Islamic Courts, to engage in a dialogue to resolve their differences. Women's participation in decision making must be included. We call on the United States to cease attacks on innocent civilians under the cover of stopping terrorism. ZUF

South Ossetia, Georgia-South Ossetia conflict zone: We urge the international community to support the development of mechanisms to protect international human rights in areas unrecognized by the international community and to provide opportunities for South Ossetians and other unrecognized peoples to have a voice at meetings of international organizations.

Sri Lanka: We call upon the government and the LTTE to resume peace talks in an inclusive process that includes women and minorities at all levels; such a process must respect human rights, end state terrorism and cease human rights violations of other parties. The latter would require the immediate deployment of a U.N. human rights field-monitoring mission in Sri Lanka, particularly in the north and east.

Sudan: Appreciating the hard work put into the process of concluding the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in 2005, we call on the Sudan People's Liberation Movement and the National Congress Party, signatories of the CPA, to peacefully and speedily resolve the current stalemate and, in good faith, implement the CPA in the time frame given. We urge the government of Sudan and all liberation movements to end the conflict in Darfur. We call for an environment in which the media can effectively contribute, without hindrance, to peacebuilding, democratic transformation, enforcement of rule of law and reconstruction in Sudan.

Uganda: We appeal to the government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) to resume peace talks in Juba without delay; to stop using child soldiers; and for the LRA to immediately release all women and children in captivity. We call for the inclusion of women in all aspects of the peace talks and for the international community to review the application of justice mechanisms.

We stand in solidarity with each other for this call to action, and in each of our conflict areas, we will be following up and remaining committed to ensuring constructive actions to advance a just peace, human rights and human security.

Signed this Oct. 26, 2007 in San Diego, Calif., USA

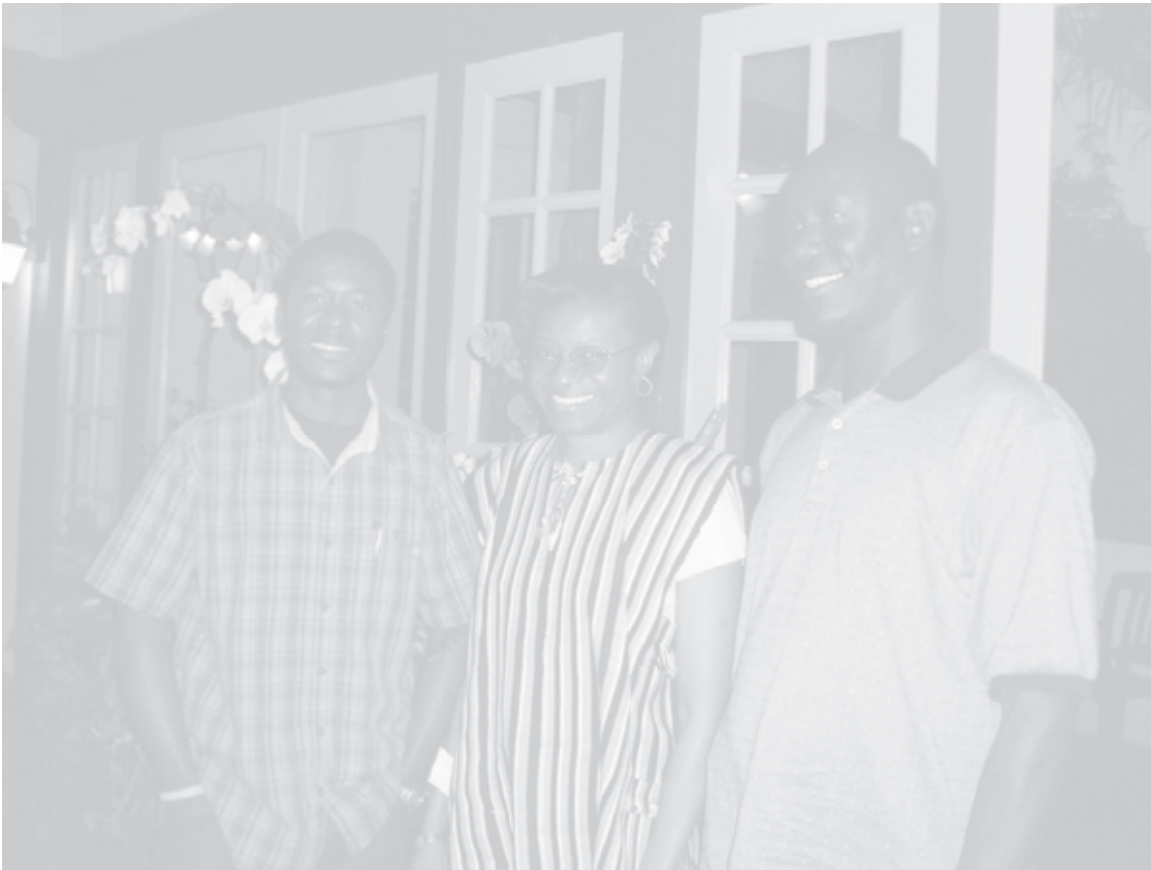
Sister Pauline Acayo	(Uganda)	Rebecca Okwaci	(Sudan)
Mary Ann Arnado	(Philippines)	Shreen Saroor	(Sri Lanka)
Samia Bamieh	(Palestine)	Latifah Anum Siregar	(Papua, Indonesia)
Zahra Ugas Farah	(Somalia)	Svetlana Kijevčanin	(Serbia)
Shukrije Gashi	(Kosovo)	Susana Tenjoh-Okwen	(Cameroon)
Raya Kadyrova	(Kyrgyzstan)	Christiana Thorpe	(Sierra Leone)
Palwasha Kakar	(Afghanistan)	Irina Yanovskaya	(South Ossetia, Georgia-South Ossetia conflict zone)

For the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice:

Dee L. Aker	(Deputy Director and Director Women PeaceMakers Program)
Joyce Neu	(Executive Director)
Laura Taylor	(Program Officer and Summit Organizer)

Chapter 3:

Beyond Boundaries – Strategic Collaboration and Partnerships



Overview

Each year the IPJ Women PeaceMakers Program collaborates with numerous individuals and organizations. These strategic partnerships ensure vibrant documentation of the women’s struggles and successes, connect international experts to on-the-ground realities, educate audiences from high school classrooms to the halls of the United Nations, emphasize Women PeaceMakers’ expertise and raise the profile of their peacebuilding initiatives, and foster the longevity of the impact of the program.

During the fall, Peace Writers interview their peacemakers and engage in extensive research to become familiar with the histories of the conflicts and their peacemakers’ work. Crossing professional boundaries, the IPJ’s collaboration with Sun & Moon Vision Productions promotes the use of media as a peacebuilding tool. Leading experts join the Women PeaceMakers, sharing their vast knowledge as well as learning from their grassroots experiences, through the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series. International working conferences convened each fall provide a space for vibrant exchange of best practices – the relationships fostered during these panels and working sessions are often long-lasting. Around the world, that global network grows. From Nepal to Uganda, from the ceasefire line to the classroom, the Women PeaceMakers Program continues to inspire, develop and support a community dedicated to relieving the pain of violent conflict and fostering a just world.

"Thanks to my work with Thorpe, I plan to conduct my dissertation research with communities in Sierra Leone to learn about the processes that communities undergo to reemerge after conflict."
- Whitney McIntyre Miller

Peace Writer Updates

Jackee Batanda, writer for Shukrije Gashi of Kosovo, completed her M.A. in forced migration studies from the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa. She then returned to her home country of Uganda and is working as a communications officer for the project "Beyond Juba: Building Consensus on a Sustainable Peace Process in Uganda," a joint program run by the Refugee Law Project, the Human Rights and Peace Centre, and the Faculty of Law at Makerere University in Kampala. Her short story "Aciro's Song" was recently published in *Wasifiri*, a leading journal of postcolonial literature.

Donna Chung, peace writer for Shreen Abdul Saroor of Sri Lanka, worked with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Seoul, South Korea, in the summer of 2005 as an external relations intern, where she was involved in organizing a series of World Refugee Day events. In the fall of 2005, she began postgraduate research in peace studies at the University of Bradford in the United Kingdom. Her research theme is the role of civil society in building conflict resolution capacity in politically transitional countries. In Jan. 2008, Chung began an internship in New York at the U.N. Global Compact Office, an initiative which promotes corporate social responsibility.



2003 Peace Writers

Sarah Cross, writer for Luz Méndez of Guatemala, has worked as a freelance editor, a teacher of English to Speakers of Other Languages, and at an immigrant organizing center in Cambridge, Mass. She also participated in the 2005 World Social Forum in Brazil. Cross is spending a year in the Creative and Critical Writing program at the University of Sussex in Brighton, England, exploring how creative writing and other creative forms can assist work for social justice. At the university, she has also spent time at the Institute for Development Studies, a premier center for the study of pro-poor development.

Theresa de Langis, who documented the story of Samia Bamieh of Palestine in 2007, is now the senior expert on gender and politics for UNIFEM Afghanistan. She began her work in Kabul in Jan. 2008.

Carmen Dyck, writer for Zahra Ugas Farah of Somalia, lives in Saskatoon, Canada and is working for a university- and community-based institute on quality of life and poverty issues. She, her husband and two children are developing an organic orchard and retreat center on their berry farm in rural Saskatoon, with the hope of providing local, organic produce to under-served communities.

Ozlem Ezer, after writing the story of Thavory Huot of Cambodia, went on to teach at the College of DuPage outside of Chicago, and spent four months teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in the Cappadocia region of central Anatolia in Turkey. She recently became a full-time instructor of ESL at the Northern Cyprus Campus of the Middle East Technical University, a well-known Turkish university where she previously received her master's degree. She also finished a novel in Turkish, which takes place in San Diego, Istanbul and Urfa, a city in southeastern Turkey; it is loosely based on people she met during her time as a peace writer.

Heather Farrell, who completed the story of Palwasha Kakar of Afghanistan, is living in Toronto, Canada, coordinating a child-literacy research project in the department of Speech-Language Pathology at the University of Toronto. She is concurrently taking courses in psychology and linguistics in preparation for a master's degree in speech-language pathology, a field which focuses on helping people communicate to their highest potential.

Yasmin Gatal-Hashimoto, who documented the story of Raya Kadyrova of Kyrgyzstan, returned to the Philippines, where she has been working as a consultant on various development projects. She was recently a finalist in an international competition on social entrepreneurship, and has contributed to various research projects – including baseline surveys, case studies and conference documentation – in the field of development.

Lucia Gbaya-Kanga, writer for Emmaculeta Chiseya of Zimbabwe, is living in Philadelphia and teaching English and writing courses at Moore College of Art & Design, the Art Institute of Philadelphia and the Community College of Philadelphia.

Devon Haynie, writer in 2007 for Irina Yanovskaya of South Ossetia in the Georgia-South Ossetia conflict zone, is one of 12 journalists to receive a 2008 fellowship from the Overseas Press Club Foundation. She is also a reporter for the Fort Wayne *Journal Gazette* in Indiana.



2004 Peace Writers

Kathleen Hughart, peace writer for Zarina Salamat of Pakistan, continues to write and publish. Her article “Standing to the Rule of Law,” about the consequences of imprisoning the Cuban Five, appeared in *Verdict* magazine, a publication of the National Coalition of Concerned Legal Professionals. *A Notable Woman: The Story of Annette Hughart*, a collection of interviews she conducted with her mother-in-law, was published in 2006. In addition to her writing, for the past three years Hughart has delivered humanitarian aid to Cuba despite the U.S. embargo. She is a member of the PACEM choir and, in Dec. 2007, participated in a cross-cultural performance of Handel’s “Messiah” with the Opera de Tijuana.

Stelet Kim, peace writer for Latifah Anum Siregar of Indonesia in 2007, is working for SAGE (Standing Against Global Exploitation), a San Francisco-based organization focusing on human trafficking and the commercial sexual exploitation of women and children.

Ruth Mastron, writer for Dalit Baum of Israel, has authored several books: *Au Contraire!: Figuring Out the French*, *Cultural Detective: France*, *Français et Américains: Ces différences qui nous rapprochent* and the forthcoming *Cultural Detective: Jewish Culture*.

Whitney McIntyre Miller, writer for Christiana Thorpe of Sierra Leone, is now a second-year doctoral student in the leadership studies program at the University of San Diego’s School of Leadership and Education Sciences (SOLES), researching international post-conflict community leadership and redevelopment. Miller writes: “Thanks to my work with Thorpe, I plan to conduct my dissertation research with communities in Sierra Leone to learn about the processes that communities undergo to reemerge after conflict.” She is also the coordinator of the Global Center at SOLES and teaches continuing education courses for older adults through the San Diego Community College District. After working in the Women PeaceMakers Program, Miller worked for nine months with the Tariq Khamisa Foundation and Monroe Clark Middle School to create a Parent Peace Coalition – a curriculum-based program for parents interested in learning nonviolence techniques. She recently presented and published a paper on the results of this pilot program with the International Council of Education for Teaching. Miller lives in San Diego with her husband, John, and their dog, Buddy.

Allison Meeks, writer for Hyun-Sook Lee of Korea, received her M.A. in China studies from the Henry W. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington in 2004. In the spring of 2008, she will finish her J.D. with a concentration in international law from Suffolk University Law School in Boston.

Emiko Noma, who wrote the story of Sister Pauline Acayo of Uganda, will graduate from Portland State University with her M.S. in conflict resolution in 2008. In Feb. 2006, she accompanied IPJ executive director Joyce Neu to Uganda as part of the institute's Uganda Project; she was an international observer to the presidential and parliamentary elections and visited Acayo in Gulu. Noma then coordinated the 2006 Women PeaceMakers Program and wrote the story of Svetlana Kijevčanin of Serbia. She now serves as IPJ editor, working primarily on the Distinguished Lecture Series and the Women PeaceMakers Program.

Susan Van Schoonhoven, writer for Rebecca Joshua Okwaci of Sudan, conducted research in Oaxaca, Mexico before completing her graduate degree in conflict transformation from the School of International Training in Vermont. A participant in the Women PeaceMakers Summit and the primary rapporteur of this report, she is currently residing in eastern Oregon.

Maia Woodward, peace writer for Mary Ann Arnado of the Philippines, returned to Cyprus to begin her current post as regional communications officer and Web manager for the Middle East and Eastern European Region (MEER) of World Vision International, a global child-focused Christian relief and development NGO. In her first few months in that post, she commissioned and contributed to a series of focus stories celebrating women in the region working locally for World Vision, as working with Arnado had "catapulted her interest" in the people who work behind the scenes. Woodward, in her new post, also immediately began investigating whether the organization was undertaking any peacebuilding projects in this extremely volatile region of the world. With this obvious interest in and promotion of peacebuilding and a "Building Peace" Web feature for Universal Peace Day in 2007 (http://meero.worldvision.org/sf_building_peace.php), Woodward was nominated to the leadership team for MEER Peacenet and invited to apply for the newly created position of regional peacenet coordinator.



Batanda and Gbaya-Kanga, peace writers from 2006 and 2005



Van Schoonhoven reporting on the 2007 summit



Woodward writing in the peace writer office

Transforming Conflict through Media

Sun & Moon Vision Productions (SMVP) believes that a more equitable distribution of media and communication technologies is a critical step toward social and economic justice and urges the participation of women peacemakers in the production of media as an effective peacebuilding tool.

Since 2003, SMVP has partnered with the IPJ to produce the Women PeaceMakers Documentary Series. These films educate, inspire change and advance a humanitarian vision. The women featured in the films are different ages, from different religions and have different approaches to solving the challenges they encounter. Their stories are personal but the obstacles they tackle are universal. Tracing the women's personal stories of peacemaking, courage and hope, the documentaries also weave in an analysis of the multiple ways women contribute to creating a safer world.



Rebecca and Kathy Sangha

The Women PeaceMakers Documentary Series can be shown in the classroom and the living room; it provides extensive benefits for the community and academia (locally and abroad) with a re-usable and long-lasting tool for education. One viewer reflected, "The film gave a very accurate picture of the struggle women face in the worldwide peace movement. The four women's empowering voices give one a feeling that everyone can make a difference."

To enhance their messages for peace, in 2007 SMVP donated a digital video camera and a media toolkit to each of the IPJ Women PeaceMakers at the summit (see "Media as a Tool for Peacebuilding" panel in Chapter 2). The camera and toolkit of resources specific to media use in conflict resolution and peacemaking will support the peacemakers' efforts in the field and contribute to the success of the documentary series.

The films and supporting materials, including a study guide to accompany the 2004 film "Leading the Way to Peace," are available on the SMVP Web site: www.sunandmoonvision.org.

- "Women ... Making Peace, Seeking Justice" (13 min.): Documentary short featuring the 2003 Women PeaceMakers from Israel, Korea, Kyrgyzstan and Somalia.
- "Leading the Way to Peace" (65 min.): Feature-length documentary featuring the 2004 Women PeaceMakers from Guatemala, Pakistan, Sierra Leone and Sri Lanka.
- "Reversing the Ripples of War" (21 min.): Documentary short featuring the 2005 Women PeaceMakers from Cambodia, the Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe.
- Documentary film of the 2006 Women PeaceMakers Program to be released in Fall 2008, featuring women from Afghanistan, Kosovo, Serbia and Sudan.
- Documentary film of the 2007 Women PeaceMakers Program to be released in early 2009, featuring women from Cameroon, Indonesia, Palestine and South Ossetia.

"'Leading the Way to Peace' was a great success in portraying the courage and valor that these four women have and refuse to give up in the face of adversity. All these women peacemakers seem to put racial, ethnic and religious stereotypes and difficulties away in order to fight for a greater cause, to reconcile and educate women." – Viewer

"Without women's equal participation and full involvement in peace processes, there will be neither justice nor development. Nor will women be protected from the violence and suffering unleashed during conflict. 'Leading the Way to Peace' tells a remarkable story of four women struggling to make peace in their countries. I would strongly recommend it to all interested in inclusive peacebuilding."
- Noeleen Heyzer, Executive Director, UNIFEM

Women, War and Peace: Advancing an Agenda of Inclusion

"We have no better advocates and no better friends than the men who are committed to gender equality."

– Alma Viviana Pérez

The Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series (DLS) is a forum for high-level national and international leaders and policymakers to share their knowledge and perspectives on issues related to peace and justice. Designed to broaden understanding and thinking about how to prevent and resolve conflict and promote peace with justice, the series is made possible by a generous endowment from the late Joan B. Kroc.

Over the years DLS speakers have participated in and contributed to the Women PeaceMakers public events. Their engagement gives legitimacy to and focuses international attention on the efforts of the Women PeaceMakers; moreover, the high-level leaders often return to their work at the United Nations, national government or international NGOs with new knowledge and information from the frontlines.



Irene Santiago

"The times made me and chose me as a leader," shared Noeleen Heyzer, director of the U.N. Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) at the time of her lecture in 2004. Growing up in the margins, she realized that "the reality of violence as a tool of agency has to be broken." Heyzer suggested that to overcome the complex global problems facing humanity in the 21st century, new approaches and new alliances are required. "I think we somehow have to link the people into a community of change and a community of support." One of the key linkages – between men and women – is essential to support a new kind of leadership, one that "looks at common humanity and invests in the international community because we have only one world."⁴⁹



Alma Viviana Pérez

In 2006, to launch the international working conference "Who's Making Policy? What Difference Does it Make?", a panel with representatives from Africa, Asia and Latin America discussed the importance of gender inclusion in peacemaking. Emphasizing the partnership between men and women, Irene Santiago stated, "It will have to be men and women steeped in the notions of gender equality, human rights and social justice. If you don't have those, what kind of leader are you, no matter what your gender is?" Politics is power. Santiago called on leaders to re-conceptualize their power as the "potency to act for what is good ... [and] to create an atmosphere of hope." This sense of informed leadership was echoed in Miria Matembe's presentation. "We need the younger generation to be motivated ... to really challenge our young people, both men and women,

to come up and take up the mantle." To further cultivate that sense of inclusive hope, Alma Viviana Pérez concluded by reminding the audience, "We have no better advocates and no better friends than the men who are committed to gender equality."⁵⁰

Reflecting on the stories shared by the Women PeaceMakers at the 2007 Summit, Priscilla Hayner, co-founder of the International Center for Transitional Justice, stated, "I was struck first by how broad the work extends when one is looking at building a peace process, that it's important not to focus too narrowly on the formalized peace process and the peace negotiations. ... I think the ingenuity and the tactics that have been used or strategies that have been considered by the various women who attended were very useful to me in recognizing the different levels at which this activity will be going on and really needs to be going on."⁵¹ Lt. Gen.



Distinguished Lecture Series fills the Peace & Justice Theatre

Joseph Olorungbon Owonibi also responded directly to the women's concerns of peacekeeper abuse in conflict settings. He described how the U.N. Secretary-General's zero-tolerance policy for sexual abuse and exploitation is implemented in the field: "We carry out induction training and awareness, and we also try to check if [the troops] all have copies of this in the language they can understand."⁵² These speakers highlighted gender concerns and inclusion in conflict resolution, peacekeeping operations and long-term peacebuilding efforts such as reconciliation and accountability for war crimes, particularly gender-based human rights violations.



Lt. Gen. Joseph Owonibi

Comprehensive and inclusive approaches are necessary to mitigate and resolve the violence that rages across the global. The work and insight of the DLS speakers who have joined the WPM forums reflect the growing awareness of and increasing ability to address gender concerns in securing peace.

The DLS booklets, including interviews with the speakers as well as transcripts from the lecture and a list of related resources, and video clips from the lectures can be found at: <http://peace.sandiego.edu/programs/lectures.html>.

- Noeleen Heyzer - *Women, War and Peace: Mobilizing for Security and Justice in the 21st Century*
- Miria Matembe, Alma Viviana Pérez and Irene Santiago - *Women, War and Peace: Politics in Peacebuilding*
- Priscilla Hayner and Lt. Gen. Joseph Olorungbon Owonibi - *International Strides for Inclusive Peacebuilding* [interviews only]

Expanding a Community of Scholars and Practitioners

*"The conference gave us a platform where we were able to discuss, draw joint strategies and build linkages."
- Conference delegate*

At the request of the Fred J. Hansen Foundation, the IPJ initiated a series of international working conferences and public forums which linked the WPM Program with a wider community of those engaged in peace and security processes. In these settings, the Women PeaceMakers thrived; the USD and San Diego communities were inspired. Reflecting on his participation in one of these conferences and as a scholar in residence at USD, Richard Goldstone, former Justice of the Constitutional Court in South Africa, wrote: "The programs demonstrate the respect for human dignity that lies at the very heart of human rights. ... Students and the broader community from both the United States and abroad reap huge benefits."

Operationalizing U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325



USD Masters in Peace and Justice students network with Thorpe

In 2004, on the fourth anniversary of U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325, the IPJ and UNIFEM co-convoked an international working conference to explore the implementation of this revolutionary document. Intentionally bringing together scholars, practitioners, political-influentials, NGOs and grassroots leaders working with the United Nations, national governments and international humanitarian agencies, the conference panels and working sessions examined a series of topics from early warning/conflict prevention to creating a Rapid Response Unit, from gender issues in peace support operations to addressing the gap between demobilization and reconstruction.

The relationships fostered during the three-day event have endured and many of the ideas developed during the IPJ conference have been addressed and implemented in the field.

"The best practices shared were really wonderful and will help guide us to operationalize U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 in our home countries," a conference delegate wrote. "The conference also gave us a platform where we were able to discuss, draw joint strategies and build linkages with the people working in the same area. For example, the members of the ad hoc working session, 'Women in Peace Negotiations,' have developed virtual linkages and electronic communication among themselves, exchanged documents and frameworks, and updated each other about the future programs in their respective countries. This is no doubt a great achievement of the conference."

Global Women's Court of Accountability

When far-reaching war crimes and crimes against humanity exist, people of conscience have a solemn responsibility to inquire into the nature and scope of these acts and to seek justice on behalf of victims. The Global Women's Court of Accountability was a collective act to acknowledge the profound depth and cost of human rights abuses against women in conflict, and an examination of the international laws and tools available



Richard Goldstone poses question to human rights defender



Judges consider testimonies from around the world

to achieve justice. “Women’s Courts” are an increasingly frequent phenomenon in the global South, yet extremely rare in the global North. “Courts of Women are a new political space,” declares El Taller, an international NGO which organized 18 such courts in the global South. El Taller was one of the dozens of local and global partners which expressed support and solidarity for the IPJ event – the first global public hearing of its kind in North America.

Women survivors of war crimes, witnesses and peacemakers from Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Burundi, Iraq, Nigeria, the

Philippines, Sri Lanka, Tunisia, Uganda and Zimbabwe came together to testify before a U.S. audience and a distinguished panel of judges headed by Richard Goldstone, chief prosecutor in the Rwanda and former Yugoslavia tribunals, and Fatou Bensouda, deputy prosecutor of the International Criminal Court. Although accustomed to hearing such searing testimonies on a regular basis, the judges were deeply affected by the event. “The testimonies were humbling and powerful. I have truly learned from this process and I will not forget it,” said Bensouda. Goldstone spoke on behalf of the panel of judges and “acknowledged the courage of the survivors who came and testified and added their voices to the proceedings before the Global Women’s Court of Accountability. ... This sort of event hones our sensitivity for these issues and makes even greater activists of us all.”

“
I am here today to testify before the five of you in the hope that by doing so I am contributing, even if it is in a very, very tiny manner, to the truth to be known and to justice to be done for the relatives of ‘the disappeared,’ not only in Guatemala but also throughout Latin America and other countries in the world where disappearances have become a common practice.”⁵³
 – Adriana Bartow

Who’s Making Policy? What Difference Does It Make?

Building on previous successes, in 2006 the IPJ convened “Who’s Making Policy? What Difference Does It Make?”, an international working conference held amid escalating militarism, new and revived extremisms, failed economic policies and deepening global governance crises. The IPJ partnered with organizations from diverse sectors which influence human security, including the Boston Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights; Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces; Heinrich Böell Foundation; Institute for Women’s Policy Research; and UNIFEM.



Panelists respond to audience questions

Women and men – scholars, practitioners and students – came together and were asked how to further cultivate the gender-inclusive successes they are observing, as well as how to overcome the roadblocks they are encountering. The intent was to examine inclusion more closely and across a wider range



Student delegates listen to experts

of powerbrokers. To deepen the impact of the examination of gender inclusion in decision making, a new generation of potential leaders participated. Delegates represented each of USD's graduate schools – business, education, law, nursing, peace and justice studies – and undergraduates from neighboring universities also attended. Thus, in addition to the working sessions, a series of skill and knowledge-building sessions provided student delegates the opportunity to directly engage with and learn from one another and international practitioners and experts to build cross-sector networks and alliances.

Is Peace Possible? A Summit of Peacemakers on Today's Frontlines

*"[Acayo and Taylor] motivated my students to shift attention to the global experiences of women who are working to overcome violence in our communities."
- Maria Pilar Aquino*

The proceedings of the fifth anniversary summit are described in detail in Chapter 2; however, the journey of one peacemaker depicts the complex and intricate collaboration involved in convening this forum. Sister Pauline Acayo, Woman PeaceMaker in 2005, participated in the week-long summit with the support of her organization, Catholic Relief Services (CRS). Following the summit, Acayo stayed to work with William Headley, dean of the new Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies and former counselor to the president of CRS, to discuss future peacebuilding work with CRS members throughout the U.S. While on campus, Acayo was a guest lecturer with Laura Taylor, IPJ program officer, in two undergraduate theology courses. Using clips from "Reversing the Ripples of War," they facilitated discussions on ethical norms and global justice considerations as illuminated by the conflict in northern Uganda.

Maria Pilar Aquino, USD professor, shared, "The students in both sections of my class 'Christian Social Ethics' were deeply impacted by your depth and sensitivity in addressing issues of social conflict and peacebuilding, with special focus on the intervention of women peacemakers. Your presence in the classroom effectively showed the worthiness of thinking about those issues, and it also motivated my students to shift attention to the global experiences of women who are working to overcome violence in our communities." Working with international NGOs, participating in expert consultations and teaching classes using the *Women PeaceMakers Documentary Series*, Acayo's experience demonstrates the collaborative strength and potential of the Women PeaceMakers Program.



Acayo discusses social ethical issues with USD undergraduate students

Connecting and Expanding: The Women PeaceMakers Global Network

Globalization and technological advances are rapidly linking resources, ideas and markets; yet personal connections remain at the heart of transformational change. The impact of the Women PeaceMakers Program is multiplied through these personal and professional relationships. Reflecting on five years, the seeds of collective change have been sown, and despite devastating violence – even in the face of it – the interactions among the peacemakers and those they met during their residency at the institute have grown and flourished.

As documented throughout Chapter 3, partnerships are key to achieving peace. Collaboration with institutions, such as the United Nations, and individuals like the Distinguished Lecturers, weaves a complex global web. The Women PeaceMakers are an essential part of the network of IPJ global experts, training, educating and inspiring a new generation of peacemakers. An examination of the intersection of the peacemakers and other IPJ and USD initiatives reveals the power of this network. Through their collective work, lives are changed for the better, systems of oppression are challenged, and hope dares to blossom.

“They sensed, felt and saw that I was there not just for them but with them, and it made all the difference!” - Alix Valenti

Former Intern Joins PeaceMaker in the Field

Alix Valenti, a 2005 IPJ intern, traveled to Mindanao, the Philippines, in 2006 to assist IPJ Woman PeaceMaker Mary Ann Arnado in monitoring a tenuous ceasefire between the Moro Islamic Liberation Front and the Armed Forces of the Philippines. The experience was a completely different type of education for Valenti, who writes, “In the first few missions I was trying to scan my surroundings, trying to figure out who these people were and how I could get to know them. This time I did not think – I talked, acted and laughed as though we had known each other for a long time. I did my job on the field as though there was no one else there with me, oblivious to other people’s looks, unaware of myself, just being a peacemaker. And it worked! ... They sensed, felt and saw that I was there not just for them but with them, and it made all the difference!”⁵⁴



Valenti and Arnado monitor ceasefire

Linking Sri Lankan and Nepali Experiences

Drawing on relevant similarities to the conflict in Nepal,⁵⁵ WPM Shreen Abdul Saroor (2004) contextualized the war in Sri Lanka in a Jan. 2006 workshop of the IPJ Nepal Project.⁵⁶ Displacement, a diminished sense of community, alienation and vilification of “the other,” negative impact on the economy and development, and gender-based violence were the major issues Saroor addressed. She explained the growth of the women’s movement in Sri Lanka and presented key lessons learned that might translate to the Nepali context and fortify existing efforts for peace.

After this cross-pollination of ideas and experiences, participants – 60 women from civil society, NGOs, and political, media, academic and legal spheres – were given the opportunity to apply their own skills and incorporate the new information presented in an interactive session, facilitated by Saroor and the IPJ Nepal Project team, on planning, cooperation and collaboration. As a group, participants prioritized four key concerns: 1) stable politics and social inclusion, 2) domestic violence, 3) internally displaced persons, and 4) peace processes and conflict transformation.



Saroor networks with Nepali participants

Saroor's experience inspired; her perspectives informed new methods for participants to work for peace with justice in Nepal. Unity amid diversity, respect for and protection of vulnerable populations, the promotion of women in decision making, and strengthening and leveraging grassroots efforts through coalition building were key concepts and best practices the participants gathered. Concluding the workshop, a participant reiterated the importance of this work: "Today's aggressors are often yesterday's victims. We need to recognize our common humanity and we must open ourselves to coexist and to take risks with one another."

“
We need to recognize our common humanity and we must open ourselves to coexist and to take risks with one another.”
 ”
 – *Nepal Project participant*

Documentary Films: Empowering Grassroots Actors

"[It is] courageous of those women that they did such work and it really inspires us to implement it into our community, our country, our world." – Viewer

The English-language version of "Reversing the Ripples of War" debuted internationally in April 2007. The documentary of the 2005 IPJ Women PeaceMakers, like its predecessor "Leading the Way to Peace," will soon be translated into Nepali.⁵⁷ The examples from Cambodia, the Philippines, Uganda and Zimbabwe "aided by giving more knowledge and created the nexus between national and international issues." After viewing the film, one participant stated: "We can really feel like we are not the only country [that] is tackling this problem and it help[s] to empower us." Another reiterated, "[The film] was really very inspiring and [it is] courageous of those women that they did such work and it really inspires us to implement it into our community, our country, our world."



Nepali youth speaks about weapons in his village

This response was echoed by participants in the Nov. 2007 regional forum for rural civil society representatives. A young man from Devdaha, a rural area of Nepal, was deeply moved by how the film depicted the challenges to disarmament in Cambodia. "In our country the arms are [also] not well managed. ... After [a] battle there were arms and ammunition that were laying stray ... and even a bomb that looked like it was dropped from a helicopter. What we did was report it to the administration, but they did nothing about it. Three kids from a village went out and they got into that bomb. One kid died on the spot. One was seriously injured. So what this shows is that wherever there is war or a battle takes place that it is important that we manage the arms." The film catalyzed rich discussion about security challenges, as well as how to confront these obstacles. There is "suffering and struggling all over the world and we should not be discouraged, we should be empowered."

Policy and Practice: The IPJ Uganda Project⁵⁸

Halfway across the globe, Sister Pauline Acayo connected with the institute's Uganda Project.⁵⁹ Joyce Neu, IPJ executive director, and Emiko Noma, peace writer for Acayo in 2005, traveled under the auspices of the IPJ Uganda Project to observe the national elections in Feb. 2006 and continue dialogues with Uganda counterparts. They joined Acayo in Gulu, one of the hardest hit districts by the war. "With Uganda's past history of violence, people were nervous about the possibilities for violence to erupt."⁶⁰ With the hard work and vigilance of 20,000 local Ugandan observers and the international community, election day passed quietly with few incidents, "with many polling stations, such as the one they observed, modeling great grassroots support for and vigilance over the electoral process."



Neu and Noma receive election credentials

While in Gulu, Neu and Noma recorded video footage of Acayo's work in the IDP camps, which was incorporated in the documentary "Reversing the Ripples of War." They also interviewed leading government officials on the dynamics and dilemmas of pursuing peace and justice simultaneously, and met with representatives of civil society organizations such as World Vision, which works to rehabilitate former child soldiers, and the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative. The high-level negotiation support provided by the IPJ Uganda Project since its inception was strengthened and expanded by Acayo's grassroots networks. These relationships are key, Neu notes, when confronting challenges to development and democracy. Connecting civil society with the government is a "critical component of long-term durable peace."

Writing for Social Justice

Sarah Cross, peace writer in 2004 for Luz Méndez of Guatemala, continues to use creative writing as a tool for social justice. In 2006, she published an article in collaboration with another WPM, Shreen Abdul Saroor. "An Internally Displaced Person Returns Home,"⁶¹ recounts Saroor's journey of forcible displacement and her return home 15 years later.⁶²

Despite her family's protests – "they think our home is in enemy territory, and who would want to be connected to one's enemy?" – Saroor set out for her village in the north. While she sought "so many cheerful memories," and a house that "preserves a feeling of belonging," she found the "years of negligence and war have dressed [the house] with scars." Feelings of "sorrow, loss, ... atrocities and distrust" came flooding back, along with the "sharp memories of war." The powerful descriptions of Saroor's experience are a product of the connection and trust that are integral to the Women PeaceMakers global network. Cross and Saroor's partnership demonstrates the many ways the program continues to give a voice to survivors of conflict and amplifies how they articulate peace in the aftermath of violence.

These vignettes depict the significant impact of the Women PeaceMakers Program: the lasting relationships among peacemakers, writers, conference participants, collaborating partners, IPJ staff and interns – seeded during their time on campus – continue to thrive.

While an annual program, as articulated during the private working sessions during the 2007 summit, “We look at this as a permanent community of women.” “Once you are a Woman PeaceMaker, you are always a Woman PeaceMaker,” and, as such, the global network constantly, and vibrantly, grows and expands.

Impact on an Individual
Shelley Lyford Valentine
Executive Director, Gary and Mary West Foundation

“Not a day passes that I do not think of the women’s courage to build a better tomorrow.”
- Shelley Lyford Valentine

When I was hired in May 2003 to become the first Women PeaceMakers program officer at the IPJ, I was not aware that my life would forever change through my interaction with peacemakers from various parts of the world. For the first three years of the program, I had the honor and privilege to work and become friends with 12 extraordinary women who devote their lives to preserving humanity through their work for human rights, peacemaking and social justice.

I developed bonds with the peacemakers and friendships that will last for years. Although I no longer am the program officer, not a day passes that I do not think of the women’s courage to build a better tomorrow. These 12 women, all different ages and nationalities, some with high school diplomas and others with doctoral degrees, made a decision at some point in their lives to forge a path of peace and justice. For many, this path was not clear-cut, often obstructed by devastation, threats and sorrow; however, each woman has persevered and made the path more accessible for others to travel.

When my resolve is challenged I often consider the hurdles the first 12 women of the Women PeaceMakers Program overcame. I am spurred on by their perseverance. Even though they are thousands of miles from Southern California, I keep their wisdom and strength close to heart.

On the fifth anniversary of the program, it is with sincere gratitude that I personally thank the Fred J. Hansen Foundation for funding this magnificent program that brings global peacemakers to San Diego. I commend the vision and leadership of Dee Aker who initiated the program. Further, I show great appreciation to the entire IPJ staff who works throughout the year to foster peace, cultivate justice and make the world a safer place.



Lyford Valentine with Salamat and Aker in 2004

Appendices



Summit Acknowledgements

The summit would not have been possible without the dedication and creativity of the organizing committee: Dee Aker, Karla Alvarez, Erika Lopez, Emiko Noma and Laura Taylor.

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This summit was made possible by the generous support of the **Fred J. Hansen Foundation**, which sponsors the Women PeaceMakers Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice.

Acronyms

AFP	Armed Forces of the Philippines
AIHRC	Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission
ALDP	Alliance for Democracy in Papua
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
DLS	Distinguished Lecture Series
DPKO	Department of Peacekeeping Operations
ECOMOG	Economic Community Monitoring Group
ESL	English as a Second Language
FAWE-SL	Forum for African Women Educationalists – Sierra Leone
FERO	Family Economy Rehabilitation Organization
FTI	Foundation for Tolerance International
IDP In	ternally Displaced Person
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IID	Initiatives for International Dialogue
IPJ	Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
IRIN	Integrated Regional Information Networks
IWC	International Women’s Commission for a Just and Sustainable Palestinian-Israeli Peace
JNA	Yugoslav People’s Army
KLA	Kosovo Liberation Army
LRA	Lord’s Resistance Army
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam
MEER	Middle East and Eastern European Region (World Vision)
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
MOWOCUDA	Moghamo Women’s Cultural and Development Association of Cameroon
MPC	Mindanao Peoples Caucus
MWDF	Mannar Women’s Development Federation
MWfHRD	Mannar Women for Human Rights and Democracy
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OPM	Free Papua Movement
PGT G	uatemalan Labor Party
PIPPFD	Pakistan-India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy
PNA	Palestinian National Authority
RUF	Revolutionary United Front
SAP-Nepal	South Asia Partnerships-Nepal
SASA Net	South Asia Small Arms Network
SEA	Sexual Exploitation and Abuse
SMVP	Sun & Moon Vision Productions
SOLES	School of Leadership and Education Sciences
SPLM/A	Sudan People’s Liberation Movement/Army
SRSG	Special Representative of the Secretary-General
SuWEP	Sudanese Women’s Empowerment for Peace
SWAY	Survey of War Affected Youth
SWVP	Sudanese Women’s Voice for Peace
UIC	Union of Islamic Courts
UN	United Nations

UNAMG	National Union of Guatemalan Women
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women
UNMIL	United Nations Mission in Liberia
UNSC 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325
URNG	Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity
US U	United States
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	University of San Diego
WAD	Women Action for Development
WPM	Women PeaceMakers
ZESN	Zimbabwe Election Support Network

ENDNOTES

- 1 In NGO literature prior to 2006, the common estimate recited was between 20,000 and 30,000 abducted children. A 2006 investigation by the Survey of War Affected Youth (SWAY), however, estimated the number of abductees at 66,000; this includes youth abducted for any length of time. As noted in a recent SWAY report, the highest estimate by a research team put the number at 80,000. <http://www.sway-uganda.org/SWAY.ResearchBrief.Reintegration.pdf>
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- 9 Shukrije's nickname is Shuki.
- 10 The online publication of Huot's narrative, written by Ozlem Ezer, is forthcoming.
- 11 The online publication of Kadyrova's narrative, written by Yasmin Gatal-Hashimoto, is forthcoming.
- 12 Farrell, Heather. "Cradled in Her Arms: Stories of the Life and Work of Palwasha Kakar of Afghanistan." Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. <http://peace.sandiego.edu/pdf/WPMNarratives/PalwashaKakar.pdf>
- 13 *Shura* is an Arabic word meaning "consultation." In this context, it refers to a village council of decision makers.
- 14 Sukorod is a district in the province of Jalalabad.
- 15 Noma, Emiko. "Out of the Cages: A Narrative of the Life and Work of Svetlana Kijevčanin of Serbia." Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. <http://peace.sandiego.edu/pdf/WPMNarratives/SvetlanaKijevcanin.pdf>
- 16 Ceca is short for Svetlana.
- 17 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, "Cognition through Games: A Handbook for Workshops for Children, 7 to 14 years old," <http://www.unhcr.org/protect/PROTECTION/3b84c4fa9.pdf>
- 18 The Serbian title is also translated "Learning through Play."
- 19 Meeks, Allison. Untitled. Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Online publication forthcoming.

- 20 Quotation taken from “North-South Joint Declaration” on the Web site of the People’s Korea, http://www1.korea-np.co.jp/pk/142th_issue/2000061501.htm
- 21 Quotations taken from “Report on North and South Korean Women’s Reunification Rally,” on the Web site of Women Making Peace: www.peacewomen.or.kr/english
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 “Report of the Commission for Historical Clarification.” <http://shr.aas.org/guatemala/ceh/report/english/toc.html>
- 24 Guatemala Human Rights Commission. <http://www.ghrc-usa.org/Programs/ForWomensRighttoLive/ThreethousandandCounting,AReportonViolenceAgainstWomeninGuatemala.pdf>
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- 27 The last three protocols were focused on the issues of power-sharing, the future of the Abyei region, and the future status of the Nuba Mountains and southern Blue Nile areas. The first three protocols signed earlier were the Machakos Protocol of July 2002, which focused on the issues surrounding the south’s right to self-determination, the Security Protocol signed in Sept. 2003, and the Wealth-sharing Protocol signed in Jan. 2004.
- 28 Lam Akol, Rebecca’s husband, was at the time a high-ranking official in the SPLM/A.
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- 30 Shabab-e-Milli is the youth wing of the Jamaat-e-Islami, an Islamist political party in Pakistan.
- 31 Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre, “Civilians in the Way of Conflict: Displaced People in Sri Lanka,” (Dec. 14, 2007), [http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/\(httpCountries\)/0BB9CBD990450F5F802570A7004C148F?OpenDocument](http://www.internal-displacement.org/8025708F004CE90B/(httpCountries)/0BB9CBD990450F5F802570A7004C148F?OpenDocument)
- 32 Chung, Donna. “Pioneering the Restoration of Peace: A Narrative of the Life and Work of Shreen Abdul Saroor of Sri Lanka.” Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. <http://peace.sandiego.edu/pdf/WPMNarratives/ShreenAbdulSaroor.pdf>
- 33 Ganga, a Tamil woman, co-founded MWDF with Shreen.
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- 35 International Crisis Group, “Indonesian Papua: A Local Perspective on the Conflict,” Asia Briefing No. 66 (2007), <http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?l=1&id=4945>
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- 37 The online publication of Siregar’s narrative, written by Stelet Kim, is forthcoming.

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39 The online publication of Tenjoh-Okwen's narrative is forthcoming.

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41 Thorpe's statement at the U.N. Special Session on Children, 2002. <http://www.un.org/ga/children/fawe.htm>

42 Ibid.

43 The online publication of Yanovskaya's narrative, written by Devon Haynie, is forthcoming.

44 For contextual information on the countries and conflicts discussed in the following summaries, please refer to In Focus boxes in Chapter 1.

45 The Platform of Action was developed at the U.N. Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China in 1995.

46 The authors of *The Faith Club* were in San Diego to speak at a special event of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, but due to the fires, were unable to present. They attended part of the Women PeaceMakers Summit and Idliby joined the opening panel as an official discussant.

47 Owonibi and Hayner attended the Women PeaceMakers Summit both as discussants and in conjunction with the Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series. The summary of their lecture remarks as well as their biographies appear later in the report. Interviews of Owonibi and Hayner conducted by IPJ staff can be found online at <http://peace.sandiego.edu>.

48 Luz Méndez was a 2004 Woman PeaceMaker and one of the only women at the negotiating table during the Guatemalan peace process in the 1990s. See Chapter I for more information on Méndez.

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52 "Interview with Lt. Gen. Joseph Olorunbon Owonibi." Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. (2007). <http://peace.sandiego.edu/events/DLS/PDF/10-23-07Owonibi-NeulInterview.pdf>

53 Adriana Portillo-Bartow, an advocate for human rights and a survivor of the war in Guatemala, is the deputy director of Amnesty International's Midwest Regional Office. She joined with Rigoberta Menchú Tum in her lawsuit against several high-ranking army and Guatemalan government officials for crimes committed during the war, including genocide and torture. Bartow was a speaker at the Global Women's Court of Accountability.

54 http://peace.sandiego.edu/reports/IPJ_Compass/IPJ_Newsletter2a.pdf

55 See Chapter 1 for In Focus box.

56 In 2007, the IPJ began its sixth year of work with Nepali civil and political groups. During 2005 and 2006, the IPJ deepened its work in-country through the project, "Building Constituencies for Peace and Democratic Development in Nepal," funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). The 15-month project expanded upon the IPJ's work with political party leadership and policymakers and women representing political parties, civil society, marginalized groups and victims, to include two additional Nepali constituencies: young adults entering politics and civil society service, and disenfranchised or isolated conflict-affected communities. The project was intended to prepare all four of these constituencies for greater participation in peacebuilding and democratic processes. It encouraged greater collaboration and understanding among these groups. The IPJ remains committed to working with all parties in Nepal. For more information visit: <http://peace.sandiego.edu/programs/nepal.html>

57 Interest has been expressed in translating the *Women PeaceMakers Documentary Series* into Spanish and Arabic; please see the SMVP Web site for further details. For more information on SMVP in this report, see Chapter 3: "Transforming Conflict through Media."

58 In early 2004, the institute became involved in the peace process to end the war in northern Uganda. Acting as a consultant to a USAID-sponsored project, as well as conducting quiet, unofficial peace processes, the IPJ maintains close contact with governmental and NGO officials, members of the international diplomatic community and people in northern Uganda who seek to promote and facilitate peace talks between the LRA and the government. For more information visit: <http://peace.sandiego.edu/programs/uganda.html>

59 See Chapter 1 for In Focus box.

60 Neu, Joyce. "Turning a blind eye to democracy and displacement: Uganda on the road to a dead end?" Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. <http://peace.sandiego.edu/pdf/Election%20op%20ed%202-06.pdf>

61 Cross and Saroor's article can be found in *Clamor* 37 (Summer 2006): 32-4.

62 See Chapter 1 for In Focus box.



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