

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies
University of San Diego



Final Report

BREAKING BARRIERS:

What it will take to achieve

**SECURITY
JUSTICE
PEACE**

**An international conference of peacebuilders held in conjunction with
the 10th anniversary of the Women PeaceMakers Program**



The Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), at the University of San Diego's Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, is dedicated to fostering peace, cultivating justice and creating a safer world. Since 2000, the IPJ has worked to build peace with justice by strengthening women peacemakers, youth leaders and human rights defenders, and developing innovative approaches to peacebuilding.

The NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security advocates for the equal and full participation of women in all efforts to create and maintain international peace and security.



It is the mission of Nobel Women's Initiative to work together as women Nobel Peace Prize Laureates to use the visibility and prestige of the Nobel prize to promote, spotlight and amplify the work of women's rights activists, researchers and organizations worldwide addressing the root causes of violence.

Grounded in the vision of equality enshrined in the U.N. Charter, UN Women works for the elimination of discrimination against women and girls, the empowerment of women, and the achievement of equality between women and men.

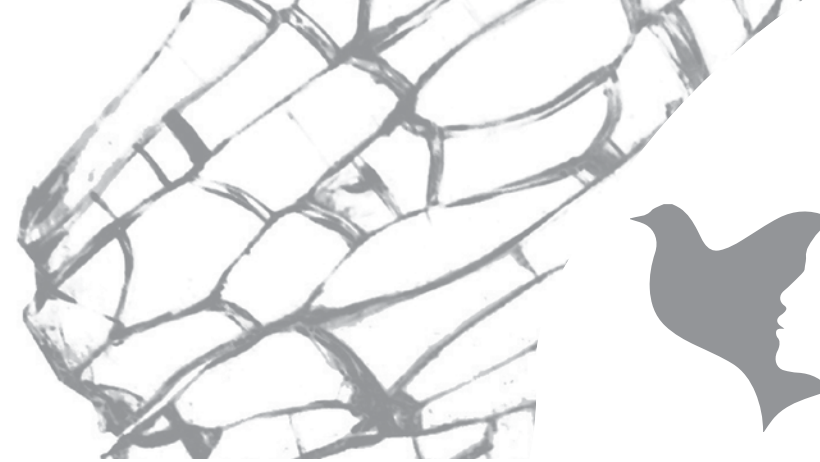


The Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice is an international women's human rights organization that advocates for gender justice through the International Criminal Court (ICC) and through domestic mechanisms, including peace negotiations and justice processes.

The mission of the Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) is to advance communication and cooperation among and between the women of the world in order to protect human rights, facilitate sustainable development and promote peace.



World Pulse is an action media network powered by women from 190 countries. Our mission is to lift and unite women's voices to accelerate their impact for the world.



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BREAKING BARRIERS

Table of Contents

2 Introduction

3 SECTION I: Security

4 / Panel Discussion

6 / Working Session Summaries

10 / Testimonies on Security

15 SECTION II: Justice

16 / Panel Discussion

19 / Working Session Summaries

21 / Testimonies on Justice

24 SECTION III: Peacebuilding

25 / Panel Discussion

27 / Working Session Summaries

29 / Testimony on Peacebuilding

32 SECTION IV: Distinguished Speakers Synthesize Security, Justice, Peacebuilding

35 SECTION V: Final Statement and Recommendations

38 SECTION VI: Appendices

38 / Biographies of Speakers

41 / Biographies of Women PeaceMakers

45 / Biographies of Conference Staff

46 / List of Delegates



The Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ) welcomed over 150 delegates from 48 countries to “Breaking Barriers,” our fifth international working conference on advancing security, justice and peace, held this year in conjunction with the 10th anniversary of the Women PeaceMakers Program at the University of San Diego.

In addition to the 40 peacemakers whose lives and stories have been documented at the IPJ, we salute the vital partners who joined us. Our co-conveners’ work relentlessly confronts legacies of intolerance, conflict, violence against women and the realities of impunity, misogyny and the political and economic systems that repudiate human rights and undermine security and justice. We believe everyone should be able to live without fear.

In 2013, the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women will be focused on the violations of human rights that affect women in every country. This working conference prepared recommendations (p.35) relevant to the United Nations, states, international organizations and peacebuilders that promote the awareness and movement needed to end violence and discriminatory practices against women — in all the forms they manifest, from extremism to patriarchy. Our purpose together was not simply to expose barriers that prevent gender justice, but also to identify, clarify, reaffirm and recommend new and relevant building

blocks we know can achieve a more just, secure world.

These policy recommendations demonstrate both our capacity and our responsibility to protect communities, to prevent the multiple attacks on freedom of thought and conscience, and to advance participation of women in governing new democracies. We must keep the tide of democratic values from retreating or allowing women’s rights to be swept away while old or new structures of “security” exclude justice for half their citizens. We must work together to ensure gender justice and security are founded in well-supported, funded, organized movements that link women from the grassroots all the way through global halls of power.

Within these pages you will find these policy recommendations as well as summaries of the three-day conference. Divided by topic — security, justice, peace — the summaries are complemented by case studies on good practices, skills building resources, quotations from Distinguished Lecturer Asma Jahangir, and testimonies from other human rights defenders and grassroots peacebuilders — the voices of women themselves. In keeping with the objective of the Women PeaceMakers Program, and in celebration of the decade of testimonies we have documented and collected, we amplify the words and demands of those working tirelessly for security, justice and peace.



Security

“We must help each other by looking at the bigger picture — not just that I am a woman in Pakistan, but I am also a citizen of Pakistan. If your government will support my military ... then I will suffer because of lack of democracy there. Women’s rights cannot be divorced from the overall rights that people enjoy.”
— *Distinguished Lecturer Asma Jahangir*

Panel Discussion

Through personal experiences and analysis, the opening panel of “Breaking Barriers” questioned the definitions and assumptions of security — the first step to overcoming insecurity and building a quality peace. Panelists wove together a balance of optimism and the grim realities of trying to implement a gender-sensitive, human security framework.

“Who defines security?” asked **Nadine Puechguirbal**, senior gender adviser at the **U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations**. How we define security is a choice, a choice that obscures or makes visible inequalities. Security defined as militarism and weapons favors national security, which is blind to abuses and violations of women.

In a film produced by the **Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)**, voices of women confirmed the need for a different approach to security. After the war in Sierra Leone, when asked about insecurity women said, “We’re not living in peace. Insecurity is about poverty and violence against women.” In Afghanistan, women explained, “We can talk about the big war, but peace for us means no domestic violence.” The film highlighted the financial costs of militarized approaches to security. The clip, shown by WILPF’s **Petra Tötterman Andorff**, concluded by asking: “Clean water or bombs? Child care or conflict? Which would you choose? Do you feel more secure? You get what you pay for.”

Human security, however, is people-centered, concerned with both the causes and consequences of organized violence. Prioritizing individual and communal dignity over national sovereignty, human security focuses on issues ranging from gender-based violence to child soldiers, to landmines and small arms, to refugees, to peacebuilding and reconstruction.

Sarah Taylor of the **NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security** explained the group’s strategies to serve as a bridge from the field to the policy table. First, facilitating pre-negotiation briefings between women’s rights activists from conflict areas and U.N. Security Council members informs important decisions on gender-sensitive security. A second advancement has been the progress of documenting women’s involvement in peace negotiations. Taylor noted that new indicators track what types of gender expertise are at the table and how that affects final agreements and their implementation.

Puechguirbal reminded the audience of the gaps in the

availability of sex- and age-disaggregated data in conflict settings. *“If we don’t have these data,” and continue to use language such as “population, groups, community that collapse across men’s and women’s experiences, it’s impossible to highlight discrimination and gaps in the reconstruction process.”* Puechguirbal described this phenomenon using feminist Cynthia Enloe’s terms, explaining, “There is a lot of incentive to be uncurious. ... If you’re not curious about the [gendered] gaps, then you don’t have to address those issues.”

Andorff of WILPF described the organization’s mission and track record; for 90 years it has promoted disarmament, human rights and a women’s peace agenda. “The world is over-armed,” she explained, and we must “prioritize the question of disarmament.” Working to end the proliferation of small arms and light weapons will have a significant impact on women’s security. Recounting a saying from the DRC, “One man with a machete can rape one woman in a village; two men with a machine gun can rape the whole village.” Andorff also linked security concerns addressed by U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 to women’s increased political participation, affirming, “Women’s empowerment is a direct threat to militarism.”

Since 2006, U.N. member states have been working toward an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), and while the negotiations collapsed in July 2012, **Rebecca Gerome** of the **International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)** recounted the successful advocacy to integrate language on gender-based violence into the preamble and core articles of the agreement.

IANSA and WILPF bridged silos in the U.N. system, creating forums where cross-fertilization could take place between groups and interests that normally did not communicate. They organized a side event, bringing together advocates of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and ATT negotiators. When a former French minister from the CEDAW committee heard that her country was skeptical about the need to address gender-based violence, she went over and spoke with the ATT ambassador in private. Five minutes later, France issued a statement: Gender-based violence is a priority concern for France and it must be included in the treaty.

To push for the recognition of the role of gender-based violence in the proliferation of small arms, identifying and channeling the power of interlocutors who can persuade counterparts was an effective strategy employed in the ATT negotiations. Yet, continued advocacy is needed to

overcome continued disbelief regarding the connection between arms transfers and gender-based violence.

Lt. Col. Jesús Ignacio Gil Ruiz, chief of **NATO’s Office on Gender Perspectives**, described recent NATO efforts to include women in uniform in their missions, for example to improve outreach to local Afghan women. Yet he acknowledged the limitations of implementation of 1325 into NATO operations, which it finally did in 2007. He explained that the E.U. and NATO have thick policy manuals, but the documentation of implementation is much thinner.

One recent step toward women’s leadership in NATO occurred recently, in August 2012: Norwegian diplomat Mari Skåre was appointed Special Representative for Women, Peace and Security, the first position of its kind. To complement high-level leadership, another priority is increased education and training for personnel at all levels. Gil Ruiz gave the example of the Allied Command Transformation, which integrated a gender perspective into NATO curriculum and pre-deployment training. Emphasizing partnerships, he advocated, “We need more men working on gender issues, believing in what we are doing” — and the political will to make change.

Throughout the presentations and discussion with the audience, the panelists identified four successful strategies to dismantle persistent obstacles to gender-sensitive security institutions:

- Examine language through a feminist lens to critique assumptions about security.
- Collect sex-disaggregated data in all aspects of peace support operations and post-conflict reconstruction.
- Enhance advocacy through strategic partners in positions of power.
- Increase women’s leadership in political sectors that determine security policies.



Working Session Summaries

Integrating Women's Participation in the Third Pillar of RtoP

Facilitator — Melina Lito, Global Action to Prevent War

First proposed in 2001 and officially accepted by the international community in 2005, the doctrine of the Responsibility to Protect (RtoP) seeks to combat genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. Although states do not always agree on implementation, there is agreement on the foundational pillars, which the U.N. Secretary-General elaborated on in 2009:

- States have a primary responsibility to protect their people from mass atrocities.
- The international community has a responsibility to help states realize their obligations.
- The international community, through the United Nations, can use non-coercive measures to intervene; if these are not successful, it can use non-violent coercive measures; and if none of these are successful, military force.

Gender concerns have not been integrated into the norms of RtoP, explained Lito. RtoP focuses on prevention and protection, calling for timely and decisive responses, and as such, *gender-based violence should be a warning sign that the international community could track and respond to*. Whether a country is at war or not, gender-based violence can be an indicator for the risk of crimes against humanity.

Participants in the working session called for the extension of RtoP to the “gray area between peace and war” and the recognition that “justice and peace are the fundamental grounding for security.” Rather than a switch that is turned on and off, RtoP should trace the patterns of exclusion and violence that are at the root of mass atrocities, as well as plan ahead to provide what is needed to help places rebuild. The integration of civil society and women's perspectives are essential for a holistic and effective RtoP doctrine.



Conference Delegates

Making Security Institutions Work for Women

Facilitator — Sarah Taylor, NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security

This working session recognized the diversity of the concrete and meaningful work on security — broadly defined — advanced by the global women's movement. From 12 countries, participants focused on two areas of success — forging local allies for greater security and the increased use of technology in communication and education on gender security concerns — and two remaining barriers: lack of physical security and access to justice when rights are violated.

Delegates emphasized the importance of bringing women from different communities together to solve collectively their own security issues. In northern Kenya, faced with pastoral violence due to drought, women began networking by identifying the shared needs of their diverse communities. The strength of these women's networks grew and became influential in monitoring the proliferation of arms and working with the government to manage this conflict. In the absence of formal channels of participation, informal networks may be the first step to confront socially entrenched obstacles and demand redress.



Woman PeaceMaker Shukrije Gashi of Kosovo

Women's access to technology and communication tools is also crucial. Media offers exponential potential for communicating grassroots women's concerns. When used effectively, technology can open powerful channels to expand women's voices and advance awareness campaigns. In Nepal, youth activists have formed their own multimedia organization, Today's Youth Asia, to cover peace, development, educational and security issues. Teaching women and youth effective communication skills is particularly important in countries where governments attempt to manipulate or filter information. Technology and mass communication should be utilized for mobilizing groups and demanding accountability for security institutions.

Delegates identified serious concerns regarding the protection of civilians, indigenous populations and grassroots activists worldwide at all phases of conflict. The traditional view of security has forces engaging when mass violence breaks out, prioritizing conflict and post-war settings. *Delegates defined a gendered approach to security that places equal attention on conflict prevention, ensuring women's rights in settings currently overlooked by national governments and international security actors.*

Skills Building

Internews — Speak Up, Speak Out, Speak Safe



Manisha Aryal of Internews, an international nonprofit organization whose mission is to empower local media worldwide, introduced participants to *Speak Up, Speak Out: A Toolkit for Reporting on Human Rights Issues* and *SpeakSafe: A Toolkit for Safer Online and Mobile Practices*.

The human rights media toolkit is an accessible package that can facilitate communication between activists and journalists. It includes accessible language about human rights issues, geared at an audience with a 10th-grade education, and explains the U.N. system by breaking down the functions of different agencies and outlining the key points of the conventions related to human rights and social justice. The toolkit provides media-specific information on conducting gender-sensitive interviews and how to balance transparency with protecting confidentiality of sources.

Facilitator Manisha Aryal

Strategies for overcoming roadblocks to human rights reporting include:

- placing advocates and activists at occasions that will already receive news coverage. Anniversaries of special events or annual days of recognition, such as International Women's Day or International Human Rights Day, are avenues to raise awareness in the mainstream media.
- developing strong relationships between advocates and journalists, and recognizing effective media partners by granting them awards.
- an example in Zimbabwe, when NGOs recorded interviews with influential public figures on CDs and flash drives and delivered those to bus and taxi drivers, thus circumventing the financial barriers to radio production and providing direct access to the population using public transportation. Complementing this urban strategy, in rural areas of Pakistan with limited media reach, health centers have used recorded radio programs as a way to encourage women to visit their facilities.

Practical tips for using technology in human rights reporting include:

- using legal antivirus software that is regularly updated.
- choosing a password that is 22 characters that includes a phrase and a combination of letters and numbers, e.g. HAVING FUN AT IPJ 2012.
- using different passwords for each account.
- not opening email attachments from unknown senders.
- using https:// on websites so that information is encrypted.
- learning how to use cellphones and digital cameras safely.

Visit www.internews.org to download the human rights media toolkit.

Visit <http://speaksafe.internews.org> to read more information on how to store and delete your data.

U.N. Peacekeeping Lessons: How to Better Protect Women and Girls

Facilitator — Nadine Puechguirbal, U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations (DPKO)

The logic of U.N. peacekeeping operations aims to provide protection to women via three channels: physical protection from violence, protective legal environments and participation in peace and political processes. Expanding on the first point, Puechguirbal outlined steps DPKO has taken to prevent sexual violence:

- joint patrols by teams of national police and U.N. peacekeepers to prevent violence;
- ensuring weapon-free zones and markets to facilitate women's access to goods; and,
- quick impact projects that foster women's livelihood and well-being, such as fuel-efficient stoves.

Although well-intentioned, each of these initiatives had unintended consequences that left women vulnerable to sexual assault and intimidation. For example, many women did not feel safe entering markets surrounded by armed uniformed personnel due to past abuse by such actors. In addition, immediately outside the secured perimeter of the market, women faced the same security dilemmas on their journeys home. And, although the new stoves required less firewood, women still ventured into the bush to collect more, selling the excess to make a small profit.



UN peacekeeper in Faradje Haut-Uele District in the north east of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. © Guy Oliver/IRIN

From these experiences, Puechguirbal recommended that peacekeepers consult with more women and incorporate their contributions into security matters, and that more women peacekeepers are needed to serve as role models and foster positive relations with local women.

In the discussion that followed, participants raised several issues. Stabilization policies amid ongoing violence, as in the DRC, are problematic, explained Sylvie Maunga Mbanga, 2008 Woman PeaceMaker. The scope of geographical coverage and the length of peacekeeping missions are limitations in providing protection from sexual violence. "Peacekeepers are not there in the rural areas," and a "one-month timeframe is not going to stabilize" a marketplace, challenged Mbanga.

Moreover, budgets to address sexual violence are not comparable to the funds allocated to demobilization programs. Puechguirbal concurred, "Instead of fixing the root causes of the problem of the conflict, we give money to conduct short-term activities." A new strategy of working with civil society to address gender-based security concerns should be advanced.

In summary, the problems and obstacles to gender-sensitive U.N. peacekeeping come from a patriarchal framework. Peace support operations are militarized and male-dominated, which obscures the security needs of women and girls. Instead of accepting patriarchal language that dismisses women's rights, such as "we can integrate gender later" or "it's a long road to gender equality," we should be vigilant and demand that decision makers "ask the women" when making security policy and evaluating its impact.

Case Study

CEPIA — Engaging First Responders as Allies for Women's Security

Focusing on strategies for connecting police, security and health services with victims of violence, Jacqueline Pitanguy shared the successes of her organization, *Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informação e Ação* (CEPIA), in Brazil.

First responders are crucial to systematically addressing violence against women. In Brazil, the creation of about 600 special police stations that deal specifically with gender-based violence crimes represents a crucial step toward preventing these crimes and, if they do occur, providing services to victims and holding perpetrators accountable. The importance of these stations is that they have the power to change discourse, concepts, practices and real situations for victims. The chief of police of Rio de Janeiro is now a feminist who was trained in the special police stations on preventing violence against women. This level of leadership creates new opportunities to strengthen collaboration in training, protocols and networks among state and national systems of health, security and justice.

Testimonies on Security

Nancy Sánchez, Colombia

Sánchez, a 2012 Woman PeaceMaker at the IPJ, amplified the voices of the women of Putumayo who have been largely silenced by the armed actors in Colombia.

Let me start my presentation with a short video that shows the women's situation in Putumayo. Putumayo is a department, a state, along the border with Ecuador. It was the center of Plan Colombia, the military offensive against drugs and terrorism. In this video, you will hear the women as they say, "We couldn't remain silent. We have woken up and demand our rights. We don't want impunity. We are speaking up against those who have raped and disappeared others."

How do the women in Putumayo work on peace? I will try to summarize with the first testimony. The woman said: *"If we stay quiet, they kill us. If we speak, they kill us. Well, they can kill us speaking."* It was the answer to the question I asked her, "How can they live and defend their rights in the middle of the guerilla, the military and the paramilitaries?"

The women give me the same answers in different ways because the war in Colombia is about silence. The right to speak is a decision — a decision taken by the women alliances in Putumayo to respond to the war. Tired of the war, they came together to protest against the almost 3,000 disappearances committed by paramilitaries. Do you understand what it means for somebody you love to disappear without a trace? Every day you hope they will come home. It's a crime.

In 2003 women assumed leadership roles and denounced the indiscriminate fumigation and the resulting hunger and sickness in communities. They fumigated us like



Mural in Valle del Guamuéz in Putumayo

cockroaches. Women are the ones taking on leadership roles in organizations that have been strongly attacked by armed groups — organizations traditionally led by the men.

It is important to note that the right to speak is also a strategy for empowering the women. Alianza is a network of grassroots women's organizations in Putumayo. This idea was part of a long process that I participated in since 2003. This process was defined by two issues. First, who are the women's organizations in Putumayo and where are they? And second, what is the situation of women in Putumayo? I had to spend five years looking for women in remote sites that few people know exist. We spent a lot of time talking and listening, and talking and listening, and talking and listening to the voices of women in workshops and many meetings. This is the way that the women create a network of solidarity. They were able to break the silence.

Chi Yvonne Leina, Cameroon

Leina, a journalist with World Pulse, spoke on the practice of breast ironing and a campaign against it that she is championing internationally.

When I was 14 years old I used to love visiting my grandmother's house because I felt free in her home to play and shout the way I wanted. One day as I was approaching her home, I realized something unusual. The usual play of my cousin was absent. As I approached my grandmother's kitchen, which was at the same time a living room and a bedroom, I realized someone was groaning inside the kitchen. I could hear the groans of my cousin. I could hear the sounds of birds chirping, and I could also hear the flowing of the river. And all of that was telling me something is unusual. I felt insecure.

When I set my eyes through the keyhole, I saw my grandmother warming a stone on the fire and pressing the breast of my cousin. She was groaning. Why did it touch me so much? My own breasts were beginning to develop and were very painful. I didn't want anybody's hand around my breast. That traumatized me so much.

At the end of the action as I was spying, I saw my grandmother put her fingers to her lips and say "sssh" to my cousin. When I opened the door I expected someone to tell me what was going on, and nobody did. I was too frightened to ask and I kept quiet about it.

A few months later, my grandmother called me to the same kitchen and told me to take off my blouse because she wants to fix my chest. I am a feeble and shameful person, but there was a power that came forth in me. I said, "No. Nobody will touch my chest. I won't allow you to 'fix' me."

She responded, "If I don't fix you, then the men out there are going to spoil you."

I said, "No, I don't want you to fix it. I prefer to be spoiled."

She told me, "That's what's been done to your cousin. Everybody's doing that to be fine, to be fixed."

I asked her, "If they are fixed in that way, then why are they pregnant?"

She couldn't answer me and we had serious debate. She gave up.

That incident has charted the course of my life. It made me want to ask questions to everybody when I see something I don't agree. That's how I got to journalism school. It's how I got into women's studies.

But my education didn't affect who I was in my community, because in Cameroon women are seen as second-class citizens. Women are abused by their husbands. Women are made to go through dehumanizing widowhood rituals. Women are seen as being at fault for being women. And so I grew up blaming myself for being a woman. Each sign of womanhood in me I wanted to conceal, and it has affected my self-esteem.

What is breast ironing? *Breast ironing is a process whereby mothers pound and massage the breasts of their daughters with hot stones to stop them from developing in the pre-pubescent years. And what is the motive behind the practice? To stop the girls from being sexually attractive so that they wouldn't fall prey to rape and teenage pregnancies.* The mothers don't want to talk about sex because sex is a taboo topic.

Research has been done by the United Nations Population Fund and the German Development Cooperation about breast ironing in Cameroon. It affects one in four girls in Cameroon, and it has so far affected about 4 million girls.

What is going on in the field? First I want to talk about the dangers of the practice. Breast ironing has been known to cause abscesses, fevers, it destroys the milk ducts, it

destroys the breast tissue, causes scars on the breast, it leads to malformation, disappearance of one or both breasts, and sometimes the over-enlargement of the breasts.

But the mothers are ignorant of the consequences of this practice. They don't know later on what will happen to them. As I was writing on this topic for World Pulse, I spoke to a woman. I told her, "Do you know the dangerous effects of this practice?" She said, "Yes, I do. Sometimes she has fever, but I prefer she has fever now and not get pregnant. With my resources I am sending her to school and wasting a lot of money on her." It's a privilege for girl children to go to school, and when they send us to school they see it as an investment that shouldn't be wasted. So anything could be done to keep them from getting pregnant. And the only thing they don't want to do is talk about sex.

So I'm working on a campaign to stop breast ironing in Cameroon. I'm making local women visit women in churches, cultural women's groups, markets to talk about the practice and make the mothers know about the dangers of the practice. And the campaign is working. The women come out and the victims testify. I ask you to join me in any way you can, contribute ideas, contribute resources. Let us network as citizens of the Democratic Republic of Women, to stop the practice of breast ironing in Cameroon.



Women in a marketplace in Bamenda, Cameroon

Merlie “Milet” Mendoza, Philippines

Mendoza, a 2010 Woman PeaceMaker at the IPJ, recalled her captivity by the Abu Sayyaf Group (ASG) in the Philippines, how the remembrance of goodness kept her alive, and how she and other kidnapping survivors are integrating their experiences in policies on security and governance.

It was faith in the goodness of others and faith in God that made me survive and find hope during my captivity experience. Four years ago this day I was held in captivity by the Abu Sayyaf for 61 days. At that time I was a volunteer humanitarian, after having worked in the top government peace agency for 10 years under then President Aquino and two other presidents after, and as head of my NGO network for nine years. Beginning in 2007, I wanted to return to an island province in the Muslim areas called Sulu Archipelago, doing development projects and peacebuilding.

I know that all of us came here with sacred stories to share, and I'd like to pay tribute. I'm sharing my story only to help inspire; we have all found power in powerlessness. It is in these situations that we have found significance in the work that we do, despite the violence that we have to undergo.

When I was in captivity, the voices of women ASG, those married to my ASG captors, were my source of comfort. Every time they would come to me, I would beg them to help me, to express some empathy, hold their hands. But somehow what struck me was their own response. They would say, “I cannot do anything for you. I am only a woman.”

In the same manner, the first time I set foot in Sulu five or six years ago I had to bridge and talk to military officials and government officials, warrior leaders, to talk about human rights. And what response did I get? “Human rights do not work here.” In the midst of war, doing humanitarian work where I have dozens of local women as my force multipliers, what kind of reaction will I get from local, public agencies? “People are used to war.”

I was very careful not to render judgment. Even at the time of my captivity I was thinking, *If I was born on this side of the world maybe I would be one of them thinking that way.*

Fast-forward to post-captivity. What is important to me is to be able to grab or to aid opportunities to continue to work in bridging that gap — trying to understand how the military people work, where do they come from? How do the donors operate in areas like this? Despite millions

of dollars conflict still continues. From their own viewpoint, how do communities think? It is these kinds of boundaries that we need to face in order to begin to talk, to compromise.

As an independent humanitarian I try to affirm principles: that I can do work on my own by connecting to people, by trusting in the goodness of others; that money has no power over me, so that I can have opportunities to challenge myself and others that something good can happen. *It was the remembrance of goodness that gave me hope in the midst of darkness, in the midst of violence in words and in deeds.* When I closed my eyes, there was a glow in the dark in my heart. I remember Muslim women, families, communities, strangers who did so many beautiful, simple things that completed my story.

These are the kinds of opportunities that we need to grapple with even as we formulate our own development projects. My captivity, survival, affirmed the kind of development engagement that I was experimenting with in Sulu. In a place where there is a culture of violence, we're trying to get what is good in others so that things can change not because of monies from outside, but because it was something that they needed to do.

After [my captivity] there were many killings of soldiers, young soldiers in operations in pursuit of Abu Sayyaf. And every time that happened, it would pierce my heart. I wrote to the president and sent him my observations while I was in captivity. *While I was in captivity, when I was able to moderate my fear, I would take mental notes of my observations from the point of view of a peace worker and humanitarian worker. I knew it was important that if I were to remain alive, I would be able to present something for policy change.*



Woman PeaceMaker Bae Liza Llesis Saway of the Philippines listens to the stories of Muslim women



Woman PeaceMaker Mary Ann Arnado and IPJ Deputy Director Dee Aker meet with members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines

As a response of the president, the Cabinet Security Cluster was convened. Last January two of my colleagues and I presented our findings. We had interviewed women who were survivors of ASG kidnappings. We wanted to know how they survived and what protection issues are critical. I had my personal advocacy also: to look and embrace and be in solidarity with people in pain, especially because we come from a different economic and social status.

We presented that, and I tell you in the past years it would have been impossible for us under a rigid military institution — with decades of martial law dictatorship — to be talking to military people. But this time, for the first time, it's like slapping people on their faces and saying, “Wake up! There is an elephant in the room and everybody denies it.” It's not going to end. There will be more soldiers, and more people are going to be killed because of the lack of understanding of why people are in this kind of situation.

Before coming here, after four years, I found courage to return to Sulu — overcoming a very strong fear of being kidnapped again. It cannot happen to me again. I have family and people who love me, and they went through so much pain with me.

When I went there it was to help bridge the understanding

with the marine commanders and the communities: not just coming up with modules about history or Islam or language, but also how to have face-to-face human relationships with communities. I think that bridges understanding. That is very, very important.

When I was in captivity, coming out I was thinking, *Peace is not possible. We are walking on broken glass.* But the sacred and elusive path to peace is something that we must continue day by day, inch by inch.

Korto Williams, Liberia

Williams contemplated the violence associated with checkpoints in Liberia, both during the war and continuing in the post-war era in the governance structure.

I suffer from insomnia, meaning that most nights I don't sleep. And I guess I'm not going to sleep until I can write a book about a symbol that continues to be on my mind about the Liberian civil war: this symbol is the symbol of a checkpoint.

In Liberia the checkpoints were so many and so horrific that it's difficult to forget. Sometimes you go to sleep and you are afraid to turn to the other side because you may be turning into rebel territory, or you may be turning into

a situation where you will get killed or raped.

I remember many things from the checkpoints. As you moved through the checkpoints you were going toward safety. That's what they said. But as you moved through you saw boys as young as 12 to 15 years old, with pornographic magazines. They would sit in these small booths and if they saw a woman they would call you into the room and say, "Come, let's look at the magazine together." That was almost an automatic invitation to get raped.

I remember denying my identity at the checkpoint. As you moved from one checkpoint to another, the groups that were targeted broadened. At some points you are not the targeted one, at other points you were. I was at one checkpoint where someone was looking for me. Someone said, "Her name is Korto. Go in the group and look for Korto." And this man came and stood next to me and said, "Korto, Korto, Korto." I turned to my sister and said, "My name is not Korto again."

I had seen women being raped. I had seen people getting killed. I had been told not to close my eyes or close my nose because this was the war and you had to see everything. I was a young girl. I refused to be called Korto or be identified. Today when you ask me for my name, I don't call my last name. I only say, "Korto" because of that incident.

In the end, we were able to go through the checkpoints. When we thought we had reached safety, there was a massacre. There was a massacre and my mother was

killed. That defined my life. It defined my life in terms of the work I do — and being able to identify checkpoints.

Today, we no longer have the checkpoints where you go and see the small boys or where your name is called. But there are bigger checkpoints. They are more formal checkpoints within the governance system of Liberia. For example, the warlords and the small boys who were at the checkpoints are the ones who are at parliament. They are the ones who make decisions over our lives, in terms of what happens to the resources, to our taxes.

I decided I needed to sleep. I decided I needed to show the strength of the human spirit. To be able to do that I had to work, and I could not do it alone. It meant working with many women to show that women could overcome this because of the power that we had. In Liberia we've been able to challenge the status quo that says we will continue to have checkpoints — whether they are challenges around the implementation of the rape law; whether they are challenges to the continuous sexual violence when we are supposed to be at peace and when the young people in a symbolic way still have pornographic magazines and say, "Come, let me rape you"; or the challenge of introducing at a broader level a feminist critique into the governance system of Liberia.

In my work at ActionAid we've been able to ensure that 90 percent of our resources go toward these things. It's not out of personal interest, but this story I've told is the story of many Liberian women.



A burning checkpoint on the way to Kley Junction, Liberia (courtesy of UN Photo)



Justice

"What is justice? Is justice written in our law books? ... Justice is not what laws are about. Justice is where people must live with dignity. Justice is where everyone must have equal rights. Justice is to recognize that people cannot be tortured." — Distinguished Lecturer Asma Jahangir

Panel Discussion

Speakers examined global and local justice mechanisms and explained how to make them more effective, interconnected and responsive to the needs of women in conflict, post-conflict and reconciliation processes. Gender justice must be central in the planning and implementation of international tribunals, national truth commissions, traditional approaches and personal interactions between perpetrators and survivors.

Women have the least access to justice when they need it the most, explained **Nahla Valji** of **UN Women**. In post-conflict settings women are rarely consulted in the development of transitional justice mechanisms: the full range of processes and tools to address the legacy of past abuses to establish accountability, justice and rule of law to lay the foundations for a new society. These include truth commissions, trials, institutional vetting, reparations, apology and memorialization.

Beyond the necessary step of consulting with women as mechanisms are discussed and developed, gender experts for bodies of inquiry should be trained and deployed. Valji recommended gender quotas for truth commissioners, investigators and researchers.

The international community is often called on to support transitional justice processes. In responding to these requests, it must promote gender-sensitive mechanisms and approaches. At the same time, individuals may turn to traditional forms of justice because of the proximity and relevance; these sites, however, may further violations rather than redress. Traditional justice forums “are not static sites. Culture is created by people; it can be



Woman PeaceMaker Zandile Nhlengetwa

changed by people,” Valji reminded the audience.

Attention to gender justice highlights progress and persistent challenges. More often than not, the logic of justice follows a male perspective, such as individual prosecution or once-off reparations. Transformative justice, on the other hand, recognizes more than a single violation, and links judicial and other structural reforms.

For example, transformative justice advocates would not fund programs for ex-combatants without funding victim reparations. Linking reparations and development, transformative justice advocates would argue that land restitution is not sufficient, but must be accompanied by sustainable development, access to roads and markets and education — so that land can have a real impact on women’s lives. This holistic approach highlights underlying inequalities that aggravate physical, legal and economic injustice.

“We’ve come far in the past decade, but still not far enough,” explained Valji. In conflict and post-conflict settings, transformative gender justice is essential to “send a message to women about their rights, that they are equal and will be protected in the new society.”

Even with progress, “the demand for justice grows louder and more urgent,” affirmed **Brigid Inder** of **Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice** and gender adviser to International Criminal Court (ICC) Chief Prosecutor Fatou Bensouda. The ICC has an explicit mandate and positive obligation to prosecute gender-based crimes, which it is currently investigating in all but one of its cases. The legal monitoring program of Women’s Initiatives reviews

all ICC cases from a gender perspective, supported by extensive country-based programs where there are ongoing investigations.

The “ICC is a court of last resort... [that] complements domestic efforts,” Inder explained. One way that complementarity could be invoked is around women’s legal rights to physical safety. If there are none or only a limited number of trials regarding violence against women, this could indicate state unwillingness. The absence of a national system to prosecute these crimes opens the door to ICC prosecution. In this way, *the ICC acts as a “circuit breaker for these complex ecosystems that are immune to traditional security and justice responses.”*

Approaching the 10-year anniversary of the ICC, it has reached a critical milestone: the first case, conviction, sentencing, hearing and reparation decision — the Thomas Lubanga trial in the DRC. Furthermore, gender-based violence has been introduced in every site, except Libya, in 11 out of its 16 cases, and against 14 of 29 individuals.

By actively partnering with male colleagues and organizations, Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice builds awareness about how to document and prosecute crimes against women. In Sudan, for example, they have forged an initiative to review rape law which will include training media professionals, many of whom will be men, about the proposed legal reform. Men have also spontaneously joined their programs, including the documentation phase. By working across gender lines, the hope is to create a trigger for change.

For local women to trust international laws and institutions, U.N. Security Council resolutions and court decisions must be implemented, continued **Asma Khader** of the **Sisterhood Is Global Institute**. Selectivity and double standards of these laws and principles must be avoided. The president of Sudan has been indicted by the ICC, yet he moves around freely, she explained. “What does [this] mean for Sudanese women?”

Furthermore, *it is essential to translate the laws and rights into relevant and accessible language.* “Use their words to show them what they are suffering from, [and that] it is really recognized in this text,” she advocated. Bringing the international to the national level, she highlighted the realities of women in Egypt, Libya, Syria, Jordan and Palestine, where women who fight against traditions and conservative values are punished severely.

Echoing Inder’s strategy of engaging men in the struggle for gender justice, Khader told of her work in Jordan

working with young, male perpetrators in prison to be on the forefront of activism. Through community work Khader and her organization are able to work on prevention: “We don’t have to wait until after the crime; we need to start at home and in the schools.”

There should be safe forums for women to speak out. In Syria, rape was used as a weapon of war. Khader recounted conversations with women at a refugee camp in north Jordan: “They were victims of sexual harassment and rape, describing every detail of rape ... but [then said] ‘it happened to my neighbor.’ I can see it in her eyes that it happened to her or her daughter, but she’s not able to tell that she herself was raped.”

The process of local gender justice will take time, she emphasized, and donors need to rethink how they provide support through local NGOs that provide services and document cases.



Asma Khader

From the international to the regional to the interpersonal, **Zandile Nhlengetwa**, 2008 Woman PeaceMaker and founder of the **Harambe Women’s Forum**, shared her personal story of healing and reconciliation in South Africa. She brought the audience into her experiences during apartheid and her own journey of justice and reconciliation: suppressed pain and loss when her adopted son was murdered; the drive for vengeance and justice; and confronting fear and risk to begin a process of interpersonal forgiveness with the perpetrators and their mothers.

“The country was at a boiling place” when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established, she pointed out. But the high-level process did not filter down. Regarding her journey, Nhlengetwa concluded, *“I was deepening the process that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission had begun.”*

The complete story, entitled “Deepening the Peace,” of Nhlengetwa’s journey can be found on the IPJ’s website.

Case Study

Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice — Documenting Human Rights Violations for Prosecutions

The persistent advocacy and in-depth field work of Women's Initiatives for Gender Justice influenced the International Criminal Court (ICC) to re-examine its processes in regard to investigating and prosecuting sexual and gender-based violence.

Originally Thomas Lubanga, head of the Union of Congolese Patriots militia group in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), was charged by the ICC with enlisting and conscripting child soldiers, but not with gender-based crimes. Given the high rates of sexual violence in eastern DRC, Women's Initiatives sought to address this oversight.

First, Brigid Inder, executive director of Women's Initiatives, and her colleagues spoke directly with decision makers and engaged in discreet advocacy to see if there was an openness, awareness and willingness to pursue investigation of these crimes. There were none. The prosecutors did not plan to amend the charges and were not convinced there was evidence that sexual violence would qualify as war crimes or crimes against humanity.

Next, Women's Initiatives opened a documentation program to interview and gather information from victim-survivors of sexual and gender-based crimes. Although not official evidence, the dossier of 55 interviews — 31 of which were direct victim-survivors — provided leads for the ICC prosecutors. The charges against Lubanga were still not amended.

The third step was to generate a separate legal file to submit directly to the judges. Although the judges did not agree with the filing on gender-based crimes in the final verdict, extensive evidence was presented in the trial period, and these facts now stand in the public record.

The goal was not only to change this case but also the ICC approach to documenting and prosecuting gender-based violence in future cases. Over the following four years, the majority of ICC cases included these charges, in large part due to this early advocacy.



A 13-year-old girl, raped by armed men, waits for treatment in a health clinic in Goma, eastern DRC (photo courtesy of IRIN/Tiggy Ridley)

Inder presented other successful strategies that organizations should consider in the documentation of gender-based crimes. Safety and security of field teams and participants are essential. Partners and staff may be hired as individual consultants rather than as an organization, to provide another layer of security and anonymity for those conducting field interviews with victim-survivors. This may also decrease the vulnerability for those being interviewed. Providing alternate cover stories can help dismiss questions about why outsiders are showing up in different communities, meeting with groups and individuals, and appearing to be writing things down. These strategies — including daily calls to check in, insurance and evacuation policies, and creative cover stories to explain the presence of outsiders — are critical to ensuring the well-being of staff and participants.

Partnering with people from the grassroots level is irreplaceable because they already know the language, culture and have some sort of commonality with those being interviewed. The selection of local partners should be guided by questions such as: What is the purpose of the documentation? Is it for the historical record, visibility of a situation or prosecution? Who should it influence?

Working Session Summaries

Transitional Justice Working for Women

Facilitator — Nahla Valji, UN Women

Participants in the working session discussed, debated and redefined what gender justice means in conflict and post-conflict settings. Sharing diverse perspectives and experiences, they compared through a gender lens how transitional justice mechanisms operate across contexts.

The dialogue generated greater awareness of the range of barriers that persist for women achieving transformational justice, and some strategies to overcome them. The first step is to build awareness across the wider population in post-conflict settings. *The lack of understanding about the range of possible transitional justice approaches stifles true debate about which tools would best help the society move forward.*



Conference delegate Sandra McEvoy

To accomplish this outreach, the language and descriptions of various transitional justice mechanisms must be explained in accessible and concrete language. Examples from other countries, including evaluating the impact of those approaches, is useful.

Not only should external examples be shared, but there should also be deep listening to the needs of the communities to inform the development and implementation of transitional justice and peacebuilding initiatives.

Participants in the working session called on those working in transitional justice to generate change from both the bottom up and the top down, which offers the potential for structural and social transformations. For example, regarding reparations, participants acknowledged that “nobody can pay for the suffering,” yet they are still necessary for economic security. Moreover, delegates warned about the possibility of political manipulation that can come with the granting or withholding of reparations.

Noting the legacy of gender inequalities and the limitations of political systems, “we should not idealize the transitional justice system,” but rather work to articulate and formulate justice approaches that can adapt to and change with the dynamic challenges facing post-accord contexts.

Combating Trafficking: Opening the Doors to Justice

Facilitator — Lilia Velasquez

In this working session, participants discussed strategies to promote justice for those affected by sex trafficking, labor trafficking and child trafficking.

Within a human rights framework, the importance of international conventions for creating national laws was one strategy to improve gender justice. Yet, the relation between laws and social norms is a dynamic process that varies across contexts.

Human trafficking is often a silent and hidden crime. In the United States, for example, government attention to trafficking really only began in 2000. Since then, the Trafficking in Persons report has become the tool used by the U.S. government to tackle the problem of human trafficking in other nations. The annual report provides a way to “name and shame” other governments, and to recognize “heroes” in the defense of trafficking survivors. Yet, *while the body of U.S. law against trafficking has increased, the number of prosecutions has not kept pace.* This gap between laws and implementation remains a barrier to justice for trafficking survivors.

Participants identified the need for more effective strategies for victim protection and rehabilitation, and Velasquez presented the three Ps: prevention, protection and prosecution. One prevention strategy includes

education, from local communities to law enforcement, to make the social environment less attractive to traffickers. Another strategy includes working with NGO observers to position themselves along borders to decrease the ease with which humans are transported between nations.

In addition to the three Ps, Velasquez advocated for the three Rs: rescue, removal and rehabilitation of trafficking victims. Funding for these initiatives is crucial. Programs that fight drug cartels, for example, received far more money than survivor rehabilitation.

Gender Justice and the Coexistence of Customary, Religious and State-based Law

Facilitator — Mary Hope Schwoebel, U.S. Institute of Peace

In contexts in which two or more justice systems coexist — (a) customary decision-making, conflict resolution and justice systems, (b) religious systems such as Sharia law and (c) state-based systems, such as those based on European common or civil law — there are many challenges to women's access to justice.

Two approaches were considered: Replace customary and religious systems with state-based systems, or increase women's participation and representation within all three systems. The first approach focuses on strengthening state-based systems in general, while the second allows for the continuation of customary and religious-based systems as long as women are integrally included. The latter approach may be more realistic given the limit of state reach or the aversion to secular justice in some countries.

A key difference between customary and state-based law is the focus on collective versus individual rights. Western approaches are often criticized for emphasizing individual rights over those rooted in the family, clan or tribe. Yet customary laws determined by councils of elders, comprised almost always of men, do not always serve women's rights either. For example, to maintain harmony between conflicting groups, customary law may require revenge or compensations, such as giving a young girl to another family. Or, if a woman is raped, she can be accused of and punished for defiling her family's honor.

Yet, participants also discussed the need for distinction between customary and religious law, like Sharia. For example, the Koran allows for an eye for an eye; however, some who interpret that law argue the Koran suggests

that rather than revenge one should take the higher moral road.

One challenge in religious-based law is the foundation of patriarchy. In contexts based in Sharia law, for example, strengthening women's credentials in the interpretation of religious texts may be an effective approach, which would entail working with male elders to include women on elders' councils and ensuring that they better serve women's rights and access to justice.

The lack of gender justice in customary law not only affects Muslim societies. India, for example, is a secular society and Sharia courts are not legal. However, customary family law operates independently of the uniform criminal or civil code across the country. The lack of a uniform code is maintained because the government does not want to lose the Muslim vote by imposing secular family law. This intersection between state, religious and customary law provides a unique set of challenges to gender justice advocates.

When thinking about reform, participants posed the questions: How do you make justice more victim-centered? Do you always need formal processes to do that? How can we find informal processes to protect and connect people? For example, customary law is easier and less expensive to access in many countries. One suggestion was to lower or waive fees for bringing gender-based crimes through state legal systems.

The post-conflict period is a vulnerable time in which formal state institutions cannot be accessed by rural women. Having plans in place for the transition from conflict that takes into consideration cultural practices and customary justice is an important step for gender justice. Restorative justice practices that address both the social harm committed and victims' needs might be effective models.



Woman PeaceMaker Sister Pauline Acayo of Uganda and IPJ Editor Kaitlin Barker Davis

Testimonies on Justice

Shreen Abdul Saroor, Sri Lanka

Saroor, a 2004 Woman PeaceMaker at the IPJ, discussed the increasing militarization of her country in the post-war era and the formation of a network to protect women who wanted to testify on sexual abuse and disappearances before the flawed governmental reconciliation commission.

The Sri Lankan war ended three years ago. When I go everywhere people say, "Life back home must be better." It's not at all better. It's worse. In the last bit of war we lost about 40,000 people and there were 300,000 people being locked up in a concentration camp.

This year in March the Human Rights Council passed a resolution on Sri Lanka. As a first step of an investigation, U.N. Human Rights Council representatives were in my country last week. This is what happened [video clip of a protest led by Buddhist monks against the United Nations]. They broke into the U.N. office and stopped the meeting that we were having. If the Buddhist monks are doing that to the U.N., you can imagine what is happening to many of us who are out there demanding accountability. I'm ashamed that Sri Lanka, in the way of making a pure Buddhist nation, has censored our voices demanding accountability.

With the end of war, there is no suicide bombing, child recruitment. But it was a military victory and there has been no demilitarization. You see military everywhere. The Rajapaksa brothers, the three of them,¹ get together and they are everything. The military is cultivating, the military is selling vegetables, the military is government officers, the military is even sitting at the U.N. office. The [deputy] permanent representative of Sri Lanka to the U.N., Shavendra De Silva, is the number one war criminal. He's sitting in the U.N. office in New York.

The post-war rebuilding process: The government has made some rapid progress with regard to physical structures that are directly connected to military and tourism, and led by the military. They don't have jobs anymore for the military; they should be back at the barracks but they are out instead. They are the ones maintaining law and order in my country. Imagine, these are the guys who raped many women at the end of the war.

They are also the people monitoring civil society. There are two bodies that have come in the post-war process.



Woman PeaceMaker Shreen Abdul Saroor

One is the Defense Ministry, a different kind than what we had before, which oversees all civil society activism — even land development, municipal council development. All those things come under the Defense Ministry.

And then we have something called the Presidential Task Force where the senior military men sit. They visit our office. Since March 24, when the resolution got passed, all of our offices have been visited by these men. Our books have been taken and they wanted to know who went to the U.N., who testified, who made all these efforts. So it's very difficult for women's organizations to move forward.

In this militarization process women at the bottom level demanding justice are trapped to negotiate with military, highly communalized politicians, corrupt and armed proxies, and other lawless of the government. It's very dangerous for many of my colleagues back home to even go and counsel. Counseling is not even allowed. *If you want to meet with more than three people in the formerly war-torn areas, you need to get military permission. That is the situation in Sri Lanka right now.*

There are about 90,000 war widows in the north area alone, and many more single women and former women cadres who have been given a separate identity card and are constantly monitored.

¹ Mahinda Rajapaksa is president of Sri Lanka. Gotabhaya Rajapaksa is defense secretary. Basil Rajapaksa is cabinet minister of economic development.

Within that space, the organization I founded, Mannar Women's Development Federation, and 11 other women's groups have come together to form the Women's Action Network. To help women who are coming forward to testify on sexual abuse cases, we have given collective protection locally. We never let anybody know the names of the women. We dress like the abused women and go and stand next to these women when they identify the perpetrators.

As an alternative to the U.N. panel that has been appointed by Ban Ki-moon [Secretary-General's Panel of Experts on Sri Lanka], the Sri Lanka president appointed the Lessons Learnt and Reconciliation Commission. This commission is comprised of all men. It never assured any victim witness protection. Many of us activists who operate from Colombo said it's a flawed commission. In Sri Lanka the commissions have not worked at all, and this one is the same and there are no security provisions for many of us to testify.

But in areas where I work, women wanted to testify at any cost. We decided that instead of 10 women testifying, let 200 women walk with them. So the commissioners were bombarded with women going and testifying. They never expected so many women to come. We'd have loose hair, wearing white saris. This was the first time they could publically grieve for what has happened to them, and also to point at the perpetrator: "Look, you all did this. Where are my sons? Where are my daughters? What happened? I handed over my sons, my daughters, trusting you people. What has happened to all those disappeared people?"

Those women cleverly used that space to make sure the government didn't make it one-sided, because the government was preparing military to come in civilian clothes and testify in front of the commission so that they can cook up the commission. So women blocked that commission. We didn't get that much international support because the international community thought it was a flawed commission and they couldn't support any women testifying because of the security issues.

The other thing that we have taken up is the land-related cases. There is a case where we have gone to court: The military is taking over vast pieces of fertile land in the name of national security, and they are converting those lands for colonizing purposes. They are bringing Sinhalese majority into Tamil minority areas and they are colonizing those areas. They are also taking over those lands and selling it to other countries, like India and China are coming and investing.

We have taken up this fundamental rights violation case.

These are mainly women who are petitioning. They are actually sitting in the military camps, regions that have turned now into a military camp, and they are refusing to move away. These men are being taken to court by many women coming together.

Fahima Hashim, Sudan

Hashim described her organization's work on legal reform in the context of a new Sudan, but still with the criminal code of 1991 — what she terms the Sudanese Sharia law.

I am the founder and director of Salmmah Women's Resource Centre. It is a 15-year-old organization. Before I start I want to tell you that we're feeling a bit awkward living in a country that lost part of its history. It's like we are a 1-year-old country. Definitely we are in a different junction.

The problem we are living continues despite the fact that we should have new reforms and new governance and new laws and a new constitution. We still live with the same old ones — and the rise of fundamentalism as well as continuing conflict in different parts of the country.

As a resource center we work in legal reform. We work on one law: the criminal code of 1991. I call it the Sudanese Sharia law. If you look at it and different Muslim countries, you find we have different kinds of law. [In Sudan the law] permits lashing women in public for wearing trousers. If I wore this on the street, I would be taken to court and lashed in public. It's been over 20 years and we are still resisting and still wearing trousers, full of fear when we walk on the streets. We know how to defend ourselves, but most of the women don't.

Rape is dealt with as adultery. If you are raped you have to still bring four witnesses to court. Women cannot demand justice at all in these cases. If in court you say, "Yes I've been raped," you'll be convicted of adultery. If you are married and you are raped, stoning is the [punishment] for adultery. *For the last 20 years there haven't been any cases of stoning, but in the last three months three new cases of stoning have arisen.* We have been lobbying hard to stop that.

Despite all this, it doesn't mean that we are not hopeful to continue. We still have a lot of potential as a country to raise women's voices. We live in a country that has over half of its population between the ages of 15 and 25. We are a young country, and we want men and women to grow in a different context, to have more gender equality

and make life better for women. We have reached out for the last six years to over 5,000 young women and men in different parts of Sudan.

The challenges we're facing include a dry-up of funding because of donor fatigue. First it was Darfur and humanitarian aid; now after the secession most of the donors left to South Sudan. We are trying to work in a minimal context. We are really urging the international community to see Sudan as a country that still has problems and women are still suffering.

International Campaign to Stop Rape and Gender Violence in Conflict

Yee Htun — Nobel Women's Initiative

"The Nobel Women's Initiative was formed in 2006. It is led by women peace laureates who realized that when they came together to use the prestige of the Nobel Peace Prize to stand with women human rights defenders working in the areas of peace, justice and equality, it can make a huge difference.

"I want to talk about the flip side of justice: injustice. Injustice is a reality that half of the population on this planet faces. Women who have been raped and experienced gender-based violence in conflict rarely receive justice.

"In my country of Burma the military has routinely used rape and gender violence as a weapon of war to silence and oppress ethnic minority women who are simply asserting their rights. There is a constitution in place that entrenches impunity, where military personnel who rape will never be held accountable in a court of law. Many people are saying that the recent changes in Burma are heralding a new era of democracy. But the reality is that as long as we have oppressive laws and a society that does not acknowledge the justice that survivors of rape so justly deserve, it will never be a democratic society.

"It is out of [a situation like] this that the International Campaign to Stop Rape and Gender Violence in Conflict was born. We felt that something had to be done, and because we have vast networks of women's groups and human rights groups and advocacy groups, we really need to come together in a coordinated manner and in a civil society movement to ensure that there is true political will, to ensure that governments really do keep their word and honor all those Security Council Resolutions, uphold the Rome Statute and ensure there are prosecutions at the International Criminal Court.

"The campaign is chaired by women peace laureates of the Nobel Women's Initiative. We have an advisory committee of 30 organizations who are really the leaders on the forefront of this fight. It launched in May and we have garnered the support of thousands of individuals and organizations who have pledged to stop rape and gender violence. Pledge your support to this campaign. It's been going on so long: we talk about rape, we talk about gender violence. But it's time to act."

Visit www.stoprapeinconflict.org to sign the pledge and hear Nobel Laureates speak about this initiative.



Nobel Laureates (l-r) Shirin Ebadi, Jody Williams, Mairead Maguire and Rigoberta Menchú Tum



Peacebuilding

“In very difficult circumstances we have extended our hands to each other and given a message, so that policymakers begin to understand that people-to-people dialogue, people-to-people meeting and people-to-people understanding has gone so far, has developed to a depth where they will not sit quiet if one army is fighting against the people of the other country.”

— *Distinguished Lecturer Asma Jahangir*

Panel Discussion

The Peacebuilding panel highlighted specific examples of how women in communities around the globe are organizing and achieving real change. The panelists discussed conflict prevention and peacebuilding through individual skills building, community organizing, participatory and dialogue-based leadership, South-South/Peer-to-Peer exchange and movement building.

In Brazil, feminists have redefined peace by transforming gender relations, explained **Jacqueline Pitanguy** of **CEPIA** in Brazil. This shift brings into focus an imbalance of power, inequality between partners, and domestic and sexual violence; it calls attention to “the war inside the home.” These threats to peace, Pitanguy explained, must be avoided, managed and constrained through diplomacy, not militarism. “Order and disorder, crime and punishment, [these] are not absolute truths. They are built within the political context. They are written in laws, in human rights treaties and [in] mentalities.... And,” reminded Pitanguy, “they change.”

A strong women’s movement emerged in the 1970s under the dictatorship in Brazil, and with the democratization of the country it was able to secure formal gender equality in the 1998 constitution. Inspired by the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, the women’s movement also successfully advocated for another major shift, which was achieved in the constitution: the state’s role to prevent violence within the family. Maintaining this momentum, Pitanguy has led efforts to work with first responders to violence against women, including the creation of over 600 police stations and special courts of justice dedicated to gender-based violence.



Lina Abou-Habib

Lina Abou-Habib described how **Women’s Learning Partnership (WLP)** promotes peacebuilding in the Middle East/North African (MENA) region by “open[ing] the public sphere for women’s participation [through] demonstrations, sit-ins [and] policy dialogues.” Their struggle over the past decades has helped to topple dictatorships and challenge fundamentalism within the family and patriarchal institutions, Abou-Habib continued.

WLP works to demystify concepts of leadership, participation and democracy, making women, their work and their voices, more visible. Through a training-of-trainers approach, WLP uses peer-to-peer curriculum to promote women’s political participation. We are “working with women so that claiming rights becomes part of the culture.”



Mahnaz Afkhami (far right)

While technology was used effectively in many ways in the Arab uprisings, and WLP does use technology as part of its training, Abou-Habib warned, “We should not fool ourselves to think that it will magically resolve things; **technology needs content, regularity, steadfastness. ... It will not replace face-to-face grassroots mobilization.**” This type of mobilization is necessary to sustain “participatory processes [that have been] dampened under decades of dictatorship and [influential] religious institutions.”

Abou-Habib reminded the audience that although laws might not change overnight, “the important thing is citizen action and awareness. Inequality and silence cannot be tolerated.”

Mahnaz Afkhami, founder of WLP, elaborated: “To keep the status quo is patriarchy.” The order and the structure of top-down, hierarchy posits men as the heads of families, communities and religious practices, which is extended to the realm of political parties and power. Afkhami reminded participants that fundamentalism is not just a phenomenon in the MENA region or the developing world. In the WLP network, members distinguish between religion and fundamentalism; only

the latter is a threat. A secular state, Afkhami argued, is the only way that people can be free to believe and practice their faith, and to guarantee religious freedom. Across cultures and time periods, the trend of the subjugation of women is a persistent challenge to equality and peace.

Alice Nderitu, 2012 Woman PeaceMaker and a commissioner on Kenya's National Cohesion and Integration Commission, described her work to build peace following the 2007-2008 election violence, painting a full picture of the "complexities of women and war." Women were not only innocent victims, but also took up arms that had flooded the northern part of the country from neighboring countries. Women also worked for peace by organizing meetings, taking men off the street and creating sanctuaries for those who had been affected by gender-based violence.



Jacqueline Pitanguy



Woman PeaceMaker Alice Nderitu

In a documentary film, "The Burden of Peace," Nderitu and her colleagues interview women to help contextualize the change in Kenya. In one community, cattle stealing and the flow of arms led to increased fatalities and conflict between clans. One of the women featured in the film worked with the community to stop glorifying the violence and convince their sons to stop the cattle raids. To condemn these acts, the women in the community refused to sing when the men came back from the raid.

Nderitu concluded, sharing the words of Dekha Ibrahim Abdi, late activist and peacemaker from Somaliland: *"An egg, like peace, is delicate and fragile, but given the right conditions, it gives life."*

U.S. Policy Advances on Women, Peace and Security

Melanne Verveer (via video) and Jamille Bigio

The creation of the Office of Global Women's Issues and the appointment of the first ambassador-at-large for global women's issues will help the United States better integrate gender into the efforts of the government with other government partners and civil society. The office serves as an internal advocate across the State Department. It uses a rights-based and evidence-based approach, and captures and builds on the research documented over decades, of how women's participation and protection advance the larger national goals of security and prosperity.

In December 2011, the Obama administration launched the first U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security. This provides a roadmap to accelerate, institutionalize and advance women's participation in making and keeping peace. The National Action Plan represents a fundamental change in how the U.S. will approach diplomacy, military and development support. Gender considerations now influence how the U.S. approaches peace processes and humanitarian assistance. The goal, according to Verveer, is "to engage, empower and ensure the protection of women across the world."

Bigio emphasized, "We are building a network of champions in the U.S. government and with all of you, in the U.N. through bilateral agreements and with civil society." The State Department policies on promoting gender equality help to advance foreign policy objectives, broadening how the U.S. defines security.

Working Session Summaries

Curbing Radicalization, Building Peace

Facilitator — Mossarat Qadeem, PAIMAN Trust

Along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, PAIMAN Trust has been working directly to confront extremism that arose in the region in 1979, when the first Soviet soldier entered Afghanistan. The conflict transformed through the 1980s, when religion was used to incite fighting. As the Soviet army retreated, they left a legacy of militarization and an abundance of weapons, which the local community is still paying the price for today.

The violence in Qadeem's community escalated in 2007 and 2008. Daily bomb blasts from extremist groups left the population feeling fearful, insecure and uncertain. Extremism and radicalization, Qadeem clarified, are distinct from fundamentalism. Although the concepts are debatable, she defined extremism as intolerance to others and not just limited to religion, whereas fundamentalism means "basics" and is not inherently violent.

To confront this increased violent radicalization, Qadeem reached out to the boys in these extremist groups, through their mothers, and convinced them there were other options. Working with close to 80 boys, she provided psychosocial therapy and taught basic skills so that the former extremists could make a decent living and provide for their families. Although the personal rehabilitation process was difficult, Qadeem reflected, the greatest challenge was reintegration because the communities had a hard time forgiving.

The sense of fear and insecurity manifests itself differently across the globe. Judy Kamanyi of Uganda explained that *in the face of globalization, people feel their identities are threatened*. Returning to or finding comfort in the fundamentals of their culture is one response to this perceived loss. For example, some traditional cultural attire may be required to attend certain events; those wearing Western clothing would be denied access.

The participants commented on the strategies in Qadeem's work that could be adapted in other contexts. Sister Pauline Acayo of Uganda, Woman PeaceMaker in 2005, noted that reaching out to extremists and meeting them where they are is a useful approach. Carol Mithers of the United States emphasized the importance of having livelihood alternatives for young men. Shreen Abdul Saroor

of Sri Lanka suggested that although men have traditionally been the gatekeepers of religion, women need to change that. One way to accomplish this could be through education. Giving youth role models outside of their communities may encourage them to stand up to injustice.



Facilitator Mossarat Qadeem

The Money Quest

Facilitator — Katherine Magraw, Peace and Security Funders Group

Magraw provided an overview of the funding opportunities for women's organizations working on women, peace and security issues. The Peace and Security Funders Group has identified 39 foundations that distributed a total of \$36 million through 390 grants in 2010. Another avenue for funding local women's initiatives is through re-granting agencies, such as Mama Cash or the Global Fund for Women; an additional \$3 million has been channeled through this approach.

This represents a small slice of overall international philanthropic giving, and is dwarfed by aid delivered through bilateral and multilateral agreements in areas



Facilitator Katherine Magraw

such as development and health. Some of the largest funders in peace and security include Cordaid of the Netherlands, which gave \$7 million through its program on Women's Leadership in Peace and Security. The NoVo Foundation in New York distributed \$6 million in 2010 through its initiative on Ending Violence against Girls and Women. Finally, the Asia Foundation is a large donor for women's empowerment in the region. However, only 8 percent of this funding for peace and security goes to research and documentation of gender justice and women's contributions to conflict transformation.

A major impediment to effective partnerships is that program evaluation often creates tension between donors and grantees. Foundations create expectations to encourage grantees to be explicit in knowing what they want to achieve, yet do not always recognize that not all projects can be assessed in a short period of time. Smaller or grassroots NGOs, for example, may face difficulties meeting foundations' needs for evaluation and assessment. Similarly, the U.S. Institute of Peace requires both qualitative and quantitative data,

which may strain local organizations that have limited staff time and capacity.

Magraw noted that philanthropy lags behind need. Donors have yet to recognize the urgency of gender-related grants; women's issues are often sidelined in the funding priorities.

Other challenges are getting funds to grassroots groups, balancing immediate and timely grants (e.g., urgent action grants) with accountability concerns, funding additional research that synthesizes and assesses impact of these efforts, and reducing the burden of compiling grant applications.

For example, grassroots NGOs may lack basic internet access to identify funders or not have sufficient staff to engage in the time-consuming process of applying to grants. Women's groups may also be denied governmental grants if their work challenges the status quo or promotes legal reforms.

Testimony on Peacebuilding

Christiana Thorpe, Sierra Leone

Thorpe, the national electoral commissioner and a Woman PeaceMaker at the IPJ in 2004, highlighted the importance of dialogue and consultation with specific groups in order to ensure transparent, free and fair elections.

The 11-year war that started in Sierra Leone in 1991 officially ended in 2002. For most of that time I was engaged with an NGO I started called the Forum for African Women Educationalists. I started it in 1995 to address the education of girls. It turned out to be 10 years working with female war victims in rehabilitation, peace and reconciliation with themselves and their families. I personally dealt with about 3,000 to 4,000 girls. Some of the babies that were born of rape have gone into the first year of secondary school.

In the fall of 2004 I participated in the IPJ program, which turned out to be a very therapeutic opportunity for me. I did not realize over the years how much trauma I was absorbing from all the victims we were working with. So when I came and I was telling my story, during that period I made some sense out of the so-called senseless war back home. It really prepared me psychologically for future challenges which I didn't know then.

I left IPJ in December of 2004 and in May of 2005 I was appointed head of the Electoral Commission of Sierra Leone. The building I inherited was occupied by refugees — over 500 families and displaced people from all districts in the country. I was faced with major challenges. The structure itself was a disaster, ready to crumble at any minute. Negotiating with the refugees to evacuate was a nightmare. I had to prepare for elections in two years, and to get the place for the elections I used that excuse to tell them, "No, you can't stay here." We got an alternative location for them. But to get those people to move out, on three occasions I was stoned and the police had to rescue me. Now, in 2012, we have new offices on the same site as the old building.

In a post-conflict era, maintaining the peace is like walking on ice or stepping on a banana peel: One must be on guard at all times. Developing peaceful democratic election systems is critical for this period. The following have proved helpful to me seven years in elections: a safe and assured environment; extensive dialogue and consultation with all stakeholders in the electoral process;

collaboration with other democratic institutions; conduct transparent, free and fair elections; and promotion of good governance.

To provide a safe and secure environment means dealing with security forces that are 90 to 99 percent men. I was invited to join the National Security Council of the country. They meet every two weeks, and at that meeting you have the police, army, fire force, everyone, to look at the security in the country. I put the elections in the middle of that because without peace none of these other things can work.

Because of the way we were interacting with the security forces in Sierra Leone, I was invited to Ivory Coast because it had their rough times. I was invited to meet the security forces, and there was only one other woman there.

The next group that is very important to meet with is the political parties. We have 10 political parties, and we meet them every fortnight. Here you have the ruling party and the rebels who have now formed a political party. We discuss every stage of the elections, take decisions and move forward, and make proclamations about how the elections will go.

The next group is the traditional rulers. At home, 90 percent of our people will never see the president or a minister — all they know are their paramount chiefs, their traditional rulers. It's important to meet them, let them understand the process of election, the need for peaceful elections. They must control their people so that we can have peace.

The next group we call the inter-religious council. One thing that saved us in Sierra Leone was that our war did not take religious dimensions. So the Muslims and the Christians, the religious leaders, we meet with them on a monthly basis. And when they go to the pulpit, they do have a sway over the population.

We had 11 years of war, and about 65 percent of the electorate are young people who have never been to school, and they need to be brought into the process. The secret I will tell you: Most of these girls [helping with the elections] were girls I worked with during the war, so everywhere in the country I have emissaries for elections.

Let me say, elections can only assist. If the leaders are not good leaders, then we still have a problem with good governance in any country.

Skills Building

Women's Learning Partnership — Leveraging Social Media for Real World Change

Catherine Harrington of WLP provided an overview of the types, functions, challenges and benefits of using social media for activism. She opened the workshop with a number of images taken by citizens and statistics on the use of cell phones and internet in the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region and around the world.

Social media has increased the ability for and impact of citizen journalism, and serves as a means to combat oppressive government and restrictions on the press. Videos and images circulated on Twitter, YouTube and Facebook have the power to create real-world activism. For example, an Egyptian citizen's cell phone photo of a female protestor — known as the "blue bra girl" — being beaten and dragged away by police officers in Tahrir Square went viral. The image appeared in newspapers around the world and advanced mobilization of a women's march the following week. Other social media outlets such as HARASSmap use mapping technology and SMS to give women information on how to protect themselves from sexual harassment and the location of harassment hotspots.

Over the past decade, the expansion of cell phone use in the developing world has been accompanied by the growth of internet use. In Bahrain and Jordan, for example, there are more cell phones than people. Facebook has 845 million active users, YouTube sees 4 billion video views globally every day, and Twitter is growing at a rate of 11 accounts per second. With the advent of the smartphone, people do not need to own a computer to be tapped in to social media.

Yet gender gaps are present: women make up only 33 percent of internet users in the MENA region. Literacy and questions of authorship also pose potential divides for social media use and efficacy.

Social media has the benefits of being low cost and having global reach and speed. Activists can use social media to network, research, share knowledge, mobilize, engage the media, advocate and to "name and shame." However, social media can also be harnessed for malicious use or to present misinformation. Challenges include a lack of accountability in anonymous posts and security for human rights defenders, factors that can complicate activists' efforts to harness social media to build peace.



For a practical demonstration, Harrington led a brief tutorial on how to use Twitter, including character limitations, handles and Twitter-specific language and etiquette. Participants helped draft a Tweet for delegate Chi Yvonne Leina's campaign to stop breast ironing in Cameroon. The final outcome met the 140-character limit and could be used to reach out to constituents with the possibility of helping the issue go viral. The tweet (#breastironing) included a request for people to RT (retweet) to raise media attention, a URL (shortened using Bit.ly) for a YouTube video, and direct references to a journalist at World Pulse to increase the numbers of viewers.

Skills Building

Women's Learning Partnership — Participatory Leadership and Political Empowerment

Through a mini-workshop format, Lina Abou-Habib of Women's Learning Partnership (WLP) modeled part of a week-long training. Participants sat in a circle. The role of the facilitator is not to talk a lot, but to help everyone be heard and to challenge ideas and assumptions. She set the tone for the workshop by emphasizing equality and respect for differences, and encouraging everyone to jump in and participate, join the process and trust it. The facilitator then created a space for people to share their names, where they were from and their experiences.

Working in small groups, each was given a handout with a case study and had 20 minutes to:

- determine how to organize/govern itself as a group (roles included a reader, facilitator and reporter who would report the group's conclusions back to the larger group),
- read the story and work through a series of related questions, and
- observe the dynamics and behavior of the group at many levels (including noticing who takes on spontaneous leadership, how the group interacts with the story/case study, how individuals engage with the group structure).

Reporting back, the small groups described their case studies and observations of group dynamics. The first scenario was about generational conflict in a women's union. The discussion centered on strategies to bridge the generational gap, such as younger members teaching their senior colleagues new media, and the elder members being willing to hand over leadership to the younger generation. In the second scenario, the first female Minister of Justice in Canada attempted to implement gun control laws. The discussion addressed how she could build coalitions, create trust and engage with skeptics.

The group dynamics varied across each; for example, one group did not assign roles and their conversation developed naturally. In another the participants said they were able to get everyone involved, and even though some spoke less, the facilitator still asked for their input.

In the larger group, Abou-Habib suggested beginning at the community level by asking: Who are your role models? Women are rarely mentioned. Then ask: Why do you admire this person? What does he do to help people? How does he make his decisions? Try to dissect the assumptions about why we consider this person to be a leader. Inevitably during this process someone ends up saying, "actually my grandmother is a great leader," and then people open up and start to recognize this, explained Abou-Habib. Through participatory leadership, we can model and encourage this realization. One participant affirmed, "When people begin to challenge patriarchy, you know that you are making progress."

Asma Jahangir Distinguished Lecture Series “Walking Together for Freedom”

Asma Jahangir, a Pakistani human rights lawyer, was the keynote speaker for the conference. Her address was also the first in the 2012-2013 Joan B. Kroc Distinguished Lecture Series.

Jahangir’s lecture spanned the human rights challenges she has confronted both in Pakistan and internationally. Among multiple issues of religious versus human rights and the line between freedom of expression and religious intolerance, Jahangir spoke about Pakistan’s controversial blasphemy laws and the recent reaction to the derogatory video about the Prophet Mohammed.

Below are excerpts from the lecture. The full lecture can be found at <http://peace.sandiego.edu/dls>.

“I say that peace and justice must go hand in hand. We heard several times in Pakistan that when the Taliban were there at least the people of Afghanistan had peace. I recall one of the politicians coming to the television station and saying that yes it is peace, but it is the peace of the graveyard. And we do not want the peace of the graveyard.

“All the warning signs were there that it was going to erupt. That horrible silent peace was going to erupt. It was going to make the world nosier, a more disruptive world. But what happened to the leaders of the world? Why were preventative measures not taken? These are the questions that we as peacemakers have to put to the leadership of the world. These are the questions that we have to shake them up with.”

“In a movement in which you are asking for justice, asking for rights, where you are building up peace, you need the front-liners, you need the communicators, you need the grassroots workers, you need the civil society policymakers, you need creative thinking, you need people who connect each other, you need people who form networks, you need people whose voices are heard. And you need to pool all these resources. Unless this is done, no single individual, no single group, no single mind, no single pair of hands can bring peace or justice in this world.”

“Let me explain to you that precisely because you and your governments have supported our dictators for so long, there have been no political movements in our countries. The only political activity that was allowed and could not be taken away was in the mosque. The only organized civil society was that of the clergy and their followers. What do you expect after 22 years of dictators who sit there guarding the interests of the U.S., not

allowing political parties to flourish, not allowing civil societies to organize themselves?”

“If peace and justice is to be the hallmark of progress in society, women must not only fight for it but be recipients of it as well.”

“I do believe that when we as women are fighting for our rights, we must command respect not to be patronized because we have been patronized enough. We want genuine respect. We want genuine dignity that we deserve.”



Asma Jahangir

Madeleine Rees Closing Keynote Address

Madeleine Rees, a lawyer, is the secretary general of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom. She began working for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) as the gender expert and head of office in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1998.

Below are excerpts from the address. The full transcript is available at <http://peace.sandiego.edu>.

“The first thing I want to talk about is Bosnia and how naïve I was when I went there first in 1996. It was just after the peace agreement and women’s organizations were enthusiastic. [Women] had been described to all of us by

the Western press as the victims of this horrific conflict — and there had been numerous victims and it was a terrible time of course. But at the same time, after the ending of the conflict there was a belief that there would be a transition, a transformation — that women would bring peace and a new direction to Bosnia. But, as all of you know, there wasn’t a single woman represented in the drawing up of the constitution framework in the Dayton Peace Agreement. There wasn’t a single woman who had been consulted or participated in any way, shape or form in what the content of that should be. As a result, there was an institutionalization of the warring factions within a peace agreement. Lesson number one: Never ever let that happen again.”

“After the peace agreement ... we ended up with 80,000 peacekeepers — most of whom are men, most of whom are carrying weapons — in a country which has already been traumatized by the presence of men with guns in uniforms. Whilst the women said to me that in some respects they wanted them to be there because they were afraid that without that there would be a descent into more conflict and more insecurity, at the same time they knew that the very presence of the military in such numbers was militarizing yet again their societies and their communities, and leading to the marginalization of women from public spaces. And this is a negative downside of peacekeeping which we really have to examine.”

“In the absence of any participation [by women] in relation to the possibility even of a reparations program meant that instead of having reparations, [money] went straight into a social welfare program. If it goes into a



“Karaman’s House,” a location where women were tortured and raped near Foča, Bosnia-Herzegovina (photo courtesy of the ICTY)

social welfare program that means that if you have been sexually violated, you have to prove that the damage caused to you was the equivalent of the military scale, which meant it was about the loss of an arm or an eye. If you couldn’t prove that you didn’t get anything. That of itself shows the complete absence of any recognition of the types of gendered violence that had been perpetrated and the consequences of that gendered violence. As a result what we’ve got is women with, if they’re lucky, pensions within a social welfare system, which — when you have an IMF loan come up with conditionalities — gets cut. So you automatically have a reduction in the economic potential for women and an exclusion.”

“Militarization and the provision of decent healthcare from a gender perspective do not work. I’m very pleased to say that UNFPA [U.N. Population Fund] has now taken up that argument. They say that when they are looking at the support they should be giving to states where they have high maternal mortality, they should be looking at how much they are allocating to their defense budgets. That’s huge progress. That’s a U.N. organization taking it on.”

“The laws that have been set up are written from a patriarchal viewpoint. On sexual violence it’s written from the viewpoint of the man. There’s only one place where it’s not: In the Great Lakes agreement there is the best protocol on the protection of women and girls from sexual violence. It’s written from the female perspective. It focuses on what the guy did. Not on what she did, but on what he did and whether he knew, should have known or was reckless. So we leave the consent part out. Whilst we still have consent, whilst we still have cross-examinations ... we are undermining the rights of women to access justice on the basis of equality. Men don’t get cross-examined on these issues if they are raped. They do not because it is prosecuted as torture. There’s no consent, which shows that it is coming from a patriarchal, heterosexual framework, which privileges the perpetrators. So that’s one thing that has to go.”

“Women will not come forward and testify, will not be able to access the courts — because you have to go not just once, you have to go loads of times, you have to travel, you have to spend time away from your families and communities — unless we have a political economic approach, unless we’re ensuring that they have that basic, rights-based access to economic activity, access to housing, access to social welfare, education for your kids, and security. Once you’ve got that, then you have the space to participate.”

“The [U.N.] treaty body system is the independent



U.N. Protection Force in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina (photo courtesy of UN/John Isaac)

experts. They are respected by governments to a greater or lesser extent, and they can help us enormously when our states are not working. You send a report to the committee, they adjudicate on the content of the report, and then they make observations or recommendations to states. The one we are targeting most is the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which at the moment is very friendly to us and to NGOs generally. They've been very open and want input and assistance in order to come up with the transformative language that we need. When they do their reports, those are immediately translated into reports for the Universal Periodic Review, which is then reviewed by other members of the Human Rights Council."

"We need to bring what you're doing at the grassroots level into the international arena, so that, one, it is better from a human rights defender's perspective, and two, it actually makes the system itself more responsive — because that's half the problem. It's not responsive because we don't use it as well as perhaps we should. Grassroots information into the treaty bodies, that information into the Universal Periodic Review, information translated into law, translated into obligations, adjudicated by the Council, back to your government, back to make the changes. And that cycle starts again. That involves all of us, not just boring lawyers. It involves all of us because the truth of what is happening on the ground needs to be translated into human rights terminology."

SECTION IV

From Co-conveners and Delegates to “Breaking Barriers,” a Cross-Sector Conference on Challenges to Achieving Gendered Security, Justice and Inclusive Peacebuilding.

More than 150 delegates from 48 countries — including U.N. officials, peace mediators, police and security officers, female peacekeepers, government officials, directors of national and international organizations, judges and attorneys, technical advisors, scholars and policy experts — attended the conference “Breaking Barriers” from September 26 to 28, 2012.

“Breaking Barriers” marked the fifth bi-annual international conference of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice at the University of San Diego’s Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies. Convened to create and advance the knowledge and recommendations of international gender experts from across disciplines on issues addressing women, peace and security, these meetings demonstrate the depth of gender expertise available to advance global security.

On the basis of the input gathered during this year’s conference on the barriers to **Security, Justice and Peace**, conveners call on all relevant actors to heed the following actionable recommendations, recognizing that unless and until these points are taken into account and expanded upon, any investment in peace, justice and security will be both inefficient and insufficient.

Security

Recognizing the challenges of traditional security apparatuses to protect all civilians and address the root causes that fuel violence and its recurrence,

Realizing that for women and girls insecurity exists as much in the domestic sphere as in the public sphere, that physical threats to women and girls present an equal or larger threat to their security after conflict, and that the presence and actions of armed police and security forces can create insecure spaces for women and girls, and

Reaffirming the wide-reaching provisions for human security enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Rome Statute, UNSCRs 1325, 1820, 1888, 1889 and 1960, the Beijing Platform for Action and the Millennium Development Goals,

The conference co-conveners and delegates:

Urge Member States to adopt a Human Security framework as the dominant paradigm of national security, lessening the dependence on and resort to traditional security mechanisms. An integral part of a robust Human Security framework would include a good working military and security forces, with a revised mandate aligned to human security priorities.

Prioritizing Human Security (freedom from fear and freedom from want) as the dominant measure of national and global security, military and security activities should be carried out in accordance with the following:

- **National and local approaches to security should involve a “whole community” approach, involving a wide range of stakeholders** including, e.g., police, armed groups, military, civil society, displaced communities, business community, policymakers — and addressing human security needs as the overall objective.
- **Member States should support the spirit and the letter of U.N. Security Council agreements that have been advanced on Women, Peace and Security, and continue to critically assess the effectiveness of existing policies.**
- **The outsourcing of security duties to non-state, for-profit companies or individuals should be strongly condemned.**

SECTION V

- **Member States should adopt the recent CEDAW committee recommendations, prioritizing State responsibility to protect and address threats to women human rights defenders under the Convention.**
- **Consultations with women should be systematized at every step of the U.N. peacekeeping process from pre-assessment to deployment of the mission to evaluation of the mission to change of mandate to transition to peacebuilding.** For example, U.N. peacekeepers generally meet with male representatives of political parties, local authorities and some human rights organizations. Women are rarely involved in these meetings/ consultations and their voices are not heard.
- **Involve and consult with local actors and leaders, both male and female, in how to develop local protection mechanisms that are culturally and gender aware.** For example, in Afghanistan new schools for girls were at risk of being burned down. But if boys attended in the morning and girls attended in the evening, the schools were not destroyed.
- **Know the gender hierarchy in the local culture. Do not expose women to further violence through gender-blind operations.** In order to consult and work with women, it may be necessary to identify and educate male leaders. Within a human rights framework, do not accept excuses of culture or tradition to allow harm or violence toward women to continue.
- **Appoint more women to leadership positions in U.N. peacekeeping operations,** particularly as Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations or Deputy Special Representative of the Secretary-General for Peacekeeping Operations.
- **Change job experience requirements for these leadership positions that few women currently meet.** For example, instead of requiring 10 years of diplomatic experience and finding only a pool of men, include, e.g., grassroots peacemaking experience or activist experience with relevant political savvy.

Justice

Recognizing that the prevention of violence and the upholding of rights are dependent upon the passing of just laws — and both prosecutorial and transformative justice mechanisms that are accessible, transparent and locally relevant to women and men — conference co-conveners and delegates recommend the following measures to combat impunity and increase the effective provision of human rights for women and men, girls and boys in societies in peacetime, wartime and transition:

- **Increase education and awareness of justice mechanisms to ensure people know what their rights and possible legal recourse/processes are.**
- **Transform prosecutorial justice mechanisms so that they do not contribute to a second violation of women’s rights.**
- **Create stronger, more accessible and transparent mechanisms for reparative justice that include guarantees of non-occurrence and rehabilitation, and which facilitate the economic empowerment of women survivors and victims.**
- **When designing transitional justice mechanisms ask:**
 - What does justice mean for women affected by the conflict?
 - What were women’s experiences of conflict?
 - What were the pre-existing gendered power relations?
 - What has been the impact of violations experienced?
- **Invest in and develop robust witness protection programs.**

- **Enable women economically so that they can enter decision-making circles,** for example, identify existing women-led organizations and gender-sensitive leadership within civil society rather than creating a new elite.
- **Take into account the cultural context** — though customary mechanisms such as customary or tribal law must be equally in line with international human rights standards — **addressing human rights gaps where they exist.**
- **Document the existing work being done,** including recognizing the lessons born from traditional processes.

Concerned with national and transnational human rights violations which occur when humans are trafficked, conference co-conveners and delegates:

- **Urge all Member States to fully ratify and implement the Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, Especially Women and Children,** supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime.

Peacebuilding

Recognizing the trends of violent extremism occurring in societies around the world and within multiple religious faiths, the conference co-conveners and delegates:

- **Urge political, military, religious and civil leaders to enact their leadership to promote tolerance, education and understanding of diversity.**
- **Urge Member States to close the gaps between the intent and the implementation of resolutions on women, peace and security.**

Finally, as cross-cutting recommendations:

Recognizing that perceptions of security, justice and peace are gendered, we assert that **research, policy and practice must re-conceptualize the concerns and possible solutions to security, justice and peace, based on context-specific, sex- and gender-disaggregated data, and should focus on achieving holistic outcomes that benefit the majority of women and men, as well as marginalized groups.**

And with the intent of making the international human rights monitoring and protection system more responsive, we urge **civil society to actively utilize the Universal Periodic Review at the U.N. Human Rights Council, especially through reporting to committees such as the Committee on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, to hold states accountable to address gaps in women’s rights.**

On behalf of collaborating organizations and delegates, we, as co-conveners, affirm and demand that all relevant actors take account of these essential next steps in their deliberations, planning and promotion of engendered peacebuilding and peacekeeping.

Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice
NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security
Nobel Women’s Initiative
UN Women
Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice
Women’s Learning Partnership
World Pulse

Appendix A: Biographies of Speakers

Lina Abou-Habib is executive director of the Collective for Research and Training on Development–Action, which promotes women’s leadership, political participation and citizenship and economic rights in Lebanon and the Middle East/North Africa (MENA) region. Also the co-founder and coordinator of the Machreq/Maghreb Gender Linking and Information Project, Abou-Habib has collaborated with regional and international agencies and public institutions on mainstreaming gender in development policies and practices.

Mahnaz Afkhami is founder and president of Women’s Learning Partnership (WLP), executive director of Foundation for Iranian Studies and former minister for women’s affairs in Iran. A leading advocate of women’s rights for more than three decades, she founded the Association of Iranian University Women and served as secretary general of the Women’s Organization of Iran prior to the Islamic revolution. Afkhami chairs the advisory board of the International Museum of Women and serves on the advisory boards of the Women’s Rights Division of Human Rights Watch and the World Movement for Democracy

Dee Aker, deputy director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), is a psychological anthropologist and conflict resolution professional with 30 years of experience working with international communities and individuals in transition in Europe, Africa, Central America and South Asia. Currently her work includes specialized public sector programs for youth, women, security and political leaders designed to increase their awareness of their rights as stakeholders and responsibilities as actors, and to improve their skills in strategic negotiation. At the IPJ, she created the WorldLink Program, the Nepal Peacebuilding Initiative and the Women PeaceMakers Program.

Petra Tötterman Andorff is the international coordinator of Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the world’s oldest women’s peace organization. Previously she was the secretary general for WILPF Sweden. She is a board member of the women’s rights organization Kvinna till Kvinna, the Swedish chapter of the international network Women In International Security (WIIS), and one of the founders of the Swedish network Operation 1325. She has written extensively in Swedish media on the topics of women, peace, security and disarmament and is the co-author of the book *Peace Agent 1325*.

Manisha Aryal has over a decade of experience

strengthening the capacity of local media in developing countries. Her expertise includes design, launch and management of media development programs in conflict and post-conflict countries. She currently manages an ambitious, multi-country media and human rights program for Internews. For the last two decades Aryal has worked with universities, journalism associations and local media outlets in northwest Pakistan, run a local nonprofit that produced public service programs for local television and radio stations in Nepal, and reported from South Asia for a range of print publications and radio programs.

Jamille Bigio joined the U.S. Department of State in 2009 as senior advisor on peace and security, and Africa specialist, in the Secretary of State’s Office of Global Women’s Issues. She has worked on gender advocacy with the policy unit of the U.N. Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in New York, and with OCHA in Ethiopia on building the government of Ethiopia’s capacity for disaster management. Bigio has also worked for the U.N. Assistance Mission for Iraq on analysis of the humanitarian and development response.

Jennifer Freeman is program officer for the Women PeaceMakers Program at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice. Prior to joining the institute, Freeman worked with various nongovernmental organizations in Ghana, Northern Ireland, Canada and in Ugandan refugee settlements on issues of women’s rights and peacebuilding. She has conducted research in Kyaka II refugee settlement in Uganda on gendered security for refugees from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Rwanda and Burundi. Freeman is currently working with the Women PeaceMakers Program’s 39 alumnae to develop Regional Networks to support women’s myriad roles in peacebuilding during and post-conflict.

Rebecca Gerome is program officer of the Women’s Network of the International Action Network on Small Arms, the only network focused on the connections between gender, women’s rights, small arms and armed violence. She has researched and led trainings on small arms and light weapons and gender in Latin America, the Middle East and Africa, and coordinated the gender advocacy team during the Arms Trade Treaty negotiations.

Lt. Col. Jesús Ignacio Gil Ruiz, of the Spanish Army, is chief of the NATO Office on Gender Perspectives, the permanent NATO focal point for collecting, providing and sharing information regarding national programs, policies and procedures on gender-related issues. He has worked in the Cabinet of the Spanish Minister of Defense, cooperating with the Spanish Military Observatory for Equality, and in the Political Department of the Office of the High

Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina, dealing with humanitarian issues, gender and protection of minorities.

Catherine Harrington is the program and communications associate at Women’s Learning Partnership (WLP), where she coordinates programs with partner organizations in South Asia, the Middle East and Africa, and facilitates communications and outreach for WLP’s campaigns and programs. She also served as consulting producer for WLP’s recently released documentary “From Fear to Freedom: Ending Violence Against Women.” Prior to WLP, Harrington worked at the Council on Foreign Relations as an editorial assistant for *Foreign Affairs*, interned at the Center for International Cooperation and served as an editor for *Watching America*.

Fahima Hashim is director of Salmmah Women’s Resource Centre in Sudan and has over 25 years of experience in gender and development, with a special emphasis on women’s rights and sexuality, violence against women, and working with youth in conflict and post-conflict situations. She is on the advisory committee of the International Campaign to Stop Rape and Gender Violence in Conflict, the first ever collaboration between the Nobel Peace Laureates of the Nobel Women’s Initiative and 25 organizations working at the international, regional and community levels to stop rape in conflict.

Yee Htun is the coordinator of the Nobel Women’s Initiative’s International Campaign to Stop Rape and Gender Violence in Conflict. Born in Burma, she has worked with various grassroots community-based organizations, including the Burmese Women’s Union, Mae Tao Clinic’s Committee on Protection and Promotion of Children’s Rights, Social Action for Women and the Women’s League of Burma. She was one of the coordinators of the Open School Campaign in 1999 and has authored several advocacy reports including “Caught between Two Hells,” which highlighted the plight of illegal migrant workers from Burma in Thailand and China.

Brigid Inder is the founding executive director of the Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice and the newly appointed special gender adviser to Fatou Bensouda, prosecutor of the International Criminal Court. She has 25 years of experience working in the international justice, human rights and health fields as a strategic leader, political adviser and advocate for women’s human rights and gender equality. Inder is recognized for her work as a policy adviser and advocate at numerous U.N. conferences and global negotiations on many issues, including for the past decade on women in armed conflict situations. She is the immediate past president of the Association for Women’s Rights in Development.

Asma Jahangir is a Pakistani human rights lawyer who served two terms as chair of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan and was the first woman president of the Supreme Court Bar Association of Pakistan. She has fought to defend the human rights of women, religious minorities and laborers in Pakistan for over 40 years, both in and out of the courtroom. On the international level, Jahangir has served as U.N. Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Arbitrary or Summary Executions for the U.N. Commission on Human Rights (1998-2004) and U.N. Special Rapporteur on Freedom of Religion or Belief for the U.N. Human Rights Council (2004-2010).

Asma Khader, a prominent human rights activist in Jordan, is general coordinator of Sisterhood Is Global Institute/Jordan and secretary general of the Jordanian National Commission for Women. She recently served as one of three official investigators on behalf of the U.N. Human Rights Council’s inquiry into human rights abuses in Libya. Previously, Khader was the minister of culture for the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and president of the Jordanian Women’s Union. Elected to the Permanent Arab Court as counsel on violence against women, she is a leading advocate of the campaigns to strengthen legislation outlawing honor killing.

Chi Yvonne Leina is a World Pulse correspondent and journalist from Cameroon who strives to bring Cameroonians’ daily struggles to light and expose negative cultural practices, such as breast ironing. When her World Pulse coverage on breast ironing was noticed by CNN, the news outlet produced a story that went on to become #1 on CNN.com. The recent recipient of the Women with Wings Award, which honors courageous and pioneering women leaders, Leina hopes to create a media center to train women and young girls to become journalists, radio announcers and documentary filmmakers.

Melina Lito is program director of the Women, Peace and Security Program at Global Action to Prevent War. Her prior work on gender and the responsibility to protect doctrine includes a paper on the “Gender Dimensions of Third Pillar Capacities: Conflict Prevention, Early Warning, and Rapid Response” in the e-book *Operationalizing the Responsibility to Protect: A Contribution to the Third Pillar Approach*.

Katherine Magraw is the director of the Peace and Security Funders Group, an association of funders who promote international peace. Magraw was program officer for the W. Alton Jones Foundation. Her government experience includes positions as special assistant to the under-secretary of state for international security affairs, and foreign policy specialist for the Arms Control and

Disarmament Agency. In the nongovernmental sector she has been co-director of the Iraq Policy Information Center and assistant legislative director at the Council for a Livable World.

Jacqueline Pitanguy is founder and executive director of *Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informação e Ação* (CEPIA) and former president of the National Council for Women's Rights. She is the president of the board of the Brazil Fund for Human Rights and serves on the boards of international organizations, including the Society for International Development. Pitanguy was also a member of the Carter Center's International Human Rights Council and chair of the board of the Global Fund for Women, and has been awarded the Medal of Rio Branco, the highest decoration of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Nadine Puechguirbal is the senior gender adviser for the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations. Previously she has served as the women and war adviser to the International Committee of the Red Cross and as senior gender adviser for the U.N. Stabilization Mission in Haiti. Puechguirbal is also a visiting professor at the University for Peace, in Costa Rica, where she teaches in the master's program on gender and peacebuilding.

Mossarat Qadeem is the founder and executive director of PAIMAN Trust, a political and economic network of women legislators, social-political activists and young women leaders across Pakistan. Through PAIMAN she has formed peace groups for women and youth in Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, and helped radicalized youth reintegrate into society.

Madeleine Rees, a lawyer, is the secretary general of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. She began working for the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) as the gender expert and head of office in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1998. In that capacity she worked extensively on the rule of law, gender and transitional justice, and the protection of social and economic rights. Rees was a member of the expert coordination group of the trafficking task force of the Stability Pact, thence the Alliance against Trafficking. From 2006 to 2010 she was head of the Women's Rights and Gender Unit for the OHCHR, focusing on using law to describe the different experiences of men and women, particularly in post-conflict situations.

Mary Hope Schwoebel is a senior program officer at the Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding at the United States Institute of Peace, where she teaches and trains and oversees a women's dialogue initiative in two conflict-ridden, multiethnic provinces. Last

year she carried out an innovative cross-border dialogue initiative in the tribal border regions of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Schwoebel lived and worked in South America for five years and in the Horn of Africa for six years, where her positions included program manager of the Ethnic Clashes Program for UNICEF/Kenya and program manager for the Urban Basic Services Program for UNICEF/Somalia.

Sarah Taylor, executive coordinator of the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security, researches and writes on women, peace and security. She has worked and conducted research in Mexico, Guatemala and El Salvador, and has taught on gender, violence and education. She received her M.A. in political science, with a focus on nationalism and gender in Eastern Europe, from the University of Canterbury in New Zealand, and is a Ph.D. candidate in political science at the New School University in New York, where she is conducting a comparative analysis of high-level women negotiators.

Nahla Valji is program specialist for the rule of law and transitional justice at UN Women and the co-founder and former managing editor of the *International Journal of Transitional Justice*. Prior to joining the United Nations, Valji was senior project manager in the Transitional Justice Programme at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Cape Town, South Africa, where she developed and managed the African Transitional Justice Research Network. Her recent publications include two UNIFEM policy notes on gender and transitional justice, and a chapter on truth commissions and courts for a human rights handbook.

Lilia Velasquez is an attorney and certified specialist in immigration and nationality law, with her practice devoted entirely to immigration cases. For the last 10 years, she has focused on defending women's rights, particularly victims of domestic violence, refugee women and victims of trafficking for forced prostitution. Velasquez is consulting attorney in immigration law for the Mexican Consulate in San Diego and trains judges and lawyers throughout Latin America in trial skills and media advocacy. She received her LL.M. in international law from the University of San Diego School of Law.

Korto Williams is the country representative for ActionAid Liberia, which she joined in 2007 as women's rights coordinator. She has more than 10 years of development experience working on post-conflict reconstruction and women's rights issues in Liberia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Sierra Leone, Malawi, Haiti, the Occupied Palestinian Territories and Burundi. Before joining ActionAid, she worked with several development institutions, including the U.S. Agency for

International Development, the U.N. Development Programme and the International Foundation for Education and Self-Help.

Appendix B: Biographies of Women PeaceMakers

Sister Pauline Acayo (2005) of Uganda is the peacebuilding project officer for Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in its Gulu office. She has been instrumental in helping more than 2,000 formerly abducted children reintegrate into their communities through the use of mediation, psychosocial trauma counseling and traditional indigenous ceremonies. Together with the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative, Acayo and CRS formed sub-county and district religious leaders' peace committees to institutionalize the resolution of conflict through dialogue and mediation.

Shinjita Alam (2008) of Bangladesh is a women's rights activist and independent consultant in peacebuilding. For several years she worked with the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). After managing income-generating projects for women and mediating domestic disputes within families, she initiated and oversaw MCC's peace program — the first of its kind in Bangladesh. Alam has also worked for the organization Families for Children, raising the educational levels of women marginalized from their communities, and has organized forums for interfaith dialogue between the largely Christian Gar people and Muslim Bengalis.

Mary Ann Arnado (2005) of the Philippines is the secretary general of the Mindanao Peoples Caucus (MPC), a grassroots network of Muslims, indigenous peoples and Christians working for peace across the island. She and the MPC (then part of the Initiatives for International Dialogue, of which Arnado was deputy director) created Bantay Ceasefire, or Ceasefire Watch, which monitors the ceasefire between the government army and Moro Islamic Liberation Front. She recently initiated the formation of an all-women's peacekeeping team to assist in monitoring the ceasefire.

Samia Bamieh (2007) of Palestine is a founding member of the International Women's Commission for a Just and Sustainable Palestinian-Israeli Peace. She was one of the experts who helped formulate the Palestinian government's Plan of Action on gender after the U.N.'s Fourth World Conference on Women, in Beijing, China.

Bamieh has served in two positions in the Ministry of Planning and International Cooperation and was a member of the committee assigned to draft a Palestinian constitution under Minister Nabeel Shaath. She was also part of Jerusalem Link, the coordinating body of two independent women's organizations, one Israeli and one Palestinian.

Marta Benavides (2009) of El Salvador is the founder of the International Institute for Cooperation Amongst Peoples, also known as the Institute for the 23rd Century, which promotes the values of a culture of peace through various programs. During the early 1980s, Benavides was head of the Ecumenical Committee for Humanitarian Aid, a group sponsored by the late Archbishop Oscar Romero to support victims of violence. In 2009 she was named one of three co-chairs of the Global Call to Action against Poverty.

Rubina Feroze Bhatti (2009) was born into a Christian family in the majority Muslim country of Pakistan. She is a founding member and general secretary of Taangh Wasaib Organization (TWO), a rights-based development group working for communal harmony and equality through programs addressing violence against women and discriminatory laws and policies against women and minorities. She has fought religious intolerance and extremism, including challenging the blasphemy law and initiating a campaign to abolish separate electorates, which prevent non-Muslims from voting.

Zeinab Mohamed Blandia (2009), of the Nuba Mountains in Sudan, is the founder and director of *Ruya*, or "Vision," an organization based both in Kadugli in the Nuba Mountains and Omdurman, across the Nile River from Khartoum. Ruya's Social Solidarity Fund develops the economic skills of women through traditional group activities and contemporary modes such as savings accounts. Blandia also initiated the program "Women Bridging," which involves exchange visits between conflict-divided communities in South Kordofan State.

Emmaculeta Chiseya (2005) of Zimbabwe is a project officer for the Zimbabwe Election Support Network (ZESN), which provides electoral education, election monitoring, research, advocacy and information dissemination. She has produced democracy education publications and utilizes radio programs tailored to youth and marginalized communities to urge them to participate in the political process. She previously worked for the Zimbabwe Human Rights Association, in which she promoted, protected and defended human rights during a dangerous period of Zimbabwean history.

Zahra Ugas Farah (2003) of Somalia 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 civil war in Somalia. It has since expanded its work beyond humanitarian aid to the empowerment of women through education, income-generating activities and skills building. Farah also participated in the Somali peace process as a key civil society leader, chairing meetings of the Leaders Committee and serving as a member of the Committee on Conflict Resolution and Reconciliation.

Vaiba Kebeh Flomo (2010) of Liberia is the women’s desk officer for the Lutheran Church in Liberia – Trauma Healing and Reconciliation Program, where she supervises psychosocial services to war-affected women and girls. With her colleague Leymah Gbowee, a 2011 Nobel Peace Prize winner, she formed a Christian women’s group, which then joined with a Muslim women’s group to form Liberian Women Mass Action for Peace. The group was successful in pushing the warring parties to the peace table, a story featured in the film “Pray the Devil Back to Hell.”

Shukrije Gashi (2006) of Kosovo 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 and journalist, she helped establish several regional nongovernmental organizations, including the Council for the Defense of Human Rights and Freedoms, the Centre for the Protection of Women and Children, and Motrat Qiriaz. Throughout the 1990s, she was involved in the Council of Reconciliation, which brought together Albanians from Kosovo and the diaspora to resolve sometimes decades-old blood feuds.

Thavory Huot (2005) of Cambodia is the executive director of Khmer Ahimsa, an organization that promotes nonviolent conflict resolution and community empowerment through traditional peacemaking methods. A survivor of three decades of civil war, genocide and domestic violence, Huot has also served as program assistant for the Project Against Domestic Violence, the program manager of the Peace Education and Awareness Unit of the Working Group for Weapons Reduction, where she advocated for civilian arms reduction in post-conflict Cambodia.

Wahu Kaara (2011) of Kenya is the founder of Kenya Debt Relief Network, which coordinated the country’s activities for the global Jubilee 2000 debt cancellation campaign and advises government ministries on matters of public finance, foreign aid and debt. From 2004 to 2006 she was the coordinator of the U.N. Millennium Development

Goals campaign at the All Africa Council of Churches. In the early 1990s, she and a group of mothers, wives and daughters protested for a year in Nairobi and secured the release of 52 political prisoners.

Raya Kadyrova (2003) is the president and founder of Foundation for Tolerance International (FTI), an NGO founded in 1998 in Kyrgyzstan, which operates in the cross-border communities of the Ferghana Valley in Central Asia. FTI developed the Early Warning for Violence Prevention program, which utilizes constant monitoring processes to raise awareness of potential and actual conflicts throughout Kyrgyzstan. Kadyrova 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.

Palwasha Kakar (2006) of Afghanistan was deputy minister for administration and finance in the country’s Ministry of Women’s Affairs until April 2012. She has also served as program manager in the eastern regional office of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, where she worked toward the protection, promotion and defense of the rights of the Afghan people, with a particular focus on women.

Svetlana Kijevčanin (2006) of Serbia is an educational psychologist and a co-founder of Group MOST (“Bridge”): Association for Cooperation and Mediation, which implemented various creative and innovative programs in peace education during the wars in the former Yugoslavia. For the last three years she has been managing the Bridge Year program of Princeton University and World Learning, which brings newly admitted students to Serbia to volunteer in local organizations. Recently with a group of women activists from Serbia, she produced and performed Eve Ensler’s *Vagina Monologues*, raising awareness about violence against women across the Balkan region.

Hyun-Sook Kim Lee (2003) of South Korea is executive director of Women’s Forum for Peace and Diplomacy, and served until 2008 as the vice president of the Korean Red Cross. She and colleagues in Seoul created the Korea Women’s Hotline, providing guidance and support to victims of domestic violence; the hotline was instrumental in establishing domestic and sexual violence as criminal acts in the country. Lee later co-founded and served as executive director of Women Making Peace, which seeks to create a culture of peace on the Korean peninsula. She helped mobilize 700 Korean women — from the south, north and diaspora — for a historic women’s reunification meeting in 2002.

Sarah Akoru Lochodo (2010) of Kenya is an assistant chief in Kainuk Sublocation in the Turkana District in the northwest of her country. Within a month of being appointed assistant chief in 2002, she averted a massive revenge killing after a boy from the Pokot tribe was killed by a Turkana warrior from her own community. By 2009 she succeeded in holding a historic Pokot-Turkana meeting, the first attended completely without weapons. Lochodo is also a founding member of Rural Women Peace Link, which played a role in stabilizing communities after the 2007-2008 election-related violence.

Sylvie Maunga Mbanga (2008) of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) is a lawyer and was for a time the coordinator of the program against sexual violence for the Interchurch Organization for Development Cooperation, and Church in Action. She was also the program officer for the peacebuilding and conflict transformation program at the Life & Peace Institute, where she provided counseling and legal services to victims of rape and sexual violence. Mbanga has also worked on electoral reform, interethnic dialogue, and been a radio correspondent for the French/Swahili service of Voice of America.

Luz Méndez (2004) of Guatemala is president of the Advisory Board of *Unión Nacional de Mujeres Guatemaltecas*, which works for gender equality, social justice and peacebuilding. She participated in the table of peace negotiations as part of the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity’s delegation, where she dedicated special attention to the incorporation of gender equality commitments in the accords. Méndez was a speaker at the first meeting that the U.N. Security Council held with women’s organizations leading up to the passage of resolution 1325 on women, peace and security.

Merlie “Milet” B. Mendoza (2010) of the Philippines is a peace practitioner and independent humanitarian. Beginning in 1989 in the Corazon Aquino administration, she worked in various governmental positions. She previously served as executive coordinator of *Tabang Mindanaw* (“Help Mindanao”), a national coalition for peace, development, humanitarian assistance and human security, and coordinated the Assisi Free the Indigenous Peoples Program, where she facilitated the release of 12 indigenous people unjustly imprisoned for life. Mendoza is a founding member of the Asian Disaster Response and Reduction Network.

Alice Nderitu (2012) of Kenya is a commissioner in the National Cohesion and Integration Commission, created in the aftermath of the 2007-2008 election-related violence to mediate ethnic and race-related conflict and

promote peaceful coexistence. She was the first staff member of the Kenya National Commission on Human Rights and has trained law enforcement and military officers on civil-military relations and the rule of law, at both the International Peace Support Training College and the Rwanda Military Academy.

Zandile Nhlengetwa (2008) of South Africa is the principal of Ulusda School in KwaZulu-Natal, which is a school for youth and a community center that organizes adults on issues such as gender inequity, sexual abuse and violence. She worked for many years for the organization Survivors of Violence, in which she designed peacebuilding intervention strategies in communities with high levels of violence, both during and post-apartheid. Nhlengetwa also formed the Harambe Women’s Forum, made up of women who, like her, had lost family members to violence and crime.

Olenka Ochoa (2008) of Peru is an activist working on multiple levels for gender mainstreaming and ending discrimination against women. She is a board member of the Federation of Municipal Women of Latin America and the Caribbean, and of the Huairou Commission, a global network of community development organizations. Ochoa served as an elected member of the Metropolitan Lima Municipal Council for three years, in which she founded the first commission of women in the municipality. During the civil war, she worked with grassroots organizations to found the first shelter for battered women in San Juan de Lurigancho, an area heavily affected by the violence.

Rebecca Joshua Okwaci (2006) is deputy minister for general education in South Sudan. Prior to that she was executive producer at Sudan Radio Service, where she produced the programs “Our Voices” and “Women’s Corner” and contributed to programs educating citizens on elements of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement signed in 2005. Okwaci is also secretary general of Women Action for Development, and co-founded Sudanese Women’s Empowerment for Peace, an organization included in the list of 1,000 women nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.

Radha Paudel (2012) of Nepal is the founder and president of Action Works Nepal (AWON), which assists primarily rural, poor and marginalized women to live dignified lives. AWON’s *Miteri Gau*, or Let’s Live Together Campaign, engages all levels of rural communities in a dialogue on the rights of women, and the SHARP Campaign addresses harassment on public transportation and in educational institutions. Since the country’s constituent assembly was created to draft a new

constitution, Paudel began working to incorporate a gender perspective in the process and brought the voices of rural and conflict-affected communities to the capital.

Ludmila Popovici (2012) of Moldova is the founder of the Rehabilitation Center of Torture Victims Memoria, or RCTV Memoria, the only such organization in Moldova working with survivors of torture and one of the first nonprofit, nongovernmental organizations in the country. Over the last decade, RCTV Memoria has treated more than 1,300 survivors of torture and other cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. Popovici founded the organization in 1999 to provide mental health rehabilitation services through medical, psychological and legal assistance to victims of torture who are former political prisoners, victims of police torture, and refugees and asylum seekers from around the world.

Manjula Pradeep (2011) of India was the first female employee of the grassroots Dalit rights group Navsarjan Trust, and in 2004 rose to become its executive director. In 2008, Pradeep, a lawyer and human rights activist, defended the case of a young Dalit girl who had endured long-term gang rape by six professors in her college. The case resulted in life imprisonment for all six accused. Pradeep is also involved in the national and state level programs of the National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights and is an executive committee member of the International Dalit Solidarity Network.

Zarina Salamat (2004) of Pakistan was for several years the chairperson of the Pakistan-India Peoples Forum for Peace and Democracy (PIPPFD) in Islamabad and a leader in the Citizens' Peace Committee. For years she worked at the National Institute of Historical and Cultural Research. After the testing of nuclear devices by India and Pakistan in 1998, Salamat became engaged with the Hiroshima Citizens Group for the Promotion of Peace, and soon began coordinating exchange visits for students from the subcontinent to visit the Japanese city.

Nancy Sánchez (2012) of Colombia works with Asociación MINGA, a human rights organization, in the dangerous Putumayo region. In addition to empowering women to use their voices in the struggle for justice and peace, she has worked to raise awareness of the consequences of the U.S.-funded Plan Colombia. Her entry into human rights work was with CREDHOS, the Regional Committee for the Defense of Human Rights, in the region of Magdalena Medio in the 1990s. CREDHOS' archive of unidentified bodies of the disappeared became the only means for people to find their loved ones.

Shreen Abdul Saroor (2004) of Sri Lanka is one of the

founders of Mannar Women's Development Federation and Mannar Women for Human Rights and Democracy. In the aftermath of the end of the war in 2009, she united 11 grassroots women's groups from the north and east of the island and formed the Women's Action Network to address all forms of sexual and gender-based violence against minority women. As an Echoing Green Fellow, Saroor has worked for the establishment of a Model Resettlement Village, bringing together Hindu, Catholic and Muslim women who have become heads of households due to the conflict.

Bae Liza Llesis Saway (2009) of the Philippines is the founder of Talaandig Mothers for Peace, in which Talaandig women are empowered to have equal opportunities in the decision-making processes of their tribe. The group also documents indigenous methods of conflict resolution. Saway led the establishment of the Talaandig School for Living Traditions, which promotes indigenous arts, music and dance with the aim of preserving the tribe's cultural heritage. She is a council member of the Mindanao Peoples Caucus, composed of grassroots leaders from the Muslim, Christian and indigenous communities working for peace on the island.

Latifah Anum Siregar (2007) of Indonesia 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 the province of Papua. From 2007 to 2011 she also served as general secretary of the Papua Muslim Assembly. With ALDP she defends the rights of indigenous and migrant individuals and communities, protects them from torture practices, and identifies traditional laws, norms and values that could help settle land disputes so indigenous people can use them to negotiate with the government and migrants.

Nora Chengeto Tapiwa (2010) of Zimbabwe is a refugee living in South Africa and the founder and secretary of the Zimbabwe Diaspora Development Chamber, in which she strives to create cohesion and unity among the diaspora and within South Africa's migrant communities at large. Forced to leave her country because of threats against her as the organizing secretary for the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Tapiwa then organized a group of more than 2,000 refugees and activists to form the Global Zimbabwe Forum, which is now composed of 40 Zimbabwean organizations in exile.

Susan Tenjoh-Okwen (2007) is a teacher, community peace mediator and gender activist in the North West Province of Cameroon. As a founding member of the Moghamo Women's Cultural and Development

Association of Cameroon, 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.

Christiana Thorpe (2004) of Sierra Leone is the chief electoral commissioner for the National Electoral Commission, and as such restructured electoral processes for the nation's second post-conflict presidential and parliamentary elections in 2007. She is also the founding chair and former chief executive officer of the Sierra Leone branch of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE-SL). The group created Emergency Camp Schools in the capital and developed non-formal education programs for refugee children during the civil war. FAWE-SL also rehabilitated women and girls who had been raped during the fighting.

Claudette Werleigh (2011) of Haiti was the country's first female prime minister. She is a peace envoy for Pax Christi International, where she served as secretary general until 2011. As a young adult she started a school for adults and rural Haitian farmers, which has been open for 33 years despite the country's tumult of political violence and natural disasters. Werleigh has also served as the secretary general of Caritas Haiti, executive director of the Washington Office on Haiti, minister of foreign and religious affairs, and director of conflict transformation programs at the Life & Peace Institute in Sweden.

Irina Yanovskaya (2007) of South Ossetia in the Georgia-South Ossetia conflict zone, is a journalist, lawyer, chair of the nongovernmental organization Journalists for Human Rights, and a children's advocate focused on post-conflict healing and peace education for children. She has 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.

Rashad Zaydan (2011) of Iraq is a pharmacist and the founder and head of Knowledge for Iraqi Women Society, a development organization. Working for Iraq's national pharmacy through the many conflicts in Iraq, she helped in charity clinics and distributed goods to the displaced. In 2003 Dr. Zaydan organized basic first aid emergency training for girls and women, and then gathered women to rehabilitate their community during and after the invasion by the United States. In the city of Abu Ghraib, she and her organization provided clean water to more than 650 households. The women's society has expanded to include income generation and educational classes.

Appendix C: Biographies of Conference Staff

Kaitlin Barker Davis is editor at the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice, where she initially was a peace writer for the Women PeaceMakers Program in 2009, documenting the life and work of Rubina Feroze Bhatti of Pakistan. She also wrote the narrative of Raya Kadyrova of Kyrgyzstan (2004). A graduate of Point Loma Nazarene University in San Diego, Barker Davis interned as an editorial assistant for *Sojourners*, a faith-based social justice magazine in Washington, D.C.

Andrea Bell, conference coordinator, also coordinated the 2010 and 2008 Women PeaceMakers Conferences. Her experience spans event planning, project management, marketing, advertising and corporate and project finance. Previously, Bell was a project manager with Incitrio Design Brand Media, a San Diego-based graphic design firm where she managed advertising, brand analysis, event planning, marketing collateral and website development on behalf of Incitrio's clients.

Emiko Noma is consulting editor for the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), where she has written or edited nearly two dozen narratives in the Women PeaceMakers Program. She assists in the production of all IPJ publications — including the Compass Newsletter, Distinguished Lecture Series booklets, and website content — and contributes to program development. Noma serves as an editorial adviser to the new Alliance for Peacebuilding publication *Building Peace: A Forum for Peace and Security in the 21st Century*.

Laura K. Taylor, conference rapporteur, is a dual Ph.D. candidate in psychology and peace studies at the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. Her research examines the impact of political violence on children, families and communities in Colombia, Croatia and Northern Ireland. Taylor has research and operational knowledge in conflict transformation, mental health and transitional justice, with field experience in rights-based empowerment in the Caribbean, Latin America and Nepal. She has published in journals such as *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *International Journal of Psychology*, and *the Journal of Peace Research*, and is an alumna of the master's program in peace and justice studies at the University of San Diego.

Appendix D:
List of Delegates

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- Alice Nderitu**
National Cohesion and Integration Commission, Kenya
- Alison Morse**
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- Amal Abdel Hadi**
New Woman Foundation, Egypt
- Amy S. Choi**
Freelance Writer, USA
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Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, USA
- Ashly Bloxon**
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, USA
- Asma Jahangir**
Human Rights Lawyer, Pakistan
- Asma Khader**
Sisterhood is Global Institute/Jordan (SIGI/J), Jordan
- Audrey Wolffe**
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, USA
- Bae Liza Llesis Saway**
Mindanao Peoples Caucus, Philippines
- Barbara Ketter**
Youth for Community Academic & Development Services, Liberia
- Beverly Lanzetta**
USA
- Brigid Inder**
Women’s Initiatives for Gender Justice, New Zealand
- Caitlin O’Donnell**
Global Gender Program, George Washington University, USA

- Carol Cohn**
Consortium on Gender, Security and Human Rights, USA
- Carol Jahnkow**
Peace Resource Center of San Diego, USA
- Carol Mithers**
Journalist, USA
- Catherine Johnson**
Women Development Agency, Liberia
- Catherine Harrington**
Women’s Learning Partnership, USA
- Chi Yvonne Leina**
World Pulse, Cameroon
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- Christiana Thorpe**
National Electoral Commission, Sierra Leone
- Cindi Cassidy**
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- Dana Luck**
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Radio Dialogue Trust, Zimbabwe
- Emmaculeta Chiseya**
Zimbabwe Election Support Network, Zimbabwe
- Fahima Hashim**
Salmmah Women’s Resource Centre, Sudan
- Febby Nachandeh**
Springs Of Life Zambia, Zambia
- Fonna Forman**
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- Francesca Retana**
Family and Youth Roundtable Teen Voice, USA
- Gloria Okolugbo**
Delta State Government, Nigeria

- Gloriose Bazinga**
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- Hannah Van Loan**
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- Hayley Umayam**
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- Irina Yanovskaya**
Journalist, South Ossetia
- Jaclyn Garcia**
Brandeis University (’11), USA
- Jacqueline Pitanguy**
Cidadania, Estudo, Pesquisa, Informação e Ação (CEPIA), Brazil
- Jane Wanjiru**
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- Jenni Prisk**
Voices of Women, USA
- Jennifer Gigliotti**
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, USA
- Jessica Watson**
Joan B. Kroc School of Peace Studies, USA
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- Josie Hadden**
TerraFocus, USA
- Joyce Neu**
Facilitating Peace, USA
- Judith Chirlin**
Western Justice Center, USA
- Judith Hand**
A Future Without War.org, USA
- Judy Kamanyi**
Social Development & Governance Specialist, Uganda
- Julie Arostegui**
International Human Rights and Gender Specialist, USA

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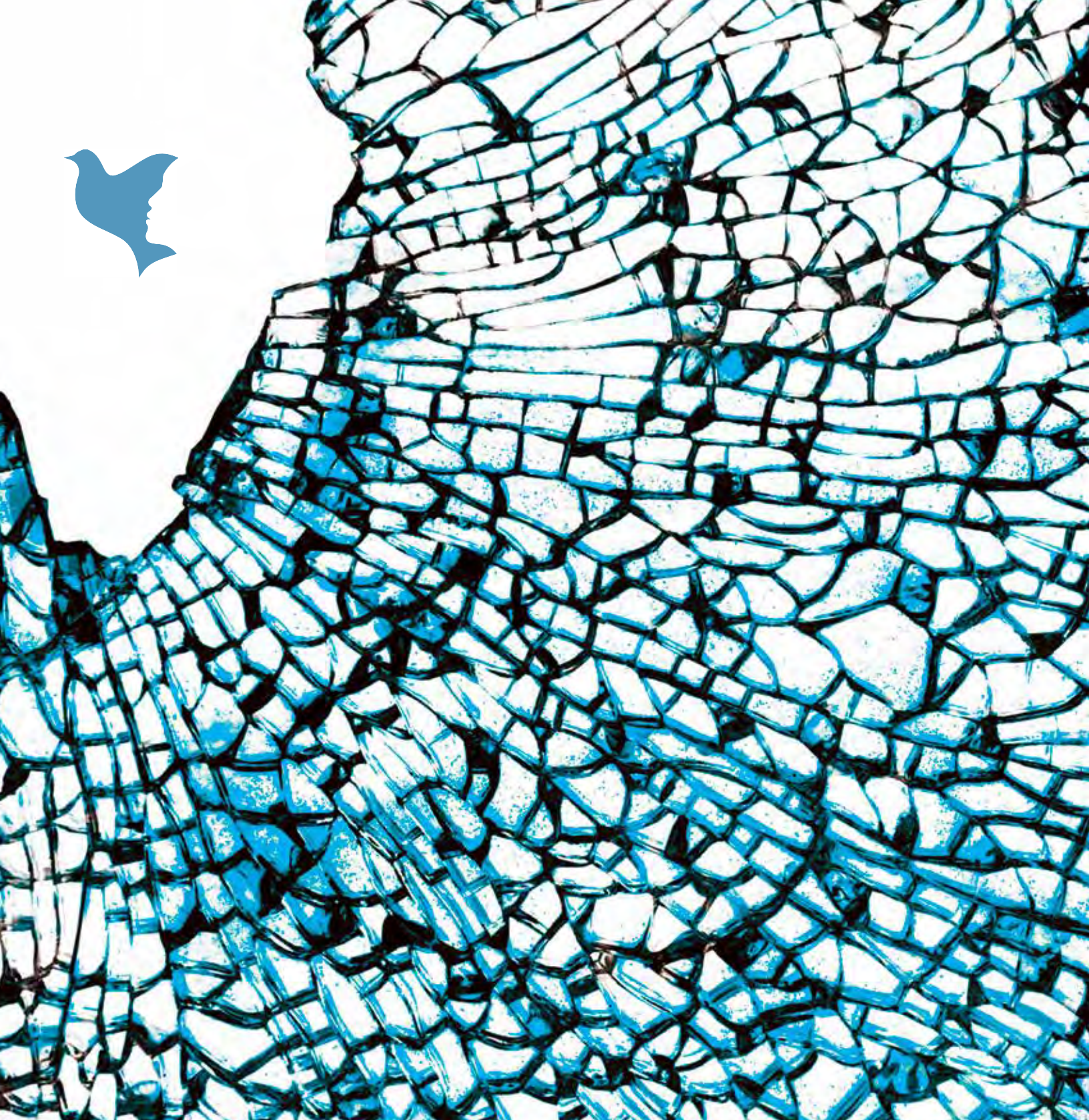
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