

Gender and Militarism

Analyzing the Links to Strategize for Peace





The 2014 May 24 Action Pack “Gender & Militarism: Analyzing the Links to Strategize for Peace” contains contributions by: Ray Acheson, Shelley Anderson, Ashley Armstrong, Gesa Bent, Sharon Bhagwan Rolls, Lia van Broekhoven, Cynthia Cockburn, Laura Eggens, Åsa Ekvall, Cynthia Enloe, Isabelle Geuskens, Merle Gosewinkel, Zarin Hamid, Ruth L. Hiller, Valerie M. Hudson, Sumshot Khular, Netsai Mushonga, Jasmin Nario-Galace, Dola Oluoch, Nathalie Raaber, Rubén Reyes Jirón, Sophie Schellens, and Dina Siddiqi

This Action Pack was made possible through a grant of Cordaid.

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WPP's *vision* is of a world where women and men work together through gender-sensitive active nonviolence, to build communities where people co-exist peacefully. Its *mission* is to transform conflict through Gender-Sensitive Active Nonviolence.



WOMEN PEACEMAKERS PROGRAM

*Without peace, development is impossible, and without women,
neither peace nor development can take place.*

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Introduction

by *Isabelle Geuskens*

Isabelle's journey into peace work started during 1998-1999 during her studies, when she lived in Belfast and conducted research about local communities' experience of the Troubles, the Good Friday Agreement, and the impact of peace projects run by local community leaders. Upon obtaining her Masters Master of Arts Degree from the University of Maastricht in 2000, she started working on a project-base in the field of women's studies (University of Utrecht) and peacebuilding. This took her to Srebrenica during 2001, where she worked for the Working Group Netherlands-Srebrenica, during which she was involved in cross-community initiatives. In 2002, she became the Program Manager of WPP at the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR). Under her leadership, WPP started pioneering a program on engaging men for gender-sensitive peacebuilding. Since WPP's establishment as independent foundation during October 2012, Isabelle serves as the WPP Executive Director.



Dear Readers,

We are very honored to present you with our latest May 24 Action publication on *Gender and Militarism: Analyzing the Links to Strategize for Peace*, which is the result of the contributions of many individuals and organizations. With this publication, we aim to contribute to the many conversations and debates that will be taking place during coming months, assessing the impact of UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 and accompanying Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Resolutions of the past years.

Last year, the United Nations Security Council adopted UNSCR 2122, and reiterated its intention to convene a High-level Review in 2015 to assess progress in implementing UNSCR 1325 (2000) at the national, regional and global levels.

Upon the UN Security Council's adoption of Resolution 1325—which provides an important recognition of the crucial role that women have to play in processes of conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding, as well as the specific impact of war on women's and girls' lives—we were pleased to see an increase both in the amount of interest about the resolution and in the number of activities taking place around it, both at the level of civil society and at the governmental level. However, to many working in field of WPS today, it is clear that the actual implementation of UNSCR 1325 faces many challenges. To name a few: there is little to celebrate in terms of women's participation in peace negotiations and peace agreements.

Though some progress has been made in the adoption of UNSCR 1325 national action plans (NAPs) and in terms of legal and judicial reforms in some countries; implementation is often not enforced. Conflict related sexual violence as a deliberate weapon of war still occurs on a large scale and with impunity.

At the Women Peacemakers Program (WPP), we feel it is important to analyze and address these challenges by going back to the bigger picture. On the occasion of the 13th anniversary of UNSCR 1325 last October, when we organized the panel discussion “Taking UNSCR 1325 to the Next Level: Gender, Peace & Security—Mainstreaming, Masculinities and Movements” in New York, speaker and Chief Advisor to the Peace & Security Section of UN Women Anne-Marie Goetz framed the key issue as “UNSCR 1325 should not only be about changing the players, but also about changing the game”.

Over time, we have observed a trend that got us concerned as a women's peace movement. To a large extent, implementing UNSCR 1325 seems to be interpreted as being about fitting women into the current peace and security paradigm and system; rather than about assessing and redefining peace and security through a gender lens. In other words, “Just Add Women and Stir” seems to have become the maxim as the way to move forward, instead of coming up with a new recipe for peace and security altogether, based on taking the vision and of women and women's perspectives into account.



Such a new recipe would not only impact the lives of women, it would also provide alternatives for men. The current dominant peace and security paradigm draws heavily on militarization, which is a socio-political process normalizing the use of armed force and violence as a means to address conflict. This process incorporates specific gender dynamics, among others pushing men to engage in armed and violent action to solve conflict. Redefining this peace & security paradigm from a holistic gender perspective not only brings in women's perspectives of what makes up real (human) security, it also addresses the normalization of violence in patriarchal society and prioritizes conflict prevention as well as nonviolent conflict resolution.

We are particularly concerned about the use of UNSCR 1325 as a tool to support women's recruitment into militarized institutions and environments. We have heard similar concerns from other activists, yet many feel hesitant about openly addressing this, fearing that it could end up in undermining their hard-won space in the peace and security arena.

It is important to underline here that the women's movement is not of one opinion; some view the increase of women's participation in the armed forces as a sign of women's empowerment and emancipation, whereas others see it as a sign of the increased militarization of society.

First and foremost, it is important to stress here that the question is not whether women can handle military tasks. In many industrialized countries, it is estimated that women make up 10 % of the armed forces, while in armed opposition groups, women can make up as much as 30 %. There is no question that women possess military skills and leadership qualities. For us, the discussion is about however whether the militarization of women's lives is beneficial for women and society in general.

Within her contribution to this publication, researcher Cynthia Cockburn concludes that gender relations themselves are a cause for war and contribute to militarization, stressing that "patriarchal gender relations predispose our societies to war, acting as a driving force to perpetuate war." Cynthia Cockburn's work is based on several years of research on different peace movements; during which she noted how the women activists in these movements often identified themselves explicitly as feminist and pacifist—two identities that they considered to be inseparable. Violence during times of war—specifically, violence against

women—is seen by these activists as an expression of a continuum of violence already existing during times of peace in patriarchal societies.

To address the patriarchal causes of war, and the accompanying militarization processes, her academic colleague Cynthia Enloe therefore strongly advocates for "feminist curiosity", which she defines as "a curiosity that provokes serious questioning about the workings of masculinized and feminized meanings", and which she sees as a crucial tool for making sense of the links between two global trends: globalization and militarization. Though she recognizes that it is not an easy step to take, she considers it an important political act, as it makes problematic what is conventionally taken as "logical" or natural.

At WPP, our feminist curiosity drives us to question some of the assumptions behind the "just add women and stir" approach that is present in some of the UNSCR 1325 implementation efforts today.

Often, the call to increase women's participation in militarized agencies is backed up by essentialist arguments, stating for example that "adding women" will challenge its hyper-masculine culture and contribute to both a more humane and a more women-friendly environment. It is also argued that women's inclusion will benefit the military mission, as it also provides access to previously untapped sources of intelligence: women in the community.

The notion of "just add women and stir" completely instrumentalizes women's lives. It also fails to challenge the status quo by any means: conflict continues to be framed and solved on patriarchal terms, which means either-or approaches that promote the use of excessive violence to overcome and dominate the enemy "other". It also carries an assumption that women are naturally less violent than men, and hence might have a soothing effect on the inside and the outside.

However, using violence against the enemy is part and parcel of every militarist system. Some of the women combatants WPP has spoken to over the years—whether active within state armies or guerrilla movements—indicated that in order to be taken seriously as a woman, they often presented an even tougher front towards the enemy. As one former female combatant shared with us: "In the battlefield you could be as aggressive and as merciless as a man. We would double the men's efforts so that they would know we can equally participate in the battle." They



made it clear: a woman in the armed forces is, first and foremost, a soldier. Within any military system—state or non-state—it is important to stand united. Many women in the armed forces most certainly do not want to be viewed as “especially vulnerable”, a victim, or any other special category, because they are working hard to be taken seriously as fellow soldiers.

Having women in the military also does not automatically mean that local women are necessarily going to feel safer or be better off. In the context of peacekeeping missions, the participation component of UNSCR 1325 is often narrowly translated to mean “interacting with local women as they can serve as important sources of intelligence”. Women in the military are consequently portrayed as the most suitable natural “connectors” to the local women. However, referring to local women in such a manner can be dangerous, as in many situations of conflict, anyone (and in particular women’s groups, whose women’s rights and gender activism might already challenge existing traditional notions around gender) seen interacting closely with (foreign) armed forces is at risk of being labeled a traitor or enemy agent.

The idea of “women for women” also needs to be critically assessed against the different contexts in which militaries are active. As a Palestinian peace activist told us:

“The humiliation of Palestinians and the ignoring of international laws and UN Resolutions, specifically UNSCR 1325, continues. Israeli women soldiers play a crucial role in this—at checkpoints, in interrogation rooms, and in prisons. In jails, Palestinian women detainees are subjected to strip and internal searches in order to coerce confessions during interrogation processes. Several Palestinian women have reported humiliation at checkpoints by women soldiers, who ask them to take off their scarf, if they are wearing one, in order to let them feel ashamed, as it is so shameful for a Muslim woman to do this in public and in front of men. I myself experienced having to go through a detection machine, being asked to go through the machine again and again for no reason, and being asked to sing and hop. Sometimes when I am in front of a checkpoint staffed with both male and female soldiers, I choose for the line that is being handled by the male, as some of my worst experiences have been with women soldiers.”

Approaching the 15th anniversary of UNSCR 1325, perhaps the big questions we have to ask ourselves are: Is the world going to be become a safer place if much of UNSCR 1325

ends up being about the female half of the population also upholding and promoting militarization, and joining the call to take up arms? Are we not missing out on an important opportunity for real change, if we narrow our focus to embedding women firmly within the existing systems? Should UNSCR 1325 not also be about stretching the current peace and security paradigms; about addressing the gendered way that humanity addresses conflict itself; and about investing in human security and alternative conflict resolution mechanisms? As UNSCR 1325 is about gender and peacebuilding, and men have a constructed gender identity too, should we not also explore and address men’s gendered experiences of violence and war, thereby laying bare the connections between war and hyper-masculinity, and the importance of investing in alternative masculinities to address violent conflict at its roots?

Or, as Cynthia Enloe puts it: “I am convinced that women have special roles to play in exposing and challenging militarization, not because women are wired for peacefulness, but because women are so often outside of the inner circles where militarizing decisions are being made.”

Many women peace activists—some of whom laid the ground work for UNSCR 1325, as their mobilization during the late 90s resulted in its adoption in 2000—have presented us with a feminist perspective on peace and security that challenges the current patriarchal paradigm. In their activism, they focus on the roots of conflict, such as economic inequality, the lack of democratic political governance, the systemic violation of human and women’s rights, and the fact that much of the world’s war economy is depleting us from much needed investments in health-care, education, and employment.

It is also important to underline that the difficulties that traditional security forces have in recruiting women does not mean that women are not ready to risk their lives for peace. They often choose to work for peace through different means and a different vision. For example, WPP’s research “Engendering Peace: Incorporating a Gender Perspective in Civilian Peace Teams” showed an opposite dynamic—within civilian-based peacekeeping initiatives, women tend to comprise the majority of the recruits. In terms of addressing conflict, women’s activism often centers around addressing the bigger picture and seeking dialogue, working from the point of view that simply crushing the opponents will not bring lasting peace. During conflict, women peace activists are often able—in part because of their marginalized position in society—to play a role in important informal conflict resolution pro-



cesses. During negotiations, women also tend to focus more on the consequences of war and the common interests of both parties, for in general, most women have little to gain from the conflict. Indeed, they are often the party most likely to loose out altogether.

There is much to learn from women's work for peace, which often focuses on conflict prevention as well as non-violent conflict resolution, areas of work that cannot be underestimated in terms of their capacity to yield results. Nonviolence—often also referred to as “people power” or “civil courage”—recognizes that conflict is a fact of life, and can even provide an important opportunity for positive change. The challenge lies in how to frame and address the conflict. Nonviolent activists choose to do that through the concept of “Power With”: by empowering the people with the idea that peace and security has to come from the people, which implies that injustice can be fought by people organizing themselves; by people coming and standing together and demanding their rights via strategic and creative ways instead of using violence against others; and by strengthening the resilience of communities as any process of change takes both time and its toll. “Power With” is a direct answer to the current “Power Over” security model, which leaves security in the hands of a selected group, and which is rooted in the use and legitimacy of armed violence to overcome and eliminate the opponent.

Research increasingly shows that violent intervention is not bringing about the desired impact. In their publication “Gender, Conflict and Peace” (2013),¹ Dyan Mazurana and Keith Proctor state: “Contrary to popular belief, the academic literature increasingly argues that a strategy of non-violence is more effective than violence in achieving policy goals. According to data analyzed by Stephan and Chenoweth, between 1900 to 2006 non-violent campaigns were successful in achieving their policy goals 53 percent of the time, whereas violent campaigns only had a success rate of 26 percent. According to the authors, non-violence is successful political strategy because i) non-violent methods enhance domestic and international legitimacy, resulting in broader support and participation, and ii) regime violence against non-violent movement is more likely to backfire on the regime, particularly where this results in loyalty shifts from the regime (e.g.,

by bureaucrats and security personnel) to the opposition movement.”

The evidence is being gathered, and women have been making their claims long enough. There are many taboos surrounding the questioning of cultures of violence and militarization, which have become the invisible norm. However, it is part of the feminist reality to ask uncomfortable questions and address society's taboos. What is needed now, is the political courage and willingness to invest in critical and groundbreaking approaches that are looking into transforming our peace and security paradigms altogether.

This publication is a testimony to the increasing number of people—women and men—who are challenging the norms bestowed upon us. They are linking the dots and showing us how militarization is coming at us from many angles—including entering the private sphere through IT and financial services. This reality not only requires activists to enter new domains of work; it simultaneously urges us all to keep on pushing for a transformative agenda in all these spaces, if real peace and security is to have a chance.

We wish you inspired reading!

¹ Mazurana, D. & Procto K. (2013) *Gender, Conflict and Peace*. World Peace Foundation

Understanding Militarism, Militarization, and the Linkages with Globalization

Using a Feminist Curiosity¹

by Cynthia Enloe

Cynthia Enloe is currently a Research Professor at the International Development, Community, and Environment Department at Clark University in Worcester, Massachusetts. Her academic career has included Fulbright grants to work in Malaysia and Guyana and guest professorships in Japan, the UK and Canada, as well as lecturing in Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Germany, Korea, Turkey and at universities around the US. Enloe's research interests focus on the interactions of feminism, women, militarized culture, war, politics and globalized economics in countries such as Japan, Iraq, the US, the UK, the Philippines, Canada, Chile and Turkey.



To explain why, even after the guns have gone silent, militarization and the privileging of masculinity is each so common, we need to surrender the often-cherished notion that when open warfare stops, militarization is reversed. One of the insights garnered by feminist analysts from the experiences of women and men in societies as different as Bosnia and Rwanda is that the processes of militarization can continue to roll along even after the formal ceasefire agreement has been signed.

Over the years I have become convinced that it is not enough for us to talk about militarism. We must talk about those multi-layered processes by which militarism gains legitimacy and popular and elite acceptance; that is, we must learn how to track militarization. So let's first look at each one—militarism and militarization—and then at their interaction.

Like an ideology, militarism is a package of ideas. It is a compilation of assumptions, values and beliefs. By

embracing the ideology of militarism, a person, institution or community is also accepting a distinctive package of beliefs—about how the world works, about what makes human nature tick. Among those distinctively militaristic core beliefs are: a) that armed force is the ultimate resolver of tensions; b) that human nature is prone to conflict; c) that having enemies is a natural condition; d) that hierarchical relations produce effective action; e) that a state without an army is naïve, scarcely modern and barely legitimate; f) that in times of crisis those who are feminine need armed protection; and g) that in times of crisis any man who refuses to engage in armed violent action is jeopardizing his own status as a manly man.

Now let us look at militarization. It is not itself an ideology. It is a socio-political process. Militarization is the multi-stranded process by which the roots of militarism are driven deep down into the soil of a society—or of a non-governmental organization, a governmental department, an ethnic group or an international agency. There is nothing automatic or inevitable about the militarization process. Militarization can be stalled by exposure, critique and resistance at an early stage; occasionally it may be reversed. It also, however, can be propelled forward after years of apparent stagnation. Most militarizing processes occur during what is misleadingly labeled as “peacetime”.

Persistent militarization in a postwar society serves to re-entrench the privileging of masculinity in both private and public life. Thus, if we lack the tools to chart militarization, we will almost certainly be ill-equipped to monitor the

¹ This article is a compilation of two texts written by Cynthia Enloe. The first is her chapter “Demilitarization—or More of the Same? Feminist Questions to Ask in the Postwar Moment” in Cynthia Cockburn & Dubravka Zarkov (eds.), *The Postwar Moment: Militaries, Masculinities, and International Peacekeeping* (2002, Lawrence & Wishart); the second text is “Crafting a Global ‘Feminist Curiosity’ to Make Sense of Globalized Militarism: Tallying Impacts, Exposing Causes” which is the first chapter of Enloe's own book *Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link* (2007, Rowman & Littlefield).

subtle ways in which—democratic rhetoric notwithstanding—masculinity continues to be the currency for domination and exclusion.

In a given social group at any particular time, there are likely to be at work certain processes that bestow influence on those men who manage to meet the currently accepted (versus existing, but commonly disparaged) standards of manliness. The contest between rival models of masculinity has profound consequences for women; each rival form of masculinity requires for its validation the acceptance of a particular form of femininity. Militarized masculinity is a model of masculinity that is especially likely to be imagined as requiring a feminine complement that excludes women from full and assertive participation in (postwar) public life. Whether the process of militarization is stalled, reversed or propelled forward in any society is determined by the political processes that bolster certain notions of masculinity and certain presumptions about femininity over their gendered alternatives.



To chart and explain militarization in any place at any time, we need to equip ourselves with the analytical skills to monitor the transformation of assumptions, reassessment of priorities, and evolution of values. This is, admittedly, a tall order. I have become convinced that it is an order that can be filled only by wielding an explicitly feminist curiosity. A “feminist curiosity” is a curiosity that provokes serious questioning about the workings of masculinized and feminized meanings. It is the sort of curiosity that prompts one to pay attention to things that conventionally are treated as if they were “natural” or, even if acknowledged to be artificial, are imagined to be “trivial”, that is, imagined to be without explanatory significance.

A feminist curiosity is a crucial tool to use today in making sense of the links between two of the world’s most potent trends: globalization and militarization. Globalization is the step-by-step process by which anything becomes more interdependent and coordinated across national borders. It is true that not everyone enters into globalization with equal resources: not everyone can afford jet travel; not everyone has easy access to the Internet; not everyone has scientific laboratories or banking credit at their fingertips; not everyone has equal access to English, the increasingly dominant “lingua franca” of globalized communication; not everyone gets to discuss their international issues privately over cocktails with a senator.

Globalization and militarization often feed each other. That is, globalization can become militarized. An exam-

ple is a corporation that locates its factories in a country whose government is quick to wield military force against employees who demonstrate for better working conditions. Globalization depends on militarization whenever militarized ideas about national security come to be seen as central to creating or sustaining certain international relationships. Similarly, militarization can be globalized. Think of all the national and international sales of rifles, land mines, armored vehicles, submarines, fighter aircraft, radar systems, guided missiles, and unmanned surveillance aircraft. Imagine a map of the world showing all the military bases—large and small—that just the United States government operates. Consider the recent emergence of globally active private military contractors such as Blackwater USA (now renamed Vie Services).

The globalization of militarizing processes is not new. What is new is (a) the global reach of these business, cultural and military ideas and processes; (b) the capacity of promoters of globalizing militarism to wield lethal power; (c) the fact that so many private companies are now involved in this globalization of militarization and (d) the intricacy of the international alliances among the players.

Asking feminist questions is a valuable means of understanding how and why both the globalization of militarization and the militarization of globalization happen. Posing feminist questions furthermore can help reveal the potential consequences of these processes for both women and men. It can be quite comfortable taking a lot of things granted. That is why it takes so much effort by so many people to turn something most people take for granted into an issue. Something becomes an “issue” only when a lot of people do two things: first, they start questioning it and stop taking it for granted, and second, they begin to believe it deserves public attention and public resolution. Persuading people to do both of these things is not easy. Since so many cultures and so many governments treat women’s experiences as not worth exploring and create the impression that the condition of women is merely a private matter, converting any aspect of women’s lives into an issue has taken—and still takes—enormous effort.

Creating a new curiosity is an important first step and it is not an easy one to take. But nothing can become an issue if the exercise of curiosity remains a private activity or if what you uncover is deemed unworthy of public response. Issue making is a political activity. Developing a feminist curiosity is asking questions about the condition of women—and about relationships of women to each other and about relationships of women to men. It is not

taking for granted the relationships of women to families, to men, to companies, to movements, to institutions, to ideologies, to cultural expressions, to the state, and to globalizing trends. To make sense of today's complex world, we need to understand that many decisions have not only gendered consequences but gendered causes—that is, causes flowing from presumptions or fears about femininity or masculinity.

Without a determined curiosity, informed by feminist analysis, militarization's causes and consequences, also in relation to globalization, will remain below the surface of public discussion and formal decision-making until they are almost impossible to reverse. None of these causes and consequences of militarization are most significant than the entrenchments of ideas about “manly men” and “real women”. I am convinced that women have special roles to play in exposing and challenging militarization, not because women are somehow innately, biologically wired for peacefulness, but because women are so often outside the inner circles where militarizing decisions are being made yet are likely to be called upon to support, and even work on behalf of, militarizing agendas.

If the experiences of women are taken seriously, we have a far better chance of detecting how militarization and its complementing privileging of masculinity is perpetuated and perhaps how it might be put in reverse. But taking all these diverse women's experiences seriously entails asking pretty awkward questions. Feminist questions are always awkward precisely because they make problematic what is conventionally taken as “logical” or “natural”.

Further reading by Cynthia Enloe

Globalization and Militarism: Feminists Make the Link (2007)
Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.

Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives (2000) Berkeley and London: University of California Press.

Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics (new, updated edition, 2014) Berkeley and London: University of California Press.



Women's Agency against Guns

by *Jasmin Nario-Galace*

Jasmin Nario-Galace is Executive Director of the Center for Peace Education and a Professor with the College of International, Humanitarian and Development Studies at Miriam College. She is Co-Coordinator of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) Women's Network. She is in the Steering Committee of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP). She is a member of the Women Peacemakers Program Asia Network. She is National Coordinator of the Women Engaged in Action on 1325 (WE Act 1325), a national network of women in peace, human-rights and women's organizations that helps to implement the National Action Plan on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820. She is in the Steering Committee of the Philippine Action Network to Control Arms (PhilANCA) and the Sulong CARHRIHL, a third-party network that monitors the compliance of the Government and the National Democratic Front with their agreement to respect human rights and international humanitarian law. She is also a Member of the Board of the Philippine Council for Global and Peace Education.



Approximately 1,000 people die every day from gun violence, with people from the developing world being twice as likely to die from it as those from the industrialized world.¹ Each day, an estimated 3,000 people are left severely injured by guns, i.e. three for every person killed.² In the Philippines, from January to September 2009, there were 7,114 murder and homicide cases. If 78.8% of murders and homicides are committed with the aid of a gun, as the police roughly estimate, that would mean that 21 people are killed by guns in the Philippines on a daily basis.

The Philippines is awash in small arms. A Small Arms Survey puts civilian firearms holdings in the country at 4.2 million. The proliferation of weapons is intensifying and sustaining armed conflicts and other forms of violence, such as terrorism and organized crime. "Arms facilitate a vast spectrum of human rights violations, including killing and maiming, rape and other forms of sexual violence, enforced disappearance, torture and forced recruitment of children by armed groups or forces."³

In the 2013 Global Peace Index, the Philippines was ranked among the least peaceful countries in the world, at number 129 out of 162 countries, one of the lowest in the Asia-Pacific region. The country's peace ranking was lower than that of its Southeast Asian neighbors Singapore (16th), Malaysia (29th), Laos (39th), Vietnam (41st), Timor-Leste (51st), Indonesia (54th) and Cambodia (115th). The ranking was attributed to the crime rate, to armed conflict and to the proliferation of weapons.

The reasons people in the Philippines procure guns vary. Many say that they purchase guns for security reasons and to protect their assets. They blame the police for not being able to provide the necessary protection for people. On the other hand, people also mention that gun ownership symbolizes power, the ability to control and to sow fear.⁴ In a country where political dynasties abound, nurtured by a long military rule under the Marcos regime, guns are in the hands of political warlords and their private armies. Many of these groups perpetuate their power through bullets if they cannot do so through ballots.

An example that portrays the power of arms is the massacre in Maguindanao, on November 23, 2009. A political

1 www.iansa.org/system/files/GlobalCrisis07.pdf (downloaded on April 16, 2014).

2 Ibid.

3 UN Sec. Gen. Ban Ki-moon, Report to the SC on the subject of small arms (S/2008/258)

4 From focus group discussions conducted by PhilANCA in 2008, validated in workshops on normalization conducted by WE Act 1325 in 2013 and 2014.

warlord had 57 people killed, 21 of them women, preventing them from registering another candidate for the mayor election. The *Philippine Daily Inquirer* reported that results of police laboratory tests found traces of semen in five of the 21 slain women, providing evidence that they had been raped. The bodies of all five women had bruises or injuries in their genitals. A search of the houses of the alleged perpetrators yielded roughly 1,200 small arms and light weapons.

Indeed, it is often small arms and light weapons (SALW) that are used to facilitate and commit various forms of violence and crimes against women and men, both during and separate from armed conflict. Such violence takes many forms, including murder, intimidation, rape, torture, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, threats and humiliation, forced prostitution, and trafficking of women and girls.⁵

The Women's Network (WNL) of the International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) reminds us that while the primary weapon holders, users, and traders may be men and that men may account for around 80–90% of homicide victims, women are affected in more invisible ways, including rape, threats, intimidation and domestic violence at gunpoint.⁶ Women suffer as a consequence of the lack of controls on today's billion-dollar trade in arms. Because of their sex, women are particularly at risk of certain crimes, including violence in the home, on the streets and on the battlefield.⁷ The WNL further underlines that although women and girls hardly ever fight the world's wars, they do suffer from wars, especially when sexual violence is deliberately used as a tactic of warfare.⁸ For instance, between 20,000 and 50,000 women were raped during the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 1990s. During the 1994 Rwandan genocide, between 250,000 and 500,000 women were raped. 64,000 women and girls are estimated to have suffered war-related sex-

ual violence in Sierra Leone's civil war between 1991 and 2002.⁹ Testimonies of women explain how the assaults were endured at gunpoint. "They put their guns to our throats and stomachs to make sure that we followed their orders," one woman reported.¹⁰

Despite the ill consequences of the proliferation of weapons, countries continue to produce and purchase them. World military expenditure in 2012 is estimated to have been USD 1.756 trillion.¹¹ Sales of arms and services by companies in the SIPRI Top 100 totaled USD 410 billion in 2011. Two-thirds of those concerned deliveries to developing countries. The arms race drains government funds and increases a developing country's external debt. In 2005, for example, Indonesia spent eight times more on debt servicing than it did on education and healthcare. In addition, excessive weapons' spending impedes development or reverses development gains. Focus-group discussions conducted by the Philippine Action Network to Control Arms (PhilANCA) gathered reports that gun proliferation and violence reduces opportunities for tourism, direct foreign investment and local investment, reducing livelihood opportunities as a result.¹²

This is the situation that prodded the UN Secretary General to report that: "Armed violence can aggravate poverty, inhibit access to social services and divert energy and resources away from efforts to improve human development. Countries plagued by armed violence in situations of crime or conflict often perform poorly in terms of the MDGs. Moreover, armed violence forms a serious impediment to economic growth."¹³

The Center for Global Women's Leadership (CWGL) defines militarism as an ideology that creates a culture of fear and supports the use of violence, aggression, or military interventions for settling disputes and enforcing eco-

5 Presentations by the IANSA Women's Network during side events at various Biennial Meetings of States on the UN PoA on Small Arms and Light Weapons and State meetings on the Arms Trade Treaty.

6 "Why the term 'gender-based violence' must be used" by Rebecca Gerome (IANSA Women's Network) and Vanessa Farr (WILPF), with input from Maria Butler (PeaceWomen/WILPF). attmonitor.blogspot.com/2012/07/why-term-gender-based-violence-must-be.html.

7 Presentations by the IANSA Women's Network during side events at various Biennial Meetings of States on the UN PoA on Small Arms and Light Weapons and state meetings on the Arms Trade Treaty.

8 Ibid.

9 From a powerpoint presentation on "UN SCR 1325 and other Women, Peace and Security Council Resolutions" by Mavic Cabrera Balleza, International Coordinator of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders.

10 Ibid.

11 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2013) *SIPRI Yearbook 2013*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.


12 PhilANCA (2008) *Voices from the Ground: Peoples' Consultations on the Arms Trade Treaty*.

13 UNSG Report to the SC on the subject of small arms (S/2008/258).



nomic and political interests.¹⁴ Arms are a tool for militarism to thrive on. These are the reasons why many women have rallied against arms proliferation, together with its linkages to militarism, and have called for disarmament.

Historically, women have played a major role in fighting militarism. Having seen how militarism manifested itself in arms proliferation and violence, leading to deaths and injuries, they have often rallied to protect their loved ones. This is illustrated in Argentina, for instance, where mothers at Plaza de Mayo protested against the “disappearance” of their children. Or in Liberia, where women put their lives on the line to stop the civil war. On the global level, the IANSA Women’s Network members were among those who campaigned hard for strong language in the Arms Trade Treaty, including language for the prevention of arms transfers if there is likelihood that the arms will be used to commit gender-based violence.



In the Philippines, women activists have highlighted women’s agency as contributors to the prevention of armed violence. Each time combatants threaten to leave the peace-negotiation table, women stand up to save the peace process. “War solves nothing,” they tell the combatants. “Go back to the negotiation table!”

Knowing that arms-control laws and policies can reduce both violence within armed conflicts as well as in “peace” time, women have actively helped campaign for the passage of specific laws, such as the International Humanitarian Law and the Anti-Torture Law. They constantly remind the government of its international legal obligations provided in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, the four Geneva Conventions, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), UN Security Council Resolutions 1325 and 1820 and other WPS resolutions. They have entered into conversations with the Philippine National Police, demanding stricter legislation on small-arms regulation, the active confiscation and destruction of loose firearms, and improved systems for the registration of arms—including legitimate neurological exams—and they have given seminars on human and women’s rights.

¹⁴ www.now.org/news/blogs/index.php/sayit/2010/12/10/an-insidious-combination-militarism-and-gendered-violence (downloaded on April 16, 2014).

Women in the Philippines are also active on a local level to prevent arms proliferation and militarization. One of the members of the Women Engaged in Action on 1325 (WE Act 1325) network in the Philippines, the Mindanao Peoples Caucus, created an all-women peacekeeping team to monitor human-rights violations committed by armed combatants and to stop combatants from breaking ceasefire agreements. WE Act 1325 member COMIPPA provides a safe place for women who are being hunted by armed groups. Women in the Philippines also initiated the development of a National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 that mainstreamed the language of nonviolence and small-arms control. WE Act 1325 and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders’ members have also dialogued with local government officials to ask them to legislate local laws on women’s protection. These efforts have actually led to the development of laws.

Awareness raising and capacity building for peace are also a large part of the efforts undertaken by women in the Philippines. Women have engaged in several awareness-raising initiatives on peace, such as the lobby for the integration of peace education in the curriculum. As a result, the Philippine government adopted Executive Order 570, mandating basic and tertiary education institutions to integrate peace education in the curriculum. On capacity building, women have recognized that enhancing the capacity of women on arms control is essential for the prevention of violence. After a training of WE Act 1325 within the Abra province—one of the most politically violent provinces in the country—women initiated a meeting with the political families. Together they pledged that they would not use guns and goons to coerce voters to elect them to office.

Women peace activists in the Philippines have engaged with a wide diversity of stakeholders to get their voices for peace heard, some of those stakeholders not being traditional allies. First of all, acknowledging the substantial role played by the media in disseminating information, women peace activists have been engaging with women in the media. Women from armed conflict zones have been able to narrate their stories to women in media. They are heart-rending stories of loss, of fear and of rising from the ashes.¹⁵ Reporting such stories in national dailies helps in broadening the peace constituency in the country. Sec-

¹⁵ Examples are WE Act 1325 and Isis International’s initiative to bring selected women from conflict-affected areas to Manila to dialogue with women in media.

ondly, women peace activists have worked with parliamentarians and interfaith leaders. They managed, for instance, to have Muslim and Christian religious leaders support the campaign against gun violence. Catholic priests have even spoken about gun violence in their homilies. At a different venue, parliamentarians have delivered speeches about addressing gun violence.

Women in the Philippines also teach peaceful conflict-resolution skills, promote people-to-people processes and create opportunities for dialogue for intercultural understanding. Armed conflict can be fuelled by stereotypes and prejudices. To counter the negative stereotyping of each other by Muslims and Christians in the Philippines, the Center for Peace Education at Miriam College organized a twinning project in which students at Miriam College, a Catholic School, exchanged letters with students from Rajah Muda High School, a Muslim school. The project aimed to build bridges of friendship and understanding.

Last but not the least, women also include men in their goal of preventing violence. Women in the Philippines engage with members of the security sector, giving them training on conflict resolution, gender sensitivity and the women, peace and security resolutions. WE Act 1325, for example, has trained over 3,000 members of the Armed Forces of the Philippines prior to deployment in UN peacekeeping missions.

The campaign against militarism in general, and gun violence and proliferation in particular, is not a walk in the park for women. The work of women peace activists is challenging on multiple levels. They are continuously challenged by a culture of patriarchy that legitimizes aggression as a solution to conflicts. Women also face the reality that there are stakeholders—states, groups and individuals—that profit and benefit from militarism. Among these benefiterers are ideological die-hards and fundamentalists who use violence to achieve their goals. Women are confronted with adherents of the traditional security paradigm, who believe security can be achieved through territorial integrity and a balance of power and hence, a race for arms. Finally, they face business companies that use guns to protect their economic strongholds.

The list of challenges goes on. However, women in the Philippines do not shy away from the obstacles and remain dedicated to achieving the peace and security they want. The nonviolent struggle for peace continues.

- For more information about We Act 1325, go to www.weact1325.org
- For more information about IANSA, go to www.iansa.org



Money, Masculinities, and Militarism


Reaching Critical Will's Work for Disarmament

by *Ray Acheson*

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[Photo by
Jana Jedličková]

 Reaching Critical Will (RCW) is the disarmament program of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF). Being situated within the oldest women's peace organization in the world has given our work a particular flavor and direction. Women from all over the world who wanted to stop the slaughter of war founded WILPF during the First World War. Disarmament has been one of WILPF's key objectives since the beginning. The organization has always recognized that the money and prestige invested in tools of war is a major impediment to lasting and effective peace. WILPF also recognized that gender inequality, and certain conceptions of gender, have been part of the reason why weapons and war have remained a dominant paradigm of international relations. Thus RCW's work on disarmament is guided by an understanding of the links between money, masculinities, and militarism. We conduct this work through a variety of campaigns on specific weapon systems or issues, and through our engagement with the United Nations (UN).

RCW's methods of work

The RCW program was created in 1999 to bring a more dynamic and coordinated civil-society presence to the UN's disarmament bodies. We help civil-society groups access conferences and meetings at the UN related to disarmament and arms control; we provide archives and a database of primary documents from these meetings; and above all, we provide reporting, analysis, and advocacy. Our intention is not simply to reflect on what happens at these meetings, but to provide critical input by working with diplomats, academics, representatives of international organizations, and other non-governmental organizations. We assess what is going on and advocate

for change, supporting those willing to pursue it and challenging those who are not.

At the same time, we are actively engaged in several different civil-society campaigns, with the belief that coalitions of groups and people working together have a much greater chance of achieving change. We are on the steering committees of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), the International Network on Explosive Weapons (INEW), and the Campaign to Stop Killer Robots. We also participated actively in the campaign to achieve an Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) and have worked with other groups to address challenges associated with small arms and light weapons and with the weaponization of outer space.

All of this work is motivated by the belief that weapons and war are insufficient to solve the crises of today. Climate change, poverty, economic and social inequality, disease, the need for sustainable energy—these are not issues that can be solved by violence. New methods of engagement and problem solving are necessary to confront the challenges of the 21st century.

In our work at the UN and in campaigns, we believe that demonstrating the connections between money, masculinities, and militarism is one way to challenge the resistance to disarmament and the promotion of militarism. Among other things, we seek to articulate and highlight the injustices of exorbitant military spending, industrial and political investments in weapons production and trade, assumptions about gender, and specific impacts of weapons and armed conflict on women. And we suggest

remedies and promote alternatives to overcome these challenges.

Military spending

In 2013, global military spending reached approximately USD 1.75 trillion. Meanwhile, current projections indicate that by 2015, about one billion people will be living on an income of less than USD 1.25 per day, the World Bank's measure of extreme poverty.¹

There are direct correlations between the vast sums spent on weapons and war on the one hand and global social and economic inequalities, poverty, and violations of human rights on the other. Conventional weapons, including small arms and light weapons, are used daily around the world to cause havoc and take lives. High-tech weaponry such as nuclear weapons are used as political tools to manipulate international relations. Many emerging weapons technologies, such as drones, robots, and space weapons, will further destabilize our planet and undermine human rights.

War, armed conflict, and the threat of either one destroy lives, livelihoods, infrastructure, and well-being, creating a culture of fear, violence, and instability. This impedes development by upsetting social programs, education, transportation, business, and tourism, which in turn prevents economic stability, social and mental well-being, and sustainable livelihoods. The manufacture and use of weapons also undermines sustainable ecological development and preservation, creating unequal access to resources and further impeding poverty-reduction initiatives.

Alternatives to military security must be promoted and the links between military expenditure and armed conflict on the one hand and the failure to uphold human-rights obligations, including socio-economic rights, need to be fully recognized. These issues cannot be addressed in isolation from one another.

Incorporating a gender perspective

It is equally critical to integrate a gender perspective into analysis and initiatives on military spending and militarism. Working with WILPF's programs on human rights and women, peace and security, RCW has sought to take a comprehensive view of all genders and gender identities

in order to analyze and challenge conceptions of masculinity and femininity as they relate to weapons and war.

Ideas about gender affect the way people and societies view weapons, war, and militarism. For example, there is a strong correlation between carrying guns and notions of masculinity. Inside and outside of armed conflict, the so-called gun culture is overwhelmingly associated with cultural norms of masculinity, including men as protectors and as warriors.

Nuclear weapons likewise afford a sense of masculine strength. Possessing and brandishing an extraordinarily destructive capacity is a form of dominance associated with masculine warriors (nuclear weapons possessors are sometimes referred to as the "big boys"). After India's 1998 nuclear weapon tests, a Hindu nationalist leader explained, "We had to prove that we are not eunuchs." When governments act as though their power and security can only be guaranteed by a nuclear arsenal, they create a context in which nuclear weapons become the ultimate necessity for, and symbol of, state security. And when nuclear-armed states then work hard to ensure that other countries do not obtain nuclear weapons, they are perceived as subordinating and emasculating others.

Highlighting the ways in which the possession and proliferation of weapons are underwritten and supported by a particular construction of masculinity enables us to see just how dangerous and illusory the image of security is that weapons produce. Gender analysis can illuminate some of the connections between constructed masculinities and "gun cultures" that promote the possession and use of weapons. It can also help demonstrate that the enshrinement of nuclear weapons as an emblem of power is not a natural fact, but a social construction. These understandings can in turn help us to develop discourse, actions, and approaches to disarmament and arms control that address some of the ideas and causes that lead to armament in the first place.

Confronting gender-based violence

Gender analysis can also help us understand how weapons are used—and against whom and why. Violence that is perpetrated against a person based on gender conceptions is known as gender-based violence (GBV). Acts of GBV violate a number of human-rights principles enshrined in international instruments and can constitute violations of international humanitarian law (IHL) if perpetrated during armed conflict. Some common examples of GBV include rape and sexual violence, forced prosti-

¹ United Nations (2012) *The Millennium Development Goals Report 2012*, p. 7.



tution, trafficking, domestic violence, and forced marriage. Irresponsible transfers of weaponry, munitions, armaments, and related equipment across borders have resulted in acts of GBV perpetrated by both state and non-state actors.

Thus in the recent negotiations of the Arms Trade Treaty, RCW worked with WILPF's PeaceWomen program and other civil-society groups, as well as with like-minded governments, to ensure that the treaty included a legally binding provision on preventing armed gender-based violence.

When RCW and the IANSA Women's Network first started talking about including GBV in the Arms Trade Treaty during the preparatory work for the negotiations, we were met with puzzled faces. "What does the arms trade have to do with gender?" we were asked by many diplomats and even fellow NGO colleagues. Six years later, by the final negotiations on the treaty, 100 states and several hundred civil-society groups had signed on to the call for a legally binding provision preventing armed GBV.



This change was the result of coordinated and consistent awareness raising and advocacy by civil society, and the active support and determination of like-minded governments, with Iceland leading the way. There was resistance and pushback principally from the Holy See, which rejected the use of the term gender in the treaty. A few other states, including Iran, Sudan, and Syria, backed the Holy See's position but the increasing and eventually overwhelming support by others won the day.

Article 7(4) of the ATT text adopted by the General Assembly on April 2, 2013 obligates exporting states parties, as part of the export-assessment process, to take into account the risk of the conventional arms, ammunition, munitions, parts, or components under consideration being used to commit or facilitate acts of gender-based violence. States shall not be permitted to authorize the transfer where there is a risk of gender-based violence when it constitutes one of the negative consequences of article 7(1)—i.e. when it is a violation of international humanitarian law or international human-rights law, when it undermines peace and security, or when it forms part of transnational organized crime. This binding criterion also requires states to act with due diligence to ensure that the arms transfer would not be diverted to non-state actors such as death squads, militias, or gangs that commit acts of GBV.

This was a clear example of advocacy and education, together with strong partnerships between civil society and governments, achieving an incredibly progressive result in rather difficult circumstances. Overall, the treaty's effective implementation will face many challenges. But the language on preventing armed GBV is useful in that it opens the door to further work on this issue and signals the acknowledgment of this as a particular problem that must be addressed in the world of disarmament and arms control.

Weapons and women

While gender refers to social constructions of masculinity, femininity, etc., the concept of a "gender perspective" also includes looking at whether and how men and women are affected differently by a particular circumstance or problem. The possession, use, and trade in weapons affect men and women in different ways.

RCW's recent publication *Women and Explosive Weapons* highlights how women can be uniquely affected by the use of explosive weapons in populated areas. Due to their situation in societies and communities, women often have different access to information and assistance and end up performing different tasks or facing different types of exploitation during armed conflict. For example, women have been found to have more limited access to emergency care and longer-term rehabilitation assistance during conflict situations. The destruction of healthcare facilities through the use of explosive weapons in populated areas impacts maternal health and safe childbirth. Women often have to take on more care work in the midst of the destruction of such facilities. Meanwhile, explosive weapon attacks aimed at residential areas and markets disproportionately affect women, as they often have primary responsibility for buying food and household goods at markets. If women become the sole head of a household, they often face systematic discrimination in the market place due to patriarchal customs in societies. They can also become more vulnerable to physical attacks and sexual exploitation, including being forced to provide sexual acts in return for the satisfaction of basic needs. Similarly, displacement due to use of explosive weapons also increases risk of sexual violence and exploitation in refugee camps or host communities.

The importance of recognizing these differences between men's and women's experiences is not to emphasize the victimization of women. Rather, it is to highlight the differentiated effects on women in order to provide them with the same treatment and recognition that men enjoy.

Recognizing the diversity of experiences and interests is necessary to ensure that arms control and disarmament is effective for ensuring the security and well-being of all.

Thus women's participation in policymaking and peacebuilding is crucial. Women have suffered—economically and physically—from militarization for too long. They must be included in developing relevant solutions. The international society needs to invest adequate resources to achieve this goal. Disarmament, and a redirection of resources from military spending to socioeconomic development, will be crucial in securing that adequate resources are directed towards realizing women's rights to equal participation.

Conclusion

As a program of WILPF, Reaching Critical Will seeks to articulate and highlight some of the underlying root causes of militarism, which include investments in the production of war and the lack of an integrated approach to human rights, gender equality, and disarmament. Our work at the UN and within various campaigns is oriented towards situating these challenges in a common context and addressing them in an interlinked manner in order to achieve true human security for all.

- For more information about Reaching Critical Will, go to www.reachingcriticalwill.org
- For more information about the Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, go to www.wilpfinternational.org



Challenging Militarism in the Pacific

Women's Efforts for a Peaceful Region¹

by Sharon Bhagwan-Rolls

Sharon Bhagwan-Rolls is the Executive Director of FemLINKPACIFIC in the Fiji Pacific Islands. A media professional since 1989, Ms. Bhagwan-Rolls left mainstream media in 1999 to dedicate herself to the women's movement, becoming a women's media advocate. In 2000, serving as Coordinator for the Blue Ribbon Peace Vigil, following Fiji's second military coup, she co-founded FemLINKPACIFIC, a women's media NGO. Sharon Bhagwan-Rolls and FemLINKPACIFIC have been working towards full implementation and integration of UNSCR 1325 in Fiji and the Pacific Island region to guarantee women's full participation in the peace and security sector, ensuring sustainable peace and democracy. Since 2009, Sharon Bhagwan-Rolls has served as the Gender Liaison of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC). She is currently also a member of the Global Fund for Women Board, GMMP Ambassador and the 2014 recipient of the NGO-CSW Woman of Distinction Award.



When it comes to notions of “traditional” security, women remain invisible. This practice continues, despite the fact that women around the world, including the Pacific Island region, have been instrumental in conflict resolution and are often the group most trusted by both sides of a conflict. They have been the first negotiators for a cease-fire. They have paved the way for peacekeeping and peace-support operations, for the signing of peace agreements and for the introduction of transitional processes, many of which have subsequently excluded women.

Women are also actors in conflicts: as combatants themselves, and if that is not the case, they are certainly the wives, partners or daughters of combatants. They therefore have an acute stake in the processes of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programs. In addition, women have been caught in the crossfire of war and armed conflicts through sexual exploitation including the use of rape as a “weapon of war”. Not only sexual exploitation by those actors in conflict, but also by those assigned the task of upholding peace and human rights.

Militarism has played, and still plays, an important role in the Pacific regions, including my own country, Fiji. The military had a big role in the overthrow of Fiji's elected government in 2006, and it continues to reaffirm its role as the protector of the 2013 Constitution. In addition, Fiji has also been a troop and police-contributing country since the mid-1970s, providing personnel for UN missions in the Middle East, with Iraq as a recent example. Regionally, the Pacific has experienced the presence of armed peacekeepers in quite some instances: following the war in Bougainville, after the 2006 riots in Nukualofa (Tonga), and in response to the armed conflict in Solomon Islands in 2000. In addition, militarism within the Pacific goes beyond the armies of the Pacific Islands. With regard to the training and recruitment of armies, and the growing private-sector security recruitment, countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Great Britain, the US, France, India and China are also involved.

On October 31, 2000, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325). It was the first resolution ever passed by the Security Council that specifically addresses the impact of war on women, and women's contributions to conflict prevention and sustainable peace. It was a watershed, because it demonstrated what is possible when the UN, member states and women's civil society collaborate. The resolution signalled a shift in the role of women from victimhood to being critical change agents in conflict prevention and management

¹ This article has been informed by efforts of Pacific activists from FemLINKPACIFIC, Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency, Vois Blong Mere Solomon and Ma'afafine moe Famili of Tonga, all of which use UNSCR 1325 to transform the regional peace and security architecture.

and in peacebuilding. It not only focuses on the protection of women in crisis situations but also calls for the effective participation of women in conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding, for the mainstreaming of gender equality in peacekeeping missions, and for the UN to appoint women to hold strategic positions related to peace and security.

The reality for many women around the world is that we remain excluded from the very structures that make the decisions to sustain peace or engage in conflict. Many women who have crossed conflict lines to promote non-violence, peace and human rights—often disregarding the personal risks that accompany such actions—remain outside of the formal peace process. Exclusion is also manifested in the Pacific region. For example, for each of the peacekeeping missions in the region, women were not consulted on the nature of the tour of duty. For the Fiji Islands, even though women were at the frontline of the peace movement, we have been marginalized from many of the initial official interventions since the military coup of December 6, 2006.

Despite this reality, we, as women, persist in claiming our notions of peace and security. Since the formation of our regional “1325” network in 2007, we have reaffirmed that the application of UNSCR 1325 in the context of peacekeeping is not about recruiting and arming women. Our notions of peacekeeping or peace-support operations go beyond the recruitment and training of troops. From our perspective, it is in fact about the support for the disbandment of military structures, and enabling and supporting armed combatants to return to civilian life.

Women are “waging peace”, but there is a critical need to shift from commitments on paper to the real operationalization of UNSCR 1325 and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). The Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security attempts to do that, building on recommendations from the 2009 Regional Security Sector Governance Conference (Nuku’alofa, Kingdom of Tonga) where Pacific Island countries identified the importance of gender mainstreaming in the security sector (military, police, correctional services, immigration and judiciary) and increased women’s participation in regional and national

security sector decision-making, oversight and accountability mechanisms.²

The tenth anniversary of UNSCR 1325 was catalytic, as Pacific leaders put into motion the integration of UNSCR 1325 into the regional peace and security architecture. What resulted was the high-level development and adoption of a Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, elevating commitments articulated within existing regional mechanisms into tangible action-oriented strategies. Momentum was provided through the Pacific representation on the UN-appointed Global Civil Society Advisory Group on Women, Peace and Security. The Regional Action Plan provides a framework for Pacific Island Countries to enhance women’s leadership in conflict prevention and peacebuilding, to mainstream gender in security policy-making and to ensure women’s and girls’ human rights are protected in humanitarian crises, transitional contexts and post-conflict situations. It also sets out a regional mechanism that will support regional and national efforts. It commits to strengthening civil society’s, women’s groups’ and gender-equality advocates’ engagement with regional security and conflict-prevention policy- and decision-making.


The Regional Action Plan has the oversight of the Reference Group on Women, Peace and Security, convened by the Pacific Islands Forum, and includes representatives of governments (Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea and Tonga) and civil society (FemLINKPACIFIC and Leitana Nehan Women’s Development Agency). However, the responsibility for implementation should not be left to this reference group or to the Forum Regional Security Committee alone. Given the diversity of actors affecting militarism in the Pacific, regional mechanisms addressing gender, conflict, peace and security, such as the Pacific Regional Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security, have to include accountability and implementation mechanisms. This also applies with regard to the UNSCR 1325 national action plans of other UN member states affecting the Pacific region. However, we continue to remain on

2 See: UNDP and PIFS Regional Security Sector Governance Co-Chair’s Outcomes Statement: “Fundamentally, the protection of human rights must be recognized as underpinning collective and individual security efforts to ensure effective security governance. Noting that security is different for men, women, boys and girls, security needs to be provided in a gender responsive way, in accordance with international obligations and with due regard given to existing national gender priorities.”



the peripheries of mainstreaming in order to ensure that the objectives of the Women, Peace and Security commitments and obligations are incorporated within the development and implementation of national security, defense and justice policy. While the Regional Action Plan has been adopted, there has been limited transformation in the processes for participation.

This is a challenge, as women's networks working on peace and security remain under-resourced, preventing them from effectively addressing regional priorities such as transnational organized crime; small-arms and light-weapons proliferation and arms-trade treaty negotiations; unexploded ordinance; strategic law-enforcement challenges in the context of police, customs, immigration, fisheries and maritime; criminal deportees; security-sector governance; counterterrorism; border security and management; conflict prevention and management of political crises.



This needs to change if we want to realize the integration of Women, Peace and Security in regional-security priority setting and decision-making, including in the work of the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat's Political Governance and Security Programme and the Regional Law Enforcement Secretariats. Only then can an effective response to the complex and multifaceted threats and challenges to human security in the Pacific be ensured. This also means resourcing the work of women's peace activists in order to bring their experiences into these processes.

UNSCR 1325 is a guiding tool for enhancing women's participation and for enhancing regional efforts for prevention perspectives as well—linked closely to the current regional commitments to human security, human development and human rights. In the national, regional and global efforts to advance the implementation of this groundbreaking resolution, there is a critical need to enhance and institutionalize the formal recognition of the efforts of Pacific women peacemakers who have paved the way for its implementation, from literal translations to the translation of the resolution in practical ways.

In the Pacific Island region, the role of women's civil society must be inextricably linked to any peace plan, particularly as there are few women in political and civil-service leadership positions across Pacific Island countries. Through FemLINKPACIFIC's Policy for Peace in our Pacific Region series (2008–2011), we have consistently called for the strengthening of regional and domestic support to sustain efforts by women's civil-society networks working

on peace and security and working to further advance the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Implementing UNSCR 1325 requires a multi-faceted approach. The first component is to have all troop- and police-contributing countries engage gender experts and expertise at all levels and in all aspects of peace operations: in technical surveys and in the design of concepts of operation, training, staffing and programs. All troop- and police-contributing countries have to ensure that pre- and post-deployment training complies with UNSCR 1325, international human-rights standards, eliminating violence against women and the UN's Zero Tolerance Policy. Secondly, our notions of women, peace and human security require UN member states to incorporate a gender analysis into all aspects of small-arms and light-weapons disposal programs. This can be done by actively involving women civil-society experts in all official and informal working groups. Thirdly, peacekeeping and peace-support efforts should ensure the necessary resources and the availability of safe women's spaces to organize dialogues and peace- and trust-building activities as a precursor to women's full involvement in the peace process. This also covers the support for post-conflict rehabilitation programs for community-based, post-conflict psychosocial recovery, rape- and trauma-counseling services, and sexual- and reproductive-health services with free legal advice to conflict survivors. Finally, women must be supported to have equal participation in all processes and programs that relate to their personal security, such as the planning and management of camps and services for internally displaced persons.

As we consider peacekeeping and peace-support operations as part of broader conflict transformation and conflict-prevention processes, such operations require sustainable disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) programs. Such programs ought to mend the divisions in a conflict- or war-torn society, ensure that the time frame for the mission is holistic and go beyond supporting only those who carried guns in war. DDR programs should equitably benefit ex-combatants and those who assumed and or were forced into supporting roles in armed groups. Reintegration and pension packages should include reasonable compensation for years of service, injury, illness, mental illness, trauma and stress counseling, and retraining.

UNSCR 1325 goes beyond peace-support and peacekeeping missions. The global war machine is more than only the military; it also entails the processes behind it. We

need to provide alternatives to the recruitment process through a viable economic alternative. It also requires the end of arms production and supply.

Following an outbreak of armed violence in the Konou Region in 2011, FemLINKPACIFIC's correspondent in Bougainville, based at the Leitana Nehan Women's Development Agency, reported that civil society in Bougainville tried to hold several meetings with the government of the Autonomous Region. These meetings were aimed at identifying peaceful means and at addressing the root cause of this civil unrest. The Executive Director of Leitana Nehan, Helen Hakena, reiterated that without addressing and understanding the root causes of the conflict, it would not be possible to achieve a sustainable resolution. Such an understanding would help in shifting from reactive measures to preventive ones and would greatly assist in eliminating tensions and instability in the region.

The Pacific Regional Action Plan (2013–2017) captures the historic and current roles that women play in peacebuilding processes, and the challenges they still face:

There are many examples of the roles played by women in peace building processes across the Pacific. For example, in Fiji women have organized peace vigils, dialogue and provided technical inputs into defence reviews and national security policy development; negotiations across crocodile infested rivers with armed combatants and developing education methods for peace building in the Solomon Islands; actions to bring about the laying down of arms in Bougainville; advocacy, research and education

to encourage voting in Marshall Islands; efforts in Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu and across the region to end violence against women. These are only a few examples of responses to conflict or perceived threats to human security that women's organizations have developed and sustained over the years. Despite women's productive efforts, their participation in peace building, post-conflict recovery and efforts to enhance the oversight and accountability of the security sector is still a matter for debate. Women still struggle to be heard at the negotiating table in leadership roles and are not given sufficient recognition and resources to do their work.³

It is therefore critical to strengthen and sustain regional and domestic efforts by women's civil society networks, which have a clear stake in defining and managing peace and security from the local to the global level.

Reference

"Peacekeeping and Peace Support through a UN Security Council Resolution 1325 lens: Enhancing Accountability to Women, Peace and Security," a presentation given by Sharon Bhagwan Rolls on April 16, 2012.

➤ For more information about FemLINKPACIFIC, go to www.femlinkpacific.org.fj

3 www.femlinkpacific.org.fj/_resources/main/files/Pacific%20Peacewomen_Perspectives%20on%20Peace%20and%20Security%20Web%20version.pdf



Gender and Security Sector Reform

A First Step in the Right Direction, or Gender Mainstreaming Gone Wrong?

by Merle Gosewinkel and Rahel Kunz

Dr. Rahel Kunz is a lecturer at the Institute for Political and International Studies (IEPI), University of Lausanne, Switzerland, and the co-director of the 'Centre de Recherche Interdisciplinaire sur l'International' (Crii). She is an expert in the areas of international migration, gender and international political economy (IPE). Rahel is currently working on Gender Mainstreaming in the field of Security Sector Reform (SSR). Her research results made an important contribution to scientific and policy debates around the creation and diffusion of international norms in the context of Gender Mainstreaming.



Having been active in different social movements previously, Merle Gosewinkel joined the team of the Women Peacemakers Program in 2009, where she now holds the position of Senior Program Officer. One of her main tasks includes the coordination of the WPP Training of Trainer Programs and Consultations. Merle Gosewinkel has studied European Anthropology and Gender Studies at the Humboldt University in Berlin and holds a Master Degree in Sociology with the focus on Gender, Sexuality and Society from the University of Amsterdam.



Next year, the UN Security Council is planning a global review of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) to see what has been achieved in the 15 years since the resolution was passed. From a civil-society perspective, the results are sobering. The resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), which came into existence with the help of strong advocacy work by the women's movement, seem to have lost the transformative angle to peace and security that was present in the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), and have often ended up being used only narrowly as a push for the inclusion of more women in the security sector. Though defining inclusion only in terms of number does not automatically have a particular ideological affinity, this focus risks reducing inclusion to those women who are less likely to challenge the dominant political and economic paradigms.

It is important to revisit the change we are aiming to make. Especially, since research shows that trends in civil-society funding over the past decade have not only reproduced existing social inequalities, but even amplified

them.¹ They have done this by further empowering precisely those non-governmental organizations (NGOs) that are already privileged—privileged either because they are linked to political powers, or because they are urban, westernized and skilled in formulating their goals and aspirations in donor-friendly discourse. This development puts pressure on available space for a more critical, engaged women's movement, one which pushes for more radical political transformation, as this risks alienating donors.² In terms of the WPS agenda, this development limits the space available for critical reflection on mainstream peacebuilding processes and the culture of militarism that is present in so many societies.

Women, Peace and Security in general, and UNSCR 1325 in particular, have become "hot" among funders. Though

1 Nesiah, Vasuki (2012) "Uncomfortable Alliances: Women, Peace and Security in Sri Lanka" in A. Loomba and R. Lukose (eds.) *South Asian Feminisms*. Durham: Duke University Press, p.147. See also: Hudson, Heidi (2012) "A Double-edged Sword of Peace? Reflections on the Tension between Representation and Protection in Gendering Liberal Peacebuilding" in *International Peacekeeping* 19:443-460.

2 Nesiah, p.149

UNSCR 1325 in its origin—being rooted in the BPFA³—carried the seeds for a transformative approach to peacebuilding, much of the work implemented in the name of UNSCR 1325 ended up confirming and supporting existing structures and practices, rather than providing a fundamental critique of existing frameworks and offering an alternative.

The Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) has interviewed two people about the challenges and opportunities of including a holistic gender analysis in security sector reform (SSR), each one working on the topic from a different perspective. The first, Rahel Kunz, a lecturer at the University of Lausanne, has done extensive research on gender and SSR in the context of a collaborative research project on “gender experts and gender expertise,”⁴ which focuses more broadly on the transformation of feminist thinking into gender expertise and the emergence of a new profession of gender experts. Her research analyzes gender-mainstreaming initiatives in the context of the implementation of UNSCR 1325 in Liberia and Nepal, with a particular focus on gender and SSR. The other person WPP interviewed preferred to remain anonymous. S/he has worked for an institution involved in various gender and SSR-related activities.

“Add women and stir”

So far, SSR has been criticized mainly for just focusing on “adding women” and ignoring gender with regard to practices, relations, and hierarchies among men and women.⁵ In talking about the implementation of UNSCR 1325, based on her research in Liberia and Nepal, Rahel Kunz shared her concerns about the lost transformative aspect of the Resolution. She pointed out that SSR is a prime example of how the Women, Peace and Security agenda can be depoliticized. Her ongoing research, she shared, highlights the ways in which UNSCR 1325 can become a nor-

malizing tool with a number of unintended consequences. Thus, in the case of Liberia for example, through some of the gender-mainstreaming activities within the police, gender has often become understood as “women’s and men’s roles and responsibilities” and in some contexts has ended up working as an instrument of social control and normalization, rather than as an instrument for questioning and challenging gender relations. Some Liberian gender experts have stated in interviews that they understand “gender” to mean that every person has to know the role they should play in the family and in society. This understanding then becomes part of awareness-raising campaigns that put gender experts in the role of “telling people what to do,” as an officer of the Women and Children Protection Section of the Liberia National Police explained: “We use the megaphone to tell people what is good and bad: Domestic violence is not good; don’t beat your wife, as she could die and put you in trouble” (Interview with WACPS officer, Liberia, November 2013).

Kunz identified several categories of women’s identities constituted in gender and security sector reform (GSSR): the woman as the victim of (predominantly sexual) violence, the woman as the “soft” security provider within communities, and the woman as the female-to-be-inserted-into-security-institutions. Men are predominantly seen as the “violent male to be reformed and transformed into a disciplined professional security-sector employee”. Of course there are others, who are silenced by being ignored, such as those women activists who do not want to work with or for SSR: the “trouble makers,” as GSSR generally just expects that women want to and should be part of GSSR intervention. The same applies for “the man who is sympathetic to the women’s struggle” or the male victim of (sexual) violence who also risks being marginalized in the GSSR project. The trainer who can potentially also be a perpetrator of (sexual) violence is also often placed outside GSSR.

Our anonymous interviewee confirmed such practice, sharing that GSSR indeed mainly focuses on those men who are part of the security-sector institutions; the category “men as part of civil society” is largely neglected in their interventions. In training programs they talked about the civilian population, but they actually meant women and children. Men as non-combatants, as civilians, are not in the picture. This is also confirmed by Mary Moran in her analysis of the Liberian context, where she confirms that men who did not fight are the “truly forgotten men”. Moran notes how “men and boys who had spent the entire war trying to avoid recruitment into armed factions and

3 www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/pdf/BDPfA%20E.pdf
4 See: graduateinstitute.ch/home/research/centresandprogrammes/genre/recherche/feminismes-et-politique-du-chang/gender-eerts-and-gender-expert.html
5 Clarke, Yaliwe (2008) “Security Sector Reform in Africa: A Lost Opportunity to Deconstruct Militarised Masculinities?” in *Feminist Africa* 10:49-66; Mobekk, Eirin (2010) “Gender, Women and Security Sector Reform” in *International Peacekeeping* 17:278-91; Salahub, Jennifer and Nerland, Krista (2010) “Just Add Gender? Challenges to Meaningful Integration of SSR Policy and Practice” in Mark Sedra (ed.), *The Future of SSR*. Waterloo: Centre for International Governance Innovation, pp. 263-80.



who had resisted the lure of looting and violence, however, qualified for no assistance because most programs for ‘non-combatants’ consisted of rape counseling and were directed at women.”⁶

As women are seen still predominantly as victims who will need help and protection from the—masculine—security-sector agent, GSSR serves to reinforce gender stereotypes. The reinforcement of these gendered roles is also present when women are portrayed as “natural” caregivers who would be encouraged by GSSR initiatives to become involved in “soft” security matters such as helping (other) female victims. In this process, Kunz pointed out, women’s groups are judged according to how “helpful” they are for the SSR endeavor.

Thus the work on including women in the security sector is often based on the essentialist assumption that women are “natural” peacebuilders and by nature better equipped to deal with conflict resolution. They are seen as having “a pacifying effect” on male security-sector employees, functioning as a counterbalance to their violent masculinity. Again, this builds on and reinforces existing stereotypes, and the potential to challenge the protector-protected dualism is lost, as Kunz pointed out. In her research, Kunz has emphasized that with the main focus of GSSR on women as either victims or as “soft” security providers, there is no space left for those female and male activists, who fundamentally challenge the understanding of security as defined by security-sector institutions. They are simply sidelined as “trouble makers”.

UNSCR 1325 as an income-generating strategy

Gender training programs for security-sector institutions and policymakers are becoming popular. Our anonymous interviewee shared that this is not necessarily always a sign of great commitment to the cause on the part of the institution itself: “Within my unit, we have lobbied internally to also get masculinities included, because we did believe in it. However, at the end of the day, what we believed in didn’t really matter. The only projects that happened are the ones that allowed us to stay in a job. Being largely dependent on states, we had limited lobbying power in terms of what the institution decides to focus on, operating within a larger organization where not everyone is gender sensitive. The way it works is that we got a cer-

tain amount of core funding. The rest is project funding; a head of division who is incapable of fundraising didn’t last long. The main priority for us was to show that we were giving security institutions what they wanted.”

However, many of these training programs focus predominantly on mere symptoms, such as the sexual violence that occurs during and after conflict or the “discipline” among the troops (in relation to sexual violence or exploitation by the army). They never dare to ask more fundamental questions such as: “What does sexual violence actually say about existing gender relations? What are the links between (sexual) violence and war itself, and in particular the strongly militarized masculinity emphasized during conflict and war times?”

In our interview with her, Kunz stated that the whole gender-mainstreaming industry often results in a hierarchization among women’s groups, whereby some become gender experts, getting access to funding and other resources, while others are “left behind”. In some contexts, gender mainstreaming can then easily turn into a business, leading to the proliferation of NGOs that are mere implementers and fundraisers, rather than fighting for some locally defined cause or highlighting fundamental and critical issues. In the context of Nepal, this is particularly striking. As a reaction, some local NGOs or civil-society organizations, such as the Occupy Baluwatar movement, have decided to reject donor funding.⁷ Referring to her fieldwork in Liberia and Nepal, Kunz said she sees the predominant focus on sexual violence as being very problematic. It has led to paradoxical situations whereby, for example in Liberia, women’s organizations decided to decline funding for health facilities because they were only to be used by survivors of sexual violence, who would thus have been further stigmatized.⁸

Yet, gender training can also provide space for mutual learning and exchange and for challenging the links between gender and militarism. In their edited collection, Mukhopadhyay and Wong (2007), for example, discuss the challenges and pitfalls of gender training in the field of development, where they distinguish between different

6 Moran, Mary (2010) “Gender, Militarism, and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment” in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:268.

7 See: www.facebook.com/pages/Occupy-Baluwatar/469263626466661

8 Moran, Mary (2010) “Gender, Militarism, and Peace-Building: Projects of the Postconflict Moment” in *Annual Review of Anthropology* 39:268.

forms of gender training programs.⁹ Such insights from the field of development should be taken on board in the WPS field, as Kunz and Valasek (2011) have argued. As Kunz has observed in the context of Liberia and Nepal, some gender experts suggest that gender trainings should be less about teaching and more about facilitating dialogue and exchanging knowledge on WPS issues in various contexts and cultures.

The “civilized” SSR masculinity versus the “unreformed” native masculinity

During the interview, Kunz stated that “militarized masculinities” needs addressing, yet the way this often gets addressed is by seeking to “change the men” or to “work on the men” rather than by working with them and addressing the issue relationally. This has a number of risks: (1) it can create anger and backlash from men themselves; (2) there’s also a risk of sidelining women when men (once again) become framed as the “agents of change”; (3) there is a danger that all issues will be reduced to “bad masculinity,” whereas the “root causes” might lie elsewhere (as well), such as in the economic situation, etc.

This links to her previous research, where Kunz also talks about how the focus on transforming male attitudes and reforming masculinities was a reaction to critics who had accused SSR of not challenging violent forms of masculinity within security institutions and thus in effect legitimizing them. In response, GSSR interventions now aim to train and mentor men to adopt less-violent forms of masculinity. However, instead of analyzing and addressing the root causes of men’s violent behavior, GSSR interventions often merely address the apparent lack of rules, with the aim to reform individual violent men into less-violent, professional security-sector personnel. The focus is on reforming violent men into professional ones, with external trainers being brought in as “gender experts”—“as if locals do not have the necessary specific knowledge to facilitate such trainings,” as Kunz put it. This practice reinforces gendered and racial stereotypes and binaries, highlighting the apolitical character of SSR.

Kunz describes how the idea of “desired” security-sector masculinities is strongly linked to professionalism and discipline, a discourse through which “civilized, security-

sector masculinities” is portrayed as the counterpart to the “barbarian, uncontrolled and violent masculinities” of the “traditional” man in post-conflict societies, and the violent, unreformed security-sector agent. This approach discredits other forms of masculinity that also exist in society and pretends that violence can be controlled through merely technical interventions, thereby ignoring the structural dimensions of gender injustice and inequality, as well as the gendered nature of warfare itself. For example, those men who are supportive of women’s empowerment, or male activists working together with women on issues related to gender equality and alternative forms of conflict resolution, are non-existent in GSSR, as they do not fit within the set framework.

Asked about the issue of masculinity within his/her institution, our anonymous interviewee spoke along similar lines. Internally, s/he said, it was indeed accepted to talk about masculinity, but only in relation to leadership and discipline, not in any transformative sense. However, the mere fact that masculinities had become an issue to be included in training programs, s/he said, can still be seen as some form of progress in a sector that is heavily influenced by the norms and values of the military. This might indeed open up some space for critical engagement and the questioning of militarized masculinities and may to some extent include masculinities in the equation so as to move away from the heavy focus on women as victims. In this interviewee’s view, the acceptance of the topic by his/her institution was related to the recent focus on sexual violence in SSR, and the realization that UNSCR 1325 is a topic that donors are interested in.

Security-sector institutions are gender-blind when it comes to their own structures and policies

Engaging in a deeper analysis of gender relations as being one of the root causes or drivers of war, or drawing a connection between patriarchy and the security sector and its relation to (sexual) violence and armed conflict is an absolute taboo within the institution, according to our second interviewee. Challenging the notion of how power operates, also within the institution itself, is impossible without risking one’s own career. Internal gender policies focus predominantly on gender-mainstreaming processes outside the institution itself, diverting attention away from possible insufficiencies in the way gender issues are dealt with within the organization.

Kunz echoed this, by pointing out how the attention in the GSSR discourse is very much on the men in the post-conflict societies who “need to be reformed”, rather than

⁹ Mukhopadhyay, Maitrayee and Wong, Franz (2007) *Revisiting gender training: the making and remaking of gender knowledge: a global sourcebook*. Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen / Oxfam GB.



on those who do the reforming: the international (gender) experts and peacekeeping troops. This creates a significant imbalance between those activities that focus inwardly and those that focus outwardly, largely ignoring the fact that international “peacekeepers” are also potential perpetrators. Research has shown how the GSSR discourse can divert attention away from internal gender hierarchies within peacekeeping missions, focusing mainly on engendering security institutions in post-conflict societies.¹⁰

Asked about the role that academics can play in changing the current discourse, Kunz answered that she sees it as her personal role to constantly critique the discourse and practice related to the Women, Peace and Security agenda, raising those issues that “practitioners” might not be able to raise because of time constraints or because there is a limit to how far they can go in their critique, as demonstrated by the fact that our second interviewee felt unable to speak out openly. Kunz strongly emphasized that SSR really needs to take the broader context into account: “One-size-fits-all approaches simply do not work, and the principle of ‘do no harm’ is not taken serious enough.” She continued: “So far, SSR has often paid lip service to concepts of ‘local ownership’ and ‘civil society participation,’ using instead a top-down approach, based on a state-centric understanding of security. GSSR has sometimes worked out in similar ways. Instead of coming into a country with a pre-determined agenda, an approach that would start with an analysis of the particular context and a consultation among local actors to begin with existing priorities and support for existing initiatives, might be much more successful and sustainable.”

SSR processes have also been heavily critiqued for not going far enough with their efforts to transform the security sector, where corruption, human-rights violations and misogyny are often deeply engrained in the institutional culture—especially among the armed forces, the police and border guards. In their research, Kunz and Valasek (2011) outline how militarized, violent masculinities are institutionally cultivated within security-sector institutions, leading to discriminatory institutional policies, structures and practices and resulting in high rates of sexual harassment and exploitation. Security-sector reform processes do not necessarily lead to any questioning of

militarism or of the cultures of masculinities sustained within military institutions.

This was very much confirmed by our other interviewee, who explained that the demilitarization of post-conflict societies has absolutely no priority within SSR and GSSR. The inherent assumption is that the military has an important role to play within society; there is no questioning about the role of the military itself as a peacebuilding agent. The institution our second interviewee worked for would never train civil society to question the use of armed intervention itself, but rather would train them in how to monitor the security sector.

As both Kunz and our other informant mentioned, the topic of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer and intersex (LGBTQI) people is still a big taboo within SSR. The issue of sexual orientation gets sidelined by most gender-mainstreaming activities in the field of security. As Kunz elaborated in our interview with her, the issue might not be seen as “relevant” for a particular context, and the point is not to impose it on a particular context, however there is a danger that the dichotomy of masculine versus feminine will reduce the space available for alternative identities, and sometimes also for progressive policies, in terms of recognizing the existence of LGBTQI.

In the end, Kunz emphasized the need for more collaboration with local women’s and civil-society organizations, without turning them into “implementers”. As she put it: “I believe that an approach that would start with mutual listening and include facilitating mutual learning and genuine exchange could take us much further than many other current gender-mainstreaming strategies.” Thereby, the WPS agenda could potentially take on new meanings and become a rallying point that would allow for diversity within a collective endeavor.

This interview was based on telephone and online interviews, as well as on Rahel Kunz’s previous research:

- Kunz, R. and Valasek, K. (2011) “Learning from Past Mistakes: Towards Participatory Gender-sensitive SSR?” in: Albrecht Schnabel and Vanessa Farr (eds.) *Back to the Roots: Security Sector Reform and Development*, LIT Verlag, 115-143.
- Kunz, R. (forthcoming) “Gender and Security Sector Reform: Gendering Differently?” in *International Peacekeeping*.

¹⁰ Hudson, Natalie (2008) “Security Sector Reform Front and Center: So What Does Gender Have to Do with It?” Paper presented at the International Studies Association Convention, San Francisco.



No Statues, But Courage Still

by Shelley Anderson

Shelley Anderson has worked in peace movements for over 30 years. She was one of the founders of the Women Peacemakers Program in 1997, which at the time was the Women, Peace & Security program of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR). She was the IFOR WPP Program Officer until 2007.

This August will mark the 100th anniversary of the beginning of the First World War. Statues will be unveiled, ceremonies and debates held, television series and books produced, all to commemorate a war that saw up to 37 million casualties.

Amid all these remembrances will be much rhetoric about the bravery of the dead and the sacrifices they made. It is important to reflect on history and to honor heroes. Both heroes and history teach us valuable lessons about how to model our lives. Yet there is one group of heroes and a hidden history regarding the First World War that is being neglected in this upcoming centenary.

What is lacking, amid the glorification of warriors and war, is a look at those who opposed the war and the movements they built. They, too, sacrificed much. They, too, have left a legacy. The valorization of these people, many of them women, is important. There are lessons in these stories for modern peacebuilders.

Hidden history of women's peace activism

It's unlikely there will be a memorial unveiled for the British antiwar activist Alice Wheeldon (1866–1919) and her daughters Hettie (1891–1920) and Winnie (1893–1953). But there should be. The Wheeldons were a working-class family, active in both the socialist and the women's suffrage movements. They were also pacifists. Like many other women, they had split with the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), the UK's biggest suffrage organization, when WSPU leaders became pro-war.

When Alice's youngest son was refused conscientious-objector status, Alice, Hettie and Winnie organized the Derby branch of the No-Conscription Fellowship (NCF). The NCF was a national organization that supported imprisoned conscientious objectors and their families. At one point during the war, the NCF's weekly newspaper had a circulation of 100,000—an astonishing accom-



"The Blood Vote"—a handbill poem issued during the anti-conscription campaign in Australia, 1917

plishment given that NCF offices were routinely raided by police and NCF activists were often imprisoned.

Alice was outspoken in her opposition to the war and provided shelter for men fleeing conscription. A government spy, posing as a conscientious objector, was given shelter by Alice. The *agent provocateur* then arranged for four vials of poison to be mailed to her. In January 1917, Alice, Hettie, Winnie and Winnie's husband were arrested for conspiracy to poison the prime minister and other government leaders.

It was a sensational case, deliberately “designed to intimidate antiwar forces.”¹ The trial was moved from Derby to London, where the family had less support. Even so, the courtroom was packed during the trial, which lasted less than a week. Government witnesses lied under oath about the manufactured conspiracy and the Wheeldon’s involvement in it. Towards the end of the trial the charismatic suffrage leader, Emmeline Pankhurst, denounced the accused women in the name of the WSPU. This must have been a particularly bitter moment for Alice, Hettie and Winnie, given their feminist convictions. Alice was sentenced to ten years’ hard labor, Winnie to five years in prison and her husband to seven years.

Alice went on several hunger strikes in prison. Her health permanently damaged, she was released after serving nine months and died a year later. Family and friends, afraid that her tombstone would be defaced, buried Alice Wheeldon in an unmarked grave.

Wheeldon’s antimilitarist and feminist beliefs inspired many activists during her lifetime. Her determination and sacrifice continue to inspire.² She was, however, only one woman among many who realized that militarism and women’s rights were incompatible. They supported and were in turn supported by men who had the courage to resist conscription.

These women built organizations to oppose the war, some of which still exist today. In Australia, two government referendums to expand conscription were defeated, in 1916 and again in 1917, thanks to organizing by antiwar forces, especially antimilitarist women. A Women’s Peace Army was founded with the slogan “We war against war.” In the UK, a proposal was made for a 1,000-strong Women’s Peace Expeditionary Force to march between rival male armies. In the US, 1,500 women marched silently in New York City in the Women’s Peace Parade, held only weeks after the war began. The Women’s Peace Party was set up shortly afterwards.

1 Adam Hochschild (2011) *To End All Wars: A Story of Loyalty and Rebellion, 1914-1918*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, p. 258.

2 In 2012 two of Alice Wheeldon’s great-granddaughters began a legal campaign to clear her name (see www.alicewheeldon.org for more information). There have also been a BBC television drama, songs and books about her life, the most notable being Pat Barker’s second novel, *The Eye in the Door*, in Barker’s award-winning First World War trilogy.

The most remarkable accomplishment was the Women’s Peace Congress held in The Hague in 1915, when 1,200 delegates from 12 countries came up with a proposal to end the war by negotiation. The warring governments were so threatened by this meeting of women that France, the UK and Germany forbade their nationals from attending. The UK went so far as to suspend commercial ferry traffic between England and the Netherlands. Some German women who participated in the Congress were jailed upon their return to Germany. The Congress led directly to the founding of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), which continues its antimilitarism today.

Hidden history

This is a hidden history that needs to be made visible. All these women deserve to be valorized. Their sacrifices deserve commemoration. Analyses of their successes and failures need to be made, so peacebuilders today can learn from them and avoid their mistakes. And there’s yet another reason why their stories need to be better known.

I wish I had known about these women when I was beginning my own work as a peace activist. Their courage would have inspired me as I left the US military as a conscientious objector. I joined the military in order to get the GI Bill, a government subsidy for veterans who wanted to go to university.

I did get an education of another sort while I was on active duty. The first time I was issued a rifle I hesitated. My gut reaction: I don’t want to hurt anyone—and this weapon could hurt someone very badly. But my feelings changed after only a few days. When it came time to return the rifle I didn’t want to give it up. No one would attack me if I was carrying a rifle. Or so I thought. Weapons have a seductive power, giving an illusion of invulnerability, of control.

Fear of being attacked is very real for military women. A woman inside the military is twice as vulnerable to rape.³ It was ironic that I was more in danger of being attacked by my fellow soldiers than from any foreign enemy. The hostility towards a woman in uniform was palpable at times. It puzzled me, until I began to understand that being a soldier is an affirmation of masculinity. A woman

3 Sadler, et al. (2003) “Factors Associated with Women’s Risk of Rape in the Military Environment” in *American Journal of Industrial Medicine* 43:262-273.

soldier challenges the very identity a young man joins the military for.

A special kind of courage

Ultimately I left the military because of two women's stories. I went to a talk by several *hibakusha*—survivors of the US atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. An older Japanese woman explained how the children of *hibakusha* often find it hard to marry, as people are afraid of possible genetic defects. This woman's daughter had found a husband. After several miscarriages, the daughter was pregnant again. The family was living in fear—fear of another miscarriage and fear of a baby being born with birth defects.

An older American woman then spoke. Her husband, now dead from leukemia, had been a soldier in Nagasaki with the US occupation force after the bombings. Her daughter, too, had had several miscarriages and was pregnant again. The family was living in fear of another miscarriage—or of a child born with birth defects.

I was stunned. So this is what war is really like: victims and victimizers, both living in fear, over three decades after the war had ended. If there was an enemy, it was war itself. I left the military shortly afterwards.

Reflecting on that experience, the words of peace researcher Cynthia Cockburn come to mind. “Women,” she wrote, “learn from women's lives. Women's lives are different from those of men. Women's characteristic life experience gives them a potential for two things: a very special kind of intelligence, social intelligence; and a very special kind of courage, social courage.”⁴

Everyone needs to learn this hidden history of women's peace activism. It can inspire and incite. Amidst the upcoming ceremonies that praise militarism, remember the stories of women's social courage and their determination to build a world without war.

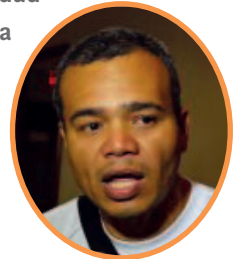
4 Cockburn, C. (1999) *The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identity in Conflict*. London & New York: Zed Books.



“And the Enemy Was in Us”

by Rubén Reyes Jirón

Rubén Reyes Jirón lives and works in Nicaragua. He has a BS in Psychology from Iowa State University (US) and a Master’s degree in Violence and Mental Health from the Universidad Centroamericana (UCA) in Nicaragua. In *Puntos de Encuentro*, he is the Coordinator of a program for strengthening the organizing capabilities of youth groups. He has a great deal of experience as a trainer with young people, involving dialogue across differences in gender, age, ethnicity, sexual identities, etc. Reyes Jirón is also one of the founders of the Association of Men against Violence in Nicaragua, and has about 20 years of experience in gender work with men. As part of his work with *Puntos de Encuentro*, he is currently a member of the Masculinity Network for Gender Equality, a coalition of more than 20 organizations working in the field of gender and masculinity in Nicaragua. He is an alumnus of the 2009–2010 WPP Training of Trainers cycle “Overcoming Violence: Exploring Masculinities, Violence, and Peace”.



“And the enemy was in us” is a quote I remember from the film *Platoon* by Oliver Stone. It is what the main character says when he realizes that the US soldiers have killed and brutalized unarmed civilians during the Vietnam War. I have used it as the title of this article because it seems to capture what I feel about my experience in the war between the Sandinistas and the Contras in Nicaragua.

Sometimes I wonder, did it really happen or did I dream it all? Did she really tell me that one of our surgeons would only save her husband’s leg if she would consent to have sex with him? I kept a journal of that specific mission so that I could remember, but I guess I didn’t really want to remember it, because I have lost that journal.

It is hard for me to believe that people sharing my own political views could be able to abuse women’s rights. What I remember is that when I was an auxiliary nurse in the Apanas Hospital (a war-zone military hospital), a surgeon told a young woman that he only would save her husband’s leg if she would have sex with him. The young woman told me that herself, because she had been my friend already since elementary school. Did I believe her? Did I think that what the surgeon was doing was wrong? Yes, I did, but I was unable to help my friend to deal with the situation. I guess I used to think that this was a burden that women had to put up with, especially during armed conflict, because men could not help lusting for sex. Unfortunately, many men shared this view; one of my friends, who had been a combatant in the mandatory military service, told me that most of the female cooks of

the troops had been raped or sexually abused by the commanders of the troops.

These events all happened between 1980 and 1989, within the context of an armed conflict in Nicaragua between the Sandinista government and the Contras, a militia organized by former members of the Somoza National Guard who opposed the Sandinista government. The Contras were politically and financially supported by the US government, which regarded the Sandinista government as a socialist threat, given its connections with Cuba and the Soviet Union.

I joined the army not because I wanted a military profession for my life, but because I was forced to by law. The Sandinista government had passed a law stipulating mandatory military service for men. I opted to be trained as a military nurse, since I didn’t want to become a fighter. I didn’t want to shoot people, but even more important for me: I didn’t want to get shot dead. In those days, many young men were joining the army as nurses. There had never been so many male nurses before. Young men seemed to realize it was a way to avoid the battlefield.

I myself was afraid to go to battle. I was a supporter and sympathizer of the Sandinista Revolution, but not to the point that I would risk my life for them. I thought the Revolution was a good thing, but not the war, killing people and getting killed. I was struggling with my feelings, because as a young man you were supposed to be willing to defend your country. Becoming a combatant was a “manly” thing



to do. I used to hear that by joining the “Patriotic Military Service” you could become a real man. I wanted to be a real man, but I didn’t want to die. Serving as a nurse was not considered manly at all, as nursing was stereotyped as a female profession. This left me feeling ashamed and guilty for the fact that I didn’t become a combatant. And the Sandinista army exploited this rhetoric to recruit young men for the military service.

Only men were forced by the Sandinista government to serve the military. Some women were volunteering to join the army, but they were not obliged to do so. In my view, it is good that not too many women had the direct experience of fighting in that war, because war is a dehumanizing experience.

I used to think that the Sandinista government were the “good guys”, since they helped the Nicaraguan people to kick out the Somoza dictatorship. In addition, former members of the Somoza National Guard had founded the Contras militia, which was politically and financially supported by the US.

I used to call them the beasts—that’s how officers and commanders in the Sandinista Army used to refer to the Contras—because they caused many atrocities and human-rights violations such as killing women, children, and other unarmed civilians. I thought they would look like big animals or monsters. But when I met a Contra soldier for the first time, I noticed that he was just a *campesino* (a rural worker). He didn’t look like a beast at all. I later became aware that the Contras militia was formed mostly out of farmers and rural workers from the northern region of Nicaragua. Many of them had joined the Contras after having suffered human-rights violations at the hands of Sandinista soldiers.

Whenever I heard or read about human-rights violations by the Sandinista Army, I considered it just propaganda from the opposition, which was trying to demoralize us. There were contradictions that I did not want to see at that time. For example, everyone had to deal with scarcity; there was no toothpaste, no toilet paper, and we could barely find rice, beans and sugar to eat. However, ministers and other officials of the Sandinista government were able to get a variety of food and luxury products from a special store—they used to call it *la diplomacia* (the diplomatic store). Regular folks like myself were not allowed in such a place; only diplomatic officials, government officials and *cheles* (white-skinned foreigners) were allowed. Even so, I used to justify this kind of class privilege, think-

ing our leaders deserved a better life because they had fought against the dictatorship, and they were also challenging the US for being an imperial power. So, when I heard that the Sandinista Army was also killing unarmed civilians, I didn’t believe that was really happening.

I later learned that some of the top Sandinista leaders had been accused of physically or sexually abusing women, or both. One accusation concerned Daniel Ortega, one of the main leaders of the Sandinista Revolution and our current president, for sexually abusing his stepdaughter for many years. However, he never had to face any charges.

What I learned from feminist leaders—who initially supported the Sandinista Revolution—is that the Sandinista government did not support them when they accused any one of the Sandinista leaders of physically or sexually abusing a woman. Back in those days, women were not supported in their attempts to get laws against domestic violence passed either. Women were often told to wait for more peaceful times to have their rights acknowledged.

Another gender aspect prevalent during the war was that all men in the army were supposed to be heterosexual. There was no place for homosexuals in the Sandinista Army, as they were not considered to be real men. Homosexuals were portrayed as sick people who could corrupt the troops. In the army hospital I was working in, I had to spy on a guy whom they suspected of being both a homosexual and a traitor. When I confirmed with my superiors that he was critical of the Revolutionary government and that he was showing his affection and sexual attraction to men, he was expelled from the army. I have heard stories of similar things happening in other military units.

“When you were trained as a soldier,” my friend Jorge explained to me, “you are expected to be tough, brave and non-emotional. Anyone who stayed behind or anyone who seemed to be weaker than the others would be publically humiliated. Those who were not good for fighting would be assigned to do the cooking and other domestic activities and were also humiliated as homosexuals”.

Many young people from both sides were killed in that war. We do not know the exact figures, as the Sandinista government has never disclosed these. There are many people who continue to cry for the loss of their loved ones, as well as for the loss of the Revolution. Many of us still wonder what they gave their lives for. Was it worth the pain that their families and friends suffered? Within the current political system, the ruling elites are getting



wealthier and wealthier, while the majority of the people continue to be poor.

Many of the former Sandinista and Contras combatants are impoverished. They also suffer from physical and/or mental disabilities. Some of them have organized to demand their fair rights to a piece of land, to have jobs and to get special social services from the government. But the current government is not paying much attention to them.

In Nicaragua, the president is currently in full control of the army and the police. Neither of these armed forces falls under the constitutional law, but rather directly under the personal power of the president. Several reports have accused the police of partisan behavior and of failing to protect people who are demonstrating against the official politics from attacks by armed and organized gangs.¹

Despite this repressive situation, the women's movement is well organized and has managed to get a law against gender-based violence passed. However, due to the corrupt and politically controlled justice system, many men are not being prosecuted for gender-based violence. As a result, human-rights violations of women, both by individual men and by the Nicaraguan state, continue to be very frequent. No improvements are expected, given that the ruling elite will make sure that political opposition and voices for change are silenced.

So we are struggling against a patriarchal, authoritarian and totalitarian power again; the days of dictatorship are not over yet. I can only say that our struggle must continue. But this time our struggle must also include overcoming the patriarchal dictator that is in all of us. Most men learn that dominating women and other men is a manly thing to do. From my war experience, I have learned that acting according to the hegemonic standards of "manly" is dehumanizing. It means learning to do violence to others and to ourselves. We have to stop pretending to be "manly" men. Learning to be men of peace will help us to be creative in nonviolent methods to continue our struggle.

¹ www.freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2013/nicaragua#.U2ikaq2SztA.



Feminist Antimilitarism

Patriarchy, Masculinities and Gender Awareness in Antiwar Organizing¹

by Cynthia Cockburn

Cynthia Cockburn is a feminist researcher, writer and photographer based in London. She is a Visiting Professor at City University London, and an Honorary Professor at the Centre for the Study of Women and Gender, University of Warwick. Her projects are designed to contribute to social movements, particularly community activism, trade unionism, the women's movement and peace activism. Her recent work, including her book *Antimilitarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements* (2012, Palgrave Macmillan), focuses on gender in processes of war and peace.



If you get down deep into the messy cultural detail of armed conflict, you can ask interesting questions about its sociality. Who does what kinds of violence, to whom, why and how? When you are looking at the social dimensions of armed conflict, this opens the way to seeing gender. Gender is an aspect of the social. And so we can ask what kind of gender relations are operational here, before, during and after armed conflict—remembering that there also is a gendered element in relations *between men*, not only in those between men and women.

Gender relations, as a meta-concept, opens up interesting questions regarding their articulation with armed conflict. We can ask how the relation between men and women, between masculinity and femininity, is shaped by militarization and war, and how it bears on militarization and war. What I have heard from a wide range of women's antiwar groups, organizations and networks from all over the world, is that gender relations are partly *responsible* for our societies' tendency to wage war. It is not just that gender relations are *expressed* in war. They are. And it is not just that they are *shaped by and emerge* from war in certain forms. That is also true. But they actually contribute to the likelihood of war. They are *causal*.

What you think you can do to end war depends on what you think are the causes of war. What is it that feminists think actually causes militarism, militarization and armed conflict?

It's very simple: feminist antimilitarists say that mainstream understandings of war are deficient. They are deficient because they lack a dimension. They fail to include among the systemic causes of war the patriarchal, male-dominant, sex-gender order we live in. The mainstream analysis does not include that perception, so it cannot act on it, and that makes it less effective.

How does the mainstream peace movement conceptualize militarization and war? They see two big power systems as causes of war: economic interests (capitalism as a mode of production) and political systems (the ethno-national system of states). These two power systems are large and enduring—even if they shift and change adaptively over historical periods as they encounter new conditions. They intersect of course: a national movement may mobilize for an economic resource—the control of “its” own oil reserves for instance. Western purchasers of African minerals may exploit ethnic rivalries in the Congo. Together these twin power systems are “the problem” that obsesses antiwar movements.

What feminist antimilitarists do is direct the antimilitarist gaze towards another equally large, enduring, and surprisingly adaptive power system that is inseparable from the other two. Economic and political power is intertwined with, shapes, and is shaped by sex-gender power, patriarchy, the worldwide system of male dominance. The

¹ This article is based on two talks by Cynthia Cockburn. The first was one she gave at the Graduate Institute in Geneva on February 25, 2013, titled “Gender Relations & Armed Conflict”. The second one she gave at a panel discussion of the Feminist Collective Amargi, held in Istanbul May 26-27, 2012, and is titled “If Patriarchy Is One of the Causes of War, Feminist Gender Transformation Is Work for Peace”.



interests of men as men, patriarchal interests, in addition to the interests of those who own capital, in addition to those of nationalists who profit by defining identities and making land claims, get expression in practically every major institution you can name. In business corporations, states, churches, and families, you find male power is right there functioning in, alongside and through capitalism and nationalism. They are right there in the institutions of militarism, militarization and war, likewise. Capitalism, yes. Nationalism, yes. But you understand war so much better if you take a gender lens to it. In fact you just cannot understand it fully without patriarchal gender relations as an explanatory factor.

Patriarchy reproduces itself by the arrangements society makes for the social shaping of gender—and in particular the shaping of masculinity. Feminists, of course, are particularly pointing to the significance of masculinities for the survival and reproduction of the patriarchal system, men brought up to be adequate to use power, to show their entitlement to privilege, to manifest masculine values. The creation of one generation after another of families ready to sacrifice their sons; boys addicted to computer war games like *Call of Duty*; men ready to impose their authority on women by force, to identify enemies and kill them—militarized masculinity predisposes our societies to consider war normal. It makes the establishment of peace very unlikely.

Women are shaped as people ready to play their part in a society that values the ascendancy of masculine qualities, who do not rebel against the domestic burden, who find the idea of male dominance erotic. Such gender relations not only fuel militarism, they need militarization for their full expression.

What feminist antiwar activists and researchers are saying is that a patriarchal gender order can be seen as disposing a society, a community, a country to the pursuit of its ends through armed conflict. It makes coercion the normal mode of procedure. It makes war forever thinkable. However, this is not an analysis you hear promoted in the mainstream, gender-mixed, peace movements. In such movements you can be pretty sure they are not talking about gender relations as causal in war.

Feminist antimilitarists in the peace movement are saying: our take on war is different from the mainstream movement. From our perspective as women we cannot help seeing militarist thinking, militarization of societies,

the training of armies and the fighting of wars as being hugely gendered...with men and women playing largely different roles, experiencing different kinds of effects, being tortured in different ways, dying different kinds of deaths. They choose sometimes to organize separately, as women, so they can highlight the experience of women in war, and how it connects to what women experience in everyday life in peacetime.

But women organizing separately says something else as well: it says something about the gender relations inside mixed antiwar movements. Women tell me they organize separately as women in part so that they can evade the perennial struggle with the male leadership they experience in mixed organizations, to get a voice and a hearing. They are doing it so that they can choose their own strategies too—they may prefer something more creative than the antagonistic confrontations with the police that some men may relish.

So they are saying there is not just a gap in the theory of war, there is a matching gap in antiwar organizing and strategy. If patriarchy, or the male-dominant gender order, or whatever you want to call it, is a predisposing factor to violent societies, if this is one among the other causes of war, then *transformative* change in gender relations has to be seen as work for peace. And not just an optional extra, but fundamentally *necessary* work for peace.

Yet in my travels round the world researching for the book *Antimilitarism*, I met a lot of women who are tired and fed up with struggling along in the mixed movement. They feel that they are endlessly making the gender point, stressing that hegemonic masculinity is a contributory factor in militarism and war, but “the men just don’t get it”. As a consequence, very few men are actively participating in work for gender change.

For our movements against war to be effective, the men within them have to challenge gender power every bit as much as they challenge class and ethno-national power, and every bit as much as women do. What is more, they should surely see themselves as gaining by doing this. As the women’s movement has always said, feminism is not for women alone. The gender order we live in is bad for men as well as women. The war system might be thought to be especially bad for men.



So, yes, gender transformation is necessary work for peace. I have found that many women, including some of the women who choose to stay within the mixed movements, oppose war not only as people but as women. But women cannot do it alone. Men also have to oppose war in their own gendered sense of self—as men. Saying: “You shall not exploit my masculinity for war.” The feminist struggle against a male-dominant sex-gender order is *of itself* work for peace. But it will not prevail until millions of men see their own best interests in joining it.

Further reading by Cynthia Cockburn

- The Space Between Us: Negotiating Gender and National Identities in Conflict* (1998) London: Zed Books.
- The Post-War Moment: Militaries, Masculinities and International Peacekeeping* (co-authored with Dubravka Zarkov) (2002) London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- From Where We Stand: War, Women's Activism and Feminist Analysis* (2007) London and New York: Zed Books.
- Antimilitarism: Political and Gender Dynamics of Peace Movements* (2012) Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.



A Note on Gender and Militarism in South Asia

by Dina Siddiqi

The South Asian Network to Address Masculinities (SANAM) is a network of activists, groups, researchers, and media practitioners from five South Asian countries (Bangladesh, Nepal, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka). The network seeks to counter the negative impact of hegemonic masculinities in the region. It consists of a melting pot of groups and individuals who are working in the field of gender equality through various means, with the aim of pooling together knowledge and experience from different angles so as to develop violence-prevention efforts in the region. SANAM defines its role as a catalyst for generating more effective and critical knowledge on masculinities and its linkages to violence, while at the same time creating an ever-expanding pool of activists, researchers and groups that develop interventions in different social settings. For SANAM, challenging masculinities requires a constant dialogue between theory, experience, intervention and change.



While masculinities are produced and structured through specific practices in everyday life in every society; conflict, violence and war may be seen as the expressways on which they move swiftly to spread and reinforce themselves. In light of contemporary models of economic development that have gained acceptance in most parts of South Asia—marked by massive shifts in the nature of agricultural societies and their production, the privatization of public services and resources, the destruction of labor protection and the underemployment of male workers along with exploitation of female labor—it becomes imperative to examine the intersections between gender, violent conflict and development.

Historical and political background

There are no outright military dictatorships among any of the current governments in South Asia.¹ All are constitutional democracies. This does not, however, preclude the entrenched militarization of state and society.

A shared colonial legacy (with the exception of Nepal) historically shapes nationalist and gender ideologies in what are now Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka. Shared histories of communal violence, including gendered violence, form part of the colonial past. Following a bloody war, East Pakistan became the independent country of

Bangladesh in 1971. In the postcolonial period, Bangladesh and Pakistan saw long periods of military dictatorship, while Sri Lanka and Nepal have experienced brutalizing civil wars. India's postcolonial borders have been consistently challenged by autonomy movements in the northeast and Kashmir; resistance is harshly suppressed, and underground militant movements thrive in these "conflict zones", arguably the most militarized zones in the world.

In the meantime geopolitics—especially the so-called War on Terror—has fundamentally restructured the politics and society of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Bangladeshi, Indian and Sri Lankan governments have used accompanying discourses of securitization and Islamophobia to legitimize antidemocratic and authoritarian measures internally. Finally, in the last two decades, unregulated globalization and neoliberal development policies have produced deepened inequalities and land alienation—in a region where subsistence agriculture is critical for survival—as well as unimaginable wealth everywhere in South Asia.

These developments correspond with the simultaneous rise of chauvinist forms of nationalism, communal/sectarian politics, and religious extremist movements—in conjunction with reconstituted patriarchies—in the region. It is against this backdrop that we must locate questions of gender and militarism in South Asia.

Gender and militarism in South Asia

Anuradha Chenoy defines militarism as a belief system that endorses military values in civilian life; that believes

¹ There is no consensus on the borders of "South Asia" as a political or analytical entity. For the purposes of this article, "South Asia" refers to Afghanistan, Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, Nepal and Sri Lanka.

in the construction of a strong masculinity, the latter also being a necessary component of state power; that legitimizes the use of violence as a solution for conflict and dissent; and that closely intersects with nationalism and patriarchy.² Although she draws her conclusions from India, the insights of Chenoy can be usefully extended to other South Asia countries. Distinct political and historical trajectories of community, caste, class and political economy determine the particular configurations of nationalism, patriarchy and militarism in each national space. Nonetheless, it is useful to keep in mind the fundamental significance of nationalism and gender ideologies in sustaining the power of militarism. Nationalism emerged in parts of South Asia as an attempt at overcoming humiliation. Since colonial subjugation was invariably accompanied by memories of military defeat, nostalgia for warrior cultures played a major role in this process of “regaining” national pride. This process of competing nationalisms based on constructing narratives of humiliation continues to be a mode of organizing populations according to ethnic, religious and other identities in militarized and violent ways.

The structural similarities and overlaps across the countries of the region are listed below, with some examples:

- **Creating “The Other”:** Patriarchal, nationalized identities are created based on the construction and the exclusion of an inferior but dangerous enemy.
- **The production of militarized masculinities** as being nationally and socially desirable for the protection and regeneration of community/national honor. There is a corresponding identification of the nation as feminine, within some cases manifesting itself in the metaphor of the nation becoming a woman’s body that is under constant threat of being dishonored by the enemy. During war, women’s “honor” is a critical element in whipping up nationalist sentiment. This was evidenced within the discourse around the nuclear capability for Pakistan. General Aslam Mirza Beg, former Chief of Army Staff, referred to the US government’s attempt to prevent Pakistan from acquiring nuclear weapons as the “nuclear castration of Pakistan”. In a similar vein, Sardar Assef Ali, the former Foreign Minister said: “to us the nuclear program is similar to the honor of our

mothers and sisters and we are committed to defending it at all costs.”³

- **The increasing dominance of a national-security framework.** National security was initially invoked as part of an anticommunist ideology, and more recently to fight terrorism and create enabling conditions for neoliberal economic growth. It is now masked as “development”. “Securitization” invariably involves measures designed to silence dissent and suppress—often economic—opposition. The Maoist insurgency in large parts of India’s tribal lands was described by the Indian prime minister in 2006 as the “single biggest internal-security challenge”. The Indian Maoists were able to thrive in tribal forest areas, known to be underdeveloped and poor, but also rich in natural resources. The conflict with the Maoists resulted in the militarization of civil society, with human-rights defenders under strict military control, as well as a massive influx of paramilitary forces into these areas. The other manifestation of a security state can be seen in the efficacy and appeal of national honor-and-security rhetoric stemming from the production of exclusionary nationalist identities and fear of “The Other”—with right-wing nationalists in India and Pakistan routinely deploying it to silence different voices and to recruit for their causes.
- **Increasingly blurred rhetorical lines between anti-imperialism and Islamic religious extremism.** As a result of a complex and entangled set of historical processes, including a number of proxy wars, South Asia has seen the rise of—often violent—Islamist movements that appropriate anti-imperialist positions traditionally associated with the leftist political ideology. The patriarchal positions of these groups tend get more attention internationally than those of various other sectarian and identity-based movements that also mobilize populations on the basis of ideologies of ethnic and/or religious persecution like the Hindutva groups, LTTE fighting for Tamil rights in Sri Lanka, Sinhala Buddhist Sanghas, and so on.

Militant manhood and nation are inextricably linked in right-wing ideologies. Historically, the link between virility and a regenerated nation is most explicitly articulated in

2 See Chenoy, A.M. (2012) “Militarization in India” at www.prajnya.in/amcmilitarism2012.pdf

3 See Khattak, S. (1995) “Militarization, Masculinity and Identity in Pakistan: Effects on Women” in N.S. Khan & A. Sherbano (Eds.), *Unveiling the Issues*. Lahore: Asr Publications. Vol. 1 (pp.52-64)





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right-wing Hindutva⁴ discourses. The Vishva Hindu Parishad⁵ has often called on Hindus to arm themselves with weapons “dear to gods and goddesses” in order to overcome “weakness, timidity and unmanliness” which are “great sins”, while “bravery and masculinity” are seen as being “of great virtue.” As Chenoy notes, contemporary strategists echo this concept, taken from the founders of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh⁶ in the early 20th century.

The intertwining of security discourses with those of militarized national masculinities can be seen most clearly within the gendered relationship between India and Pakistan. For example, after India openly conducted nuclear tests in 1998, thereby establishing itself as regional hegemon, the prime minister of Pakistan was gifted with a set of bangles by his predecessor. The bangles signified effeminacy, weakness and a relationship of inferiority. They implied that the prime minister was incapable of protecting the honor of the nation. This kind of saberrattling continued long after Pakistan conducted its own tests. In 2001, Pakistan’s President Musharraf declared, “We in Pakistan have not worn bangles and we can fight India on our own.”⁷ In response, the Indian Prime Minis-

ter Vajpayee turned the bangle imagery on its head. He said in a public address that, “In Punjab, where bangles are popular, people also wear steel bracelets.”⁸ Vajpayee was referring to the kadas that observant Sikh men are enjoined to wear and to the construction of Sikhs as a “martial race” in colonial discourse. Chenoy notes that this kind of competitive masculine ideology trickles down to intercommunity hostilities at the local level. During the Gujarat anti-Muslim pogroms in 2002, bangles were delivered to the doorsteps of those Hindus who refused to participate in the violence.

As elsewhere, gendered ideologies have been fundamental to the production of community, ethnic and religious identities. Aspects of honor and shame are mobilized in a variety of ways, with women figuring as sites of honor, repositories of culture and reproducers of the nation. Dominant ideologies cast women as innocent victims in need of protection from lustful and aggressive male “Others”. “Fear” of the national/communal/sectarian male “Other” frequently justifies violence against women and men.

Since women are seen as the bearers of community identity and honor, their bodies are central in the setting of (new) boundaries. Mass sexual violence can be used as collective punishment to dishonor communities, to punish those that challenge the state, or to remake ethnic or

4 An ideology that advocates Hindu nationalism or a call to form a Hindu nation.

5 Right-wing Hindu nationalist group.

6 Right-wing Hindu nationalist group.

7 *The Tribune*, October 23, 2001.

8 *The Tribune*, November 1, 2001.



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religious identity. In 1971, the mass rape of Bengali women by the primarily Punjabi Pakistani army was carried out in the name of religious purification and to “save” Islam from purportedly Hinduized Bengali Muslims. The rapes were also meant to dishonor Bengali men, represented as effeminate and unable to protect “their” women.

The memory of the abduction and rape of women from the “Other” community during the 1947 partition of British India continues to be mobilized during moments of crisis. For instance, during the 2002 Gujarat pogrom, rumors of Muslim men sexually attacking Hindu women were used to rally ordinary citizens to perpetrate extraordinarily brutal acts of rape, mutilation and killing of Muslim women.

Gender, ethnicity and “post-conflict” militarization in Bangladesh

The lives of indigenous groups in conflict or post-conflict zones are framed by specific sets of nationalist gender ideologies, justifying the continuous militarization of those zones. This is illustrated by the Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT) in Bangladesh, where in 1997 a peace agreement was signed between the government and indigenous insurgents. Formally “post-conflict”, the CHT is still reportedly the second most densely militarized zone in the world, the first being Kashmir. Official narratives of militarism and counterinsurgency, interwoven with discourses of development, reproduce the CHT as a troubled space that must be tamed. Everyday militarized violence is carried out in the name of national integration

and peacemaking. For example, Pahari women (women indigenous to the CHT) are subjected to violence from Bengali settlers as well as from national-security forces. Reports indicate that rape, including mass rape, remains an important tool of land-grabbing. Local administrations dominated by Bengali, if not complicit, often turn a blind eye to such actions. On the occasion of the first national indigenous women’s conference held in Dhaka in April 2012, the Kapaeeng Foundation observed that, “due to non-implementation of CHT Accord of 1997, no basic and noteworthy progress has been made for indigenous women’s participation in development processes, education and healthcare in CHT. The biggest concern in relation to rape and other violence against indigenous women both in CHT and plain land is the lack of access to justice and absolute impunity that perpetrators enjoy.”⁹

Sexuality/marriage as a counterinsurgency measure has an institutional history. Reportedly, in 1983, army officers received a secret circular encouraging them to marry indigenous women.¹⁰ Within this image, nation-building requires the literal occupation of indigenous women’s bodies. It has been suggested that this memo functioned not only to encourage voluntary intermarriage, but also

9 kapaeng.org/1st-national-indigenous-women-conference-held-in-dhaka-indigenous-women-form-a-network-aiming-at-realising-their-rights-through-united-movement/.

10 Life is Not Ours: 88 (www.iwgia.org/iwgia_files_publications_files/0129_Life_is_not_ours_1-108.pdf).



resulted in violence, with marriages between army officers and indigenous women taking place through intimidation and abductions.¹¹

Sexualized stereotypes of Pahari women—imagined as closer to nature, pristine like the landscape that surrounds them, virgin territory—abound in popular culture and offer endless prospects for “corruption” or “conquest” by the Bengali male. This fantasy is supported by views on the CHT cultures/religions as backward, uncivilized and in need of salvation/reform. Thus, the discursive construction of Pahari women as the essential cultural “Other” allows for the colonization of their bodies and the “civilizing” of their minds. Ostensibly, this brings all Pahari women into the orbit of the civilized Bengali nation.

This article aimed to present a brief examination of the intersections between gender, violent conflict and development across the nation-states that constitute South Asia. It is a complex picture, marked by shared histories and nationalisms that serve as a continuous resource for generating violent movements as well as justifications for the consolidation of militarized state apparatus. Gender

remains at the heart of all forms of political mobilizations. Attaching honor to women’s bodies and propagating an avenging masculinity as a means for men to recover their honor leads to violence. Uncovering this not only shows the futility of violence as the vehicle to resolve conflicts, but also the opportunity that violence provides for a reassertion of masculinity and strengthening of patriarchal controls over women.

It is critical for South Asia to re-discover a nonviolent language of political confrontation that can resist the offensives of economic “development”—negatively affecting the more vulnerable populations—and that can challenge the hegemonic masculinities present in communities, cultures, laws and the state. A new form of resistance that can talk of justice and peace without losing a sense of compassion needs to emerge as an alternative for “honor and humiliation”. At the heart of this re-imagining of political expression will lay the deepest possible questioning of masculinity. A feminist vision of the world requires, amongst other things, a dismantling of the patriarchal social and economic order, which by its very nature stands for violence and inequities.

¹¹ Ibid: 88.



Claiming the Rights of Indigenous People in South Asia

Exposing the Effects of Militarization¹

by *Sumshot Khular*

Sumshot Khular is an indigenous Lamkang Naga from the Chandel district of Manipur, India. She is an active human rights and peace activist, at present serving as the Program Coordinator of Community Action and Research for Development, a grassroots organization based in Chandel district in Manipur, which works to promote education, human rights, gender, development, and peace. She has previously worked for the Centre for Social Development and the Indian Social Action Forum (INSAF). She is currently a member of the Lamkang Snu Lop, Asian Indigenous Women's Network (AIWN), the Indigenous Women's Network of Northeast India (IWFNEI), Naga Women' Union Manipur (NWUM) and Naga Peoples Movement for Human Rights (NPMHR). She is actively involved in the peacebuilding and reconciliation processes after the Kuki–Naga conflict and has been engaged in mediation at the local level. She was elected Vice President of the Naga Women Union last October 2013 for a term of three years. Khular holds an MA in the Theory and Practice of Human Rights from Essex University, UK. She participated as a trainee in the WPP 2012–2013 Asia Training of Trainers Cycle “Together for Transformation: Gender-sensitive Nonviolence for Sustainable Peace”.



“Respected Madame, Chair, I am Sumshot Khular and I am presenting a joint statement for South Asia, endorsed by Community Action for Research and Development, Asian Indigenous Peoples Pact, the Shimin Gaikou Centre, the Kapaeng Foundation, NEFIN, the Mallaya Foundation, and the Centre for Research and Advocacy, Manipur.

“Madame Chair, South Asia is a home to more than 160 million indigenous peoples. However, only a few states recognize indigenous peoples, with some governments claiming that they have no indigenous peoples. The continual denial of recognition by states of their indigenous peoples as distinct peoples, who have been systematically discriminated and marginalized, is against the very principle of achieving social justice as affirmed by the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

“The non-applicability of the concept of indigenous peoples as recognized under international human-rights instruments remains a major and critical concern for millions of indigenous peoples. The idea that all citizens of a state are indigenous and thus entitled to the same rights has been used as a justification for denying recognition of particular indigenous peoples, as in India and in Bangladesh. These governments have rejected calls for the recognition of the collective rights by groups identifying themselves as indigenous.

“In Nepal, where a new constitution is soon to be promulgated, the indigenous peoples are campaigning for the right to self-government under a federal system of government in order to have control of their social, cultural and political development. However, in spite of the fact that at least 39% of the total population is recognized as indigenous peoples, and the government has ratified ILO Convention 169 on Indigenous and Tribal Peoples, they remain having the least meaningful political representation in the country, with their freely chosen representatives largely excluded from the constitution-making process.

¹ Sumshot Khular delivered the following speech at the 13th Session of the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (UNPFII), May 12–23, 2014. She spoke on behalf of the Asian Caucus, representing all Asian organizations registered with the UNPFII. She was supported by a grant of the United Nations Voluntary Fund on Indigenous Peoples.

“The Northeastern states in India are where the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958) has been in place to subdue the indigenous peoples’ movement for the right to self-determination. The act formulated extraordinary provisions and powers for the armed forces, which were then applied to the so-called disturbed areas, resulting in human-rights violations with impunity, arbitrary killings, arrests, torture, cruel, inhumane and degrading treatment, and forced disappearances. Moreover, new laws or amendments have been introduced, such as the Unlawful Prevention Act (UAPA), to retain the ban on the organizations proscribed under the repealed Prevention of Terrorism of Terrorism Act (POTA), including many indigenous minority groups from the Northeast. The launching of Operation Uttoron in the Chittagong Hills Tract has resulted in severe human-rights violations among the Jumma indigenous peoples in Bangladesh.

“In South Asian countries such as Bangladesh, Nepal, and India, millions of indigenous peoples have been involuntarily evicted, displaced and impoverished due to so-called development projects including coal and uranium mining and oil and gas exploration, without the free and prior consent of the indigenous peoples concerned. This is a direct denial of the universally established right to free, prior and informed consent, as outlined in several international human-rights laws such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the recommendations of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

“Many countries in South Asia have refused to implement human-rights recommendations to advance indigenous peoples’ rights. For instance, the UN Special Rapporteur on the rights of indigenous peoples, Mr. James Anaya, strongly condemned the Mapithel dam construction project for the series of violations and the militarization process in and around the Mapithel dam building site in 2008.

“Article 11 of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples stipulates that no military activities shall take place in the lands of indigenous peoples, unless freely agreed upon by the indigenous peoples concerned. However, many indigenous territories across South Asia continue to be heavily militarized, and their prime lands, the source of their livelihood and survival, are conscripted for military infrastructures.

“False climate-change information has been propagated across South Asia, resulting in, among other things, the construction of a series of mega dams as a source of clean energy with low carbon emission. Additionally, there is currently an aggressive push for bio-fuels plantations, leading to massive acquisitions of farmland and forest areas. The decision-making process regarding climate-change solutions is often exclusive in nature. At the United Nations Climate Change Convention (UNCCC) recently held in Nepal, indigenous peoples from Nepal were not allowed to participate in the conference.

“Indigenous women, by virtue of their gender and ethnicity, face particular impacts and increased vulnerability from the consequent loss of traditional livelihoods, displacement, conflict and poverty. Violence against indigenous women is as intricately related to their collective and individual rights to their land, resources and territories as their wellbeing, cultures and identities are. The aggressive development models associated with intensive militarization have been ravaging not only our lands and resources but also our people, especially women and girls.

“In Nepal, thousands of young girls and women were trafficked to India and beyond for illegal prostitution. In 2013, the Free Kamlari Development Forum and the National Federation of Indigenous Nationalities stated that, since 2001, about 1,200 Kamlaris had been rescued from bondage, in conformity with the state’s Kamaiya Labour Prohibition Act. However, around 100 persons have reportedly fallen back into Kamlari servitude due to a lack of commitment and support services. An estimated 900 Kamlaris in the districts of Dang, Baki, Burdya, Kohlali and Kanchapur still remain bonded to their landlords.

“An increasing number of cases of sexual violence and rape have been reported in Chittagong Hill Tracts (CHT, Bangladesh). According to the Kapaeeng Foundation, an organization concerned with the human rights of indigenous peoples, 211 sexual crimes have taken place in the CHT since 2007. Of the 19 cases in the most recent four months, 12 included children being raped, and two rape victims were killed in Kagrachari. Where rape has long been used as a weapon of war, violence against indigenous women is now being used in connection with land grabbing.

“The ongoing armed-conflict situation prevalent in the Northeast India has intensified the violence faced by women, taking the form of sexual, mental or physical abuse, killings and clashes. Although all members of



the communities are affected by the armed conflict, the impact on women and girls is far greater because of their status in society and their sex. Under the shadow of conflict, the region has witnessed a resurgence of patriarchal values and norms that have brought with them new restrictions on the movement of women and what they are allowed to wear and but also more overtly physical violence such as rape, which is systematically used as a tactic against a particular community. All this is compounded by the long-lasting social, economic and psychological trauma caused by armed conflict.

“In all these countries, women have played a proactive role in peacebuilding within the communities. To mention a few examples: the Naga Women’s Union, the Naga Mother’s Association, Jumma women in CHT, and Nepalese women in their respective states. In conclusion, I would like to make the following recommendations.

“Recommendations for the governments of South Asia

- 1 Ensure the full recognition of and adherence to the principle and the practice of the right to self-determination of all indigenous peoples in South Asia.
- 2 Recognize the rights of indigenous peoples over their land, territories, waters, and resources and their self-determined development of their land and bodies of water in South Asian countries as enshrined in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), 2007.
- 3 Review your state’s own national legal framework with a view to incorporate provisions of UNDRIP within your

national instruments, especially those with regard to the right to lands, territories and resources, and the right to self-governance and cultural integrity, while at the same time repealing/revising laws and policies that are not consistent with the UNDRIP.

- 4 Stop mega development projects without the prior free and informed consent of indigenous peoples and without recognition of their self-determined development.
- 5 Repeal all emergency legislation that facilitates political subjugation and militarization in South Asia, such as the Armed Forces Special Powers Act (1958) in North-east India;
- 6 Implement the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination in 2007 to stop the construction of mega dams in the territories of indigenous people, such as the proposed 1500 MW Tipaimukh Dam project and the Chakpi HEP project in Manipur.
- 7 Implement the CHT Accord to demilitarize the indigenous areas of Bangladesh.
- 8 Ensure that international financial institutions and corporate bodies desist from financing and taking up projects in South Asia that would undermine the inherent rights of indigenous peoples over their land and territories and threaten the environmental integrity of the region.

“Akpanpaak Chaak Inna, Hambai, Dhanyabad
Thank you, Madam Chair”



The Founding Template

Male-Female Relations

by Valerie M. Hudson

Valerie M. Hudson is Professor and George H.W. Bush Chair at The Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University. Her research foci include foreign policy analysis, security studies, gender and international relations, and methodology. Hudson's articles have appeared in such journals as *International Security*, *Journal of Peace Research*, *Political Psychology*, and *Foreign Policy Analysis*. She is the author or editor of several books, including (with Andrea Den Boer) *Bare Branches: The Security Implications of Asia's Surplus Male Population* (2004, MIT Press). Hudson is one of the Principal Investigators of the WomanStats Project, which includes the largest compilation of data on the status of women in the world today. Her most recent book is *Sex and World Peace*, co-authored with Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Mary Caprioli, and Chad Emmett, and published by Columbia University Press, and her forthcoming book with Patricia Leidl, also from Columbia University Press, is entitled *The Hillary Doctrine: Sex and American Foreign Policy*.



Here at The WomanStats Project (womanstats.org), we have been studying the relationship between the security of women and the security of their nations for well over a decade. After exploring the risks to state security and stability from the culling of girls on a massive scale from the birth populations of China, India, and several other nations (Hudson and Den Boer, 2004), several of us wanted to broaden our examination of how women affect macro-level security issues.

The dataset needed to conduct such an empirical investigation did not then exist, so we set out to compile it. We have searched for information on more than 360 variables for 175 countries (all those with a population of at least 200,000). Rather than eschewing qualitative information, we embraced it, and found ways to triangulate and synthesize qualitative and quantitative information on women. We wound up with what is arguably the largest compilation of information on the status and security of women available anywhere in the world, and it is freely accessible on our website. Information is added to the database daily, and we have over 180,000 individual data points and counting.

Furthermore, we have created unique and highly useful univariate and multivariate scales of dimensions such as Inequity in Family Law, the Physical Security of Women, the Prevalence of Patrilocal Marriage, Practices and Law

Concerning Child Marriage, and many others. A whole new vista of research now beckons which was impossible a few short years ago.

Following up on work by other scholars showing that gender inequality is associated with higher probability of inter- and intra-state war, speedier escalation in a conflict and greater likelihood of first resort to use of force in a conflict, we have been able to demonstrate in statistical testing that the best predictor of a nation's peacefulness is not its level of democracy or level of wealth, but rather the level of physical security enjoyed by its women (Hudson et al., 2008). We are currently investigating the relationship between inequity in family law and state stability, building upon our work that shows prevalence of polygyny as a risk factor for internal instability (Hudson, Bowen and Nielsen, 2012, and in preparation). In addition, we have begun a new line of inquiry that examines the relationship between female subordination in marriage and political governance structure (Hudson et al., forthcoming).

In our book *Sex and World Peace* (Hudson et al., 2012), we put forward a comprehensive framework for understanding why it is that there is such a strong relationship between the security of women and the security of states. Rather than reproduce that theoretical framework in its entirety here, let's strip it down to its bare essentials using an analogy.

Video-game developers are often given a set of basic parameters to work with before they create a game. So let's do that here with just two parameters. We've been asked to construct a game in which 1) there are two sets of players, and those two sets are easily distinguishable and roughly equal in size, and 2) unless the two sets of players cooperate in a particular task, the game ends after one round and both sets of players are left with nothing. The astute reader will note these situational parameters correspond to sex and death, which characterize life in all human societies.

Now, there may be a myriad of ways of gaming this situation, but a number of issues are going to come to the fore no matter what game is ultimately created:

- 1 Status in the context of difference: Will these two groups engage each other as equals, or as subordinate and superordinate?
- 2 Decision-making in the context of difference: Will decisions in the society be made by one group or by both groups?
- 3 Conflict resolution in the context of difference: If the two groups disagree, how is that disagreement to be resolved?
- 4 Resource distribution in the context of difference: With regard to resources necessary for survival and persistence, such as food, land, weapons, children, wealth, which group will control these, or will control be shared?
- 5 Agency in the context of difference: Can one group refuse to provide what the other group "needs" from it in terms of survival and persistence, or can they be coerced to provide it against their will?

Consider what type of society is formed when the answers are as follows:

Group A is superordinate over Group B. Group A will make all important decisions in the society, and if Group B disagrees it can be ignored or physically punished. Group A will monopolize and control all resources necessary for survival and persistence, including children. Group A can refuse to provide what Group B needs, but Group B cannot so refuse—if Group B tries to refuse, it will be physically coerced until acquiescence is obtained. Group B becomes, in essence, another resource controlled by Group A from which rents are extracted by coercion and subordination. (We will call these societal choices the A|B framework.)

In more ways than we would care to acknowledge, these have been, generally, speaking, the societal choices made with regard to men/Group A and women/Group B

throughout the course of human history. What we have only begun to ask ourselves as a species is whether we like what we get when we make these choices.

What you will have laid the groundwork for with the A|B framework is an inequitable society ruled by monopolistic rent-seekers prepared to assure continued flow of their rents through violence. All recognized difference within the society—ranging far beyond the original difference of sex—will entail subordination, and physical suppression will be used if necessary to effect that subordination.

Worse yet, such societal arrangements will seem "natural and right" given the original choices made with regard to the first Other: woman. All "others" in the society will be "feminized," because their status, agency, and so forth, correspond more to that of females in society than to males.

That is why the structure of relations between men and women in any society is so important: it is important because it normalizes—in the way that only handling of the first Difference could—inequity, violence, and a parasitical and monopolistic rent-based economy and governance structure. And that is also why statistical testing yields the consistent results it does: those societies which most fully buy into the A|B framework—the framework of patriarchy—are those which will become the most violently dysfunctional and the most grossly inefficient. The founding template of the character of male-female relations within a society is thus highly determinative of that society's fate, for good or for ill.

It is time to ask ourselves whether we can't think of a better game to play than that which was bequeathed to us by history. Change the founding template to one of genuine equality and partnership between men and women, and we have every reason to believe that you would create a game that would bring far greater security and peace for all.

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Masculinities and Militarism, Academics and Activists

by Åsa Ekvall

After ten years of working with development aid, specializing in gender issues and women's empowerment in several conflict and post-conflict areas, Åsa Ekvall decided to take some time to reflect on her experiences. She began a PhD program with the aim of studying the relationship between gender equality and different forms of violence. She has a special interest in norms and how they interact and change, as well as in masculinities and men's role in achieving gender equality. Åsa also works as a freelance consultant on gender issues around the world and runs a resource website for those interested in gender and violence: ekvall.nl



After having worked for ten years with mainly, although not exclusively, gender-related issues in a number of conflict and post-conflict settings, I decided to go back to university. I wanted to reflect on and research the relationship between gender (in)equality and different forms of violence. One of the things I had started to realize was that as practitioners, activists and academics we are focusing almost exclusively on improving gender equality through the empowerment of women, but forgetting about men's role in that process. This is problematic, as when focusing only on promoting women's possibilities for doing what men usually do, but never vice versa, we are still putting more value on the traditionally masculine than on the traditionally feminine. This does not in any way mean that women's empowerment is not important, but rather that it needs to be complemented by an empowerment of men as well, by allowing them to do what they usually don't.

The masculinities studies that are mainly carried out in the fields of sociology and social psychology show strong relationships between traditional, patriarchal norms and many types of violence. Those include violence against women, violence between men (for instance bar fights and other types of interpersonal violence between men), so-called honor-related violence, homophobic violence, homicide, and other forms of violent crime. The patriarchal norms linked to these types of violence include dominance, power over women, a disdain for homosexuals, a need for revenge when faced with a perceived affront, risk taking, and a need to win whatever competition there might be. Furthermore, men with strong patriarchal norms seem to have a need to reaffirm their masculinity—especially if they don't fall into the category of “alpha-male”—


in order to not be mocked or bullied by their peers. In his book *Guyland: The Perilous World Where Boys Become Men*, from 2008, Michael Kimmel showed how adolescent boys constantly need to prove their masculinity in their journey towards adulthood and how calling an adolescent boy names that are the normative opposite of patriarchal masculinity (for instance “gay”, “sissy”, “pussy”, or “girl”) is the most insulting thing one can do. One way, if not the most common one, for a boy or a young man to prove his masculinity and gain respect from his peers is to use violence. This violence can take many forms, from fistfights to the use of arms. Research into school shootings in the US has also shown that almost all the perpetrators had been bullied, having been called “gay” or other names aimed to denigrate their masculinity, prior to their deadly attacks.

When it comes to masculinities and patriarchal norms and their link to militarism, most of the research has been done by feminist scholars, starting with Cynthia Enloe and her famous book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases* from 1989. Several others have contributed towards expanding our knowledge in this field, including Spike Peterson, Cynthia Cockburn and Laura Sjoberg just to name a few. Many of the feminist scholars working on gender, masculinities and militarism have their academic home in political science, where they often find themselves disconnected from the more mainstream scholars. Nevertheless, their work has shown how patriarchal and hierarchical systems favor power structures that involve militarism. In turn, militarism reinforces gender subordination—the subordination of femininities to masculinities—by reinforcing a societal structure in which the strong, masculine men protect the



weak and passive women as well as the men who are not considered to be “real” men in society due to their sexual orientation, race, disabilities, etc. A vicious circle is thus in place, in which gender inequalities feed militarism, which in turn reinforces gender inequalities. Women who choose to join armies or other military groups have to subscribe to established values, norms and behavior rather than bringing along their own.

Cynthia Enloe has pointed out that the militarism that pervades global politics is neither natural nor automatic, but rather occurs because some people’s fears are allowed to be heard while other’s fears are trivialized and silenced. In other words, fears about losing power, be it on a military, political or economic level, nationally or internationally, are given more importance than fears about the human consequences of militarism and war. As most people in the world with military, political and economic power are men, the workings behind militarism are clearly gendered.



These insights from feminist scholars have had a hard time getting through to other scholars. Personally I believe this is because the fields of political science and peace-and-conflict research—the main academic fields focusing on militarism, war and peace—are dominated by men, and some might feel accused by the feminist scholars. Unfortunately, the erroneous perception that feminist critical theory blames all men for the state of things still prevails. What is being criticized are the patriarchal norms, values and systems leading many men, and some women, to behave in ways that lead to militarization. Furthermore, since the vast majority of scholars working on militarization, war and peace do not take any gender perspectives into account (or, if they do, only from an empirical perspective and not an analytical one), acknowledging the work of the feminist scholars would for many mean an acknowledgement of the pieces missing in their own works or their own implicit or explicit participation in the patriarchal system. Ignoring gender perspectives—or in other words: being a silent bystander—is a way to implicitly keep the inequalities of the patriarchal system in place.

Women’s gender roles have changed in large parts of the world over the last century, expanding the realms of what a woman can do even though for the most part they still do not enjoy the same rights and possibilities as men. Men’s gender roles have also started to change, but in a much more restricted way—both in scope and geography-wise. I have chosen to study what happens when norms on masculinity change, as I find it both incredibly interesting and important. Furthermore it is still a very under-researched

field that merits more attention. The preliminary findings are consistent with the theory, showing that when norms on masculinity becomes less patriarchal and more egalitarian (in other words: when men are empowered to break out from their narrow gender roles and can do things that women traditionally do, like being at home with the children and taking responsibility for household chores, for instance, or being caring and nurturing) many forms of violence in society, from homicide to armed conflict, are significantly reduced. The next step will be to study how norms for masculinity are linked to attitudes towards various forms of violence. Clarifying that would advance our understanding of human behavior but it would also be of importance for all activists and organizations that are working on reducing different forms of violence, including military violence.

Being a former activist and a practitioner-turned-academic, I have a huge appreciation for the collaboration between activists and academia. However this collaboration is not as strong and systematic as it could be today. There are probably multiple reasons for that. Many academics are afraid of being perceived as partial and not scientific enough if they were to get involved with activism, for instance. I have also experienced that some activists and practitioners are prejudiced towards academics, finding them disconnected from the “real” world. I think we all need to overcome our prejudices and work together. Solid research is solid research, even if the person carrying it out is an activist or cooperates with activists. Activists and practitioners can gain valuable knowledge from academics, which they can use in various ways, for instance in advocacy work, policy and strategy-making and when developing projects and more. Keeping one leg in academia and the other in activism will always be the model for me, and I hope to be able to convince others, on both sides, of the usefulness of collaboration.

➤ For further reading by Åsa Ekvall, go to www.ekvall.nl

Men's Struggles for Gender Equality

Take Them with a Pinch of Salt

by *Netsai Mushonga*

Netsai Mushonga is a women's rights and peace activist who has worked for ten years as the leader of the network of women's rights NGOs and individuals across Zimbabwe: the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe (WCoZ). She has a background in peace and conflict-resolution work, having been a board member of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) and later the Women Peacemakers Program in the Africa Region. In Zimbabwe, Mushonga is a board member of the Women and Land in Zimbabwe and the Zimbabwe Peace Project. She has worked to engender civil-society organizations in Zimbabwe (e.g. focusing on the recruitment of women into senior positions within their organizations). She is currently a consultant in gender and peacebuilding. Mushonga was also involved as a trainer in several WPP Training of Trainers cycles.



In 2005, the Women's Coalition of Zimbabwe, which I was coordinating, held a "16 Days of Activism Against Gender-based Violence" march to advocate for the passing of a Domestic Violence Act. The network invited its member organizations, as well as a men's organization working on gender-equality issues, to participate in the march. The turnout was grand and the message was very strong. However, when we watched the video and pictures of the event, we noticed one salient dynamic: at the beginning of the march, the men were right at the back of the march with their banner; yet midway through the march, they started overtaking the women and towards the end of the march, they were suddenly leading the march. We made jokes about it as we watched it, however looking back, it has come to symbolize the entrance of men's organizations into the gender-equality movement.

These men's organizations and networks are *amafikizolo* or recent newcomers in the struggle for gender equality, but some of them seem to be taking over very quickly from the women's movement, which has toiled for equality and human rights since time immemorial. By "taking over", I am referring to the prominence given to these organizations/movements and their leadership, as well their easier access to financial resources. This takeover seems to have the full support of the donor community, which seems to have suddenly discovered the "magic formula", or shortcut, to achieving gender equality by working with men's organizations.

I am not saying here that men should not be involved in the cause for gender equality. I actually fully agree that work for gender equality should actively engage men. But are men's movements and organizations really the panacea when it comes to achieving gender equality?

I am asking myself: Does the existence of these organizations mean that we now suddenly will have a majority of men who are willing to give up the power and privilege that patriarchy has offered them; men who are actively advocating for women's access to power, leadership, resources, and services? In general, has history shown us any examples of groups with power that handed it over completely to advocate for the less powerful?

My question here is: What role should men's gender-equality groups / movements play? And are the two movements (the women's movement and the men's gender-equality groups) really working towards the same goals?

The women's struggle for gender equality across the world has spanned centuries, with the suffrage movement forming the beginning of the feminist struggle, starting from the realization that women were not considered full human beings. Over time, this grew into a powerful feminist movement that asked a very simple question in every situation and circumstance: "What about the women?" To date, this struggle has scored life-changing successes across the globe: from the promulgation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against



Women (CEDAW) in 1979 (called the “Bill of Rights for Women”), the United Nations Decade for Women from 1975–1985, the CEDAW Optional Protocol that deepened parameters for the respect of women’s rights, the Vienna Convention on Violence against Women in 1993, the Mexico International Conference on Women, and the Nairobi Women’s International Conference with the Forward Looking Strategies, through to the Beijing International Women’s Conference of 1995 which galvanized women and shook the world regarding women’s rights and gender equality. There have also been gains at a continental level, with African women pushing for the AU Protocol on Women’s Rights and women from the Southern Africa region pushing for the SADC Protocol on Women’s Rights, which was passed in 2008.

Women have long realized their importance as agents of peace, but also the specific impact of armed conflict on their lives, and they successfully lobbied for the passing of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security. Since then, five subsequent UN Security Council resolutions have been passed to promote women’s security, increase their participation and build sustainable peace in post-conflict societies. Women are increasingly socio-economically and politically empowered, meaning that we now have economically empowered women, a sprinkling of women heads of state—though still often referred as “iron ladies”—and numerous younger, more dynamic female leaders across the world.

Going back to the original question about the role of men in the struggle for gender equality, my main issue is: “What motive do men’s organizations have to join the struggle?”

I speak from my experience in Zimbabwe and internationally. I have met men working in gender-equality organizations who are genuinely interested in promoting gender equality. These men have a deep respect for women; some were raised by their mothers, and others are just good and respectful people who are genuinely interested in the cause and want to contribute to justice. I have admired the tenacity and courage of such men, who are often ridiculed by their peers for the work that they do. I still remember in one meeting with a non-governmental organization, during which we were asked to divide up into several thematic groups. One male-led gender organization asked which group they should join, and they were told in a very derogatory manner to “join the women”.

I once met a young man in Nyanga, a town in Zimbabwe, and the whole community marveled when he declared

he was genuinely for gender equality and was not embarrassed to carry out chores deemed feminine, such as cleaning and cooking. He wore a red jersey to the meeting, a color which is mainly worn by women and girls in Zimbabwe. He was very convincing in his argument for gender equality. I also met an Indian man who insisted he was a feminist; I spoke with him at length and I was convinced that his motives were genuine.

However, I have also met the opposite: men who shout loudly about human and women’s rights, but treat the women and women’s organizations around them as their subordinates. The organizations led by such men are not aligned with the women’s movement and working in partnerships with it, but are rather in competition with it. They strive to publicly show that they have more impact and are making more changes on the ground, and funding partners have obliged them by giving them a lot of resources for their work, while denying the same to the women’s movement.

History has shown us that the group that is being discriminated against usually leads the struggle, with only a small number of the “oppressors” joining that struggle in solidarity and support. When black Americans led their own struggle for civil rights, the blacks in colonized Africa did the same. Under Apartheid in South Africa, it was the disadvantaged groups that led the struggle. Some members of the oppressor groups came on board, but it came nowhere near to them setting up their own organizations and movements to take the lead in the struggle.

Why then does it look like some men’s organizations are almost eclipsing the women’s movement around the world now?

Reports abound of male gender activists who provide gender training that includes sessions during which they confess to the violence they have carried out against women. Sometimes such activists are actually paid to give such training and the questions feminists ask are: “What about the women, who once suffered at their hands? Can those women survivors/victims do the same? Can they tell their stories and receive sympathy and become heroes in the process?” Definitely not, we can’t flip the coin when we ask the question: “So what about the woman?”

Africa has high unemployment rates and it is my opinion that some men might decide to go into gender-equality work simply as a way to make a living, rather than on the basis of a genuine support for the struggle—especially



since working for a men's organization has the potential to bring in money, lots of recognition, and status. Like the men in our "16 Days" March proved, it seems to be easy for men's organizations these days to walk faster, speak more loudly and take leadership of the gender-equality struggle!

It is important to remember that Africa still has very strong patriarchal attitudes and it takes a very special kind of men to work genuinely for gender equality. My belief is that there are a few of those men out there. I have met several of them, and what makes those men different is that they understand that women deserve and need to lead the

struggle for gender equality, and that joining them implies working in partnership with the women, and not creating very separate groups and movements that end up taking over.

The woman who has fought for gender inequality since time immemorial has the experience and the right to marshal this struggle. I believe women have come very far—you can smell victory when you see the growing array of women leaders we have across the globe, in the social, economic, political and religious spheres—and we cannot afford to lose this momentum, no matter what.



Making it Personal

Unlearning Militarism in Kenyan Slums

by *Dola Oluoch*

Dola Oluoch is currently the Program Manager at Chemchemi Ya Ukweli, an active-nonviolence movement in Kenya. Trained in project management, he has extensive experience in consulting, working with community groups and organizations and educational institutions, among others. His current work focuses on peace training and facilitation, with a special interest in active nonviolence as an alternative to violence. Oluoch is also a potential Field Team Member with the Nonviolent Peaceforce, a non-partisan, unarmed peacekeeping force composed of professionally trained civilians from around the world who carry out third-party nonviolent interventions in conflict areas. He has completed several training courses and workshops focusing on peacebuilding, understanding conflict, mediation, and active nonviolence, as well the WPP Training of Trainers cycle “Overcoming Violence: Exploring Masculinities, Violence, and Peace”.



Worldwide, militarization has been witnessed to take many different forms. While Kenya is considered to be a country without conscription, militarization is still present. For example, the false notion that the use of force is necessary for the maintenance of effective leadership and control prevails in Kenyan society. Such a notion is in fact the premise of militarization, which comes at the expense of the rule of law, democracy, and the realization of human rights.

In Kenya, the architects of militarization are not solely affiliated with the state. In fact, in some cases the absence of the state opens up space for militia groups, such as Mungiki. Such groups often operate in settlements that are considered disorganized, where public transportation, legitimate community security mechanisms and social services are completely absent. In many cases, militarized groups initially fill these gaps, but eventually turn into militia and terror groups extorting money from residents in the name of protection or security, garbage collection, and so on. The situation further deteriorates when these groups are politicized for the benefit of the ruling elite, who often secretly use these groups to silence dissidents, opposition groups, and competitors.

These forms of militarization not only affect political and legal systems, they also impact on social behavior. An atmosphere of frequent threats, physical harassments and extrajudicial killings contributes to a breakdown of soci-

etal relationships, of institutions of rule of law, and ultimately, of democracy.

All through Kenya’s history, women have been subject to consistent human-rights abuses, while simultaneously bearing large societal responsibilities. For example, Kenya’s agricultural sector is responsible for creating over 80% of Kenya’s jobs and 60% of the national income. Within this sector, women do the vast majority of the work and produce and sell the majority of the food. Nonetheless, they still they earn only a fraction of the income generated, and own only a nominal percentage of assets. In fact, women make up only 29% of those earning a formal wage throughout the country. This means that many women are pushed to work in the informal sector, which exposes them to exploitation. The effects of this situation are drastic: with nearly 40% of households being run solely by women, the lack of fair income means that nearly all these homes suffer from extreme poverty.

Even with the adoption of Kenya’s new constitution in 2010, gender challenges are not over. For example, the constitution promised women at least one-third of the seats in elected bodies. As a result, forty-seven seats were reserved for women representatives in the national assembly. Despite these allocated seats for women, and some additional women parliamentarians being elected directly, male voices still dominate politics. In practice, little has changed in women’s representation; as a minority

in the parliament they have not been able to make a stand against the male dominance in discussions and policies.

Another example: according to the Constitution of Kenya, gender-based violence (GBV) is a human-rights violation. Article 28 stipulates that “Every person has inherent dignity and the right to have that dignity respected,” and article 29(c) stipulates that “Every person has the right to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right not to be [...] (c) subjected to any form of violence from either public or private sources (domestic violence).”

However, the male-dominated atmosphere in all areas of life exposes Kenyan women to serious forms of dehumanization—ranging from verbal abuse to sexual harassment and rape—all of which are seen as a manifestation of masculinity. An example of the normalization of women’s dehumanization is witnessed in Kenyan public transportation, where stickers insulting women have become a normal appearance. They contain messages such as:

- “Women are like maize cobs, you chew on them and move on.”
- “Women are like *matatus* [a common Kenyan public-transportation vehicle]: you alight from one and get into the other.”
- “Never trust a woman.”

The atmosphere of male dominance, which often takes militarized forms, especially in the slum areas, makes it difficult for women to speak out about the violence they experience, and that, in turn, contributes to the creation of a culture of silence about the topic. As a result, the magnitude of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is hard to determine. It is widely acknowledged that in Kenya, reported cases only represent a small part of the larger picture. Most of the sexual-violence cases go unreported due to fear, shame, powerlessness, the lack of support, and the unreliability of public services.

Policy Brief No. 26, drafted by the Division of Reproductive Health, the Division of Community Health Services, Family Health Options Kenya (FHOK), and the Federation of Women Lawyers (FIDA), published in June 2012, highlights the following common challenges in reporting GBV in Kenya:

- 1 The use of legal procedures is intimidating, especially for rural women and girls who may be illiterate or poorly educated and for those who, because of gender roles and norms, may not be accustomed to speaking

for themselves (or speaking publicly). The option of hiring a lawyer can be expensive and legal aid is not easily accessible.

- 2 Court procedures prevent survivors from seeking formal legal redress due to a lack of privacy regulations.
- 3 Court processes are fraught with tension and numerous legal barriers. Among others, the requirement that investigations must be completed within 24 hours is unattainable, especially in rural areas. This is due to the fact that a certified doctor must complete an official medical-examination report. This legislation and the long duration of the legislative process leads many survivors to despair and simply abandon their claims.
- 4 Similarly, where gender desks exist, there is no standardized procedure in place to regulate their operations. The desks are meant to be confidential spaces, but survivors are received at the front desk where they must explain their situation before being directed to the gender officer. Front desks are usually crowded and structured in such a way that one must raise their voice to be heard, thus making the process insensitive to SGBV survivors.

Consequently, with the formal justice system riddled with so many hurdles, many families of GBV survivors turn to traditional justice systems. These systems are preferred because they are faster and issues are resolved in a way that guarantees that affected families retain their place in society. However, because these procedures are geared towards reaching a consensus rather than securing justice for individual survivors, women often lose out during these as well.

Challenging gender violence through active nonviolence

Chemchemi Ya Ukweli (CYU) is an interfaith organization established in 1997 to respond to the growing culture of violence in Kenya. CYU engages communities to embrace a culture of nonviolence, appreciate tolerance, and value the diversity of faiths and races. The organization builds the capacity of youth, women, religious leaders and political players to find sustainable means to prevent *the use and outbreak of violence*. This is done through two key programmes, focusing on active nonviolence and inter-religious dialogue, respectively, and which contribute to the establishment of communities of practice (COPs). The COPs consist of people and groups that believe in the power of nonviolence to create change and are committed



to human dignity, peace, the rule of law, public safety, self-development, social justice and reconciliation.

As a result of its engagement with the Women Peacemakers Program, CYU realized the need to pay special attention to GBV, in particular in terms of challenging it via nonviolent interventions. Though Kenyan women have been fighting for gender equality for quite some time, they have also faced strong opposition from their male counterparts. Seeing the need for more male support for women's struggle, CYU chose to start working with young men through all-men community dialogues aimed at changing attitudes and helping them look at gender equality through different lenses.

CYU's approach is to take the younger men through their journey of socialization so as to help them understand how they ended up with the biased gender lenses they have. The cultivation of militarism and violence in Kenya, similar to that in the rest of the world, is fuelled by hegemonic ideas on masculinity. Through militarism, society trains its men in particular to choose violence as a means for control, domination, and subordination, with sexual violence as one of its expressions. During the sessions, CYU uses theater techniques and role-play exercises to raise men's awareness and support them in "unlearning" militarism and violence.

Secondly, through the organizing of open discussions, CYU aims to stimulate critical reflection on the social positions of men in relation to those of women. Through

these discussions, participants have been able to realize how the current standards of masculinity have affected them negatively.

While this work for sure has been the turning point for several participants, it hasn't been a smooth ride. The main challenge is to prevent participants from slowly sliding back into old ways of thinking and old habits when they return to their daily life. CYU's response is to establish continuous engagement, initiating informal mentorship programs over a period of time for a selected number of interested participants. These participants are eventually expected to work with female allies as part of creating larger gender-sensitive peaceful communities. Nonviolent communication and constructive dialogue are critical topics that these trainees are taken through and encouraged to practice.

On another level, CYU aims to counter the negative and discriminatory gender communication that reaches the public by introducing alternative messages. CYU disseminates stickers with positive messages about women and gender equality, placing them in public spaces, including public transportation. These alternative messages are transformative of nature, elevating the status of women, and provide alternative reading for the discriminating stickers on public transportation.

➤ For more information about Chemchemi Ya Ukweli, go to www.chemichemi.org



Breaking Down the Effects of Militarization

Youth, LGBT and Queer Communities and Societal Tolerance

An interview with Andreas Speck by Laura Eggens

Andreas Speck is originally from Germany, where he was involved with the antimilitarist, environmental, and nonviolent movements. He refused his country's compulsory military service and the alternative civilian service. From 2001 until 2012 he worked at the international office of War Resisters' International in London, dealing mainly with people who had a conscientious objection to military service but also studying the militarization of the youth. Today he lives in Sevilla, where he works as nonviolence trainer and website developer and is involved with the Red Antimilitarista y Noviolenta de Andalucia. He is especially interested in linking nonviolence and antimilitarism with queer perspectives. He identifies himself as genderqueer, outside common gender binaries.



“If we want to challenge military recruitment, we need to work on its use of masculinities”

Born in Germany and currently living in Spain, Andreas Speck has years of experience in working with nonviolence, antimilitarism and queer issues. From 2001 to 2012, Andreas worked at War Resisters' International (WRI), a global pacifist and antimilitarist network with over 80 affiliated groups in 40 countries. At WRI, he focused mostly on the theme of conscientious objection, but also on countering the militarization of young people. “At WRI we analyzed the military's recruiting process, which changed after conscription ended,” Andreas recalls. “We realized that at the moment of recruitment, when people are ready to sign up, it is already too late.”

How can we resist the militarization of culture?

“Militarization starts at a very early age. At the age of ten, recruitment is not the goal, but the presence of the military in schools and in children's lives creates an acceptance in their minds that the military is something normal, something nice, something exciting. Military personnel visit schools, or schools visit military barracks. We believe it is necessary to challenge the idea that it is normal for the military to be present in educational institutions. The military should have nothing to do with education! Ideas about war and peace should be introduced to children by teachers and not by soldiers. Education should not be military propaganda. It would already be a big step forward if more teachers and parents would not accept the fact that the military comes to educational institutions.

“How this is achieved varies per country. Different groups within the WRI network have different experiences. In my opinion, reaching out to young people is key. We want to reach young people who are beginning to think about having a military career. But heavy antimilitary messages are often counterproductive. A better approach is to start from the problems these young people face, like a lack of work. Then we challenge the idea that the military could provide what they are looking for, and show them that they have alternative opportunities. We want to start a process of questioning the military and the messages the military provides. They shouldn't take military propaganda at face value. In most countries, there is a huge gap between military promotion and military reality.”

What are effective ways to counter the military recruitment of the young people?

“In the United States, one very effective method is to involve military veterans who are against militarization. During their military service and war duty—in Vietnam, Afghanistan or Iraq—these veterans realized that war is not what they were told it was. They fell for the lies of the military, and because they can speak from personal experience, they can be very powerful in terms of challenging what the military is telling young people. This tactic has not really worked in Europe or other parts of the world because these countries lack an organized movement of veterans against the war. But we can learn from the experiences in the US and help critical military veterans in other parts of the world organize themselves and speak out in public.



“I think it is also important that young people themselves organize and question the military. It is important that they know which questions to ask and that they will feel empowered to ask such questions. If a critical voice comes directly from the group that the military is trying to reach, it will be much more effective than if this criticism only comes from antimilitarist activist groups. In the US and in Germany for instance, youth groups in secondary schools and colleges work together around issues of nonviolence and antimilitarism. It is very useful to provide capacity building to those groups to challenge the military presence. Teachers and teachers’ unions have also been involved. In Germany, five or six schools have declared themselves ‘military-free zones’, which is very a symbolic statement for a school to make. Such results often depend on cooperation between the students, the teachers, the unions and the parents.”

How does gender relate to these tactics against militarism?

“Gender should be an important part of any work against militarism. In our working against the militarization of young people, we try to take on a gender perspective from the very beginning. The military uses images of masculinity to draw boys and men to the military. Even though in many countries the military has opened up for women and queer people, it still strongly relies on images of masculinities. These images are based on a readiness to use violence and highlight the importance of physical strength. In promoting the military, these images of masculinities are used to attract young people, primarily boys and men.

“Young people are attracted to these images of masculinities. If you really want to challenge military recruitment or the way that the military reaches out, you need to work on its use of masculinities and gender equality or gender relations, so that these images will become less attractive.

“And this is not just about conforming to these masculinities within the military, I think. The ‘masculine’ violence the military is using is very closely linked to violence in personal relations. For example, we know that violence against women within the military is much higher than in civil society. And that is related to the masculinities that are promoted by the military. We know that violence used against the partners of soldiers is much higher, especially after a soldier comes back from conflict zones. There is enough evidence to support the idea of a relationship between masculinities, the military and violence against women.

“Addressing this link is challenging, but we need to question gender relations in the work against militarization, and how these relations are constructed around dominance and violence. Too much antimilitarism work is still gender blind, unfortunately. I actually don’t like to use the terms ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’, this binary of gender. There should be a variety of gender identities that people can explore, which are based on equality.”

You have specific experience in terms of antimilitarism, LGBT and queer issues. How are they related?

“It is a complex issue. The military, at least in the Western world, presents itself as an equal-opportunity employer and is trying to reach out to the LGBT and queer community. The Swedish military took part in the Gay Pride festival in Stockholm, for example. On the one hand they present themselves as a very progressive force, but they are also out to increase the acceptance of militarism among the LGBT community and open up opportunities for recruitment. I think it is important to challenge these images within the LGBT community. There has been a strong push in the last 10–15 years to fight for the right for LGBT people to be accepted into the military, which in some ways I can understand. But that led to quite an uncritical relationship with the military within the LGBT community. It is important for those of us who are part of that community to remember that the military is a patriarchal institution, and there will never be a possibility for a non-homophobic, truly *open* military. It still relies on the dominant masculinities, which are by definition heterosexual and homophobic. LGBT people may have the *right* to be there now, but that does not make the military a queer-friendly place.

“Raising awareness about this is still very important. A group in Sweden challenged the presence of the military in the Gay Pride space in Stockholm, for example. They walked alongside the military during the Gay Pride march, holding up speech bubbles next to the soldiers saying ‘a gay soldier is also trained to kill.’”

Are these critical attitudes widespread within the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) and queer communities?

“Recently, when I addressed an LGBT group in Las Palmas about the relationship between antimilitarism, queer issues and nonviolence, an interesting debate arose. It focused on how much the LGBT community has embraced mainstream society, which involves accepting the military as an option. Striving for acceptance in the mainstream has been a big part of the LGBT movement, which is about

being seen as 'normal' within the society. Others question this society: do I want to be an accepted part of a society that depends on patriarchy and militarism? They question some of the main pillars of our society, trying to engage in a long-term struggle to fundamentally change our society.

"In both the LGBT and queer communities and in the feminist movements, it is a more liberal trend to see a gay or female defense minister as a success. But a slowly increasing radical minority of the LGBT community does not consider that a victory. A female or gay defense minister will not change the deeply patriarchal and homophobic structure of the state and the military. We need a fundamental change, one that cannot be limited to getting some of 'our' people into positions of power, because the positions of power are the problem."

Do you notice any other trends within antimilitarism?

"Now, militarization is not only aimed at the outside world, but at our own societies. During the Cold War, the narrative was about defending the 'free West' against the 'authoritarian, communist East'. Now it is about defending 'freedom' against 'Muslim fundamentalism'. This creates an image of Islam as backwards, misogynist and homophobic. Sure, there may be such tendencies within Islam, but such tendencies are also present in Christianity. And this narrative creates conflict and tension with the Muslim communities in our own societies, who are seen as the enemy within.

"This trend makes the work against militarism a much bigger challenge. But it is also an opportunity, because it forces us to look at how we relate with different communities within our own societies. At least in the countries I have lived in, as an antimilitarism movement we haven't

looked much at how we can be more inclusive towards people from other communities. What does the antimilitarism movement have to offer them? Do they feel represented by our predominantly white and middle-class members? I do not have the answers to that."

What future do you see for the antimilitarism movement?

"The economic situation in many countries makes it much more difficult to challenge military recruitment. For many people, there really are no jobs, which makes military recruitment easier. We have seen this in the US, Spain and the UK. The military had had falling recruitment figures in the years before the crisis, but now, in spite of reduced recruitment work, it is much easier to fill their quotas. And that is a direct result of the economic crisis.

"Also, I think that the conflicts we see now are becoming more complex. If you look at the war in Congo, or the Central African Republic, or at what has happened in Nigeria with the Boko Haram and the capture of the 200 to 300 girls. Or at Ukraine, or Syria. These are conflicts that have no easy answers. The war in Iraq had an easy answer: no, we are opposed to intervention. But here it is quite complex. It is hard to find a nonviolent alternative that could work quickly, because often there isn't one. But that does not mean that the military is a solution. It might solve a short-term problem, but it will create more long-term problems, as we have seen in Afghanistan and Iraq. Bombing a country doesn't change people's ideals. In fact, it drives more people to violent responses. Sometimes it is important to recognize that there is no short-term solution and that you need to work long-term to change the dynamics of these conflicts."



Militarized Parenthood in Israel

by Ruth L. Hiller

Ruth Hiller, a mother of six and a grandmother of eight, is a longtime peace activist and one of the original founders of the New Profile Movement to Civilize Israeli Society. New Profile is a feminist group of men and women working to de-militarize society in Israel, to end Israel's occupation of Palestinian land conquered in 1967, and to generate a life-preserving, egalitarian, humane society. Today she serves as New Profile's international network coordinator. Four of her sons have refused to serve in the Israeli military. Her oldest son, Yinnon, was the first pacifist in Israel to get an exemption from the military via an appeal to the High Court of Justice. This was a six-year struggle with the military and through the courts. It is a unique story in the history of refusal in Israel. Several of Hiller's reflective pieces on this process and on her involvement in New Profile have appeared in English, German, and Italian publications.



Recently I received a petition, created by a group of 40 mothers, stating very clearly, “We do not wish to hand our boys over to the IOF [Israeli Occupation Forces],” and calling for social responsibility and the end of Israel’s occupation of Palestine. This document is uplifting.¹

Several years ago when four of my children refused to do military service, I stood alone in my conviction not to “hand over” my children to the Israeli military. This is why I find this recent petition so exciting. I see it as a refreshing new example of brave voices coming together to oppose Israel’s militarized society, its conscription laws, and its use of young people as cannon fodder. This is what New Profile, a feminist-based movement striving to demilitarize Israeli society, is committed to working towards.

Before New Profile was established in 1998, we had been two different groups of Jewish women coming together to study about feminism, militarism and the effects of militarism on Israeli society. During our monthly meetings, which were held over a period of two years, we studied many aspects of how civil society in Israel and around the world is militarized. We gained knowledge from the writings of academics such as Jacklyn Cock, Cynthia Enloe, and many others. We studied passages from the Bible that dealt with women and their assumed roles. We learned about anticonscription movements such as the Black Sash Movement in South Africa and how many others had organized to end the draft in their countries. We discussed

what it means to feel intimidated, or silenced, and what it means to live as women—daughters, sisters, aunts, and mothers—in a society that is dominated by male hierarchies and influenced by a strongly military-structured ethos.

Within Israeli society, silence is imposed upon those of us who strive to create a new discourse that may include the option of not serving in the military. Engaging in this kind of discussion makes it very challenging to find a safe space, even within our own homes and with our families. We are discredited: we are told we are hypersensitive, inexperienced, and overreacting, at best. At worst we are perceived as not even having an inkling of what is “really” going on and what “really” matters. And what apparently is really going on and what really matters most is that “they want to drive us into the sea,” “they only know the language of power,” and “they are not partners for peace.”

But still one of the more powerful discussions that we held centered on Abraham, Sarah, and Isaac, when Abraham led Isaac up Mt. Moriah with the intention of offering him in sacrifice. Naturally, questions arose. “Why was Sarah’s voice never heard when Abraham led their child, even as a grown man, to sacrifice? Did she protest? If she did, then why was her protest not noted? And how could a mother just give her child up, knowing well that he was going to die?”

This discussion gave me so much insight on the manipulation of gender roles using the Bible as a reference. It also showed me that there might be some correlation to

¹ www.newprofile.org/english/node/426

Sarah's apparent acceptance of the loss of life and Israel's present-day stance of maintaining a constant state of war. The discourse in Israel still "lumps" women's opinions and discussions regarding peace and demilitarization as being naïve and detached from reality, creating gender-based accusations such as: "If you're a woman, you most likely didn't serve in combat, so you can't possibly understand what we (the Israelis) are up against." Such logic plays on the assumption that women are hysterical by nature and less worldly than men, and therefore unable to cope with matters of security.

Strengthened by the safe space my study group offered, this new awareness led me to begin to question traditions and norms. One good example of this is when I was invited to celebrate the birth of our friends' son. We were invited to his circumcision, a Jewish ritual held when baby boys are the tender age of eight days old. This act, the circumcision, is done until this day as a sign of their inclusion in the covenant between Abraham and God.

In itself, the birth of a child is always a joyous event. But after the Rabbi performed the circumcision, the poor wailing baby was held up high over our heads for all to see. The maternal grandfather then called out, "Mazel Tov! Another soldier is born to the House of Israel." How

heartbreaking it was for me to hear him say this. Especially since a few years before this poor man had lost his son, a young soldier, in a bombing attack at a central intersection called Beit Lid.

But the tragedy does not just lie in the loss of a life or in an old man's belief that every young man and woman must join the army no matter the circumstances. The tragedy is in the conditioning and ongoing indoctrination. The tragedy lies in the way we—as citizens, adults, parents, and so-called free thinkers—totally accept the call to the arms. We lay the groundwork, preparing our children from infancy, and preparing ourselves to accept their inevitable call-up 18 years later. And in doing so, we also prepare ourselves for the fact that participation in the military could result in maiming or death, with our children as either the targets or the perpetrators. It is this normalcy that produces victims that are easily influenced and swayed, and in doing so generates an atmosphere of fear of the possibility of war.

Within Israeli society Jewish parents have well-defined roles. Throughout their children's upbringing, for both their boys and their girls, they promote and support an aligned obedience which calls for national devotion through contribution in the form of army service. We



There are many hard things in the army... Like push-ups for instance... "Condom included!" A humorous postcard intended to congratulate recruits. Military service is often considered a rite of passage for males, and a place for women to snag a husband.

[Illustration by A. Albanogen, 2000]



This ad reads: “My boy is a combat soldier. The tension, the stress, the phone calls... I asked my pharmacist for Calmanervin, and it helped me relax. I'm back to functioning as I should.”

The mother's role in particular is not just to support, but also to worry. It's a role designated for those who have no say in the matter.

[Ad by Lichtenson, 2000]



In this ad, LG is announcing a special promotion whereby soldiers are invited to a shopping mall where LG representatives will do their laundry for them, so as to “take the load off of mom”. This ad invokes the role of mothers as supporters in order to align their product with the war effort.

[Ad by Yarkoni, 2010]

either encourage our children to comply and join the army when called up directly after high school or encourage them to do national service. As parents we strengthen the belief that “duty calls”, and that heroism in the name of Israel is the highest aspiration. We all identify with the role of the warrior and the use of violence to solve problems. Might is right.

We convince ourselves, and in turn our children, that we are in the midst of a “war of no choice”. We teach them that a dead soldier is always a hero and freely quote Joseph Trumpeldor's assumed last words, “It is good to die for our country” as an ideology which preserves the Israeli collective memory. We maintain this support throughout their service in the military by cultivating ideologies that justify the implications of being an active participant in the occupation of Palestine.

I am intrigued by this role that Israeli parents have taken upon themselves, a stance that I believe is contrary to human nature. Isn't it the natural role of parents to want to protect their children, and not the other way around? Is it right to create a perpetual situation in which children grow up believing that it is their responsibility, their obligation, through service to the state, to protect their parents and

others? Why is it then, that for a period of almost seven decades, parents have been willing to let their children be the ones on the front lines and in imminent danger and never question the high price of Israel's ongoing state of emergency? This is a war of choice and no one should be played as pawns.

However this is not just a phenomenon of parents supporting just their sons in preparation of military service. It is important to note that Israel is one of the few countries where young women are also subject to compulsory military service. Like the boys, girls are indoctrinated from the time they are born with the same social norms of commitment to country and obedience. But there is an additional focus that also prepares them for service roles within the military and encourages them to find a husband. This, together with the patriarchal machismo of the military and society in general, creates a culture that allows for sexual harassment, an entirely different kind of battleground and endangerment not usually taken into consideration by parents, teachers, or politicians.

New Profile contends that Israel's social system is structured on the basis of control, both in its imposed militarized hierarchical status—which directly affects women,

Palestinians citizens of Israel, and other minority sectors—and in its occupation of Palestine. These patriarchal values are prevalent at all levels: in the home, in the workplace, and in politics. They promote and rationalize the country's military values that continue to sanction combat, violence, and gender-based hierarchies, and to encourage power-based interpersonal relationships.

In this context, New Profile²—as a feminist movement including men and women between the ages of 18 and 86—continues to address the matter of the central role that the military takes in Israeli society from as many angles as possible.

» For more information about New Profile, go to www.newprofile.org

2 www.newprofile.org/english



Gendered Conflict Prevention as a Strategy for Peace

by Gesa Bent

Gesa Bent develops strategies and facilitates partnerships to enhance gender-sensitive approaches to conflict prevention, (human) security, dialogue and peacebuilding. Since 2010 she has been coordinating the Gender Program at the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), a global network of civil-society organizations working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding.



Engendering conflict prevention: investing in the sustainability of peace

It is widely acknowledged that armed conflict is one of the main obstacles to development, and that previous achievements of development assistance can even be reversed by violent conflict.¹ Investing in the prevention of armed conflict, and in conflict resolution capacities at the local level, is paramount to building a peaceful society and to making investments in development assistance worthwhile. A true conflict-prevention approach also invests in spaces to negotiate—and renegotiate—gender relations, before they become a source or an instrument of conflict. However, actors in the conflict-prevention field need to make a conscious effort to engender their work and that of their partners—an effort which is often underestimated (in terms of both its potential and the needed capacities and investment) and under-resourced. This article highlights possible strategies for peace from the perspective of a global civil-society network working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding, and argues that gendered conflict prevention is the strategy to adopt.

Conflict prevention instead of armed intervention

Conflict prevention saves lives and saves money.² Not only does it prevent losses from occurring during a conflict, but prevention is also a less costly way of “intervening” in

a (potential) conflict setting.³ It takes a shift in perspective to move from armed intervention during a conflict to a preventive approach that invests—often years earlier—in dialogue, education for peace and human security. For the local population, an armed intervention can come out of “nowhere”, in particular when exercised by military personnel from different countries, with limited awareness of the country context in which the intervention is taking place, and even less experience of what life was like prior to the intervention. Conflict prevention initiatives ideally exist on-site and, through local civil society, are rooted in knowledge of the society in question.

In 2001, UN Secretary General Kofi Annan recognized the need to support locally led conflict-prevention initiatives in his report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict, urging parties to “organize an international conference of local, national and international NGOs (non-governmental organizations) on their role in conflict prevention and future interaction with the United Nations.”⁴ This call led to the establishment of the Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC) in 2003. GPPAC is built on the belief that the capacity and expertise for the prevention of violent conflict exist at the local level, and that these need to be enhanced not by external intervention but by networking between local civil-society experts from different contexts, countries and continents. As a result, GPPAC became the first truly global network on conflict

1 See e.g. www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/ga10507.doc.htm, www.oecd.org/dac/evaluation/dcdndep/39289596.pdf, [www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/\(2011_E\)%20MDG%20Report%202011_Book%20LR.pdf](http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/pdf/(2011_E)%20MDG%20Report%202011_Book%20LR.pdf)

2 In addition to the money not spent on the conflict and its aftermath, the prevention of armed conflict also addresses the indirect loss of money, for example due to the lack of economic growth.

3 See e.g. the Friends Committee on National Legislation's analysis of the US context: thehill.com/blogs/congress-blog/economy-a-budget/191853-prevention-is-cheaper-than-cure and fcnl.org/issues/ppdc/prevention_60_1_cost_effective.pdf.

4 daccess-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N01/404/64/PDF/N0140464.pdf?OpenElement, Recommendation 27.

prevention and peacebuilding, launching its Global Action Agenda, which had been drafted with the involvement of more than 1,000 organizations from 15 regions, at a global conference at the UN General Assembly in 2005.⁵ Since then, priorities for networking and exchange have been set by regional members. Currently, four thematic priorities are guiding the network exchange on conflict prevention globally: peace education in formal and informal education settings; preventive action through conflict early-warning systems and early response to violence; dialogue and diplomacy between different actors; and a people-centered, human-security approach towards security policy.⁶

Gender-specific benefits of a focus on conflict prevention

Taking a conflict-prevention approach creates a window of opportunity for gender, with several advantages compared to armed intervention:

1. Process. Instead of focusing on the aspect of conflict, prevention emphasizes a process of transformation. Instead of perceiving a conflict situation as a set problem and group divisions within a society as being fixed, prevention places greater importance on conflict transformation as a process in motion, allowing for changes in behavior and relationships among the stakeholders involved. Because gender roles are often deeply rooted in the organizing principles of a society, gendered inequalities remain largely unaddressed or are reinforced through armed intervention, contributing to a resurgence of conflict at a later stage.⁷ A conflict-prevention approach allows for time and space to look in depth at gender roles and perceptions and to discover in them potential opportunities for nonviolent conflict transformation and long-term change. For example, GPPAC members in the Pacific work with women through economic-empowerment programs, which in turn provide an economic basis for empowerment and strategies to address changes in power relations in the community.

2. Timing. Conflict prevention is ideally invested in at a time when the gender roles and relations in a society are not (yet) under the immense pressure that armed conflict places on them. Such an investment would ideally take place when images of masculinity and femininity are not (yet) being used as extreme power levers⁸ but are—to some extent—still negotiable. While negotiating gender relations remains challenging even outside armed-conflict situations, timing is essential in order to leverage the opportunity for change. This can only be successful if women and men are equally involved and support each other in negotiating gender relations and images. As a partner of the Women Peacemakers Program, which recognizes the importance of exploring masculinities to complement women's empowerment and to build true alliances,⁹ GPPAC continues to build the capacities of network members to reflect and engage in equal partnership between women and men.

3. Local solutions. Locally led conflict prevention initiatives have the advantage of being designed by those who are closely familiar with the environment of local communities, including customs/practices specifically related to gender. There is of course a risk (especially for locals, but also more generally) that people will be too embedded in a context to act and to improve their own practice. Networking and exchanges with practitioners from other regional and thematic contexts provide an incentive to reflect on

The liberation of women from the oppressive Taliban regime, for example, constituted one of the justifications for the American invasion of Afghanistan in 2001. But in the five years prior to the invasion, there was a consistent lack of regard for the plight of women, despite attempts by both local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to draw attention to the violation of Afghan women's human rights. In reality, military interventions are NEVER the answer to resolving gender inequalities. Armed conflict and its aftermath either cause gender inequality or exacerbate existing gender inequalities, which are further compounded by divisions on the basis of race, class, caste, sexuality, religion or age." (www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/CEP-Conflict-Report.pdf).

5 See also Annan's first reflections on GPPAC's role in his 2006 "Progress Report on the Prevention of Armed Conflict" (www.ipu.org/splz-e/ungao6/conflict.pdf).

6 For more details, see: www.gppac.net.

7 As the 2003 BRIDGE report on gender and armed conflict points out: "At the same time as increased militarization has further limited the rights of women within countries, gender equality has been co-opted at the international level to justify military intervention into sovereign nations."

8 For example, the image of the male as the one who is, and should be, powerful is often encouraged in times of conflict, leveraging power over behavior by pushing an all-or-nothing construct of male identity which excludes certain types of behavior or events. As the BRIDGE report points out, "[s]exual violence is largely inflicted on women, but men and boys are also raped during armed conflicts in a form of violence designed to shatter male power." (www.bridge.ids.ac.uk/reports/CEP-Conflict-Report.pdf)

9 See www.womenpeacemakersprogram.org/assets/CMS/Resources/Reports/May-24-2010.pdf.



one's own practice, as well as giving new inspiration. In GPPAC's Western Balkans region, network members have designed their own approach to integrate gender into their approaches to mediation and violence prevention in schools, while exchanging best practices across the region and through global working groups on peace education.

4. Equality and activism. Gender-sensitive conflict prevention highlights the activism and expertise of women and men alike and leverages their potential, aiming towards societies that are peaceful because all contributions—both within and outside gender roles—are valued. GPPAC pays special attention to highlighting women's activism in conflict prevention through advocacy around the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, and links this to other policy processes, for example through a network-wide engagement to create an understanding of local perceptions of “security”.¹⁰

5. Results. While armed interventions are often planned ad hoc, as activities with specific boundaries and a time limit (though both often get extended along the way), conflict-prevention initiatives are ideally planned with a long-term vision for peace, going beyond removing the “arms” in “armed conflict” and enhancing people's capacities for dialogue and for guiding processes of transformation.¹¹ Gender is central to these processes. Ultimately, while a conflict-prevention approach can enhance possibilities for gender to receive due attention as part of a transformative process, a gender perspective and its active implementation is also vital in making conflict-prevention initiatives more sustainable.¹²

¹⁰ See e.g. the Human Security First Campaign: www.humansecurityfirst.org/.

¹¹ The same can be said for post-conflict peacebuilding: it also builds on a long-term vision for peace, where elements of conflict prevention are relevant as well to prevent a resurgence of violent conflict.

¹² GPPAC's Gender Policy is guided by the belief that “Integrating a gender perspective allows for a more inclusive approach which takes gender into account as an influential element in the interaction between people within a society, an approach which will ultimately be more effective in preventing violent conflict.” www.gppac.net/documents/130492842/130493037/GPPACGenderPolicy_updated2012.pdf/66c63e64-2b21-48fa-9868-9e389f243798.

Making the benefits work: challenges and ways forward in gender-sensitive conflict prevention

Gender and conflict prevention approaches can and must enhance each other for mutual benefit. However, there are dynamics that impact the success of either, both within and outside their respective spheres of influence.

The ongoing discussions to evaluate the Millennium Development Goals and draft the post-2015 Development Agenda have seen strong lobbying by feminist and women's groups to secure a standalone goal on gender equality. Their efforts will probably meet with success—and rightfully so. At the same time, groups working on conflict prevention and peacebuilding are advocating for a standalone goal on peace and security. The success of this is much less certain, as the link between development and peace and security is viewed critically by some stakeholders, for various reasons. What is striking, however, is how little the two lobbies have informed each other, despite the overlaps and potential benefits of a conflict-prevention approach to gender equality and vice versa. Joining forces on these issues and defining common strategies could lead to a Development Agenda that links development to both gender and preventive approaches to conflict, providing a solid basis for joint policy and practice.

As mentioned above, policy language on peace and security—which is addressed in many of the themes under conflict prevention—and different understandings of what we mean when we talk about “security” also have impact on the integration of gender in conflict prevention. Different understandings of the term security between state institutions and local citizens often mean that the close links between (human) security and development are not made—and opportunities are missed, for example, to address the security needs of rural women as being complementary to a program for economic development. Internationally, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is widely seen as a key document to enhance links between gender, peace, and security—but coming out of the UN body where decisions are taken by few with consequences for many, some governments and civil society alike see the risk of “securitizing” gender and peace, and opportunities are missed to link to and/or utilize similar policy commitments made, for example, through the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). Making the linkages—continually “walking the talk”—and paying attention to different interpretations of security without shying away from policy commitments and accountability are the ways to go here.

Finally, and related to all five benefits highlighted above, the way that gendered conflict prevention is resourced has direct impact on whether gender *actually* benefits from a conflict prevention approach. Creating the space and time to facilitate transformation, through local leadership and a long-term vision, a meaningful integration of gender to all these aspects needs to go beyond current “gender mainstreaming” trends. Financial and human resources and attention need to be dedicated to building an understanding of gender as key to making conflict-prevention approaches sustainable—whether this means resourcing the mediation capacities of local women in collaboration with male decision-makers or creating an understanding of gender-based violence and the stigma around it as equally relevant for women and men. This has to be done in two mutually enforcing ways: by conflict-prevention

networks and movements internally, and by those who fund conflict-prevention efforts, women’s activism for peace, and sustainable development.¹³ Then we will be able to reap the benefits of gendered conflict prevention as a strategy for peace.

➤ For more information about GPPAC, go to www.gppac.net

¹³ See e.g. www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/oct/21/peace-building-gender-bias-funding.



Women Beyond War

Employing Successful Alternatives to Militarism

by Ashley Armstrong

The Nobel Women's Initiative was established in 2006 and is led by Nobel Peace Prize laureates Jody Williams, Shirin Ebadi, Rigoberta Menchú Tum, Leymah Gbowee, Tawakkol Karman and Mairead Maguire. The Nobel Women's Initiative uses the prestige of the Nobel Peace Prize and of courageous women peace laureates to magnify the power and visibility of women working in countries around the world for peace, justice, and equality.



Taking up arms has long been the obvious response for countries around the world to counter “perceived threats” to national security. Since 9/11, particularly in North America, military budgets have grown exponentially to prepare against acts that threaten our borders and our communities. Military spending has reached exorbitant levels—in 2012 the United States alone spent USD 685.3 billion on military expenditures.¹

As a result of growing military spending, a culture of militarization—stemming from a robust development and deployment of military forces—has reached into every niche of society, including education and entertainment. Men, women and children are exposed to armed violence and other elements of war at home, in the streets, in school and on the big screen. There are a multitude of negative outcomes in such a pro-arms environment. However none compare to its disproportionate impact on women, who are so often caught in the line of fire.

Nearly 90% of casualties of conflict are civilians, and most of those are women and children.² While men often bear the arms, women are left in shell-shocked communities to pick up the pieces, or are forced to flee to safer ground, ultimately representing over 80% of refugee populations.³ Even after escaping ground zero, women remain at risk.

Displaced people's camps are increasingly under threat from armed militia or rebel groups and the failed reintegration of former soldiers has spiked domestic violence. Moreover, rape is regularly used as a weapon of war leading to psychological, physical and emotional trauma. Local and national justice systems remain ill-equipped to bring justice for rape survivors, shrouding perpetrators in a blanket of impunity.

In the face of these challenges, women around the world are coming together to employ innovative nonviolent strategies to promote peace and deconstruct the culture of militarism in their communities. They are ringing the alarm bell on engorged military budgets, recognizing that while states' budgets are tied up in military spending, governments neglect investments in health, education, social services, and environmental protection. They are uniting across religious and cultural divides to provide essential health, psychosocial, and legal services to communities impacted by armed conflict.

In the spring of last year we heard the stories of these women, witnessing firsthand their incredible successes and the challenges they face to employ their alternatives to militarism. On May 28–30, 2013 more than 80 influential activists, academics and decision-makers from across the globe gathered in Belfast, Northern Ireland for the biennial Nobel Women's Initiative conference, *Moving Beyond Militarism and War: Women-Driven Solutions for a Non-violent World*. Over the course of three days we explored the root causes and effects of militarism and war, as well as the realities of implementing nonviolent strategies for peace. Throughout our conference the message we heard over and over from participants was that it is time that

1 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2013) *SIPRI Yearbook 2013*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 135.

2 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (1999) *SIPRI Yearbook 1999*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 2.

3 Women's Refugee Commission Fact Sheet (2014) (www.womenrefugeecommission.org/about/how-we-work).

governments, international policy makers and groups on the ground take women-led peaceful alternatives to war seriously—and actively include women in peace-making processes.

Women-led movements illuminate the significant role women play in promoting peace

From the United Kingdom to Israel, from the Democratic Republic of Congo to Guatemala, we heard countless testimonies that nonviolent alternatives do indeed bolster human security and secure peaceful futures.

Rebecca Johnson, Director of the Acronym Institute for Disarmament Diplomacy and Co-chair of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), shared her experiences in promoting nuclear disarmament and a ban on nuclear testing during the 1980s and 1990s. Johnson lived for five years at the iconic Women's Peace Camp established at the Greenham Common Airbase in Berkshire, England to oppose the deployment of 96 new US nuclear missiles. Through participation at Greenham and the nearby British nuclear-bomb factory at Aldermaston, hundreds of thousands of women used nonviolent means to disrupt nuclear-weapons deployments. Over ten years, the Greenham women's persistent protests were instru-

mental in fostering conditions for US–Soviet agreements in 1987 that saw a whole class of intermediate-range nuclear weapons removed from Europe and Russia. Johnson's activism and diplomatic work also contributed to the 1996 Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. She now focuses on opposing nuclear modernization in the UK and advocating internationally for a new treaty to ban nuclear weapons and accelerate their elimination worldwide.

Rawan Eghbariah, Legal Consultant for the New Profile Movement for Demilitarizing Israeli Society, spoke of how New Profile has taken on the challenge of deconstructing Israel's culture of militarism. Forced conscription is a reality for every citizen of Israel upon reaching the age of 18. For many Israeli youths, the idea of a world without armed conflict does not exist: playgrounds are speckled with toy cannons, and military personnel regularly give classroom lectures. New Profile works to present the alternative narrative that war is a choice, teaching Israeli youth about nonviolent conflict resolution and honing their critical thinking skills to be able to deconstruct the narrative of an Israeli soldier state. Alongside New Profile, Eghbariah provides essential legal aid for youth who choose not to enlist in the Israeli army for ideological, socio-economic and religious reasons.



Participants of the NWI Conference Moving Beyond Militarism and War: Women-Driven Solutions for a Non-violent World
[© Nobel Women's Initiative]



Nobel Peace Prize laureates Leymah Gbowee, Mairead Maguire, Shirin Ebadi, Jody Williams, Tawakkol Karman, and Rigoberta Menchú Tum. [© Nobel Women's Initiative]



Julienne Lusenge, President of Female Solidarity for Integrated Peace and Development (SOFEPADI), opened a window into her work to promote peace in the war-torn eastern region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The team at SOFEPADI engages women survivors of rape in reconciliation workshops and capacity-building training to promote nonviolence and healing. Lusenge has been the catalyst behind the rebuilding of communities impacted by the ongoing conflict. She defends and protects women's rights in eastern Congo and assists rape survivors in seeking justice. She also provides essential medical services through the Karibuni Wamama Medical Clinic. An outspoken activist, Lusenge tirelessly seeks opportunities to amplify Congolese women's voices and to advocate for an end to the conflict with decision-makers both within and outside of Congo.

Ixil Mayan women from Guatemala recounted their journey to challenge state terror and impunity. In April 2013 a number of courageous Ixil women survivors of the Guatemalan genocide took to the stand in the trial of former head of state, General Efraín Ríos Montt. The survivors testified to having been sexually assaulted by soldiers during the Guatemala Civil War during the 1980s, when violence against women was part of a systematic attempt to exterminate the Ixil Mayan community. Ríos Montt was convicted of genocide and crimes against humanity on May 10, 2013, but Guatemala's Constitutional Court annulled the verdict later that month. Despite this delay

to justice, Ixil Mayan women persevere in their campaign against impunity.

Women's voices at the peace table generate agreements that stick

When women are included at the peace table we see a qualitative difference in these discussions. They raise the concerns that are not heard from the mouths of armed men who usually lead the talks. The inclusion of women's perspectives—gathered from their experience as survivors of conflict and promoters of peace and reconciliation—is vital to ensuring the legitimacy and sustainability of peace agreements, as well as a shift away from militarism.

This spring we saw a powerful example of how women at the peace table make a difference. On March 27, 2014, women leaders in the Philippines negotiated and signed a historic accord bringing peace to a region of the Philippines that had been marred by a bloody 45-year armed conflict. This peace agreement marked a series of significant firsts for the Philippines. Not only did women represent one-quarter of the total signatories to the agreement but also the chief negotiator behind the pen was a woman. The inclusion of women at the peace table effectively concluded 17 years of peace negotiations.

The success we saw in the Philippines remains rare, despite international commitments to include women in

peace processes. UN Security Council Resolution 1325 intended to spearhead mechanisms and policies that would bring women to the peace table. However, governments worldwide are failing to bring women to the center of these processes. Women's voices remain largely absent from formal peace negotiations and their absence often results in peace agreements that dissolve before the ink has dried.

Participants during our conference spoke of the walls that still bar women from their rightful seats around the peace table. The women of Sudan shared their experience of being continually excluded from referendum and negotiation processes that followed the end of the Sudanese Civil War. Women from Burma told of how they have worked to document abuses by the military, yet remain systematically excluded from talks as another ceasefire quickly approaches. Syrian women actively prepared to be involved in the Geneva II peace talks; conference participants even penned a statement to advocate for their participation. However, despite a plethora of international support, the doors to the negotiations in January 2014 remained closed to Syria's women.

Protecting the women who defend peace

Women human-rights defenders—women working in the defense of human rights—are increasingly at risk from state and non-state actors because the work they do pushes the proverbial envelope. These women are crossing the line, testing boundaries, and face an incredible backlash for their commitment to peace and justice. Almost all conference participants shared personal stories of being harmed, threatened or intimidated because of the work they are doing.

Recent research conducted by conference participant and international security expert Valerie Hudson from the Bush School of Government and Public Service at Texas A&M University draws a direct link between women's security and state security. The WomanStats Project that she leads brings together data on more than 300 variables connected to the status of women in 175 countries. Hudson's research shows that the best predictor of whether a nation will be involved in armed conflict, internally or externally, is the level of violence against women within the society. This new documentation offers us the opportunity to understand what it takes to fully promote peace: we must promote the rights of women.

While in Belfast, conference participants explicitly called for more support for women human-rights defenders.

They celebrated the strength they have found in solidarity with other activists but stressed the importance of establishing support at national and international levels. As the saying goes, there is strength in numbers. And women working for peace recognize that support of any kind—individual, national or international—acts as a shield against forces of repression.

In November 2013, the UN General Assembly adopted Resolution 68/181, which outlines the responsibility of state and non-state actors to protect and promote women human-rights defenders. The groundbreaking resolution notes the unique and harrowing risks women face because of their efforts to promote peace, justice, and equality. Most importantly, the resolution calls on UN member states to enact measures that enable women to conduct their peace work risk-free.

Resolution 68/181 represents a significant step forward in the support of women human-rights defenders. For the first time in history there is a formal mechanism in place that not only recognizes the key role that women play as peacemakers but that also advocates for their protection to ensure they can do their work in peace. This resolution brings a shifting of the tides—now is the time for individuals, groups and states to promote and protect women working for peace.

Supporting women who dismantle militarism

Our conference in Belfast last spring unveiled the incredible work women are doing in their communities to promote peace and dismantle militarism. Women like Rebecca Johnson, Julienne Lusenge, Rawan Eghbariah and the brave Ixil Mayan women of Guatemala have had a powerful impact in their communities. Imagine how much *more* impact women peace activists will have when their non-violent alternatives to war are prioritized on national and international security agendas. When doors do not close to them but open, welcoming their voices as key elements in every peace negotiation. When they can conduct their work in environments that protect and support them.

This reality is absolutely within reach. We need only look at the women we met last spring in Belfast, and all of the other women around the world forging peace through nonviolence. They are there, waiting for us to follow their lead. Let's take the journey.

➤ For more information about the Nobel Women's Initiative, go to www.nobelwomensinitiative.org



Imagining a Feminist Internet

Addressing the Militarization of ICTs

An interview with *Nadine Moawad* by *Sophie Schellens*

Nadine Moawad is a feminist organizer based in Beirut, Lebanon. Between 2009 and 2011, she conducted research for EROTICS on internet regulation in Lebanon, and she now coordinates the global EROTICS project with the Association for Progressive Communication (APC), which explores the intersections of sexual rights and the Internet. She tweets via @nmoawad.



“Imagine a feminist Internet that contributes to solutions for societal issues at hand, instead of creating additional problems.”

Since its establishment in 1990, the Association for Progressive Communication (APC) has been working on empowering and supporting organizations, social movements and activists in their use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) for their work on human rights, social justice and participatory political processes. An important focus of APC’s work is the intersections of ICTs with societal issues, most notably with gender and the freedom of speech. “We are working on bringing about free and open technology and an Internet that is accessible and safe, and where people can achieve positive change,” Nadine explains. “We see the Internet as a space to facilitate social change. However, with technology changing so fast, we are almost unable to keep up with its opportunities, but also, and more importantly, to keep up with the risks it poses on society, on human-rights defenders and on women specifically.”

How can we connect militarization with recent developments in the ICTs, including the Internet?

“The Internet, and many other ICTs, were originally designed for military purposes. Current technological developments aim to refine military technology, using it for remote-control weapons such as drones, for data gathering, and for surveillance and monitoring. After the mainstreaming of the Internet, it has been a continuous struggle to ensure that the Internet is used for positive, transformative change, instead of for war and violence.

“The increased monitoring and surveillance through the Internet and other ICTs, such as mobile phones and GPS

tracking, is a very worrisome development. It constitutes a violation of privacy. Many people are being monitored without ever having done anything wrong, or just because they live in a country that is experiencing political or armed conflict. The recent revelations by Edward Snowden have sounded the alarm that the Internet and ICTs are not safe, nor were they designed to be safe. They are designed to collect people’s data for surveillance and monitoring. People are often unaware of the information they are giving by using GPS tracking or online social networks, such as Facebook, Google and Twitter. Private companies control this information and give it to governments for surveillance purposes.

“Surveillance and monitoring is accompanied by the privatization of ICTs. Collecting data and personal information, either for surveillance or for commercial use, has become a profit-making model. Online social networks are engineered to collect as much data as possible. This kind of data collection is closely connected to militarization; the more you know about people, the more power you can have over them. In addition, the use of ICTs during the uprisings in the Middle East and North Africa revealed the political role that online social networks can play in such developments, given the amount of data they can collect. Despite the beneficial use of social media by protesters, it raised questions such as who controls these data and which side of the conflict are the controllers on? For instance, if a certain social-media company would choose the side of an oppressive regime, it could transfer data shared on its media with the oppressive government, thus increasing the risks for activists.

“The majority of the money invested in technology investments goes to the development of war-related technology. Besides surveillance technology, much money is invested

in developing lethal technologies, with a focus on long-distance, remote-controlled weapons. Some national armies have the potential to kill people with weapons controlled from their own kitchen. In a side note, these remote-controlled weapons use the same technology that is installed in Xboxes, Wiis and other gaming computers. From a social-justice and peace-activist perspective, it is dangerous to invest in all these militarist technologies, while technology itself has so much potential for use in building peace.”

Which gender dynamics can you identify in relation to the militarization of ICTs?

“ICT is yet another space for patriarchy to manifest itself in. Dominance, hegemonic masculinity and misogyny are just a few patriarchal elements that characterize the current ICT field. This should come at no surprise, since men, mostly from Western societies, in general dominate the field of ICT.

“In regard to the gender component related to women, we can identify the classical challenges. First, women are not at the table when ICT decisions are being made. Second, gender is not taken up as an issue to be addressed through ICT. Third, ICT is another space that facilitates violence against women, and as a tool it creates more possibilities to attack women. Lastly, the focus lies on facilitating technology that supports war and would profit from war, harming women in particular.

“Feminism has always been about challenging hegemonic ideas of masculinity and femininity. Linking masculinity to militarization and violence contributes to hostile masculinities. We can see manifestations of hegemonic gender identities in the field of ICT as well: hostile masculinities but also the idea of helpless women not being allowed to participate in a public space like the Internet. The struggle to redefine concepts of masculinity and femininity is also going on in ICTs.

“The militarized use of ICTs has specifically affected women. Research on violence against women in relation to technology shows that technology has allowed for new ways to perpetuate misogyny, for example by tracking the phones of women, by spreading violent expressions against women on the Internet, or by means of personal attacks on women via online social networks. In a survey on sexual rights and the Internet, more than half of the activists questioned indicated that they had received threats regarding their online activism around sexual and reproductive health and rights, either through online bul-

lying or attacks by fake accounts, or by having their personal and private information published online.”

What are the effects of the militarization of ICTs on civil society, specifically on the women’s movement and the peace movement?

“ACP will launch a survey on human-rights violations through technology soon. However, from the limited data that is currently available and from an analysis of women human-rights defenders (WHRD), we have learned that women and peace activists experience a tougher environment in which to work, due to technology developments. It has become more difficult to engage in activism against local and international militarist processes, since ICT, as a tool, is dominated by the national military, and by even militias.

“ICTs can be used both as a tool and as a space for activism. As a tool, it presents many benefits for women peace activists, but we have to make sure it is safe to use. Therefore, we have to promote safe browsing, via TOR systems, using Internet browsers that are not collecting information, and by diverting people away from online data-gathering social networks.

“There is a saying that illustrates the current problem: ‘We do not have to implant chips in people; they are already carrying the chips around with them.’ Women need to be aware of this. For example, mobile-phone devices can be tracked, used by hackers, and logged into by third parties. Many women and peace activists know about these risks, but do not pay attention to them because they disregard their own personal safety. This attitude is precisely the enemy. The risks are not only personal: they also cover all the networks that you work with. People you work with will also be tracked via your devices.

“To tackle this, we need to promote the use of safety software. The women’s movement has been slow in picking up the struggle for free, safe and open-source technology. The emphasis lay on equipping women with the capacity to use Microsoft applications or computers in general, but not on equipping them with the tools they need for their own safety. Women are always at risk, especially women peace activists. They already face patriarchy with physical guns but often lack the capacity to see the personal and community patriarchal threats coming from ICTs. It is therefore a priority to bring technology and the women’s movement together. There is still a lot to be done in addressing this issue.”



What are the risks and opportunities for using ICTs as a tool to address militarism?

“ICT has always brought us the promise of being an alternative media, of going against mainstream ideas and stories. In the beginning it was a space for experimenting, a space to rethink social dynamics and gender roles. There has been also a push for feminists to use it. Three years ago, I would have said that ICTs and the Internet form an opportunity for social transformation. But now, along with many other activists, I have become more critical about using ICT for social change.

“Technology for violence mapping, naming and shaming, awareness raising and hashtag activism has been spread all over the civil-society field. Now is the moment to rethink our dependency on this kind of online activism. We should critically assess whether this kind of activism leads away from more crucial, grassroots activist activities. We can also question whether online activism has influenced women’s lives. And finally, we must recognize that there are still issues in terms of accessing this kind of activism, especially in the global south.

“There is always the promise of new opportunities through ICTs. To make this promise come true, it is vital to use a feminist perspective on ICT development. We need more feminist technologies, or at least a feminist lens in designing technology. Women activists are now too dependent on the patriarchal options. For example, if Facebook does not like a specific online campaign on women’s rights, it can remove all the work you have done in one swipe. Even in the online world, censorship, based on patriarchal values, is still a daily practice.”

What would a feminist Internet entail?

“As part of its EROTICS program, APC organized a conference in Malaysia on gender, sexuality and the Internet, where the concept of a feminist Internet was explored. We wanted to rethink the way technology is conceived, designed, and used in practice. Instead of creating more problems, the Internet should contribute more to solving existing societal issues.

“At the meeting, we tried to zoom in on issues of sexuality and the Internet. Sexual violence and militarism are strongly connected. Sexual violence is being used to torture, control, and humiliate people. Similarly, militarism is about control, fear, power, and subjugating people, notably women. The Internet is one of the spaces where these two things come together; the tactics are all connected.

“As we try to establish a feminist Internet, also based on the needs in the Global South, we have to envision the Internet that we want. We can tell you all about what is wrong about the current Internet. But we do not know what the alternative is. Shaping an alternative needs strong connections between the free- and open-software movement and the women’s movement. We are planning to organize a feminist hackathon, with participants who can design technology that is feminist or supports feminist activism. This requires rethinking the idea of privacy, safety and security.

“We also have to look into other alternatives than just legal measures in case a woman experiences online violence. Many legal institutions, the police, and judges are not equipped yet to deal with online violence.”

What is the starting point for civil society in terms of raising awareness on the connections between gender, militarization and the Internet?

“We would definitely like to encourage WHRD and civil-society organizations to approach the use of technology as a political act. I mean: to approach it in the same way you would choose where to hold a demonstration, or the way you would draft and disseminate a political statement. Such activities require a clear strategy, including an assessment of the risks and opportunities. We should think about ICTs and the Internet the same way.

“This starts with safeguarding your own data and information. Make sure that information about your family, or the location of a meeting, remains private. The more data that people can collect on you, the more vulnerable you will be. Some activists say it is impossible to hide everything. Indeed, governments and militias have all the sophisticated technology to track you. However, it is our task to make their job as difficult as possible. We need to do this by raising awareness about the information about yourself that you are giving away via ICTs, but also about the people you are closely connected to.

“As for the technical aspects, APC organizes seminars and workshops on secure online communication. Within these workshops, we discuss a feminist practice of technology, debate the challenges, use role-playing and simulation to uncover the risks, and provide tools to increase safety.”

➤ For more information about the Association for Progressive Communication (APC), go to www.apc.org



Financial Surveillance of Civil Society

The Missing Link in Discussing Our Enabling Environment

by *Lia van Broekhoven*

Human Security Collective (HSC), a foundation based in The Hague, facilitates linkages between civil society, local communities, and policymakers at the regional and international levels, and strengthens engagements with the UN and EU to advocate for a human security approach to counterterrorism. In our work, we center on the needs and capabilities of people when it comes to dealing with sources of threats. We work from the notion that security is too important to be left in the hands of states and military only. HSC believes that an enabling environment for civil society is a fundamental condition for the prevention and mitigation of violent extremism.



Counterterrorism measures influence the way civil society operates worldwide. In combination with anti-Western sentiments that predated 9/11 and have grown stronger due to a shift in the balance of power at the global level, these measures provide ill-intentioned governments with a powerful tool to clamp down on human-rights defenders, women leaders, conflict mediators, and development and humanitarian workers. Donor governments that promote an enabling environment for civil society paradoxically also tolerate a disabling financial-surveillance system that intends to prevent civil-society abuse aimed at financing terrorism.

Countering terrorism measures

Terrorism and counterterrorism have a centuries-old history, but the tragic events of 9/11 may be considered a watershed in terms of the way terrorism is addressed. The decisions made by the US and its allies after those events led to a pervasive proliferation of counterterrorism rules and regulations with a global reach. Billions of US dollars have gone into antiterrorism-related measures worldwide that influence the way we live, travel and co-exist, in both the public and the private domains. Of the many counterterrorism measures that have been developed in past decade, it is worth highlighting a lesser-known measure that aims to prevent the flow of financial resources and other support to terrorists via civil-society or non-profit organizations (NPO). This measure is strongly contributing to a disabling environment for civil society and is impacting the position and initiatives of human-rights defenders, women activists and conflict mediators who work in high-risk areas.

Financial surveillance

The measures taken in connection with the countering financing of terrorism (CFT) program belong within the category of so-called soft measures, such as sanctions mechanisms for countries and lists of terrorists or proscribed groups. Providing material and financial support to persons and organizations on such lists is considered to be illegitimate under a number of binding Security Council Resolutions.

Over the past decade, the surveillance of the financial system and the demands for the increased regulation and financial transparency of non-profit or civil-society organizations have become focal points of counterterrorism policies, with the stated aim of reducing their vulnerability to abuse by terrorist organizations. This has happened because intergovernmental organizations have adopted the hypothesis that terrorist organizations use laundered money for their activities, and that charities and NPOs are a potential conduit for such terrorist organizations. As a result, non-profit organizations have been placed under surveillance, while charitable giving, development assistance and remittances from diaspora communities have been intensively scrutinized by security agencies, particularly those organizations working with “suspect communities” or in conflict zones.

An internationally highly influential working group, the Financial Action Task Force (FATF) developed a standard with a global reach that includes a recommendation on the prevention of NPO abuse for terrorist or criminal purposes. According to this Recommendation 8 (R8):



Countries should review the adequacy of laws and regulations that relate to entities that can be abused for the financing of terrorism. Non-profit organizations are particularly vulnerable, and countries should ensure that they cannot be misused: (a) by terrorist organizations posing as legitimate entities; (b) to exploit legitimate entities as conduits for terrorist financing, including for the purpose of escaping asset-freezing measures; and (c) to conceal or obscure the clandestine diversion of funds intended for legitimate purposes to terrorist organizations.

While it seems to make perfect sense to prevent terrorism by going after its financial resources, the mere existence and implementation of R8 have led to unintended consequences that are counterproductive to its original intention of preventing financing for terrorism. The severing of civil-society groups from their lines of financial support in the name of terrorism prevention goes hand in hand with the shrinking space of groups that are pivotal in holding authorities and governments to account for decisions that negatively affect human rights, conflict mediation, sustainable development and citizens' agency. This has had a chilling effect on their rights to freedom of speech, assembly and association.

The implementation of the FATF standard, which includes 40 recommendations on anti-money laundering and countering the financing of terrorism, is peer evaluated on a rotating basis every six to seven years. The evaluators have three rates for valuating compliance: fully compliant, partially compliant and noncompliant. The valuation is binding and determines the international financial standing of a country with regard to trade, investments and, when it concerns developing countries, aid. A partial or noncompliant rate means that a country has to improve on its anti-money-laundering standards within one to two years' time to prevent its being blacklisted. Currently 180 countries are evaluated in terms of their compliance to the standard by the FATF secretariat in Paris, by one of their regionally affiliated bodies and by the World Bank and IMF. Governments that have already taken domestic measures such as adopting restrictive nongovernmental organization (NGO) laws and regulations to curtail civil-society space benefit from R8 as another tool in their anti-civil-society toolkit. Governments that are in the process of developing stricter NGO laws benefit from the standard as it ties together financial, operational, and political restrictions of civil society. Overall, we see a trend of ill-intended governments that are using R8 to hinder civil society from accessing international financial support and

feel emboldened to do so by the FATF standard and compliance regime.

In 2011, before the revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region, Egypt and Tunisia got the highest FATF marks for standard compliance. The USA, too, scored the maximum points. Risk aversion on the part of a number of reputable US-based foundations and international non-governmental organizations may have contributed to this high score. The Patriot Act and the presidential directives under the Bush administration were powerful tools to prevent foundations and charities from continuing or starting partnerships in so-called high-risk countries.

It was probably never the intention of the developers of R8 to purposefully hinder the freedoms of civil society, but this is exactly what is happening the world over. Governments in countries where civil society receives international financial support are, for a number of reasons, suspicious of these organizations or consider them to be a threat to their own power base or the country's national unity. Consequently, they make use of R8 as a pretext to stop their funding. Grantmakers in donor countries are increasingly burdened by administrative due diligence as a consequence of R8.

Risk aversion and reduction of financial space of civil society

Risk aversion has led grantmakers to opt for safer activities and to reduce their efforts in political advocacy. A number of well-known human-rights foundations have ceased their support to partners in "terrorist-prone" areas altogether. The withdrawal of significant NPO support for civil society in sensitive areas may in turn lead to increased space for extremist groups that fill the void of systemic underdevelopment, violations of fundamental rights, including women's rights, and exclusion. Grantmakers that continue to support partners in sensitive areas have to comply with time-consuming due-diligence procedures. A Dutch grant maker estimated that of every euro his organization spends on the support of partners in MENA and South Asian countries, one-third goes to administrative checks required by the back-donor and the bank. Not only is this disproportional in terms of costs, but also in transfer turnaround. Overzealous partner vetting and partner checking puts undue pressure on the relationship building that is key in human-rights, peace-building and development work. Smaller grant makers that often support more risky initiatives of extraordinary social-change agents, such as women activists, lack the



capacities to go through time-consuming due-diligence procedures and are disproportionately hit by the current requirements of banks and related financial institutions.

Banks and risk aversion

Banks apply onerous due-diligence procedures before they transfer cash for NPOs to their partners in sensitive areas. The rules of the game of the FATF standard hold them ultimately responsible for ensuring that cash transfers will not fall into the wrong, i.e. terrorist or criminal, hands. According to an ex-banker, the charity sector in general and small NPOs (which often include women's rights organizations) in particular are considered by the big international banks to be of no commercial interest, which makes it easier to deny them services, including refusing to allow them to open a bank account.

Other bankers, however, stressed that they did not want to build a reputation as being a charity-unfriendly bank and would therefore be open to supporting NPOs, including those that are unknown to the public, small scale and supportive of human rights and other sensitive issues. These organizations then have to bank under the wing of larger, notably a-political NPOs with a trusted public image and bank record.

It is currently standard practice among grantmakers and banks to use information from commercial data providers for due-diligence procedures. These private companies use open-source data to profile at-risk persons or organizations and sell their information at market prices to private and public organizations that are required to do due-diligence checks on their clients or grantees. The persons and organizations concerned have no prior knowledge of their inclusion in these databases nor are there remedies for restoring one's reputation or setting the record straight if needed. In this situation, smart entrepreneurs are making profitable use of the reversal-of-guilt argument that characterizes the ugly face of counterterrorism.

Banks experience routine delays in cash transfers to high-risk areas and conflict zones. It is standard for cash transfers in US dollars to be checked by the US Federal Bank, a procedure that may hold up transfers for months. Cash transfers via banks through money-lending institutions to countries like Somalia, which have no official banks, have stopped altogether. Evidence shows that donor counterterrorism measures hindered aid to the Somali victims of the famine in 2011. At the same time, the terrorist Al Shabaab was able to deliver aid in the void created by financial

and access restrictions stipulated by donor counterterrorism measures....

Paradoxes

On the other side of the financial chain in the recipient countries, banks are required to report to the authorities any suspicious transactions by international donors to local NPOs. In countries like Ethiopia and India, a suspicious transaction has a cap on financial support under NGO law. Governments consider civil-society groups that receive the larger part of their funds from abroad as spies, enemies of the state or troublemakers. This framing applies particularly to human-rights defenders and anti-corruption groups that, by the very nature of their work, have a hard time mobilizing domestic funding or support.

Human rights, conflict mediation and Islamic grantmakers and their grantees seem to be disproportionately affected by the system of financial surveillance. A human-rights grant maker underlined the painful paradox that the support for women's rights in the border area between Pakistan and Afghanistan would be seen by the Pakistani government and by the home country of the grant maker, the UK, as a potentially terrorist-prone activity under FATF R8.

Another example in the paradoxical category is the experience of a Dutch sub-grantee organization working on capacity building of women leaders in the MENA region that was denied a bank account for grant money that it had received from the Dutch government. The bank did not want to open such an account for the women's organization, as financial transactions to some of the countries in the region was considered a risk.

Policy inconsistencies between different line agencies surface when you take a closer look at financial surveillance in the post 9/11 era. While the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, notably in Western democratic countries, are strongly voicing the importance of civil-society freedoms to galvanize human rights, peaceful communities, social justice and sustainable development, their Treasuries put up obstacles to realizing those aspirations.

The call for greater transparency in development aid, which also appears as a key element of the post-2015 development agenda, is hindered by the effects of financial counterterrorism measures. Grantmakers and their partners have found ways to continue their activities without going through the banking system. Their choice for a certain measure of "financial in-transparency" is not



lightly taken as it comes with greater physical risks, such as carrying money in person across borders, and greater reputational risks.

A number of civil-society organizations decided to register themselves as a consultancy or business, as those are still exempted from surveillance measures in a number of countries. We have yet to see whether this will be a durable solution for carrying on with initiatives that at the end of the day fall within the government's "suspect" category.

Sadly, the imposed or self-chosen financial exclusion due to the unintended consequences of R8 compliance may lead to increased influence for terrorist groups in areas that require the presence of a strong and sustainable alternative, not only in tangible services but also in ideas on what constitutes a good society.

What does civil society do?

Until recently, the FATF operated on the CFT recommendations without civil-society engagement or oversight. A critical report on FATF that Statewatch and TNI¹ wrote at the request of HSC, as well as their work in approaching the previous FATF president, the Dutch Treasury and the World Bank Financial Integrity Unit, was pivotal in opening the door to engagement with the Secretariat and a number of influential member states. A Transnational NPO group was established by HSC and the Charity and Security Network in Washington DC that co-convenes and facilitates regular conference calls on relevant issues and produces material to guide consultations with FATF working groups responsible for the revision of guidance documents for the implementation of R8.² A number of organizations of the Transnational NPO group will engage the World Bank and IMF to improve the current FATF evaluation methodology.

The TEDX Liberdade,³ on the power of citizens' agency for change features a talk by the author of the Statewatch report, Ben Hayes, on the issues raised in this article. More public outreach seems to be a promising mechanism to achieve buy-in from the general public.

In the US and the Netherlands, regular meetings take place with the relevant line ministries and the FATF delegation leaders of the Ministries of Finance to discuss possible ways forward for solving policy inconsistencies as well as agenda items that are of relevance to NPOs in the plenary sessions. HSC facilitated a structured dialogue between the legislators, the banks, the Dutch banking association and the civil-society groups affected about the problems encountered by banks and civil society due to R8 and possible solutions. While such modalities may be difficult to organize in other countries, civil-society umbrella organizations such as Bond in the UK should look into the possibilities to follow the US and Dutch examples.

A number of foundations active in the area of human rights, peacebuilding and general development issues, along with their umbrella organizations such as Ariadne⁴ and the European Foundation Centre have started to consult their membership on the issue, not only as an awareness-raising topic, but as an advocacy issue as well. The International Human Rights Funding Group is taking a leading role, both in the US and in Europe.

Grantmakers are beginning to support programs aimed at raising the awareness of and reaching out to their partners with regard to the FATF regime and the effects of R8 in particular. They consider this as an investment in upcoming evaluations of the FATF in the countries where they support partners, and as complementary to the work of HSC and others in enabling structural meetings with World Bank and FATF evaluators with civil-society delegates during a country's evaluation.

Together with the OSF Fiscal Governance program, HSC initiated a dialogue with transparency civil-society networks such as the Fiscal Transparency Coalition regarding the inconsistencies in advocacy concerning the FATF standard implementation. As it is now, a number of influential civil-society organizations strongly support the anti-money-laundering recommendations, while a different group of NPOs is highly critical of the measures for countering the financing of terrorism. Both civil-society communities would gain in their advocacy by working together instead, and connecting their thus far separated engagement with the FATF. This initiative also addresses the need for greater accountability by the FATF.

1 www.statewatch.org/analyses/no-171-fafp-report.pdf

2 For more information about the NPO FATF initiative, or the civil-society Google group, contact Nathaniel Turner (nturner@charityandsecurity.org).

3 www.tedxliberdade.com/

4 For more information about the Ariadne Portal community, contact Kenneth Hill (kenneth.hill@ariadne-network.eu).

The UN Special Rapporteur on the rights to freedom of peaceable assembly and of association of civil society, Maina Kiai, has integrated within his reporting the detrimental effects of financial surveillance and criticisms on the disabling factors of civil-society space. His work and that of his team are pivotal in connecting a number of disabling factors that shrink back civil society space worldwide.

Last but not least, Civicus has agreed to develop an international campaign on FATF R8 as a significant disabling factor for civil society. In its coming Civicus General Assembly in September 2014, Civicus will organize a session on the unintended consequences of R8 of the FATF regime, what has been achieved so far to raise awareness and push back, and how an external strategy like a campaign that can be noisy and explicit can support the internal engagements that have developed by civil society so far.

I expect that the combination of internal and external strategies will continue to galvanize efforts to push back on financial surveillance. The more civil-society groups that want to join in strengthening these efforts, the better. Particularly, advocacy in the context of the post-2015 development process seems required as the issue of financial surveillance and the regime that is pushing it is largely absent in the ongoing discussions on the importance of an enabling environment for civil society in the process of achieving future development goals.

➤ For more information about the Human Security Collective, go to www.hscollective.org



Financing for the Implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325

Critical for Advancing Women’s Human Rights, Peace and Security¹

by *Natalie Raaber*

Cordaid is a Dutch development-aid organization that passionately endeavors to turn the tide in the battle against injustice and poverty. It believes in social and economic justice for everyone, while trusting in the power of individuals to build their own future. Together with local partner organizations, Cordaid encourages and helps underprivileged people do just that. Cordaid is active in Africa, Asia and Latin America and focuses on the following fields of activity: emergency aid and reconstruction, health and well-being, entrepreneurship and economic independence, strengthening the position of minorities and their level of participation.



The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) is a coalition of women’s groups and other civil-society organizations from Africa, Asia and the Pacific, western Asia, Europe and Latin America that are directly involved in advocacy and action for the full implementation of UNSCR 1325 and supporting resolutions at the local, national regional and international levels. It consolidates and strengthens efforts to bridge the gap between policy discussions at the international level and policy implementation and action on the ground. It is a platform that enables members to share information, experiences and strategies in ways that enhance both their individual and collective outreach and impact.

“The Culture of Peace cannot survive bloated military budgets that soak up funds for human security, nor the proliferation of weapons—nuclear weapons, unregulated small arms, drones, bombers, and more. To devote \$1.7 trillion to preparing for war is indefensible and in conflict with priorities the United Nations has approved.”²

“To build peace requires visioning what constitutes peace and security across cultures, nationalities, ethnicities, and genders.”³

Thirteen years after the adoption of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (UNSCR 1325) on Women, Peace and Security (WPS), progress towards its full and effective implementation remains slow and uneven. National Action Plans (NAPs) 1325—the translation of UNSCR 1325 and supporting resolutions into executable, measurable, and accountable actions on the ground—are, at present,

the most concrete instruments for implementation at the national level. Indeed, NAPs 1325 offer an opportunity to support stakeholders (and society at large) to collectively identify priorities, generate resources, and better coordinate the implementation of UNSCR 1325.

Through presidential statements, the UN Security Council has called on member states to develop action plans to ensure an effective implementation of UNSCR 1325 globally.⁴ Similarly, the G8 Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict (adopted in April 2013) recognized the important contribution of National Action Plans to the implementation of UNSCR 1325 and committed to regularly review such plans and to provide support to conflict-affected countries in the development of their own plans.⁵

In his 2010 report to the Security Council on WPS, United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-moon underscored the importance of funding and political commitment to

ensure the full implementation and ultimate success of NAPs 1325. A number of academic studies and NAP 1325 implementation evaluations have echoed this, noting that allocated budgets, clear lines of responsibility, and monitoring mechanisms are minimum standards for successful NAP 1325 implementation.⁶ Yet, adequate financing for the implementation of NAPs 1325 and, indeed, for the full range of WPS policies remains a significant challenge.

While a full examination is outside of the scope of this paper, it must be mentioned here that the concept of security (and that which constitutes it) is contentious. Indeed, if asked, “what does security mean to you?” a range of responses would arguably follow. While definitions and visions vary, human security is a conception of security that moves beyond the state to a focus on people and the planet and, at its core, is concerned with the realization of human rights and the promotion of peace. As we expand our notion of security (and indeed insecurity), we open windows through which to challenge both direct and indirect (or structural) violence against women—both violations of human rights occurring within and outside the context of armed conflict.⁷ This paper intends to contribute towards advancing WPS (via financing NAP 1325 implementation) by providing a deeper exploration of the ways in which patriarchy and other systems of oppression and neoliberal or profit-led development intersect to undermine peace and human security.

The report “Financing for the Implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325: Critical for Advancing Women’s Human Rights, Peace and Security”—which builds on a 2011 study⁸ on costing and financing 1325 policies—aims to examine the financial resources available for the implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325. Specifically, the report analyzed whether NAP 1325 activities are financed, which financing mechanisms or modalities are utilized, and whether certain activities, pillars, or themes are prioritized in funding. The report also highlighted the role of civil society and particularly women’s-rights organizations in developing and advancing NAP 1325 implementation as well as the funding landscape in which civil society operates. In so doing, the report underscored the critical role of civil-society organizations and particularly women’s-rights organizations in advocating for, developing, utilizing, and implementing NAPs.

The report was presented at the November 2013 Global Technical Review Meeting, organized by UN Women and called for in the 2012 Report of the Secretary General on Women, Peace and Security.⁹ It incorporated addi-

tional analyses, insights, and recommendations emerging from the Global Review and from further substantive discussions with stakeholders. Aiming to support an action-oriented conversation on financing and galvanize further momentum, the report proposed concrete steps that stakeholders can take to ensure predictable and sustainable financing for NAP 1325 implementation, repeatedly underscored as critical by participants of the Global Review. As such, the report should be seen as a contribution to an ongoing, dynamic conversation on advancing the implementation of the WPS agenda. Comments, reflections, and questions are most welcome and encouraged.

The analysis presented in the “Financing...UNSCR 1325” report was based on replies to a survey sent to the 42 member states with a NAP 1325 as of July 2013. Twenty-six member states provided replies, although the quality and comprehensiveness of responses varied widely. The analysis is also drawn from the information presented in six case studies from Burundi, Chile, Nepal, the Netherlands, the Philippines and Sierra Leone, informal discussions with civil-society organizations and networks, including GNWP and Cordaid, and a desk review of literature on financing for development and, more specifically, financing for gender equality and WPS. The key findings of the analysis, culled from responses of the 26 member states that replied, include the following:


- 1 The majority of governments do not earmark funding for either the development or the implementation of NAP 1325.
- 2 The origin and sustainability of financing for NAP 1325 implementation varies greatly, which has implications for tracking, monitoring, and accountability.
- 3 Many governments finance NAP 1325 implementation based on (shifting) national priorities and do not fund all pillars equally or adequately.
- 4 Tracking and monitoring mechanisms for NAP implementation are often inadequate.
- 5 The majority of governments either do not employ gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) or the response was unclear; of those that do, specific funding for NAP 1325 implementation is generally not a result.
- 6 While rhetorically acknowledged, the critical role of civil society—including particularly women’s human-rights organizations, networks, and movements—in NAP development and implementation is neither adequately supported financially nor recognized fully in practice.
- 7 There is significant government interest in the role of the private sector in NAP 1325 implementation.



- 8 There is an expressed interest in contributing to funding a Multi-Stakeholder Financing Mechanism (similar to a basket fund) for NAP implementation.

Based on these findings, the report concluded with recommendations for governments, civil society, the United Nations, and other stakeholders on financing NAP implementation.

Both the survey responses and the case studies offered thoughtful recommendations on ways to strengthen NAP implementation and financing specifically. Moreover, these recommendations were both corroborated by and enriched through inputs shared by participants at the UN Women's Global Review. One of the recommendations calls for national budgets to be reviewed from a gender-equality perspective; allocations should support gender equality and be guided by human-rights and social-justice principles.



Both revenue generation and expenditure should be analyzed from a gender-equality perspective and guided by human-rights and social-justice principles. For example, revenues from extractive industries, such as mining, can be used to support NAP 1325 implementation, although this would require, among other things, international cooperation on taxation. Expenditures, including military and defense budgets in particular, should be scrutinized and revised, shifting funds to support health, education, and infrastructure development in a gender-equitable way. Gender-responsive planning and budgeting is one tool to examine expenditures, and efforts should be made to develop the capacity to implement this tool. The UN can potentially support this capacity building.

- For more information about Cordaid, go to www.cordaid.org
- For more information about GNWP, go to www.gnwp.org

Notes

- 1 This is an excerpt from “Financing for the Implementation of National Action Plans on UNSCR 1325: Critical for Advancing Women’s Human Rights, Peace and Security”, a study coordinated by Cordaid and the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) in collaboration with UN Women and published in March 2014. It was one of the background papers in connection with the Global Technical Review meeting “Building Accountability for Implementation of Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security,” organized by UN Women in New York, November 5–7, 2013. While the publication focuses on financing the implementation of National Action Plans on Women Peace and Security/UN Security Council Resolution 1325, it is hoped that it will also contribute to a deeper examination of funding priorities by governments. This article is edited by Dewi Suralaga and Mavic Cabrera-Balleza
- 2 Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (2012) “Cora Weiss speaks at the General Assembly High Level Forum, Culture of Peace” (Address held on September 14, 2012). New York: UN (www.gnwp.org/cora-weiss-speaks-at-the-general-assembly-high-level-forum-culture-of-peace).
- 3 Mazurana, D. and Susan McKay (1999), cited in McKay, Susan (2004) *Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-Building* [IPSHU English Research Report Series No. 19] (Ch. 7: “Women, Human Security, and Peace-building: A Feminist Analysis”).
- 4 See, for example, United Nations (2002) “Statement by the President of the Security Council” (S/PRST/2002/32) of 31 October (www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/S-PRST-2002-32-E.pdf); United Nations (2004) “Statement by the President of the Security Council” (S/PRST/2004/40) of 28 October (www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/S-PRST-2004-40-E.pdf); and United Nations (2005) “Statement by the President of the Security Council” (S/PRST/2005/52) of 27 October (www.un.org/womenwatch/ods/S-PRST-2005-52-E.pdf).
- 5 Foreign & Commonwealth Office (2013) “G8 Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict” adopted April 11, 2013 (www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/185008/G8_PSVI_Declaration_-_FINAL.pdf).
- 6 See, for example, Dharmapuri, S. (2011) “A Survey of UN 1325 National Action Plan Mechanisms for Implementation, Monitoring, Reporting and Evaluation” (A discussion paper prepared for the U.S. Civil Society Working Group on WPS, www.hks.harvard.edu/cchrp/research/working_papers/Dharmapuri_Examples_for_NAPs_FINAL_3_12_12.pdf); Hinds, Bronagh and Karen McMinn (2011–2014) “Mid-Term Progress Report: Implementation of Ireland’s National Action Plan for UNSCR 1325” (www.dfa.ie/media/dfa/alldfawebsitemedia/ourrolesandpolicies/int-priorities/Progress-Report-UNSCR-1325.pdf); UN Women (2012) “What Women Want: Planning and Financing for Gender Responsive Peacebuilding” (www.unwomen.org/~media/Headquarters/Media/Publications/en/05APlanningandFinancing.pdf).

- 7 Mazurana, D. and Susan McKay (1999), cited in McKay, Susan (2004) Conflict and Human Security: A Search for New Approaches of Peace-Building [IPSHU English Research Report Series No. 19], Chapter 7: "Women, Human Security, and Peace-building: A Feminist Analysis".
- 8 Cabrera-Balleza, Mavic and Nicola Popovic (2011) Costing and Financing 1325: Examining the Resources Needed to Implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325 at the National Level as well as the Gains, Gaps and Glitches on Financing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. New York and the Netherlands: Cordaid and GNWP (www.gnwp.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/02/Final-July-25-2011-Costing-Financing_contents.pdf).
- 9 United Nations (2012) Report of the Secretary-General on Women and Peace and Security (S/2012/732). New York: United Nations (www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2012_732.pdf).




16 Days Campaign

Highlighting Linkages with Militarism

by Zarin Hamid

The Center for Women's Global Leadership (CWGL) envisions a world in which all people are equal and gender equality is systemically realized by the achievement of human rights for all. CWGL strengthens and facilitates women's leadership for human rights and social justice worldwide. CWGL works to advance economic and social rights from a feminist perspective, to promote an end to gender-based violence and highlight linkages with militarism, and to build coalitions and deepen capacity around those urgent issues that are critical to the global women's movement to secure policy reform at the international and national levels.



The Center for Women's Global Leadership¹ (CWGL) coordinates the annual 16 Days of Activism Against Gender-Based Violence Campaign² (16 Days Campaign) as part of its global advocacy and coordination with activists working to bring an end to gender-based violence. Since its inception in 1991, the 16 Days Campaign has focused on ending gender-based violence worldwide.

In 2010, the Campaign began focusing on the underexplored area of the intersections of gender-based violence and militarism as a multi-year effort. Later that year, as global coordinator, CWGL held consultations with expert scholars and activists who were working on gender-based violence, peace, and security, collecting feedback from 16 Days Campaign participants. These consultations culminated in the identification of five issues as priority areas for those working at the intersections of gender-based violence and militarism. These areas were: (i) Bringing together women, peace, and human rights movements to challenge militarism; (ii) Proliferation of small arms and their role in domestic violence; (iii) Sexual violence in and after conflict; (iv) Political violence against women, including pre/during/post-election violence; and (v) Sexual and gender-based violence committed by state agents, particularly the police or military.

Over the last three years, this multi-year focus has worked within the theme "From Peace in the Home to Peace in the World: Let's Challenge Militarism and End Violence Against Women!" This theme slogan was chosen after an open call for input from participants in 2011 through the 16 Days Campaign listserv. Subsequently, to address the five priority areas previously identified by 16 Days Campaign participants, a "Strategic Conversation on Militarism and Violence Against Women"³ was held in June 2011. For that event, experts and academics from around the world had been invited to: (i) identify and explore feminist perspectives of militarism; (ii) examine the intersections between militarism and violence against women; and (iii) develop global feminist strategies to challenge militarism. This meeting resulted in a strengthened understanding of what is meant by "intersections of gender-based violence and militarism", in strategies for action on the five priority areas, and in cross-cutting strategies such as addressing human security, advocating for the realignment of budgets by exposing the amounts spent on military expenditures, and addressing militarism within societies by exposing the ways it permeates socialization, particularly that of boys. Based on participant feedback in 2011, these five priority areas were synthesized to three key areas, namely: (i) Violence Perpetrated by State Actors; (ii) Domestic Violence and the Role of Small Arms; and (iii) Sexual Violence during and after Conflict.

¹ www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/component/docman/doc_download/525-cwgl-annual-report-2011-12

² 16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/

³ www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/resources-139/publications/gender-based-violence/155-publications/vaw/388-intersections-of-violence-against-women-and-militarism-meeting-report-2011

The 16 Days Campaign outlines militarism as the creation and normalization of a culture of fear, privileging violent masculinity and supported by the use or threat of violence and aggression, as well as military intervention in response to political and social disputes or to enforce economic and political interests. As a system of structural violence, militarism encroaches on the human rights and dignity, safety, and security of women, men, and children worldwide. The manifestation of militarism can be seen in the way national budgets are allocated for health services, education, and public spaces versus the military, and in military responses versus diplomacy to political and social issues. Global military budgets totaled USD 1.756 trillion in 2012,⁴ while efforts to end poverty and inequality in communities have largely been sidetracked with continued emphasis on allocations for military budgets to fight “terrorism”. Gender-based violence and discrimination against women, as well as LGBTQIA⁵ and male allies, are supported by the normalization of patriarchal cultural norms that condone or actively privilege violent masculinity and heteronormativity.

Women’s multiple and intersecting identities based on gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, age, and citizenship status can exacerbate their vulnerability to violence. These intersecting identities are also critically informative to the experiences and realities women face worldwide. They are therefore integral elements of transforming the structural manifestations and continuation of gender-based violence worldwide.

The 16 Days Campaign focuses on the intersections of gender-based violence and militarism in an effort to work toward a more equitable and peaceful world. By situating the 16 Days Campaign between November 25 (International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women) and December 10 (Human Rights Day)⁶ the organization wishes to underscore the fact that gender-based violence is an international human rights violation. Furthermore, the 16 Days Campaign recognizes that human rights are indivisible, whereby one set of rights cannot be traded or bartered for another. Bound by the principle of due diligence, states are accountable both to prevent and protect,

and to investigate, prosecute and punish state and non-state perpetrators of gender-based violence, including sexual violence and violence against women human-rights defenders, and to ensure that enjoying impunity is no longer the norm for human-rights violators.

As the global coordinator, CWGL seeks to provide impetus for activism before and during the Campaign, as well as foster and provide feminist analyses on issues of gender-based violence and militarism by means of knowledge products such as the Take Action Kit, written articles and public interviews, the coordination of the 16 Blogs for 16 Days,⁷ public panels and presentations, and strengthened social-media strategies, such as our recent partnership with SayNo-UNiTE and CHANGE during the 2013 16 Days Campaign.

CWGL also puts forth public calls for input and consultations with participants worldwide on the campaign theme through the 16 Days Campaign listserv, website, and social media, and during the annual Commission on the Status of Women. Part of this strategy of consultation is engagement in dialogue with, and technical knowledge-product dissemination to, participants through the listserv, email, and regular post. The global coordinator creates and disseminates the Take Action Kit, which is a compilation of advocacy materials, both in hard copy and via online downloads, and has more recently engaged with allies and a younger generation through social media.

The impact of the 16 Days Campaign can be seen in the how participants have been able to use the theme, priority areas, and Take Action Kit to highlight various intersections of gender-based violence and militarism, including community mobilization, information sharing and coalition-building initiatives, actions using media and art, and others focused on policy reform. These initiatives contributed to raising awareness about state violence, the right to land and access to resources, impunity and sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict settings, disarmament, small-arms proliferation, violent masculinities, and engaging men and boys as allies.

Over 5,179 organizations in 187 countries in every region of the world have participated in the 16 Days Campaign, and its reach is growing each year. In 2013, CWGL was in direct contact with, and able to track the participation of, 841 organizations in 111 countries, as well as 32 interna-

4 Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (2013) *SIPRI Yearbook 2013*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (at www.sipri.org/yearbook/2013/03).

5 Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Asexual people.

6 16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/about/key-dates

7 cwgl.tumblr.com/



tional and 20 online-based advocacy initiatives. During the run-up to November 25 and the 15 days after that, the 16 Days Campaign website received 28,884 visits, nearly all seeking to download the Take Action Kit.⁸ Social media has become an increasingly popular tool with the 16 Days Campaign. In 2013, 47% of the post-campaign survey respondents reported having followed @16DaysCampaign⁹ on Twitter as a source of information, while 53,674 individuals and organizations did the same on Facebook.¹⁰

In addition, numerous topics in relation to gender-based violence and militarism have been raised by activists in the field. The suggestions include a call for the protection and promotion of economic and social rights as being

critical to advocating for an end to gender-based violence; peace and security as a way toward economic and social stability; impunity and state accountability; the problem of small arms being used in intimate-partner violence; safe, secure, and equal access to public services and spaces; and participation in economic, social, cultural, and political arenas without violence and discrimination.

In continuing to advocate for an end to gender-based violence, CWGL is committed to making deeper links with feminist women's organizations like the Women Peacemakers Program that are convinced of the need to address violent masculinities and highlight linkages with militarism.

- For more information about the Center for Women's Global Leadership, go to www.cwgl.rutgers.edu
- For more information about the 16 Days Campaign, go to www.16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu

8 16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/2013-campaign/2013-take-action-kit

9 twitter.com/16DaysCampaign

10 www.facebook.com/16DaysCampaign?ref=hl



2014 International Directory of Organizations

The following includes a global list of organizations specifically working for peacebuilding and gender justice. It is not a fully comprehensive: we are aware that there are many more groups and organizations that are working on peacebuilding, the eradication of violence and gender justice. Please contact the Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) (info@womenpeacemakersprogram.org) for additions or corrections.

INTERNATIONAL

Women Peacemakers Program

Laan van Meerdervoort 70
2494 NC, The Hague
The Netherlands
Tel: +31703452671
Email: infor@womenpeacemakersprogram.org
Web: www.womenpeacemakersprogram.org

Association for Progressive Communication

APC Executive Director's Office
PO Box 29755
Melville 2109
South Africa
Tel and Fax: +27 11 726 1692
Fax to email: +27 86 608 2815
Email: info@apc.org
Web: www.apc.org

CARE International

Chemin de Balaxert 7-9
1219 Chatelaine Switzerland
Tel: + 41 22 795 10 20
Fax : + 41 22 795 10 29
Web: www.care-international.org

Global Network of Women Peacebuilders

c/o WEDO
355 Lexington Avenue; 3 fl
New York, NY 10017
Tel: + 1 646 663 3230
Email: gnwp@gnwp.org
Web: www.gnwp.org

Global Partnership for the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC)

Laan van Meerdervoort 70
2517 AN The Hague
The Netherlands
Tel: +31 (0)70 311 0970
Web: www.gppac.net

Human Security Collective (HSC)

Lutherse Burgwal 10
P.O. Box 16440
2500 BK The Hague
The Netherlands
tel: +31 70 3136390
Email: info@hscollective.org
Web: www.hscollective.org

International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA)

Archway Resource Centre
Unit 101, 1a Waterlow Road
London, N19 5NJ, United Kingdom
Web: www.iansa.org

International Peace Bureau

41, rue de Zurich
1201 Geneva, Switzerland
Tel: +41 22 731 6429
Fax: +41 22 738 9419
Email: mailbox@ipb.org
Web: www.ipb.org

New Tactics for Human Rights

c/o Center for Victims of Torture
649 Dayton Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55104
USA
Tel: +1 612.436.4800/ +1.877.265.8775
Email: newtactics@cvt.org
Web: www.newtactics.org



Nobel Women's Initiative

1 Nicholas St. Suite 430
Ottawa, ON, K1N 7B7, Canada
Tel: +1 613 569 8400
Fax: +1 613 691 1419
Email: info@nobelwomensinitiative.org
Web: www.nobelwomensinitiative.org

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security

777 UN Plaza, 7th floor
New York, NY 10017, USA
Tel: +1 212 557 7298
Email: info@womenpeacesecurity.org
Web: www.womenpeacesecurity.org

Post 2015 Women's Coalition

Email: info@post2015women.com
Web: www.post2015women.com

South Asian Network to Address Masculinities

Web: www.engagingmen.net/networks/sanam

The African Women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET)

KUSSCO Center
Upper Hill-Kilimanjaro Road, off Mara Road
P.O. Box 54562, 00200 Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: +254 20 2712971/2
Cell: +254 725 766932
Fax: +254 20 2712974
E-mail: admin@femnet.or.ke
Web: www.femnet.or.ke

UNOY Peacebuilders,

Laan van Meerdervoort 70,
2517 AN, The Hague,
The Netherlands
Tel: +31703647799
Email: info@unoy.org
Web: www.unoy.org

War Resisters' International

5 Caledonian Road
London, N1 9DX
United Kingdom
Tel: +44 20 7278 4040/3355 2364
Fax: +44 20 7278 0444
Email: info@wri-irg.org
Web: www.wri-irg.org

War Resisters' International Women's Working Group

5 Caledonian Rd.
London, N1 9DX, UK
Tel: +44 20 7278 4040
Fax: +44-20-7278 0444
Email: info@wri-irg.org
Web: www.wri-irg.org/wwghome.htm

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

Geneva Office:
1, rue de Varembe,
CP 28
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland
Tel: +41 22 919 70 80
Fax: +41 22 919 70 81

New York Office:

777 UN Plaza, 6th Floor
New York, NY 10017, USA
Tel: +1 212 682 1265
Fax: +1 212 286 8211
Email: secretariat@wilpf.ch
Web: www.wilpfinternational.org

Women Living under Muslim Law

International Coordination Office
PO Box 28445
London, N19 5NZ, UK
Email: wluml@wluml.org
Web: www.wluml.org

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Women's Network

Kabul office:
Karta Parwan Square, House 22
Kabul, Afghanistan
Jalalabad office:
First Street, Jada Ali Khail
Jalalabad, Afghanistan

Herat office:

Jada Mokhabarat, Near to Mansor Pharmacy
Web: www.afghanwomensnetwork.af



Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan

PO Box 374
Quetta, Pakistan
Tel: +92 30055 41258
Email: rawa@rawa.org
Web: www.rawa.org

ARGENTINA

Madres de Plaza de Mayo

Hipólito Yrigoyen 1584
1089 Buenos Aires, Argentina
Tel: +54 11 4383-0377/6430
Fax: +54 11 4954-0381
Web: www.madres.org

AUSTRIA

Frauen für den Frieden

Luis Zuegg Str. 14
6020 Innsbruck, Austria

WIDE

Währingerstr. 2-4 / 22
A-1090 Wien, Austria
Tel: (+43-1) 317 40 31
Email: office@wide-netzwerk.at
Web: www.wide-netzwerk.at

BANGLADESH

ANTAR Society for Development

House 14 (1st floor), Road 12, Block – Kha
Pisciculture Housing Society, Shekhertek, Adabar
Mohammadpur, Dhaka-1207, Bangladesh.
Tel: +88-02-9144502
Email: antarsd@agni.com
Web: www.antarsd.org

BARBADOS

Women and Development Unit

Elaine Hewitt
c/o University of West Indies
Cave Hill Campus, St. Michael, Barbados
Tel: + 1 809 436-6312 or 417 4490
Fax: + 1 809 436-3006
Web: www.open.uwi.edu/wand/welcome

BELGIUM

Rassemblement des Femmes pour la Paix (RFP)

Coordination Femmes OSCE
Rue Antoine Dansaert 101
BP 15, 1000 Brussels
Tel: +32 2 512 6498
Fax: +32 2 502 3290
Web: www.femmespourlapaix.be

BOUGAINVILLE

Bougainville Inter Church Women's Forum

PO Box 209,
Buka, Bougainville
Tel: +675 973 9983 or +675 973 9157
Email: bicwf@dg.com.pg

BURMA

Burmese Women's Union

PO Box 42
Mae Hong Son 58000
Tel/Fax: +66-53 611-146, 612-361
bwumain@cscoms.com

Women's League of Burma

Email: wlb@womenofburma.org
Web: www.womenofburma.org

BURUNDI

Association des Femmes Burundaises pour la Paix

Deputé à l'Assemblée Nationale
PO Box 5721,
Bujumbura, Burundi
Tel: +257 223 619
Fax: +257 223 775

Fountain Isoko

Avenue de l'amitié N° 08 A10
(Building abritant la Radio ISANGANIRO)
Bujumbura
Burundi
Tel: + 257 22 276 042
Email: fontaine_isoko@yahoo.fr or
info@fountain-isoko.org
Web: www.fountain-isoko.org



CAMBODIA

Alliance for Conflict Transformation

Tel/Fax +855 23 217 830
Web: www.act.org.kh
Email: info@act.org.kh

SILAKA

House 55B-55C, Street 390,
Sangkat Boeung Keng kang 3,
Khan Chamkarmon, Penh Penh, Cambodia.
P.O. Box 821 Phnom Penh, Cambodia
Tel: +855 23 217 872
Fax: +855 23 213 108
Email: silaka@silaka.org
Web: www.silaka.org

CANADA

Voice of Women for Peace

7 Labatt Avenue, Suite 212 I
Toronto, Ontario, M5A 1Z1
Tel: +1 416 603 7915
Email: info@vowpeace.org
Web: www.vowpeace.org

COLOMBIA

CIASE

Diagonal 40A No. 14-75 Barrio La Soledad
Bogota, Colombia
Tel: 3382317 or 3381615
Email: ciase@ciase.org or ciase.org@gmail.com
Web: www.ciase.org

Fundacion MAVI-

Direction Carrera 24A #
3-17 Miraflores district – Cali, Colombia
Mobile 5568428-5564378
Email: fundacionmavicali@gmail.com
Web: <http://www.infogenero.net>

Organización Femenina Popular

Carrera 36 E 53-37
Barrancabermeja, Santander, Colombia
Tel: +57 7 610 28 79
Email: femenina@colnodo.apc.org
Web: www.organizacionfemeninapopular.blogspot.com

Ruta Pacifica

Web: <http://rutapacifico.org.co/contruccion/index.html>

CROATIA

Ecumenical Women's Initiative

Četvrt kralja Slavca 3
23130 Omis, Croatia
Tel: +385 (0) 98 447 310/
+385 (0) 98 447 310
Email: eiz@eiz.hr
Web: www.eiz.hr

CYPRUS

Women's Research Centre

19, Necmi Avkiran Street
Lefkosa, Nicosia, Cyprus
Tel: +90-392- 22-75407
Fax: +90-392 22-83823
E-mail: cws-kaem@emu.edu.tr
Web: www.cws.emu.edu.tr

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO

Congo Men's network

Avenue Murara 29, Quartier Murara,
Commune de Karisimbi, Ville de Goma,
Tel: +243 818 69 3802

Mouvement des Femmes

pour la Justice et la Paix
BP 724 Limete,
Kinshasa, DRC

DENMARK

Fonden Kvinder for Fred

c/o Vibeke Aagaard
Slippen 3 st
2791 Dragor, Denmark
Tel: +45 3253 4002

FIJI

FemLINKPACIFIC

Bayly Trust Building, 2nd Floor
193 Rodwell Road
Tel: + 679 3318160
Web: www.femlinkpacific.org.fj



Pacific Centre for Peacebuilding (PCP)

15 Charlton Avenue
Samabula, G.P.O. Box 18167,
Suva, Fiji Islands
Tel: +679 3681219 or +679 3681208
Fax: +679 368128 1146
Email: info@pcpfiji.com
Web: www.pcpfiji.org

FINLAND

Naiset Rauhan Puolesta/Women For Peace, c/o Unioni

Bulevardi 11 A 1, 00120
Helsinki, Finland
Email: lea.launokari@nettilinja.fi
Web: www.naisetrauhanpuolesta.org/english.html

GERMANY

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedenspädagogik

Waltherstr. 22
80337 München, Germany
Tel: +49 89 6 51 82 22
Fax: +49 89 66 86 51
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Web: www.agfp.de

Frauennetzwerk für Frieden e.V.

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53113 Bonn, Germany
Tel: +49 228 62 67 30
Fax: +49 228 62 67 80
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info@frauennetzwerk-fuer-frieden.de
Web: www.frauennetzwerk-fuer-frieden.de

International Women's Peace Archive

Lothringer Str. 64
46045 Oberhausen, Germany

GHANA

African Women's Active Nonviolence Initiative for Social Change (AWANICH)

C 81/20, Abelemkpe-Accra, Ghana
P.O. Box CT 8036
Cantonments, Accra, Ghana
Tel. +233 302-733570 / 979905
Email: info@awanich.org
Web: www.awanich.org

West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP)

P.O. Box CT 4434
Cantonment-Accra, Ghana
Tel: +233 302 775975/77, 775981
Fax: +233 302 776018
Email: wanep@wanep.org
Web: www.wanep.org

GREECE

Women for Mutual Security

1, Romilias Str.
14671 Kastri, Athens, Greece
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Fax: + 30 1 80 12850

GUATEMALA

Conavigua

8a. Avenida 2-29
Guatemala Ciudad, Guatemala
Tel: +502 2325642
Fax: +502 325 642
Email: conavigua@guate.net
Web: www.members.tripod.com/conavigua

INDIA

SAMYAK

Email: samyak.pune@gmail.com

Women in Security,

Conflict Management and Peace
Core 4 A, UGF
India Habitat Centre
Lodhi Road, New Delhi 110 003
Tel: +91 11 24648450
Fax: +91 11 246 48451
Email: wiscomp2006@gmail.com
Web: www.wiscomp.org

The World Integrity Foundation

1-89, 8th Floor, Himalaya House,
Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi – 110001, Delhi
Tel: +91-11-23738110 / +91-11-64646948
Email: info@sngroup.co
Web: www.sngroup.co



INDONESIA

AMAN Indonesia

Jl. Jatipadang II No. 18A
Ps. Minggu, Jakarta Selatan 12540
Tel: +62 21 789 2870
Fax: +62 21 789 2870
Email: office@amanindonesia.org
amanindonesia@yahoo.com
Web: <http://www.amanindonesia.org>

Centre for Community Development and Education

Jl. Tgk.Chik Lr. E.No.18 Beurawe
PO. Box 141
23001 Banda Aceh
Indonesia
Tel: +62-651-7428446
Fax: +62 651 34475
Email: ccde.aceh@gmail.com

IRAQ

Baghdad Women Association

www.bwa-iraq.org

WADI

Wadi Office Iraq
Bakhtiary
Section 113, Street 34, House 21
Suleymaniah Kurdistan
Iraq Tel: 00964-7701-588173
E-Mail: wadisul@yahoo.com

Wadi office Germany
Herborner Str. 62
D-60439 Frankfurt a. M.
Tel: +49-69-57002440
Fax: +49 69 975392640
E-Mail: info@wadinet.de

ISRAEL

Coalition of Women for Peace

P.O.Box 29214,
Tel-Aviv-Jaffa, 61292, Israel
Tel: +972-73-7373745
Fax: +972-3-5281005
Email: cwp@coalitionofwomen.org
Web: www.coalitionofwomen.org

New Profile

Web: www.newprofile.org

Windows-Channels for Communication

Chlenov street 41
Tel Aviv. P.O. Box 5195
Tel Aviv-Jaffa Israel
Tel: +972-3-620-8324
Fax: +972-3-629-2570
Email: office@win-peace.org
Web: www.win-peace.org

JAPAN

Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence

c/o Space Yui, 3-9-1 Makishi
Naha City, Okinawa 900 Japan
3-29-41-402 Kumoji, Naha-shi,
Okinawa, 900-0015 Japan
Tel/Fax:+ 98-864-1539
Email: space-yui@nirai.ne.jp

Violence Against Women in War-Network, Japan

ADD: poste restante, Bunkyo-Kasuga P.O.
1-16-21, Kasuga, Bunkyo-ku
Tokyo 112-0003, Japan
Tel/Fax: +81 3 3818-5903
Email: vaww-net-japan@jca.apc.org
Web: www.jca.apc.org/vaww-net-japan

KENYA

Chemchemi Ya Ukweli

P.O. Box 14370 00800,
Nairobi, Kenya.
Tel: +254 20 4446970/4442294
Fax: +254 20 4444023
Email: info@chemichemi.org
Web: www.chemichemi.org

Community Education and Empowerment Centre

P.O.Box 103077-00101 Nairobi
Tel: +254 704606992
Email: info@ceec.or.ke
Web: www.ceec.or.ke



KOREA (SOUTH)

Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan

20, World cup buk-ro 11-gil, Mapo-gu, Seoul, 121-843,
Republic of Korea
Tel: +82 2 365 4016
Fax: +82 2 365 4017
Email: war_women@naver.com
Web: www.womenandwar.net

Women Making Peace

Rm 401, Women's Center for Equality and Peace,
94-59, Youngdeungpo-Dong 7Ga,
Youngdeungpo-Gu Seoul
(150-037 South Korea)
Tel : 82-2-929-4846~7
Fax : 82-2-929-4843
Email: wmp@peacewomen.or.kr
Web: www.peacewomen.or.kr

LEBANON

ABAAD Resource Center for Gender Equality

Furn Chebbak, Sector 5, 51 Bustani Street
Najjar Bldg, Ground Floor
P.O. Box: 50-048
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel: +961 (1) 283820/283821
Email: abaad@abaadmena.org
Web: www.abaadmena.org

Permanent Peace Movement

P O Box 166492
Permanent Peace Movement, 7th Floor Salibi Tower,
Mkalles, Beirut, Lebanon
Tel: +961 1 501516
Web: www.ppm-lebanon.org

LIBERIA

West Africa Network for Peacebuilding – Liberia (WANEP-Liberia)

19th Street, Chessman Avenue, Sinkor, Monrovia
Tel: +231886579860
Email: wanep@wanep.org
Web: www.wanep.org/wanep/

Women NGOs Secretariat of Liberia

Yes Transport Building 80, Camp Johnson Road
Monrovia, Liberia
Tel: +231-880-678701 / 886-538043
Email: info@wongosol.org
Web: www.wongosol.org

LIBYA

Horiyat Group for Development and Human Rights

Tel: +21 8925073391
Web: www.horiyat.org

MALAYSIA

Sisters in Islam

No. 4 Jalan 11/8E
46200 Petaling Jaya,
Selangor Darul Ehsan,
Malaysia
Tel: +603-7960 3357/7960 5121/
7960 6733
Fax: +603 7960 8737
Email: sistersinislam@pd.jaring.my
Web: www.sistersinislam.org.my

MONGOLIA

MONFEMNET

Ulaanbaatar-14201,
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Tel: +976-7011-0355
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