



**INCLUSIVE
SECURITY**



UN Photo/Sylvain Liechi

MODULE ONE

Introduction to Advocacy

**Advocacy for
Inclusive Security**
Curriculum

Acknowledgements

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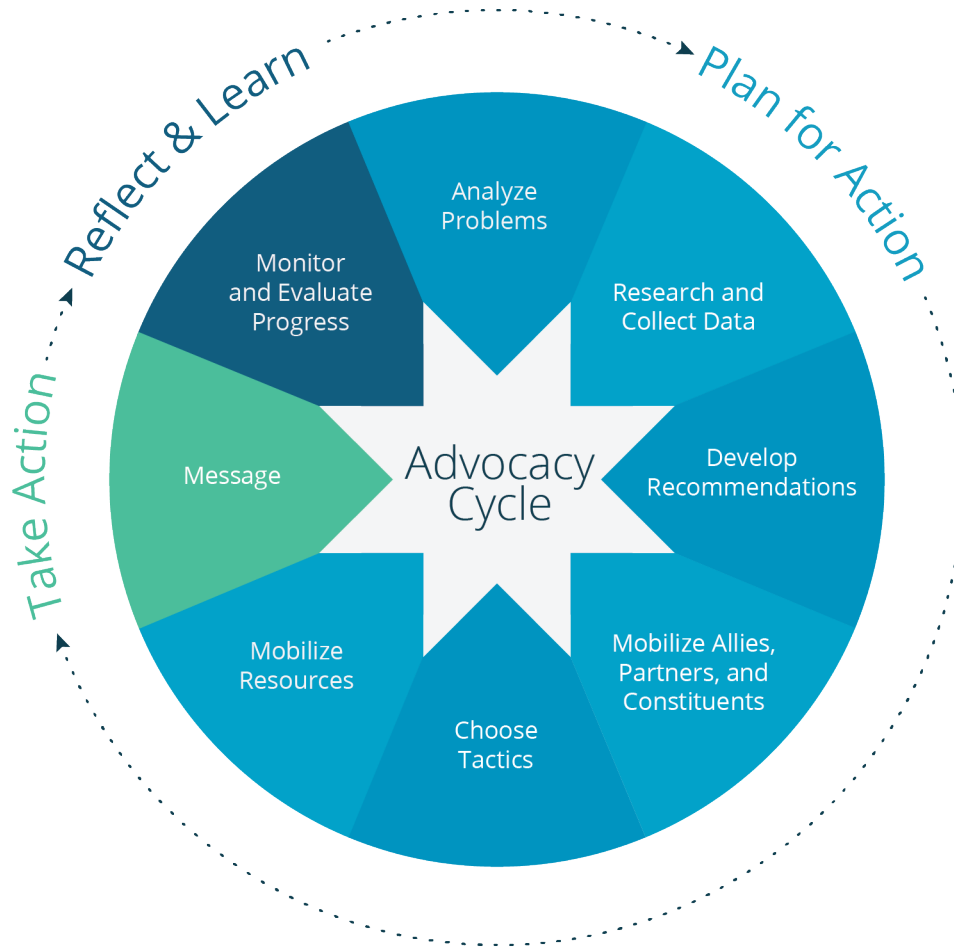
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Contents

Presentation 1.1 Introduction to the Module	8
Presentation 1.2 Introduction to Advocacy	9
Activity 1.3 The Advocacy Cycle	12
Activity 1.4 Case Studies - Women Mobilizing for Peace	16
Activity 1.5 Films – Women Mobilizing for Peace	21
Activity 1.6 Why Women	25
Activity 1.7 Advocacy Practices	51
Presentation 1.8 Conclusion	53
Annex	55



Advocacy for Inclusive Security Curriculum

- Module 1** | Introduction to Advocacy
- Module 2** | Analyze Problems
- Module 3** | Research and Collect Data
- Module 4** | Develop Recommendations
- Module 5** | Mobilize Allies, Partners, and Constituents
- Module 6** | Choose Tactics
- Module 7** | Mobilize Resources
- Module 8** | Message
- Module 9** | Monitor and Evaluate Progress

MODULE OVERVIEW:

Introduction to Advocacy

Learning Objectives

Participants are able to:

- Understand that advocacy is a strategic process that becomes more effective with advanced planning.
- Gain awareness of different examples of women advocating for the change they seek and the differences they have made across diverse contexts.
- Understand that women make a difference in terms of the process and outcomes of peace and security decision making.
- Understand their own strengths as advocates in relation to seven advocacy practices

Evaluation Procedures

Pre- and post-workshop evaluations

Time Frame

5 Hours 30 Minutes –
7 Hours 55 Minutes

Background for Facilitator

This module will provide an overview of advocacy and introduces a conceptual framework for thinking strategically about collective action. It also explores examples of **how** women have mobilized for peace and security, as well as the reasons **why** women's inclusion matters.

Background Resources

- Inclusive Security. *Inclusive Security: A Curriculum for Women Waging Peace*. Washington: Inclusive Security, 2009.
- Inclusive Security and International Alert. *Inclusive Security, Sustainable Peace: A Toolkit for Advocacy and Action*. Washington: Inclusive Security, November 2004.
- O'Reilly, Marie. *Why Women? Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies*. Washington: Inclusive Security, October 2015.
- Vene Klaseen, Lisa and Valerie Miller. *A New Weave of Power, People and Politics*. Just Associates, March 2007.
- Sprechmann, Sofia and Emily Peltman. *Advocacy Tools and Guidelines: Promoting Policy Change*. Atlanta: CARE International, 2001.
- Sharma, Ritu R. *An Introduction to Advocacy: A Training Guide*. Washington: Women Thrive Worldwide, 2014.
- Chapman, Jennifer and Antonella Mancini. *Critical Webs of Power and Change*. Actionaid, 2005.

Time	Type of Session	Title
2 minutes	Presentation	Introduction to the Module
60 minutes	Presentation	Introduction to Advocacy
50 minutes	Activity	The Advocacy Cycle
60-90 minutes	Activity	Case Studies – Women Mobilizing for Peace
60-120 minutes	Activity	Film – Women Mobilizing for Peace
60-90 minutes	Activity	Why Women
60 minutes	Presentation	Advocacy Practices
2 minutes	Presentation	Conclusion

Introduction to Advocacy

Key Takeaways

Advocacy is a planned, deliberate, and sustained effort to advance an agenda for systemic change.

Advocacy is different from direct service in that direct service delivery confronts visible problems and provides vital and immediate relief by meeting peoples' basic needs. Advocacy looks deeper to consider the invisible, root causes of the problem. Advocacy is a strategic, non-linear process that becomes more effective with advanced planning.

Mobilization is the work of engaging allies, partners and constituencies to come together and advance a strategy for change.

Advocacy is strengthened when it is done with other people. Developing relationships with a range of actors is critical to the success of advocacy.

Advocacy for inclusive security is ultimately tied to robust peace and security.

Exclusion is a major driver of violent conflict. When certain groups are severely disadvantaged or systematically discriminated against, it provides fertile ground for violent conflict. Conflict can, in turn, exacerbate exclusion as many people are displaced or made more vulnerable by violence, a dynamic that creates cycles of violence. When women are included, peace is more likely to endure because women make a difference in the process and outcomes of peace and security decision making.



Presentation 1.1 Introduction to the Module

Background for Facilitator

This section introduces the purpose and learning objectives of the module.

Facilitator Talking Points

- This module provides an overview of advocacy and introduces a conceptual framework for thinking strategically about collective action. It also explores examples of how women have mobilized for peace and security. This module also delves into the reasons why women's inclusion matters and allows you to explore this question in your own context, integrate global examples of the difference women have made, and provide the evidence base for making the case for the difference women make in terms of the process and outcomes of peace and security decision making. Finally, you will have opportunities to explore your own strengths as advocates in relation to seven advocacy practices.
- By the end of this module, we hope you will:
 - Understand that advocacy is a strategic process that becomes more effective with advance planning.
 - Gain awareness of different examples of women advocating for the change they seek and the differences they have made across diverse contexts.
 - Understand that women make a difference in terms of the process and outcomes of peace and security decision making.
 - Understand your own strengths as advocates.

Materials Needed

None

Learning Objectives

Participants are able to identify the purpose and learning objectives of this module.

Time 2 minutes



Presentation 1.2 Introduction to Advocacy

Background for Facilitator

This activity will give participants an opportunity to explore what advocacy entails and hear about other participants' experiences as advocates. It also introduces some key terms and distinctions that are foundational to understanding how to be an effective advocate.

This discussion will give you a sense of the experience in the room and the range of ways participants define and have experience with advocacy. Be sure to reference participant experiences, as appropriate, during the presentation, particularly as you make the distinction between advocacy and direct service. In many cases, participants will have experience with direct service delivery and this training will be an opportunity for them to understand how to move from one level of work to another. Neither is more valuable than the other, they just have different goals and outcomes.

Materials Needed

Defining Advocacy handout; flipchart; presentation slides

Learning Objectives

Participants are able to define 'advocacy' and related concepts, including the difference between direct service and advocacy and constructive and confrontational advocacy tactics.

Time 60 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- Everyone can be an advocate. Do you know who the most skillful advocates are? Children! They know exactly how to get what they want and what they need to say to you to get it. And if they can't get it from one parent, they know how to go to the other parent and ask in a different way to get it.
- *[Facilitator note: Distribute Defining Advocacy handout.]* Take a few minutes to circle all the examples of advocacy on the handout in front of you.
- Which of the phrases on the handout do you think relate to advocacy? Which do not?
- When I say "advocacy" what actions come to mind?
- For our purposes, we define advocacy as a planned, deliberate, and sustained effort to advance an agenda for change. It is about changing policies, programs and institutions to promote systemic change.
- *[Facilitator note: Include this definition of participants are unfamiliar.]* What is a **policy**? A policy is a plan or course of action adopted by the government or other institutions, designed to influence and determine decisions or procedures.
- Planning for advocacy is similar to any other project planning. It involves identifying what kind of change you want to see, what your objectives are, and how to achieve them. That leads to defining the activities you will carry out and assigning responsibilities for making them happen.

Advocacy

A planned, deliberate and sustained effort to advance an agenda for change.

Policy

A plan or course of action adopted by the government or other institutions, designed to influence and determine decisions or procedures.

- Anyone can be an advocate; we have all advocated at some point in our lives, either in our families, schools, or places of work.
- Advocates can be individuals working independently or those who work as part of an organization. If you have ever talked to a peer about an issue you think is important, shared information online, or volunteered in your community, you already have the makings of an advocate.
- There is one key distinction that will help us understand what advocacy is not, which is how it differs from direct service delivery. **Direct service delivery** confronts visible problems and provides vital and immediate relief by meeting peoples' basic needs. Advocacy looks deeper to consider the invisible causes of the problem.
- A useful way to think about this difference is to imagine a house on fire. The firefighter who comes to put out that fire is like the direct service provider. Direct service addresses the effects of a systemic problem.
- Advocacy seeks to change the conditions that caused the house to be on fire in the first place. The investigator who looks at the reason the fire began in the first place is like the advocate. In this case this includes looking at the house's electrical system, examining the behavior of the owners of the house and neighbors to see if that could have caused the fire, etc. So while a direct service provider is doing the important work of putting out the fire, the advocate is looking for the root causes of the fire. Advocates seek to address the system or structure that creates and perpetuates the problem.
- Direct service work is critically important. Around the world, during and after conflict, women are often at the forefront of these efforts, whether it is delivering vital humanitarian aid, creating shelters that provide much needed services for survivors and providing psychosocial support. Often women's involvement is limited to these areas, yet it is exactly because of these experiences that they should be involved in higher levels of decision making.
- Now we are going to talk about your individual experiences with advocacy.
- Reflect individually on a time you were involved in advocacy.
 - What were you trying to achieve and how were you involved?
 - What activities did you do?
 - What were the outcomes?
- All experiences are relevant and valuable and have something to teach us about advocacy. If you cannot think of your own experience, think of an example of advocacy you have observed. (5 minutes)
- Share your stories in pairs (10 minutes)
- *[Facilitator note: Time allowing, invite a few participants to share their brief examples.]*
- This approach to creating social change is based on the assumption that those with authority have a responsibility to use their power to deliver on the commitments they make to the people they serve. Advocacy is a tool people can use to hold decision makers to account when they are not delivering on their commitments.
- Advocacy is strengthened when it is done with other people, which is why you'll often hear the term *collective* to refer to this approach. Whether it is relationships with allies and partners, the policymakers you are trying to influence, or the people whose needs you are trying to represent, the thoughtful cultivation, maintenance and leveraging of these relationships are critical to achieving the impact you seek.

- We will focus on the cultivation of a few different kinds of relationships:
 - **Policymakers:** People with formal or informal authority to create or change policies, programs, or laws.
 - **Stakeholders:** People who have a vested interest in the policy outcome broadly (including allies, partners, opponents, and constituents).
 - **Allies:** Individuals, organizations, or institutions who support the policy change or issue you are working on.
 - **Constituents:** People who are directly affected by the problem you are trying to address with your advocacy strategy and support your viewpoint. People you could represent, to whom you are accountable, and from whom you draw strength.
- The way you generate and use information is also a critical component of advocacy. Relationships are often your most important source of information.
- **Mobilization** is a key component of leveraging relationships and making advocacy effective. It is the work of engaging allies, partners, and constituents to come together and advance an agenda for change. These efforts are more legitimate when grounded in the concerns and analysis of constituents. Effective advocacy elevates the perspectives and experiences of people who are affected by conflict and insecurity, like women and other marginalized groups. Particularly in conflict affected contexts, linkages between communities and decision makers are often weak or broken, further necessitating the kinds of connections advocacy can provide. Establishing and strengthening connections between these different levels is one component of effective advocacy.
- There are many **advocacy tactics**, or activities, that can be used to achieve the change you want to see. **Constructive approaches** are characterized by the use of collaborative means to get your point across and can include developing recommendations, meeting with policymakers and proposing strategies for change, conducting and publicizing research about a given policy issue, building alliances with the policy community and building coalitions within civil society to speak with collective voice on an issue. **Confrontational approaches** are characterized by the use of adversarial means like public protests, marches, sit-ins, public statements, petitions, and using the media to call attention to policy issues.
- Choosing which tactics to use depends on the context you are working in. In many cases advocates might not have access to decision makers so they choose adversarial tactics to be heard. Though it is a good idea for advocates to employ a range of tactics over time to put pressure on decision makers, be aware that changing tactics can be a delicate process, especially if you have had an adversarial stance and then want to work collaboratively with decision makers, depending on changes in the context. We will discuss how to be strategic about choosing tactics later.
- Creating change in systems and structures might seem daunting, but next we will introduce a strategic framework for thinking about advocacy that will help break it down into manageable pieces.

Mobilization

The work of engaging allies, partners and constituencies to come together and advance proposed solutions for change.

Advocacy Tactics

The actions or activities that you conduct to achieve your advocacy goal.

Constructive Approaches

Using collaborative means to get your point across

Confrontational Approaches

Using adversarial means to get your point across.



Activity 1.3 The Advocacy Cycle

Background for Facilitator

This activity will help participants understand why planning for advocacy will make their efforts more effective and introduce a series of steps for planning an advocacy strategy.

The facilitator talking points introduce the importance of thinking strategically about advocacy and the steps of the Advocacy Cycle. The activity allows participants to reflect on their own experiences with advocacy, using the steps of the Advocacy Cycle. In preparation for this activity, write each step of the cycle on a separate flipchart and hang them up around the room. Be sure there is plenty of space to move from one step to another freely and stand in small groups in front of each. For participants who are new to advocacy or have less experience, you might consider skipping the activity and focusing more on the components on the Advocacy Cycle.

Materials Needed

Presentation slides; flipchart; Advocacy Cycle handout

Learning Objectives

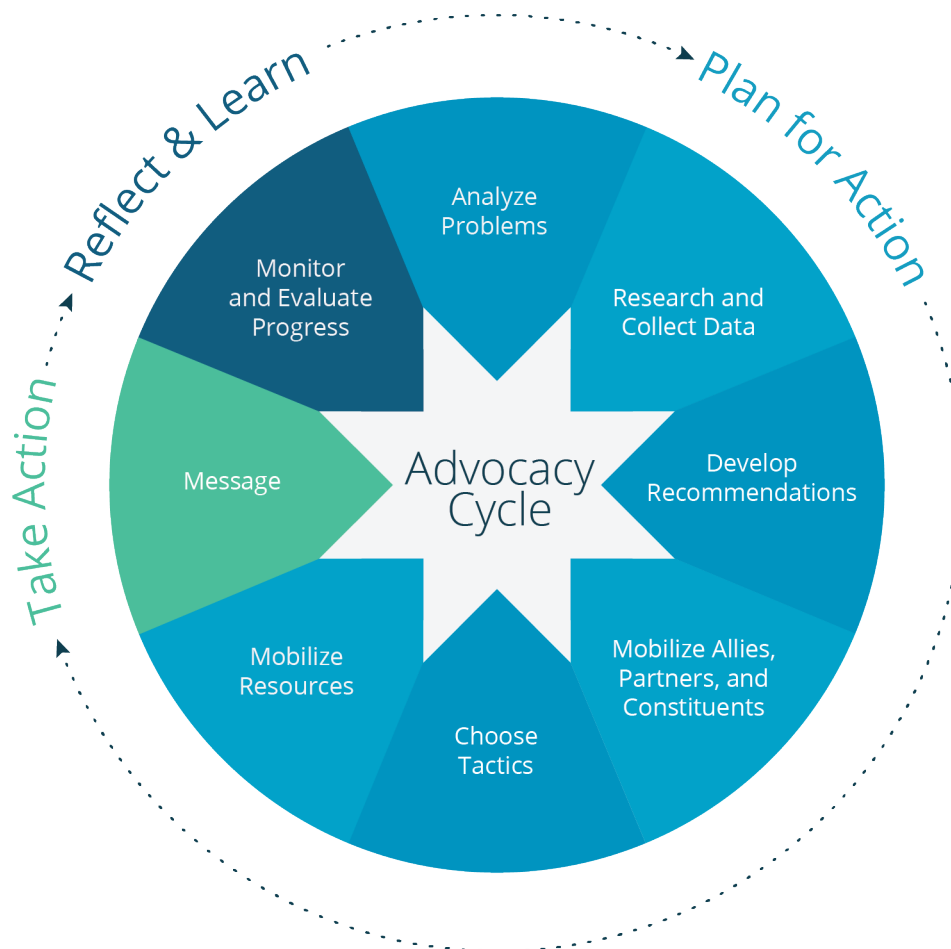
Participants are able to understand the importance of planning for advocacy and recall the steps of the advocacy cycle and relate their own experience to one step in the advocacy cycle.

Time 50 minutes

Facilitator Talking Points

- It is important to plan ahead and be strategic about advocacy. Often strategic planning is something we think a business or ministry might do. Some of the same reasons those groups might do planning apply to good advocacy as well (for example, using resources efficiently, understanding the market/opportunity, identifying needed partners, etc). For advocacy, particularly in conflict affected contexts, some of the additional benefits of planning include:
 - To remind you why you are advocating: Why is it so important that women participate in peace and security decision making? Why now?
 - To clarify what change you want: Is the issue that the right law/policy/practice doesn't exist for women to participate peace and security decision making? Or is there no political will?
 - To identify options for how to get the change you want: What will be the most direct and lasting way to increase women's participation in peace and security decision making? What messages should we convey, who should we mobilize, how can we influence decision-making processes, is there existing policy we can leverage?
 - To consider strengths as well as risks: By engaging in this advocacy strategy, are we risking a backlash against the gains already achieved for women's participation in peace and security decision making? What will happen if we don't succeed in our advocacy goals?
- Planning for advocacy begins with knowing where you want to go. This means looking at the current state of things – the status quo – and recognizing that there is something missing or that the situation is somehow unacceptable or at least inadequate.

- Setting an advocacy strategy is being able to articulate a goal and having a clear set of directions on how to achieve it. This must be framed with an accurate and thorough analysis of the context or environment in which your efforts will take place. Strategy is about understanding what you do, what you want your advocacy efforts to accomplish and – most importantly – focusing on how you intend to get there. It is also about what you don't do, it draws boundaries around the scope of any effort.
- Through Inclusive Security's work with leaders all over the world, we have developed a series of strategic steps for organizing advocacy work. The Advocacy Cycle is a step by step process that will guide you through identifying the core issues you need to work on, to drawing up a specific action plan to implement your advocacy work, to reflecting on your successes and challenges and recalibrating your efforts to be more effective.
- Since advocacy is a process and not a one-time event, we approach advocacy planning as a cycle because although there are some sequential steps, some will run in parallel with others, or may change sequence depending on progress.
- Advocacy is also a repetitive process: ongoing monitoring and review will lead to updating and adjusting the plan, as will different reactions to the advocacy among your targets. While planning for advocacy is important, developing effective strategies must also leave room for flexibility given the ever-changing opportunities and constraints. The contexts in which we work are fluid, and we need to be able to respond accordingly.



- **Analyze Problems:** Advocacy begins by identifying and analyzing the problems you want to address. Once you've delved into the causes and effects of the problems, you can determine the priorities within that issue and opportunities that exist for change. This will help you figure out what is achievable.
- **Research and Collect Data:** Creating a research and data collection plan will enhance your ability to make a persuasive case for your arguments. Advocacy can be strengthened when it reflects the perspectives of the people most affected by the issue you want to address. When you determine what kind of information you need, data collection methods can include participatory needs assessment, focus groups, consultations, interviews, and surveys. Data collection also includes mapping the policy context on the issues you've identified to decide what policies you want to affect.
- **Develop Recommendations:** Setting advocacy objectives and determining solutions can further narrow and refine your focus. When crafting advocacy recommendations, you must be as specific as possible in identifying **what** needs to happen, **who** can make that happen, and **how** the actor identified can make that happen.
- **Mobilize Allies, Partners, and Constituents:** Mobilizing support for your cause is a key component of advocacy. Increasing the number of people who support your goal will make your efforts more powerful. One way to do this is by building and strengthening platforms for advocacy with other stakeholders on your issue, such as building a coalition or a network. This can even be about building solidarity for an issue within your organization itself. Mobilizing is a highly relational process based on building and maintaining relationships and creating mutual commitments to work together.
- **Choose Tactics:** Determining advocacy tactics will help to focus your advocacy planning efforts and get more concrete. Considering the types of activities needed to achieve your intended policy change depends on a combination of factors, including potential for success in your operating environment, associated risk, timing, and resources.
- **Mobilize Resources:** It is important to be strategic about how you use both your human and financial resources. Creating a plan for mobilizing and using resource for advocacy includes determining timeline, roles, budget and outreach. It is also important to think take stock of our non-material resources like our own networks, skills and commitments to working together, which are often overlooked as assets that are of great value.
- **Message:** Once you decide who your target audiences are (e.g., policymakers, constituents, media), you want to create and deliver strategic messages that will resonate with them. This often requires creating more than one message for more than one audience, but this step is crucial in attracting attention, gaining public support, and convincing others to take action.
- **Monitor and Evaluate Progress:** Advocacy is an ongoing process of learning and reflection. What does success look like? How can you improve your advocacy efforts along the way? Evaluating advocacy can help track progress towards your goal and allow you to course correct.

Instructions

Distribute the [Advocacy Cycle](#) handout (see annex) and ask participants to walk to the step in the cycle that they have the most experience with or that they are the most comfortable doing. Have participants share with others who chose that step: (1) why they chose that step and (2) one example from their work. If any of the steps only have one participant, have them join another group.

(10 minutes)

After everyone has had chance to share, invite one or two people from each group to share what they discussed. You can also take more time and have a few people tell stories about their experiences with advocacy. (10 minutes)

Ask participants to walk to the step in the cycle that they have the least experience with, want to learn more about, or is most challenging. Have participants share with others who chose that step: (1) why they chose that step and (2) one example when they could have used more information about that step or when their advocacy efforts fell short in this area. If any of the steps only have one participant, have them join another group. (10 minutes)

After everyone has had chance to share, invite one or two people from each group to share what they discussed. You can also take more time and have a few people tell stories about their experiences with advocacy. (10 minutes)

Debrief

Discussion Questions

- What did you learn from your colleagues about their experience with these steps?
- Did anything surprise you about how others approach these steps?
- There are lots of ways to approach advocacy. Is there anything you do differently from these steps in the cycle?

Facilitator Talking Points

- Remember that advocacy is not a linear and it is unlikely any of these steps will ever go in sequence. Since advocacy is a process and not a one-time event, we approach advocacy planning as a cycle because although there are some sequential steps, some will run in parallel with others, or may change sequence depending on progress.



Activity 1.4 Case Studies - Women Mobilizing for Peace

Background for Facilitator

Trainings are enhanced when they provide examples of how women and civil society have used advocacy and mobilization to achieve the changes they want to see in pursuit of peace. Depending on time and resources, you can do this through a combination of film and case study discussions. Activities 1.4 and 1.5 lay out a number of case study and film options of examples of women mobilizing. Choose which to use based on your training context and objectives and which examples might resonate best.

The case studies in this activity will give participants an opportunity to explore different examples from different contexts of how women have mobilized for social change. There are three, two-page case studies in the annex that tell stories of women mobilizing from Liberia, Kenya, and Northern Ireland as well as a [Women Mobilizing for Peace](#) handout with guiding questions. Answer keys for the handouts are below.

Decide which case studies you will use. You can have the group read the same case study, fill out the handout individually and discuss their answers as a group. Or, split participants into two or three groups and have them read separate case studies, work together to fill in the worksheet and then present their analysis to the other groups.

- **Women Mobilizing for Peace – Liberia:** This is a great case study to bring out the difference between constructive and confrontational advocacy tactics. Most of WIPNET's tactics are confrontational because they could not get access to decision makers. MARWOPNET, the women's group that had observer status at the negotiations in Ghana, were able to use more constructive tactics because they had access. The two groups working together (MARWOPNET inside of the room and WIPNET staging a sit in outside) is a great example of the combination of tactics that is often required to do effective advocacy.
- **Women Mobilizing for Peace – Kenya:** This case study provides great examples of the importance of ongoing analysis and adjustment of advocacy tactics based on that analysis. Mathaai made the connection between environmental degradation to resource scarcity and the inciting of ethnic conflict and adjusted. Another level of analysis that is notable in this case is actor mapping and power analysis. The Green Belt Movement learned that President Moi would not listen to their demands for change, so they determined who could exert pressure on Moi from the international community and targeted them instead. Mathaai also built a broad base of support by her work with communities in the early days of the Green Belt Movement. She was able to leverage that base of support to advance her policy objectives later on when she was operating on a broader political scale. Throughout her activism, she maintained her relationship with her core constituency – women from rural communities – and they continued to benefit from the broader policy change she sought, so they remained engaged.

Materials Needed

[Women Mobilizing for Peace](#) handout; case study handout

Learning objectives: Participants are able to recall examples of women mobilizing for peace in diverse contexts and consider what lessons relate to their own contexts.

Time 60-90 minutes

- **Women Mobilizing for Peace – Northern Ireland:** This case study provides a great example of the importance of mobilization and successful platform creation and maintenance. The Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition (NIWC) always maintained their connection to the communities they represented and these ties proved essential to their ongoing success and were a major component of their ongoing relevance and legitimacy.

When choosing what combination of film and case studies to use, note that the Liberia and Kenya case studies tell the same stories as the movies mentioned in the next section, **Pray the Devil Back to Hell** and **Taking Root**. In the cases of Kenya and Liberia, they use mostly adversarial tactics given the authoritarian nature of the governments at that time. When introducing these cases, emphasize that advocates choose tactics based on a combination of factors, including the level of access they have to decision makers. Later we will discuss considerations for choosing tactics.

Instructions

Distribute Women Mobilizing for Peace handout and case study/studies (see annex) and divide participants into small groups (4-5 persons per group). Ask participants to read their case study individually, complete the handout (individually or in small groups), and then discuss in their small groups. Give participants ample time to read the case studies before they begin their small group discussions.

Optional: Introduce a simple “mark the text” exercise to help participants digest written material. Write the following instructions on a flipchart and explain that as they read the case studies to themselves, they should:

- Underline anything they think is important.
- Draw a **?** if there is something they want more information about.
- **Circle** any advocacy tactics or activities.
- Put a **!** next to something that surprises them.

Debrief

Facilitator Instructions

- Depending on time, debrief the handout question by question or invite participants to give their key takeaways from the case studies and how they relate to their contexts.

Answer Key

Women Mobilizing for Peace – Liberia

What change were the women in this story trying to make?

What problems were they trying to address?

They were trying to end the violence and bring peace to Liberia.

What advocacy strategies and tactics did they use?

Women's groups worked across religious divides, issued joint public statements, used symbolic colors and placards, held public demonstrations in high visibility areas, created alliances with other women's groups who had different kinds of access, issued public statements, held protests and sit ins, raised awareness that peace was possible, gained an understanding how their constituents were affected by the problems they are trying to address, planned strategically but maintained flexibility so they could be opportunistic with their advocacy.

What decision makers were they targeting? Who were their allies and partners?

WIPNET targeted Charles Taylor, his party, other rebel groups, and mediators like Abubakar.

At first Muslim and Christian women came together to create WIPNET (which was also a regional entity) and they mobilized a broad base of support made up of ordinary women of Liberia, then they made an alliance with MAROPNET in Ghana who had observer status to the negotiations.

What were their messages?

Their messages got more sophisticated as their advocacy progressed: 1) "Liberian women, awake for peace" 2) "Does the bullet know Christians from Muslims?" 3) At the talks in Ghana, they demanded a ceasefire, an intervention force in Liberia and for the government and rebels to come to the negotiating table, and that the government and rebels need to take the negotiations seriously and there needs be demonstrated progress.

Answer Key

Women Mobilizing for Peace – Kenya

What change were the women in this story trying to make?

What problems were they trying to address?

Maathai first responded to the problem of women not having enough firewood or water due to deforestation that causes soil depletion and rivers to dry up. After analyzing the root causes of these problems, she found that elites also privatized forests and grabbed land from communities which effected livelihoods. Subsequent analysis showed the ethnic dimension to the problem because elites from one tribe often took land from other tribes, inciting conflict.

What advocacy strategies and tactics did they use?

GBM employed a range of tactics including public demonstrations in high visibility areas, letter writing to influential people, public protest, and hunger strikes.

They also mobilized communities most affected by the problem of land grabbing and deforestation and engaged them in tree planting, training and awareness raising about a range of topics like human rights, advocacy and environmental issues, and consistent engagement and information exchange.

When GBM could not access President Moi and his government, they used constructive tactics by reaching out to international policymakers and the media to exert pressure on national policymakers.

GBM also engaged in ongoing analysis of the situation and adjusted tactics based on shifting circumstances, ongoing reflection and creating alliances with diverse and often unlikely stakeholders.

What decision makers were they targeting? Who were their allies and partners?

GBM's constituents were the communities affected by deforestation and land privatization. Along the way they partnered with tribal elders and other leaders to address ethnic violence that resulted.

Though national level policymakers like President Moi, his government, and business interests were their targets, GBM sought out international policymakers to exert pressure on Moi.

What were their messages?

The GBM's messages shifted depending on the latest manifestation of the problem, first calling for President Moi to stop privatizing and exploiting community land, calling for no building in Nairobi's public park and national forest, etc.

Answer Key

Women Mobilizing for Peace – Northern Ireland

What change were the women in this story trying to make?

What problems were they trying to address?

The problems the women in this case study were trying to address were that there were no women on the political party candidate list and no mechanism for non-mainstream political actors to be included in the peace talks.

What advocacy strategies and tactics did they use?

They built a strong platform that included membership representing diversity of sector, religion and social background. Their structure demonstrated the inclusion they sought and included a rotating leadership structure and transparency around decision making.

They also mobilized a broad base of support, consistently engaging and communicating with their diverse constituents, organizing public debates, distributing printed fliers and facilitating public information sharing.

What decision makers were they targeting? Who were their allies and partners?

They targeted the parties to the peace negotiations indirectly by creating their own party. Their allies were Catholic and Protestant community members of all kinds.

What were their messages?

Their messages were that women should have a seat at the table and that we need to broaden the set of issues being discussed to include things like human and worker rights.



Activity 1.5 Films – Women Mobilizing for Peace

Background for Facilitator

Films are a great way to bring to life the concepts of advocacy and mobilization. **Pray the Devil Back to Hell** and **Taking Root** are two films that can be used to illustrate different dimensions of activism. The films provide a range of examples of ways women have mobilized for peace.

This section also provides an overview of the **Women, War, and Peace** television series. You may consider using excerpts from this television series if participants have already seen *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* or *Taking Root*, or if the themes of the television series will resonate more closely with participants.

Distribute the [Women Mobilizing for Peace](#) handout (see annex) for participants to fill out while watching the film(s). Because the content aligns closely with the case studies in the previous section, you can reference the answer keys for the Liberia and Kenya case studies for *Pray the Devil Back to Hell* and *Taking Root*, respectively. These two films are also referenced elsewhere in the curriculum (Module 4: Mobilize Allies, Partners, and Constituents and Module 5: Choose Tactics) to emphasize different learning points, so be sure to consider including additional questions in the debrief depending on your learning objectives.

Materials Needed

[Women Mobilizing for Peace](#) handout

Learning Objectives

Participants are able to recount examples of ways women have worked for peace and justice in diverse contexts and consider what lessons they can learn from other contexts.

Time 60-120 minutes

Overview of suggested films

Pray the Devil Back to Hell

Overview: This movie chronicles the remarkable story of the Liberian women who came together to end a bloody civil war and bring peace to their shattered country. Thousands of women – ordinary mothers, grandmothers, aunts and daughters, both Christian and Muslim – came together to pray for peace and then staged a silent protest outside of the Presidential Palace. Armed only with white t-shirts and the courage of their convictions, they demanded a resolution to the civil war. Their actions were a critical element in bringing about an agreement during the stalled peace talks. A story of sacrifice, unity, and transcendence, this movie honors the strength and perseverance of all the women of Liberia. Inspiring, uplifting, and most of all motivating, it is a compelling testimony of how grassroots activism can alter the history of nations.

Key themes:

- The power that women in civil society can yield when mobilizing around peace negotiations.
- The difference between constructive and confrontational advocacy tactics and a great example of the combination of tactics that is often required to do effective advocacy.

Access:

Pray the Devil Back to Hell is a production of Fork Films and can be purchased at www.forkfilms.net/pray-the-devil-back-to-hell.

Taking Root: The Vision of Wangari Maathai

Overview: This movie tells the story of Kenya's Green Belt Movement, a grassroots organization encouraging rural women and families to plant trees in community groups and follows Maathai, the movement's founder and the first environmentalist and African woman to win the Nobel Prize. In the mid-1960s, Kenya was under the repressive regime of Daniel arap Moi, whose dictatorship outlawed group gatherings and the right of association. In tending to their tree nurseries, women had a legitimate reason to gather outside their homes and discuss social problems. They soon found themselves working against deforestation, poverty, ignorance, embedded economic interests and government corruption and became a national political force that helped bring down the dictatorship. This film documents the dramatic political confrontations of the 1980s and 1990s in Kenya and captures Maathai's infectious determination and unwavering courage. This film presents an awe-inspiring profile of one women's three-decade journey of courage to protect the environment, ensure gender equality, defend human rights and promote democracy – all sprouting from the achievable act of planting trees.

Key themes:

- The importance of ongoing analysis and adjustment of advocacy tactics based on that analysis (including actor mapping and power analysis).
- The connection between environmental degradation to resource scarcity and the inciting of ethnic conflict.
- How a broad base of support with communities can be leveraged to advance policy objectives.

Access:

Taking Root is a film by Lisa Merton and Alan Dater and can be purchased or streamed at www.takingroot-film.com.

Women, War and Peace Series¹

This series challenges conventional wisdom that war and peace is men's domain. This five-party series spotlights the stories of women in conflict zones from Bosnia to Afghanistan and Colombia to Liberia, placing women at the center of an urgent dialogue about conflict and security, and re-framing our understanding of modern warfare. This series is production of PBS and can be purchased or streamed at www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace.

Chapter One: War Redefined

Overview: The capstone of the series, this chapter challenges the conventional wisdom that war and peace are men's domain through incisive interviews with leading thinkers, Secretaries of State and seasoned survivors of war and peace-making. Their experiences reveal how the post-Cold War proliferation of small arms has changed the landscape of war, with women becoming primary targets and suffering unprecedented casualty rates. Simultaneously, they describe how women are emerging as necessary partners in brokering lasting peace and as leaders in forging new international laws governing conflict.

¹ Chapter descriptions from the website www.pbs.org/wnet/women-war-and-peace/

Key Themes:

- The nature of warfare has changed since the Cold War, and as a result, our responses to violent manifestations of conflict and to peace-making need to change.
- We need to shift our thinking from nation state centered notions of security to human centered notions of security.
- Getting women's perspectives and highlighting women's agency are essential strategies to achieving sustainable peace and forging new international laws governing conflict.

Chapter 2: I Came to Testify

Overview: When the Balkans exploded into war in the 1990s, reports that tens of thousands of women were being systematically raped as a tactic of ethnic cleansing captured the international spotlight. *I Came to Testify* is the moving story of how a group of 16 women who had been imprisoned by Serb-led forces in the Bosnian town of Foca broke history's great silence – and stepped forward to take the witness stand in an international court of law. Now, as Bosnia is once again in the headlines with the capture of Bosnian Serb wartime general Ratko Mladic, the women agree to speak for the first time since then, on condition that we keep their identities hidden for their protection. "Witness 99," who was held at gunpoint for a month with dozens of other women in a sports hall in the center of town remembers: "We were treated like animals. But that was the goal: to kill a woman's dignity." Their remarkable courage resulted in a triumphant verdict that led to new international laws about sexual violence in war. Returning to Bosnia 16 years after the end of the conflict, *I Came to Testify* also explores the chasm between this seismic legal shift and the post-war justice experienced by most of Bosnia's women war survivors.

Key themes:

- This trial set an important precedent that now serves as the foundation for trials involving violence against women in criminal courts worldwide.
- This trial sent a powerful message to current future perpetrators of sexual violence during conflict – that if you rape, there is the possibility you will be prosecuted.
- The issue of pursuing justice after conflict is very difficult. One survivor said, "There would be no justice if we didn't testify."

Chapter 3: Pray the Devil Back to Hell (see above)

Chapter 4: Peace Unveiled

Overview: When the U.S. troop surge was announced in late 2009, women in Afghanistan knew that the ground was being laid for peace talks with the Taliban. *Peace Unveiled* follows three women who immediately began to organize to make sure that women's rights don't get traded away in the deal. One is a savvy parliamentarian who participated in writing the Afghan constitution that guarantees equality for women; another, a former midwife who is one of the last women's rights advocates alive in Kandahar; and the third, a young activist who lives in a traditional family in Kabul. Convinced that the Taliban will have demands that jeopardize women's hard-earned gains, they maneuver against formidable odds to have their voices heard in a peace jirga and high peace council.

Key Themes:

- Advocacy to national and international policymakers is an important strategy to ensure the inclusion and rights of women. These actors can have different interests and building relationships at all levels is required to ensure women's interests are not traded for broader peace and security priorities.
- Advocates must remain vigilant and use a combination of strategies and activities at different times to get their points across.

Chapter 5: The War We are Living

Overview: If you ask Colombia's city dwellers and governing political class, they'll tell you the country's 40-year-old civil war is over. But *The War We Are Living* reveals the "other" Colombia, in rural areas far away from the capital, where the war is all too real – and now the battle is over gold. In Cauca, a mountainous region in Colombia's Pacific southwest, two extraordinary Afro-Colombian women are fighting to hold onto the gold-rich land that has sustained their community through small-scale mining for centuries. Clemencia Carabali and Francia Marquez are part of a powerful network of female leaders who found that in wartime women can organize more freely than men. As they defy paramilitary death threats and insist on staying on their land, Carabali and Marquez are standing up for a generation of Colombians who have been terrorized and forcibly displaced as a deliberate strategy of war. If they lose the battle, they and thousands of their neighbors will join Colombia's 4 million people – most of them women and children – who have been uprooted from their homes and livelihoods.

Key Themes:

- Civil society and women's networks can play a powerful role in mobilizing for change.
- Often there are laws to protect minority communities that are not implemented, like the laws in Colombia to protect Afro-Colombian land rights.
- Advocates must remain vigilant and use a combination of strategies and activities at different times to get their points across.

Debrief

Facilitator Instructions

- Depending on time, debrief the worksheet question by question or invite participants to give their key takeaways from the films and how they relate to their contexts.

Activity 1.6 Why Women

Background for Facilitator

This activity will give participants an opportunity to reflect on how women have mobilized in their own contexts and why women should be included in peace and security decision making.

This activity includes twenty arguments about the different women make in three overarching themes, **Leadership and Approaches**, **Access and Insights**, and **Solutions and Impact**. There are accompanying video clips for many of these points. Decide in advance which arguments you want to use and which videos you will use. See the Why Women Videos - Bio and Conflict Information (below) for the list of video clips, bio information, and conflict background. The videos can be found at www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2.

Before watching the videos, participants will discuss the question “why should women be included in peace and security decision making in your country?” You can tailor this question if necessary to be more specific to the peace process or policy they are working on. Put participants into small groups by country, if possible, because the conversations will be more nuanced.

Materials Needed

Flipchart; presentation slides;
Why Women video clips;
Why Women Videos – Bios
and Conflict Information
background for facilitator

Learning Objectives

Participants are able to identify reasons why women should be included in peace and security decision making.

Time 60-90 minutes

Speaker	Why Women Argument
Leadership and Approaches	
1 Monica McWilliams, Northern Ireland	Women Bridge ethnic, religious and political divides
2 Esther Ibanga, Nigeria	Women bridge ethnic, religious and political divides
3 Ashraf Ghani (Afghanistan) and Mary Robinson (Ireland)	Women have alternative leadership styles
Access and Insights	
4 Kholoud Waleed (Syria)	Women are an untapped resource
5 Lt. General Dan Leaf (US)	Women are an untapped resource
6 Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf (Sudan)	Women have access because they are viewed as less threatening
7 Ruth Caesar (Liberia)	Women have access because they are viewed as less threatening
8 Fatuma Abdulkadir Adan (Kenya) where the solutions live	Women have their fingers on the pulse/Women know
9 Vjosa Dobruna (Kosovo)	Women have their fingers on the pulse/ Women know where the solutions live
10 Aloisea Inyumba (Rwanda) where the solutions live	Women have their fingers on the pulse/Women know
11 Mobina Jaffer (Canada/Sudan)	Women draw from different experiences
12 Wazhma Frogh (Afghanistan)	Women draw from different experiences
13 Alaa Murabit (Libya)	Women draw from different experiences
14 Josephine Perez (Philippines)	Women are highly invested personally to stop conflict
15 Visaka Dharmadasa (Sri Lanka)	Women are highly invested personally to stop conflict
Solutions and Impact	
16 Monica McWilliams (Northern Ireland)	Women broaden societal participation by including marginalized groups
17 Samira Hamidi (Afghanistan)	Women increase operational effectiveness of security forces
18 Mossarat Qadeem	Women counter violent extremism
19 Rangina Hamidi	Women counter violent extremism

Facilitator Talking Points

- We've looked at some examples of women mobilizing to make a difference from around the world.
- Now we are going to consider why it is important for women to be included in peace and security decision making.
- In small groups, answer this question and record your answers on a flipchart: **Why should women be included in peace and security decision making in your country?** Think of as many reasons as possible. If there are examples you have of the difference women have made, write those down as well. (15 minutes)

Instructions

Have groups present their lists. If you are short on time, you can debrief this activity as a group, asking each group to give one example and making a collective list on a flipchart. If one example is already on the list, ask participants to give another.

Choose which video clips you want to show. Briefly introduce the conflict background and the bio of the speaker before showing the clip. After the clip, explain the Why Women argument and add additional examples, adding context-specific ones where appropriate and available.

Facilitator Talking Points

- These are great lists! We are going to bring some more voices into the room that will expand our understanding of the power women have to make a difference.
- First, let's talk about the problem.
- **Insecurity is on the rise.**
 - 121 recorded armed conflicts in 2015– highest number since 1989²
 - 2014 saw the highest global battle-related death toll since the Cold War ³
 - Global displacement from conflict, violence, and persecution has reached the highest level ever recorded (65 million – or 1 in every 113 people on the planet)
- **Exclusion is one of the major drivers of violent conflict.**⁴
 - When certain groups are severely disadvantaged or systematically discriminated against, it provides fertile ground for violent mobilization.
 - Conflict can, in turn, exacerbate exclusion as many people are displaced or made more vulnerable by violence. Thus, the cycle continues.

2 Uppsala Conflict Database: ucdp.uu.se/#/year/2015

3 Therese Pettersson and Peter Wallensteen, "Armed Conflicts, 1946-2014," *Journal of Peace Research* vol. 52, no. 4 (2015).

4 S. Khan, E. Combaz, and E. McAslan Fraser, Social exclusion: topic guide (Birmingham, UK: GSDRC, University of Birmingham, 2015), www.gsdr.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/SocialExclusion.pdf

- **The way we negotiate peace and build security isn't working.**
 - Since 2000, the UN has spent more than \$100 billion attempting to stabilize countries at war.⁵ The US defense budget for 2015 alone was \$601 billion.⁶
 - While negotiations can result in short-term cessation of violence, they don't always lead to long-term peace:
 - For 42% of peace agreements signed between 1975 and 2011, conflict parties returned to violence within five years.⁷
 - If Boeing was spending billions to build airplanes that crashed nearly half of the time, it would rethink its strategy.
 - We can do better.
- **Now let's discuss the solution.**
- **We need to tap into a dramatically underutilized resource: WOMEN.**
 - In 31 major peace processes between 1992 and 2011, women were only: 2% of mediators, 4% of signatories and 9% of negotiators⁸
 - Worldwide, women make up only about 10% of police forces, on average. In some countries, like Pakistan, they are less than 1%.⁹
 - Less than one-third of countries have adopted formal policies to advance women's inclusion in peace and security.
 - Only 2% of funding dedicated to peace and security goes to gender equality or women's empowerment.
- **When women are included, peace is more likely to endure.**
 - In-depth studies of 40 peace processes showed that, when women influenced the talks, an agreement was reached in all but one case.
 - Statistical analysis shows that peace agreements are 35% more likely to last at least 15 years if women participate in their creation.
 - A study of 83 peace agreements found that peace agreements are 64% less likely to fail when they include civil society (a sector often dominated by women).
- **The difference women make it clear.**

5 Data for each year is available on the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations website [www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/financing.shtml#gadocs2] and a table showing expenditures from 1947-2005 compiled by Global Policy Forum: www.globalpolicy.org/images/pdfs/Z/pk_tables/expend.pdf

6 Skye Gould and Jeremy Bender, "Here's how the US Military spends its billions," *Business Insider*, August 29, 2015, www.businessinsider.com/how-the-us-military-spends-its-billions-2015-8

7 Calculated using a dataset of 216 agreements signed between 1975 and 2011: Uppsala Conflict Data Program (December 2012). "UCDP Peace Agreement Dataset v.2.0, 1975-2011." For more information, see ucdp.uu.se/downloads/. It is important to note that mediation interventions may have improved in the past decade: for example, Kreutz has calculated that for negotiated settlements, 46% of conflicts restarted in the 1990s but this share decreased to 21% in the 2000s. See Peter Wallensteen and Isak Svensson, "Talking peace: International mediation in armed conflicts," *Journal of Peace Research* (2014), vol 51, no. 2: 323.

8 UN Women, *Women's Participation in Peace Negotiations: Connections between Presence and Influence* (New York: UN Women, October 2012), 3.

9 Jaqueline O'Neill, "Testimony for US Senate Subcommittee on International Operations and Organizations, Human Rights, Democracy, and Global Women's Issues," June 24, 2014, www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/ONeill_Testimony.pdf

Theme: Leadership and Approaches

- **Why Women Argument #1: Women bridge ethnic, religious, and political divides**

Video: **Why Women Video 1:** Monica McWilliams, Northern Ireland

Video: **Why Women Video 2:** Esther Ibanga, Nigeria

- Social science research indicates that women are generally more collaborative than men and thus more inclined toward consensus and compromise.
- They make connections between warring groups to build trust, bring parties to the table, and develop shared steps toward peace.
 - After more than 30 years of brutal civil war, Sudan (and now South Sudan) negotiated peace. To stabilize the country, they appointed a parliament that included 25% women. Those women created the assembly's only cross-party caucus. For years, the women's caucus was the only place representatives from different, formerly warring parties, came together to find common ground.¹⁰
- Women also make connections vertically between grassroots and elites.
 - In the Philippines, women in the high-level peace talks led extensive national consultations across 13 regions, ensuring that participants represented a cross-section of religious, indigenous, youth, and other groups. They raised awareness among the public about the peace process, and fed public opinion back to the negotiators.¹¹

- **Why Women Argument #2: Women have alternative leadership styles**

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 3:** Ashraf Ghani and Mary Robinson

- Women can change the dynamics of interactions between parties, away from zero-sum thinking and toward consensus and collaboration. In social science experiments, women are more likely than men to seek outcomes that benefit all participants in policy negotiations—taking a cooperative rather than competitive approach.¹²
 - In American politics, female legislators report spending more time building coalitions across party lines than their male counterparts.¹³
 - In negotiations between the Government of Uganda and Lord's Resistance Army in 2008, the US observer to the talks commented that female participants “greased the wheels of the negotiations” through their communication across parties.¹⁴

10 Inclusive Security has supported the Sudanese National Assembly Women's Caucus since 2008.

11 Marie O'Reilly, Andrea Ó Súilleabháin, and Thania Paffenholz, *Reimagining Peacemaking: Women's Roles in Peace Processes* (New York: International Peace Institute, 2015).

12 Carole Kennedy, “Gender Differences in Committee Decision-Making: Process and Outputs in an Experimental Setting,” *Women and Politics* 25, no. 3 (2003), 27-45.

13 John M. Carey, Richard G. Niemi, and Lynda W. Powell, “Are Women State Legislators Different?” in *Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future*, eds. Susan Thomas and Clyde Wilcox (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 87-102.

14 Carla Koppell, *Supporting women in negotiations: A model for elevating their voices and reflecting their agenda in peace deals* (Washington: Inclusive Security, October 2009), 2.

- Negotiators in Northern Ireland, South Africa, and Somalia report that, even when female participants in peace processes initially met with hostility from their male counterparts, they ultimately developed a reputation for building trust, engaging all sides, and fostering dialogue in otherwise acrimonious settings.¹⁵

- **Why Women Argument #3: Women help groups make better decisions.**

No Video

- Research shows that groups that include diverse races, ethnicities, genders, and sexual orientation are more innovative than homogenous groups. Members of diverse groups are more likely to “scrutinize facts, think more deeply and develop their own opinions.”¹⁶ Studies have also demonstrated that heterogeneous groups are more effective at problem-solving, partially because introduction of diverse perspectives helps counter groupthink.¹⁷ In negotiations or other decision-making processes related to peace and security, these skills are crucial.

Theme: Access and Insights

- **Why Women Argument #4: Women are an untapped resource.**

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 4:** Kholoud Waleed

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 5:** Lt. General Dan Leaf

- Women are often at the center of nongovernmental organizations, popular protests, and social movements. Because women frequently outnumber men after conflict, they often drive the on-the-ground implementation of negotiated agreements, making them an integral part of any peace process.
- Women were among the first to take to the streets when the Syrian revolution began. In the years since a bloody government crackdown grew into all-out civil war, women have been at the forefront of nonviolent activities to end the conflict, negotiate between warring groups, provide aid, and foster democracy. Despite this, women have struggled to obtain meaningful inclusion in the ongoing international peace talks.

- **Why Women Argument #5: Women have access because they're viewed as less threatening.**

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 6:** Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 7:** Ruth Caesar

- Because there are some realms (physical, cultural, etc.) where men are prohibited, women can quite literally go places and say things that men cannot.
- In Somalia, where tribal disputes are rampant, men traditionally can't approach their enemies to settle disputes without “losing face.” However, because most women are not involved in the fighting and aren't considered dangerous, they're able to shuttle back-and-forth between clans, mediating the conflict between them.¹⁸

15 Sanam Naraghi Anderlini, “WDR Gender Background Paper,” *World Development Report 2011* (Washington: World Bank, 2010).

16 Sheen S. Levine and David Stark, “Diversity Makes You Brighter,” *The New York Times*, December 9, 2015: www.nytimes.com/2015/12/09/opinion/diversity-makes-you-brighter.html?_r=2&mtref=undefined&gwh=D9CCFE6E6DD3F4F7045B-38186DAEE059&gwt=pay&assetType=opinion.

17 L.R. Hoffman and N.R.F. Maier, “Quality and acceptance of problem solutions by members of homogenous and heterogeneous groups,” *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 62, no. 2 (March 1961).

18 Antonia Potter, *Gender sensitivity: nicety or necessity in peace-process management?* (Geneva: Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue, 2008), 62.

- **Why Women Argument #6: Women have their fingers on the pulse.**

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 7:** Fatuma Abdulkadir Adan

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 8:** Vjosa Dobruna

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 9:** Aloisea Inyumba

- Living and working close to the roots of conflict, women are well positioned to provide essential insights about activities leading up to armed conflict and to record events during war. They can thus play a critical role in mobilizing communities to reconcile and rebuild once hostilities end.
- In 2004, women in northern Kenya—especially those who were married across tribes—noticed that tension was building up. Male community leaders who could have stopped the violence were themselves polarized, arming individuals from their own ethnic groups. A group of women mobilized and pressed the government to step in and prevent tensions from escalating further. But they were dismissed, and a few months later, hundreds of schoolchildren and their parents were massacred and 6,000 people fled their homes amid a cycle of revenge killings.

- **Why Women Argument #7: Women draw from different experiences.**

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 10:** Mobina Jaffer

- In many societies, women fulfill different roles and responsibilities than men. Depending on context, this may include cooking, caring for children, gathering water and firewood, and buying and selling goods at local markets. As a result, women see and experience things that men do not. When resolving conflict, their unique knowledge is a crucial ingredient to crafting effective solutions.
- At peace talks to end the war in Darfur, rebel groups were represented by men who had been living for years in exile in Europe. Mobina Jaffer, a Canadian Senator involved in the peace process, urged the UN to bring to the talks women who were living in the war zone. Before the women came, the men had reached an impasse. They were arguing over who had the rights to a certain water source. The women took one look at the map and said “What are you talking about? That river dried up a long time ago. There’s no river there.”¹⁹ These women had a different perspective than the men both because they had remained in the country, and because women are traditionally responsible for collecting water for their households.

- **Why Women Argument #8: Women recognize early warning signals.**

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 11:** Wazhma Frogh

Video: **Why Women Video Clip 12:** Dr. Alaa Murabit

- The treatment of women—whether through proliferation of unequal laws or an uptick in domestic violence—is often an indicator of rising tensions in the broader community/country.
- Women are often the first to know when groups are arming or when their young male family members are being targeted for recruitment.

19 As told to Inclusive Security by Sen. Mobina Jaffer: www.youtube.com/watch?v=755YwYpzEmU

- In southern Afghanistan, women noticed an influx of suspicious individuals in their community who claimed to be Uzbek businessmen and took great interest in the young men of the village. The women suspected the group was, in fact, targeting boys for recruitment into terrorist forces. They presented their concerns to a government official, who laughed them out of his office. A month later, the new recruits abducted 32 passengers from a public bus and killed them all.
- **Why Women Argument #9: Women wield influence over their communities and families, including the choice to be violent or peaceful.**
- No Videos.
 - Women have untapped power and authority. Though not often seen as “leaders” in the traditional, masculine sense, thousands all over the world have formal and informal leadership roles in their families, communities, and countries. This power can be channeled for good or ill.
- **Why Women Argument #11: Women are highly invested personally to stop conflict.**
- Video: **Why Women Video Clip 13:** Josephine Perez
- Video: **Why Women Video Clip 14:** Visaka Dharmadasa
 - *[Facilitator Note: It’s important to acknowledge that this point may be interpreted as essentializing all women as peaceful and/or all men as violent. That is not our intention. However, in workshops around the world, this is often the first point that participants raise—meaning it resonates strongly with their experiences. Use this as a starting point for a discussion that explores what this point means for people, and why it may not be the most convincing messaging for policymakers or other audiences.]*
 - Women are motivated to protect their children and ensure security for their families. They watch as their sons and husbands are taken as combatants or prisoners of war; when rape is used as a tactic of war to humiliate the enemy and terrorize the population, they become targets themselves. Despite, or perhaps because of this, women generally refuse to give up the pursuit of peace.
 - In 2008, Kenya erupted into ethnic violence following contested elections. In the Kibera slum outside Nairobi, a group of women united after the murder of a 15-year-old girl. They marched through the streets chanting for the fighting to end; when they saw men they knew, they pulled them away and told them to go home. In the 2013 elections, they utilized the same tactic: they patrolled the streets in pairs and, if they saw a man demonstrating, they called his wife, aunt, mother, girlfriend, or daughter.²⁰
- **Why Women Argument #12: Women often have the most to lose from the rise of extremism.**
- No Videos.
 - Women’s rights are often the first to be repressed under extremist regimes. For instance, in territories under its control, ISIS restricts women’s movement, dress, and behavior—and severely punishes transgressors. Women are therefore uniquely placed to understand the consequences of rising extremism and are often the first to stand up against it.
 - In 2013, when the Afghan Taliban announced it would sit down for peace talks with the government, many women greeted the news with hesitation. Prominent activists and women’s organizations vocally insisted that the gains they had made over the previous decade-plus must be maintained. They demanded serious representation at the negotiation table, in order to ensure that restrictions on women’s education, work, and public participation were not reinstated.

²⁰ Alice Nderitu and Jacqueline O’Neill, “Getting To the Point of Inclusion: Seven Myths Standing in the Way of Women Waging Peace,” Washington: Inclusive Security, June 2013, *Getting to the Point of Inclusion: Seven Myths Standing in the Way of Women Waging Peace*.

Theme: Solutions and Impact

- **Why Women Argument #13: Women address root causes of conflict.**
- No Videos.
 - Women raise often-ignored political and social issues and ensure that the voices of victims and civilians are consistently heard.²¹ Broadening the set of issues so that negotiations are not only about borders and power-sharing, but about long-term reconciliation and pluralism.
 - In Northern Ireland, the two delegates from the cross-conflict Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (Monica McWilliams and May Blood) were the only ones to insist that compensation for victims of violence, reintegration of political prisoners, and integrated education for Catholic and Protestant youth were addressed in the final agreement.²² These issues were crucial for reconciliation and community healing after 30 years of war.
 - In Darfur, women delegates pushed for previously neglected provisions addressing safety for internally displaced persons and refugees, food security, and gender-based violence.²³
- **Why Women Argument #14: Women broaden societal participation by including marginalized groups.**
- Video: **Why Women Video Clip 15:** Monica McWilliams (Clip 2 of 2)
 - Because of their own experiences as second-class citizens, women are particularly well-placed and inclined to highlight the needs and perspectives of marginalized groups, especially children and minorities. Since exclusion of different identity groups is a driver of conflict, this broadened participation may help stop the cycle of violence.
 - During the political transition in Afghanistan, women in the constitutional assembly advocated for the rights of the disabled and supported the Uzbek minority's efforts to gain official recognition for their language.²⁴
 - In Guatemala's peace talks, women successfully pushed for equal access to land and credit and legislation to curb sexual harassment. They also created a National Women's Forum and an Office for the Defense of Indigenous Women.²⁵

21 Michelle Page, Tobie Whitman, and Cecilia Anderson, "Strategies for Policymakers: Bringing Women into Negotiations," Washington: Inclusive Security, October 2009, www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Negotiations_FINAL.pdf.

22 Ibid.

23 Ibid.

24 Tobie Whitman and Jessica Gomez, "Strategies for Policymakers: Bringing Women into Government," Washington: Inclusive Security, March 2009.

25 Tsjard Bouda, Georg Frerks, and Ian Bannon, *Gender, Conflict, and Development* (Washington: The World Bank, 2005), 53.

- **Why Women Argument #15: Women tend to secure commitments on women's rights,²⁶ which are vitally important to a country's stability.**
- No video.
 - Women's significant participation in the transition from apartheid in South Africa led to the enshrinement of gender equality in the country's new constitution, as well as a requirement that women comprise 30% of all new civil servants.
 - In turn, protections for women lead to greater stability and security.
 - An analysis of 174 countries found that the best predictor of a state's peacefulness is not its level of wealth, its level of democracy, or its ethno-religious identity; it's how well its women are treated. The larger the gender gap, the more likely a state is to be involved in violent conflict.²⁷
- **Why Women Argument #16: Women's empowerment makes violence less likely.**
- No video.
 - Where women are more empowered, countries are less likely to go to war with their neighbors, to be in bad standing with the international community, or to be rife with internal crime and violence.²⁸
 - Conversely, 14 of the 17 countries at the bottom of the OECD's gender discrimination index experienced conflict in the last 20 years.²⁹
 - With just a 5% increase of women's representation in parliament, a state is five times less likely to resort to violence when faced with an international crisis.³⁰
- **Why Women Argument #17: Women increase operational effectiveness of security forces.**
- Video: **Why Women Video Clip 16:** Samira Hamidi
 - The presence of women within the ranks can build trusting relationships between security forces and the communities they work in by helping make them more responsive to all parts of the community. It also encourages security forces to do their jobs more transparently and with more complete information.
 - Women bring particular skills to police forces—important because research shows police are more effective at combating terrorism than militaries³¹:
 - Policewomen can access the female half of the population that may be closed off to men in conservative cultures.³² This access can be particularly useful as female police, border, and military officers can also perform critical duties such as searching women at security checkpoints."
 - Women are more likely to report gender-based violence to female officers³³
 - Policewomen are more likely than their male colleagues to de-escalate tensions and less likely to use excessive force.³⁴

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Valerie M. Hudson, Bonnie Ballif-Spanvill, Mary Caprioli, and Chad F. Emmett, *Sex and World Peace* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ OECD Development Centre, "Social Institutions & Gender Index," genderindex.org/.

³⁰ Mary Caprioli and Mark A. Boyer, "Gender, Violence, and International Crisis," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 45 (August 2001), 503-518.

³¹ RAND Corporation, "How Terrorist Groups End: Implications for Countering al Qa'ida," Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2008, 1.

³² Allison Peters, "Countering Terrorism and Violent Extremism in Pakistan: Why Policewomen Must Have a Role," Washington: Inclusive Security, March 2014.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Jacqueline O'Neill and Jarad Vary, "Allies and Assets: Strengthening DDR and SSR Through Women's Inclusion," in *Monopoly of Force: The Nexus of DDR and SSR* (Washington: National Defense University, 2010).

- **Why Women Argument #18: Women strengthen the process of security sector reform.**
- No video.
 - Involving women in SSR processes can help bring credibility to new systems and oversight mechanisms, as well as improve public perception of security sector institutions. For example, women are often at the forefront of providing services to victims of violence, and can partner with the security sector to deliver more integrated services. They can also highlight issues that are important to their communities, so that SSR processes are more reflective of local needs.
 - In South Africa, grassroots women’s organizations were vital in drawing attention to previously-ignored security issues, such as the plight of dispossessed communities whose land had been seized for military use, the environmental impact of military activities, and the sexual harassment of women by military personnel. To respond to these issues, two new subcommittees were formed within the Defense Secretariat. After a two-year process, the participatory defense review had helped build national consensus around defense issues and generated public legitimacy for the new security structures.³⁵
- **Why Women Argument #19: Women counter violent extremism.**
- Video: **Why Women Video Clip 17:** Mossarat Qadeem
- Video: **Why Women Video Clip 18:** Rangina Hamidi
 - Women promote tolerance, educate communities, recognize warning signs of extremist ideologies in their families and communities, and collectively mobilize to de-radicalize individuals where necessary.
 - In Pakistan’s most remote and volatile region along the border with Afghanistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (KPK), residents experience firsthand the effects of increasing extremist violence. In the face of this ideology, Bushra Hyder established a high school that teaches a peace education curriculum of her own design—the first of its kind in Pakistan. This model inculcates tolerance and understanding in the next generation, thereby countering recruitment narratives used by extremist groups.
- **Why Women Argument #20: Women can lend legitimacy to a peace process, which can increase public buy-in for maintaining peace.**
- No video.
 - Although women are typically between 10 and 30% of fighting forces³⁶ they’re not generally perceived as the face of war. This positions them with unique credibility in the eyes of the public. Not seen as having “blood on their hands” they can pursue an agenda of peace from a neutral position.
 - In the Philippines, public perception of the legitimacy of negotiations improved substantially when women were appointed as four of the five official mediators.³⁷
 - Additionally, in the post-conflict setting, women can maintain the public’s confidence in new political institutions. Studies show that women in politics are perceived as more trustworthy and less corrupt.

35 Megan Bastick and Tobie Whitman, “A Women’s Guide to Security Sector Reform,” Washington: Inclusive Security. February 2013.

36 Tsjard Bouda, *Gender and Disarmament, Demobilization and Reintegration: Building Blocs for Dutch Policy* (The Hague: Netherlands Institute for International Relations, 2005), 5.

37 Theresa de Delangis, *Across Conflict Lines: Women Mediating for Peace; 12th Annual Colloquium Findings* (Washington: Inclusive Security, 2010).

- In conclusion, engaging women is no longer only a matter of the heart, human rights, or wanting to do the “right thing.” We’re at the point where we have robust research and scientific data that proves including women in peace and security dramatically increases the chances of peace.
 - Not saying women are inherently more peaceful, but there are 1000s of them doing incredible, risky, creative work—and they’re shut out of places they’re needed most.
 - We hear all the time about women as victims, but in every culture and every part of the world, women are also powerful agents of positive change.
-

Debrief

Facilitator Instructions

- Hand out the “Why Women? Inclusive Security and Peaceful Societies (available at www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/Why-Women-Inclusive-Security-and-Peaceful-Societies.pdf) and invite questions and reactions. Prepare to reinforce key arguments depending on which Why Women points you used or what was relevant for the group.

Why Women Videos – Bios and Conflict Information

Following is the biographical information and conflict background for the speakers in the Why Women videos, organized by Why Women argument. Not all Why Women Arguments have corresponding videos. Use these as talking points for introducing the videos. You can also create handouts for participants with information on the clips you choose to use.

Theme: Leadership & Approaches

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN BRIDGE ETHNIC, RELIGIOUS, AND POLITICAL DIVIDES.

- **Why Women Video Clip 1:** *Monica McWilliams*

youtu.be/eO7nVrwc1c?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Northern Ireland**

- “The Troubles” refers to the period from the civil rights marches in the late 1960s to the 1998 Belfast Agreement.
- This period was a byproduct of the Irish struggle for independence from the UK, which was settled with the 1921 partition of the island between the predominantly Catholic Republic of Ireland and the northern provinces, mostly Protestant and under British control.
- In those 30 years, more than 3,500 people were killed.
- Long before the negotiations officially began, women from both sides of the divide in Northern Ireland had been working together for peace.

Bio: Monica McWilliams

- As far back as 1975, just after the civil rights movement ended, Monica was involved in the non-sec women’s rights movement, a non-sectarian effort.
- She worked with both Catholics and Protestants throughout The Troubles.
- Monica was a founding member of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition, a cross-community party that focuses on inclusion, human rights, and equality. She led the Coalition in the multi-party negotiations that culminated in the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.
- In several instances during the peace talks that led to the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland, male negotiators walked out of sessions, leaving a small number of women, like Monica McWilliams and other members of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition, at the table. These women focused on mutual concerns and shared vision, enabling the dialogue to continue and trust to be rekindled.
- She served as a representative in the new Northern Ireland Assembly from 1998 until 2003 and as Chief Commissioner of the Human Rights Commission from 2005 to 2011.

- **Why Women Video Clip 2:** *Esther Ibanga*

youtu.be/ldNi2OeuwYw?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Nigeria**

- Nigeria’s population is evenly split between Muslim and Christians.

- 2011 presidential election split the country along ethno-religious lines. The Northern states are overwhelmingly Muslim and the Southern states are majority Christian.
 - Thousands of people have died over the past few years in communal attacks led by the violent extremist group Boko Haram. Separatist aspirations have also been growing and the imposition of Islamic law in several northern states has embedded divisions and caused thousands of Christians to flee.
 - Boko Haram kidnapped 276 school girls (Christian) from Chibok on April 14th 2014. Several escaped (57) however the remaining girls remain in captivity till this day.

Bio: Esther Ibanga

- Esther Ibanga is a Christian pastor and interfaith peace activist in a highly volatile state in central Nigeria. In the wake of incessant ethno-religious conflicts that have rocked Plateau State since 1994, Pastor Ibanga has become a leader of a strong coalition of diverse women's groups united in their desire for peace. Following the "100,000 Women March" of Christian women, which she organized to protest the 2010 massacre of 530 women and children in a village three miles from her home, local Muslim women organized a similar demonstration, yet the killing continued.
- She and a female leader from the Muslim community founded an organization called Women Without Walls Initiative, the first organization in the state to include people from all tribes and religions. The organization addresses the needs of both the Christian and Muslim communities related to counter-ing violent extremism, community policing, mediation and negotiation and conflict transformation.

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN HAVE ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP STYLES.

- **Why Women Video Clip 3:** *Mary Robinson and Ashraf Ghani*
youtu.be/aO-BaO0Tzag?list=PLORglS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Bio: Ashraf Ghani

- Ashraf Ghani is the current President of Afghanistan (September 2014-)
- He is an anthropologist by training and also previously served as finance minister, leading the country's attempted economic recovery after the collapse of the Taliban.
- Before returning to Afghanistan in 2002, President Ghani worked at the World Bank.

Bio: Mary Robinson

- Mary Robinson was the first woman president of Ireland (1990-1997) and the former UN High Commissioner for Human Rights (1997-2002).
- She is a passionate, forceful advocate for gender equality and women's participation in peacebuilding.
- UN Secretary General's Special Envoy for the Great Lakes Region of Africa (2013-2014)
- Chancellor of Trinity College in Dublin
- UN Special Envoy on Climate (2015-)

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN ARE AN UNTAPPED RESOURCE.

Videos:

- **Why Women Video Clip 4:** *Kholoud Waleed* (pseudonym)
youtu.be/Eilh7MjtRD0?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Syria**

- During the authoritarian rule of President Bashar al-Assad, and his father, Hafez al-Assad, many Syrians privately objected to the widespread state repression and lack of political freedom.
- In March 2011, inspired by the Arab Spring, Syrian youth in the southern city of Deraa painted pro-democracy slogans on the walls of a school, and were then arrested and tortured by the government. This event ignited the revolutionary spark across the country; causing hundreds of thousands of people began organizing protests, demanding for Assad's resignation. Assad's forces violently oppressed people they believed to be affiliated with the protests, resulting in the creation of armed opposition groups including the Free Syrian Army (mid-2011), al-Nusra Front, and smaller, localized militias.
- In late 2011, the disparate members of the opposition organized themselves into the Syrian National Coalition, and later joined with other groups to become the National Coalition for Syrian Revolutionary and Opposition Forces.
- Official numbers state that 470,000 Syrians have been killed during the war (actual numbers are expected to be much higher), 4.8 million have become refugees, and 6.6 million are internally displaced.
- The conflict is made even more complex by the divided involvement of the international community, specifically the United States, Britain, France, Turkey and Gulf states backing the National Coalition, and Russia and Iran backing Assad's government. All international parties to the conflict agree that they are militarily targeting "violent extremist groups", predominantly ISIS, however, they strongly disagree on how to defeat them. Parties to the conflict have refused to negotiate face-to-face and efforts to get them to negotiate in Geneva have failed.
- As of late 2016, the peace talks continue to be stalled due to the lack of confidence between the negotiating parties, the continued violence inside Syria, and disagreement within the international community.

Bio: Kholoud Waleed

- Kholoud is a civil society activist, journalist and founding member of one of the largest networks of women in Syria who led peaceful protests in the beginning of the Syrian conflict and responded to the needs of communities as the conflict continued including delivering humanitarian aid and keeping schools open.
- Further bio details are withheld to protect her identity.

- **Why Women Video Clip 5:** *Lt. General Dan Leaf*
youtu.be/BZGICFarXRQ?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Bio: Lt. General Dan Leaf

- Lt. Gen. Dan Leaf became the Director of the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in January 2012.
- Formerly the Deputy Commander of U.S. Pacific Command (PACOM), Lt. Gen. Leaf retired from the U.S. Air Force in 2008 after more than 33 years of service.

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN HAVE ACCESS BECAUSE THEY'RE VIEWED AS LESS THREATENING.

- **Why Women Video Clip 6:** *Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf*
youtu.be/R-ebDI2Ijv4?list=PLORgIS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Sudan**

- Stemming from the political, economic, religious, and ethnic marginalization of the southern and western regions of the country by the government, the Republic of Sudan has experienced recurrent violence since gaining independence in 1956.
- In 2005, the Comprehensive Peace Agreement was signed, which led to the predominantly Christian south gaining its independence from the predominantly Muslim north in 2011, and the creation of the new country of South Sudan. Tensions remain between the two nations, particularly around border issues and oil.
- The Comprehensive Peace Agreement did not address the conflicts between the government and Darfur, South Kordofan, and the Blue Nile regions, and civilians in these areas continue to experience human rights violations and war crimes at the hands of the government, as well as violence between government forces and the armed political group known as the Sudan People's Liberation Movement-North.
- Many residents of South Kordofan and Blue Nile region identify with the now independent South Sudan, however the Sudanese government did not permit these regions to participate in the referendum to create South Sudan.
- As of early 2016, over 3 million people are internally displaced and over half a million live in refugee camps.

Bio: Roagaia Mustafa Abusharaf

- An anthropologist and accomplished scholar, Rogaia Mustafa Abusharaf focuses on security, human rights protection, and the cultural strategies adopted by displaced women to cope with violence and dislocation, particularly that resulting from the lengthy civil war in Sudan.
- She is currently a visiting associate professor of anthropology at Georgetown University's Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service in Qatar, where her research focuses on the role of Sudanese diaspora communities, particularly those based in Qatar, in the Darfur peace process.
- Prior to joining the Georgetown faculty, Dr. Abusharaf was a senior research associate at the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research at Brown University and a fellow at Harvard Medical School's Bagnoud Institute. She is also a former program officer at the Sudan Development Corporation, overseeing major programs affecting women throughout the country.

- **Why Women Video Clip 7:** *Ruth Caesar*
youtu.be/nyUqqCoMMRQ?list=PLORgIS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Liberia**

- From 1989-2003, Liberia experienced two civil wars that became known as Africa's bloodiest and most destructive conflicts.
- The first war officially began in 1989, when Charles Taylor and his rebel forces invaded Liberia from the Ivory Coast to overthrow Samuel Doe's government. A ceasefire was signed in August 1996, paving the way for elections; Taylor's National Patriotic Party won 75% of the vote amidst accusations of fraud, violence, and voter intimidation. Taylor's presidency did little bring about peace.

- In 1999, another rebel group—Liberians for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)—invaded the country, marking the beginning of the second civil war.
- Between 1999 and 2003, NFLP and rebel forces battled for control, eventually leading to the intervention of UN peacekeeping troops and the signing of a peace agreement in 2003.
- In 2005, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf was elected as the first woman president in Africa later winning the Nobel peace prize in 2011 with activist Leymah Gbowee.
- In 2013 the country was ground zero for a regional outbreak of Ebola.

Bio: Ruth Caesar

- A development economist, Ruth Caesar has focused on issues related to gender, social transformation, and conflict resolution for more than 30 years.
- As Deputy Executive Director for Operations at the National Commission on Disarmament, Demobilization, Rehabilitation, and Reintegration between 2006 and 2009, Ms. Caesar oversaw the implementation and monitoring of programs serving 101,000 ex-combatants.
- Previously, Ms. Caesar represented women and children’s organizations in the National Transitional Legislative Assembly from 2003 to 2005, contributing to 10 conventions addressing trafficking and exploitation. She was also a member of Parliament for the Economic Community of West African States and served as National Coordinator of the Women and Children Affairs Coordination Unit within the Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs.
- As a founding member of the Mano River Women’s Peace Network, Ms. Caesar seeks nonviolent conflict resolution in the four Mano River states, emphasizing negotiation with and among heads of state, leaders of warring factions, and international institutions.
- Presently, she is the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Women NGO Secretariat of Liberia (WONGOSOL).

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN HAVE THEIR FINGERS ON THE PULSE

- **Why Women Video Clip 8:** *Fatuma Abdulkadir Adan*
youtu.be/q_M4NazBjQM?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Northern Kenya**

- Conflict in northern Kenya is largely a result of competition for scarce natural resources. Cattle raids, robbery and inter-communal resource conflicts affect the farming and pastoralist communities of this remote and underdeveloped part of the country.
- Due to the lack of reliable infrastructure and lack of government presence, communities tend to take the law into their own hands by organizing community security forces. Matters are made worse by easy access to small arms across the Ethiopian and Somali borders.
- The region has been particularly vulnerable since March 2013 when widespread violence erupted across the country in response to contested elections. Since then, inter-ethnic violence has erupted sporadically across northern Kenya during election periods since then. Many ethnic militias use unstable border areas to plan and carry out attacks, further contributing to insecurity.

Bio: Fatuma Abdulkadir Adan

- As the daughter of parents from different tribes that remain at war in northern Kenya, Fatuma Abdulkadir Adan knew that change was needed. People from other parts of her country seemed resigned to the idea that “there’s always fighting in the north,” but she rejected the status quo—and determined to do something constructive.
- In 2003, she founded the Horn of Africa Development Initiative (HODI), an internationally recognized NGO that fosters development in northern Kenya and its network members protect and advocate for human rights, basing their action on four pillars: advocacy, education, economic self-sufficiency, and community cohesion.
- HODI particularly focuses on soccer programs for both girls and boys, using sport to engage youth in the peace process. Initially, parents were reluctant to allow their girls to participate, but now some fathers bring their daughters and encourage them. Through sport, Adan and her organizers have also found a channel to address some of the most sensitive social issues without causing a backlash. They encourage girls by talking about the need to “break the silence,” an indirect way to discuss female genital mutilation and child marriage.

- **Why Women Video Clip 9: Vjosa Dobruna**

https://youtu.be/fBXbmNkMmX0?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Kosovo**

- A province of Serbia since 1918, Kosovo long had a large Albanian population (90% in 1989).
- As part of the breakup of the former Yugoslavia, violence broke out in Bosnia and Croatia in 1992 along ethnic and religious lines. Croat and Bosnian Serbs, backed by Serbian president, Slobodan Milosevic, went to war against Croatia and Bosnian Croats and Muslims. Hostilities ended in 1995 with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement.
- In 1998, an Albanian guerrilla movement, the Kosovo Liberation Army, stepped up its attacks on Serb targets within Kosovo.
- Under Milosevic—then President of Yugoslavia—the Yugoslav military retaliated with a brutal campaign that produced massive displacement and a large number of deaths among Kosovo Albanians. The campaign provoked a swift response from NATO in the form of air strikes all over Yugoslavia. The response forced the Yugoslav military to withdraw from Kosovo.
- Until 2008, when Kosovo declared independence, the province was administered by the UN. Reconciliation between the majority Albanians—most of whom supported independence—and the Serb minority remains elusive.

Bio: Vjosa Dobruna

- Pediatrician Vjosa Dobruna collected evidence from victims at sites of massacres and other atrocities and was targeted by Serb special police as a result.
- She created a number of safe houses and clinics for women and children during the war, and is founder of the Center for the Protection of Women and Children.
- Caught up in the flood of refugees during the 1999 “ethnic cleansing,” Dr. Dobruna created a center in Tetova, Macedonia to provide emergency care to traumatized women.

- Vjosa was one of three women appointed to the 20-member UN Joint Interim Administrative Structure of war-ravaged Kosovo.
- She was designated as the Ambassador of the Republic of Kosovo to the Netherlands in June 2013.
- **Why Women Video Clip 10: Aloisea Inyumba**
youtu.be/lhSLNYdYfs0?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Rwanda**

- Rwanda endured one of the worst genocides in modern times. In 1994, an estimated 800,000 Tutsis and moderate Hutus were killed at the hands of extremists over the course of 100 days.
- Rwanda has spent the decades since the genocide rebuilding its government and economy. Civil society and women have been involved from the grassroots through the highest level.
- Women represent 64% of the current lower house of parliament, the highest proportion of any country in the world.
- The country has complemented the modern international war crimes tribunal with traditional indigenous methods in its quest to bring those were involved in the genocide to justice

Bio: Aloisea Inyumba

- Immediately following the genocide, at age 26, Aloisea Inyumba was appointed Minister of Gender and Social Affairs.
- Minister Inyumba created programs to bury the dead, find homes for more than 300,000 women, and resettle refugees.
- After serving as minister, she was the executive secretary of the country's National Unity and Reconciliation Commission, which coordinates and promotes national reconciliation efforts.
- Then, as governor of Kigali-Ngali Province in Rwanda, Aloisea Inyumba was responsible for overall management of the province, including policy coordination and implementation.
- She served as a senator in the upper house of Rwanda's parliament until May 2011 and passed away in December 2012 at the age of 48.

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN DRAW FROM DIFFERENT EXPERIENCES.

- **Why Women Video Clip 11: Senator Mobina Jaffer**
youtu.be/ZSXyOts5Wy8?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Darfur**

- The conflict in Darfur started in 2003 when rebels in Darfur took up arms, accusing the government of neglecting the region. The government responded with a counter-insurgency campaign.
- Since then, civilians have come under attack from government troops, pro-government militia, and rebel groups. Arab militias are also fighting each other, and there are frequent clashes between tribes.
- Levels of violence fell after 2005, but have risen since the start of 2013. Nearly 400,000 people were displaced in the first half of 2014 alone.

Bio: Senator Mobina Jaffer

- Senator Mobina Jaffer represents the province of British Columbia in the Senate of Canada, where she is deputy-chair of the Standing Senate Committee on Legal and Constitutional Affairs. Appointed to the Senate on June 13, 2001 by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, she is the first Muslim senator, the first African-born senator, and the first senator of South Asian descent.
- Most recently Senator Jaffer chaired a Senate study on the sexual exploitation of children in Canada and the need for national action. A champion of Canada's linguistic bilingualism, she advocates measures to advance the use of English and French in communities across Canada.
- Senator Jaffer served as Canada's Special Envoy for Peace in Sudan from 2002 to 2006. From 2002 to 2005, she chaired the Canadian Committee on Women, Peace, and Security. As a grandmother, women's rights and children's rights are central to Senator Jaffer's advocacy.
- An accomplished lawyer, Senator Jaffer has practiced law at the firm Dohm, Jaffer and Jeraj since 1978. Appointed a Queen's Counsel in 1998, Senator Jaffer was the first South Asian woman to practice law in Canada and she has a distinguished record of service to the legal profession.

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN RECOGNIZE EARLY WARNING SIGNALS.

- **Why Women Video Clip 12: Wazhma Frogh**
youtu.be/W_VoYGvEnPU?list=PLORglS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Afghanistan**

- The international conflict in Afghanistan began in 2001 after 9/11 by Western forces. The first goal was to topple the Taliban. The second goal was to build core institutions to replace the Taliban. Finally, the third goal was to counterinsurgency.
- Pres. Barack Obama temporarily increased U.S. troop presence in Afghanistan in 2009. The strategy came coupled with a timetable for the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan; beginning in 2011, security responsibilities would be gradually handed over to the Afghan military and police. The new approach largely failed to achieve its aims. Insurgent attacks and civilian casualties remain high, while many of the Afghan military and police units taking over security duties appeared to be ill-prepared to hold off the Taliban. By the time the U.S. and NATO combat mission formally ended in December 2014, the 13-year Afghanistan War had become the longest war ever fought by the United States.
- The police and military personnel that make up the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) do not have a strong enough presence across the country to adequately address local security concerns and build trust with the civilian population.
- Civil society can be a bridge between security forces and local communities. Engaging women, in particular, can build trust and close information gaps.

Bio: Wazhma Frogh

- Wazhma Frogh, Founder & Director at the Research Institute for Women Peace & Security - Afghanistan, is a women's rights activist who has dedicated herself to advancing the inclusion of women in Afghan society for more than 17 years.
- Ms. Frogh and her co-founder conceptualized RIWPS following their participation in Afghanistan's

Peace Loya Jirga in 2010. Recognizing that the voices and perspectives of women were largely missing from these conversations, they founded RIWPS to promote women's inclusion in peacebuilding. Since then, Ms. Frogh has worked with women leaders from all over the country to ensure that women are utilized as resources for building peace at the local level and that they are meaningfully including in the country's peace process.

- As part of her longstanding activism, Ms. Frogh also continues to lobby for women's inclusion in the security sector. She works with members of the Ministry of Interior, female members of Afghan Parliament, and young women across the country to support recruitment strategies and build awareness of the vital role women play in identifying and addressing security concerns.
- A 2009 recipient of the US Department of State's International Women of Courage award, Ms. Frogh aspires to be a chief justice, citing legal protection as key for women's rights and empowerment.

Why Women Video Clip 13: Alaa Murabit

youtu.be/pAS2D9Lqv70?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: Libya

- The toppling of long-term leader Muammar Gaddafi in 2011 led to a power vacuum and instability, with no authority in full control.
- The National Transitional Council (NTC), a rebel leadership council which had fought to oust the Gaddafi government, declared Libya "liberated" in October 2011 and took over the running of the country. However, it struggled to impose order on the many armed militia that had become active in the months leading up to the ouster of Gaddafi.
- In August 2012 the NTC handed power to the General National Congress (GNC), an elected parliament which went on to select an interim head of state. Voters chose a new parliament to replace the GNC in June 2014 - the Council of Representatives (CoR), which relocated to Tobruk. The former GNC, dominated by Islamists, reconvened shortly afterwards and selected its own prime minister, challenging the authority of the CoR at a time of fighting in which even the capital Tripoli changed hands.
- Since the downfall of Gaddafi, Libya descended into near-anarchy - ruled by rival militias vying for power while the Islamic State group has gained influence in the country. During this time there has been a tremendous uptick in violent extremism by groups such as ISIS.

Bio: Alaa Murabit

- At the age of 15, Alaa Murabit completed high school and moved from Saskatoon, Canada to Zawia, Libya to enroll in medical school. Driven by her desire to challenge societal norms and create inclusive processes, she founded The Voice of Libyan Women (VLW) in 2011 at the age of 21.
- With a strong focus on protesting cultural norms, Ms. Murabit champions women's participation in peace negotiations and conflict mediation. Her programs, such as the groundbreaking "Noor Campaign," which uses Muslim scriptures to denounce violence against women, are replicated internationally.
- Ms. Murabit has been nominated to the UN Security Council Resolution 1325 Global Advisory Board, the UN Women Global Advisory Board, and Harvard University's "Everywoman, Everywhere" initiative. She is the first Libyan Ashoka Fellow; the youngest recipient of the Marisa Bellisario International Humanitarian Award; was named the "International Trust Women Hero 2014" by *The New York Times*; and was listed as "One of 25 women under 25 to watch" in 2013 by *Newsweek*.
- In March 2015, Ms. Murabit was selected as the inaugural civil society speaker at the opening session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women.

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN ARE HIGHLY INVESTED PERSONALLY TO STOP CONFLICT.

- **Why Women Video Clip 14:** *Josephine Perez*

youtu.be/wtVcAVN-P6o?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Philippines**

- A separatist conflict on Mindanao, in the southern Philippines, pitted the Islamic Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) against the national government.
- The conflict claimed more than 160,000 lives and displaced thousands of people over three decades.
- After numerous negotiations, the government gave the predominantly Muslim areas a degree of self-rule, by creating the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao in 1996.
- However, sporadic violence has continued despite a ceasefire because a sub-group rejected the agreement and splintered into another faction, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF).
- After almost two decades of sporadic negotiations, the government (led by a female chief negotiator, Miriam Coronel Ferrer) and MILF signed a peace agreement in January 2014.

Bio: Josephine Perez

- In 2000, an ally rebel group to MILF—Abu Sayyaf—took hostages, including a group of 27 Filipino schoolchildren, teachers, and a priest, on the islands of Jolo and Basilan in the southern Philippines. The children were eventually released, though several were injured and many of the adults were killed.
- Josephine Perez, a social psychologist, assisted in the debriefing of mothers of the hostage victims. The mothers of the children who had already been rescued stayed and supported the mothers who were still waiting.
- After her own initial work was finished, she contacted friends who are clinical psychologists in Manila and arranged for hostages in very serious conditions to be taken to Manila where they were able to receive several therapy sessions as well as medical treatment.
- This experience formed her conviction that the nature of women as mothers is to give and nurture life. The experience also enhanced her belief that healing damage caused by conflict is a key step in building peace.
- Ms. Perez is Director of the Peace Education and Capacity Building Program of the Gaston Z. Ortigas Peace Institute. The initiative institutionalizes and mainstreams civil society's long-term capacity for conflict resolution in Mindanao.

- **Why Women Video Clip 15:** *Visaka Dharmadasa*

youtu.be/j-216a7SLx0?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Sri Lanka**

- Sri Lanka has been ravaged by a long running and bloody civil war, due to ethnic tensions between the Buddhist Sinhalese majority and the Hindu Tamil minority. The conflict is rooted in the colonial preference for the Sinhalese majority which continued with independence, further marginalizing Tamils.
- The civil war started in 1983 between the government and rebel group, the Liberation Tiger of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) who were fighting for an independent state for the Tamil minority. Over the course of the conflict, up to 100,000 people killed and hundreds of thousands of civilians were displaced with both sides being accused of grave human rights abuses.

- After many failed attempts to bring the parties to the peace table, in 2009 after a sustained military offensive, the government declared victory. Despite the declaration, a political solution to the ethnic conflict is still elusive.

Bio: Visaka Dharmadasa

- Visaka Dharmadasa has designed and facilitated Track II dialogue processes in Sri Lanka, bringing together influential civil society leaders. Working to end the civil war that has gripped Sri Lanka for the last 20 years, she educates soldiers, youth, and community leaders about international standards of conduct in war and promotes the economic and social development of women across conflict lines.
- When talks were foundering and leaders of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam refused to speak with members of the Sri Lankan government and Norwegian negotiators, they asked Ms. Dharmadasa, founder of Parents of Servicemen Missing in Action and the Association of War-Affected Women, to carry messages to the government.
- In January 2004, Ms. Dharmadasa authored an analysis on the unraveling of the current peace efforts, which she presented to Yasushi Akashi, Japanese special envoy for the Sri Lankan peace process. That year she also initiated a lawsuit against the Government of Sri Lanka to force DNA testing on soldiers' remains, which would enable families to confirm the death of a loved one in combat—a particularly meaningful success since she has a son missing in action. For this and other work, the President appointed Ms. Dharmadasa to the National Commission Against Proliferation of Illicit Small Arms; she is also a member of the South Asia Small Arms network, working against the misuse of light weapons.

Theme: Solutions & Impact

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN BROADEN SOCIETAL PARTICIPATION BY INCLUDING MARGINALIZED GROUPS.

- **Why Women Video Clip 16:** *Monica McWilliams* (Clip 2 of 2)
youtu.be/rZU5ajbCpmA?list=PLORgJS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Northern Ireland**

- “The Troubles” refers to the period from the civil rights marches in the late 1960s to the 1998 Belfast Agreement.
- This period was a byproduct of the Irish struggle for independence from the UK, which was settled with the 1921 partition of the island between the predominantly Catholic Republic of Ireland and the northern provinces, mostly Protestant and under British control.
- In those 30 years, more than 3,500 people were killed.
- Long before the negotiations officially began, women from both sides of the divide in Northern Ireland had been working together for peace.

Bio: Monica McWilliams

- As far back as 1975, just after the civil rights movement ended, Monica was involved in the women's rights movement, a non-sectarian effort.
- She worked with both Catholics and Protestants throughout The Troubles.

- Monica was a founding member of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition, a cross-community party that focuses on inclusion, human rights, and equality. She led the Coalition in the multi-party negotiations that culminated in the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998.
- In several instances during the peace talks that led to the Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland, male negotiators walked out of sessions, leaving a small number of women, like Monica McWilliams and other members of the Northern Ireland Women’s Coalition, at the table. These women focused on mutual concerns and shared vision, enabling the dialogue to continue and trust to be rekindled.
- She served as a representative in the new Northern Ireland Assembly from 1998 until 2003 and as Chief Commissioner of the Human Rights Commission from 2005 to 2011.

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN INCREASE OPERATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS OF SECURITY FORCES.

- **Why Women Video Clip 17:** *Samira Hamidi*
youtu.be/WipnPkY4-pc?list=PLORglS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Afghanistan**

- The international conflict in Afghanistan began in 2001 after 9/11 by Western forces. The first goal was to topple the Taliban. The second goal was to build core institutions to replace the Taliban. Finally, the third goal was to counterinsurgency.
- Pres. Barack Obama temporarily increased U.S. troop presence in Afghanistan in 2009. The strategy came coupled with a timetable for the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan; beginning in 2011, security responsibilities would be gradually handed over to the Afghan military and police. The new approach largely failed to achieve its aims. Insurgent attacks and civilian casualties remain high, while many of the Afghan military and police units taking over security duties appeared to be ill-prepared to hold off the Taliban. By the time the U.S. and NATO combat mission formally ended in December 2014, the 13-year Afghanistan War had become the longest war ever fought by the United States.
- The police and military personnel that make up the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) do not have a strong enough presence across the country to adequately address local security concerns and build trust with the civilian population.
- Civil society can be a bridge between security forces and local communities. Engaging women, in particular, can build trust and close information gaps.

Bio: Samira Hamidi

- Samira Hamidi conducts research and evaluation and organizes trainings on women’s rights, human rights, and civil society issues. She is also a Board Member of the Afghan Women’s Network, comprised of more than 90 women’s organizations and 5,000 individuals. Previously she was director of AWN, where she worked with civil society groups, the government, and UN agencies.
- Ms. Hamidi has contributed to the women’s rights agenda through her different roles and responsibilities since 2004. She has focused on policy advocacy; contributed to strategic decisions on the women’s empowerment agenda; designed and conducted conferences, trainings, workshops and advocacy events; and participated in lobby initiatives at the national and international level. As a gender coordinator for the UN Development Programme, Ms. Hamidi convinced the Afghan Interior Ministry to

establish a department to ensure that gender is considered in every policy decision. She organized the first training for senior ministry officials on UN Security Council Resolution 1325, which requires that women be fully involved in every part of a peace process, and she led a six-week course for more than 300 police officers on ending violence against women.

- Ms. Hamidi was a member participant of the National Peace Consultative Jirga in 2010 and Loya Jirga in 2011. She was an elected civil society speaker to the Tokyo International Conference on Afghanistan in 2012.
- She received a national award in 2010 acknowledging AWN's critical role in the peace process and received the Afghan Presidential Medal for her participation in the National Peace Consultative Jirga.

WHY WOMEN ARGUMENT: WOMEN COUNTER VIOLENT EXTREMISM.

- **Why Women Video Clip 18: Mossarat Qadeem**
youtu.be/VxhFjL43OEE?list=PLORgIS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Pakistan**

- Pakistan was founded in 1947 when Great Britain partitioned the subcontinent into mostly Hindu India and mostly Muslim Pakistan.
- Partition caused enormous population transfer and many subsequent territorial disputes manifesting in three civil wars, in particular over the divided state of Kashmir with India and over the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with Afghanistan.
- Sectarian and ethnic conflict have been regular occurrences since partition throughout the country manifesting in violence between religious and ethnic groups, particularly targeting minorities.
- Plagued by geo-political, ethnic, and sectarian-driven violence, Pakistan has experienced volatile insecurity with the rise of terrorism. In 2011 alone, there were three thousand recorded instances of violent attacks resulting from ethno-political violence, terrorist attacks, operations by security forces against militants, inter-tribal and cross-border clashes, and drone strikes, rendering Pakistan's conflict among the most deadly in the world.

Bio: Mossarat Qadeem

- Mossarat Qadeem, works with young men who are being recruited by the Taliban and other extremist groups. Often approached by mothers who are first to recognize signs of radicalization in their sons, she reads to them from the Quran to show that the Taliban's orders are against the teachings of Islam.
- Mossarat and her organization, PAIMAN Alumni Trust, have worked with over 655 mothers to deradicalize 1,024 young men. Paiman established the country's first center for conflict transformation and peace-building, reaching thousands of young people and women across the Federally Administered Tribal Areas and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province.
- She brings to her work the knowledge and experience gained during her 14 years as a political science teacher at the University of Peshawar, where she also served as Assistant Director of the Women's Study Centre. She helped found the regional South Asia Women's Peace Forum and now works across the region on women's political participation and conflict transformation.

- **Why Women Video Clip 19:** *Rangina Hamidi*
youtu.be/Q0e8lUrEiRM?list=PLORglS8zewShpM_Hjfm1KU9QHd9XGyQS2

Conflict Background: **Afghanistan**

- The international conflict in Afghanistan began in 2001 after 9/11 by Western forces. The first goal was to topple the Taliban. The second goal was to build core institutions to replace the Taliban. Finally, the third goal was to counterinsurgency.
- Pres. Barack Obama temporarily increased U.S. troop presence in Afghanistan in 2009. The strategy came coupled with a timetable for the withdrawal of the foreign forces from Afghanistan; beginning in 2011, security responsibilities would be gradually handed over to the Afghan military and police. The new approach largely failed to achieve its aims. Insurgent attacks and civilian casualties remain high, while many of the Afghan military and police units taking over security duties appeared to be ill-prepared to hold off the Taliban. By the time the U.S. and NATO combat mission formally ended in December 2014, the 13-year Afghanistan War had become the longest war ever fought by the United States.
- The police and military personnel that make up the Afghan National Security Forces (ANSF) do not have a strong enough presence across the country to adequately address local security concerns and build trust with the civilian population.
- Civil society can be a bridge between security forces and local communities. Engaging women, in particular, can build trust and close information gaps.

Bio: Rangina Hamidi

- As Founder and President of Kandahar Treasure, the first women's private enterprise in Kandahar, Rangina Hamidi believes that women are the critical ingredient to transforming Kandahar's long history of violence. Her business provides opportunities for 400 Afghan women to both improve their own lives by achieving economic independence and build their influence for peace by leveraging their economic power. Formerly, she managed the Women's Income Generation Project with Afghans for Civil Society, a grassroots organization dedicated to the social development of southern Afghanistan.
- At the age of four, Ms. Hamidi escaped Soviet-occupied Afghanistan. Since her return to Kandahar in 2003, she has been recognized internationally for her work with women, selected as one of 18 finalists for the CNN 2007 Hero Award, and chosen as a "Personality of the Week" by Radio Free Europe in January 2008.
- Ms. Hamidi has led groundbreaking networks for women, pioneering weekly women's meetings and social programs that led to a historic march for peace at the Kherqua Shrine in March 2009. She has contributed to numerous publications and radio programs, including TIMES Asia Magazine, The Globe and Mail, Der Spiegel, Business Week, The Guardian, The Telegraph, NPR, BBC, and Voice of America.



Activity 1.7 Advocacy Practices

Background for Facilitator

This activity will give participants an opportunity to reflect on what qualities make someone an effective advocate. When you have more time with groups with more experience with advocacy, this is an opportunity to share personal stories.

Adjust the advocacy practices to fit the group and context. The practices are not universal and there are many situations and contexts in which some of them will not be relevant or required to be an effective advocate. The purpose of this exercise is to get participants thinking about their own strengths and contributions. Be aware that participants can sometimes be hesitant to discuss their strengths.

Materials Needed

Advocacy Practices handout; Practices of An Effective Advocate handout; flipchart; post-its

Learning objectives

Participants are able to identify the range of qualities that make advocates effective and identify their strengths as it relates to those qualities.

Time 60 minutes

Instructions – Part 1

For groups with less experience with advocacy

Ask participants to think of the most effective advocate they know. Tell them to write down what qualities that make him or her so effective (personal reflection, 5 minutes). Invite participants to share in pairs. While they are discussing, draw a picture of a woman on a flipchart.

Invite participants to share the quality or characteristic and their specific example with the large group. As they share, write down the qualities around the picture of the woman on the flipchart. Once you have a good list, proceed with the presentation.

For groups with more experience with advocacy

Distribute Advocacy Practices handout (see annex) and ask participants to reflect individually on the following questions: (10 minutes)

- Think of a time when you had a lot of success as an advocate.
 - What was the problem you were trying to address?
 - What happened specifically?
 - What qualities did you exhibit?

Depending on the time available, have participants tell their stories in small groups (5 minutes each). While they are discussing, draw a picture of a woman on a flipchart.

Ask participants to identify 3 qualities from their examples and write them on post-its. Have one person from each group share and put them on a flipchart at the front of the room. Invite reflections from the group about what they learned from this exercise.

Facilitator talking points

- There is lots of research about what qualities make someone a better leader, but no consensus.
- We've met with women all over the world and asked what they think are the qualities that make someone an effective advocate. We came up with seven practices:
 - **Inspires a Shared Vision:** Effective advocates work with people around them to create a vision for the change they want to see and keep people focused on that change.
 - **Takes Strategic Action:** Advocacy requires analysis of the root causes of the problem you are trying to address, nuanced understanding of the systems and processes you are trying to change, and strategic choices about how to translate strategy into effective action.
 - **Builds Strong Relationships and Networks:** Building and maintaining relationships with people is a cornerstone of effective advocacy, whether it is allies, decision makers or constituents. Effective advocates build intentional, strong, trusting relationships as the foundation for effective action.
 - **Build the Leadership of Others:** Effective advocates understand they are not the only bright star in the sky. They help the people around them reach their full potential.
 - **Encourages the Heart:** Effective advocates have a strong sense of their own purpose and can help other people connect with and articulate their own. When people connect to the purpose of what they are doing and articulate why the change they seek is important, this can contribute to increased motivation to sustain the work, especially when it gets challenging. Since advocacy is often a long term process that is often carried out in difficult circumstances, keeping people focused on the “why” is critical. Advocates are not only more effective when they act from purpose, but also when they are able to connect to the purpose in others.
 - **Bridges Divides:** Effective advocates model the inclusion they seek by reaching across divides. Using the skills of dialogue, open communication and
 - **Speaks for Constituencies:** Effective advocates draw their legitimacy from the people they work with and for, and work to strengthen communities.

Instructions – Part 2

Depending on time, there are a few options to help participants connect their personal stories to the advocacy practices.

Option 1 (more time)

Pass out [Practices of an Effective Advocate](#) handout (see annex) and ask for examples of stories that were shared in the small groups that exemplify each. Pick the number of participants you want to hear from. Remind them to keep their stories short and specific. Be sure to ask the group if there are other leadership practices exemplified in the story, as there are often overlaps.

Option 2 (less time)

Pass out [Practices of an Effective Advocate](#) handout and have participants discuss in their same small groups which practices they exercised in the stories they shared and for them to select one participant's story to share with the group that best exemplifies one of the practices.

Debrief

Discussion Questions

- Are these advocacy practices widely accepted in our societies?
- Are there similar themes or situations that occurred in many of our stories?
- What practices do you do well? Which would you like to improve on?

Facilitator Talking Points

- There is no set skill set or behaviors that will make someone a better advocate than another. Not all practices will be relevant to different contexts and situations as well. These practices are not meant to make you feel limited, rather they are meant to consider the range of strengths that women leaders bring to this multi-faceted work.
- It is also important to note that the best advocates work together to leverage the strengths of individuals within their group. In later modules, we will talk about how to organize groups to take advantage of these strengths.



Presentation 1.8 Conclusion

Background for Facilitator

This section provides an overview of the module's key takeaways.

Facilitator Talking Points

- Advocacy is the planned, deliberate, and sustained effort to advance an agenda for change. It is about changing policies and programs of institutions to promote systemic change. Unlike direct service delivery, which confronts visible problems, advocacy addresses the deeper, root causes of problems.
- Advocacy is strengthened when it is done with other people so relationships with a range of actors are critical to its success. Mobilization is the work of engaging allies, partners and constituencies to come together and advance a strategy for change.
- Advocacy is a strategic, non-linear process that becomes more effective with advanced planning.

ANNEX

Defining Advocacy

Instructions: Circle everything that applies to the term advocacy.

People participating in decision making processes which affect their lives

Drawing a community's attention to an important issue, and directing decision makers towards that solution

Actions directed at changing the policies, positions, or programs of any type of institution

Awareness raising about the risks of early child marriage

Community policing programs

Providing communities with wells and health services

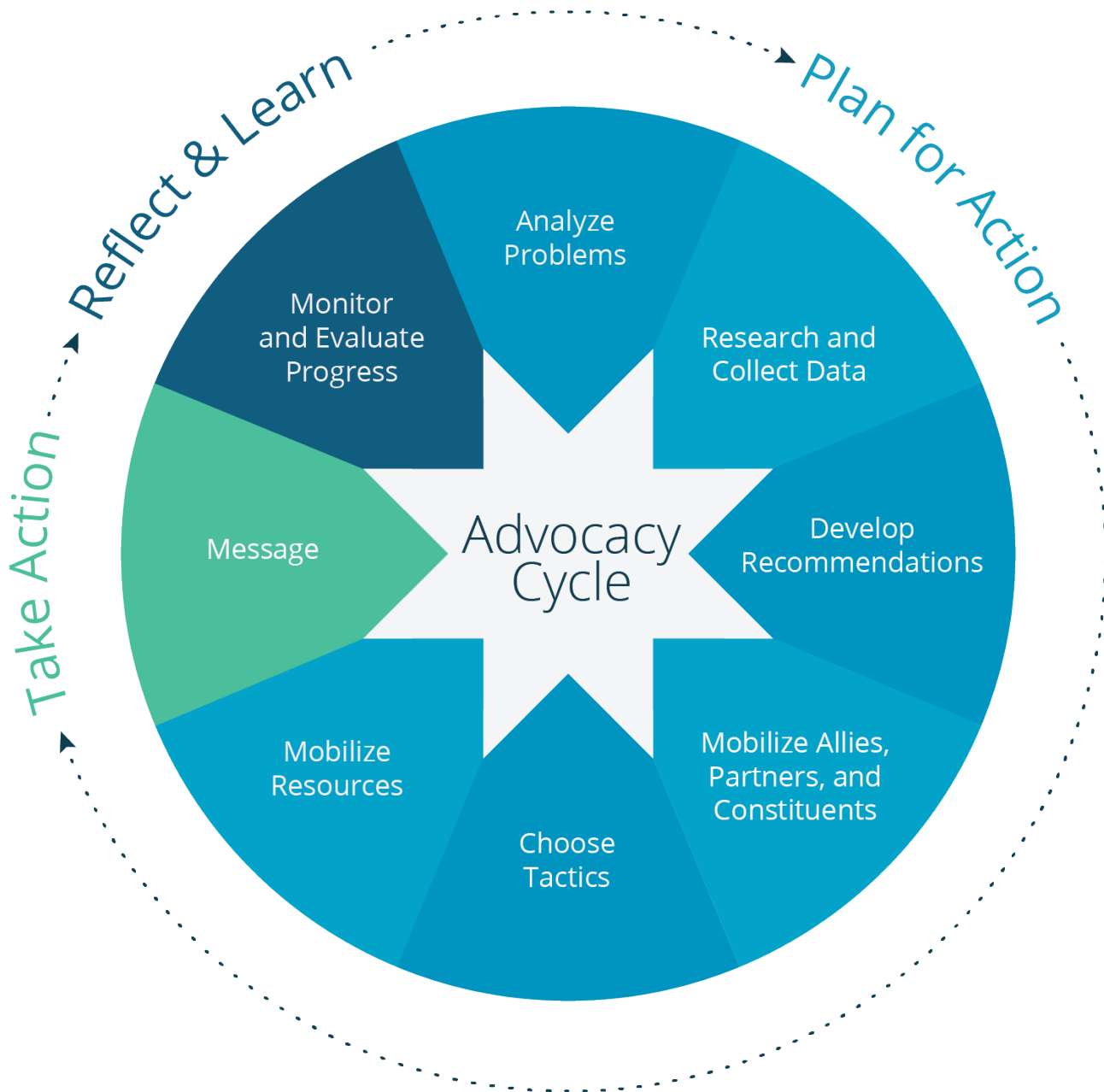
Different strategies aimed at influencing decision making at the organizational, local, provincial, national and international levels

Psychosocial healing programs for victims of conflict

Delivering humanitarian aid

Putting a problem on the agenda, providing solutions to that problem and building support for acting on both the problem and the solution

The Advocacy Cycle



Women Mobilizing for Peace

What change were the women in this story trying to make?

What problems were they trying to address?

What advocacy strategies and tactics did they use?

What decision makers were they targeting? Who were their allies and partners?

What were their messages?

Are there any lessons that are transferrable from this context to your own?

WOMEN MOBILIZING FOR PEACE – LIBERIA¹

Conflict Background

From 1989-2003, Liberia experienced two civil wars that became known as Africa's bloodiest and most destructive conflicts. The first war officially began in 1989, when Charles Taylor and his rebel forces invaded Liberia from the Ivory Coast to overthrow Samuel Doe's government. A ceasefire was signed in August 1996, paving the way for elections; Taylor's National Patriotic Party won 75% of the vote amidst accusations of fraud, violence, and voter intimidation. Taylor's presidency did little bring about peace. In 1999, another rebel group—Liberians for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD)—invaded the country, marking the beginning of the second civil war. Between 1999 and 2003, NFLP and rebel forces battled for control, eventually leading to the intervention of UN peacekeeping troops and the signing of a peace agreement in 2003.

Women's Mobilization

In 2001, the Women in Peacebuilding Network (WIPNET) launched which was the first regional network in East Africa working across borders for peace. Women gathered in countries across East Africa to understand each others' experiences of conflict, build their skills and help each other channel their emotional pain into political action. Liberian member Leymah Gbowee described these sessions, "Just as group sharing of pain let women understand all they [had] in common with their sisters, these exercises gave ordinary women a glimpse of their own power."²

During this time, the war in Liberia worsened. Christian and Muslim members of WIPNET were gathering in small groups to pray for peace. A Muslim WIPNET member named Asatu Bah Kenneth reached out to the Christian group and asked them to join forces. Working across religious divides, the women began to take action, visiting churches, mosques and markets spreading the same message, "Liberian women, awake for peace!" In the beginning, there was mistrust between the Muslims and Christians since the different armed militias were religiously aligned. Doing joint workshops and creating slogans like "Does the bullet know Christian from Muslim? Does the bullet pick and choose?," they built trust. In December 2002, they began organizing peace marches that shocked Monrovia. Using their connections with the media, including local newspapers and radio stations, they began making public statements and press releases with one single demand:

"The women of Liberia want peace now!" Their demands were nonpartisan, simple and clear: the government and rebels had to declare an immediate and unconditional cease-fire; the government and rebels had to talk; and they wanted an intervention force sent to Liberia.

This was a direct provocation to President Taylor, who threatened to publicly flog anyone who tried to embarrass his administration. Despite the risk, the women gave President Taylor three days to respond to the demands, and then staged a sit in. While these protests might appear to some to be a spontaneous uprising prompted by emotion, there was nothing spontaneous about it. WIPNET was highly organized and strategic, forming committees to handle different jobs, such as working with the media and finding buses to bring in women from the internally displaced camps. Every night, a core group met at the WIPNET office and spent hours going over what had happened that day and assigning roles to members of their group with different talents.

¹ This case study was adapted from Gbowee, Leymah with Carol Mither, *Might Be Our Powers* (New York: Beast Books, 2011).

² *Ibid.*, 117.

In May 2003, peace talks were scheduled. Knowing they had to take immediate action, seven members from WIPNET flew to Ghana two weeks before the talks began and begin mobilizing Liberian women in refugee camps to their cause. They linked up with MARWOPNET, a woman's group who had been designated status as observers of the talks. MARWOPNET agreed to give the WIPNET women information about what was happening during the talks and the two groups issued daily joint press releases that garnered significant attention in the media. By the start of the talks, over 500 women protested outside the conference hall, demanding peace.

Violence was escalating in Monrovia as the peace talks dragged on. After hearing about a reported bombing outside their offices in Monrovia, WIPNET members knew they had to take more direct action. Rather than protesting outside the conference hall, Leymah Gbowee led 200 women into the main entrance to the meeting room where the negotiating representatives were gathered. They linked arms, forming a chain and handed a note to the lead mediator—General Abubakar, who they had been cultivating as an ally— stating that they were holding the delegates hostage until the peace talks began to bear fruit. With the media and international community following every move, they called on the negotiators to get serious and to treat the women with respect, stating that they were fed up with the war and the killing, and that they would continue their sit-in until the peace talks moved forward.

While the war in Liberia did not end that day in July, the women's actions marked the beginning of the end. Soon after, West African peacekeeping troops arrived in Liberia and the talks began to be productive. Taylor resigned from his presidency and went into exile; and on 17 August 2003, the Taylor, LURD, and MODEL representatives signed the Accra Comprehensive Peace Agreement, which established a transitional government. The women of Liberia stood up to the most powerful and dangerous warlords on the African continent, ultimately helping to end a fourteen year civil war and demonstrating that "when the powerless start to see that they really can make a difference, nothing can quench the fire."³

2 Ibid., 151.

WOMEN MOBILIZING FOR PEACE – KENYA¹

Wangari Maathai was a well-known political, environmental, and women's rights activist who founded the Green Belt Movement (GBM), a grassroots organization whose main goal is poverty reduction and environmental conservation. Maathai's work as an activist began with the National Council of Women of Kenya when she noticed women complaining about not having enough firewood or water to cook as a result of deforestation that had been depleting the soil and drying up rivers. The deforestation was caused by President Moi's exploitive policies to seize land that belonged to communities and selling them to private investors for his own gain, leaving communities with nothing. This environmental degradation depleted critical crop supplies, which created rising tensions in communities who could not provide for themselves. Maathai also noticed that it had a negative effect on women and children's health. In 1977, Maathai founded the GBM, using small funds to provide women stipends for planting trees, the women in turn taught others in their local communities to plant trees and the movement grew.

When President Moi's government felt threatened by the GBM's activities, his regime passed a law requiring citizens to apply for licenses to farm land. Maathai organized workshops to teach women about their basic human rights, helping them understand the root causes of the problems they were facing in their daily lives and how these related to broader policies at the political and social level. While the GBM started as a tree-planting campaign, it became a catalyst for community empowerment and mobilization. According to Maathai, "You cannot protect the environment unless you empower people, unless you inform them, and make them understand that their resources are our own, and that they need to fight to protect them."²

In 1989, when President Moi announced plans to build a skyscraper and statue of himself in Uhuru Park, Nairobi's largest green space, using funds from international donors. Maathai sent letters of protest to numerous stakeholders, including the international financiers, convincing them why such a building would be detrimental. This garnered significant media attention—and anger from President Moi, who was responsible for the period of political repression when any form of opposition was illegal. As a result of Maathai's protests and the negative press surrounding the project, the investors withdrew their support. Maathai saw this as the turning point, representing a moment in which communities stood up against a dictator and "showed the people of Kenya that no matter who you are or how small you are, just one person can make a difference."³

Maathai's political activism continued when in 1992, she mobilized groups of women to demand the release of their missing sons and husbands who had been arrested as political prisoners. In addition to advocating to the attorney general to have them freed, the women gathered at Freedom Corner in Uhuru Park to draw attention to the government's abuse and mistreatment of citizens, launching a four-day public protest and hunger strike. Men also joined their ranks, some of whom had faced torture while in prison and were willing to share their stories publicly for the first time. By the fourth day, almost 1000 people had gathered to rally, and the women held sessions where they talked to the crowds about democracy and basic human rights. President Moi's government responded with force, cracking down on the group and beating Maathai so severely she was in a coma. Again, due to the political pressure, press coverage, and international outrage, President Moi agreed to free the prisoners; and women won another battle against the repressive regime.

1 This case study was adapted from the film Alan Dater and Lisa Merton, *Taking Root: The Vision of Wangari Maathai* (Marlboro Productions, 2008). Additional sources include: "Wangari Maathai: Bibliography," *The Greenbelt Movement*, www.greenbeltmovement.org/wangari-maathai/bibliography; Gray Phombeah, "Moi's Legacy to Kenya," *BBC News*, August 5 2002, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/afrika/2161868.stm.

2 Dater and Merton, *Taking Root*.

3 Ibid.

In 1992, Kenya's first multi-party elections sparked ethnic clashes, killing 12 people. This opened Maathai's eyes to the connection between conflict and natural resources, since those in power often took lands from other tribes, marginalizing and inciting violence between ethnic groups. Realizing that water and land was scarce, Maathai knew that Kenya would be threatened by conflict if natural resources weren't managed properly and shared equitably. The GBM began hosting Civic and Environmental Education Seminars in local communities, teaching citizens to map the root causes of their conflicts and identifying solutions to address them. Maathai also started meeting with tribal elders, who hold enormous clout and political power in Kenyan culture, to appeal to them to not engage in violence. Ultimately, the community seminars taught people about governance, human rights, and conflict analysis, empowering local citizens to start asking questions about policies that were detrimental to their rights, their land, and their livelihoods, and to start speaking up for and protecting their common interests.

Over the next few years, the GBM continued to gain traction and mobilize communities to fight for the environment while ethnic conflict worsened; Maathai was also arrested on numerous occasions and was forced to flee the country for fear of her life. Upon her return to Kenya in 1998, she learned of the government's plan to privatize large sections of Karua Forest outside Nairobi and give it to political supporters. Maathai and the GBM organized a protest against the land grab. When the group attempted to plant trees of peace, the forest guards violently attacked them. Supporters in the media got this on film, which attracted international outrage and sparked student protests. A year of mass protests against land grabbing followed, and in 1999, President Moi canceled construction plans and announced banned the allocation of public land for private use.

In 2002, Maathai ran for parliament and won 98% of the vote; President Moi lost the presidential elections. During her tenure in government, she served as the Assistant Minister in the Ministry for Environment and Natural Resources and founded the Mazingira Green Party of Kenya, whose platform embodied the GBM's ideals. She also worked with the military and encouraged them to "hold a gun in their left hand and a tree in their right,"⁴ ultimately working with security forces to help protect communities and their land, not exploit them. The GMB has since planted over 35 million trees in Kenya, and Maathai's legacy of linking the environment with democracy and peace continues to resonate around the world. In her own words, her work was always rooted in the perspectives of those most affected by the problems, "It's the people who must save the environment. It's the people who must make their leaders change. And we cannot be intimidated. We must stand up for what we believe in."

4 Ibid.

WOMEN MOBILIZING FOR PEACE – NORTHERN IRELAND¹

Conflict Background

The roots of Northern Ireland's ethno-nationalist conflict trace centuries back to when Protestant settlers from England and Scotland moved to the island, displacing the native, mostly Catholic Irish inhabitants. Ireland was granted limited independence in 1921; however, six mainly Protestant counties in the north remained under British rule, and societal divisions arose between those who wished to establish an independent, united Ireland (called nationalists or republicans) and those who wanted to remain joined with Britain (called unionists or loyalists). "The Troubles" refers to the period from 1960s to the 1990s, where peaceful demonstrations over civil rights issues turned into violent struggle. Over the 30 years, more than 3,500 people were killed and 47,000 were injured. By the mid '90s, the British and Irish governments agreed to sponsor all-party talks, which ultimately resulted in the Belfast (or Good Friday) Agreement that ended the conflict in April 1998. In June 1996, the process to establish all-party talks began. Representatives for the talks were chosen through public elections with the intent of including all the paramilitary groups in the political negotiations. Each of the 18 territories elected 5 representatives, who were joined by 2 representatives from the 10 most successful parties in the elections, allowing for 110 delegates to participate in the peace process. While this format enabled citizens from outside the mainstream parties to participate, it did not explicitly establish mechanisms for non-mainstream political actors to be included, such as women or members of civil society.

Women's Mobilization

Long before the negotiations began, the women of Northern Ireland had begun working together towards peace. As far back as 1975, just after the Civil Rights movement ended, women like Monica McWilliams were involved in the women's rights movement and working with both Catholics and Protestants which continued even at the height of conflict. Believing that the political leaders involved in the negotiations would not take into account women's issues or their representation seriously, women activists with long histories of civil, worker, and human rights engagement formed the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC). Importantly, the members included both unionists and nationalists, and came from a spectrum of professional and social backgrounds. While the coalition's initial goal was to lobby the political parties to include women in their candidate lists for the negotiation delegate elections, their requests were ultimately ignored; so, they formed their own all-women's political party to contest the elections. To date, it is the only political party in the world that was founded by women and had elected representatives who participated in peace talks.

The coalition held their first public meeting in Belfast, where about 150 members participated. Subsequently, they held at least once-weekly meetings with about 60 members to debate and develop key positions around which focus their platform, ultimately deciding to run on the three core principles of equality, human rights, and inclusion. To maintain transparency and identify the issues that mattered most to women from across the political spectrum, rotating chairs facilitated meetings and participants were asked to "take their identity baggage into the room with them...and acknowledge their differences up front" – a rare practice in such a divided context. Once they honed their platform, the women mass mobilized across their

1 This case study was adapted from Kate Fearon, "Northern Ireland Women's Coalition: institutionalizing a political voice and ensuring representation," *Conciliation Resources*, 2002, www.c-r.org/sites/c-r.org/files/accord_13_16Northern_Ireland_women%27s_coalition_2002_ENG.pdf.

various networks and organizations to “get out the vote.” Despite a lack of resources, their connections with local communities proved vital to their success. A community college provided rooms out of which they organized the campaign; some individuals gave donations; and an anonymous donation and print shop helped pay for fliers and other campaign materials. The NIWC finished 9th place in the popular elections, thus securing the women two seats at the negotiation table. To select the delegates, the NIWC held an open meeting and voted on women who had been included on the regional candidate lists.

After a year into the formal negotiation process, the NIWC became an official political party to formalize the coalition’s decision-making procedures. They developed an internal constitution that instituted annual elections of 12-15 members, who formed an executive committee charged with making formal policy decisions. Membership remained open and fluid, however, to maintain the bi-community balance and allow for broader participation in the group’s decision-making process. The NIWC’s participation in the negotiations impacted both the peace agreement’s outcome as well as the political culture in Northern Ireland, which was largely due to the inclusive, collaborative strategies the coalition adopted to push the process forward. For instance, the NIWC “remained true to their NGO roots and kept their feet firmly in both the world of electoral politics and...public activism.” The coalition held monthly membership meetings and maintained consistent contact with community leaders about specific issues on the table at the negotiations. They used these meetings to inform their communities about the status of the talks—allowing for greater transparency—as well as to get their opinions on certain issues. Based on these conversations, they also drafted formal position papers that had community backing and buy-in, which they fed into the talks. Because of their consistent communication with civil society, they helped bring issues to the table that proved vital to the peace process’s success, such as victims’ rights and reconciliation. Eventually, “the Women’s Coalition was central to the process of formulating clauses on equality, human rights, decommissioning of weapons, and [the creation of] a civic forum.”²

When the Belfast Agreement was finalized, it had to pass a public referendum before taking effect. Again, the NIWC’s linkages to civil society enabled them to promote the Agreement more so than any other party involved. Working across numerous constituencies, the NIWC drafted a “user-friendly” version of the document that the lay public could more readily understand; they also organized public debates and supported “a civil-society led “Yes” campaign to mobilize citizens behind the peace agreement. The referendum passed by 72 percent—a resounding success.

The NIWC not only put women’s political participation “on the map” in Ireland, but their involvement in the talks institutionalized broader civil society inclusion in both politics and formal negotiations, which had great historic and political significance.

2 “Address by Margaret Ward, Director of the Women’s Resource and Development Agency, Belfast, Northern Ireland,” Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, March 11, 2009, www.osce.org/gender/36863.

Advocacy Practices

Instructions: Think of a time when you had a lot of success in your advocacy, activism or peacebuilding work.

What was the problem you were trying to address?

What happened specifically?

What qualities or characteristics did you exhibit?

Practices of an Effective Advocate

- **INSPIRES A SHARED VISION**

Effective advocates work with people around them to create a vision for the change they want to see and keep people focused on that change.

- **TAKES STRATEGIC ACTION**

Effective advocates understand the root causes of the problems they want to address, create a strategy to address those problems and translates strategy into effective action.

- **BUILDS STRONG RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS**

Effective advocates build intentional, strong, trusting relationships as the foundation for effective action.

- **BUILD THE LEADERSHIP OF OTHERS**

Effective advocates understand they are not the only bright star in the sky. They help the people around them reach their full potential.

- **ENCOURAGE THE HEART**

Effective advocates are connected to their own purpose and are able to mobilize hope in others.

- **BRIDGE DIVIDES**

Effective advocates model the inclusion they seek by reaching across divides.

- **SPEAK FOR CONSTITUENCIES**

Effective advocates draw their legitimacy from the people they work with and for, and work to strengthen communities.

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