PANEL 3: ADDRESSING NEEDS and RIGHTS on the WOMEN’S FRONTLINE

- Increase CONSCIOUSNESS in society and MOBILIZE!
- One MILLION SIGNATURES campaign for EQUAL RIGHTS
- They CAN'T CARE about family law
- Let's talk about it
- Process is more important than result
- Organized crime attacks against women
- International organizations hire protection
- Feminicides
- 5,000 women killed
- Loss of social value, isolation, loss of cultural identity, violence, pain
- How to build the web BETWEEN US?
  - Gather resources and SHARE them
  - Name what is NORMAL as ABNORMAL
  - Claim the ALTERNATIVE now
  - Monitor how issues are being addressed

KENYA
- Post-election violence
- Politicians have done nothing
- Vote now
- Let me help you

GUATEMALA
- Shia violence against women
- Abuse of women are NOT MET

ZIMBABWE
- From liberation to DEMOCRACY
- I’ll dictate policy
- I’ll dictate policy

IRAN
- Sexual education is needed
- Confrontation in society
- Mobilize!

CORRUPTION
- Build CONNECTIONS
- Fly under the radar
- Direct action groups
- Human rights defenders network
- Help women SURVIVE and imagine an alternative

How to build the web BETWEEN US?
- Gather resources and SHARE them
- Name what is NORMAL as ABNORMAL
- Claim the ALTERNATIVE now
- Monitor how issues are being addressed

Jennifer Shepherd
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INTRODUCTION

A CALL TO ACTION FROM THE NOBEL PEACE LAUREATES

On a late spring afternoon, a board sat cluttered with colourful post-it notes. Each contained a personal commitment – one action – to end sexual violence in conflict. Each resolution unique, with every author having different resources and background, but all answering the call.

130 women activists, security experts, academics, journalists, and corporate leaders from 30 countries gathered with Nobel Peace Laureates Jody Williams, Shirin Ebadi, and Mairead Maguire in Montebello, Quebec from May 23-25, 2011 to brainstorm and devise new strategies to end sexual violence as a weapon of war.

Jody Williams’ main message was that civil society has to come together to apply consistent pressure on national governments and the international community to act to end rape in war and other forms of gender-based violence. Sexual violence is now recognized as a crime against humanity and war crime in international law. But, Williams emphasized, “Laws are lovely on paper. They are irrelevant if they are not implemented and complied with.”

Building on the concept that every act of violence is a choice that begins with unkind words at home, Shirin Ebadi noted that violence comes in many forms from domestic violence, unfair laws and patriarchal traditions resulting in brutality, female genital mutilation, and to rape as a weapon of war.

Ebadi stressed the need to address the roots of violence against women in order to establish a more peaceful world.

The Nobel Laureates agreed that working to end rape in war does not imply that we are content to simply make war “safer for women.” As Williams explained, undertaking the continuum of violence on which rape lies is a process. By focusing on sexual violence and women’s security, the larger context of conflict and militarism can be addressed.

While we often think sexual violence is happening only in “far away lands,” rape occurs everywhere Mairead Maguire told the group. She called for courage in developing a new mindset, based on non-violence and a global dignity that moves beyond gender.

The following report testifies to the dynamic conversation held over the three days in Montebello. We bring you the expertise, as well as the passion held by participants – to share their concerns, strategies and personal stories in the struggle to establish a more secure and peaceful global community for women.
THE FACTS

20,000-80,000 raped in Nanjing, China 1937
200,000 raped in Bangladesh 1971
40,000 raped in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1991-1994
500,000 raped in Rwanda 1994
64,000 raped in Sierra Leone 1991-2002
3,000 raped in Kenya’s post-elections violence 2008
More than 2,000 raped in Zimbabwe’s post-election violence 2008
More than a thousand raped everyday in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan

RAPE AS OLD AS WAR: Etched into marble statues of the finest art museums of the world is the tale of Romans assaulting women from the neighbouring tribe of Sabine. No one can argue that rape during war is an original concept, with battles throughout centuries waged over women’s bodies as often as on fields and in forests. The deliberate tactical use of sexual violence against a population, rather than viewing women simply as “spoils of war,” has become distinctly visible in recent years during conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Rwanda, and Sierra Leone.

RAPE AS A WEAPON OF WAR: The clear recognition of rape as a weapon of war emerged during the civil conflicts of the 1990s. State or non-aligned military actors have employed sexual violence against enemies, as well as the general population. Sexual violence includes penetration, forced rape between victims, sexual slavery, forced pregnancy or sterilization, mutilation, objects inserted into victim’s cavities, or murder by shooting victims in the vagina. The international community has recognized sexual violence against both genders as a war crime and crime against humanity.

"We have different ways of doing things and different cultures, different traditions. But there is one thing we share in common round this room, we all have hearts... That’s our challenge, to build a civilization with a heart."  

Mairead Maguire, Nobel Peace Laureate
RAPE AS GENOCIDE: Sexual violence can be part of a strategy to commit genocide – the “deliberate and systematic destruction of a group” based on ethnic, racial, religious, or national identity. Women are deliberately infected with HIV or impregnated and held until it is too late to abort. Often the children born are considered part of the paternal lineage, while the women’s matriarch status is negatively affected.

MOTIVES FOR RAPE: Motives for sexual violence range within contexts and can be tactical or personal. Following on the notion of rape as a strategy of war, sexual violence can be employed to destroy social and cultural bonds of communities, especially in patriarchal societies where women are seen as property – both in a personal and national sense. Rape is used to create cohesion within armed groups, with gang rape as the ultimate showcase of a combatant’s masculinity. Rape can be used as a reward during pillaging of attacked areas, with women as part of the loot, or can serve for economic profit, with an increase in human trafficking and sexual slavery. Rape is used as a method of torture during detention or when attempting to extract information.

CONSEQUENCES OF RAPE: The consequences of sexual violence are equally diverse, rape impacting survivors, their families, and communities. Survivors face medical problems such as gynecological fistula and sexually transmitted infections, as well as life-long psychological trauma. In areas where attacks occur, women’s contribution to economic development is severely impeded. Survivors face short and long-term economic and social consequences, often stigmatized by families and communities, more so if they bore children out of rape. High levels of discrimination, poverty, and abuse persists against survivors of rape.

ENDING RAPE AS A WEAPON OF WAR: Civil society has tirelessly worked on the ground and at the international level to address suffering caused by this unconventional weapon. While outstanding progress has been made to break the silence, with the development of laws and expanding definitions to encompass the broad and horrific nature of sexual violence, work continues as hundreds of women are raped everyday on the frontlines of war. This has to end, but it will take various sectors around the world collaborating with survivors for effective change to occur.
FINDING SHADES OF GREY WITHIN THE PARADOXES OF VIOLENCE

Early on in the conference, ActionAid International’s Joanna Kerr presented three paradoxes of women’s security: the violent backlash associated with success, the role economics play in peace, and how women are perceived in international affairs.

Twenty years ago, sexual violence was not part of public discourse but “still something that was very much a private issue,” commented Kerr. Major strides have been made such as designating rape as a war crime and including violence against women on the development agenda. Yet recent years have also seen some of the “most egregious crimes and most pernicious forms of violence.” Kerr observed a correlation in the recent accomplishments and heightened violence: “The greater our power, the stronger our voices, the better our tools, the better our instruments, the more the backlash is.”

Global inequality – not only between nations, but also within them – must be part of dialogue on the causes of insecurity. Kerr explained that extreme poverty experienced by many women, coupled with extreme wealth, adds to the problem. The economic paradigm must be examined to determine the “economics of peace,” just as the “economics of war” have been established.

A final, but significant obstacle to consider is how women are viewed within international affairs, both by the public and themselves. Kerr described the formation of two distinct characters – the victim or the heroine who provides a solution.

Yet, in any analysis on the causes of violence against women, Kerr maintained the necessity to challenge these three paradoxes. The solution lies in middle ground, “in the messy shade of grey.”

THE SECURITY SECTOR IS PART OF THE SOLUTION

“Don’t count the military forces out!” Charlotte Isaksson appealed. Just as activists work for peace, democracy, and equality, the Gender Advisor to the Swedish Armed Forces explained that these values are an integral part of her own work. The military has a significant role in assisting with women’s security, but they must work together with civil society.

Programs can develop by joining forces with women’s organizations, as well as local and international advocacy groups on the strategic, operational, and tactical levels. Isaksson emphasized security sector reform as a “window of opportunity” for collaboration with women’s organizations to shape views of local security forces on gender. Yet, with a long list of strategic objectives, Isaksson admitted that currently some militaries “are not really supporting work against sexual violence.” However, Isaksson believed the armed forces have the capacity – all they need are direct orders.

Presently there is an ad hoc approach to women’s security, with examples of what should be done, but little implementation. The lack of systematic and clear directives creates confusion, with the concept of operations losing value as it makes its way to the field. Furthermore, Isaksson added that soldiers struggle with vague instructions from political levels. Current rules of
engagement pose a significant challenge as they do not reflect UNSCR 1820 and 1960, with a substantial gap between expectations of forces in the field and their actual operational limitations.

Indicating the need for women to fully integrate into operational and tactical positions of the regular military structure, Isaksson commented that many colleagues around the world embraced women in parallel or in “add-on” arrangements within the security sector. But such all-female units do not provide a long-term solution for gender integration.

Looking ahead to the future, Isaksson shared the idea of private military companies and elite security forces deployed solely for the protection of women. Suggesting that if they possessed strong ethics and were directed properly in their assignment, such forces would be successful. With the right instruments and will, it would be possible to create a force that would be a role model for all security actors in the protection of women.

"If we can travel to the moon and back, of course we can end sexual violence."
Charlotte Isaksson, Swedish Armed Forces
Within table dialogues and on the sidelines of the conference, the role women have within military units and peacekeeping forces was threaded routinely into the discussion. While undisputed that more women need to be part of peacekeeping missions, “engendering peacekeeping” is not solely about numbers. Ultimately, it is about ensuring gender perspectives are translated into training and orders – maintaining a high level of civilian protection. There is a need for standardized training to meet international norms, as national training varies, especially in field exercises. Successful training does not rest exclusively on funding but also on the competence of a trainer, with a quality-training officer integrated into operations. Gender sensitivity needs to be accepted as a training priority.

Women play a significant part in peacekeeping missions as they are proven mediators and have important roles in community settings. Currently there is only token female representation in missions, with the United Nations committed to reaching 20 percent of female representation in police units by 2014. There is a distinct lack of female officers who can be sent abroad as many nations base their peacekeepers on rank – demonstrating the need for more women commanding officers in state forces. In contrast, the peacekeeping forces of Bangladesh, India, and Pakistan are open to men and women of all ranks.

A critical problem within the system is the sexual violence and sexual exploitation committed by peacekeepers themselves. The UN is establishing measures such as curfews for blue helmets and bans on unauthorized contact with local residents. The African Union is developing a code of conduct for all of its forces. In Liberia, all-female units were deployed to address the distrust towards male security forces. However, there is a lack of research examining the strengths and weaknesses of this tactic, with only anecdotal evidence gathered to date.

Gender-based violence programs are being created and led by officers with no gender background. Programs to address sexual violence need to be built into peacekeeping missions but this requires specialized knowledge, training, and language skills to establish ties within the local communities.
As the conference was in full swing, International Monetary Fund head, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, sat in a New York jail cell for allegedly assaulting a hotel maid. Addressing conference participants, Joanne Sandler, Deputy Chief of UN Women, stated that this is the reason civil society has to have a coordinated effort pressing international institutions to take action against rape. Institutions will not act unless pushed because, “impunity actually begins at home.”

Sandler explained that despite much reluctance, sexual violence was now on the agenda of international and regional institutions. A decade before, United Nations Security Council members dismissed women’s security, stating it would never feature among their discussions. Since then, international security has been redefined, with women’s issues having a firm place in resolutions. This represents the first steps in changing opinions on sexual violence and Sandler called on activists to “maximize the opportunity.”

The transformation is not complete, as it still has not reached the frontlines where women are most affected by violence. Nevertheless, the United Nations has established a number of tools to assist with women’s protection. A Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict has been appointed who, along with the head of UN Women, regularly briefs the Security Council. Rule of Law experts on sexual violence and Women Protection Advisors are deployed as part of peacekeeping missions. Despite the opposition of council members, UNSCR 1960 was passed which calls for field-based monitoring, analysis and reporting mechanisms. Sandler added that changes have also been witnessed on the ground, with police units more responsive to the protection needs of women and peacekeeping mandates outlining civilian protection as a primary concern.

Sandler underlined priority areas for future coordinated action:

- Providing information on sexual violence in conflicts where rape is occurring but still not evident.
- Providing context and explaining the scope of rape; the monitoring system in place highlights UN verified cases, which is only a small part of the overall situation.
- Providing vigilance that the monitoring system leads to better outcomes for women and girls rather than increases risks, and especially that prosecutions lead to stigmatization of the perpetrators and not victims.
- Spearheading the calls for – and monitoring – changes in policy of security actors to ensure they move from a perpetrator-centred response to a survivor-centred response, placing women at the centre of reparation schemes and peace talks.

As survivor of conflict-related sexual violence
I commit to raising my voice for all survivors

As Women Forging a New Security: Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict
A NEW ALLY: THE UN SECRETARY GENERAL’S SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT

In 2010, Sweden’s Margot Wallström was appointed the UNSGSR on Sexual Violence in Conflict to harmonize action across agencies. Her mandate focuses on fighting impunity – ensuring perpetrators of sexual violence account for their crimes – as well as the empowerment of women and mobilizing political leadership for action. Her office concentrates on the Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan, the Central African Republic, Cote d’Ivoire, Liberia, Colombia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The UNSGSR oversees UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict, bringing together 13 UN entities to improve coordination and assist nations in their own action against sexual violence. UN Action works by supporting development and programming of country teams; promoting public awareness and mobilizing political will to address gender-based violence; and by creating a “knowledge hub on the scale of sexual violence in conflict.”

UN RESOLUTIONS ON WOMEN’S SECURITY

1325 (2000) addresses the impact of conflict on women during and in the aftermath of armed conflict. The resolution calls for the participation of women in peace processes; gender training in peacekeeping operations; protection of women and girls in respect for their rights; and gender mainstreaming in the reporting and implementation systems of the UN relating to conflict, peace and security.

1820 (2008) explicitly recognizes sexual violence as a tactic of war and gives the Security Council authority to intervene when necessary to provide security for women. It demands that conflicting parties train troops and enforce military discipline in an effort to end sexual violence.

1888 (2009) requests that the UN Secretary-General develop a proposal to ensure monitoring and reporting of sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations. UNSCR 1888 also called on the UN Secretary-General to establish the mandate of the Special Representative on Sexual Violence in Conflict to provide coherent and strategic leadership, to work effectively to strengthen existing UN coordination mechanisms, and to engage in advocacy efforts with all relevant stakeholders.

1889 (2009) requires the UN system to collect data on, analyze and systematically access particular needs of women and girls in post-conflict situations in order to improve their system-wide response to the security and participation of women and girls in decision-making.

1960 (2010) builds on the previous resolutions by creating institutional tools to combat impunity, including the listing of perpetrators in the UN Secretary-General’s annual reports, referrals to the UN Sanctions Committees and the International Criminal Court, international condemnation, and reparations.

How are we, as an international community, supposed to rely on the words of the UN Security Council on 1325 and every other resolution coming out, if they themselves internally have such miserable records on acknowledging their own military’s sexual violence?

Betsy Kawamura, Women4NonViolence
Some enter women’s rights as a chosen profession. But some, as conference participant Binalakshmi Nepram declared, have no alternative, “For some it is a matter of survival. It is a matter of being pushed to a wall and fighting for what is our right.” Many have not heard of Manipur, a state in northeast India along Burma’s border, yet it is home to one of the worst conflict zones in South Asia – a conflict with global reverberations.

The Armed Forces Special Power Act (AFSPA) was adopted by India in 1958, granting the military authority over regions of the country declared “disturbed,” such as Manipur where there has been an active separatist movement since the mid-1960s. The state remains closed to foreigners and Indian nationals. The AFSPA includes a provision allowing the use of lethal force.

In July 2004, a young Manipuri woman was arrested in the middle of the night at gunpoint by Indian paramilitaries. The next morning her body was found with bullets in her genitals – the ultimate form of sexual violence Nepram remarked, and perpetrated in what is perceived by most to be a democracy. In an extraordinary act of defiance and non-violent protest, a dozen women stripped in front of the headquarters of the Assam Rifles, challenging the armed forces to rape them as well.

The political conflict has highly militarized the province, with an increased presence of armed actors and weapons resulting in one of the highest violence rates in India. Nepram commented that instead of finding a solution to the conflict, India sent battalions of soldiers who in turn killed their own people.

Women in Manipur have joined together for both community security and support. Patrolling the streets with bamboo torches at night, they “physically tussle with the Indian armed soldiers to physically get the women out of the trucks,” explained Nepram. The Manipuri Women Gun Survivor Network is an example of the joining of forces to assist widows in rebuilding their lives. Their advocacy efforts however have been hampered, as the Indian government obstructed the development of action plans along UN Resolutions 1325 and 1820, declaring such measures unnecessary in a democracy.

“I am very lucky to be speaking today as I do not know about tomorrow. The government of India has told me: speak within the four corners of India, but not outside…”

Binalakshmi Nepram, Manipuri Women Gun Survivor Network
HEALING THE RIFTS IN RWANDA’S FAMILIES

During the course of 100 days in 1994, over 900,000 people were massacred in Rwanda. Up to half a million women were raped, with some 70 percent now infected with HIV. Testimony and the shocking data on the prevalence of sexual violence during the civil war resulted in the first recognition of rape as an act of genocide by international courts.

SEVOTA’s Godelieve Mukasarasi explained to the conference that her organization formed in the aftermath of the genocide, supporting the most vulnerable populations – widows and orphans. Eventually they reached out and began identifying the unique needs of the victims of sexual violence – providing space for information and story exchange, as well as solidarity in advocacy and justice initiatives.

Sexual violence during the genocide resulted in the birth of 2,000 to 5,000 children. Many of the women faced stigma from their own communities and families for their rape, as well as for bearing a child of a genocidaire. The shame and hate translated sadly into the abuse – both physical and mental – of children born to raped women.

Attempting to improve relationships within families, especially between mothers and their children, Mukasarasi explained that SEVOTA fosters “truth, forgiveness, and love.” Through festivals and outdoor activities, they encourage a healthy bond between family members. Children of rape and orphans prepare games and theatre presentations, sharing their past experiences and future of non-violence.
During the table discussions at the conference it became clear that women’s security is significantly benefiting from the rapidly expanding technology sector accessible to the general population. From affordable mobile phones to instant updates on-line reaching millions worldwide, technology has allowed women to sound the alarm to deteriorating human rights conditions and individual cases of sexual violence within moments.

The micro-blogging service Twitter has been popularized by protesters on the frontlines who provide real-time updates, with a recent development allowing users to phone-in their status to bypass internet shortages. Mobile phones allow women in rural communities to signal each other for help and receive automated information on services in the community. While increased connectivity allows for rapid response, it also adds to potential security repercussions – from oppressive governments targeting information flow or even petty attacks for mobile phones.

Activists have expressed a need for an urgent responders network, filtering information on developments, emergency situations, and data. A virtual base would provide information for organizations and media, as well as connect on-the-ground organizations in need of immediate support to necessary resources.

#SOS – TECHNOLOGY FROM THE FRONTLINES

Prospects for private sector involvement on human rights issues is increasing with the launch of the Satellite Sentinel Project in Sudan in 2010. It is the first project to systematically monitor and report on hotspots in near real-time with satellite imagery and analysis. The data collection, supported by a collaboration of corporations, UN agencies, non-profits and academic initiatives, provides for deterrence, accountability, and awareness on potential violence. Weather and geographical terrain are challenges SSP faces in implementing programs elsewhere, such as the Democratic Republic of Congo.

CONNECTING THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND HUMAN RIGHTS – THE SATELLITE SENTINEL PROJECT
JUSTICE IS IMPERATIVE, BUT WHAT IS JUSTICE?

As momentum builds with accountability for sexual violence “front and centre of world news,” there are numerous of underreported cases and evidence that justice for rape survivors is elusive. This according to Susannah Sirkin, Deputy Director of Physicians for Human Rights who addressed the conference alongside three other women to discuss “justice and accountability.” A recent study found that almost 48 women are raped every hour in the Democratic Republic of Congo, while the Kenyan government continues to evade the ICC’s charges against the “Ocampo Six,” men indicted for leading violence in the post-election period.

According to Sirkin, any dialogue on this topic needs to begin with this premise: “Justice is an absolutely essential component of stopping rape in war. If there is license to rape, and especially to commit mass rape because the perpetrators are never apprehended, then we will never put a stop to this mass crime.”

She explained we need to ask questions such as what is justice and who does it serve? What are the elements of justice that need to be delivered: highlighting truth, arresting and prosecuting perpetrators, punishing perpetrators, reparation for victims with guarantees of future security? Moreover, who has the authority to deliver each of these elements? And more importantly, what are the obstacles to justice and how do we overcome them?

“...It is time to make men and boys see what they stand to lose when women are ill treated - and what they stand to gain when women are treated well.”

Leymah Gbowee, Women Peace and Security Network Africa
In the last two decades, international tribunals have developed the current legal definitions of sexual violence, particularly rape in conflict. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda had a milestone verdict in 1998, with the first successful conviction of rape as a crime of genocide. The ICTR, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, and the Special Court for Sierra Leone have included numerous prosecutions and convictions for sexual violence as a crime against humanity and/or war crime. Prosecutors at the International Criminal Court have investigated instructions given to armed forces to exercise rape, indicting state heads for using sexual violence against their population.

A significant part of the justice process is reparations, material or symbolic. Financial reparations have been established at different levels – including national or international, such as the ICC’s Trust Fund for Victims and the UN Trust Fund to End Violence against Women.

**INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR RWANDA**

The ICTR was established in 1994 to try the leaders of the Rwandan genocide. In 1998, the tribunal set a legal precedent with the first ruling in international law that rape constituted genocide. However, the court has been criticized for failing to fully investigate sexual violence and not providing proper security and follow-up support to witnesses. It works in tandem with local Gacaca courts that try majority of cases, facilitating reconciliation. Community elders are elected as judges and rape has been designated as part of the highest categories of crime. The Gacaca court is responsible for gathering evidence and testimony on sexual violence, before the case is passed to conventional courts for sentencing.

**SPECIAL COURT FOR SIERRA LEONE**

The court was established in 2002 to prosecute those who exercised the greatest responsibility in the civil war. Convictions for the leaders of the military groups have included rape, and the first legal convictions for sexual slavery and forced marriage. The court operated concurrently with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, resulting in widespread suspicion from former combatants and therefore their lack of participation. Fragility in post-conflict Sierra Leone produced apprehension among witnesses, causing an unwillingness to participate for fear of retribution.
The Burmese population is facing ongoing and systematic human rights violations at the hands of the military junta. K’nyaw Paw, a member of the Women’s League of Burma, an umbrella group of 13 organizations gathering evidence on the widespread war crimes, shared the struggle against impunity within the country. The military dictatorship, which has ravaged the Southeast Asian country for over 50 years, regularly commits widespread atrocities – particularly targeting ethnic minorities and women. The range of human rights abuses perpetrated by the state includes sexual violence, with significant evidence that rape is used as a weapon of war.

Yet, there is little justice for victims, as the international community – particularly other Asian countries – do not hold the military regime accountable for its actions. In response, women’s civil society networks in Burma, such as the WLB, have organized to document the acts of violence against women to shed light on the significant human rights violations committed and to call upon the international community for concerted action holding the junta responsible for their crimes.

WLB has been a strong advocate for the establishment of a Commission of Inquiry which would provide for an international mechanism to investigate the crimes committed by the Burmese junta – an investigation that would bring it one step closer to an International Criminal Court referral. As part of their campaign they are highlighting the use of rape as a weapon of war and the systematic threats against women in Burma. K’nyaw Paw explained that these crimes are widespread and ongoing as was witnessed during the military offensive in March 2011 by the Burma army against the Shan nationalities. During the offensive, women were gang-raped, murdered and captured to walk in front of the troops as cannon fodder.

One milestone in their campaigning was the establishment of two people’s tribunals in 2010 – in the United States and Japan. At these unprecedented tribunals, women testified to the extent of the human rights abuses they had endured, including wide-ranging sexual violence. Both tribunals received much media attention, with a full report and documentary produced following New York’s International Tribunal, “This is My Witness,” adding to mounting evidence against the junta.

K’nyaw Paw pointed out how these alternative justice mechanisms are powerful tools to collect evidence, raise awareness, to report on the crimes committed against the women of Burma and to put forth tangible recommendations. She shared lessons learned during the tribunals which can be applied to other transitional justice mechanisms:

• Back-up plans have to be in place in case witnesses are unable to attend.

• Comprehensive support systems need to address practical needs of those who testify and their affiliated organizations. This includes providing basic necessities, counselling, addressing privacy and security concerns, as well as providing witnesses with information on the outcomes of tribunals and impact of their testimony.

• Public awareness and education needs to continue to ensure privacy and dignity of women who testify is respected – both within national and local communities.
Aung San Suu Kyi contributed to the conference discussion by video, marking the first time the Burma pro-democracy leader has spoken publicly on the widespread sexual violence in her country. She deplored the military government’s use of rape and targeting of women who are of ethnic minority. She explained that what is needed is a transformation of ideas and beliefs.

“Violence starts in the mind so we have to start by changing the minds of men and women all over the world. Men, so that they may not think of women as ready victims. And women also, so that they may not think of themselves as helpless victims.”

Aung San Suu Kyi, Nobel Peace Laureate
While conversation often focuses on the violence committed against civilians by the armed forces, there is less discussion on the violence within the military itself. Service Women’s Action Network’s Anu Bhagwati explained the crisis the United States military is facing as rape, sexual assault and harassment is prevalent within the armed forces. Both current members and veterans who served decades ago are coming forward to make public how other members of the military abused them.

In 2010, 19,000 rapes or sexual assaults were reported within the US military – that’s 52 per day. These numbers understate the extent of the problem, as almost 80 percent of survivors never disclose their attack. Bhagwati said that when asked why not just take women out of the military, the answer is simple – men account for close to 40 percent of veterans treated for sexual assault or harassment. Clearly this is not just a “women’s issue.”

Apart from operating a helpline, the Service Women’s Action Network has an active advocacy and legislative policy program and is responsible for, as of May 2011, seven pieces of legislation debated in Congress. Bhagwati observed that litigation has also been one of SWAN’s most successful strategies for prompting change or gaining information, such as suing government departments for documentation on rape and domestic violence data. In February 2011, a US legal firm sued the current and former Secretaries of Defense, Robert Gates and Donald Rumsfeld, on behalf of 16 military rape survivors for the failure of the US government to protect their constitutional rights. The suit alleges that the government fails to enforce sexual assault policies while punishing the victim.

Bhagwati insisted that the US military legal context is “backwards,” giving junior commanders authority to act as a judge – and ultimately, denying uniformed personnel the same civil rights as the general population. No legal recourse is available to survivors who are unsatisfied with the decision of their commander. They are unable to sue their perpetrator in federal court for damages, and military personnel cannot quit their job as they will be sentenced to jail.

Bhagwati said that it is necessary to understand that sexual assault within the US armed forces occurs mostly outside of a combat setting but instead, “in the day-in-the-life of US service members.”

“This is a gathering where horror and hope walk hand in hand. Hope wins, or we wouldn’t even be here.”

Laura Carlsen, Center for International Policy
Representing Red Mesa de Mujeres de Ciudad, a network of ten organizations from Mexico’s border city of Ciudad Juárez, Andrea Medina Rosas explained to the conference that after tracking the serial murders and sexual violence occurring since 1993, activists underwent a “conceptual reflection.” They deemed it necessary to create a new term for the sexual violence which resulted in the violent death of women: femicide.

Between 1993 and 2001, 214 women were murdered in Ciudad Juárez. Since then, the violence has significantly increased, with 304 women murdered in 2010 alone. Often there is evidence of rape and sexual torture.

Ciudad Juárez has been both a flashpoint for violence in the area and for legal reforms addressing the gross human rights abuses, perpetrated by both civilians and security forces. Medina Rosas said that while there have been some legislative accomplishments, they have not translated into justice for the victims and their families. Mexico only “simulates compliance” with the internationally mandated reforms, developing changes masking the real problem of discrimination as violence continues. Authorities invest funds in public awareness campaigns and workshops, introducing appropriate gender language into usage. “The process is being carried out without recognizing the structural obstacles of the justice system and the discrimination against women,” thus exacerbating violence and impunity in the region, explained Medina Rosas.

Interpretation of the new laws remains a challenge as those in power “are not interested in following the new principles and obligations established.” Instead, they continue with the discriminatory criteria previously used.

When the women began fighting impunity within Ciudad Juárez they were looking to punish individual perpetrators. But now they want to ensure there is a systematic approach to ending the violence and the truth about what happened is known.

In November 2009, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights found the Mexican government had violated its obligations under human rights conventions. The case against authorities was filed on behalf of three young women from Ciudad Juárez who had been raped and murdered, their bodies found in a local cotton field.

The court ruled that while the numerous murders of women in Ciudad Juárez were due to extreme “gender discrimination,” they were unable to judge whether – outside of the three presented – they constituted gender-based violence, and therefore could only be classified as murder within a context of violence against women. While ordering the Mexican state to build a national memorial, pay reparations, and institute security and judiciary reforms, the court ultimately found the state not responsible for violence committed by “private individuals.”
EMPOWERMENT THROUGH FORGIVENESS

Throughout the table dialogues at the conference, when the question of “justice” was discussed, it was often highlighted that an important and often forgotten element is reconciliation. The goal is to aid with survivor empowerment – shifting the power balance from perpetrator to victim. But the process of forgiveness is a difficult one, requiring understanding of motivations behind violence and rape, as well as possible external influences including drugs and peer pressure. It also requires finding compassion for the perpetrator’s family, searching for a common ground in suffering.

Truth and reconciliation commissions, such as in East Timor or Guatemala, have been promoted for national and personal healing. While integrating testimonies from women, their approaches to reconciliation through “forgive and forget” have been criticized for ignoring the harmful effect on the individual. Many conference participants noted that the journey of personal forgiveness is emotional and no one can be pushed to forgive – they can only be supported to release their status of a victim. The commissions also have complex judicial ties, with some like in South Africa providing amnesty to most who testify, encouraging openness about roles in violence, while others leading to further investigations. Past commissions have for the most part, failed to improve women’s security and empowerment with recommendations, as in the three cases stated above, never fully implemented.

FIGHTING IMPUNITY IN BOSNIA

A survivor of rape during Bosnia-Herzegovina’s war, Bakira Hasecic found herself living amongst the perpetrators of violence after the conflict ended. Her organization, Women Victims of War, collected evidence in the region against those who participated in violent acts and pressured authorities to press charges. When the International Tribunal of the Former Yugoslavia finally indicted a leader of a local paramilitary, Hasecic testified against him, sharing her own experience in his rape camps. But yet, sexual violence was left out of his final conviction. Despite the setbacks, Hasecic and Women Victims of War continues their struggle to bring perpetrators of the mass violence during Bosnia’s war to justice.
RE-EXAMINING THE DEFINITION OF CONFLICT

Women are faced with “outrageous violence” in many regions of the world, yet many are operating in contexts not declared wars, said Just Associates’ (JASS) Lisa VeneKlasen. We need to reconsider our approach to conflict and how the international community supports the human rights defenders within these settings.

VeneKlasen provided the example of Mexico and Central America where the murders and risks that activists face, “are on the level of Afghanistan.” In Zimbabwe, gang rape is used to silence opponents, and yet political repression is not recognized as war.

She stressed that for women, “the threat and fear of violence always has a sexual dimension.” Violence is multilayered, with women human rights defenders fighting over land, justice or wages, under constant threat to their own well-being.

Emphasizing earlier observations that the “greater the success, the greater the backlash” against women, VeneKlasen noted that women have developed strategies to build on international support. But in contexts where violence is rampant but not defined as a war, it is necessary to examine the driving forces of the conflict, the competition for resources, and the dynamics of violent groups exercising more power than the state. And importantly, it is key to consider what happens when a government has the “political will” to take action for the security of its population, but is lacking in capacity and finances.

“We have to reclaim the [word peace]. We have to make people recognize that it is hard work, and we understand it’s not going to happen today.”

Jody Williams, Nobel Peace Laureate
HATE PROPAGANDA IN KENYA FUELS ETHNIC VIOLENCE

In 2002, Wangu Kanja was raped during a carjacking. With nowhere to turn to for help – she lacked family and community support, and there were no state services – Kanja started to realize how isolated women survivors of sexual violence can be. Soon after, Kanja established the Wangu Kanja Foundation to help other survivors of Kenya’s sexual violence, so that no woman would have to be alone.

Kanja said that in Kenya, the topic of sexual violence is a “new thing” and considered taboo. Yet rape is prevalent and its consequences significant. During the post-election violence of 2007-2008, there was widespread gang rape, sodomy and mutilation. Survivors became pregnant, were infected with sexually transmitted infections, and experienced severe psychological pain, as well as rejection within their own communities. The youngest survivor was a one month-old baby, the oldest, a 95 year-old woman.

Violence during the election period was hardly surprising as the country has over 40 ethnic groups vying for power, their differences tracing back to historical injustice and improper land distribution. Fuelling ethnic tensions is hate propaganda from leaders. In this context, Kanja says that sexual violence is tolerated and even encouraged.

Kanja said that while Kenya has developed legislation to address sexual violence offences, it has not been implemented. When a woman goes to police with knowledge of the Sexual Offences Act, it often turns into a “war of strength” with the officer. Yet, seeking justice is not the only challenge for survivors and activists. At the local level, women need medical and psycho-social support. Rape goes beyond the physical injuries, “beyond the tears and abrasions.” The psychological impact of sexual violence is unique for everyone and needs to be addressed.
Amidst all of the investments that the international community and relief and development organizations place in the infrastructure and governance of fragile states, to what extent do we consider the “fragile states” of women’s hearts? Can any community truly either reconcile or be reconstructed without excavating the fraught well of despair that conflict digs?"

Jessica Horn, openDemocracy
**HOW ZIMBABWE’S MUGABE KILLED HOPE FOR A BETTER FUTURE**

"Zimbabwe is not a country that is at war, but every single day women are at the frontlines of violence," explained JASS Southern Africa’s Shereen Essof. Women activists have been subject to significant repression and violence for years. During the disputed 2008 elections, camps were set up in villages where women were systematically raped and tortured.

The country gained independence in 1980 after a protracted liberation struggle. A beacon of hope in the region when it transitioned to democracy, internal conditions deteriorated quickly. The negotiated settlement protected minority land interests for ten years, with land redistribution policies put on hold. Essof said that dissent among the population quickly rose as promised land reform didn’t come. Instead, interests of political elites took precedence, with focus shifting from the collective to the individual. War veterans demanded remuneration for the liberation of Zimbabwe, “basically holding the ruling party ransom.”

At the same time, international financial institutions demanded Zimbabwe shift its economic policy from reconstruction and development to structural adjustment – resulting in the erosion of public sector services as they privatized. The country militarized its spending and prioritized diamond interests in the region. Eventually, Zimbabwe’s economy collapsed.

When a strong women’s movement mobilized alongside various civil society groups, Essof said that the government clamped down, using repression and violence. While women’s organizations continue their work, Essof explained they are under threat from the state – not only of being shut down, but activists within these organizations also face arrest and torture. Women’s groups have had to make the choice to either “fly under the radar” and serve their supporters or actively mobilize members while understanding the risks.

Underlining that the constant threats have affected the spirit of the population, Essof remarked: “If Mugabe has been successful in anything, its been in killing the ability to dream – to imagine an alternative.” But as women’s groups continue to operate and take action – their most basic form of resistance has been sheer survival.
At one of the side discussions at the conference, participants expressed the need for further protection for women human rights defenders as around the world, women are sacrificing their own lives and freedom in defence of human rights. With women in the general population facing increasing violence, the backlash against female activists is even stronger – sometimes even their families are targets. To ensure the strength and survival of activism, self-protection is the priority for women human rights defenders. There is a need for groups to coordinate their efforts, initiating an “underground railroad” to relocate any activist who faces danger.

Conference participants noted that women human rights defenders must increase collaboration, forming networks within communities, regions, and on an international scale. These networks should be “mainstream and non-mainstream,” with financing provided to promote training for protection and safe spaces for dialogue. Those women human rights defenders who do not identify themselves as such cannot be forgotten, to ensure they have access to resources and tools.

“Words into action”

The thread I am hearing through the discussion so far today is “we” - an overriding, inclusive “we”, not an ego “I”. Yes, we all do have an ego and it surfaces and we need to acknowledge it’s presence but we also need to acknowledge that to truly push forward we need the collective.”

Lauren Embrey, Embrey Family Foundation
Silence And Shame – Sexual Violence in Guatemala

In 1996, a peace agreement brought Guatemala’s 36-year civil war to a close. The conflict resulted in thousands of civilian deaths, over 90,000 unsolved disappearances, and more than 100,000 cases of sexual violence. Yet, though the “war” has ended, violence against Guatemala’s women has not.

Patricia Ardon, from the civil society group Sinergia No’j, explained that the peace agreement was never fully implemented, with calls from survivors seeking justice going unanswered. The perpetrators of violence continue to have an active presence in the public sphere and live within local communities.

The emergence of non-traditional forces has since altered the dynamic of violence in Guatemala and the Central American region. Organized crime, narco traffic, fundamentalist and for-profit transnational groups working especially in the mining sector who hire paramilitary forces, are all now complicit in perpetrating violence against women. The result is decreased security for women, with some 5,000 women murdered in the past decade and most raped before their death.

Ardon said that survivors of sexual violence face stigma from their families and communities, as well as a “perceived loss of social value felt by women themselves and their community.” Gossip and claims of prostitution result in low self-worth.

Silence and secrecy are embedded within Guatemalan society, causing the rape survivors to blame themselves for the attacks. The shame prevents survivors from seeking proper medical attention, with some suffering ailments attributable to an attack 20 years earlier. Ardon indicated that sexual violence leads to a loss of cultural identity, especially for women of indigenous origin.

Women’s organizations in Guatemala focus on research, healing, training of mental health promoters, and assisting with reparation processes at both the community and national level. Successful strategies integrate personal and collective processes, taking into consideration the various socioeconomic contexts of women across the country. Linking the issues at regional and local levels, civil society groups help Guatemalan women rediscover their cultural roots to support healing from trauma.

“Women have demonstrated their courage to defend lives in the most difficult conditions... Only together we can move forward, so that there is a light and hope for all women on the planet.”

Rigoberta Menchú Tum, Nobel Peace Laureate
Parvin Najafgholi, from the One Million Signatures Campaign, focused at the conference on the role of sexual violence in Iran and other Muslim societies. While some laws in Iran are secular, when it comes to family law, the country still abides by Islamic Sharia law, sanctioning violence in daily lives.

Authorities do not commonly discuss the subject of sex and very little data on sexual violence exists. Religious laws encourage violence, requiring sexual obedience in the family, no relationships outside of marriage, and even stoning as punishment. While protesting against the sanctioned violence is prohibited, women are tackling the discriminatory legal environment.

Najafgholi explained the challenge of promoting legal reforms for the benefit of women’s rights. A movement was needed to increase the “consciousness” of society about the discrimination women faced. Working across networks of Iranian civil society groups, activists learned and fed off of each other to encourage activity in country. She added that what emerged was a movement on two levels – one targeting change of the law and another changing social views.

Looking back on the two-pronged approach, Najafgholi observed their success in bringing the idea of equal rights to Iranian society. The very legitimacy of Sharia law was now questioned by everyday Iranians. While the government has cracked down on the groups and limited their activity, this idea of equality has visibly seeped into the minds of leading figures, with even female parliamentarians, some representing fundamentalist groups, calling for change.

I always think that all of us are going to die, sooner or later… But what is the difference between us and a chair, if a chair becomes old and thrown out? Many people are like chairs – their life doesn’t impact the rest of the world. And I always thought, I didn’t want to be like a chair when I die, I didn’t want it to be as if I had never lived. This was my motive to leave my personal life behind and become an activist…”

Shirin Ebadi, Nobel Peace Laureate
Throughout the conference one thread of discussions at tables, on the sidelines, and in the plenary focused on the importance and challenge of finding political will at local, national, and international levels. While there has been increasingly more recognition of rape as a “problem,” with definitions and laws passed, this is only the first step. The second – and more important hurdle is motivating politicians and the security sector to implement the laws, to develop and carry out comprehensive protection strategies, and to provide long-term assistance to survivors of rape.

Conference participants noted that the media is crucial as politicians strive to gain publicity for their contribution to society. While sexual violence is not recognized as a priority, media and civil society can work together to break the silence and ensure that action will translate into political and legal change. When approaching politicians, activists must offer a proposal that “sets them up for success,” with an action plan that isn’t daunting.

Civil society works in tandem with media, highlighting prevalence of sexual violence in conflict and garnering the necessary evidence needed to pressure states for action. Activists noted that competition has been an effective human rights advocacy tool, with actions such as country report cards measuring indicators, including implementation of laws and safety of women.

“I didn’t come to this place overnight, and it is not in a night we will be able to bring ourselves out of it.”

Abigail Disney, Daphne Foundation
Data is a necessary tool with which activists are able to arm themselves when demanding action from politicians. Currently, however, there are significant shortcomings both in the amount of research being conducted and what type of analysis is being done. Many conference participants agreed that addressing the limitations in academic literature and research would ultimately help in changing how sexual violence is viewed on the wider security agenda.

- Literature is predominantly in English, with very little research done from the Southern perspective.
- Definitions are problematic in both research and policy. While conflict is narrowly defined by scholars, the phrase sexual violence in conflict should be assumed to include post-conflict states and complex emergencies.
- Researchers usually focus on discourse analysis and case studies, without complementing their work with an evidence-based approach.
- While current research focuses on survivors, it is necessary to also look at the links between such factors as the economy, political participation, and violence against women to establish prevention methods.
- New frameworks for women’s security have to be established outside of UNSCR 1325 and 1820, as the United Nations is a political institution, often hampered by the national agendas of member states.

Advocate for male involvement in the Campaign Against Sexual Violence.
Women activists in Iran share a problem with counterparts in other Muslim societies: the slightest criticism of the state or law is considered criticism of Islam. The activist is labelled a heretic and his/her life is endangered. Therefore any change, “is about making the impossible, possible” explained Nobel Peace Laureate Shirin Ebadi.

Recalling her own activism in Iran after the 1979 revolution, Ebadi explained the futility of using logic with authorities as their “prejudice would not permit it.” Bypassing religion, she found a more usable platform on which to challenge authorities – Iran’s accession to international human rights conventions. Ebadi publicly questioned why the conventions had not been enforced, with authorities declaring that “the standards of human rights were in conflict with Islamic Sharia,” and the laws would not be honoured.

Ebadi found interpretations of Sharia law that conformed with human rights treaties and turned to religious leaders for support. The clerics issued religious edicts – fatwas – promoting human rights and silencing opponents.

One of the most important tactics is to develop activism within Islamic societies gradually, and not immediately reveal the end goal. Ebadi explained that even though she was working towards equality in Iran through a transformation of laws, she began small by starting a non-profit organization for children.

Progressively, the organization moved forward until it challenged the discriminatory laws affecting minors – questioning why the life of a girl is worth half of a boys. This was the first step for women’s rights in Iran. “This is when the government found out it had been tricked. But it was too late,” said Ebadi. Now a younger generation has taken the reigns and propelled the Iranian women’s movement to the forefront.

“Timely, thoughtful research can provide a critical window into where, when, how and why violence is being perpetrated and how best to respond. By combining qualitative and quantitative methods and bringing both numbers and narratives to bear on understanding the issue, we can better understand and respond to sexual violence in war.”

Jocelyn Kelly, Harvard Humanitarian Initiative

Ebadi recommends that activists in Islamic societies take care to not insult religion or laws in place, as it is necessary to work with the population, to help them to slowly accept changes. She emphasized that activists cannot speak in such a way as to be labelled a non-believer as not only will it weaken their struggle, it may cost them their life.
Women negotiating peace

Conference participants noted that while international conventions specify that women must be part of peace negotiations, their voices are often sidelined. The concept of “women as victims” still prevails, with only those who carried a gun entitled to negotiate peace. There also exists a notion that women only focus on “women's issues,” rather than the larger picture. External mediators have often failed to push for the inclusion of women in formal talks.

For stable, long-term peace to develop, women must be part of the peace process as women bring community needs to the table and push to incorporate scenario-based planning into talks. For women to exercise influence however, they must first unite as a group, putting aside their own individual agendas. Not all women speak for the interests of the female gender, as some are appointed to represent the state or other groups.

Women’s groups must speak the “language” of negotiators. Women must also identify allies among official delegates, while “naming and shaming” those who are stalling discussions. Acknowledging that there are often logistical limitations to participation, fundraising is recommended to ensure a contingent travels wherever talks are held. Most importantly, the group must remember their collective power, focusing on We not I. Therefore, it is recommended that women’s representatives are routinely rotated and observers continually feed information to the larger group. It is also advisable to maintain a public presence and continue organized protests once seats at the table have been gained.

Activists from areas that have successfully gotten “women to the table” recommend that to increase women’s participation in conflict resolution, a high-level panel of women must convene and travel to communities, preparing women for upcoming talks and advocating for support within state institutions.

Barricading the doors: Liberian women say no to war

In 2003, as peace talks to Liberia’s second civil war stalled in Ghana’s Presidential Palace, a group of women wearing white t-shirts barricaded the men inside. The Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace began as an interfaith peace movement with a group singing at Monrovia’s fish market. As the conflict continued, the campaign grew stronger, eventually presenting their demand for peace to President Charles Taylor. Taking decisive action in Ghana when enough was enough, the women refused to let negotiators leave and threatened to strip naked amid warnings of arrest. The peace treaty was signed two weeks later and the women’s story presented in the film, Pray the Devil Back to Hell.
**JODY WILLIAMS ON A SUCCESSFUL INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN: LESSONS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN TO BAN LANDMINES**

**FIRST STEPS:** Six organizations come together to form an Ad Hoc Steering Committee tasked with developing a written call to action. They convene the first meeting of individuals and organizations interested in joining the campaign.

**KEEP IT SIMPLE:** The call to action has to be a straightforward, one page statement capturing people’s imagination. You must be able to express what you want in one phrase, but have the data to support it.

**BASIC MEMBERSHIP:** Active membership in the campaign is initiated by signing the call to action or support is expressed through endorsement. No fees are collected, opening membership to all who want to join. The call cannot be accepted with reservations – this is not a negotiation!

**SECTOR REPRESENTATION:** The Steering Committee is composed of organizations representing various sectors affected by the campaign, allowing for greater strategic impact.

**REACHABLE GOALS:** Strategy focuses on bi-annual and/or annual objectives deemed attainable. A meeting held at the end of every term determines successes and shortfalls to re-adjust tactics.

**FOLLOW THROUGH:** Earn respect, even from adversaries, by always acting on your statements.

**HUMANIZE THE PROCESS:** Never allow people to hide behind a suit – make them “feel the pain” to understand your campaign goals.

**WE NOT I:** With an overarching strategy in place, country campaigns shape their own programs – they know what policy to employ within their region to ensure success. Each organization contributes the resources they can, from staff members to promotion in newsletters.

**INFORMATION IS POWER:** Country campaigns report back to the coordinator on action taken so it can be shared globally.

**RECOGNIZE SUCCESS:** Apart from criticism, make sure to praise partners, collaborators, and governments when deserved.
...A number of researchers have been able to show that many armed groups can effectively repress the rape amongst their troops... If rape is not inevitable, it is preventable.

Jocelyn Kelly, Harvard Humanitarian Initiative

CHALLENGES WITH LAUNCHING A CAMPAIGN TO END RAPE AND GENDER VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT

While participants expressed their desire to launch a global campaign to end sexual violence in conflict, they indicated that there are a number of challenges and questions necessary to address beforehand.

The most basic problem is the fact that rape cannot be “banned” through a treaty in the same way as other weapons. Therefore, what would the “doable ask” be in the campaign?

Another issue has to do with definition and parameters – particularly, what constitutes conflict? Often post-conflict contexts are integrated into discussion on rape in war, however there are many other complex emergencies and fragile states not defined as in conflict, where women’s security is threatened due to armed groups or state services.

While the issues of protection, empowerment, participation, and prevention are interconnected, the problem of changing laws and assisting survivors have two different sets of people and institutions responsible for implementation. Therefore, a two-prong strategy needs to be developed.

In the end, the goal is changing the mind frame of society – launching an entire movement to ensure that rape and gender-based violence ends not only within conflict contexts but also during peace.
ne of the greatest crimes occurring today is one that is uncomfortable to speak about, explained Mairead Maguire. “Rape is something that is hard to bring out even in our own families and communities.” The Nobel Laureate declared that sexual violence affects the core of our own sexuality. Human beings are born to love and be loved, and therefore, sexual violence needs to be very clearly declared as a crime against humanity.

Maguire noted that silence around rape remains one of those problems that we “export” as we lack the courage to face it. “We have to bring this out and deal with it, no matter how painful…” she insisted.

There are numerous organizations that have laid the ground work for providing support to survivors and we need to listen to their voices. Yet we also need to understand that shame may keep them silent. Maguire, following on statements by participants throughout the week, pronounced that those who have been raped and sexually abused are not the ones who should feel shame. The shame belongs to the perpetrators of violence.

Looking ahead to a world that adopts principles of non-violence, Maguire said that “we are connected together in solidarity and in friendship,” and women must believe in themselves. “Because yes there are problems, but the human spirit is so magnificent that no matter what, it can rise again and that is what we are witnessing in our world today.”

Although the violence disproportionately impacts poor women from marginalized communities and ethnicities [in Sudan], those speaking out are primarily women who are educated and privileged, or are activists who have experience of public engagement and access to support networks. This situation highlights the enormous difficulties faced by women from marginalized groups to reveal and challenge their abuse without any form of support or backing. 

Amel Gorani, Consultant on Sudan
Participants acknowledged that media plays a significant role in helping shape the conversation on sexual violence in conflict, raising public awareness and contributing to pressure on policy action. Reports should be centred on participatory action, framing stories around solutions and actions readers can take, rather than leaving an audience in despair. Activists need to understand that media is biased and self-interested, and therefore has to be used appropriately – stories have to be unique, with engaging hooks, and reaching various audiences.

The role of citizen journalism in breaking the silence on rape is growing. The benefit of increasing social tools has allowed women to create their own communication channels and ensure that survivors are driving the action agenda. Longer-form first-hand accounts from war zones or cell phone rapid reaction linking to the online world has encouraged the establishment of networks to disseminate information and connect survivors with needed resources. Yet, as can only be expected, social media is an intimidating medium. Training is being initiated in conflict and underdeveloped regions – and should be supported. Women need to uncover their own voice and gain the confidence to share it with others.

**ROSE’S SONG**

In 1998, Rose Mapendo, a Tutsi Congolese, was arrested and sent to a death camp with seven of her children for 16 months. Her husband was killed and she gave birth to twins on the dirty camp floor. When negative thoughts would take over – singing was the key to survival:

*This night God, I thank you for the whole day you took care of me.*

*Now it’s dark, put me under your wing.*

*If I can’t fall asleep, give me good thoughts, don’t let my dreams hurt me.*

*Don’t let the devil discourage me. Help me to sleep well.*

*I trust you will take care of me; you will give me more energy.*

*And tomorrow I can do something good for you.*

**JODY’S MONOLOGUE**

In the 1980’s, Jody Williams was an activist in El Salvador at the height of civil conflict. During her time there, she was assaulted by a member of the notorious militia.

*I do not there is no smirk of sexual conqueror on your death squad face as you snarl your parting shot. Watch out, I know who you are.*

*The door closes, softly.*

*I force myself to pick up my book and read. Read, I command myself. Forcing my eyes to move across a page I cannot really see.*

*Keep your breathing shallow as possible until the noxious vapours of death dissipate, the hate.*

*That didn’t really just happen. If you never talk about it, if you never talk about it – it will never be real.*
CALL TO END RAPE AND GENDER VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT

As the conference drew to a close and participants had time for self-reflection, it was clear that all were committing to deepen their work – either in their personal lives or within the international community – to eradicate violence against women and support survivors of rape and sexual violence. The strategies identified throughout the meeting highlighted for many conference participants the need for national and regional campaigns and organizations working to end rape in war to join forces to form a global united front.

THE NOBEL WOMEN’S INITIATIVE COMMITMENT

The Nobel Women’s Initiative brought together 120 women from over 30 countries to discuss strategies for tackling rape and sexual violence in war and situations of political conflict. We leave this conference committed to continuing work to support and advance a coordinated and concerted civil society effort to deal with these horrors. We will continue to work with partners to ensure an end to impunity, and greater resources to support survivors of such violence. We will continue to press for the full implementation of UN resolutions 1325, 1820, 1960 and other legal instruments, national and regional plans of action and all other tools available. The ultimate goal is a world based on human security and nonviolent resolution of conflict.
RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE NOBEL WOMEN’S INITIATIVE

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN:

Spearhead more concerted and comprehensive coordination between donors and governments, and civil society and survivors to ensure strategies that integrate support to survivors, and prosecution and prevention towards ending sexual violence in conflict.

End impunity for sexual violence in conflict by supporting the International Criminal Court and other international justice mechanisms – including at the national level.

Provide long-term and sustained resources to local organizations supporting survivors and human rights defenders to enable long-term planning and the development of best practices.

Prioritize the views and concerns of women and girls when granting funding and identifying priorities for investment and reconstruction, enabling women and girls to participate politically in reconstruction efforts as required by UNSCR 1325.

Provide funding for research to better understand the problem of sexual violence in conflict and its ramifications and impact to feed into better responses and recovery strategies – more data is needed.

WHAT CAN THE INDIVIDUAL DO TO END SEXUAL VIOLENCE IN CONFLICT?

SPREAD THE WORD! Explain the issue to your friends, classmates and colleagues. Use social media to highlight women’s experiences and support groups.
http://16dayscwgl.rutgers.edu/

HELP BREAK THE SILENCE! Tell your local media – radio, newspaper, magazines and television – to raise the profile of sexual violence in conflict. Write letters to editors or discuss the subject on your blog.
http://www.peacewomen.org/

EDUCATE! Host an event to educate yourself and others. You can use different sources of media, such as film, news articles, theater, and music to communicate to your audience.
http://www.saynotoviolence.org/

RAISE POLITICAL WILL! Send letters to your elected officials to increase efforts to address sexual violence in conflict.
http://www.stoprapenow.org/

SUPPORT SURVIVORS! Get in touch with local women’s organizations supporting survivors of sexual violence in conflict or immigrants/refugees coming from war-torn countries.
http://www.womenforwomen.org/

DEMAND ACCOUNTABILITY! Express your outrage and denounce grave abuses conflict. Support international efforts to prosecute perpetrators.
http://www.iccnow.org/
During and after the conference, the online sphere was buzzing with participants sharing thoughts and experiences, while raising awareness on important issues raised during discussions. Twitter and blogs have proven indispensable in engaging with the public – allowing people in all corners of the earth to connect and share their voice.

**BLOGGING THE CONFERENCE - EXCERPTS FROM 50.50/OPENDEMOCRACY**

**THE ARMS TRADE TREATY: WHY WOMEN?**

**SARAH MASTERS, 19 MAY 2011**

To put it simply, it would not be possible to rape women in front of their communities and families, on such a large scale in much of the world’s conflicts if there weren’t such a wide availability of small arms and light weapons. In non-conflict or post-conflict situations such as Haiti and the Balkans, small arms facilitate widespread sexual and domestic violence. To protect women’s rights, the relevant binding international instruments covering gender-based violence, including rape and sexual violence, must now be applied in arms transfer decisions.

**CHILD SOLDIER, CHILD WIVES: WOUNDED FOR LIFE**

**LEYMAH GBOWEE, 20 MAY, 2011**

During the early days of the Liberian civil war, one of the child soldiers, I worked with, told me he didn’t rape anyone; he had sex with them and then added, “Isn’t that what women were made for”. This statement has often drawn angry reaction from women every time I mention it, but the question to ask is why did he think that way, would it be different if the statement came from an unarmed boy? Well, on March 8, 2011, as we women celebrated International Women’s Day, my 13 year old daughter went to school to tell her friends about the day and what it meant… A young boy in her class (13 years old) asked her, “what are women good for but making babies and caring for the home?”.

**PERPETUATION AND PERPETRATION: THE MOMENTUM OF VIOLENCE**

**JOCELYN KELLY, 25 MAY 2011**

The soldiers we interviewed described undergoing training to instil a sense of impunity and of entitlement to take what they want. Some described being beaten and ‘remoulded’ during their initiation. One man explained how this ritual made him leave ‘civilian thoughts behind’ as he turned into a different, militarised person.

Beyond this obvious transformation, soldiers describe other subtle changes that happen as a result of their desperate and dehumanising situation. Unexpectedly, interviewees talked about the fact that they didn’t have access to soap again and again. They talked about the shame of not even having the basic ability to wash themselves. Part of me wonders if there is a deeper significance in their need for cleansing. But then, I think there is no need to look deeper. The ability to bathe is so basically and deeply human. It confers dignity and a sense of self worth. This self-respect is something soldiers describe as totally absent in their lives. Their dehumanisation leads to dehumanisation of others.
How do we define sexual violence and how do we define conflict? If our definitions are not clear, our data will be less powerful. And yet, we are dealing with an important continuum from domestic violence to rape within relationships, to “transactual” sex in conflict zones by military abusing power, to individual cases of rape by soldiers and police to mass rape inflicted as a deliberate strategy or war or an element of the crime of genocide. We see rape in “conflict” in the post-election violence in Kenya and as an element of the crime of genocide in Darfur. But we also see rampant and unchecked sexual violence in Juarez, Mexico in the context of the “drug wars.” We can be both precise and inclusive as we scan the different contexts in which sexual violence in conflict occurs.
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STATEMENTS OF SUPPORT

STATEMENT FROM BAKIRA HASECIC - MOST WANTED: RATKO MLADIC

Ratko Mladic, former general of the Yugoslav National Army and then general of the Serb paramilitary forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992-1995 is the last person charged by the ICTY with genocide and war crimes who is still at large, eighteen years after he personally led the Serbian forces to overrun the UN protected zone, “safe haven”, of Srebrenica in Bosnia Herzegovina. In that single act of genocide committed against Bosniaks, some 8,800 civilian men were separated from their wives, sisters, mothers, daughters, and executed because they were Muslims. It is presumed that a substantial number of their female members of family were then raped.

Women in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and especially Bosniak women, were used as a weapon of waging the war which was mostly waged against Bosniaks, against civilians, throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina from February of 1992 until November of 1995.

In that period of time an estimated (as the exhumation of remains from mass, group and single graves still continues) 200,000 civilians were murdered and 20,000 women, primarily Bosniaks, were raped. The estimate of rape is taken to be low as victims typically prefer to hide the truth for fear of being stigmatized.

I ask my sisters, participants at the Nobel Women’s Initiative conference Women Forging a New Security – Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict, to support me and tens of thousands of Bosniak and other women who have been subjected to rape and other means of sexual violence, and demand from the world community at large, from the United Nations Organization, from the European Community, the Interpol, the Eupol, and all national police forces and governments in countries where Ratko Mladic may be hiding from justice, that he be apprehended and subjected to due process without any further hesitation and/or excuses.

Ratko Mladic was arrested in Serbia the following day, May 26, 2011.

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF INDIAN AND MANIPURI WOMEN

We, 120 women from 33 countries including three women Nobel Peace Laureates gathered at the conference “Women Forging a New Security: Ending Sexual Violence in Conflict” in Montebello, Canada, May 23-25, 2011, call upon the Governments of India and the state of Manipur and other Northeast Indian states and non-state armed groups operating in the region to end violence against women in Manipur and Northeast India. We declare our solidarity with Irom Sharmila and hundreds of thousands of women in Manipur and India's Northeast region who have non-violently resisted militarization in the name of insurgency and counter-insurgency. We call upon the Government of India to uphold its democratic values by repealing the Armed Forces (Special Powers) Act of 1958. We call on all parties to cease attacks on the civilian population and seek peaceful solutions.