

Together for Transformation

Men, Masculinities and Peacebuilding



*International Women's Day
for Peace and Disarmament
May 2010*



What is May 24?

May 24 International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament began in Europe in the early 1980s, when hundreds of thousands of women organized against nuclear weapons and the arms race. Since the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the International Peace Bureau have published the May 24 package to raise awareness of and increase support for women's peace initiatives. This package accompanies the May 24 event which is organized each year by the Women Peacemakers Program on a different theme, this year in cooperation with Musicians without Borders.

This publication and the work of IFOR's Women Peacemakers Program is made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



The 2010 May 24 Action Pack 'Together for Transformation – Men, Masculinities and Peacebuilding' contains contributions by: Cynthia Cockburn, Isabelle Geuskens, Merle Gosewinkel, Josie Lehrer, Padare / Enkundleni / Men's Forum on Gender, Ella Page, Wynne Russell, Brita Schmidt, Sylvia Sitawa, Andreas Speck, Donald Steinberg and José de Vries

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Copies of the information pack from previous years are available from IFOR's Women Peacemakers Program and the International Peace Bureau (contact: j.devries@ifor.org).

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

The Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) empowers women world-wide through gender-sensitive nonviolence training and education. WPP is a program of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR). Founded in 1919, IFOR is an inter-faith movement committed to active nonviolence, with branches and affiliates in 43 countries. IFOR has consultative status at the United Nations (ECOSOC) and has included six Nobel Peace Prize Laureates among its members.



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Introduction



The theme of this year's May 24 Pack might seem a little odd at first: Why are we celebrating the 2010 International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament with a publication that focuses on Men, Masculinities and Peacebuilding? What do men have to do with this?

Men are a recurring topic within the women's movement. We often discuss patriarchy and its many faces; we often talk about men beating their wives, men raping women during war, men dominating politics, economics, culture and religion... With all the neglect of women's rights and the ridicule of feminism that we witness on a daily basis, we sometimes can't help but think of men as quite a problematic category of people: a category which is often the cause of women's suffering and which repeatedly frustrates our hard work for women's equality...

But...what if our own liberation actually starts with seeing men not only as perpetrators and obstacles, but also as victims of their own gender construct? Or even as potential allies that we could team up with? This might at first sound too far-fetched for some of us. How can those who hold power ever be real allies? How can those who victimize others ever be considered "victims"?

And yet that is exactly how Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. perceived his white brothers and sisters during the days of the Civil Rights Movement. His active nonviolent (ANV) principles were based on the firm belief that one should not fight the oppressors, but rather the oppressive system. He believed that perpetrators are also victims: for in the end, those who oppress others also oppress themselves. In this way, King reminded us that one person's freedom and wellbeing simply cannot exist at the expense of others who suffer.

Ten years after the ratification of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325,¹ we might want to borrow some of this thinking. For while ten years of UNSCR 1325 may

have generated a lot of paperwork and verbal commitments, women on the ground are still facing the consequences of being women in a war zone. So perhaps it is time to review some of our strategies. Perhaps it is time to start engaging more with the very ones who are most apt to perpetrate the injustices against women.

When IFOR/WPP started organizing its Training of Trainers programs for women peacemakers, our trainees would tell us how the training had contributed to their work for peace, as it strengthened their confidence, knowledge and skills. However, one obstacle they continued to face was the lack of support they received from the men within their own organizations and communities. Whenever the women would mention UNSCR 1325, most men would just switch off.

This made us realize that the full implementation of UNSCR 1325 remains obstructed by the fact that those who make the decisions on war and peace too often still dismiss 1325 as a women's issue only. Most men do not seem to relate to it, and if they do, it is more apt to be from a rather technical point of view. Still, 1325 is about *gender* and peacebuilding. And men also have a gender identity. So if we want to engage men and bring them on board as allies for our cause, we might need to get more personal. We have to point out how war targets men because of their gender: how it narrows their gender identity to an intensely violent masculinity which is measured according to one's willingness to fight, mutilate, kill and die for their country. During war, the "male box" only tolerates a masculine identity that is rooted in extreme violence – with those men who want to escape from it facing severe consequences.

Women and children undeniably suffer enormously during war. However, we need to start recognizing that men also suffer – they suffer at the hands of other men due to a patriarchal system that expects men to take up dominant and often violent roles. If we want UNSCR 1325 to succeed,



we will need to reveal that we live in cultures that chronically dehumanize their men as well. We will have to go to the root of the problem and start addressing the construction of male and female identities, including a male gender identity that supports men's violence and militarization. We will need to start opening up the male box, so that more constructive masculinities can take root. Several men's groups and networks are already actively working towards this, and the number of men who are getting on board is increasing every day. Women and men need to join their efforts and support each other as allies, for this will carry the seed for a transformation of the peace-and-security agenda from a radical gender perspective.

This May 24 Pack hopes to contribute towards further opening up this debate. It shares some of our own experiences with our Training of Trainers program with male peacebuilders. It features the story of a male ally who looks back at the days when he was not yet on board in terms of the 1325 agenda, and it introduces us to gender theory of war in an article by Cynthia Cockburn. You will be able to read about the inspiring work being done by men and women who are bravely challenging the patriarchal conditioning of their respective societies. Lastly, the Pack will provide you with a number of recommendations in terms of working together with male allies.

Wishing you inspired reading,
Isabelle Geuskens
IFOR/WPP Program Manager

Note

- 1 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was adopted by the Security Council in October 2000. It specifically addresses the impact of war on women as well as women's contributions to conflict resolution and sustainable peace. For more information, please visit: www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/1325.html.

Women and Men as Allies in Peacebuilding

Background and development of the WPP's pilot project for the Training of Trainers (ToT) on gender-sensitive active nonviolence for male peace activists

By José de Vries



The IFOR Women Peacemakers Program

For more than a decade, IFOR's Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) has advocated for the recognition of women's experiences of war and the integration of a gender perspective in peacebuilding. War and preparations for war are gendered activities, building on a continuum of violence that is rooted in structures that justify the domination of one group over another. Ideas about masculinities and femininities are important to consider when taking a gender perspective on peacebuilding. These ideas are at the heart of why and how people fight, with a hegemonic, violent masculinity expecting and encouraging men to fight and die in wars, to be tough and to be 'real men'.

Why has a women's program decided to organize a Training of Trainers for men?

Since 2002, the WPP has been organizing Training of Trainer (ToT) programs for women peace activists on peacebuilding through gender-sensitive active nonviolence. These ToTs have so far resulted in some 40 follow-up nonviolence trainings in 24 countries, reaching out to approximately 1300 people. The WPP has always highly valued the voices of the women peacemakers on the ground, those who know best what kind of support they need in their work, within their own context.

Over the years, women trainees have informed us that, while training and empowering women on gender-sensitive peacebuilding is very important, it is not not enough in itself to change the practice of peacebuilding altogether. They have repeatedly indicated that they lack male supporters for their local peace work, as well as support from male colleagues within their peace organizations and networks. Whenever the topic of gender is raised, women in their communities show an interest, yet male support and buy-in is often lacking. In order to truly transform cultures of war and violence, the women trainees have felt the need

to start working with male allies. More specifically: Gender-sensitive male allies – allies who could act as powerful role models for the men in their communities.

This observation started a thinking process within the WPP, which included looking closely at some fundamental questions: "Are we – as a program that focuses on empowering women peacemakers – now going to shift our focus to working with men? And if we do, where do we find male allies? How can we link these men to the women activists in a strategic way – how do we establish alliances?"

Starting in 2003, WPP included sessions on "Masculinities" in its annual ToTs for women peacemakers, and those were met with much enthusiasm. In 2006, the WPP felt the time had come to invest in the idea of an innovative pilot project on "Masculinities": a ToT on gender-sensitive active nonviolence for male peace activists. That project was subsequently included in the grant application that the WPP submitted to the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

From the very start of this project, we realized that it might jeopardize our credibility within the women's (peace) movement, since the ToT might be perceived as 'investing the limited funds available for women and gender equality work in men'. However, the focus on men in our work is in the spirit of our overall focus: to contribute to gender equality in peacebuilding. We do that in line with the IFOR philosophy of change through Active Nonviolence (ANV). ANV reasons that in order to work effectively for peace, the oppressed group must educate and organize itself (women's empowerment) and, in a next step, engage with the power holders in order to find ways to challenge the situation of injustices. In doing so, it is important to point out to the latter group how the existing power system (patriarchy) in the end not only brings privilege, but also



disadvantage (such as the large number of men who are exposed to violence committed by other men).

The WPP has always worked to support the empowerment of women as actors of change. This not only does justice to women, but also makes peacebuilding itself more sustainable and effective. Therefore, we were always clear that the men with whom we would be working in the framework of the ToT pilot project would need to recognize, understand and value this as well. We defined our overall objective for the ToT as: “the creation of a pool of female and male peacemakers working together as allies in an open, constructive, and respectful manner for peacebuilding through gender-sensitive active nonviolence.”

Throughout the pilot project (2009–2010), we will continue to analyze how investing in the establishment of a pool of male allies actually contributes to the meaningful participation of women in peacebuilding.

Overall outline of the ToT 2009-2010

The first part of the pilot ToT Cycle (“Overcoming Violence: Exploring Masculinities, Violence and Peace”) took place in December 2009 in the Netherlands and focused on the theory and practice of gender-sensitive active nonviolence, the theory of masculinities and its relation to violence, and participatory and gender-sensitive facilitation. During the first six months of 2010, the 19 trainees participating in this first ToT will organize – with the support of a female peace activist – a community project or training focusing on gender-sensitive active nonviolence. In 2010, a second ToT will be organized to consolidate the trainees’ learning and to address further training needs.

Development of the ToT process

At the start of the shaping of this ToT, the WPP team, with input from trainers from previous WPP ToTs, defined the overall expectations for the pilot project and brainstormed on its content. With this in mind, WPP Information Officer José de Vries and Trainer Jens van Tricht¹ attended the Global Symposium on “Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality” in Rio de Janeiro that took place from March 29 – April 3, 2009 to analyze the current field of thinking in terms of masculinities, peacebuilding and active nonviolence.

In early April 2009, the WPP sent out a call for trainers. The response to that call confirmed the unique niche of our pilot project, as it proved quite challenging to find a single prospective trainer with expertise in all four key areas: peacebuilding, active nonviolence (ANV), gender

and masculinities. From the approximately 150 applications we had received, we selected two trainers who – combined – brought the experience and skills required: Patricia Ackerman and Steven Botkin. Patricia has over 25 years’ experience as an ANV activist and advocate in the areas of gender, anti-racism, and LGBTQ justice and has directed social-justice projects at the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FoR) in New York. Steven Botkin is the executive director of Men’s Resources International and has over 20 years of experience in leading workshops and training programs on masculinities and gender-based violence.

Even as we were in the process of selecting the trainers, we sent out a call for male trainees. The overwhelming response of approximately 300 high-quality applicants from all over the world underlined the current interest in the topic. Based on strict criteria – including motivation and existing skills/experience with peacebuilding/ANV and gender – we selected 30 men for a selection interview. After the interview – which included a further motivation check, an English language check and a double reference check, we selected 20 men of whom we had the impression they would be in a good position to spread the skills, knowledge and spirit of the ToT further within their own networks. All the selected men are trainers themselves, some of them knowledgeable about gender, while others have more experience in the field of peacebuilding and/or active nonviolence.

Due to challenges in obtaining a visa, one man was unable to come to the Netherlands. In total, 19 men from 17 different countries on five different continents participated in the ToT: Burundi, Cambodia, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Fiji Islands, Ghana, India, Ireland, Kenya, Lebanon, Liberia, Nepal, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Philippines, Sri Lanka, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

Since the overall objective of the ToT pilot program is to create a pool of female and male peacemakers who will work together as allies, the trainees were asked, prior to coming to the training in the Netherlands, to engage with women in their communities so as to hear from them in what ways men could become better allies.

Curriculum and resource development

During a two-day, face-to-face meeting, the draft curriculum developed by the trainers was discussed with the WPP team and previous trainers of WPP ToTs. The curriculum was based on the WPP’s expectations of the ToT, the trainees’ personal needs assessments and the trainers’ own





valuable experiences, skills and knowledge. Based on this rich exchange of experiences, the curriculum was finalized.

Alongside a handbook containing the latest resource materials for each training day, a USB key was prepared that included resources collected over the years on the topics of gender, masculinities, engaging men, peacebuilding and active nonviolence. Additional resources such as the DVD *Tough Guise* by Jackson Katz and the book *Women, War, Peace* by Elisabeth Rehn and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf complemented the trainees' resource package.

In addition, it was recognized that the development of the pilot ToT cycle would have to be a process of ongoing reflection and the sharing of experiences and perspectives, with the trainees playing an important role in shaping its content according to their needs and realities. The use of a variety of monitoring and evaluation formats² supported this reflection process.

First part of the ToT

The first part of the ToT (2009) focused on the advanced instruction in the theory and practice of gender-sensitive active nonviolence, the theory of masculinities and its relation to violence, and participatory and gender-sensitive facilitation. The richness in the exchanges of strategies and cultural practices on these issues has been an empowering experience for the trainees, as well as the trainers and the WPP.

External guests – representatives from women's and men's groups in the Netherlands as well as a UN Special

Rapporteur – and specific contributions on gender and militarism, nonviolence and gender mainstreaming by WPP Staff Members complemented the excellent co-facilitation of the trainers who served as role models in terms of women and men working together as allies.

Since personal transformation is a very important aspect of peace work, the first part of the ToT put a lot of emphasis on this, alongside building skills and capacity. The trainees considered the personal sharing and the connection with participants from different backgrounds and cultures, as well as the opportunity to come together as one group working on gender-sensitive active nonviolence, as the most valuable aspects of the training.

The majority of trainees indicated that the ToT had resulted in increased knowledge and awareness on gender-sensitive active nonviolence and a better understanding of women's realities. Overall, the ToT was given an average rating of 8+ (out of a possible 10) by the trainees.

Some issues will need to be explored more deeply during the second part of the ToT (2010). Trainees expressed that they would like further insight into the theory and practice of active nonviolence and into theories related to femininities and masculinities.

In general, it has been very inspiring but also challenging to shape the content of the ToT in line with trainees' different cultural backgrounds. As one of the trainees put it: "the situation of those present was so divergent in many, many ways that we were all in the same boat of relating the



course to our own situations, and some bits fit different people better at different times. The situation concerning women in the societies we came from varied extremely as well as the norms for interaction between women and men. The point was well made by one participant in stressing cultural sensitivity as well as gender sensitivity. I would say, not just cultural sensitivity but also cultural awareness, awareness of people's culture and history.”

Currently, we are linking the trainees to female activists from our network to support them as they further develop and conduct their community projects or training programs as part of their follow-up activity for the ToT. The trainees are developing quite diverse projects. A trainee from the Democratic Republic of the Congo is working on the creation of a men's group in his country that will work on conflict prevention and resolution and the building of synergy between men and women for effective peace building and the prevention of gender-based violence. A trainee from Nepal is planning to gender-sensitize media representatives in an effort to increase the number of news items promoting peace, social justice and gender equality. Several trainees have reported that they have incorporated the aspect of gender-sensitive active nonviolence and the aspect of masculinities into their training programs in their home context.

In July 2010, a second ToT will be organized to consolidate the trainees' learning and to address further training needs. Currently, the WPP and the trainers are in the process of developing the content of this part of the ToT cycle. The WPP is looking forward to continuing its work with this inspiring group of male activists.

A powerful outcome of the training is a statement that the ToT trainees produced to affirm their commitment to gender-sensitive peacebuilding: “We understand that men and women are socialized in a patriarchal system that legitimizes the use of different forms of violence to gain, restore and control power and affects the powerless and marginalized sections of society. We fully acknowledge that women suffer far more than men from gender oppression. [...]”

The complete statement can be downloaded from the WPP website:

www.ifor.org/WPP/Together%20forTransformation-ACall-toMenandBoys_final.pdf.

Some of the trainees' impressions can be read via the blog: womenpeacemakers.blogspot.com/.

The WPP has shared and discussed the key results, insights and lessons learned from the 2009 Training of Trainers during the 2010 Commission on the Status of Women.

Notes

- 1 Jens van Tricht has been involved with the WPP as a trainer in previous ToTs. For more information, please visit his website (in Dutch): www.jensvantricht.nl
- 2 The trainees were asked to fill in a pre- and post-training survey, another survey analyzing their personal indicators of change, a mid-term evaluation format, a final evaluation format and formats inquiring about their daily impressions and feedback.



Beyond Victimhood

Protection and Participation of Women in the Pursuit of Peace

By Donald Steinberg



Testimony by Donald Steinberg, Deputy President, International Crisis Group, to the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Washington D.C., 1 October 2009.

Mr. Chairman. I would like to begin by thanking you and ranking member Senator Lugar for your initiative in bringing us together to address the issue of global violence against women, and for your continuing leadership on these issues. My testimony will focus on eliminating such violence by promoting protection and participation of women in the pursuit of peace.

For those of us who have spent decades working on issues of women's empowerment and protection in conflict situations, these are exciting times. There is a growing awareness not only of the personal costs of violence against women, but of the tremendous collective costs such violence imposes on the global community in failing to achieve our goals of building peace, pursuing development, and reconstructing post-conflict societies.

Signs of Progress

It is tragic that it has taken graphic images of women raped in the Eastern Congo, and young girls with acid thrown in their faces in Afghanistan for daring to return to school to shame our collective conscience, but the world is responding. At the United Nations, UN Action Against Sexual Violence in Conflict is bringing together the enhanced work of a dozen separate agencies to stop rape now. Security Council Resolution 1820, spearheaded by former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, and a new resolution passed under the stewardship of Secretary of State Hillary Clinton yesterday have created a special representative for eliminating violence against women, mandated new measures of accountability for action, created structures to name and shame parties not protecting women against sexual violence, authorized the use of UN sanctions in such cases, and defined sexual violence itself as a threat

to international peace and security. The creation of a new UN Under-Secretary-General for women's affairs has the potential to end the disarray that has bedeviled the efforts of UNIFEM and its sister agencies, if key steps are taken to ensure its effectiveness and relevance.

Within the U.S. government, the formation of the State Department's Office for Global Women's Affairs under the formidable Ambassador Verveer; enhanced programs within USAID and the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration; and the leadership provided by this Committee, President Obama, Secretary Clinton and Ambassador Rice are encouraging. And hopefully, we will soon be able to celebrate the re-introduction and quick passage of the International Violence Against Women Act. Now is the time for this landmark legislation.

Our challenge now is to translate these developments into enhanced protection for women facing violence in the context of armed conflict.

A Cautionary Tale

For me, these steps are both long-overdue and deeply personal. In 1994, while serving as President Clinton's advisor for Africa, I supported negotiations to end two decades of civil war in Angola that had killed a half million people and left four million homeless. When the Lusaka Protocol was signed, I boasted that not a single provision in the agreement discriminated against women. "The agreement is gender-neutral," I said in a speech.

President Clinton then named me ambassador to Angola. It took me only a few weeks after my arrival in Luanda to realize that a peace agreement that calls itself "gender-neutral" is, by definition, discriminatory against women.



First, the agreement did not require the participation of women in the implementation body. As a result, 40 men and no women sat around the peace table. This imbalance silenced women's voices and meant that issues such as sexual violence, human trafficking, abuses by government and rebel security forces, reproductive health care, and girls' education were generally ignored.

The peace accord was based on 13 separate amnesties that forgave the parties for atrocities committed during the conflict. Given the prominence of sexual abuse during the conflict, including rape as a weapon of war, amnesty meant that men with guns forgave other men with guns for crimes committed against women. The amnesties introduced a cynicism at the heart of our efforts to rebuild the justice and security sectors.

Similarly, demobilization programs for ex-combatants defined a combatant as anyone who turned in a gun. Thousands of women who had been kidnapped or coerced into the armed forces were largely excluded, including so-called bush wives and sex slaves. And demobilization camps were rarely constructed with women in mind, such that women risked rape each time they left the camp to get firewood or used latrines in isolated and dimly-lit settings.

Male ex-combatants received demobilization assistance, but were sent back to communities that had learned to live without them during decades of conflict. The frustration of these men exploded into an epidemic of alcoholism, drug abuse, divorce, rape, and domestic violence. This was especially true for young boys, who had never learned how to interact on an equal basis with girls their own ages. In effect, the end of civil war unleashed a new era of violence against women and girls.

Even such well-intentioned efforts as clearing major roads of landmines to allow four million displaced persons to return to their homes backfired against women. Road clearance sometimes preceded the demining of fields, wells, and forests. As newly resettled women went out to plant the fields, fetch water, and collect firewood, they faced a new rash of landmine accidents.

We recognized these problems, and brought out gender advisers and human rights officers; launched programs in reproductive health care, girls' education, micro-enterprise, and support for women's NGOs; and involved women in planning and implementing all our programs. But by then, civil society – and particularly women – had

come to view the peace process as serving as serving the interests of the warring parties. When the process faltered in 1998, there was little public pressure on the leaders to prevent a return to conflict, and war soon re-emerged.

Making Peace Matter for Women

We all recognize that when social order breaks down it is women and girls who suffer most, especially when rape is used as a weapon of war. But how we make peace is equally important in determining whether the end of armed conflict means a safer world for women or simply a different and in some cases more pernicious era of violence against them.

Angola is sadly not an isolated case. Around the world, talented women peace builders face discrimination in legal, cultural and traditional practices, and threats of violence make even the most courageous women think twice before stepping forward.

Groundbreaking research under Anne Marie Goetz at UNIFEM shows that only one in 14 participants in recent peace negotiations since 1992 have been women. In recent accords on Indonesia, Nepal, Somalia, Cote d'Ivoire, Philippines and Central African Republic, there was not a single woman signatory, mediator, or negotiator. Of 300 ceasefire accords, power-sharing arrangements and other peace agreements negotiated since 1989, just 18 of them – just 6 percent – contain even a passing reference to sexual violence. For conflicts in Bosnia, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Somalia – where such violence was a dominant feature of the fighting – the peace accords are silent.

Similarly, in emergency funding to support 23 post-conflict situations since 2006, only 3 percent of the projects included specific funding for women and girls – this despite our knowledge that girls' education, for example, is the single best investment in promoting stable societies and improving socio-economic standards in these countries.

To cite one example of great national interest now, it is deeply disturbing, given the Taliban's abhorrent record in Afghanistan on women's rights and access for women and girls to education and health services during their tenure in power, that the insurgents have made in-roads by arguing that women in Afghanistan today suffer broadly from the lack of security, corruption, rights abuses and civilian casualties. Sporadic and regional advances in political participation by women and school attendance by girls have been offset by a failure to insist on accountability for warlords



whose forces committed sexual violence during the years of conflict, and continue such abuse today. Instead, a number of these criminals have been given positions of power.

The murder of women leaders and human rights defenders in Afghanistan and the failure of the government to identify and prosecute attackers underlines the impression of a lack of national commitment to women's rights. Not only has the Karzai administration failed to publicly articulate a vision of women's rights that is both home-grown and consistent with traditional Afghan Islamic society, it has demonstrated a willingness to treat women's rights as a bargaining chip to win support from traditional leaders. Thus, it has ceded the debate to those who erroneously argue that such efforts are an alien concept imposed on Afghanistan by foreigners and their Afghan "puppets."

We can no longer afford to exclude the talents and insights of half the population in the pursuit of peace or to treat them as mere victims, because the stakes of game have risen dramatically.

Failure to consolidate peace and stability no longer impacts just the people of that country, but opens the door to training camps for global terrorists; new routes for trafficking of persons, arms and illegal drugs; flood of refugees across borders and even oceans; incubation of pandemic disease; and even piracy.

Collective Action: Imperatives for the United Nations

Given the importance of collective action in addressing these challenges, I wanted to discuss as well what the United States can do in collaboration with the United Nations to pursue these objectives.

Despite the positive steps cited earlier, the United Nations has thus far failed to lead by example, in part because of a gender architecture that identifies no lead agency, mandates no clear division of responsibilities, and holds no one accountable. This situation thwarts the efforts of many dedicated and talented professionals working in such entities as the UNIFEM, the Office of the Special Adviser for Gender Issues, the Division for the Advancement of Women, the International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, the Peacebuilding Commission, and others. Their work is currently under-funded and poorly coordinated.

Given that the ideal solution – a single agency with at least \$1 billion in dedicated funding, a so-called "UNICEF for

Women" – seemed beyond reach, the UN General Assembly last month approved the creation of a single office, headed by an Under-Secretary General, to ensure greater coordination and synergies, and raise the profile of women's issues at the UN Secretariat in New York and in UN missions abroad. The details of this office were put aside to be worked out later under the direction of the new Under-Secretary-General. But the potential impact of this change on women in the real world is all about the details. As the NGO coalition Gender Equality Architecture Reform points out, the following commitments must be secured:

Women in civil society around the world – and especially from conflict-related countries – must have a real voice in the new entity, not just on an ad hoc consultative basis, but through a formal decision-making role on issues that impact their lives. The principle must be, "Nothing about us without us."

The office must be mandated to develop and promote time-bound goals backed by monitoring, accountability and enforcement mechanisms for achieving reductions in violence against women, participation of women in peace processes, allocation of reconstruction resources to projects of interest to women, and the like. There must be rewards for achieving these objectives and sanctions for failing to do so.

There must be a quantum jump in the resources dedicated to these issues, especially for projects in conflict impacted countries – up to \$1 billion per year, or just about 30 cents per woman. If increased resources are to depend on voluntary contributions, pledges must be made now and the Secretary-General must make obtaining those resources among his highest priorities. This will ensure a presence for the entity in all impacted countries.

The new Under-Secretary-General must be a world-class figure, with the capacity to generate public attention, mobilize political will among governments, and "work" the UN system. The Secretary-General must give this leader the respect and resources needed to do her job, and access to the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

The United States should provide additional financial support for this office with voluntary contributions that permit it to achieve broad presence in conflict countries and effective mainstreaming of gender issues within the entire UN community. U.S. assistance can help ensure the upgrading of the role of gender advisers in UN missions, and to promote their success through training and mentorship.



UNSC Resolution 1325: A Dream Deferred

The fight against sexual violence against women can only be won in conjunction with efforts to implement UN Security Council Resolution 1325, a groundbreaking resolution passed in October 2000. Resolution 1325 is a road map to promoting women's full engagement in peace negotiations, gender balance in post-conflict governments, properly trained peacekeepers and local security forces, protection for displaced women and accountability for sexual violence. It urges the Secretary-General to bring a gender perspective to all peacekeeping operations and other UN programs, and calls for greater funding for measures to protect women during armed conflict and rebuild institutions that matter to women.

Plans are already underway to "celebrate" the tenth anniversary of Resolution 1325 in October 2010, but as noted earlier, the current situation hardly warrants celebration. Instead, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Deputy Secretary-General Asha Rose Migiro must act now to identify and implement specific reforms and practical steps in the UN system, member states and the broader international community to better protect women in conflict situations and ensure their participation in building peace.

A first step might be to appoint an advisory panel on Resolution 1325 of prominent international figures from developing and developed countries with past engagement on gender and armed conflict and knowledge of the UN system. More than a shop-talk or report-writing exercise, the advisory panel would develop and help implement accountability mechanisms by identifying time-bound goals, proposing measurement criteria, assigning responsibility for implementation, and defining rewards and sanctions to ensure compliance by individuals and agencies within the UN system. It would seek to reverse the shameful situation in which women fill only three of the Secretary-General's 40 or so posts for country-specific special representatives.

The panel might also consider charging a single entity, perhaps the new office of the Under-Secretary-General, with overseeing the Resolution 1325 agenda; promoting the creation of a permanent Security Council working group; establishing a watch-list of countries and non-state actors of concern to be named and shamed into improving their records; ensuring periodic reports by the Secretary-General to the Security Council on the status of Resolution 1325 implementation; and enshrining the principle that sanctions can be adopted on governments and non-state actors that abuse or fail to protect for women.

If these steps seem like a stretch, it is important to remember that each of these measures now applies to the protection of children in armed conflict under UNSC Resolutions 1612 and 1882

American Leadership

Mr. Chairman. The United States must provide leadership on these issues, first by ensuring that all its diplomatic and military personnel are familiar with and committed to the provisions of UNSC Resolutions 1325 and 1820, and have the resources needed to ensure its implementation.

UN Ambassador Susan Rice and her team have stepped forward impressively on these issues, building on a good work by former Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad. In their future efforts, they should be guided by several principles. The United States should insist that the mandate for every UN peacekeeping mission includes as a priority the protection of women and the safeguarding of women peace builders, including through the provision of personal security, training, and stipends. The United States should demand that negotiations led by the United Nations include a critical mass of qualified women on all sides – beginning at 20 percent – even if it takes quotas to do so.

Similarly, the United States should prioritize in post-conflict reconstruction and donors conferences the rebuilding of social structures of particular importance to women, such as reproductive health care and girls' education, as well as significant provisions for women to attain livelihood security, such as access to and ownership of productive assets such as land. All post conflict recovery plans should be subjected to gender-impact analysis, and specify the funds dedicated to women's needs.

U.S. support for the rebuilding and reform of armies, police, and other security forces should insist on training in gender issues for all personnel and require the incorporation of women into those forces, in particular so that local women who have been abused will come forward with their accusations. The United States could commit to providing teams of women military observers to peacekeeping mission and ceasefire monitoring teams.

The presence of women in these missions and teams has been proven to encourage reporting of sexual violence and much greater attention to monitoring the problem.

I would also like to encourage the United States to expand its leadership in preventing violence against displaced women, both refugees and internally-displaced persons.



**Resolution 1325 (2000)**

**Adopted by the Security Council at its 4213th meeting, on
31 October 2000**

The Security Council,

Recalling its resolutions 1261 (1999) of 25 August 1999, 1265 (1999) of 17 September 1999, 1296 (2000) of 19 April 2000 and 1314 (2000) of 11 August 2000, as well as relevant statements of its President, and *recalling also* the statement of its President to the press on the occasion of the United Nations Day for Women's Rights and International Peace (International Women's Day) of 8 March 2000 (SC/6816),

Recalling also the commitments of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (A/52/231) as well as those contained in the outcome document of the twenty-third Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly entitled "Women 2000: Gender Equality, Development and Peace for the Twenty-First Century" (A/S-23/10/Rev.1), in particular those concerning women and armed conflict,

Bearing in mind the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter for the maintenance of international peace and security,

Expressing concern that civilians, particularly women and children, account for the vast majority of those adversely affected by armed conflict, including as refugees and internally displaced persons, and increasingly are targeted by combatants and armed elements, and *recognizing* the consequent impact this has on durable peace and reconciliation,

Reaffirming the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building, and *stressing* the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution,

Reaffirming also the need to implement fully international humanitarian and human rights law that protects the rights of women and girls during and after conflicts,

One simple step would have a dramatic impact. In order to put a stop once and for all to the rape of women and girls during the collection of firewood, the global body for humanitarian agencies, the Inter-Agency Standing Committee, recently adopted guidance on the provision of cooking fuel in humanitarian settings, based in large part on recommendations from the Women's Refugee Commission. The United States should mobilize donors to ensure that the resources are there to implement these provisions fully, starting with the high-risk regions of Sudan, Chad, eastern Democratic Republic of Congo, and the huge Dadaab refugee camp in Kenya.

Keeping Our Eyes on the Prize

As we consider these and other funding, institutional and administrative changes, we must never lose sight of our real goal. The success of our efforts will not be measured

by the reports we issue, the publicity we generate, or even the money we spend. It will come in changing the lives of women on the ground, empowering women to play their rightful and vital role in post-conflict governments and economies, securing seats for women in peace negotiations, preventing armed thugs from abusing women in conditions of displacement, holding government security forces and warlords alike accountable for sexual violence against women, preventing traffickers from turning women and girls into commodities, building strong civil society networks for women and ending the stigma of victimization that bedevils women leaders.

No challenge we face as an international community is more important than this to creating a safe, secure and prosperous world for women and for men.

Thank you.

Militarism, Masculinity and Men

By Cynthia Cockburn



Talk for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF),¹ March 20, 2010

Militarism, Masculinity and Men

“Militarism, masculinity and men” is rather a tough subject to talk about and probably a tough subject to listen to as well...Probably there are a lot of different thoughts about it in this audience. I've been a member of WILPF for some years now, and I believe our membership is quite mixed. My hunch is that women don't join WILPF all for the same reasons or with the same mindset about peace and war. Some of us probably join simply in order to strengthen the peace movement as a whole by mobilizing women – women as a category of citizens – to encourage women to be active and make their voice heard on all peace issues. In other words, by setting up a women's organization, we hope we can add women's numbers and energy to the movement as a whole. And that's a good enough reason.

Then there are others of us who have chosen to join WILPF because we are particularly touched by the fate of women in war. We want to be in an organization that can react to women's experience as victims and survivors in countries affected by war and militarization. In Congo for instance. Or Afghanistan. We value WILPF as a vehicle for getting those women's voices heard and their suffering recognized. But also to get women's strengths valued – to assert what women can contribute to peacemaking. In this sense, obtaining and responding to UN Security Council Resolution 1325² has fitted well into WILPF's role.

I certainly count myself in both those types of WILPF member. But there's a third reason some of us join a women's antiwar organization – and it's usually as well as, not instead of, the other two I mentioned. We join a women's antiwar organization because we have a *gender theory of war*. We are learning from feminist antimilitarists, feminist peace activists, around the world who have been

developing a rather fresh understanding of militarism and war, that adds something to the way the mainstream peace movement sees it.

Women are saying, yes, right, capitalism is a cause of war: neoliberal global capitalism and corporate power. And yes, nationalism, too – the system of exclusion and inclusion, ethnic hatreds, white supremacy – that cluster of things is a cause of war. Serbs killing Muslims, Hutus killing Tutsis. On those things we agree.

BUT, they are also saying – and I have heard them say it in a lot of different countries, most recently in South Korea and Japan where I was last year – you have to see patriarchy as one of the causes of war. That's a clumsy old word, but I hear a lot of women using it still, for lack of an alternative. Patriarchy: the gender order in which we live, the system through which men gain massively by subordinating women. It may not be a cause in the very same way as the capitalist's greed for oil, or the nationalist's hatred of Christians, Jews or Muslims, is a cause. But patriarchy – including, but not only, the way men and masculinity are shaped in patriarchy – predisposes our societies to sustain militarization, to make war seem natural and thinkable.

It is that gender “take” on violence and war that has brought some of us into WILPF and women's peace activism. I have absolutely no clue as to what proportion of WILPF members are in this women's organization for this third reason. But in this talk I'm going to assume some of us here are. We are here because we want a space in which we don't have to fight all the time to assert the relevance of gender. We want a space in which we can clarify it, and go into more detail about it, understand it more deeply, and work out strategies for peace that take account of it.

Now, I think WILPF does supremely well at acting on the first two reasons I mentioned for having a women-only organization. But I actually think we don't campaign very

much around the third. If I am right about that, then we can go on to ask: Why not? Why don't we speak out more clearly and more often on our hunch that patriarchal gender power relations, especially men and masculine cultures, are implicated in militarism, militarization and war?

I think it's because saying it makes us feel uncomfortable. First, it sounds as though we are being anti-man. Let's deal with that discomfort right away by thinking about men, men in our lives, men in our movement. I want to invite you to think of the men you know who are considerate and mild, respectful of women, and committed to nonviolence and the peace movement. Think for a moment. You may be able to think of one, or three, or quite a few. They might include a son, or a partner. Think of these real people, be glad of them, and keep them in mind while I'm talking. I'll be coming back to them at the end.

Second, it makes us uncomfortable because it sounds as though we think women have clean hands, that we are innocent of militarism and war. It isn't so. We aren't saying it is. Patriarchy survives and functions because women on the whole accept its values and play into men's power. With rare exceptions, we have done so throughout history. We do so today. We have a new generation of girls right now who see girl power as residing in their ability to please men. Witness the fad of pole-dancing and breast enlargement. If in doubt, read Natasha Walters' book *Living Dolls*. Women are not nearly so violent as men – only 5% of violent crime in the UK is perpetrated by women. But we mostly rear our daughters and sons to play their part in a male power system.

I'll give you a little anecdote here to keep in mind. I saw a news clip in the *Guardian* one day in 2008. By then, there had been quite some progress in nurseries and play groups where carers and parents – determined that they wouldn't any longer encourage violent play in their children – had voluntarily thrown plastic guns and pistols out of the toy box. This article stated that our government Ministry, the Department for Children, Schools and Families (and the Children's Minister was a woman, Beverley Hughes) had now issued advice that boys should be *encouraged* to play with toy guns at nursery school. Why? It had been observed that boys between three and five years old were falling behind their female classmates in all areas of learning. The Ministry believed, Beverley Hughes said, that this was partly because nursery staff had been trying to curb boys' desire for boisterous games involving weapons. Boys were more likely to become interested in education and would no longer lag behind girls in achievement, it

was felt, if encouraged to pursue their chosen play. There was a woman, playing into patriarchy.

So to make progress in convincing sceptics of the validity of a gender theory of war, we have to somehow find a way of talking about femininity and masculinity that distances them a little bit from actual women and men. We need to visualize gender not as an individual attribute of you, me or him, something we are born with, but as a set of forces, values, expectations, incentives and punishments, that as individuals we have to negotiate with, to deal with, struggle with, as we become who we become, as we find our identities.

However...the relationship between what actual individual people do and experience, and the gender relations they are caught up in, is very slippery. We do have to start with the brute fact that *there IS actually a difference* in the positioning of actual women and actual men in relation to power, to violence and war. Statistically. It's not a one-hundred-percent, cast-iron difference: all men in one category, all women in another. But it's pretty striking. To illustrate this I'm going to do a little exercise. Again I'm going to take the *Guardian* newspaper – it is the edition for Wednesday, March 10 – that happens to be the day I was writing this talk – and I'm going to tell you about some articles that I found in it. Just a few that can tell us something about gender in relation to power, violence and war. But I'm going to reverse the gender roles in the stories, to see how it feels.

Okay. Here is an article that shows us something about the gender of power and sexual violence. The Pope. The supreme head of the Catholic Church. We know she's a woman, right? Pope Benedicta XVI. This news item is about apologies by Catholic priest(esses) for the beatings and sexual abuse of girl pupils at Catholic seminaries and boarding school over several decades.

There was another news item that day about sexual violence. A 17-year-old boy said to be of low self-esteem was found murdered. He was groomed on the Internet by an older woman representing herself as an attractive young girl. She persuaded the gullible young lad to meet her. She picked him up at the agreed meeting place. He was surprised to see this old person. But the woman said she would drive him to meet her daughter. She then raped and murdered the boy.

An article here about the gender of wealth. In the banking crisis, criminally risk-taking banks collapsed and



were bailed out by governments. Now the delinquent bank executives, almost all of them women, are receiving cash bonuses worth scores of millions of pounds. Imagine it! Greedy women! Oh and another story here about an important member of the House of Lords, I mean the House of Ladies, Ashcroft is her name. She bankrolls the Conservative party from the massive offshore wealth in her Caribbean businesses. Scandal: she is evading UK taxes.

An article about gender and political representation. Women's almost total control of political power in India is about to be challenged at last. Men's representation in the upper and lower houses of the Indian parliament has never exceeded 10%. Women are 90% plus of the elected representatives. Now the Indian government is going to pass a law that will require men to be better represented: they will have a quota of 30%.

And the front-page feature tells us a lot about the gender of military power. It's about Mrs. Karzai, you know her: the President of Afghanistan. She is in consultation with Jennifer Armitage, the Supreme Commander of NATO forces there. They are discussing ways of making peace with those ferocious fundamentalist insurgent women, the Talibana. Can Mrs. Karzai negotiate a peace between the Talibana and her allies in the Afghan government, the Northern War-ladies?

And a very sad story overpage: the first and only MALE British soldier to be killed in Afghanistan, against 275 women whose bodies have been flown home to grieving men in Wootton Bassett.

OK, it's just a trick, a device to make us think. The exercise shows us I think that the sexual division of power, violence and war is truly very striking. On the other hand, it's never complete, it's never 100%. There was after all that one soldier killed in Afghanistan – I pretended it was a man. Stepping out of our role reversal fantasy, we see of course that she was a woman, Sarah Bryant, victim of a roadside bomb. The overwhelming majority of the soldiers killed in Afghanistan have been men. Men pay a heavy price for being the militarized sex. But increasingly there are women like this who volunteer for a military career.

So it's here that we need to make a second point. *The exceptions to the gender rule, such as woman soldiers, do not disprove the rule of gender.* The position of the gender minority, the exceptions, is not the same as that of the majority, who are the norm – it remains gender-specific. For instance, we know both from autobiographies and

research that women soldiers have difficulty getting promotion, and that they are frequently harassed and raped by their male colleagues and senior officers. To be a woman soldier is not the same as to be a man soldier, and it is not perceived as being the same.

What is more important for the purposes of this talk today is that men who choose not to do "standard-issue" masculinity cannot slip unpunished into role reversal. A man who refuses to fight is not seen in the same way as a woman who chooses not to join the army. Because – what we are talking about here is not a bunch of individual men and women in neutral environments. We are looking at fiercely *gendered cultures*. The overall gender order of the world we live in is made up of organizations and institutions, each of which has its gender regime – and all but a few of them are male dominant. For every little WILPF, with its women's membership, women leadership and women's culture, there are a million banks, churches, corporations, academies and military structures that (though they may have a lot of women in them) are part of a male-dominant system, permeated with cultures that encourage gender divisions, inequalities, stereotypes...and violence.

From a young age, boys learn that their bodies are weapons – fists, boots, and eventually the penis, are instruments through which to impose their will. Military systems train and discipline and exploit that propensity for violence in boys and men.

"Men predominate across the spectrum of violence." That's a quote. I'm going to take a shortcut here and summon up the person who wrote that – and who has said things about militarism and masculinity much better than I can – and who is probably already well known to a lot of you: an Australian academic called R.W. Connell. There are a number of books and a zillion articles published under that name on the theme of masculinity. But there is an especially good reason for reading them carefully. After a long life with a woman partner, and the daughter they raised together, Bob Connell underwent a gender change and is now Raewyn Connell. Here is a person that's had a lifelong struggle at first hand with the tyrannies of gender.

I'm going to draw on a short article that R.W. Connell wrote for a book that Dubravka Zarkov and I published a few years ago on militarism and masculinity. The article was titled "Masculinities, the Reduction of Violence and the Pursuit of Peace", so it's very relevant to this afternoon's theme. He...(I'm going to refer to Raewyn as he



because she was “he” when this was written)...He singled out seven facts about masculinity that he saw as having implications for peace strategy, peace education. Those may be helpful to us.

First, it's better to think in terms not of masculinity but masculinities, in the plural. Different forms of masculinity co-exist in any given culture, he pointed out. They differ between cultures, and they change over time. Violent, aggressive masculinity is not usually the only form of masculinity present in any given cultural setting. Identifying the alternatives, Connell says, can be a valuable resource for peace education.

Second, different masculinities exist in definite relations with each other, often relations of hierarchy and exclusion. One is generally dominant. Connell calls it the “hegemonic” form of masculinity, the focal point of the local system of gender power. It might be the masculinity of a class elite, or an ethnic leadership, or the business world. In a country under military rule it's likely to be that of the military. But knowing that there may be subversive, discredited and despised masculinities, if you look for them – that too is a resource for the peace movement.

Third, masculinities are collective: they are shaped in institutions. The institutionalization of masculinity is a major problem for peace strategy. Corporations, armed forces, workplaces, voluntary organizations and the state are important sites of action. We have to struggle, Connell says, not just to change individuals, but to change the masculinist gender regime inside institutions.

Fourth, he reminds us that whether we are women or men, our bodies are arenas for gender – whether femininity or masculinity. Men's enactment of masculine gender constantly involves bodily pleasure, pain and vulnerability. Peace education shouldn't be too much in the head, he says. We need to live and feel nonviolence in our bodies too.

Fifth, masculinities come into existence as people act. They are always emerging and capable of changing direction. This is good because it means the process can be interrupted. No pattern of masculine violence is fixed, beyond all hope of social reform, he says. But equally, no reform is final (as we just saw in the case of toy guns in the nursery).

Sixth, masculinity may be a source of division and tension for individual men and for groups of men. Therefore, he

says “any group of men is likely to have complex and conflicting interests”. One thing or another we may be able to use to support change towards more peaceable gender patterns.

And finally: dynamics. History is continually changing our circumstances. Contradictions exist in gender relations and in the interplay of gender with, say, race and class. Controversy and conflict emerge and can be exploited for change towards peace and nonviolence.

So, winding up this article, Connell writes:

“There are many causes of violence, including dispossession, poverty, greed, nationalism, racism and other forms of inequality, bigotry and desire. Gender dynamics are by no means the whole story. Yet given the concentration of weapons and the practices of violence among men, gender patterns appear to be strategic. Masculinities are the forms in which many dynamics of violence take shape. Evidently, then, a strategy for demilitarization and peace must include a strategy of change in masculinities. This is the new dimension in peace work which studies of men suggest: contesting the hegemony of masculinities which emphasize violence, confrontation and domination, and replacing them with patterns of masculinity more open to negotiation, cooperation and equality.”

So, to come back to our very own peace movement in the here and now....


There are a lot of ideologies and philosophies in it. We are socialists of different hues, anarchists, liberals, pacifists (both principled and pragmatic). Some of us are secular, others of us belong to a range of faith groups, and those faiths shape our antiwar stance, too. And some of us are feminists. Most of us are several of these things at once.

In our campaigning, as a country-wide movement, as local groups, we try to express our particular “take” on war, whatever it is. So socialist types, and many others too, who may not exactly define themselves as socialist but rather as anticapitalist, will speak out against the corporations that foment and profit from war. Sometimes on our placards and in our leaflets, the USA – along with the British government, which is seen as an uncritical ally, or poodle, of the USA – are made into surrogates for capitalism and imperialism. But as anticapitalists, we don't hesitate to speak out.



Then again – those of us who bring a strong antiracism to our antiwar activism won't hesitate to speak out against bigotry and white supremacy: against the idea, for instance, that the West counts brown and black people's lives, or that Israel counts Palestinian lives, as cheap, as of lesser value, and so thinks nothing of launching a violent onslaught against such populations. Likewise, secularists won't hesitate to blame religious bodies when those can be seen to foment war. Whatever our analysis, we speak out.

We, as feminists – if my arguments so far are correct – believe that the way gender is constituted in our societies, in particular the kind of qualities that are fostered as being appropriate to “masculinity” in men and boys, and the significance of the dominance of those values to sustaining patriarchal authority and power – these things are among the causes of war. *How well are we voicing that particular “take” on war in our antiwar activism?*



The trouble is that to do this as women always leads to misunderstandings. As I said before, people think we are being anti-man, or we are saying that women are all non-violent. We know we are not saying that – but it takes a half-hour lecture to make it clear to anyone else! So one of the questions I hope you might want to discuss in the small groups is: What more could we do to express our gender “take” on war, in and through the mainstream peace movement?

But there's a second question. We have an untapped resource. It's men. What about those men we started thinking about at the beginning of this talk. You remember? The ones I asked you to keep in mind. The ones you know, and that you know to be considerate and mild, respectful of women, critical of male dominance, and committed to nonviolence and the peace movement. The ones that sometimes want to attend WILPF events or join the Women in Black vigil.

Are men perhaps better placed than we are to speak out? The number of men who notionally support the women's movement is considerable. But those that are explicitly modelling a subversive antimilitarist antipatriarchal masculinity are very few. There are not many men actually organizing, talking to each other as men about gender issues, taking steps to eliminate power, abuse and exploitation from gender relations. There's a London pro-feminist men's group. There's the admirable White Ribbon campaign. But their numbers are tiny. And I don't know of

any such subversive men's groups organized specifically within the peace and antiwar movement.

Can we imagine a men's response to WILPF or Women in Black? I mean *a men's organization addressing gender in relation to war and peace*. Men coming together and saying “don't exploit my masculinity for militarism”. Men saying “the association of men with violence is a huge problem in human civilizations”. Men coming together and saying “work for gender change is work for peace”. Men telling us how men themselves are deformed and damaged by militarization and war, and organizing to work with military men, and with boys, on these issues?

I really believe that the patriarchal, capitalist, nationalist and racist system we live in is not seriously threatened by a few angry feminists refusing proper gendered behaviour. It can certainly survive women's organizations like WILPF and Women in Black – certainly it can if we remain well-mannered and limit ourselves to publicizing women's suffering in war. Altogether more threatening to the system would be numbers of men refusing to do “standard-issue manhood”, men publicly and collectively refusing the power that the system offers them.

Notes

- 1 For more information on the please visit: <http://www.wilpfinternational.org/>
- 2 For more information on UN Security Council Resolution 1325, please visit: <http://www.peacewomen.org/un/sc/1325.html>

Story from the Field

South Africa: Accountability Demanded through Nonviolent Action

By José de Vries and Isabelle Geuskens



An inspirational example was sent into the world on March 15, 2010. South African men showed that accountability for gender injustice can and should be demanded – through nonviolent means. The story behind this example started a year earlier. In January 2009, Sonke Gender Justice Network¹ issued a press statement condemning remarks by Julius Malema, the ANC Youth League president. Sonke Gender Justice Network works across Africa to strengthen the capacity of government, civil society and citizens to support men and boys in taking action to promote gender equality, prevent domestic and sexual violence, and reduce the spread and impact of HIV and AIDS. Malema had suggested, while addressing 150 students at Cape Peninsula University of Technology, that the woman who had accused ANC president Jacob Zuma of rape had had a "nice time" with him and said, "when a woman didn't enjoy it, she leaves early in the morning. Those who had a nice time will wait until the sun comes out, request breakfast and ask for taxi money." Immediately, Sonke called on the ANC leadership to set the record straight by sanctioning Malema and by demonstrating unequivocally their commitment to gender equality and to preventing gender-based violence as spelled out in ANC and government policies. Sonke took the matter to the Equality Court, asking the court to force Malema to apologize for his comments and to stop him from making further comments that "undermine women's dignity". A year of hard work followed, during which Sonke, represented in particular by staff member Mbuyiselo Botha, persisted in its commitment to hold public officials accountable for their statements. Many of Sonke's partner organizations demonstrated outside the courthouse to show their solidarity with Sonke.

Active Nonviolence in South Africa

The International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) is a 90-year-old international and interfaith peace movement of socially engaged citizens who commit themselves

to active nonviolence as a way of life and as a means of transformation – personal, social, economic and political. In various parts of the world, its members have been active in successful nonviolent resistance, which has led to transformative changes in societies.

Active Nonviolence (ANV) is both a theory and a practice. It provides civil society with the skills and analysis to increase social mobilization, analyze conflicts and resolve them peacefully, and it develops "People's Power" such as that used by civil society actors in the 1986 nonviolent overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, and more recently in the ouster of Milosevic in Serbia, the Rose Revolution in Georgia and the Ukraine's Orange Revolution. ANV promotes and builds civil courage and contributes to developing the social infrastructure necessary for sustainable peace.

One example of ANV that IFOR was involved in and often refers to was the nonviolent resistance movement to the rule of Apartheid in South Africa. As Deats² has described it: "The brutal policies of the government convinced many that apartheid would only end in a violent showdown and



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to that end the African National Congress had an active military wing. Nonetheless, the heart of the resistance movement was classic nonviolent resistance: education, vigils, rallies, marches, petitions, boycotts, prayers, fasts and civil disobedience. Governmental attempts to stop this resistance with massive detentions, bannings of organizations and individuals, intimidation and murder, as well as emergency rule could not, in the end, stop the movement.”

Active Nonviolence and Gender

In 1997, the IFOR Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) was established to advocate for a gender perspective in IFOR’s work and nonviolent peacebuilding in general. The WPP advocates for the recognition of women’s perspectives on war, violence and all forms of oppression, and works for the inclusion of a gender perspective in peacebuilding. Being part of a nonviolent movement has been extremely helpful in terms of analyzing and addressing the often challenging dynamics involved in integrating a gender perspective into the peace movement. Reviewing those dynamics from the perspective of Martin Luther King Jr.’s philosophy, and in particular his six steps to nonviolent social change, has been very useful.

The first of King’s six steps addresses the need for the oppressed group to gather information in order to thoroughly understand and articulate the injustice and to get to know all sides of the issue, including its opponent’s position. Besides information gathering, education (step 2) is also very important as part of an effort to inform others about the injustice and to gain sympathy and support. Personal commitment (step 3) is another crucial component of the nonviolent struggle and includes preparing oneself to accept suffering, if necessary, in one’s work for justice.

During the first years of its existence, IFOR’s WPP was primarily active on the level of those first three steps. The WPP focused on empowering women for peace by supporting them with knowledge of their rights and building their skills through training, as well as sustaining them in their hard work through solidarity and personal encouragement. As more and more women peacemakers started to speak out – often in a hostile climate – a growing number of women became mobilized for peace.

Over the years, however, it became clear that this strategy was not enough to ensure that peacebuilding would become more gender-sensitive. One of the biggest obstacles faced by women peacemakers turned out to be the lack of support and even the outright opposition they

received from their male colleagues – and from men in general – who usually failed to see gender as an issue that was of any relevance either to peacebuilding or to men.

Martin Luther King Jr.’s final 3 steps³ to nonviolent social change address how one can work with one’s opponent, underlining the need to confront the oppressor with the injustices done, as well as informing the oppressor as to how those should be addressed. It is important to note in this regard that nonviolence does not seek to humiliate the opponents, but rather to call forth the good in them and to seek their understanding. Likewise, it is crucial to realize that nonviolence is not about defeating the opponent, but rather about seeking his/her friendship and understanding. Active nonviolence is directed against evil systems, forces, policies and acts – not against persons.

In light of the above, the WPP realized that in order for peacebuilding to become more gender-sensitive, women will need to be mobilized, and yet change will also need to happen at the level of the powerholders. In this regard, it is important not to blame individual men, but to expose the patriarchal system of war and power and to demonstrate how those who seem privileged by this system are themselves also losing out. Because of this, the WPP started to incorporate the concept of “masculinities” in its work. This was done by addressing the concept during gender training sessions for peace activists; by including an analysis of *masculinities* in any WPP training materials and publications; and by organizing sessions on *masculinities* during its annual Training of Trainers (ToTs) for women peace activists. Since 2009, IFOR’s WPP has been pioneering a ToTs program for male peace activists in order to increase the number of male allies who work together with women for gender-sensitive peacebuilding through active nonviolence.



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Women and Men as Allies: Demand for Accountability

For men, an important aspect of being an ally is that they hold other men accountable when confronted with gender violence – whether physical, psychological, or sexual – and by doing so act as powerful role models for gender justice. It is important to document the work of these male allies, as it will sustain women in their work for gender justice and encourage other men to work for change.

On March 15, 2010, the Equality Court found Julius Malema guilty of hate speech and harassment in the case brought against him by Sonke Gender Justice. The court stressed that, considering that he is a public figure, the potential influence of Malema's words is even greater, particularly among the youth, hence the need to be more aware of the content of his public utterances. He was ordered to make an unconditional public apology within two weeks and to pay R50 000 to a centre for abused women within one month.

ANC veteran Patrick Godana vowed that his organization will “never allow any man in leadership to undermine the dignity of women”. He said: “Many of us have been in the trenches long before he was born. The Freedom Charter says South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white; men and women. As long as our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters are not able to walk freely, the political freedom we won in 1994 shall be futile,” Godana added.⁴

Sonke has produced an informative report⁵ providing an analysis of the Equality Courts as a new legal forum for gender transformation work. It examines the history and theoretical foundations of the courts, the procedures for making use of them, and the problems and challenges that people may face in doing so, and it documents Sonke's own experiences in lodging its case.

Sonke's action is a powerful example of how men can be allies to women and how social justice is inextricably linked to gender justice. Their nonviolent example of men holding other men accountable for statements that affirm dominant and violent masculinities⁶ sends a strong message of hope and encouragement. It is an indication that we are entering a next level in our struggle for gender justice – a level where men and women are joining hands, in the realization that a peaceful society is built upon justice, freedom and peace for all.

Notes

- 1 For more information, please visit: <http://www.genderjustice.org.za/>.
- 2 Quoted from the article “The Global Spread of Active Non-violence” by Richard Deats, downloadable from: www.forusa.org/nonviolence/0900_73deats.html. Richard Deats has led workshops in Active Nonviolence in many countries, including the Philippines, South Korea, Haiti, Israel, India, Hong Kong, Kenya, Thailand and South Africa. He is the author of *Martin Luther King, Jr.: Spirit-Led Prophet* and *Nationalism and Christianity in the Philippines*, as well as editor of *Ambassador of Reconciliation: A Muriel Lester Reader*.
- 3 Negotiation (step 4), Direct Action (step 5), and Reconciliation (step 6).
- 4 For the article, please visit: www.health-e.org.za/news/article.php?uid=20032684.
- 5 The report *The Equality Courts as a Tool for Gender Transformation* is downloadable from: www.genderjustice.org.za/reports/reports.
- 6 For more information on this case, please visit: www.genderjustice.org.za/advocacy/sonke-takes-julius-malema-to-court.



Men, Masculinity and Guns

Can we break the link?

By Ella Page, IANSA Women's Network



Hegemonic (or dominant) masculinity

Masculinities theory considers masculinity as multiple, fluid and context specific. Therefore we generally talk about masculinity in the plural – masculinities – but in exploring issues related to gun violence, we need to first consider the theory of hegemonic (or dominant) masculinity. This masculinity is a culturally normative ideal of male behaviour and is calculated to guarantee the dominant position of some men over others. While some men are inferior to other men, all men gain from the general subordination of women. Connell has named this effect the ‘patriarchal dividend.’¹

The hegemonic form of masculinity in a given society is not necessarily the most prevalent – it is the most socially endorsed. For example, military personnel may be a minority of men, yet soldierly qualities may be the norm for all males. For example, in studies of the armed forces, Barrett found that the desirable masculine qualities included “independent, risk taking, aggressive, heterosexual and rational behaviour.”² Similarly, Cohn describes admired masculine characteristics as “physical and emotional courage, the ability to endure hardship, and importantly, not to break down emotionally in the face of horror.”³ In practice it may be that few men display the characteristics or hegemonic masculinity. Yet it operates as an ideal type, something to which men aspire as a key to respect and authority. The patriarchal gender system thrives because it engages the co-operation of women as well as men. Thus a majority of women tend to aspire to emphasized femininity and find the qualities of hegemonic masculinity attractive in men.⁴ Individual men can suffer greatly from such rigid expectations of masculinity.⁵ A man may struggle to identify with the norm, feel obliged to hide his gentler qualities, and miss out on the rewards of caring, equal and respectful relationships.⁶

Introduction

It is evident that the majority of men do not own or use guns: gun use must therefore be understood as a choice. A combination of social, economic and political factors combine to create the notion that gun violence is a legitimate option for a man. This paper will examine how constructions of masculinities and femininities work to legitimate the belief that an acceptable and adequate man is one who is willing and able to coerce others by violent means. It will also look at how the association between power and violence in broader social structures serves to perpetuate gun violence. It will argue that a violent masculinity is not inevitable.

Gun violence is gendered

Men comprise the majority of those who use small arms and also the majority of the victims of gun violence. In many cultures there is a strong social and cultural association of masculinity with owning and using a gun. Gender and age are more powerful predictors of violence than geographical location.⁷ Most violent people are men, influenced by exaggerated notions of masculinity, such as the belief that rage is an acceptable response to frustration; that vengeful violence is justified; and that it is a sign of inadequacy to acknowledge loneliness, pain, vulnerability, or to seek assistance.⁸ Accurate figures are hard to come by, but in countries that publish statistics it appears

that about 80-90% of the people who die by gunshots are male.⁹ In an example from the US, boys are involved in 80% of the accidental shootings that kill 400 children and injure another 3,000 each year;¹⁰ and 88% of those who commit suicide with a gun are male.¹¹

Guns and small arms are almost never manufactured, imported, exported, bought or sold by women. Yet they have a disproportionate and massive impact on women's lives. For every occasion on which a gun is fired there are many others on which it is used to threaten and intimidate, to achieve a robbery or a rape, or prevent a woman from escaping from an abusive relationship. Although women are the minority of victims of death by shooting, they nonetheless pay the cost of shooting when they become the main breadwinner and primary care giver in families in which a man has been killed, injured or disabled by gun violence. Survivors of gun violence are also the ones left to seek justice for victims from unresponsive police and courts in a culture of impunity.

Guns

There are an estimated 875 million guns in the world.* Police, armies and other government agencies that have guns comprise around 25% of the total arsenal. Around 75% of guns are owned by civilians and this includes private security companies, paramilitary forces and other armed groups. So the private arsenal is three times as large as all the firepower of governments combined. That so many weapons are outside official control compounds the problem of limitation.

Guns are overwhelmingly owned and used by men, in both contexts of conflict and formal peace. This includes both state and non-state actors and structures; people who possess guns for leisure pursuits; and those who feel the need to acquire weapons for self-defence. Criminal activity is also a factor, often involving violence and compounding the demand for weapons.

* Small Arms Survey, 2007

The deadly problem of gun violence is fundamentally gendered, men, women, boys and girls being differently impacted, differently involved and having different responses to gun violence. The demand for small arms is directly linked to a cultural association of guns and vio-

lence with manhood, so that gun ownership is accepted and encouraged as a sign of maturity and status in a man.

Why do men chose guns?

Research has shown that men who use violence often feel disempowered by wider social and economic factors. When violence, and specifically armed violence, becomes a legitimate means of gaining power within a community, the gun seems to take on a symbolic significance beyond that of simple instrument of violence. It has been suggested that one quality of an 'acceptable' man may be the ability to instil fear in others. For this purpose gun possession can be particularly attractive.¹² As such, it can be a strategy to achieve the wealth, respect and security that may otherwise be out of reach.

For example in some circumstances young men with guns have been shown to be able to achieve a level of influence higher than normal for their rank and above that of community elders. In some cases they have violently overthrown the existing social order, achieving domination through extreme violence, as in Sierra Leone (1991-2002) and similar conflicts where "adolescents and even children, in societies with strong gerontocratic traditions [rule by elders in the community], seize power by force."¹³

In many cultures 'proving yourself' to be an 'acceptable' man is associated with a right of passage or risk taking behaviour in which guns are involved. Research in Brazil, El Salvador and Jamaica demonstrates how gang initiation frequently involves the handling and use of guns as young men affirm an identity and reputation amongst their peer group.¹⁴

Militarism and masculinity

There is a strong association between violence and power in most societies. The machinery of the state has the monopoly of legitimate violence and control over the military and police forces, which it uses to maintain power. The state locates its power in the possession of armaments and soldiers ready and waiting to be deployed in the event of a threat. Alongside this power relations between states are often discussed in a way which draws heavily on gender stereotypes. Leaders equate the power of the state with a virile posture in international relations, brandishing their national arsenals to prove their eligibility for the 'big boys club' of powerful nations.¹⁵

A comment from the Indian Hindu nationalist leader Bala-saheb Thackeray to justify India's 1998 nuclear weapon tests encapsulates this equation of weapons and masculinity. He





commented, “we had to prove that we are not eunuchs.” This statement is a very direct association of weapons with masculinity and demonstrates the perceived need of nation states to prove that they are not emasculated.

When ordinary men see how their governments and political leaders equate power with militarization, it follows that they will see weapons as assuring security and power for themselves and their communities.¹⁶

Marginalised men are those most likely to be recruited into poorly paid, dangerous and insecure jobs including in the informal security sector. They are also most likely to end up in armed gangs or be enlisted by the state to fight in wars.¹⁷ Widespread possession (if not ownership) of guns is an inevitable by-product of a particular form of military conscription. The state security sector (including armed forces, police, and border agencies) and private military and security companies all predominantly employ men who they tend to arm. This increases the number of men who are familiar with using guns and for whom having a weapon is ‘normal’. This furthers the penetration of guns and violence into society. In many contexts, men are able to take their weapons home when they are off-duty and this increases the potential for gun violence.

“Thwarted” masculinity?

Research has demonstrated that men often feel a sense of disempowerment when they cannot enjoy the same privileges their fathers had, or when social, economic and political factors negatively affect their role as ‘head of household’ and ‘protector’ of the family. This has been described as ‘thwarted masculinity.’¹⁸ Self esteem suffers and men consider themselves forced into a feminised position. As a result, men turn to violence to take what they feel they deserve and to reassert their position.

In an example from the USA, Kimmel and Mahle¹⁹ examined a school shooting where a boy took a gun to school to gain attention from his classmates. He assumed that his status would greatly increase as a result, and he ended up killing 3 students and wounding 5 others in the belief that people would respect him for this action.

Women’s empowerment programmes and increased access to decision making can also affect gender relations. Men may find it difficult to ‘give up’ dominance within the household and accept what they regard as a feminised social position. Rowland’s research on women’s empowerment projects in Honduras found that men confronted with women aspiring to shared decisionmaking, were more likely to respond violently if they had not received gender training.²⁰ This pattern of behaviour is also evident in communities where women have achieved economic empowerment. Katz argues that men deal with this challenge to their authority by idealising a physical masculinity, defining an ‘adequate’ man as strong and rugged, rather than a provider.²¹

Promoting gun violence

Men are the main consumers, and target audience, of violent films, music, and video games and the gun is often the instrument of violence in these media. Violence is often depicted as glamorous and as a passport to a better life replete with available women and consumer goods.²² The relationship between the media and actual violence is highly contested however. Research shows differing effects of exposure to violence on different men. A number of psychological studies have, however, suggested that exposure to media portrayals of violence act as a ‘primer’ to actually using violence. Those exposed to media containing violent images are more likely to consider aggressive behaviour.²³

Advertising often also promotes the idea that an aggressive attitude combined with physical strength is a way of proving your masculinity, and gaining access to women

Examples of names given to some Spanish firearms

| Apache | Campeón | El Cano | Destroyer | Omega |
|--------|---------|---------|------------|----------|
| Astra | Celta | El Cid | Destructor | Phoenix |
| Atlas | Cebra | Élite | Júpiter | Venus |
| Búfalo | Dragón | Gloria | Minerva | Victoria |

and consumer goods. By equating violence with a ‘better’ life guns become associated with status and become the way to achieve that status. This idea of gun possession and violence as a passport to a better life makes it hard to encourage men to disarm or reject gun violence.²⁴

Men involved in gun violence often comment that access to women is an important motivation. These men talk about acquiring women as if they are collecting possessions, as if women are an indicator of social success. Women are assigned a passive position in these relationships. This can encourage men to own and use guns by reinforcing the symbolism of the gun as a status symbol, a way of accessing power and resources. For example men interviewed in Brazil have commented;

“Girls go out with guys who use guns because they want a good life, easy access to money, brand name clothes, feel superior to others ... have power over others ... if she goes out with a regular working guy her life won’t be like that. She likes going out with traffickers for that reason.”²⁵

“Sometimes guys will even borrow guns, just to walk around with them, to show off for the girls ... They use them because they know that pretty girls will go out with them.”²⁶

Gun manufacturers themselves promote the idea of the gun as key to an exciting life. Take, for example the hyper-masculine names given to some Spanish firearms, invoking images of mythical heroes and Gods, and fearsome animals. Examples include:

Clearly gun manufacturers see a sales advantage in promoting their commodities as masculine/dangerous. The names evoke a sense of nostalgia for a more physical age where men were unquestionably in control through violence or intimidation. They reinforce the idea that men have always been aggressive and violent, that this is part of male nature, that it cannot and should not change.²⁷

Women and female identities

It is important to remember that women are not only victims or passive bystanders in the relationship with guns.²⁸ Female identities compatible with hegemonic masculinities have their own effectivity.²⁹ Women’s attitudes can sometimes contribute to the powerful cultural conditioning that endorses gun ownership by men. Indeed, some women occupy active (if peripheral) roles in the cycle of violence, facilitating men’s gun violence, for instance, through smuggling, transporting and hiding weapons.³⁰

A woman who has little access to power or resources may feel she can gain status through association with a man who owns or uses a gun. In communities where respect and leadership is associated with access to means of violence, the gains for women can be great. For example, the “first ladies” of Brazil’s favelas command considerable respect from their communities because of their contact with men with guns.

Women may also feel that their personal security increases through association with men with guns, particularly when state security infrastructure is incapable of protecting them from criminal or paramilitary violence. Some women overtly encourage their men to fight, or, more subtly, support the attitudes and stereotypes promoting gun culture. A common argument used by gun lobbyists is that men need guns to protect their families from armed intruders or attackers, and some women welcome this ‘protection’.

Some women are combatants, members of state armies, insurgent groups and armed gangs. However while enlistment can be a source of status, it entails even greater risks and costs for a woman than for a man. An autobiographical account by Kayla Williams who served in the US forces in Iraq demonstrates the contradictory nature of the relationship between women and armed violence. Although she was able to locate power in the possession of a gun, she was still subjected to sexism as part of the patriarchal militarist machine.³¹ Her experience of military life was defined and limited by her sex, she was defined and treated as sister, mother, bitch or slut,³² but never a col-



league. Thus, though wearing uniform, toting a gun and becoming perpetrators of violence, militarised women and girls find no escape from inequality and abuse.

There are alternatives

Men and women, boys and girls can however act for change in their communities. There is scope for reducing the value placed on possession of a gun.

It is men who ultimately have to take the decision to decommission their weapons and rid their lives and relationships of the threat, and often the actuality, of violence that gun ownership entails. But women have shown in many countries that they are specially motivated to start the process of 'disarming' masculinity in their families and communities, because they have nothing to lose and a great deal to gain by removing guns from their environment.

Women all over the world are increasingly gaining a consciousness that the poverty, inequality, and injustice they experience as women, while it is caused by capitalist exploitation, imperialist domination and racist discrimination, is not caused by them alone. It is also an effect of patriarchal gender relations. They are, in growing numbers, seeing through the 'natural' or 'God-given' authority of men, and stepping out of the constraints of conventional roles and behaviours. They are adding their strength to feminist projects.

One of the insights that women's movements bring is that the association of men and masculinity with weapons, at all levels of society from the international to the domestic, is a threat to peace and security, a source of subordination for women, and, what is more, damaging to men themselves. Women's campaigns against gun ownership are therefore growing fast in the space where women's movements and peace movements coincide.

For example Brazilian NGO Viva Rio has recognised the importance of women and girls in influencing men's decisions to own and use guns. In a 2001 campaign 'Choose gun free! It's your weapon or me' women were empowered to ask their husbands, partners, and boyfriends to give up their weapons. The campaign was a success with its key message that guns are not necessarily a badge of masculine adequacy.

Viva Rio has also engaged men and women in mass action on disarmament. For example tens of thousands of men and women, many of them organised in victims' support groups, marched in the streets and successfully advocated

for tighter gun laws at state and national level in 2001 and 2003. They were also able to counter the gun lobby's claim that guns are necessary for personal security.

Another Brazilian NGO, Instituto Promundo, has also taken an innovative approach to tackling the culture of violence. The organisation's 'Program H' encourages young men to question gender norms and allows them to formulate and perform alternative behaviour.³³ The programme combines educational workshops and peer group support with public campaigns which use 'media, advertising and youth culture to promote gender equality among young men as being 'cool' or 'hip.'"³⁴ For example the campaign has targeted attitudes where violence against women is excused in the 'heat of the moment' with slogans like 'In the heat of the moment, a real man ... cares, listens, accepts.' The campaign openly aims to promote an alternative model of masculinity among men living in deprived and violent communities.

Conclusion

The strong relationship between guns and masculinity is a result of multiple and intersecting social factors. The link between violence and power, the experience of 'thwarted masculinity,' the glamorisation of guns, perception that guns are a passport to a better life and the attitudes of some women combine to create an expectation of violence and gun use among men.

Men must be able to recognise the costs of gun culture to their own safety, and to that of their community. As such former combatants and former gang members are among those who can act most effectively for change, challenging the inevitability of the link between violent masculinities and gun culture.

As the work of Promundo and Viva Rio shows, a violent masculinity is not inevitable. By challenging gender norms with both men and women an alternative non violent masculinity can emerge as a positive choice for men.

For more information on the International Action Network on Small Arms, please visit: www.iansa.org.



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Story from the Field

Israel: New Profile

Movement for the Civil-ization of Israeli Society

By Merle Gosewinkel and José de Vries



Militarism in Israel

The military is very much a part of Israeli society. The Israeli military is unique in the world, in the sense that military service is mandatory for both men and women. Some might argue this reflects a gender-equality perspective within the Israeli military, or even reflects the empowerment of women within Israeli society. However, hegemonic notions of masculinity and traditional gender roles strongly prevail in Israeli society. To be considered a “real man” – a man who is physically and mentally healthy – Israeli men are expected to serve their military service. Conscientious objection¹ is not acknowledged as a human right in Israeli law. Nonetheless, Israeli women stand a better chance than men to object to military service on the grounds of acting in accordance with their conscience, although they are also subject to degrading interrogations by the military Exemption Committee in doing so.²

New Profile

New Profile is an anti-militarist group of feminist women and men in Israel, which was established in 1998. The organization defines its aim as working towards changing Israeli society from a militarized to a civil society, from a discriminatory and oppressive society to an egalitarian one, and from an occupying nation to a respectful neighbor.³ New Profile takes the position of “prioritizing life and the protection of life. It condones painful compromises in the interests of preserving life”.

Israeli culture and media portray a world in which the use of military force is an acceptable and normal means for

solving political problems. New Profile makes use of feminist methods of knowledge-building and organizing to reduce the militarized nature of Israel’s government, society and culture. It does so by promoting humanistic education and independent critical thinking, and by exposing the oppression of women and other groups within society. For example, it propagates looking for alternative – non-violent – ways to address conflict, and works together with teachers and educators in schools to reduce the influence of militarized education, which starts already at school. In addition, it organizes workshops and conferences to raise awareness of the role of militarism in Israeli society and education.

Being an anti-militarist group, New Profile also works for the legal recognition of the universal human right to conscientious objection and supports those who have decided to reject military service.⁴ New Profile is currently the only group in Israel that insists on the importance of draft resistance among young women as well as young men, an issue that is widely marginalized in Israeli society. At this time it is not possible for men to object to the obligatory military service in Israel on the basis of their conscience, although women do have that possibility. That is why New Profile is calling for the recognition of men and women’s right to express their social commitment by means of alternative civic service, conducted through a broad array of community services, including work with non-governmental and voluntary organizations.⁵

Stories of Conscientious Objectors

Supporting young men and women who conscientiously object to serve in the Israeli army is a major part of New Profile’s work. One way of doing this is by publishing the stories of conscientious objectors on the New Profile website.



Or Ben-David

One of the persons supported by New Profile is Or Ben-David, a 19-year-old female college student. She was sentenced to 34 days in prison in December 2009 because she had refused military service. She took part in the 2009–2010 high school seniors' letter of refusal,⁶ an initiative of third-year college students who objected to joining the Israel military. The letter notes how "conscientious objection stems directly from the values we believe in, from our love of the society that we are a part of and in which we live, from our respect of every human being, and from the aim of making our country a better place for all of its inhabitants". It emphasizes how the use of military force can never be a solution for conflict and notes that military occupation and ethics can never stand together.

Emphasizing a commitment to peace, equality and co-existence, the letter notes at the end: "Out of sense of responsibility and concern for the two nations that live in this country, we cannot stand idle. We were born into a reality of occupation, and many of our generation see this as a 'natural' state. In Israeli society it is a matter of fact that at 18, every young man and woman partakes in military service. However, we cannot ignore the truth – the occupation is an extreme situation, violent, racist, inhuman, illegal, non-democratic, and immoral, that is life threatening for both nations. We that have been brought up on values of liberty, justice, righteousness and peace cannot accept it."

Or Ben-David explains why she refuses to join the army: "I refuse because I want to make a difference. I want all those Palestinian youths who have lost hope to see that there are Israelis who care and who make a different choice. I want all those of my friends who became soldiers or who are about to become soldiers to see that things don't have to be the way they are and that doing all those immoral things is not something to be taken for granted, that another way is possible, that you don't have to suffer inside a military system that oppresses you (most soldiers suffer while they're in the army). Maybe they too will open their eyes and their minds a bit more to what is going on around them (and I know that in the Israeli society it is very difficult to change your mind, to open your mind and to really listen). It is important for me that people see that I don't just refuse for the sake of refusing, but that this is my means for making a difference."⁷

Or Ben-David has been sentenced four times for her refusal to serve in the military. She remains committed to her decision to refuse. She explains: "To refuse means to

say no! No to the military rule in the West Bank, no to the use of violence as a means of defence, no to patriarchy, no to violence against innocent people, no to abuse against soldiers, no to war and no to a society that claims to be democratic, but forces youths to carry weapons, kill and be killed."⁸ And further: "I educate for peace, dialogue and for the proposition that there are no such situations in which the only choice is fighting, that there is always a peaceful solution if you think before you act, show some patience, and above all – consider the other to be equal to yourself."⁹

Her hope is for change: "Of course I would have preferred a world without any army and without anyone having to enlist. But in Israel today there is no such option. Considering the situation into which Israel itself and the rest of the world have driven us, we do need an army. But we certainly do not need an occupying army or one that oppresses its own soldiers. And in the real world, there won't come a day in which all Israelis suddenly decide together not to enlist. What may happen, and what I hope will happen, is that more people would decide to refuse to join the army, and that this would force the Israeli government and military to change their policy, both towards the Palestinian people and towards the Israeli soldiers themselves. And it is here, I believe, that the process which leads to this change begins."¹⁰

Recently, Or Ben-David was finally exempted from military service on health grounds and is not expected to be imprisoned again.

Shir Regev

Shir Regev¹¹ is another conscious objector who is supported by New Profile. He began serving his second prison term (10 days) on March 24, 2010. He is 20 years old and was arrested and sentenced to 20 days in prison for the first time on March 2, 2010, after he choose not to show up at the Induction Base on his intended enlistment date. Regev explains: "I believe it is my personal duty to refuse and defect from an army whose main purpose is to serve as an occupation police for maintaining "Israeli order" and imposing it on defenceless Palestinians who are denied citizenship. [...] This is an army that serves interests in which I do not believe. Therefore, in the dilemma between doing such service and obeying my conscience, I have no doubt about my decision. The day will come when my decision is appreciated by people who presently deny the horrible reality which we as a society are creating for another people and the damage we are inflicting on the

souls of many young Israelis who may not be aware of the moral degradation in which they take part.”

Recommended Action

As a means of providing support to conscious objectors, New Profile recommends that people take action and not remain silent when hearing or reading about these young people who have been arrested. First of all, New Profile recommends sending the imprisoned objectors letters of support (preferably postcards or faxes) to the prison addresses. Secondly, the organization recommends sending letters of protest (preferably by fax) to the authorities on the objectors’ behalf. Third, New Profile recommends making use of the media by writing op-ed pieces and letters to editors – in Israel and other countries – as this indirectly but powerfully pressurizes the military authorities to release the objectors, while bringing their plight and their cause to public attention.¹²

“There is no other choice”

The work New Profile is doing, including challenging gender ideologies and notions of hegemonic masculinities, is no easy task in a society that has given military presence such a prominent place. Yet, New Profile persists, and its movement is growing. They note: “the reality is that rising numbers of young Jewish Israelis find themselves unwilling to accept the Israeli dictate: ‘There’s no other choice’. Four generations and over six decades of failed ‘military solutions’ have engendered a broad social movement of young people who face severe internal struggles when asked to serve in the military.”¹³

For more information on New Profile, please visit:

<http://www.newprofile.org/>.

To view New Profile’s exhibition “Neither Shall They Learn War Anymore”, please visit:

www.newprofile.org/english/?cat=11.

Notes

- 1 For more information on this topic, please visit “Programmes & Projects” page of the War Resisters’ International website: www.wri-irg.org/programmes/rrtk.
- 2 Source: www.newprofile.org/english/?p=21.
- 3 Source: www.newprofile.org/data/uploads/NP_brochure/NP_Brochure_eng.pdf.
- 4 Source: www.newprofile.org/data/uploads/NP_brochure/NP_Brochure_eng.pdf.
- 5 Source: www.newprofile.org/english/?p=21.
- 6 To read the letter, please visit: www.shministim.com/our-letter/.
- 7 To read the personal letter from Or Ben-David, please visit: www.newprofile.org/english/?cat=41.
- 8 To read more on her case, please visit: www.newprofile.org/english/?p=231.
- 9 Source: www.newprofile.org/english/?cat=41.
- 10 Source: www.newprofile.org/english/?cat=41.
- 11 To read more on his case, please visit: www.newprofile.org/english/?p=277.
- 12 For more information on these recommendations, including addresses, please visit: www.newprofile.org/english/?p=277.
- 13 Source: www.newprofile.org/english/?cat=14.



Story from the Field

By Padare / Enkundleni / Men's Forum on Gender

Zimbabwe: Forum on Gender



Background

Padare / Enkundleni / Men's Forum on Gender was established in 1995 as an anti-sexist men's social movement with the sole purpose of addressing violence against women by way of challenging patriarchy and promoting positive masculinities. Padare / Enkundleni / Men's Forum on Gender seeks to:

- create a forum for men to question and reject gender stereotypes and roles that privilege men and oppress women
- create a support group for men who are committed to change
- enable men to identify and challenge structures and institutions that perpetuate gender injustice and inequality in their society.

Rooted in the indigenous knowledge structures of Zimbabwe, Padare's chief strategy uses the traditional *dare* to mobilize men. A *dare* is a men's gathering that is a practice of the indigenous Zimbabwean community, which has been in existence for ages. Traditionally, Zimbabwean men gathered around a fire or under a tree to discuss community issues and make decisions about the community. As women and children were excluded from these gatherings, their views and perspectives were sidelined as well. This exclusive and one-sided form of decision-making fuelled gender inequalities in society.

Padare is aiming to subvert this exclusive male tradition and to raise consciousness of men and mobilize them to contribute towards the elimination of discrimination against women and girls and to discuss how to achieve a gender-just society.

Masculinities and Patriarchy

Padare recognizes that traditional notions of masculinities and femininities hinder men and boys, women and girls to realize their potential and to participate fully in the social, cultural, economic and political spheres of life. It

therefore considers it crucial to challenge patriarchy and notions of masculinities that promote men's and boys' sense of power, domination and control over women and girls. Padare brings men together during formal workshops, but also in more informal settings (such as schools, pubs, clubs and churches) to discuss cultural and social issues from a gender-justice and equality perspective, including positive images of what it means to be a man. At such platforms, boys and men are encouraged to talk about how they have been raised and the disadvantages of patriarchy. They examine assumptions about women and men that encourage men to be oppressive and that prevent meaningful relationships between men and women. Padare believes that men suffer as a result of current gender notions in societies, that men are pressurized to behave in a dominant, oppressive way that is not naturally theirs, and also that this is not sustainable.

Activities

In addition to organizing workshops that focus on positive masculinities, Padare encourages and supports men who speak out publicly against gender stereotypes and risky sexual behavior. It also organizes men – often in response to news articles and issues that play in communities – into non-violent campaigns aimed at the eradication of violence against women and children. Padare is also active on political levels through its work with male parliamentarians, encouraging them to generate gender-sensitive legislation and policies. By working with traditional chiefs, who are the custodians of Zimbabwean culture and traditions, Padare supports them in acting as positive role models to help redefine manhood.

Special commemorations such as the 16 Days of Activism against Gender-based Violence¹ and the celebration of the International Women's Day on March 8 are used to mobilize men into campaigns, marches, vigils and other forms of non-violent actions focusing on the eradication of violence against women. This provides a space for men who

express their manhood through positive masculine behavior to show their activism and their commitment towards being a different man.

During its 15 years of existence, Padare has mobilized men from different walks of life into 65 Men's Networks and Chapters. They organize monthly meetings to strategize and focus on advocacy and lobby. A men's movement of committed men who Padare calls the "Men of Quality Who Are Not Afraid of Equality" has been created and is growing as Padare continues in a campaign that it calls the "Search for 'a Few Good Men'". For years, women's organizations in Zimbabwe have worked for gender equality, and Padare has joined them in their work to openly challenge oppressive cultural practices and customary law so as to promote gender equality. For instance, they collaborated with women's organizations in lobbying for the Domestic Violence Act, which is now functional in Zimbabwe.

The Future

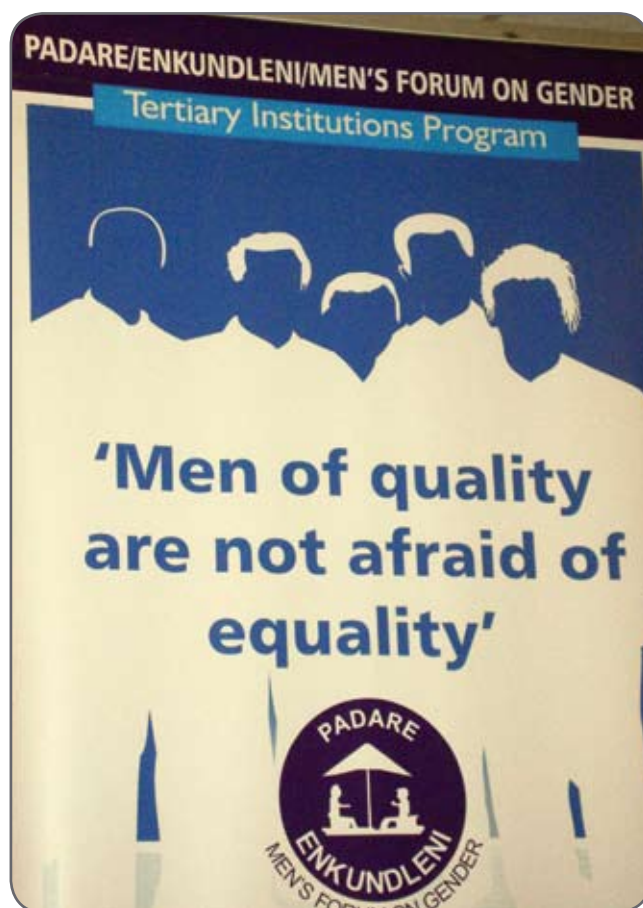
Zimbabwe is currently in a transitional phase after years of economic hardships, political polarization, isolation from the international community, and humanitarian crises such as food shortages and cholera. The Unity Government was formed after disputed political elections that left a trail of politically motivated violence, including physical abuses as well as the rape of women. Padare is confronted with various forms of oppression and violence against the women of Zimbabwe on a daily basis.

Zimbabwe needs to pay more attention to women's rights. The strengthening of the Zimbabwean Constitution as a framework to provide for women's rights and to fight in particular against the discrimination that is permitted in matters of personal law and customary law, is very important. Padare thinks it is crucial that the constitutional reforms take women's rights seriously, to ensure that progress and development are not only coherent but also meaningful.

For more information on Padare | Enkundleni | Men's Forum on Gender, please visit: www.padare.org.zw/.

Note

- 1 For more information on this campaign, please visit: <http://www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/16days/about.html>.



Militarization and Masculinities

Refusing militarism is not possible without refusing hegemonic masculinity

By Andreas Speck, War Resisters' International



“Questioning the militarist value system and its practices which are identified with military service, one is also obliged to question the hegemonic understanding of masculinity. In Turkey, military service is a laboratory in which masculinity is reproduced. The patriarchal system is solidified through military service. I objected to military service, because I am also against this laboratory-manufactured masculinity. The struggle against militarism defined in heterosexist terms through sexist structures finds its fundamental expression in anti-militarism. This refers to freedom of sexual orientation, gender equality and total and unrestricted freedom.”¹

Halil Savda, Turkish conscientious objector, repeatedly imprisoned for his conscientious objection to military service

I can easily relate to what Halil Savda writes above. When I was about 13 or 14 – and the army was still a long way off – I was quite fascinated with technology, as many young boys are. I even remember going to a Navy open day during one holiday, looking at the different Navy ships, helicopters, etc... I may have been fascinated by this technology, but I didn't much imagine myself in a uniform, being part of the Navy. At that time, those two things were quite separate issues.

Once I got a bit older, the reality of having to serve in the military got closer. And increasingly I could not see myself running around in a uniform, being shouted at, and being part of an all-male and very macho environment. At that time I was already experiencing an almost all-male environment during my apprenticeship as an electrician, and I could never relate to all the sexist talk and macho posturing. Not that I was so consciously anti-sexist at that time, but I just couldn't relate to it. That was just for eight hours a day, five days a week, but thinking about something like

this going on 24/7, without any space to escape, felt more like horror to me.

I wasn't aware of my being gay at that time, but I had already experienced quite a bit of peer harassment for not taking part in dirty, sexist talks and other macho posturing during my last years at school. Again, military service seemed like it would only be exponentially worse.

So, when the time came, I opted for conscientious objection. Of course, there were also political reasons for my objection, but I think on a different level my deeply felt aversion to this masculine environment might have played a more important role at that time. My unwillingness to serve was deeply connected to the images of masculinity that were linked with the military and that I felt very uncomfortable about.²

Militarism and masculinities | the links

Jeff Hearn writes: “It is an understatement to say that men, militarism, and the military are historically, profoundly, and blatantly interconnected”. But he also points out: “The exact nature of the connections between men and the military are themselves various and plural – thus there are military *masculinities*, and not just military masculinity” (emphasis in original).³ Raewyn Connell adds: “There are many causes of violence, including dispossession, poverty, greed, nationalism, racism, and other forms of inequality, bigotry and desire. Gender dynamics are by no means the whole story. Yet given the concentration of weapons and the practices of violence among men, gender patterns appear to be strategic. Masculinities are the forms in which many dynamics of violence take shape.”⁴ And Birckenbach sums it up: “Under the guise of 'no to killing vs. yes to killing for the purpose of defense', conscientious objectors and those who are willing to perform military service are not only debating about military violence, but also – without knowing it – about ideals of masculinity”.⁵

Ayşe Gül Altınay comes to similar conclusions in relation to Turkey. She quotes a young man, Ibrahim, as saying: “You do not become a man until you serve in the military. It is a sacred obligation. And people make fun of those who have not served. I, for one, did it just because I would feel a lack without it. I am flat-footed. If I had wanted, I could have been excused from military service. But I did not want to be excused. So I did it”.⁶ Drawing a conclusion very similar to Birckenbach’s for the German context 20 years earlier, Altınay writes: “In this context, military service is not only, or perhaps not even primarily, seen as a service to the state, but one that defines proper masculinity. It is a rite of passage to manhood (...)”.

Women and masculinities

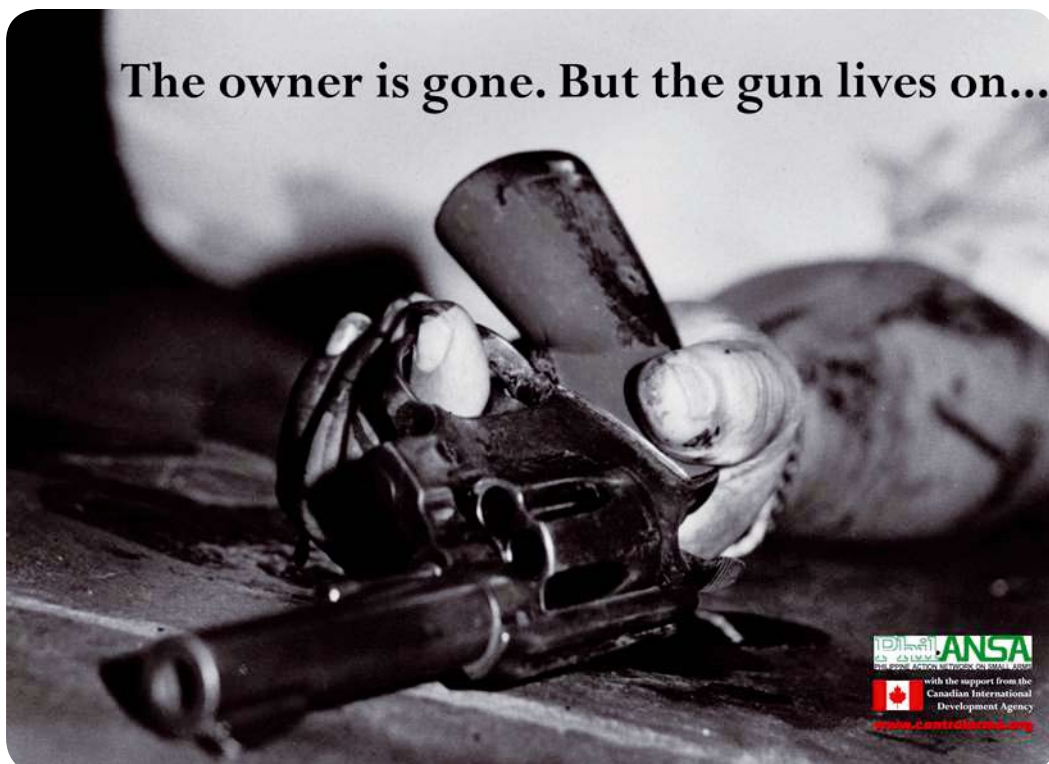
“As a woman, I am a consumer of masculinities, but I am not more so than men are; and, like men, I as a woman am also a producer of masculinities and a performer of them,”⁷ writes E.K. Sedgwick. A quote from an Israeli woman is a case in point: “I know that I prefer men who are combat soldiers to others who are just *jobniks*”.⁸ This was also true for Germany in the 1980s, where girls generally preferred boys who had done their military service.⁹ Thus, through their expectations of what it means to be a man, women contribute to the creation of certain forms of masculinity.

Changing masculinities

It is important to be aware that hegemonic masculinity is changing, moving away from the “warrior” image towards a more “business professional” masculinity. This is not to say that traditional masculinities, revolving around physical strength, no longer exist – they certainly do – but that they are losing their status as the hegemonic form of masculinity.

As Melissa T. Brown points out: The Army “has offered men several versions of masculinity: the soldier firing high-tech weapons, the professional who makes important decisions under tough conditions and saves lives, the caring surrogate father and provider of relief and protection, the bearer of marketable skills, and, of course, the guy who successfully gets into his girlfriend's bedroom”.¹⁰

Of course, masculinity is only ONE aspect involved in the decision-making of men or boys when it comes to considering military service or joining the military voluntarily. Economic aspects should not be underestimated – military service is often a prerequisite for a career in civilian life and leads to the connections needed for moving quickly into positions of power. Similarly, signing up voluntarily is often seen as the only way to get out of poverty or to get higher education.



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However, I don't think we can afford the luxury of continuing to ignore issues of gender in our antimilitarist work. As Cynthia Enloe writes: "As we have accumulated more and more evidence from more and more societies, we have become increasingly confident in this assertion that to omit gender from any explanation of how militarization occurs is not only to risk a flawed political analysis; it is to risk, too, a perpetually unsuccessful campaign to roll back that militarization."¹¹ As Raewyn Connell sees it: A "strategy for peace must include a strategy of change in masculinities. This is the new dimension in peace work which studies of men suggest: contesting the hegemony of masculinities which emphasise violence, confrontation and domination, replacing them with patterns of masculinity more open to negotiation, cooperation and equality."¹²

For more information on War Resisters' International, please visit: www.wri-irg.org/.

Notes

- 1 Halil Savda. "Letter from Halil Savda." 14 April 2009. <wri-irg.org/node/7216>. More information on Halil Savda is available at wri-irg.org/node/829.
- 2 See also: Andreas Speck. "Be a man!: Willingness to Serve and Masculinity". Presentation at the WRI/New Profile Seminar on Gender and Militarism, August 2008, wri-irg.org/node/6521.
- 3 Jeff Hearn. "Foreword: On Men, Women, Militarism, and the Military." *Military Masculinities. Identity and the State*. Ed. Paul Highgate. Westport and London, 2003.
- 4 R. Connell. "Masculinities, violence, and peacemaking." *Peace News*, No 2443, June–August 2001 [Available online: www.peacenews.info/issues/2443/connell.html].
- 5 Hanne-Margret Birckenbach. "Das ambivalente Verhältnis zur Gewalt. Psychosoziale Grundlagen militärischer Kampfausbildung." *antimilitarismus information*, no 7/1986.
- 6 Ayşe Gül Altınay. *The Myth of the Military-Nation: Militarism, Gender, and Education in Turkey*. 2004, p. 82.
- 7 E. K. Sedgwick. "Gosh, Boy George, You Must Be Awfully Secure in Your Masculinity." *Constructing Masculinity*, Eds. M. Berger, B. Wallis and S. Watson. 1995. Quoted from: Alan Greig, Michael Kimmel, James Lang, Eds. *Men, Masculinities & Development: Broadening Our Work Towards Gender Equality*, May 2000, Gender in Development Monograph Series #10 [available online: www.health.columbia.edu/pdfs/men_masculinities.pdf].
- 8 Uta Klein. "'Our Best Boys': The Gendered Nature of Civil-Military Relations in Israel." *Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 2, No. 1, July 1999, p47–65.
- 9 Hanne-Marget Birckenbach. "...besser vorbereitet auf den Krieg": *Schüler – Frieden – Bundeswehr*. Frankfurt: Verlag Jugend und Politik, 1982.

- 10 Melissa T. Brown. "'Be the best': Military Recruiting and the Cultural Construction of Soldiering in Great Britain." *GSC Quarterly*, No. 5, Summer 2002.
- 11 Cynthia Enloe. "Beyond 'Rambo': Women and the Varieties of Militarized Masculinity." *Women and the Military System*. Ed. Eva Isaksson. Proceedings of a symposium arranged by the International Peace Bureau and Peace Union of Finland. New York/London/Toronto/Sydney/Tokyo, 1988.
- 12 R. Connell. "Masculinities, violence, and peacemaking." *Peace News*, No. 2443, June–August 2001 [available online: www.peacenews.info/issues/2443/connell.html].



Story from the Field

Kenya: Strengthening the Women's Movement

Men for Gender Equality Now Playing their Part

By **Sylvia Sitawa**

Coordinator of Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN)



Background and Structure

The African Women's Development and Communications Network, FEMNET,¹ seeks to facilitate and coordinate the sharing of experiences, ideas, information, and strategies for the promotion of human rights among African women's organizations through networking, communication, capacity-building and advocacy at the regional and international levels. African societies consist of patriarchal systems that have provided men with certain powers, including the control over resources within society. Over the years, in working with women and women's organizations, FEMNET realized that in order to achieve real gender equality, men have to be involved in the effort. Women noted that without their husbands' and fathers' support for women's empowerment processes (including e.g. education), it was difficult for women to develop. It was therefore agreed that working with gender-sensitive men – as allies in women's empowerment and in ending violence against women – could help to strengthen the women's movement.

During a regional, men-to-men consultative meeting in 2001, which brought together men from different African countries, the male participants agreed to establish a men's network as a way of reaching out to other men and involving them in the struggle to end gender-based violence (GBV). The network was called Men for Gender Equality Now (MEGEN). The initiators of this network asked FEMNET to host it and raise resources to support it.

Today, MEGEN is a membership organization of men and women activists. The members challenge unequal power relationships between men and women, focus on the transformation of harmful masculinities into positive ones, and aim to end gender-based violence. They do this

through campaigning, advocacy and community activities. The men at MEGEN serve as powerful role models in reaching out to other men in the fight to end GBV, on community as well as government levels.

MEGEN is registered in Kenya as an independent organization. To ensure the growth of the MEGEN movement, members share with others – especially with perpetrators of violence – the importance of living violence-free lives within their homes and wider society. This has led to the establishment of 22 Constituency Teams in Kenya (Kasarani, Juja, Dagoretti, Westlands, Kabete, Makadara, Embakasi, Kathiani, Limuru, Bondo, Suba, Teso–Ama-goro, Nakuru, Machakos, Voi, Mombasa, Nyahururu, Meru, Nanyuki, Githunguri) and in Malawi (hosted by the Malawi Human Rights Resource Centre).

Programs

The organization currently has 5 main programs. The *Survivor Support Program* (also called Rapid Response Program) consists of a group of trained paralegals who offer support services to survivors of sexual- and gender-based violence (SGBV), either directly or through referrals.

Each year since 2003, MEGEN has organized what has been dubbed the *Men's Travelling Conference* (MTC), which takes place during the 16 Days of Activism against Gender Violence, November 25 – December 10. The MTC is a conference on-the-move, whereby hundreds of men and women activists from MEGEN and partner organizations in Kenya, Malawi and elsewhere travel to remote towns and villages by bus to encourage grassroots men and women, local leaders and law enforcement officers to take action against SGBV. This traveling conference is able to reach communities and people who would otherwise not be able to attend formal seminars. The teams involved



in this initiative show that there are men who are working against gender-based violence and who appreciate the work that the women's movement has done.

The team members from the *Artist Program* develop skits, songs, and other forms of drama to visualize the issues which MEGEN seeks to address: unequal power relations between men and women, gender-based violence and HIV and AIDS.

The *Media Program* liaises with local media houses to ensure positive reporting of the work that MEGEN does with men to end GBV. By means of media such as posters, stickers, t-shirts, brochures and the branding of buses, MEGEN has tried to communicate non-judgmental messages that will provoke thought and reflection among the target audiences, whether those be grassroots men, women or youth or policy makers. MEGEN feels it is important to avoid campaign messages that portray men in negative terms while aiming to reach out to and change them, since "no man self-identifies as a beast". Instead, MEGEN feels it is important to ask questions that will allow people to reflect and facilitate the process of change.

Overall, the MEGEN teams in the various programs consider it crucial to remain in contact and follow-up with the beneficiaries of the various campaigns from the different programs, on an individual as well as an organizational level.

Commitment and Sustainability

Since its inception in 2001, MEGEN has worked exclusively with volunteers, both women and men, who become members through an annual payment of KES 500. The majority of the men involved in MEGEN's work have been confronted with violence during their lives: some of them grew up in violent homes or situations, while others have been victims of violence or have themselves perpetrated violence against others, especially women. Their individual experiences, and the need these men feel to change and transform themselves and to contribute to sustainable societal changes, has created a strong commitment among the members towards the work that MEGEN is doing. MEGEN strongly feels that their personal commitment has been and is still crucial for the sustainability of its work in involving men to end violence against women.

The Survivor Support Program (Rapid Response Team) is an important program for ensuring MEGEN's contact with communities. Members of this team assist in rescuing survivors from violent situations, facilitate access to

treatment, assist survivors in contacts with the police and other authorities, and make referrals to organizations that provide shelter, counseling and legal services. Team members also attend court sessions in solidarity with survivors. For years, this program has been a crucial factor in bridging the gap between the general public, the provincial administrators (local chiefs, assistant chiefs, administrative police officers, district officers, district commissioners, etc.) and service providers (health centers), by ensuring that all survivors of sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) get justice for crimes committed against them.

Building Alliances

The building of alliances with public institutions has been one of the major achievements of the campaigns that MEGEN has organized throughout the 16 Days of Activism. The continued collaboration with the Kenyan government has paved ways for Constituency Teams to participate in monthly government meetings at local levels (though the local chiefs, the so-called "Baraza" meetings, in which important local issues are being discussed) and occasionally also at district levels. MEGEN members bring forward GBV issues from the communities. The male members of MEGEN act as role models by showing that there are men who oppose violence against women and children.

Lesson Learned

One of the key things that MEGEN has learned over the years is the powerful role that men can play as role models. MEGEN has realized that one of the reasons why men listen to the MTC conference participants is that other men are involved in it. MEGEN acknowledges that to achieve gender equality in societies, the transformation of individual men into supporters and advocates for gender equality and their inclusion in MEGEN's men's movement is key.

Currently, the MEGEN teams are working with FEMNET to replicate the work done in Kenya in six other countries in Africa. These include: Malawi (officially launched on 25 November 2009) – Tanzania, Uganda, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Mali and Senegal.

For more information on MEGEN, please visit: www.megenkenya.org/.

Note

1 For more information, please visit: www.femnet.or.ke/.



Story from the Field

Democratic Republic of Congo: Engaging Men to Protect and Empower Women

By Brita Schmidt, Women for Women International



During conflict, women are uniquely vulnerable to violence and exploitation. They are always at risk of sexualized violence as a tool of war, not to mention of partner and domestic violence. Victims of sexual and gender-based violence are often stigmatized and face enormous obstacles in trying to provide for their family with limited social support, resources or education. Women for Women International (WfWI) believes that women are society's bellwethers. When women are empowered in education and employment, society as a whole benefits. When women are deprived of opportunities and trapped in cycles of victimization, social stability is at risk.

As such, Women for Women International works to achieve social and economic development through the empowerment of women. We work with *women survivors of war* to provide them with tools and resources to leverage themselves and their communities out of poverty. We also work with traditional, civic and military leaders – *men* – to engage them as advocates and allies for women. To date, we have piloted our Men's Leadership Program (MLP) in four countries. We are currently in the process of improving our data collection to help us evaluate the long-term impact of this program, in particular with regard to behavioral changes.

WfWI understands that in order to achieve our ultimate goal – establishing viable civil societies where men and women work together as partners in peace and prosperity – we must engage both women and men in our quest for change.

“The Women for Women International Men's Leadership Program has trained over 2,100 male community leaders in Afghanistan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Iraq, and Nigeria. During the conflict and war in Afghanistan, relationships

between men and women became worse. Men do not respect women as human beings, and incidents of violence and abuse against women have increased. Women are used to resolve debts or conflicts between families – men who cannot pay back their loans will give their sisters or daughters to the lender instead, while the women involved have no say in the matter.” | Sweeta Noori; WfWI-Afghanistan Country Director

The Men's Leadership Program

WfWI's Men's Leadership Program sensitizes male leaders to crucial women's rights issues and prepares them to leverage their community influence on behalf of women. Covering topics on post-war community rebuilding, violence against women, reproductive and family health, and women's community participation, MLP session objectives (below) are tailored to each country's specific social codes and gender norms.

- Training and educating community and traditional leaders on violence against women and its impact on the community;
- Enhancing the capacity of community and traditional leaders to develop strategies to address the varied impact that violence against women has on the community;
- Building awareness of how leaders can be more responsive to issues of concern to different sectors of their communities/constituencies.
- Helping leaders become more aware of the factors affecting the development of their communities, ranging from economic and political participation of women to health issues such as HIV/AIDS.
- Giving leaders a forum in which to discuss their ideas for a stronger community where men and women are equally respected and valued.



'I never understood the importance of women in the community and also never understood the impact of rape on women. Rape cases brought before the military were treated with apprehension due to this lack of awareness and I therefore showed little concern for the victims. I did not see the importance of punishing the perpetrators. After the MLP training, I understood that I needed to change my perceptions... Above all, it is important to continue to sensitize the military, be they perpetrators or not, so that the guilty ones will wake up to the consequences of their actions or, better still, take the relevant preventive measures.' | DRC Military Officer and MLP Participant

Methodology

MLP participants are culled from traditionally male-dominated, critical sectors of society. These sectors often include government, religious groups, police, military, traditional institutions, and civil society. The leadership roles that these men hold in their communities allow them to reach out to other men, spread awareness and *mobilize men to actively advocate for greater respect for women's rights*, thereby facilitating community development by engaging both men and women as partners.

MLP training typically begins with 50 male leaders, known as "Level One" participants, who are trained by WfWI staff or specially retained Men's Leadership consultants. They are trained on topics such as the value of women and girls, female participation in both family and community decision-making, violence against women, and personal and family health.

The second stage of the MLP focuses on training participants on how to further educate men in their respective constituencies. Upon completing the MLP, each "Level One" participant commits to training at least 10 to 15 other local men, called "Level Two" participants, on MLP topics. MLP participants thus become agents of change in their communities.

Functional working groups, the third component of the MLP, allow community and traditional leaders to develop strategies to promote women's participation in family and community life and to stem the tide of gender-based violence. These working groups are comprised of MLP participants, as well as local men and women from the community who come together to share ideas on how to promote women's rights, prevent gender-based violence, and protect victims of rape and sexual violence from stig-

matization and exclusion. These working groups provide a forum for community members at various levels to work together toward viable solutions to gender inequity and violence against women in their communities.

To date, we have trained over 2,000 male leaders, and to great success. Graduates are more aware of women's rights, committed to preventing violence against women and supporting survivors, and more likely to view women as equal partners in the home and community.

Women for Women International believes that when women are well, can sustain an income, are decision-makers, and have strong social networks and safety nets, they are in a much stronger position to advocate for their rights. Women's progress will not be sustained without the *active engagement and support of male traditional, civic, and military leaders*. As we have learned in 16 years of development and humanitarian practice, when women and men together understand and advocate for women's rights and participation in society, dramatic societal change is possible.

Links and Resources

A recent news feature covers the WfWI's Men's Leadership Program in the Democratic Republic of the Congo www.csmonitor.com/World/Africa/2009/0804/p17s01-woaf.html?page=1

'Ending Violence Against Women in Eastern Congo: Preparing Men to Advocate for Women's Rights' (Winter 2007) www.womenforwomen.org/news-women-for-women/files/MensLeadershipFullReport_002.pdf

For more information, please contact Brita Fernandez Schmidt, Director of Policy and Development: bschmidt@womenforwomen.org.

For more information on Women for Women International, please visit: www.womenforwomen.org.



Sexual Violence Against Men and Boys

By Wynne Russell



It is well known that armed conflict and sexual violence against women and girls often go hand in hand. What is less widely recognised is that armed conflict and its aftermath also bring sexual danger for men and boys.

The great reluctance of many men and boys to report sexual violence makes it very difficult to accurately assess its scope. The limited statistics that exist almost certainly vastly under-represent the number of male victims. Nevertheless, in the last decade, sexualised violence against men and boys – including rape, sexual torture, mutilation of the genitals, sexual humiliation, sexual enslavement, forced incest and forced rape – has been reported in 25 armed conflicts across the world. If one expands this tally to include cases of sexual exploitation of boys displaced by violent conflict, the list encompasses the majority of 59 armed conflicts identified in the recent Human Security Report.¹

*not 'boys being boys'
but an exercise in
power and humiliation*

The problem of male-directed sexual violence is not unknown to the humanitarian community. Many international organisation – UN agencies, governmental and inter-governmental organisations INGOs, international criminal courts – have acknowledged the issue in their publications and their staff members show a high degree of individual sensitisation and concern. Nevertheless, male directed sexual violence remains largely undocumented.

Little is known either about the scope or nature of such violence or about the psychosocial consequences for male survivors. For individual survivors, this collective ignorance leads to a lack of assistance or justice.

Organisations that have made preliminary efforts to reach out to male survivors have often been handicapped by lack of awareness of the issue on the part of survivors and staff alike. Even though male victims are included in some international tribunals' definitions of sexual violence, the domestic laws of many countries do not include male victims in their definitions of sexual violence, particularly in cases where homosexual activity attracts legal penalties.² The human impact of this marginalisation and lack of care can only be guessed at.

Meanwhile, we remain ignorant of the place that such violence occupies in the perpetuation of conflicts or in the choice of particular forms of retaliatory violence. We do not understand its impact on post-conflict reintegration of adult or child combatants, or of civilian men forced to rape family or community members. We are unaware of how it affects the incidence of sexual and other violence against women and children, including refugees and child soldiers, during and after conflicts. From the perspective of the global trade in sex and persons, we remain ignorant of its contribution to prostitution, survival sex or trafficking in persons during and after conflicts and in refugee/IDP settings. We do not know about the relationship between conflict-related violence and sexual violence within institutions such as militaries, police forces and penal systems.

From what little published information exists on the subject, as well as the expertise of many, it is possible to make some rough observations. Sexualised violence against men and boys can emerge in any form of conflict – from interstate wars to civil wars to localised conflicts – and in any cultural context. Both men and boys are vulnerable in conflict settings and in countries of asylum alike. Both adult men and boys are most vulnerable to sexual violence in detention. In some places over 50% of detainees reportedly experience sexualised torture. However, both adult men and boys are also vulnerable during military operations in civilian areas and in situations of military



conscription or abduction into paramilitary forces. Boys, meanwhile, are also highly vulnerable in refugee/IDP settings.

In addition to acts of individual sadism, the main overt purposes of sexualised violence against men and boys appear to be torture, initiation and integration into military/paramilitary forces, punishment of individuals and a strategy of war designed to terrify, demoralise and destroy family and community cohesion.³

More fundamentally, most sexual violence is a mechanism by which men are placed or kept in a position subordinate to other men. Male-directed sexual violence helps to expose the broader phenomenon of conflict-related sexual violence, including against the women and girls who are the most numerous victims, for what it is: not 'boys being boys' but an exercise in power and humiliation.

What is needed

Systematic collection of data is vital. Organisations operating in conflict-affected zones should intensify efforts to identify male victims of sexual assault and create reporting categories for violence that affect male sexuality and reproductive capacity, such as mutilation of the genitals. All data must be able to be broken down by gender and age.

Mechanisms for expert discussion on how to provide assistance for men and boy survivors need to be established. Given the extraordinary sensitivity of the issue for victims and communities alike, strategies need to be carefully thought out. Many of those I have interviewed stressed the difficulty of formulating programmes for male survivors, given that they often have very different needs from female survivors and are often extremely reluctant to discuss the violence they have suffered or its consequences. The needs of male survivors often vary widely according to cultural context. Creation of mechanisms for expert discussion both within and across cultural contexts would help programme managers formulate effective strategies and would also help advance the field of trauma studies more generally.

Male victims need to be fully represented in international justice initiatives and their inclusion in national laws on sexual violence. The prosecution by the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia⁴ of perpetrators of sexual violence against male victims and the Democratic Republic of Congo's recent extension of the crime of rape to include male victims are positive examples. Humanitarian actors should acknowledge that for male victims sex-

ual violence is not just another form of torture. Sexual and gender-based violence is a particularly vicious attack on personal and social identity whose psychological consequences often far outlive those of other forms of physical violence. We need to take care not to inadvertently harm other vulnerable groups. Psychosocial strategies aimed at the specific needs of male survivors must be carefully designed to avoid unintentional reinforcement of concepts of male dominance over women or of homophobia.

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Note

- 1 www.humansecurityreport.info/index.php?option=content@task=view&id=28&Itemid=63
- 2 See article by Rodriguez p45 on DRC's recent expansion of rape laws to include both genders.
- 3 Thanks to Françoise Duroch of Médecins Sans Frontières for these observations.
- 4 For more information, please visit: www.un.org/icty



Story from the Field

India: Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women

By José de Vries



Women in India

India is a patriarchal society in which girls and women of every region, origin, religion, and caste are subjected to violence, including murder, rape, torture, domestic violence, molestation, and sexual harassment. In this society, more often than not, boys are taught from early ages that a man is someone with leadership, authority and power; this allows them to behave dominantly and often violently towards women and children. In recent years, India has witnessed an increase in programs focusing on women's empowerment. As a result, men are increasingly becoming concerned that they could lose their leadership positions.

Background of Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women

SAHAYOG is an NGO based in Lucknow, in the Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. It was established in 1992 to promote women's empowerment. As the organization began to evolve, it realized that real empowerment is only possible if women have control over their own health, resources and body. In 1995, SAHAYOG realized that for women to gain control and to achieve gender equality, it would be crucial to engage men.

While attention for gender equality issues in Indian society had increased by the late '90s, SAHAYOG noted that the relationship between violence against women and women's participation, equality and empowerment was hardly being addressed in that period. The majority of organizations focused on women's empowerment, yet did not focus on sexual harassment or reducing violence against women in general. Issues were largely approached as "women's" issues, ignoring that violence against women and girls is a wider social problem, and indeed a human rights violation in itself.

In 2001, SAHAYOG began to monitor the situation of violence against women in the State of Uttar Pradesh in India. Together with the Women's Alliance for Mobilisation and Action, which is a state level network on women's rights, they organized a series of meetings on the state's accountability on gender equality and violence against women. Individuals, activists and NGO workers – all of whom were male – participated in the forum. The meetings were used to build a broad coalition of concerned and active men to work on the issue of gender equality. This was a crucial period, as the men realized that this was not just an issue for women but one that involved Indian society at large. It was agreed that there was a need to direct special attention towards involving men in the struggle for ending violence against women.

A series of follow-up workshops and consultations followed, during which a variety of issues were addressed, among them the need to 1) understand boys and men and their perspectives; 2) understand what women's empowerment leads to and how it affects gender relations; 3) break the privileges that boys and men receive, by showing them the advantages of gender equality; and 4) make clear that gender equality is not about giving one group power over the other, but about sharing power equally.

In 2002, the group Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women (MASVAW) was established. The MASVAW campaign describes its focus as being on "self action, highlighting the need to change the self first".

MASVAW and Gender

MASVAW strongly believes that boys and men are not born violent, but that they are socialized into a culture of violence. Hence, boys and men themselves are not the problem and should not be addressed as such. The group considers it crucial to understand and address the violent



behavior of men and boys from a gender perspective, recognizing the social constructions of masculine behavior and attitudes and the overall socialization process of boys as the main problem. These socialization processes, along with the pressures of patriarchal societies and the fears that men have, will have to be taken into account when addressing the behavior of boys and men from a gender perspective.

Young boys are socialized in ways that promote gender inequalities and violence, yet not all boys adopt these gendered behavioral patterns, and most do not act out these roles all the time. MASVAW perceives this as a good starting point for developing interventions and building partnerships with young people on gender-based violence.

MASVAW Today

Today, MASVAW brings together boys and men to raise their voices publicly against violence against women and against gender inequalities in general. This is done through agitations, campaigns, media reactions, public debates, discussions, workshops and seminars. MASVAW also acts as a watchdog, working with the police, doctors, lawyers, universities, schools and the media. Over one hundred watch groups have been organized in villages across Uttar Pradesh and Uttaranchal. These groups intervene in instances of violence within the village and provide support to the survivors. The groups also work towards making local schools and colleges violence-free zones. To publicly challenge existing social norms, MASVAW organizes annual campaigns at the grassroots level, such as during the “Sixteen Days of Activism” (November 25-December 10)¹ and International Women’s Day (March 8) celebrations. The campaigns are undertaken with the support of local media and include intense rallies, demonstrations, slogan shouting, candle marches, programs at universities and schools, wall writing and pamphlet distribution, signature campaigns, debates, poster making and exhibitions. MASVAW also undertakes rallies and demonstrations to support its casework.

Over the years, MASVAW has grown into an unregistered network of individuals and organizations, functioning as a member-based campaign. Rather than an NGO project, it is a social movement consisting of approximately 175 voluntary organizations, nine universities, two degree colleges, seven intermediate colleges, one technical institute, media representatives of mainstream media from 11 districts, and around 500 other individuals, including social activists, advocates, teachers, students, etc. from 20 districts of Uttar Pradesh. Members are chosen on

the basis of their commitment to the issue, their demonstrated application of MASVAW’s values in their life, and their active participation in and facilitation of MASVAW’s activities. MASVAW strongly encourages and supports its membership to apply its ideology in day-to-day life and uses peer vigilance to apply this concept. Therefore, membership is by referral only. However, MASVAW does encourage affiliates, and those are spread across villages and cities of Uttar Pradesh and Uttarakhand.

In order to widely spread its work and philosophy, MASVAW has been publishing a monthly newspaper *Lok Abhyuday* since 2006. To increase people’s understanding of gender, masculinities, sexualities, patriarchy, power structures, and violence, MASVAW also publishes resource materials such as training manuals, flash cards and booklets.

MASVAW and the Women’s Movement

MASVAW believes that the men’s movement and NGOs working on women’s empowerment need to support and partner with each other in order to achieve their common objectives. The male movement should not undermine the work of the women’s movement but rather should complement it. In this respect, MASVAW considers it crucial that power be divided equally and not shifted to the men’s movement.

Lesson Learned

In any patriarchal society with rigid gender norms, it is difficult to convince men to give up power and privileges. Notions of gender equality are often ridiculed. MASVAW helps boys and men working on gender equality to deal with the criticisms they are confronted with and encourages them to persevere in their conviction. As the MASVAW campaign has gained momentum, it has refined its strategies, broadened its target base and incorporated the lessons it has learned. Given the challenges that it faces, MASVAW has worked with the following strategies:

- *Campaign versus NGO project*

MASVAW is a campaign: a well-known movement and not a project. This was a deliberate strategy, rooted in what MASVAW wants to achieve and how it wants to do that. It has provided MASVAW with focus and flexibility and has removed many administrative obstacles.



- *Being flexible, finding connections*

Working with boys and men to end violence against women and children requires working at different levels. MASVAW uses innovative approaches converging issues of gender, caste and violence, all in a rights-based framework.

- *Working with boys and men of all age groups and positions of authority*

MASVAW has engaged with men at different stages in their life cycle and chooses its stakeholders and target group strategically. Investing in and adapting activities and tools to the different age groups is considered crucial. MASVAW also deliberately engages with men in positions of power within communities.

- *What's in it for boys and men?*

MASVAW believes that helping boys and men understand how they can benefit from sharing their power with girls and women is the key when it comes to getting them to support the campaign in the long-term.

- *Involve girls and women*

Connecting to the women's movement has made the campaign stronger.

- *Strategic advocacy*

Strategic and sustained advocacy are strengths of the campaign, which operates through sending out non-threatening messages that encourage men to be gender equitable rather than showing them in a poor light.

- *Collaboration and networks*

Today, the MASVAW campaign is part of several regional and global networks, which helps it to connect with the discourse on working with boys and men at an international level.

The Way Forward

As the campaign looks ahead, MASVAW considers it crucial to find more entry points for working with boys and men, for instance by promoting positive images of fatherhood. Expanding networks nationally, regionally and globally through participation in the MenEngage platform² will also lead to a larger impact. As it looks ahead, MASVAW is looking forward to strengthening the participation of children in its campaign, especially targeting younger boys in schools and families. Today, MASVAW is striving to be a learning network: by regularly documenting its work, it monitors changes and evaluates its performance.

This article is based on the report “Documentation of a Campaign to end Violence against Women and Girls and to Promote Gender Equality in India”. For more information on Men's Action for Stopping Violence Against Women, please download this report:

http://www.endvawnow.org/pampa/vo.1/library/filemanager/v1/files/masvaw_documentation_by_scs_2008.pdf

Notes

- 1 For more information on this campaign, please visit: www.cwgl.rutgers.edu/16days/home.html.
- 2 MenEngage is a global alliance of NGOs and UN agencies that seeks to engage boys and men to achieve gender equality. For more information, please visit: www.menengage.org/.



Story from the Field

USA: The Men's Story Project

Bringing Critical Dialogue about Masculinities, Health & Justice into Public Forums

By Josie Lehrer



In August 2008, before a packed theater audience at the debut presentation of the *Men's Story Project* (MSP) in Berkeley, California, Kenyatta, a 60-year-old writer from Harlem, described how, at the age of seven, he proudly shared with his parents a poem that he had written. Since many contemporary African American poets in those days were gay, they glared at him with suspicion and disapproval. For the next 30 years, he never shared a single piece of his writing with his parents for fear of bad consequences.

Galen, a 29-year-old anti-violence activist, described having been physically abused by his father and his own perpetration of hundreds of acts of violence against other men and his female partners: "My father used to hold me down... He'd twist my arm back 'til it'd almost break... The pain would be piercing...and he'd say, 'That doesn't hurt! Quit complaining! Be a man!'" Galen described coming home from a fight at school, bruised and swollen, and his father's response was: "How could you lose? Didn't I tell you never to lose?!" Galen then told of his long journey of healing and ceasing his own violence, expressing gratitude to those who supported him along the way.

With humor and poignancy, the men participating in MSP events¹ have shared many stories: of men's public-restroom rituals, lessons of personal strength from a father with polio, spirituality and transformation inside federal prison, testicular cancer and personal wholeness. A 69-year-old man described consciously unlearning his homophobia after losing a beloved gay cousin to AIDS. A gang truce-maker described refusing to let community members avenge the murder of his son.

I created the MSP in 2008 in San Francisco because research around the world shows that social ideas about

masculinities and appropriate gender relations are among the root causes of many preventable health and justice challenges faced by people of all genders today, including HIV/AIDS, men's violence against women, violence between men, homophobia, and the institutionalized social, political, and economic oppression of women. At the same time, there are few public forums where traditional masculinity ideologies are critically examined and alternate, healthier approaches are highlighted. The MSP brings this dialogue into mainstream forums. In each event, local men – artists, activists and men who've never been on a public stage – share stories about their lives with an audience, followed by discussion. The presenters break social silences and challenge stereotypical notions of manhood. They celebrate men's beauty and strength and present a more expansive and peaceful vision of contemporary masculinities.

The four live productions of the MSP thus far have yielded overwhelmingly positive audience and media response, with references to the project such as "groundbreaking", "revolutionary", "a gift", and "something that needs to keep happening". Media coverage includes CNN's Newsmakers and a cover story in *VoiceMale Magazine* (2010), and the MSP has won awards at the University of California–Berkeley and the University of California–San Francisco.

A global need exists for more critical, public dialogue about masculinities. The MSP model is intended for local replication/adaptation and evaluation, and we hope it will spread widely as a locally created initiative with NGOs, at colleges, and in other contexts. Several groups in the U.S. and Chile are planning productions for 2010. Resources are available for groups to create their own MSP events: a 40-page Training Guide; in-person training and telephone/Skype consultation; a film of the MSP debut presentation;

and an MSP License. The MSP film is also useful as an educational tool.

In supporting public reflections on gender socialization processes, we will strengthen people of all genders as allies in fostering communities where all can live in safety, wellness and equality.

For more information, please see:

www.mensstoryproject.org &

www.youtube.com/user/mensstoryproject.

Dr. Josie Lehrer is founder/director of the Men's Story Project and Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the UCSF Center for AIDS Prevention Studies (jlehrer1@gmail.com). This article is adapted from a version that first appeared in *On the Issues Magazine* (9/09).

Note

- 1 In each MSP event, a diverse group of local men share stories about their own lives in various artistic mediums (e.g. poetry, prose, monologues, music, dance), followed by a facilitated audience-presenter discussion. MSP presenters are artists, activists, and other well-known men, as well as men who have never before been on a public stage.



Together for Transformation

A Call to Men and Boys



On the occasion of International Human Rights Day, December 10, 2009 we 19 men from 17 countries coming from Africa, Asia, Europe, America, the Middle East and the Pacific gathered here in Egmond aan Zee in the Netherlands for a Training of Trainers on Gender-Sensitive Active Nonviolence, organised by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, its Women Peacemakers Program, collectively draft this document and express our commitments towards this statement/call.

We understand that men and women are socialised in a patriarchal system that legitimises use of different forms of violence to gain, restore and control power affecting powerless and marginalised sections of society. We fully acknowledge that women suffer far more than men from gender oppression.

We understand and recognize that women have always been active agents of change. Women worldwide are standing up against all forms of discrimination and violence to bring social and gender justice and peace to the world. Some men are standing as allies with women's struggles but notions of dominant masculinities across cultures have posed challenges for gender equality and social justice. Both men and women are suffering in this system and they need to join hands to bring about transformative change. Men also have much to gain in health, general wellbeing and safety through this change.

We believe that all individuals have equal human rights irrespective of their gender, origin, nationality, age, religion, caste, class, race, colour, occupation, physical and mental abilities, and sexualities. All human beings have the right to a dignified life free of threat and discrimination. We assert our commitments to all international conventions and declarations, especially The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, Econom-

ics Social and Cultural Rights, UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, UN Security Council Resolution 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889. These need to be fully implemented in their true spirit and further steps need to be taken to improve policies and programs pertaining to women and gender justice.

We strongly speak out against gender inequality and discrimination towards women in all forms and show our deep commitment towards gender sensitive active nonviolence as a way of life. We are inspired by and committed to this work and the prospect of change in our lives and in our societies. We believe in people's capacity to bring transformative change in nonviolent ways.

Therefore we call on all men and boys to:

- Adopt gender-sensitive Active Nonviolence as a way of solving problems
- End violence against women in any form
- Engage in constructive dialogue with women
- Provide space for equal and meaningful participation of women in private and public spheres including peace building processes
- Stop militarising resistance and peace processes
- Promote policies that bring dignity to all people
- We call on men and boys to join us on this journey.

Signed,

Gender Sensitive Active Non Violent Men

Women Peacemakers Program Training of Trainers
Egmond aan Zee, The Netherlands
December 10, 2009

Ali Gohar

Just Peace International
Peshawar, Pakistan

Alimou Diallo

West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP)
Ghana

Alphonse Ilot Muthaka

PEREXC
Mentoring Program and Socio Economic Reinsertion of
Former Combatants
Democratic Republic of Congo

Anand Pawar

SAMYAK – A Communication and Resource Center
India

Babar Bashir

ROZAN
Pakistan

Christian Ngendahimana

Fountain-Isoko for Good Governance and Integrated
Development
Burundi

Kapil Kafle

Institute of Human Rights Communication
Nepal

Nixon Nembaware

Zimbabwe

Oluoch Dola

CHEMCHEMI YA UKWELI
Active Non Violent Movement in Kenya
Kenya

Otim Tonny

Teso Women Peace Activists
Uganda

Owen Murozvi

Zimbabwe Council of Churches
Harare, Zimbabwe

Paulo Baleinakodawa

Pacific Center for Peacebuilding
Fiji Islands

Rob Fairmichael

INNATE
Ireland

Ruben Reyes Jiron

The Masculinity and Gender Equality Network
Nicaragua

Samuel D. Darpolor

West Africa Network for Peace Building/
WANEP-Liberia
Liberia

Siad Darwish

Permanent Peace Movement
Beirut – Lebanon

Sivarajah Bagerathan

Sri Lanka

Sothea Sak

SILAKA
Phnom Penh – Cambodia

Valtmore B. Fenis

Mindanao Peoples Peace Movement (MPPM)
Alyansa ng Kabataang Mindanao para sa Kapayapaan
(AKMK)
Mindanao, Philippines



Caution and Care in Engaging Men in Gender Equality

By José de Vries



“The principle of shared power and responsibility should be established between women and men at home, in the workplace and in the wider national and international communities. Equality between women and men is a matter of human rights and a condition for social justice and is also a necessary and fundamental prerequisite for equality, development and peace. A transformed partnership based on equality between women and men is a condition for people centred sustainable development.[...].”

The Platform for Action emphasizes that women share common concerns that can be addressed only by working together and in partnership with men towards the common goal of gender equality around the world.”

The Beijing Platform for Action (Article 1 – Article 3)

For years, there has been recognition that the empowerment of women and the establishment of gender-just societies should not be the work of women activists alone, but that there is a need for women and men to work in partnership. During the 54th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) ‘15-year Review of the Implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action’, many activists reiterated the need for women and men to work together in partnership on achieving gender justice.

Others, however, raised concerns as well on potential backlashes against women due to the engagement of men in the fight for gender equality. Over the years, the WPP has heard different concerns being raised by women activists. These circle around the fear (sometimes backed-up by actual experience) of men taking over or hijacking the gender-equality agenda, leading to a decrease in attention for women’s rights and needs. Another concern is about increased competition for the scarce resources and fund-

ing possibilities that are out there, with the risk of resources being channeled away from women’s organizations and women’s rights work. Women activists also mention that male gender-justice activists might end up dominating political spaces and professional positions that focus on gender-equality issues, for instance through the appointment of men as gender specialists at higher decision-making levels – where they then take over the few spaces that are accessible to women. Some women activists fear that by appointing a man, women’s voices and concerns will be silenced, forgotten or depoliticized at those levels. Concerns regarding the differences in recognition, respect and status that women’s and men’s organizations receive for their gender justice work are sometimes raised as well. Some feel that male activists acquire a higher status for the work they are doing than women activists. Some of these concerns will be discussed more in detail below.

In 2004, the Association for Women’s Rights in Development (AWID) initiated a multi-year actionresearch initiative to gain a better understanding of funding trends in women’s rights work.¹ The 2008 report ‘FundHer Brief: Money Watch for Women’s Rights Movements & Organizations’² noted that, in general, obtaining financial support for initiatives that promote social change and confront the existing power structures has never been easy. Women’s rights organizations in particular, however, face a number of challenges in accessing financial resources, many of which they attribute to donor priorities and practices and to the limitations related to the organizational capacities of women’s rights organizations themselves (p17).

The 2008 AWID FundHer Brief also notes how the political environment in many contexts where women’s rights organizations work not only jeopardizes the accomplishment of their goals but also undermines their access to funding. Patriarchal societies, sexism and authoritarian governments are some of the most common challenges that women’s groups indicated they have to overcome in



“The World’s Most INFLUENTIAL MEN”
from HOPE exhibits
(<http://www.hopeexhibits.org/>)



order to mobilize more resources that could support their work (p17).

Considering particularly these specific challenges that women’s organizations face, the WPP considers it crucial that donors, governments, UN institutions, and international and local organizations, including men’s organizations, hold themselves accountable for any intended and unintended consequences of gender-equality programs and policies and for any diversion of funding away from women’s organizations and programs that focus on women’s empowerment. Programs and policies that focus on gender equality need to be supportive of women’s empowerment and women’s rights and not lead to any backlashes against women. To ensure this, consultations with women’s groups and movements before and during the development and implementation of a program or policy are crucial, along with building strong communication lines, trust and proper and transparent systems for monitoring and evaluation as well as accountability.


During the 54th Session of the CSW, the issue of competition for resources was raised for instance by Mary Ellsberg of the International Centre for Research on Women (ICRW).³ In her closing remarks during the workshop

“Engaging Men in Gender Equality: Putting the Words into Practice”, she noted how feminists for years have emphasized that men need to be involved and support their work. She mentioned that currently, however, donors seem to applaud and prioritize programs that focus particularly on the inclusion of men in gender equality as “the best way for reaching gender equality”. This might result in funding being channeled to men’s organizations to the exclusion of women’s organizations and their access to funding. Mary Ellsberg emphasized the need to establish and maintain strong dialogue and partnerships between the women’s and men’s movements to ensure that working for gender equality does not lead to backlashes against women. She noted that accountability is crucial if the women’s and men’s movements are to stand side by side in increasing justice and freedom for everyone.

Others also raised accountability issues several times during the 54th session of the CSW. A female representative of Women Against Violence Europe (WAVE),⁴ raised her concern about men being invited as experts on gender equality, at the expense of women. She noted that “women have been working for years on gender equality issues, but nowadays, in spite of the extensive experiences of women activists, men are often being invited as experts on gender

equality issues, instead of women”. She encouraged these men who are invited as experts to consider either sending a representative from a women’s organization or asking her to join him, in order to raise the visibility of women as well and to ensure recognition for the work that women have been doing. She encouraged men to take a pro-active stance in avoiding these backlashes against women.

Accountability issues play a role at more subtle levels as well. For instance, Dean Peacock, co-founder and co-director of Sonke Gender Justice⁵ in South Africa and co-chair of the MenEngage Alliance,⁶ noted in this regard how sensitivity is required in the use of language and in the messages that are being conveyed in it. As an example he mentioned the title of a program that focused on engaging men in gender justice work: “Men Taking Charge”. That title seemed to encourage stereotypical gender notions, in which men are seen as superior, dominant and better at making decisions.



Satish Kumar Singh, Deputy Director of the Centre for Health and Social Justice in India and convenor of the India-based network Men’s Action for Stopping Violence Against Women (MASVAW), noted that gender is often reduced to being discussed in terms of the need for gender mainstreaming within organizations, rather than addressing it in terms of power relationships. A holistic approach, in which power dynamics are addressed on various levels and between various groups (including for instance religion and caste), is crucial for social and transformative change, without backlashes against certain groups in society. Social-rights groups need to stand and work together in this respect.

The need to raise awareness about power and power dynamics was also noted by Gary Barker, Director for the Gender, Violence and Rights Team of the ICRW and co-chair of the MenEngage Alliance, during the workshop “Principles of Partnership and Accountability between Organizations Working with Women and Men for Gender Equality”. Referring to the fact that men’s movements and male gender activists are building on what feminist movements have achieved, he noted that, while entering those spaces that women activists have fought for, men’s gender justice activists need to be aware of the (implicit) power that men have, given to them by patriarchal societies. He emphasized that, in order to avoid backlashes against women, it is crucial that men become more aware of how power is being used in societies. Men need to analyze how men use power and to ensure that their work does not reinforce and re-affirm notions of patriarchy and

power imbalances between women and men. Gary Barker noted in this regard that in order to truly challenge patriarchy and the way gender is conceptualized, it is crucial to acknowledge and address the complexity of men as well. Not all men are powerful and dominant on the same levels and it is therefore important to recognize that within the category ‘men’ there are men who are powerful and others who are relatively powerless.

The various men’s groups that focus on eradicating violence and promoting gender justice demonstrate that there are many men who oppose men’s violence and gender inequalities. Yet, there is still a long way to go. As Michael Kimmel noted during the Global Symposium “Engaging Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality” in Rio de Janeiro,⁷ men’s organizations shouldn’t be “prematurely self-congratulatory” for being involved in gender-equality work. Men’s organizations should also be open to engaging with, acknowledging, and learning from the work and experiences of feminist organizations and support their work.

As was recognized in the Platform for Action 15 years ago, women and men need to work in true partnership towards the common goal of gender equality around the world. Partnerships between women’s and men’s organizations could serve as a space for cross-gender dialogue and collaboration, in which the complexities of gender inequalities can be exposed, challenged and transformed. Caution and care are required to use these spaces in ways that serve and benefit everyone. All stakeholders, including men’s and women’s organizations as well as donors and governments, are responsible for preventing backlashes against women. Through the acknowledgement of one’s own and each other’s responsibilities in this process, joining and coordinating efforts, men’s and women’s organizations can make progress towards a more gender-just future.

Notes

- 1 For more information on the research ‘Where is the Money for Women’s Rights?’ please visit: www.awid.org/eng/About-AWID/AWID-Initiatives/Where-is-the-Money-for-Women-s-Rights.
- 2 To download the report, please visit: www.awid.org/eng/Issues-and-Analysis/Library/FundHer-Brief-2008-Money-Watch-for-Women-s-Rights-Movements-and-Organizations.
- 3 For more information, please visit: www.icrw.org
- 4 For more information, please visit: www.wave-network.org/
- 5 For more information, please visit: www.genderjustice.org.za
- 6 For more information, please visit: www.menengage.org/
- 7 This conference took place from March 29 – April 3, 2009. For more information, please visit: www.engagingmen.org.

Recommendations for Engaging Men in Women's Empowerment Work

Lessons Learned from the WPP ToT

By José de Vries



The IFOR's Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) believes that working in partnership with men and men's organizations and networks can be very important in the struggle for women's empowerment and in building gender-just societies. Men's violence against women – and against other men – is increasingly being recognized as a barrier for gender equality. Men are not merely part of the problem; they are – and should also be made – part of the solution.

Societies in general, and men in particular, have much to gain from involving men in gender equality work. Nonetheless, the WPP considers it crucial that the process of building partnerships between women's and men's organizations and movements be done with caution and care, to avoid backlash for any of the parties involved.

The WPP is currently running a pilot program for the Training of Trainers (ToT), titled *Overcoming Violence: Exploring Masculinities, Violence and Peace*. In this training program, 19 male peace activists from 17 countries are participating for a period of two years. The overall objective of the ToT program is to create a pool of female and male peacemakers who will be working together as allies in peacebuilding through gender-sensitive active nonviolence.

The first part of the pilot ToT program took place during December 2009 in the Netherlands and focused on the theory and practice of gender-sensitive active nonviolence, the theory of masculinities and its relation to violence, and participatory and gender-sensitive facilitation. During the first six months of 2010, the 19 trainees who participated in this first ToT will organize – with the support of a female peace activist – a community project or training focusing on gender-sensitive active nonviolence. In July 2010, a second ToT will be organized to consolidate the trainees' learning and to address further training needs. The WPP is

very excited about this work with male peace activists and is looking forward to continuing and further developing its work with them.

Based on the first experiences with our pilot project, the WPP has formulated 15 *Recommendations*¹ for women's organizations that are planning to engage men in their work:

1. Consult with the women you work with

Over the years, our women trainees have informed us that, while training and empowering women on gender-sensitive peacebuilding was very important, it is not enough in itself to change the practice of peacebuilding altogether. They have repeatedly indicated that they lack male supporters for their local peace work, as well as support from male colleagues within their peace organizations and networks. Upon raising the topic of gender, women from their communities would show interest; yet male support and buy-in was often lacking. In order to truly transform cultures of war and violence, they felt they needed to start working with male allies. More specifically: Gender-sensitive male allies – allies who could act as powerful role models for the men in their communities. For this reason, the WPP started the process of exploring how it could build this pool of gender-sensitive male allies.

Hence, our 1st recommendation is:

Consult with the women you work with

Spend sufficient time analyzing if and why you think it is important to collaborate with men and men's organizations on the work you are doing for women's empowerment and gender justice. Make sure to consult with the women you are working with during this process. Collaborating with men and men's organization in your work needs to be understood and supported by these women. How could this collaboration contribute to the work you



are already doing with and for women? How is this work addressing the needs of the women you are working with? How will this approach lead to a concrete impact in terms of advancing women's rights and increasing gender justice in society?

2. Define as concretely as possible your goals and expectations for partnering with men and men's organizations, and use those to monitor your approach – and to see whether it needs adjusting – along the way

The WPP has identified at least five broad and different reasons for organizations to become active in the field of engaging men in gender equality work:

- a. To address gender injustices in societies and to work towards social changes in societies to the benefit of all – women, men, and transgender and intersex people. It involves the recognition that gender is about power relations and that it is crucial for these groups to work together as partners and allies, with a shared agenda, to achieve gender justice for all. It recognizes that all people gain and benefit from gender equality work. It also recognizes that it remains important to continue addressing the gender-related disadvantages and oppression that women face, and to specifically work for women's empowerment.
- b. To address the gender-related disadvantages and oppression that women face and to support women and women's empowerment. It underlines that women are suffering and that men have a responsibility to support women's empowerment and leadership.
- c. To address the gender-related disadvantages that men face. This perspective recognizes that men have a lot to gain from changing their behavior and rejecting a dominant, hegemonic and violent form of masculinity. It recognizes that men's privileges also come with a cost.
- d. To address the gender-related disadvantages that transgenders face and to support their empowerment.
- e. To approach the topic as a fundraising strategy and to raise the profile of the organization. The topic of "engaging men in the field of gender equality" is receiving increased attention, and it could be an opportunity to raise the organizational profile (innovative) and to secure funds.²

The WPP is working towards the first goal. We defined our overall objective behind the ToT as: *"the creation of a pool of female and male peacemakers working together as allies in an open, constructive, respectful manner for peacebuilding through gender-sensitive active nonviolence."* The WPP defined a set of concrete sub-objectives as well.

While implementing the ToT program, we realized at certain times that we had not been specific and concrete enough when defining our objectives – and that these left room for interpretation. This became clear during our planning meetings with the ToT trainers, and when working with our trainees. It meant that we had to sit down together regularly to refine and sharpen our vision and original plans. It reminded us that it is difficult to define concretely and in detail what you expect to achieve when you enter a new field of working, and that you need to allow for some flexibility and revision of your strategies along the way.

Hence, our 2nd recommendation is:

Define as concretely as possible your goals and expectations for partnering with men and men's organizations, and use those to monitor your approach – and to see whether it needs adjusting – along the way.

It is thus important to spend sufficient preparation and reflection time on the development phase of your work on engaging men. Besides analyzing and defining your expectations and expected outcomes in terms of positive impact, it is also important to reflect on the risks and challenges involved.

3. Be strategic regarding who you consider working with

The WPP considers it crucial to work with those men who are in the most suitable position to develop and spread the skills, knowledge and overall thinking behind the ToT program. To reach this group, we defined a set of selection criteria, including for instance the level of existing knowledge and skills on gender, peacebuilding, nonviolent activism, and training experience. Furthermore we also looked at the position the applicant holds in his organization (decision-making level); his link to relevant peacebuilding and gender networks (dissemination), and the level of organizational support provided to the trainee in terms of enabling the implementation of follow-up activities in his home country.

In addition to selecting the trainees based on a list of criteria, the ToT application form also included a list of questions aimed at providing us with information on the trainee's level of motivation and commitment. It included questions such as "Why do you want to attend this Training of Trainers?", "Please explain concretely how you plan to implement the skills and knowledge you have gained during the ToT" and "Please indicate any ideas you have for conducting a training in your home context following the ToT". In addition, the applicants were asked to attach a one-page personal statement on how they saw





Nineteen men from 17 countries participated in WPP's ToT. Co-facilitators were Steven Botkin, front row, on left and Patricia Ackerman, second row, seated left. WPP Program Manager Isabelle Geuskens is seated in front row, far right; WPP Information Officer José de Vries is in front row, second from right.

gender impacting on building a culture of peace, and the role of men in this process.

During the actual selection process, we also paid attention to diversity within the selected group of trainees, taking into account the age, country and continent, and religious affiliation (if any) of the applicants. After a selection interview by phone – which included a further check on the individual's motivation and command of English – we concluded the procedure by doing a reference check on the final list of selected trainees.

Hence, our 3rd recommendation is:

Be strategic regarding who you consider working with

It is important to know in advance what kind of men and men's organizations make up the best possible supporters of your work. It is important to collaborate with men who can serve as role models for other men. Role models are needed to speak out against gender injustices and to affirm that it is acceptable to not conform to dominant

and violent forms of masculinities. Therefore, make sure to define a profile of the kind of men and men's organizations you want to engage with in order to advance your women's rights work. It is important to develop clear selection criteria in advance.

4. Ask the men's organizations / networks you plan to work with about their concrete goals and expectations regarding working with women's organizations

To ensure that we would select the most motivated trainees for our ToT program, we included questions in the application format such as "Why do you want to attend this Training of Trainers?"; "What are the specific skills and knowledge you want to get out of this Training of Trainers?" and "What are the specific skills and knowledge you feel you can contribute to this Training of Trainers?". Looking back, we perhaps could have included some additional questions, asking concretely what their own specific goals and expectations were in relation to their participation in the ToT.



Hence, our 4th recommendation is:

Ask the men's organizations/ networks you plan to work with about their concrete goals and expectations regarding working with women's organizations

Do not assume that the reasons and motivation for others to become involved in your work are similar to your expectations. There needs to be clarity on motives of engagement and on what the men's organizations concretely want to achieve through their collaboration. Try to understand why the men's organizations you are planning to work with are involved (please also have a look at the list of reasons under recommendation 2). In establishing closer contact with the men's organizations, it is important to listen to the (subtle) messages that are conveyed regarding their reasons for wanting to be involved and their objectives. It is also important to discuss what the men's organizations expect from you and to share your own expectations in this regard.

5. Work together towards a common goal

During planning sessions with the trainers, as well as during the ToT program itself, the WPP noticed that we had not communicated our objectives for that project clearly enough. Throughout the process, questions were raised by the trainers and the trainees about why a women's program was organizing a training for men-only and what we wanted to gain from it. We learned that investing in a clear and common understanding of each other's motives and goals is part of learning how to work together and building the partnership.

Hence, our 5th recommendation is:

Work together towards a common goal

Spend sufficient time on clarifying the goals and expectations on the part of all the stakeholders involved. Once this is clear, it is crucial to analyze how stakeholders can complement each other. Analyze if and how the goals and expectations overlap, and define commonalities. You will need to define and agree on a strategy on how to work towards this.

Different strategies are required when different goals are defined. For instance, a collaboration focusing on getting men to stop abusive and violent behavior will require a different intervention strategy than one that focuses on engaging men as allies for women's empowerment. Continue to analyze and reflect on whether you are both still on the same track with regards to the common objective you have defined. It might be that all the organizations involved will agree on re-defining or fine-tuning the objectives, based on the experiences thus far. That could be

very valuable, as long as it is clear for all the stakeholders involved.

6. Define your strategy concretely on how you would like to engage men in your work

After the first ToT (2009), the trainees returned home, where they are expected to organize a community project or training focusing on gender-sensitive active nonviolence, with the guidance of a support person. The WPP is making seed funding available to facilitate the implementation of this follow-up project. Upon conclusion of their follow-up projects, the trainees will return for a second ToT, which builds on their training needs.

Throughout the ToT process, the male trainees are expected to engage in dialogue with women and women's groups in their communities. For example, before the start of the first ToT, the men were requested to consult with women in their communities on their experiences and needs. This input was incorporated in the training sessions.

The male trainees have also been linked to female peace activists in their country / region who will support them in the development and implementation of their follow-up projects. Some of these female activists have been involved with the work of the WPP for years already; others were proposed by the male trainees themselves. We considered the link between male trainees and female support persons ("allies") crucial in this ToT cycle.

Hence, our 6th recommendation is:

Define your strategy concretely on how you would like to engage men in your work

Define concretely in which parts of your work you would like to structure collaboration between men and women (and perhaps which ones not). Define concrete steps and phases in this process, establish a timeline and allocate budget for each step. Make a clear division of roles and responsibilities, including agreements on who will be responsible for bringing in which part of the human and financial resources. Make sure to develop a proper monitoring and evaluation system with clear indicators to be able to measure the progress you are making towards your objectives and goals.

7. Monitor and address power issues

The WPP recognizes that power dynamics play a role between all the different stakeholders involved in this ToT and on a variety of levels: the WPP team, the female and male ToT trainers, the trainee pool, the networks and organizations that the male trainees are connected to,



the female allies, and the women activists on the ground and their respective networks. In close cooperation with the trainers, the WPP has given a lot of attention to this aspect. Balancing power, learning to observe and recognize both unintended and intended potential uses or abuses of (implied) power, and addressing this aspect constructively is and remains a process of continuous reflection and learning.

For instance, the trainers consciously role-modeled the equal sharing of power between a female and male trainer throughout their excellent co-facilitation during the training. Also, practical situations that occurred during the training were used to analyze what conforming to notions of hegemonic masculine behavior means and what sharing power and being an ally with women implies. Another example includes the sharing of information. We considered it important to share all kinds of information with everyone in a transparent and open process through the use of an online discussion Google group. This ensures that everybody will have access to and can use the same amount of information. Having access to the same information and knowledge sharing is part of sharing power and maintaining balance.

Hence, our 7th recommendation is;

Monitor and address power issues

Be aware of both unintended and intended uses and abuses of (implied) power in the process of engaging men and men's organizations in your work and in the relationship between the women and men that you work with. Continuous reflection on the power dynamics between everybody involved is essential, both in formal and informal settings. For men and women to be true and real allies in their work, power issues need to be discussed and put on the table so that they can be dealt with in a balanced and just way within the relationship. If this is not being done, you might run the risk of affirming a power imbalance in the relationship with the men you engage with. This includes being aware of what power in the relationship means. Sharing of power includes sharing of access to and control over information, knowledge, resources and (informal and formal) decision-making levels. The systems that put and keep men in power positions (in formal and informal settings) need to be revealed and challenged constantly. This needs to be done by both men and women. Playing out dominance or "victim power" can stand in the way of true partnership and co-operation.

8. Raise personal awareness to bring about transformation

In the evaluation of the training, it became clear that one of the training topics the trainees appreciated the most involved the theories on masculinities. Discussing aspects of male and female behavior in the safe space of an all-male setting was considered extremely valuable. The trainees learned to recognize aspects in their own behavior – and in that of other men – that are violent, dominating, oppressive or abusive and acquired by socialization processes – aspects they had not always been aware of before the training. Many expressed the personal transformation they experienced while learning to recognize this.

Hence, our 8th recommendation is:

Raise personal awareness to bring about transformation

Women and men need to work together to change the traditional notions of how women and men are expected to behave. The deconstruction of hegemonic, dominant and violent masculinities in favor of positive masculinities needs to be encouraged by both men and women. Don't be afraid as a women's organization to be clear to men or men's organizations when you do not experience them as partners cooperating in a true and respectful manner, or when they are not really sharing power equally. It is important to be clear with them, while at the same time supporting them by making them conscious of their own behavior that affirms hegemonic masculinities, such as dominant, violent or oppressive behavior. Pointing this out in a clear but constructive, compassionate manner will be beneficial for all in the partnership.

9. Reflect on attitudes

The WPP has always worked to support the empowerment of women as actors of change. This not only does justice to women, but also makes peacebuilding itself more sustainable and effective. Therefore, we were clear that the male activists we would be working with in the framework of the ToT pilot project would need to recognize, understand and value this as well. From the early stages of developing the ToT program, we also reflected on the potential challenges that we might face in our work with the male trainees. We started the ToT process with the belief that there are male activists out there who – with a genuine concern for women's rights – are willing and able to be allies with women in the struggle for women's empowerment and gender justice.



Hence, our 9th recommendation is:

Reflect on attitudes

As a women's organization you will need to ask yourself whether you are willing and able to work with men and men's organizations. This includes reflecting on your own attitude towards men as well. If you as a women's organization hold the belief that men are not able or willing to change, and if you reflect and encourage this belief in your verbal and non-verbal communication towards men (and other women's organizations), it will be impossible to establish a climate of working together as true partners with men and men's organizations.

When a situation arises in which you feel mistreated or not recognized, take time to analyze and reflect on the factual situation without "jumping to conclusions". Ask yourself whether the situation stems from the man's lack of motivation to change or from his unawareness of what the consequences of his behavior are for women and other men. Reflecting on this is essential in the process of building partnerships. Realize that your response towards the situation influences this partnership building as well. In the same way, it is also important to reflect on what kind of attitude the men's organizations you engage with have towards women; do they see women as vulnerable victims in need of support or as powerful actors of change? This attitude will influence the way the men interact with you, even if they are not aware of this.

10. Establish a climate for constructive communication and learning

The process of including male peace activists in our network of women activists is a new and exciting project for the WPP. Since so many different cultures are involved, we acknowledge that our ToT program will never manage to be a "one-size-fits-all" training program. Some parts of the training will fit some trainees and their backgrounds better than others.

The trainers and the WPP have spent a lot of time on establishing a safe, constructive environment, both before and during the ToT cycle, in which personal connections between people are built and people feel safe enough to contribute. The ToT encourages all to bring along their perspectives, knowledge, skills, ideas and constructive feedback from their own contexts.

Hence, our 10th recommendation is:

Establish a climate for constructive communication and learning

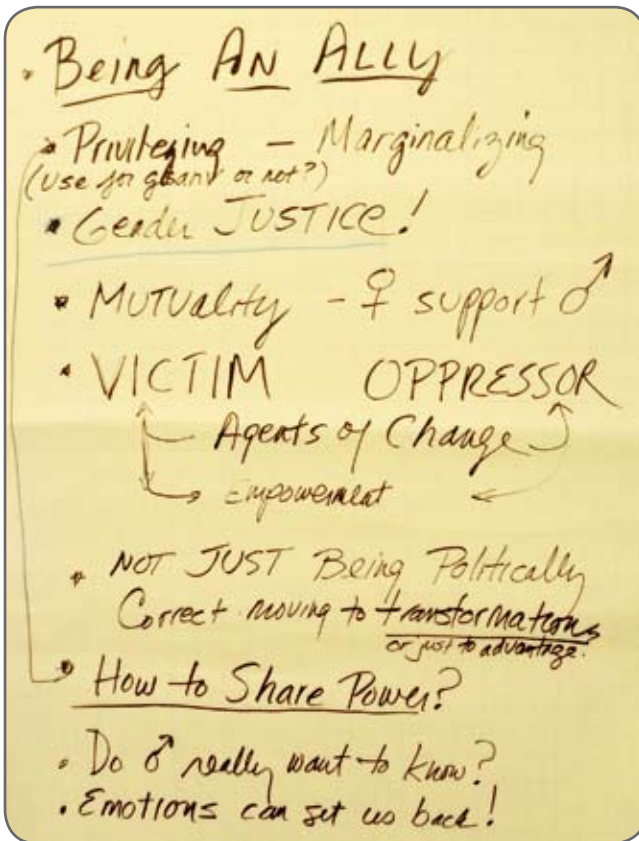
When engaging men in your work as a women's organization the relationship between your organization and the men and men's organizations will need to be built. In the initial phase, time and spaces are needed for getting to know each other, building trust and exchanging ideas, values, and expectations. Ground rules that all actors involved can agree upon could serve as guidelines for communication, such as careful listening, offering possible solutions without passing judgments, providing constructive feedback, and respect for each other. There needs to be a commitment of time and energy for the period of co-operation. It is important for both sides to be open to constructive feedback and to create room for learning. It is important to spend sufficient time on the creation of safe space where everybody feels (s)he can discuss the challenges one might experience during the co-operation. Building partnerships takes trust, courage, patience, time, energy, and willingness to be and remain open, and to share.

11. Be sensitive in your use of language

The WPP has always focused on women peacemakers, and that is reflected in the language we use in our publications, reports and website. However, we also acknowledge that the language you use should fit the audience you are writing for. Thus, in the process of engaging men in our work, we have paid attention to this aspect as well. The discussions with the trainers and trainees on the interpretations of certain concepts have been very insightful in building the content of the training and working towards our common goal.

Another example is one of the responses to the collective statement³ the male trainees wrote. One of the comments made after the statement had been distributed was that the recommendation "End violence against women in any form" should have said: "End violence in any form within human relationships that is perpetuated by patriarchy". The suggested change makes the recommendation more inclusive, which is a good thing. However, some issues, such as the perpetuation of violence against women, tend to be forgotten if they are not mentioned specifically. To affirm their specific commitment to ending violence against women, especially in the context of the ToT program which focuses on partnership building between men and women peace activists, the male trainees decided to write it as such. However, this does not mean they are not committed to ending other forms of violence in a broader context.





Training material from the WPP 2009 ToT

For the WPP, this example shows that there is a need to be conscious of the language we use. There is always the need for a balance between addressing specific issues and trying to be as inclusive as possible. Addressing issues specifically might lead some groups to feel excluded. It is also important in this regard to consider if you want to address such groups in the document you are producing. On the other hand, inclusive and broad language might result in certain issues being sidelined, overlooked or forgotten, since they are not concretely mentioned.

Hence, our 11th recommendation is:

Be sensitive in your use of language

Engaging men in your work as women’s organizations might require you to have a look at the language you use in your work, in the reports you produce and in the overall communication within your organization: is it inclusive and does it also address men? The efforts to work together should be reflected in the overall language used and in the (implicit) messages that are conveyed in it.

Be conscious in the kind of language you use in your communication with men’s organizations. Try to avoid language that is mainly blaming and instills guilt. Generally speaking, people tend to listen better and be more

open to messages that are conveyed in a positive manner (“rewards”) rather than in a negative manner (“punishment”).

12. Be aware of the “dominance trap”

Throughout the years that we have been focusing on including the concept of masculinities in our training programs and in collaborating with men in our work, the WPP has noticed that men and men’s organizations sometimes have different perspectives on women, women’s organizations, their way of working and the support that women’s organizations could use. Some men’s organizations tend to think that supporting women’s organizations implies “doing the work for women”. However, being allies and working in partnership also means providing space for women, as women are very capable of doing the work themselves. This could involve, for example, men providing the space for women activists to share their perspectives during a high-level political meeting, rather than taking up that space themselves to speak on behalf of women. Another example of male-ally support for women could be speaking out if you see other men harassing a woman.

Hence, our 12th recommendation is:

Be aware of the “dominance trap”

Working as allies implies working together in a process in which the contributions from all persons are equally valued. This involves creating an atmosphere in which everybody involved has an opportunity to share and contribute to the work, without one group dominating the other. If one group is dominant, that means there is another group that has been pushed into a submissive position, where the members of the latter group are unable to share their views, perspectives, experiences, needs, and feelings. The submissive group is unable to participate meaningfully and the partnership does not serve all groups. Meaningful participation implies that the views are not just shared, but actually listened to and (if possible) incorporated in the partnership. This could happen on subtle levels as well.

Due to the privileges provided to men in patriarchal societies, men often tend to be in a position where it is socially accepted and expected that they dominate. Male activists working in the field of gender justice are still men who have also been socialized by patriarchal societies. Be aware of this when engaging men and men’s organizations in your work. Make sure that you do not confirm the notion that some men might know how to work better than women, or might be more equipped or knowledgeable to make decisions, simply because they are men.



Don't encourage men to feel special or superior to others for being involved in this field. Make sure to point it out to the men and men's organizations you are working with if you observe some of them tending to act in such a manner. Without being aware of it, some could have a tendency to "take over" or "run away with" your project. Even though this might stem from good intentions (supporting women), it is disempowering to the work of your organization and the women you work with. It reinforces traditional power relations between women and men and undermines real equality.

The "dominance trap" is also related to the ideas and notions that women and men have of each other. Do the men and men's organizations see women as vulnerable victims in need of support or rescue or rather as actors of change? This attitude will influence the way the men interact with you, even if they are unaware of this.

13. Maintain a continuous process of ongoing reflection and the sharing of experiences and perspectives

People generally tend to connect more easily with persons of the same sex than with those of the opposite sex. We noticed that in our ToT program as well. The building of personal relationships that have developed between the WPP and the women activists we have been working with generally used to happen in a quite "natural process of bonding", presumably since everybody involved was female and recognized the particular struggles and needs women have in various parts of the world. With the male trainees, however, this natural bonding process with the WPP does not "automatically" take place on the same level. We recognize that the process of building true partnerships takes trust, courage, patience, time, energy, and willingness to be and remain open, and to share – and that it takes a commitment from all sides. Together with the trainers, we continuously reflected on whether we were still on the same track of working towards common objectives, and whether we still agreed on the process of working towards these objectives and on the roles and responsibilities everybody had. Sometimes, due to lack of time for instance, there appeared to be assumptions about somebody's role that were not shared by everyone.

Hence, our 13th recommendation is:

Maintain a continuous process of ongoing reflection and the sharing of experiences and perspectives

Ensure that the process of engaging men in your work is and remains a continuous process of ongoing reflection and the sharing of experiences and perspectives, for all actors involved. Continue to analyze if and how the col-

laboration with men's organizations is also contributing to the work you are doing with and for women. Holding yourself and the organizations you work with accountable for their commitments and actions is crucial.

14. Include young men as well

In its work, the WPP pays specific attention to the empowerment of young women activists. Via its international Orientation program, two young women activists are invited to contribute to the WPP work as interns and hence to gain knowledge, skills and work experience in the field of international peacebuilding, nonviolence and gender justice.

The average age of the ToT trainees is 35 years old: twelve of the 19 trainees are younger than 35 years, while 7 are older. Increasingly young people are growing up in contexts where there is a higher level of gender equality than their parents experienced (for instance more young women have access to education than a generation back). The WPP notices this also in the "open" approach that young activists take towards gender equality work. The WPP thinks it is important that young people are provided with spaces and opportunities to work side by side with experienced activists, not only to learn from them but also to exchange their own perspectives and experiences. This will not only ensure the continuity of the activist work, but also provide a space for creative and innovative exchanges between generations. The focus on young people is crucial since social transformation requires a change in attitudes, and young people are often open to new ideas and flexible in their thinking.

One of the male trainees pointed out that he would find it difficult to be connected to a female ally who would be much older than he was. He noticed that older activists often tended to stress that he "still has a lot to learn, since you are still young", and would not really listen to him. Pointing out what younger activists might be lacking, instead of building on what they can contribute, can be quite demotivating for young activists, since they don't really feel that their input is valued or taken seriously.

Hence, our 14th recommendation is:

Include young men as well

Ensure that the collaboration with men and men's organizations includes young men as well. It is important to create spaces and opportunities for young people to work side by side with experienced activists, to learn from them, and to exchange ideas. Young people are also the ones who can carry the development of partnerships between women and men into their own and the next generations.

15. Ensure engagement on political levels

The mere existence of policies is not enough to establish social change. For instance, while UNSCR 1325⁴ has been around for ten years, a lot still remains to be done in terms of true implementation of this important Security Council Resolution. Women activists in the field have pointed out that they need male support in their lobby and advocacy work on political levels.

Since we believe that human rights' (activist) work is inspired to a large degree by personal motivation and commitment, we felt it was important to focus on personal transformation in the first part of the ToT program. However, we also find it crucial for men and women to work together on political levels in the second part of the ToT program.

A male activist made an interesting remark about the ToT trainees' collective statement. He said the statement did not adequately address the need to challenge international and state institutions that encourage and maintain patriarchy in society. He felt that the statement appeared to be of quite a de-politicized nature. This shows us that the need to address patriarchy on all levels of society, including political levels, is recognized and shared by both women's and men's groups. We consider political involvement and collaboration between male and women activists to be a crucial part of building effective partnerships for change.

Hence, our 15th recommendation is:

Ensure engagement on political levels

In order to truly transform patriarchal societies, and to empower women on all levels, it is essential to work together constructively with men and men's organizations on political levels. This includes advocacy and lobby for the formulation, adoption and implementation of policies and laws on women's empowerment and gender justice. The support of men for women's rights and the inclusion of women on higher decision-making levels are crucial for true gender justice in societies. That also includes the creation of political will and commitment to policies and laws on gender equality that serve both women and men. What is important in this respect is an awareness of the need to monitor and evaluate the implementation of these policies to make sure it does not lead to any kind of backlash.

The WPP values your input for the further development of its work. Any comments or suggestions regarding the above-mentioned recommendations can be sent to WPP Information Officer José de Vries: j.devries@ifor.org.

Notes

- 1 The WPP documented in detail her observations of the development and process of her ToT process. Based on this, the WPP has produced a list of recommendations. Feedback on the first draft of the recommendations has been provided by the WPP ToT trainers and the trainee pool, as well as by Gary Barker, co-chair from MenEngage. We highly appreciate the valuable contributions that were made, which have resulted in the list in this article. The current list of recommendations will be discussed further during the second part of the ToT, which will take place in July 2010.
- 2 The WPP mentions this fifth reason as an observation and does not mean to encourage this as a goal in itself. To truly transform societies and achieve gender justice and equality in societies, a genuine concern and motivation is crucial.
- 3 At the end of the training in December in the Netherlands, the ToT trainees collectively produced a statement that affirmed their commitment to gender-sensitive peacebuilding. This statement can be downloaded from: www.ifor.org/WPP
- 4 United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was unanimously adopted by the Security Council in October 2000. It calls for the *Participation* of women at all levels of peace processes and security policy, the *Protection* of women and children in war and (post-) conflict situations, and the *Prevention* of armed conflicts and war by implementing a gender perspective in national and international peace negotiations, activities and security policy. The Resolution can be downloaded from: www.un.org/events/res_1325e.pdf.



Suggestions for Funders

By Merle Gosewinkel



African Women's Development Fund supports African women's groups working on the issues of women's rights, peace, HIV/AIDS and women's economic empowerment in Africa. Grants range from USD 1,000 to USD 25,000.

Address: Yiyiwa St., Achimota Forest, Abelenkpe, Accra, Ghana

Tel: +233 21 780 477; Fax: +233 21 782 502.

Email: grants@awdf.org

Web: www.awdf.org

A.J. Muste Institute accepts proposals for grassroots non-violence projects (up to USD 2,000) from groups anywhere in the world that have small budgets and little or no access to mainstream funding sources.

Address: 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, USA

Tel: +1 212 533 4335; Fax: +1 212 228 6193

Email: info@ajmuste.org

Web: www.ajmuste.org

Astraea International Fund for Sexual Minorities accepts proposals for projects that defend and promote the human rights of lesbians and other sexual minorities.

It has funded over 168 organizations in 42 countries, with projects including labor organizing in Chile and job training in Namibia.

Address: 116 East 16th St., 7th floor, New York, NY 10003, USA

Tel: +1 212 529 8021; Fax: +1 212 982 3321

Email: info@astraeafoundation.org

Web: www.astraeafoundation.org

Cordaid has four program sectors, namely: Participation, Emergency Aid and Reconstruction, Health and Well-being, and Entrepreneurship. The Participation sector has a program on Women and Violence.

Postal address: Postbus 16440, 2500 BK The Hague, The Netherlands

Tel: +31 70 3136 300; Fax: +31 70 3136 301

Email: cordaid@cordaid.nl

Web: www.cordaid.nl

Ford Foundation is a resource for innovative people and institutions worldwide. Its goals are to strengthen democratic values, reduce poverty and injustice, promote international cooperation and advance human achievement.

Address: 320 East 43rd Street, New York, NY 10017, USA

Tel: +1 212 573 5000; Fax: +1 212 351 3677

Email: office-of-communications@fordfound.org

Web: www.fordfound.org

Global Fund for Women funds women's groups that advance the human rights of women and girls. Grants range from USD 500 to USD 20,000.

Address: 222 Sutter Street, Suite 500, San Francisco, CA 94108, USA

Tel: +1 415 248 4800; Fax: +1 415 248 4801

Email: gfw@globalfundforwomen.org

Web: www.globalfundforwomen.org

Heinrich Böll Foundation supports work on ecology, democracy, solidarity and non-violence. The Foundation's Feminism and Gender Democracy Institute organizes events around women, peace and security, and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325.

Address: Schumannstr. 8, 10117 Berlin, Germany

Tel: +49 30 285 340; Fax: +49 30 285 34109

Email: info@boell.de

Web: www.boell.de

HIVOS is a Dutch donor organization that does not have a specific focus on UN Security Council Resolution 1325, although projects in Uganda, Sri Lanka and East Timor focusing on that Resolution have received some funding. HIVOS does have a specific women's program.

Address: Raamweg 16, 2596 HL The Hague, The Netherlands

Postal address: Postbus 85565, 2508 CG The Hague, The Netherlands

Tel: +31 70 376 5500; Fax: +31 70 362 4600

Email: info@hivos.nl

Web: www.hivos.nl and www.hivos.org

International Fellowship of Reconciliation's (IFOR)

Women Peacemakers Program (WPP) supports women's peace initiatives and non-violence training by providing financial support, linking women's peace groups to trainers and resource people, and/or providing training materials. The WPP also provides small travel grants to enable women peace activists to attend trainings, courses and conferences abroad. Please note that the WPP's headquarters in the Netherlands supports initiatives from the following regions: The Balkans, the Caucasus, the Middle East, the Pacific, and Latin America.

Address (IFOR's WPP Headquarters): Spoorstraat 38, 1815 BK Alkmaar, The Netherlands

Tel: +31 72 512 3014; Fax: +31 72 515 1102

Email: j.devries@ifor.org

Web: www.ifor.org/WPP/education_nonviolence.htm

WPP Africa Regional Desk, hosted by the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP) and based in Ghana, supports initiatives from Africa. Contact the Africa Regional Desk Coordinator – Women Peacemakers Program – West Africa Network for Peacebuilding (WANEP).

Address: P.O. Box CT 4434, Cantonments, Accra, Ghana

Tel: +233 21 221 318; Fax: +233 21 221 735

Email: edzathor@wanep.org

Web: www.wanep.org/wpp/index.html

ICCO has three main programs, one of which is 'Democratization and Peace-building'. ICCO also supports UN Security Council Resolution 1325 through its public campaign in the Netherlands and its lobby and advocacy projects.

Address: Joseph Haydnlaan 2a; 3533 AE Utrecht, The Netherlands

Postal address: Postbus 8190, 3503 RD Utrecht, The Netherlands

Tel: +31 30 692 7811; Fax: +31 30 692 5614

Email: info@icco.nl

Web: www.icco.nl

IKV/Pax Christi focuses on the following themes: Security and Disarmament; Protecting Civilians; Democracy and Peacebuilding.

Address: Godebaldkwartier 74, 3511 DZ Utrecht, The Netherlands

Postal address: Postbus 19318, 3501 DH Utrecht, The Netherlands

Tel: +31 30 233 3346; Fax: +31 30 236 8199

Email: info@ikvpaxchristi.nl

Web: www.ikvpaxchristi.nl

International Women's Development Agency (IWDA)

supports women's groups throughout Asia, the Pacific and indigenous Australia, working on issues of women's economic empowerment and access to decision-making (including issues of peace and security and the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325). Grants may be up to AUD 15,000.

Postal address: P.O. Box 64, Flinders Lane, VIC 8009, Australia

Tel: +61 396 5055 74

Email: iwda@iwda.org

Web: www.iwda.org

Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust accepts proposals from groups in the UK and Europe, Northern Ireland and South Africa (KwaZulu Natal only). Proposals may deal with issues promoting racial equality, nonviolent conflict resolution, the culture of peace, or conscientious objection to military service.

Address: The Garden House, Water End, York YO30 6WQ, United Kingdom

Tel: +44 190 462 7810; Fax: +44 190 465 1990

Web: www.jrct.org.uk



Mama Cash supports pioneering women's groups around the world that are fighting for women's human rights, peace and economic justice. No micro-credit services or loans are possible.
Address: Eerste Helmersstraat 17 III, 1054 CX Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Postal address: Postbus 15686, 1001 ND Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel: +31 20 689 3634; Fax: +31 20 683 4647
Email: info@mamacash.nl
Web: www.mamacash.org

One World Action supports women's organizations and movements to remove barriers that exclude women from political participation. In partnership with institutions and networks, One World Action supports action research to develop tools for women and men to monitor government and international commitments to gender equity and equality. It has partners in the following countries: Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Indonesia, Philippines, Thailand, Bolivia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua.
Address: Bradley's Close, White Lion Street, London N1 9PF, United Kingdom
Tel: +44 20 7833 4075; Fax: +44 20 7833 4102
Email: info@oneworldaction.org
Web: www.oneworldaction.org

Open Society Institute (OSI) aims to shape public policy to promote democratic governance, human rights and economic, legal and social reform. Its International Women's Program (IWP) also uses grant-making to promote and protect the rights of women and girls around the globe by supporting organizations which are active in the area of reducing discrimination and violence against women, strengthening women's access to justice and increasing women's role as decision-makers and leaders.
Address: 400 West 59th Street, New York, NY 10019, USA
Tel: +1 212 548 0600; Fax: +1 212 548 4600
Web: www.soros.org/initiatives/women

Oxfam Novib includes UN Security Council Resolution 1325 in two of their five important themes, namely; Rights and Security for Women, and Social and Political Participation. Novib does not have a specific fund for gender and/or peacebuilding projects. Project proposals should be submitted through the regional offices of Oxfam. Project proposals can be submitted throughout the year.
Postal address: Postbus 30919, 2500 GX The Hague, The Netherlands
Tel: +31 70 342 1777; Fax: +31 70 361 4461
Web: www.oxfamnovib.nl/

PeaceFund Canada supports groups around the world that are working for nonviolence and peace education.
Address: 145 Spruce St., Suite 206, Ottawa, ON K1R 6P1, Canada
Tel: +1 613 230 0860, Fax: +1 613 563 0017
Email: pfcac@web.ca
Web: www.peacebuildingportal.org/index.asp?pgid=9&org=2562

Tewa funds projects in Nepal that work for sustainable development and the empowerment of women.
Tel: +977 1 557 2654 / 557 2659
Email: info@tewa.org.np or tewa@mail.com.np
Web: www.tewa.org.np

Rights & Democracy (International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development) established the Women's Rights in Afghanistan Fund in the summer of 2002. The Women's Fund focuses on capacity building and support for Afghan organizations engaged in the defense of human rights, with particular attention given to women's rights. The fund seeks to encourage and support family-law reform processes in order to ensure that fair attention is given to women within Afghanistan.
Address: 1001 de Maisonneuve Blvd. East, Suite 1100, Montreal, Quebec H2L 4P9, Canada
Tel: +1 514 283 6073
Fax: +1 514 283 3792
Email: info@dd-rd.af
Web: www.dd-rd.ca



Sister Fund is a private foundation that supports and gives voice to women working for justice from a religious framework. The Sister Fund's belief that women can transform faith, and faith can transform feminism, is the inspiration for its funding and programmatic work. The Sister Fund does not accept unsolicited proposals. Address: 79 Fifth Avenue, 4th Floor, New York, NY 10003, USA
Tel: +1 212 260 4446, +1 212 260 4446; Fax: +1 212 260 4633
Email: urgentact@urgentactionfund.org
Web: www.sisterfund.org

United Nations Fund for Women (UNIFEM) provides financial and technical assistance in four areas: reducing women's poverty, ending violence against women, reversing the spread of HIV/AIDS among women and girls, and gender equality. UNIFEM has 15 regional offices and two country programs. Address: 304 East 45th St., 15th floor, New York, NY 10017, USA
Tel: +1 212 906 6400; Fax: +1 212 906 6705
Web: www.unifem.org

Urgent Action Fund for Women's Human Rights supports women's human rights defenders with rapid response grants and participates in advocacy and research. Address: 3100 Arapahoe Ave., Suite 201, Boulder, CO 80303, USA
Tel: +1 303 442 2388; Fax: +1 303 442 2370
Email: urgentact@urgentactionfund.org
Web: www.urgentactionfund.org
NOTE: Requests from Africa may go directly to Urgent Action Fund-Africa, PO Box 53841-00200, Nairobi, Kenya.
Tel: +254 20 2731 095; Fax: +254 20 2731 094
Email: info@urgentactionfund-africa.or.ke

V-Day provides funding and organizes fundraising events for women's groups across the world that are working to stop violence against women. The organization co-sponsors an international anti-violence resource guide at www.feminist.com.
Web: www.vday.org

WomanKind Worldwide works with partners in 14 countries to empower women. It does not accept unsolicited proposals. Inside the UK, it campaigns to stop sexual bullying in schools. Address: Development House, 56-64 Leonard St., London EC2A 4JX, United Kingdom
Tel: +44 20 7549 0360; Fax: +44 20 7549 0361
Email: info@womankind.org.uk
Web: www.womankind.org.uk

Women's Hope Education and Training Trust (WHEAT) is a national women's fund to support grassroots women's groups working on community development through education in South Africa. Address: PO Box 13641, Mowbray 7705, Cape Town, South Africa
Tel: +27 21 762 6214; Fax: +27 21 797 2876
Email: info@wheattrust.co.za
Web: www.wheattrust.co.za

XminusY Solidarity Fund provides financial support to social movements and grassroots groups all over the world in their struggle for social justice and political emancipation. Currently, XminusY has no specific focus on gender and peacebuilding or UN Security Council Resolution 1325. Up to EUR 1,500 can be funded per project. Project proposals can be submitted throughout the year. Address: De Wittenstraat 43-45, 1052 Al Amsterdam, The Netherlands
Tel: +31 20 627 9661
Email: xminy@xminy.nl
Web: www.xminy.nl/



Suggestions for Resources

By José de Vries



REPORTS

Active Nonviolence

The Albert Einstein Institution is a non-profit organization advancing the study and use of strategic nonviolent action in conflicts throughout the world. Their website contains much valuable resource material on active nonviolence, including practical handouts such as:

- “198 Methods of Nonviolent Action”. With this resource, practitioners of nonviolent struggle have an entire arsenal of “nonviolent weapons” at their disposal. 198 of them are classified into three broad categories: nonviolent protest and persuasion, noncooperation (social, economic, and political), and nonviolent intervention.
- “Correcting Common Misconceptions About Nonviolent Struggle”. This handout sheet addresses common misconceptions about nonviolent action and answers some frequently asked questions.

For more information, please visit: www.aeinstein.org/.

Masculinity and Civil Wars in Africa: New Approaches to Overcoming Sexual Violence in War

By Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)

Local, national, and transnational conflict constellations frequently overlap. In many places, the political and economic causes of war are tightly interwoven with structural social problems, including, in particular, gender and generational conflicts, which often intensify hostilities. In order to recognize their local and time-bound characteristics, conflict analyses must take gender hierarchies into account as the core of wide-ranging power relationships.

To read the report, please visit: www2.gtz.de/dokumente/bib/gtz2009-0237en-masculinity-civil-war.pdf.

Defying the Odds: Lessons Learned from Men for Gender Equality Now

By the African Women’s Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)

In 2001, the African Women’s Development and Communication Network (FEMNET) took the first steps towards creating an African network of male activists against gender-based violence. As this booklet was being developed, the members of the MEGEN Project registered an autonomous organization called MEGEN Kenya, which will spearhead the implementation of the project in Kenya. In recognition of the many groundbreaking initiatives that have taken place through the project, FEMNET decided to document some of the work done in those five years in this booklet with a set of digital stories by activists (see: www.megenkenya.org).

To read the publication, please visit: www.megenkenya.org/data/images/resources/defying%20the%20odds.pdf.

Global Monitoring Checklist on Women, Peace and Security

By Gender Action for Peace and Security, UK

The Global Monitoring Checklist on Women, Peace and Security is a pilot research project that aims to contribute towards international understanding on women, peace and security efforts. It does so by highlighting examples of activities in support of UNSCR 1325 that are undertaken at the local and national level by women, civil society, national governments and the international community.

To read the publication, please visit: www.gaps-uk.org/.

Report on Involving Men in the Implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security

By Gender Action for Peace and Security UK

This report focuses on how and why UN Security Council Resolution 1325 is relevant to men, as well as to broader efforts to build sustainable peace. It explores strategies to increase their engagement with work around SCR 1325 at the UK and international levels.

To read the publication, please visit:

www.gaps-uk.org/docs/GAPSreport_Involving_Men_in_SCR_1325_Implementation.pdf

Men, Masculinities, Sexual Exploitation and Sexual Violence: A Literature Review and Call for Action

By Christine Ricardo and Gary Barker

This paper explores possible linkages between masculinities and different forms of sexual exploitation and sexual violence. Specifically, it seeks to answer the question: How do prevailing norms and views of manhood, or masculinities, contribute to some men's use of sexual violence and to the "demand-side" of sexual exploitation?

To read the paper, please visit: www.preventgbv africa.org/content/men-masculinities-sexual-exploitation-and-sexual-violence-literature-review-and-call-action.

Sexed Pistols: The Gendered Impacts of Proliferated Small Arms

By Vanessa Farr, Henri Myrtilinen and Albrecht Schnabel

This policy brief examines the connection between guns and gender and discusses methodological challenges and priorities in gendered small-arms research, policy and advocacy.

To read the policy brief, please visit:

www.unu.edu/publications/briefs/policy-briefs/2010/UNU_PolicyBrief_10-01.pdf.

What Men Have to Do with It: Public Policies to Promote Gender Equality

By the Men and Gender-Equality Policy Project, coordinated by International Center for Research on Women and Instituto Promundo

The Men and Gender-Equality Policy Project is a multi-year, multi-country effort to leverage evidence from existing policies and, through formative qualitative and quantitative research, to raise awareness among policymakers and program planners of the need to involve men in gender-equality, health and development agendas.

To read the publication, please visit:

www.icrw.org/docs/2010/What-Men-Have-to-Do-With-It.pdf.

The Men's Bibliography

This is a comprehensive bibliography of writings on men, masculinities, gender, and sexualities. The Men's Bibliography lists about 22,400 books and articles, sorted into over thirty major subject areas. It was first compiled in 1992 by Michael Flood and updated in 2008.

Please find the online bibliography here:

mensbiblio.xyonline.net/.



VIDEOS

Gender Against Men (Trailer)

"Gender Against Men" is an advocacy-oriented documentary exposing the hidden world of sexual and gender-based violence against men in the conflicts of the Great Lakes Region of Africa.

To view the trailer, please visit:

www.refugeelawproject.org/awards.php.

Tough Guise: Violence, Media & the Crisis in Masculinity

In this video, Jackson Katz argues that widespread violence in American society needs to be understood as part of an ongoing crisis in masculinity.

For more information on the video:

www.jacksonkatz.com/video2.html.

For more information on Jackson Katz, please visit:

www.jacksonkatz.com/.

Engaging Men for Positive Change: The World's Most INFLUENTIAL MEN

The exhibition “The World’s Most INFLUENTIAL MEN” is a unique, global photography exhibit featuring 20 photographers from 20 nations. The exhibit provides positive male role models for boys, aims to promote positive gender roles and welcomes more gender equality. INFLUENTIAL MEN is presented by Hope Exhibits, a non-profit organization producing exhibitions on humanitarian themes and positive developments globally.

For more information on HOPE exhibits, please visit: www.hopeexhibits.org/.

To view the video, please visit: <http://video.unfpa.org/?v=66786207131330243262009>.

Engaging Men and Boys in Issues of Gender Equality: Michael Kaufman

In this video, Michael Kaufman, co-founder of the White Ribbon Campaign (WRC), discusses the importance of engaging men and boys in issues of gender equality. WRC is the largest effort in the world that involves men working to end violence against women (VAW). In over fifty-five countries, its campaigns are led by both men and women, even though the focus is on educating men and boys. In some countries it is a general public education effort focused on ending violence against women.

To view the video, please visit: www.mefedia.com/watch/29546989.

To learn more about the White Ribbon Campaign, please visit: www.whiteribbon.ca/.

WEB

Global Virtual Knowledge Centre to End Violence against Women and Girls

This is an online resource in English, French and Spanish, designed to serve the needs of policymakers, program implementers and other practitioners dedicated to addressing violence against women and girls.

For more information, please visit: www.endvawnow.org/.

Men Against Violence – Yahoo Group

This Yahoo group was created to provide support and resources to anyone wishing to promote and increase men’s involvement in violence prevention. Members currently include women and men working on college campuses, in community agencies, and in national and regional organizations devoted to equality and justice and the safety of all members of our communities. It is a place for us to share ideas, successes, and challenges, and perhaps most important: a place to ask questions and provide support.

Working with Boys and Men – Yahoo Group

This Yahoo group aims to increase the basis of knowledge on experiences, processes and tools for working with boys and men to address violence against children and women and to promote gender equality.

For more information, please visit:

<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/WorkingWithBoysandMen/>.



Suggestions for Actions and Solidarity in 2010

By José de Vries



Share, listen, discuss and learn: Get to know needs, struggles and strategies!

- Talk with girls and boys from your community and listen to the challenges they face in becoming adults and shaping their identity. How do they feel about societal expectations in terms of the “proper” behavior for girls and boys, women and men? How do they deal with those? Talk with teachers and youth and religious leaders about ways you can support them in creating a safe and empowering environment for all.
- Invite women (from different sides of a conflict) in your community to come together in order to explore ways to reduce tensions within the community or neighborhood and to work together on peacebuilding and gender justice. Ask them what kinds of violence they experience and how they deal with that.
- Ask the women in your community how they are participating at the various decision-making levels (local, regional, national). Ask them what support they need (also from men) to facilitate their empowerment process.
- Talk with the men in your community about their experiences with violence. Ask them how they would like to contribute to the eradication of this. Invite them to start or participate in a men’s group that works on promoting gender justice and eradicating violence against women. Encourage them to link with other men’s groups to exchange strategies and lessons learned (find these groups online!).
- Invite local, national, regional or international women’s, men’s and gender-justice groups to your work, organization or school to speak on how women and men can work together to bring about a culture of peace. Pay attention to the specific roles and responsibilities of the women and men involved, and ensure that the division of roles does not encourage or perpetuate gender stereotypes.
- Invite male and/or female speaker(s) from an organization that works to eradicate violence and/or promote

gender justice in your community to talk about their work. Ask how you could contribute to their work in a specific and concrete way.

- Talk with, engage with and listen to (minority) groups in your community about the struggles and challenges they face in their daily lives. Discuss the more concrete, manifest challenges as well as ones that play on more subtle levels. Reflect with them on concrete strategies to deal with those.
- Do a follow-up with the beneficiaries of your various campaigns and programs. Listen to their experiences and reflect on how you could improve your work and program. Did your program have any unforeseen consequences (positive or negative)?
- Build alliances and collaborate with strategic leaders (local leaders, government officials). Engage them positively in your work and keep them informed on the developments of your work. Ask them to speak out openly against violence against women and men and against gender injustice. Remind them of their responsibility to behave and act as role models for gender justice and peacebuilding.
- When speaking out on a subject, you will notice that there are many women and men who think the same way you do and who are willing to contribute and work together for a good cause: share your thoughts, ideas, and challenges and don’t be afraid to ask, listen and learn.

Educate and encourage others: Work together!

- Educate women and men peacemakers on UN Security Council Resolutions 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889. Distribute copies of these Resolutions during meetings and events. Translations of UNSCR 1325 are available in several languages and can be downloaded from <http://www.peacewomen.org/1325inTranslation/index.html>.
- Invite women and men in your community to speak out about their experiences with violence in your community. Create a safe environment in which they will feel



comfortable enough to speak out about being the target of violence, but also about using violence themselves. Talk about the consequences for everyone in your community and discuss concrete strategies for dealing with this constructively. Talk about the role of gender (masculinities and femininities) in relation both to the use of violence and to the inequalities in your community.

- Use positive messages to get your message across: don't focus on the person, but work for changing the systems that enable and perpetuate the inequalities between women and men and that allow for the use of violence in your community.
- Encourage men in your community to speak out about their refusal to use violent, dominant behavior and to perpetuate gender inequalities between women and men. Encourage them to discuss these topics with other men and to work together to eradicate violence in your community. Encourage men to openly support the women in your community.
- Encourage your school and community libraries to display (e.g. on May 24) books by and about topics such as women peacemakers, violence against women, women as decision makers and men speaking out against violence against women and men.
- Make a special effort to reach out to young girls and boys. Talk with Scouts/Guides or other youth groups about how war and peace affect girls and boys differently. Share an action with them, such as writing a letter to a government official or to the women and girls in one of the groups listed in this pack.
- Join a support group (in your local community or online) that focuses on the eradication of violence, peacebuilding and gender justice on a local, regional, national, or international level. Discuss how you can contribute in concrete ways.
- Share resources, books, magazines, newspaper articles and videos on violence against women and men with others in your community and/or via online discussion forums
- Translate and reprint articles from this pack (please credit the pack and don't forget to send us a copy!) to educate others about the issues. You will find additional articles mentioned in the section "Suggestions for Resources".
- Encourage groups to include ending violence against women in their agendas and events, and to increase their support for women who are working for peace in the world.
- Create awareness in your community by holding marches and demonstrations for peace that call for a public commitment to end violence. Carry posters,



banners, etc. that contain clear messages and demands for your local or national government. Wear a symbol that shows that you are against violence against women and men (e.g. a white ribbon or a statement printed on a T-shirt).

- Encourage your religious leaders to speak out in support of peace, women's rights and gender justice.
- Ride public transportation (on May 24) and distribute information to passengers about the work of local peace groups. Include the telephone numbers of peace organizations and organizations that work to empower women and girls and to promote gender justice for all in your community.
- Inform your networks (your organization, place of worship, school, labor union or work place) about May 24 and possible solidarity actions for women peace activists.
- Educate yourself and the groups you belong to about the military's recruitment of girls and boys. Order the leaflet *Make Our Schools Military-Free Zones* from American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) at: www.afsc.org. More information on these issues is available on the Internet.

Organize something!

- Hold a gathering to write legislators on topics that are of concern to your community, such as ending violence against women, supporting women's sexual and reproductive rights and promoting women's participation in leadership positions.
- Organize an essay contest to encourage others to reflect. Themes could include: strategies in engaging men and boys in gender justice; women and men working together for peacebuilding; men supporting women activists and women's empowerment; violence against men; conscientious objection; or the steps that

governments should take to ensure women's participation in decision-making on security issues. Specifically request the essayists to include recommendations as to how your city, state or national government can further promote a culture of peace and gender justice for both women and men.

- Organize a gathering to write letters of support for female and male victims of violence.
- Organize a festive celebration for peace on May 24.
- Hold a fundraising event as to support a local peace, women's or gender-justice group.
- Organize a public panel, a demonstration, a festival or a film viewing to highlight women's work for peace or the issue of violence against women and/or men. Discuss with women and men activists the work they are doing together and individually. Invite women decision makers, women leaders from different ethnic and religious groups, and women entrepreneurs to speak about the role of women in stopping violence. Invite male speakers to talk about gender justice and what they are doing to support women's empowerment and gender justice.
- Invite members of your community to write a personal reflection (e.g. a story, a poem or a song) on violence against women during conflict. Try to inform a wider audience by posting it online, sending it to your local newspaper or asking a local TV station to broadcast it.
- Organize a dinner for May 24 and invite women and men in your community to share their experiences.
- If you are working on peace issues, women's rights or gender justice, consider inviting someone to come and intern with your project for six months. Look for a grant to provide them with a stipend and housing. Consider sending someone from your group to live and work with an organization abroad that works on these issues, in order to learn and gain experience. Think especially of what a learning experience this would be for young women and men activists.
- Organize a special worship service for women peace-makers and collect money for a women's project in your community or elsewhere in the world.
- Issue a statement or press release or write a letter to the editor of your favorite newspaper or magazine, to mark May 24, International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament. Call for more attention to what women are doing for peace.
- Issue a press release rating your legislators on their efforts to implement UNSCR 1325, 1820, 1888 and 1889.

Make use of interactive media and communication!

- Use Internet search engines such as Google to find more resources on peacebuilding, active nonviolence and gender justice.
- Register to join online discussion forums on peacebuilding, active nonviolence and gender justice. Find them for instance via Google or Yahoo Groups.
- Start a group or cause on Facebook to raise awareness about the issues in your community. Always remind the members in your group to consider issues of confidentiality or security when being or becoming part of Facebook. Information posted online, remains online.
- Create your own online discussion / social-networking forum or support group, for instance via www.ning.com. Women and men activists can use that to share their stories and exchange best practices with regard to their work. Do not forget to include clear rules of proper engagement on your forum.
- Share your thoughts on important issues in your community via Twitter.
- Write letters of support and emails to the groups that are profiled in this year's pack on May 24 to express your solidarity for their work. Ask others to join you in doing that via email.
- Twin your group or network with a women's, men's or gender-justice peace group elsewhere in the world. Exchange emails or speak with them via Skype to learn more about what they are doing for peace in their countries. Inform your networks/media about their work.
- Create a website about what women, men and gender-justice activists are doing for peace and justice in your community. Link your existing site to ones listed in this pack.
- Develop songs, exhibitions or other forms of drama or theatre to visualize the issues you are working on. Make a film about peacebuilding and gender justice. Pay attention to what women and men activists (both as individual groups and in cooperation with each other) are doing on these issues, and share that via YouTube.



2010 International Directory of Organizations



The following includes a global list of organizations specifically working for peace and gender justice. It is not fully comprehensive: we are aware that there are many more groups and organizations that are working on peacebuilding, on the eradication of violence against women, on masculinities, and on engaging men. Please contact IFOR's WPP Information Officer, José de Vries (j.devries@ifor.org), for additions or corrections.



INTERNATIONAL

International Action Network on Small Arms (IANSA) Development House

56-64 Leonard Street
London, EC2A 4LT, United Kingdom
Tel: + 44 207 065 0870
Fax: + 44 207 065 0871
Email: contact@iansa.org
Web: www.iansa.org/index.htm

International Fellowship of Reconciliation Women Peacemakers Program

Spoorstraat 38
1815 BK Alkmaar, The Netherlands
Tel: +31 72 512 3014
Fax: +31 72 515 1102
Email: j.devries@ifor.org
Web: www.ifor.org/WPP

International Crisis Group

Brussels Office (Headquarters)
149 Avenue Louise, Level 24
B-1050 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 2 502 9038 / +32 2 502 9038
Fax: +32 2 502 5038
Email: brussels@crisisgroup.org

International Peace Bureau

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

International Women's Tribune Centre

777 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017, USA
Tel: +1 212 687 8633
Fax: +1 212 661 2704
Email: iwtc@iwtc.org
Web: www.iwtc.org/

MenEngage

Tel/Fax: +55 21 2544 3114
Email: menengage@menengage.org
Web: www.menengage.org/

Men's Story Project

Email: josie@mensstoryproject.org
Web: www.mensstoryproject.org/

Nobel Women's Initiative

430-1 Nicholas St.
Ottawa, ON K1N 7B7, Canada
Tel: +1 613 569 8400
Fax: +1 613 241 7550
Email: info@nobelwomensinitiative.org
Web: www.nobelwomensinitiative.org/

Nonviolent Peaceforce (NP)

NP International Office
205 Rue Belliard
1040 Brussels, Belgium
Tel: +32 2 648 0076
Email: Europe@nonviolentpeaceforce.org

Nonviolent Peaceforce USA Office

425 Oak Grove Street
Minneapolis, MN 55403, USA
Tel: +1 612 871 0005 / +1 612 871 0005
Fax: +1 612 871 0006
Email: information@nonviolentpeaceforce.org
Web: www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/

NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security

777 UN Plaza, 8th floor
New York, NY 10017, USA
Tel: +1 212 682 3633, ex. 3121
Fax: +1 212 682 5354
Email: info@womenpeacesecurity.org
Web: www.womenpeacesecurity.org

Promundo

Rua México, 31 / 1502
Centro Rio de Janeiro
RJ Cep. 20031-904 Brasil
Tel/Fax: +55 (21) 2544-3114
Email: promundo@promundo.org.br
Web: www.promundo.org.br/

The Global Network of Women Peacebuilders

Email: gnwp@gnwp.org
Web: www.gnwp.org/

War Resisters' International

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

White Ribbon Campaign

365 Bloor St. East, Suite 203
Toronto, ON M4W 3L4, Canada
Tel: +1 416 920 6684
Fax: +1 416 920 1678
Email: info@whiteribbon.ca
Web: www.whiteribbon.ca/

Women for Women International

Women for Women International, US Office
4455 Connecticut Ave NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20008, USA
Tel: +1 202 737 7705
Fax: +1 202 737 7709

Women for Women International, UK Office

32–36 Loman Street
London SE1 0EH, United Kingdom
Tel: +44 20 7922 7765
Fax: +44 20 7922 7706
Email: general@womenforwomen.org
Web: www.womenforwomen.org/

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

1, rue de Varembe, CP 28
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland
Tel: +41 22 919 70 80
Fax: +41 22 919 70 81
Email: inforequest@wilpf.ch
Web: www.wilpf.int.ch (Contact WILPF for a complete list of national sections)

Women Living under Muslim Law (WLUML)

WLUML Africa & Middle East Coordination Office
Groupe de Recherche sur les Femmes et les Lois au Senegal (GREFELS)
P.O. Box 5330
Fann, Dakar, Senegal
Email: grefels@gmail.com

WLUML Asia Coordination Office

Shirkat Gah Women's Resource Centre
P.O. Box 5192
Lahore, Pakistan
Email: sgah@sgah.org.pk
Web: www.shirkatgah.org

WLUML International Coordination Office

P.O. Box 28445
London, N19 5NZ, United Kingdom
Email: wluml@wluml.org
Web: www.wluml.org

AFGHANISTAN

Afghan Women's Network (AWN)

AWN Kabul Office

Main Road, Tahmani Watt (Street 9)
Kabul, Afghanistan
(Near to Russian Embassy – Moy Mobarak Bus Stop)
Tel: +93 70286598, +93 799689079
Contact person: Wazhma Popal, Office Manager
Email: awnkabul_q@yahoo.com, awn.kabul@gmail.com



AWN Jalalabad Office

Street #1, Ali Kahil Road
Jalalabad, Afghanistan
(Across from Sehat-e-Ama Clinic)
Tel: +93 70602040

AWN Peshawar office

House #86, D/2 Abdara Road
Peshawar, Pakistan
Tel: +92 915704928
Fax: +92 91850760
Web: www.afghanwomensnetwork.org

Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA)

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



ARGENTINA

Madres de Plaza de Mayo

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

AUSTRALIA

Women for Peace

P.O. Box 2111
Lygon Street North, Brunswick East
Melbourne 3057, Australia
Tel: +61 (03) 938 61071
Email: womenforpeace@live.com.au
Web: www.womenforpeace.org.au

AUSTRIA

Frauen für den Frieden

Luis Zuegg Str. 14
6020 Innsbruck, Austria

BARBADOS

Women and Development Unit

Elaine Hewitt
c/o University of West Indies
Cave Hill Campus, St. Michael, Barbados
Tel: +1 809 436 6312
Fax: +1 809 436 3006

BELGIUM

Rassemblement des Femmes pour la Paix (RFP)

Coordination Femmes OSCE
Rue Antoine Dansaert 101
BP 15, 1000 Brussels
Tel: +32 2 512 6498
Fax: +32 2 502 3290
Email: Femmes.Paix@amazon.be

BURMA

Burmese Women's Union

P.O. Box 52, Mae Hong Son
58000 Thailand
Tel/fax: +66 53 612 948
Email: bwumain@cscoms.com
Web: www.burmesewomenunion.org/

Shan Women's Action Network

P.O. Box 120, Phrasing Post Office
50250 Chiang Mai, Thailand
Web: www.shanwomen.org

Women's League of Burma

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

BURUNDI

Association des Femmes Burundaises pour la Paix

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

Fontaine-ISOKO

Boulevard de l'UPRONA, N° 12,
Tél. +257 22 24 76 67; +257 79 958 551 or +257 79 582 885
Email: fontaine_isoko@yahoo.fr
Web: www.fontaine-isoko.webs.com

CAMBODIA

Alliance for Conflict Transformation

#69 Sotheaeros Blvd, Tonle Bassac, Chamkarmorn
P.O. Box 2552
Phnom Penh 3, Cambodia
Tel/Fax +855 23 217 830
Email: actadmin@online.com.kh
Web: www.actcambodia.org/

Cambodian Men's Network

Facilitated by the male staff of Gender and Development
for Cambodia
#89, Street 288, Sangkat Olympic, Khan Chamkarmorn
P.O. Box: 2684
Phnom Penh, Cambodia
Tel: +855 (23) 215 137
Fax: +855 (23) 996 934
Email: gad@online.com.kh
Web: www.gad.org.kh

SILAKA

Address: P.O. Box 821, #6S, Street 21,

Sangkat Tonle Bassac, Khan Chamkarmon,
Phnom Penh, Cambodia
Tel: +855 23 217-872/ +855 23 210-902
Fax: +855 23 213-108
Email: silaka@silaka.org
Web: www.silaka.org

CANADA

Gender and Peacebuilding Working Group

c/o Canadian Peacebuilding Coordinating Committee
1 Nicholas St., no. 1216
Ottawa, ON, K1N 7B7, Canada
Tel: +1 613 241 3446
Fax: +1 613 241 4846
Email: info@peacebuild.ca
Web: www.peacebuild.ca/work-groups-gender-pb-e.php

Voice of Women for Peace

761 Queen St. W, Suite 203
Toronto, ON, M6J 1G1, Canada
Tel: +1 416 603 7915
Fax: +1 416 603 7916
Email: vow@ca.inter.net
Web: home.ca.inter.net/~vow

CHAD

Union des Femmes pour la Paix

BP 1298, N'Djamena, Chad
Tel: +235 514925

COLOMBIA

Fundacion Mujer Arte y Vida

“Escuela Política de Mujeres Pazíficas”
Carrera 24 A, No. 3-17
Barrio Miraflores, Cali, Colombia
Tel: +572 556 4378
Fax: +572 556 8428
Email: fundacionmavi@telesat.com.co,
escuelapoliticamujerespazificas@yahoo.com
Web: www.aullemosmujeres.org

Organización Femenina Popular

Carrera 22, No. 52B – 36
Barrancabermeja, Santandero1, Colombia
Tel: +572 662 6625
Web: www.ofp.org.co/contenido.php

Ruta Pacifica

Tel: +571 222 9172 / 222 9176 / 222 9146
Email: casmujerproyecto@etb.net.co
Email: comunicaciones@rutapacifico.org.co
Web: www.rutapacifico.org.co/home.html

CYPRUS

Centre for Women and Peace Studies

4A Kissamou Street
Pallioraotissa, Nicosia 1040, Cyprus

Women's Research Centre

19, Necmi Avkiran Street
Lefkosha, Nicosia, Cyprus
Tel: +90 542 853 8436
Fax: +90 392 22 83823
E-mail: caramel_cy@yahoo.com

DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

Comité National des Femmes pour la Paix

BP 2041, Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of the Congo
Tel: +242 831 201
Fax: +242 833 421



Mouvement des Femmes

pour la Justice et la Paix
BP 724 Limete,
Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo

Perex-C

Address: Avenue Masisi N°2, commune Kimemi
Ville de Butembo
Province du Nord Kivu, Democratic Republic of the Congo
Tel: +243 3997787925
Email: duniakatembo@yahoo.fr

DENMARK

Fonden Kvinder for Fred

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



Kvindemes Internationale Liga for Fred og Frihed (WILPF)

Vesterbrogade 10, Mezz.
1620 Copenhagen V, Denmark
Tel: +45 3623 1097
Fax: +45 3623 1097
Email: wilfp-dk@internet.dk
Web: www.kvindefredsliga.dk

EAST TIMOR

Forum Komunikasi Perempuan Loro Sae (Communication Forum for East Timorese Women)

Rua Governador Celestino da Silva,
Farol Dili, East Timor (via Darwin, Australia)
Tel: +670 390 32 15 34
Email: fokupers@fokupers.minihub.org

EGYPT

The Suzanne Mubarak Women's International Peace Movement

Star Capital 8, City Stars
Nasr City, Egypt
Tel: +2 248 01101
Fax: +2 248 01102
Email: info@womenforpeaceinternational.org
Web: www.womenforpeaceinternational.org

EL SALVADOR

Conamus (National Coordinating Committee of Women in El Salvador)

Postal 3262, Centro de Gobierno
San Salvador, El Salvador
Tel/Fax: +503 262 080

FIJI

Media Initiatives for Women

P.O. Box 2439 Government Buildings
Suva, Fiji Islands
Tel: +679 331 6290
Email: femlinkpac@connect.com.fj
Web: www.womensmediapool.org/grupos/femlink.htm

Pacific Centre for Peacebuilding (PCP)

Flat 1, 19 Komo Street
Samabula, Suva, Fiji Islands
Tel: +679 3681219 or +679 3681208
Fax: +679 368128 1146
Email: pcpbffiji@connect.com.fj

FINLAND

Women for Peace

Metsäpolku 10,
02460 Kantvik, Finland
Tel: +358 9 298 5324
Fax: +358 9 298 2301
Email: lea.rantanen@jopiarvio.fi

GHANA

WPP Africa Regional Desk

West Africa Network for Peace building (WANEP)
P.O. Box CT 4434
Cantonments, Accra, Ghana
Tel: +233 21 775975/77, 775981
Fax: +233 21 776018
Email: edzathor@wanep.org
Web: www.wanep.org/wpp/

GERMANY

Arbeitsgemeinschaft Friedenspädagogik

Waltherstr. 22
80337 München, Germany
Web: www.agfp.de

Frauennetzwerk für Frieden e.V.

Dr. Werner-Schuster-Haus
Kaiserstr. 201
53113 Bonn, Germany
Tel: +49 228 62 67 30
Fax: +49 228 62 67 80
Email: fn.frieden@t-online.de
Web: www.frauennetzwerk-fuer-frieden.de

International Women's Peace Archive

Lothringer Str. 64
46045 Oberhausen, Germany

GREECE

Women for Mutual Security

1, Romilias Str.
14671 Kastri, Athens, Greece
Tel: +30 2310 884 3202
Fax: +30 2310 80 128 50

GUATEMALA

Conavigua

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

ICELAND

Women for Peace

c/o Porunn Magnusdottir
Hofsvallagata 17,
101 Reykjavik, Iceland

INDIA

Women in Security,

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

Forum To Engage Men (FEM)

Facilitation Offices:
CHSJ
3C, H Block, Saket,
New Delhi, India
Tel: +91 11 40517478; +91 11 26511425
Email: satish@chsj.org

AAKAR

A-19, Gulmohar park,
New Delhi, India
Tel: +91 11 26515161; +91 11 41640681
Email: rahulroy63@gmail.com

EKTA

Bethel Nagar, Bible Bhawan Street
Ponmeni, By- pass Road
Madurai 625010, India
Tel: +91 452 2381309
Email: bimla_ekta@yahoo.com

Men's Action for Stopping Violence against Women (MASVAW)

MASVAW Secretariat
C/o SAHAYOG
A-240 Indira Nagar,
Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, 226016, India
Tel: +91 522 234 1319 / 231 0747 / 231 0860
Email: masvaw@sahayogindia.org; satish@sahayogindia.org

SAHAYOG

A-240 Indira Nagar
Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, 226016, India
Phone: +91 0522 2341319 / 2310747 / 2310860
Fax: +91 0522 2341319
Email: kritirc@sahayogindia.org
Web: www.sahayogindia.org/

SAMYAK Communication and Resource Centre

B 3 / 14, Damodar Nagar
Hingne Khurd, Singhgad Road,
Pune, Maharashtra 411051, India
Tel: +91 9850516237
Web: www.samyakindia.org



ISRAEL

Bat Shalom

P.O. Box – Bat Shalom 2426
Jerusalem 91023, Israel
Tel: +972 2 6245699 / +972 77 344366
Fax: +972 77 3443660
Email: info@batshalom.org
Web: www.batshalom.org

New Profile

P.O. Box 3454
Ramat Hasharon 47100
Tel: +972-(0)3-5160119
Email: info@newprofile.org
Web: <http://www.newprofile.org/>

ITALY

Donne per la Pace e il Disarmo

Casella postale 713
36100 Vicenza, Italy
Tel: +39 444 500 457
Fax: +39 444 327 527

JAPAN

Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence

3-29-41-402 Kumoji, Naha City
Okinawa 900-0015, Japan
Tel/Fax: +81 98 864 1539
Email: space-yui@nirai.ne.jp

Violence Against Women in War-Network, Japan

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

Women's Active Museum on War and Peace

2-3-18 Nishiwaseda, AVACO.bld 2F
Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo 169-0051, Japan
Tel: +81 3 3202 4633 / +81 3 3202 4633
Fax: +81 3 3202 4634
E-mail: wam@wam-peace.org
Web: www.wam-peace.org/english/

KENYA

Chemchemi Ya Ukweli (CYU)

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

Men for Gender Equality Now

Web: www.megenkenya.org/

KOREA (SOUTH)

Korean Council for Women Drafted for Military Sexual Slavery by Japan

3/F CISJD Bldg., No. 35
Chungieongro 2 Ga,
Seodaemun Gu, Seoul, Korea
Tel: +82 2 365 4016
Fax: +82 2 365 4017
Email: jdh@peacenet.or.kr
Web: www.witness.peacenet.or.kr

Women Making Peace

2nd floor, The Women's House of Peace
110 Dongsomoon-Dong 6ga,
Seongbuk-Ku, Seoul, 136-036, Korea
Tel: +82-2-929-4846/7
Fax: +82-2-929-4843
Email: wmp@peacewomen.or.kr
Web: www.peacewomen.or.kr/english

KYRGYSTAN

Women's Association for Environmental Safety and Nuclear Peace

ul. Turusbekova, d. 89,
720001, Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
Tel: +3312 218 335
Fax: +3312 219 615
Email: chopon@dyikan.Bishkek.su



LEBANON

Permanent Peace Movement

7th Floor Salibi Tower, Mkalles,
P.O. Box 166492
Beirut, Lebanon
Tel/Fax: +961 1 501516
Email: info@ppm-lebanon.org
Web: www.ppm-lebanon.org/

LIBERIA

Liberian Women's Initiative

112 UN Dr.
P.O. Box 153
Monrovia, Liberia
Tel: +231 2222-33

West Africa Network for Peacebuilding

WANEP – Liberia
c/o CHAL
7th Street, Sinkor
P.O. Box 10-9056
Monrovia, Liberia

MALAYSIA

Sisters in Islam

No. 7, Jalan 6/10,
46000 Petaling Jaya Selangor, Malaysia
Tel: +603 7785 6121 / 7784 2733 / 7784 4357
Fax: +603 7785 8737
Email: sistersinislam@pdjaring.my
Web: www.sistersinislam.org.my

MALI

Mouvement National des Femmes pour la Sauvegarde de la Paix et de l'Unité Nationale

BP 1771, Bamako, Mali
Tel: +223 224 231
Fax: +223 231 999

MOZAMBIQUE

Muherez Mocambicanas

pela Paz
CP 257, Maputo, Mozambique
Tel/Fax: +258 1 428 140

NAMIBIA

Sister Namibia

P.O. Box 40092
Windhoek, Namibia
Tel: +264 (0)61 230618 / 230757
Fax: +264 (0)61 236371
Email: sister@iafrica.com.na

NEPAL

Mahila Bikash Samaj

P.O. Box 5840, Kathmandu, Nepal
Tel: +977 1 271 794
Fax: +977 1 270 396
Email: wodes@shova.mos.com.np

Institute of Human Rights Communication Nepal (IHRICON)

G.P.O. Box No. 5188,
Thapathali, Kathmandu, Nepal
Phone: +977 1 4253943
Fax: +977 1 4216148
Email: ihricon@mos.com.np
Web: www.ihricon.org.np

NETHERLANDS

Multicultural Women Peacemakers Network

v.d. Sande Bakhuyzenstraat 68
1223 CZ Hilversum, The Netherlands
Tel: +31 35 6857000
Email: mcwpm@chello.nl

Platform Vrouwen en Duurzame Vrede (VDV)

www.nederlandsevrouwenraad.nl/html/index.php?alinealD=461

Vrouwen voor Vrede

Daam Fockemalaan 22
3818 KG Amersfoort, The Netherlands
Postal Address: Postbus 963,
3800 AZ Amersfoort, The Netherlands
Tel/Fax: +31 33 4622755
Email: vrouwenvoorvrede@antenna.nl
Web: www.vrouwenvoorvrede.nl



WO=MEN, Dutch Gender Platform

Plein 9
2511CR The Hague, The Netherlands
Email: info@wo-men.nl
Web: www.wo-men.nl
Fax: +31 70 356 14 96
Tel: +31 70 311 88 07
Email: info@wo-men.nl
Web: www.wo-men.nl/

NEW ZEALAND / AOTEAROA

Women's Peace Network

c/o Peace Movement Aotearoa
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FOR WOMEN PEACEMAKERS PROGRAM

